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H.B. BOUSFIELD, FIRST BISHOP OF PRETORIA, TO 1881:
THE FOUNDATION OF THE DIOCESE OF PRETORIA (1870 - 1878)
AND THE EARLY EPISCOPACY OF H.B. BOUSFIELD, FIRST
BISHOP OF PRETORIA (1878 - 1881)

by

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submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

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in the subject

CHURCH HISTORY

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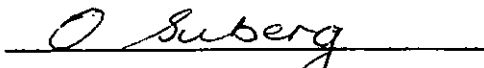
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"I declare that H.B. Bousfield, first Bishop of Pretoria, to 1881 is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references."


O.M. Suberg

SUMMARY

In 1870 the Synod of the Anglican Church in South Africa decided to found a see in the Transvaal. The pioneer of Anglican work there was Bishop T.E. Wilkinson of Zululand who during visits of 1873 and 1874 organised the Church. In 1875 Wilkinson resigned his diocese over his involvement in the Transvaal. It was only after the annexation of the Transvaal by Britain 1877 that a bishop was chosen. This was not Wilkinson whom the Transvaalers desired but was H.B. Bousfield, an excellent organiser though an egotistical man.

From the time of his arrival in the diocese of Pretoria in 1879 Bousfield organised Anglican work at a diocesan level. Through his tireless travelling he got the congregations functioning. His episcopacy was plagued by financial worries. Little mission work was attempted.

With the retrocession of the Transvaal to the Boers after the War of Independence Bousfield had to rebuild his diocese.

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PREFACE

Bede is considered to be the Father of English Church History. In the preface to his A history of the English Church and people he explained how he had researched his book and ended: "Should the reader discover any inaccuracies in what I have written, I humbly beg that he will not impute them to me, because as the laws of history require, I have laboured honestly to transmit whatever I could ascertain from common report for the instruction of posterity."¹ This is what each historian desires after having done his best with the primary sources available.

Why is Bousfield of interest to a Church historian? Bousfield's episcopacy, from 1879 to 1902, covers important events in South African history. He was nominated as bishop of the new diocese in the Transvaal soon after the annexation of the Transvaal by Britain. He lived through the War of Independence (1880 - 1881), the retrocession of the Transvaal to the Boers, the discovery of the Witwatersrand goldfield with the subsequent influx of foreigners into the Transvaal, the economic depression caused by the rinderpest, the Jameson Raid and the Boer War. He died in 1902 so he was released from again re-organising a diocese disrupted by war. Bousfield was forceful and he stamped his ideas on the diocese of Pretoria. In spite of the difficult times of his episcopacy, which he magnified, he did not resign which shows his tenacity of purpose. In an obituary, Edwin Farmer a diocesan missionary, wrote: "... and I can bear testimony that none have borne the stress and struggle of pioneer life under exceptionally difficult circumstances with braver front or more dogged perseverance than Henry Brougham Bousfield."²

One of the problems in researching the chosen topic is that there is a great deal of material but most of it is written by Bousfield himself. Bousfield believed that he was right in all matters which does not help if one is aiming at objectivity. In an attempt to balance this I have tried to use the few references from other sources I have discovered to portray Bousfield as others saw him.

Copies were kept of most of Bousfield's outgoing official letters but no incoming mail was retained. By this one sees how the Bishop reacted but not the provocation. For example in 1881 the Bishop and one of his clergy, C.M. Spratt, were involved in a disagreement but why Spratt acted as he did is not clear except for a single

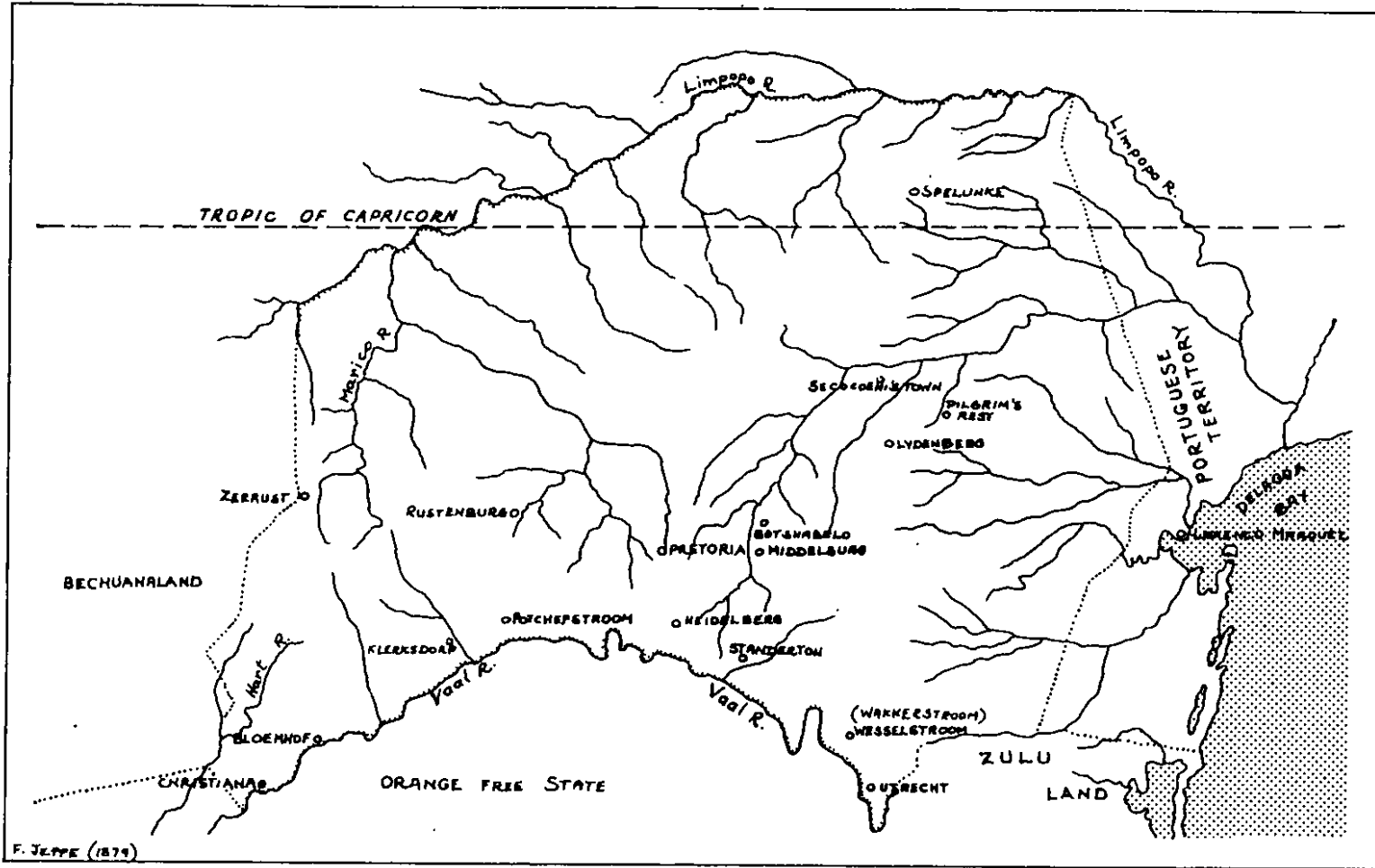
¹Bede, A history of the English Church and people, trans. L. Sherley-Price, London: Penguin Books, 1968, p.35.

²E. F[armer], Bishop Bousfield, Anglican, volume 1, number 4, 1904-02, p.81.

reference written by Spratt's friend, A. Roberts. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) on the other hand kept all its incoming mail but the private outgoing mail has been destroyed. Here we have the correspondents justifying their actions to S.P.G. but not how S.P.G. really felt about them.

I should like to acknowledge the aid of all people who guided me with my research in South Africa and in Britain or who helped with getting this dissertation ready for presentation. The financial assistance of the Human Sciences Research Council towards the publication of this work is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this work, or conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not to be regarded as those of the Human Sciences Research Council.

Dates are given as year - month - day e.g. 1881-02-16 instead of 16th February, 1881.



The Transvaal showing centres of Anglican work

(Source: Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria,
number 6, 1883-05.)

CHAPTER ONE

THE FOUNDATION OF THE DIOCESE OF PRETORIA

1.1 Historical background¹

The movement known as the Great Trek, which originated from the Eastern Cape during the mid-1830's, reached the land to the north of the Vaal River in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. On 1852-01-17 Britain and the Transvaal signed the Sand River Convention by which

- the sovereign independence of the Transvaal was recognised. From September 1853 this state became known as the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek.
- Britain would not attempt any further expansion to the north of the Vaal.
- Britain would not interfere in the affairs of the Transvaal.

Gradually English speaking people drifted into the Transvaal and by 1864 there were enough Anglicans in Potchefstroom to constitute a congregation.²

In 1873 alluvial gold was discovered in the Lydenburg district. The miners were mainly foreigners.³

During the presidency of T.F. Burgers, Sekhukhune⁴, the chief of the Pedi people in the mountains near Lydenburg, became fractious and was able to arm himself and his tribe.⁵ In May 1876 war broke out when the Boers sent commandos against him

¹G.F.J. Muller, ed., Five hundred years, 2nd ed, Pretoria : Academica, 1977, p.252-264.

²W. Richardson, "Letter 1881-11-20," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1881-01, p.47.

³Muller, Five hundred years..., p.260.

⁴The spelling as used by M. Wilson and L. Thompson, ed., Oxford history of South Africa, vol 2, Oxford: O.U.P., 1975, has been followed.

⁵Muller, Five hundred years..., p.262.

and by the end of 1876 Sekhukhune sued for peace.⁶ The initial checks suffered by the Boers during this war were a factor in the annexation of the Transvaal.⁷

The raising of taxes to pay (for example) the interest on the loan to build the Pretoria-Delagoa Bay railway (completed in 1895 with a different financial backing) and the Sekhukhune war had caused the burghers, by the beginning of 1877, to wish for a new president to replace T.F. Burgers. An election was planned but was never held.⁸

Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, needed to annex the Transvaal to carry out his plans for the federation of South Africa⁹ so he delegated Theophilus Shepstone, the Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal, to carry out the annexation. On 1877-01-22 Shepstone, accompanied by 25 policemen and 8 officials, arrived in Pretoria to discuss certain Transvaal issues with Burgers. Once he had started discussions with the Executive Council it was clear that he had come to pave the way for annexation.¹⁰ At this time Sekhukhune sued for peace. On 1877-04-12 Sir Bartle Frere, the British High Commissioner, annexed the Transvaal as a British territory. The annexation was celebrated by a service of thanksgiving held at A.J. Law in the Pretoria Anglican Church.¹¹ "The Executive Council argued that the Transvaal's general economic and political position was such that it would be better temporarily to acquiesce, rather than start a war."¹²

Thus the Transvaal became a British Colony. At this time Pretoria was the capital and the larger villages were Zeerust, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Heidelberg, Standerton and Middelburg with Lydenburg being the largest settlement of the Eastern Transvaal goldfields.

⁶Muller, Five hundred years..., p.263.

⁷Wilson and Thompson, Oxford history of South Africa, vol.2, p.250.

⁸Muller, Five hundred years..., p.263.

⁹Ibid., p.263.

¹⁰Ibid., p.264.

¹¹C.F. Pascoe, Two hundred years of the S.P.G., London: SPG, 1901, p.356.

¹²Muller, Five hundred years..., p.264.

1.2 The Anglican Church in the Transvaal

Anglican work in the Transvaal began when Edward Twells, 1st Bishop of Bloemfontein, after his second visit to the Transvaal, ordained William Richardson as deacon on 1865-12-25 and sent him to Potchefstroom in January 1866 to begin work.¹³ Twells had previously received permission from Robert Gray, Metropolitan and Bishop of Capetown to have oversight of the English Church in the Transvaal until it became a separate diocese.¹⁴

An erf was bought in Potchefstroom and a church building erected of which Twells laid the foundation stone.¹⁵

Bishop Gray of Capetown contacted the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) about the position of the Anglicans in the Transvaal even before the 1869 Synod of South African bishops.¹⁶

1.3 The 1869 Episcopal Synod and the 1870 Provincial Synod

1.3.1 The 1869 Episcopal Synod

The Synod of Bishops held in 1869 recommended the formation of a new diocese in the Transvaal.¹⁷ S.P.G. was informed of this resolution and the necessity of providing both an income and a bishop.¹⁸ Gray also wrote to S.P.G. about the insecure financial state of the endowments of the South African dioceses.¹⁹ This lack of money was a handicap to the expansion of the Anglican Church in the whole of South Africa, not only in the Transvaal.

Twells had been forced to resign as bishop of Bloemfontein.²⁰ Gray was concerned that when a new bishop

¹³W. Crisp, Some account of the diocese of Bloemfontein in the Province of South Africa from 1863 to 1894, Oxford: Parker, 1895, p.13.

¹⁴E. Twells, "The Church in the Transvaal," Church News, number 12, 1867-06-25, p.97.

¹⁵E. Twells, "Pastoral letter," Church News, number 9, 1867-03-25, p.75.

¹⁶S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones. 1875-08-06, CLS Collection. USPG Archives, London.

¹⁷M.H.W. Wood, A father in God, London: MacMillan, 1913, p.75.

¹⁸S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones. 1875-08-06, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London. Britain.

¹⁹R. Gray, Letter to S.P.G., 1870-01-03, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁰P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1963, p.80.

of Bloemfontein was found he would also, as Twells had done, take charge of the Transvaal which really needed a bishop of its own.²¹

1.3.2 The 1870 Provincial Synod

At the Provincial Synod of February 1870 the subject of new bishoprics was discussed. It was resolved: "That this Synod would further express its strong conviction that, for the efficient maintenance of the present Mission work of the Church in South Africa, as well as for the extension of the Missions, it is necessary that the following Missionary Sees should be formed as soon as possible:- ... 2. A See in the Transvaal Republic, where there are many English beyond the reach of any means of grace, and large tribes of heathen."²²

S.P.G. was again pressed about the Transvaal when the above resolution was passed on to them.²³

The Easter Vestry of St Mary's, Potchefstroom passed a resolution agreeing that a see should be founded in the Transvaal: "III. That this meeting fully coincides with that part of a resolution of the Provincial Synod, ... which expressed 'a strong conviction that there should be formed as soon as possible a See in the Transvaal Republic.'

"That until that, or a definite connection with one or other of the Dioceses of the Province is effected, the efforts of individuals and congregations will be depressed; congregations will receive no great accessions to their numbers and capacity for effort; order and uniformity of practice in the conduct of Divine Worship will not be promoted, and the bonds of discipline will tend to become relaxed; while the personal position, status, and relations of Ministers being undefined are damaged, and their power and opportunity for usefulness are much restricted."²⁴

²¹R. Gray, Letter to the Bishop of Nassau, 1870-01-15, Collection of the Letter-books of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa

²²"The Provincial Synod," Church News, number 44, 1870-03-01, p.9.

²³S.P.G., Letter to W. W. Jones, 1875-08-06, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

²⁴The Church in the Transvaal," Church News, number 47, 1870-06-01, p.4.

1.4 Further pleas for the foundation of a diocese in the Transvaal

1.4.1 Diocese of Bloemfontein

The Synod of the Diocese of Bloemfontein met in January 1872 to discuss its organisation and work. At a session held on Saturday 13th January, "... a resolution was unanimously adopted, recognising the existing connection between the Diocese [of Bloemfontein] and the Church in the Transvaal. The Rev. W. Richardson, of Mooi River Dorp, and Mr. Green, gave accounts of the parishes which they represented. The Bishop [A.B. Webb] stated that in addition to the authority given him in the first instance, by the Metropolitan for administering the affairs of the Church in the Transvaal, he had lately received from the hands of the Bishops of the Province a special commission to the same effect."²⁵

1.4.2 Bishop Webb's visit to the Transvaal in 1872

During the winter of 1872 Bishop Webb went to the Transvaal,²⁶ and visited Potchefstroom, Pretoria and Zeerust. He felt that Pretoria should be the centre of Anglican work in the Transvaal and that Anglican difficulties in South Africa were due to their being so late in the field.²⁷

With Webb's permission, Wills, missionary deacon of Pretoria, returned to Britain with a letter of introduction to S.P.G. In this letter Webb expressed

- the case for an S.P.G. grant to the Transvaal.
- his hope that S.P.G. would help in providing a stipend or part of one for a "superintending clergyman or Archdeacon" stationed at Pretoria.
- his intention after a brief visit to Bloemfontein, of returning almost immediately to Pretoria to work there for 3 months while Wills was away.²⁸

²⁵"The Church in the Free State," Church News, number 53, 1872-02-01, p.4.

²⁶"Openings in the African Diamond Fields and the Transvaal Republic," Mission Field, 1872-09-02, p.274.

²⁷C. Lewis and G.E. Edwards, Historical records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, London: SPCK, 1934, p.413.

²⁸A.B. Webb, Letter to S.P.G., 1872-07-01, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

Webb sent Henry Sadler to the Marico district. He was also worried about William Richardson, who was on sick leave and not likely to return. Webb had confirmed a Dopper minister in Pretoria whom he described as "the present Government Secretary."²⁹ ³⁰ It was during this visit that Webb introduced his idea of an Archdeacon for Pretoria,³¹ a view he held for the next 3¹/₂ years until the CPSA Synod refused it.

In October 1872 Webb, who was suffering from overwork,³² decided to use Pretoria and work as its parish priest as his rest-cure from anxiety and responsibility. He remained there three months whilst Wills, the Pretoria deacon, was in England.³³ Wills' return ensured that there would continue to be an Anglican clergyman in Pretoria even after Webb had gone back to Bloemfontein. Webb felt that there was a need for missionary work in the Transvaal, in "... the interior where a great mission work waits for the Church to come forward and earnestly take in hand."³⁴

Webb felt that the steady, uphill work in the Transvaal required the services of an Archdeacon rather than a Bishop. In a section marked private he wrote to S.P.G., "May I confidently and privately ask you that nothing should be done in the way of any definite proposal as to the formation of a separate See without further consultation with me ..., or at least until after the Synod of Bishops or the Provincial Synod. There are grave reasons requiring caution in the matter which it would take too long to go into now."³⁵

²⁹This man is unnamed and it is not clear who he was.

³⁰R. Gray, Letter to S.P.G., 1872-07-13, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³¹R. Gray, Letter to S.P.G., 1872-08-12, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³²Lewis and Edwards, Historical records..., p.413.

³³Ibid., p.574.

³⁴A.B. Webb, Letter to S.P.G., 1872-11-16, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³⁵Ibid.

Webb claimed that Gray, just before his death, had suggested the idea of an Archdeacon for the Transvaal.³⁶

When Webb filled in the S.P.G. returns for the diocese of Bloemfontein dated 1872-11-15³⁷ he wrote under the Transvaal

"Pretoria (without a clergyman at present)
Potchefstroom
Zeerust (Marico)
Rustenburg"

with a note that they did not receive a grant from S.P.G. or any other Society.

1.4.3 Bishop Gray

Bishop Gray of Capetown, never forgot his desire for a new bishopric in the Transvaal and in fact his last letter to S.P.G. before his death in 1872 was concerned with the urgent need of a Transvaal diocese.³⁸

1.4.4 Colonial Bishoprics' Council

In September 1872 the Second Declaration of the Council of the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund was signed at Lambeth Palace, but it was only issued in November. It contained a request for donations and subscriptions to the C.B.F. and also for particular Bishoprics. One of the treasurers was Sir Bartle Frere who was to become a fund raiser for H.B. Bousfield and for the diocese of Pretoria. The Declaration stated: "Still the vast needs of the unconverted countries which God's providence has connected with Great Britain, calls for fresh efforts. To name but the most pressing. ...

Africa (16) In the Transvaal Republic, there are not only multitudes of unconverted Baralongs and Matabele, but also a large number of English residents in the towns and settlements for whom a Bishop is required."³⁹

³⁶A.B. Webb, Letter to S.P.G., 1872-11-16, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³⁷A.B. Webb, S.P.G. Returns for Diocese of Bloemfontein, 1872-11-15, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³⁸S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1875-08-06, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³⁹"Colonial Bishoprics' Fund," Church News, number 64, 1873-01-01, p.7-8.

1.4.5 Bishop Jones

The 2nd Metropolitan and bishop of Capetown was William West Jones, who was also interested in the expansion of the Province and had contacted S.P.G. about the provision of an endowment for the proposed Bishopric of the Transvaal.⁴⁰

When Webb arrived in Cape Town in 1875-04-04 he had a discussion with the Metropolitan about Basutoland, the proposed Transvaal Bishopric and the Provincial Synod.⁴¹ William West Jones expressed his view on the Transvaal by describing it as "of utmost importance"⁴²

1.4.6 Appeals for an endowment

From 1873 appeals were issued in Britain through the missionary periodicals, Net and Mission Field for an endowment for the Transvaal. "The Transvaal ought to have a bishop of its own, but until an endowment has been raised, the Bishop of the Free State has hitherto included the country in his diocesan work."⁴³

T.E. Wilkinson, 1st Bishop of Zululand, stated that £20 000 was needed at once to be divided between a Diocesan Endowment Fund and a Clergy Endowment Fund.⁴⁴ In the same copy of Mission Field A.B. Webb wrote, "We require an endowment for the See, and some clergy Sustentation Fund, from which grants in aid might be provided. And as far as the Transvaal is concerned, some fund for furnishing grants in aid for clergy and Mission works should be established first, and placed in the hands of myself and Bishop Wilkinson, in the Administration of which we shall be assisted by a local Finance Board, which is partially and provisionally established."⁴⁵

⁴⁰Wood, A father in God..., p.75.

⁴¹Ibid., p.83.

⁴²W.W. Jones, Letter to E. Cree, 1875-07-22, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴³"The day of intercession," Net, 1873-12-01, p.178.

⁴⁴T.E. Wilkinson, "AmaSwaziland: The Transvaal: Zululand," Mission Field, 1874-02-02, p.40.

⁴⁵A.B. Webb, "Neglected English settlers," Mission Field, 1874-02-02, p.42.

1.5 Bishop T.E. Wilkinson of Zululand

The person who did most towards the initial organisation of the Transvaal Church was T.E. Wilkinson, 1st Bishop of Zululand. Wilkinson wrote to Webb, the Bishop of Bloemfontein, about the time of Gray's death, stating that

- he planned to tour the Transvaal.
- he wished to organise the work there, but
- he did not wish to take over the episcopal work in the Transvaal assigned by the South African Church to the Bishop of Bloemfontein.⁴⁶

1.5.1 1872 visit

In 1872 Wilkinson made his first visit to the Transvaal, travelling to the eastern border populated by Whites living on sparsely scattered Dutch farms.⁴⁷ His visit was reported in Net, "... Bishop Webb some time ago wrote to Bishop Wilkinson, to beg him to pay an episcopal visit to the Transvaal, which he has done, and he certainly bears out what Bishop Webb has said, 'Very much depends upon our putting our shoulder to the wheel at once.'" ⁴⁸

1.5.2 1873 visit

In 1873 Wilkinson made an extensive visit to the Transvaal. "He had already been in correspondence with Bishop Webb with regard to taking over part of the work among Europeans, ..." ⁴⁹

Wilkinson described his agreement with Webb, "I had heard from Bishop Webb before leaving Zululand that he was pressed in his Transvaal work, not being able properly to work it with the Free State, his own diocese, on his hands, increased as that work now is by the Diamond Field population. ... I [T.E.W.] only hold a commission from him [A.B.W.] to act episcopally and pastorally for him at my discretion." ⁵⁰

⁴⁶Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa..., p.134.

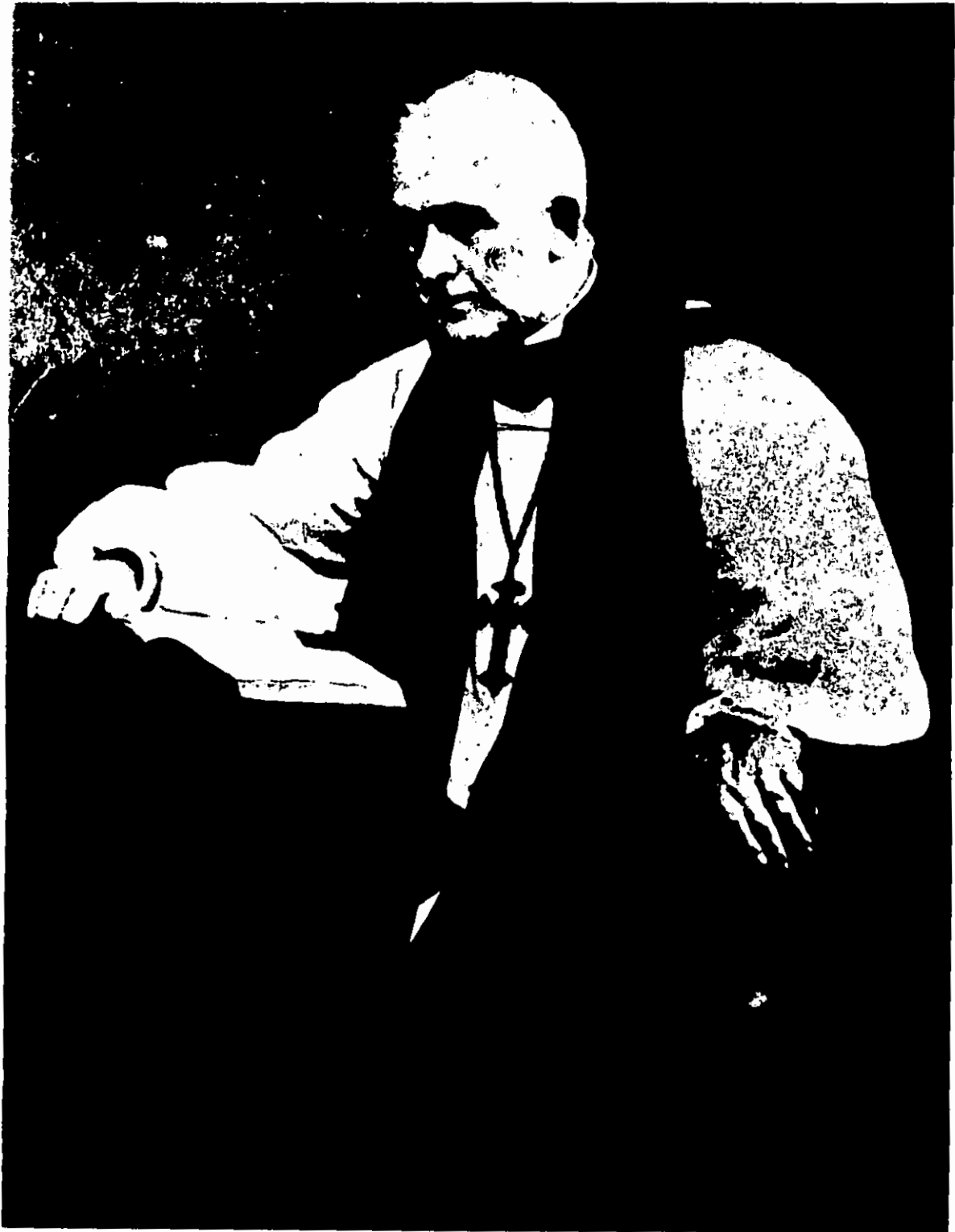
⁴⁷Lewis and Edwards, Historical records..., p.574.

⁴⁸"The day of intercession," Net, 1873-12-01, p.178.

⁴⁹J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton, A Transvaal jubilee, London: SPCK, 1928, p.11.

⁵⁰T.E. Wilkinson, "AmaSwazi-land: The Transvaal: Zululand," Mission Field, 1874-02-02; p.38.

FIGURE 2



T.E. Wilkinson as an old man.

(Source: Johannesburg Public Library)

The high cost of living in the Transvaal was to be a problem for years to come and Wilkinson estimated that a married man needed a minimum of £300 a year and a parsonage, and a single man £150 and a house. The clergymen would have to supplement their stipends from their congregations. "The great distance from a port makes everything very dear here; building, travelling, and everything is double Colonial prices."⁵¹

With the discovery of gold in the Eastern Transvaal Webb noted that some of the diamond diggers were moving to the Transvaal. He felt that an endowment should be collected so that clergy could be sent to the Transvaal and especially "a devoted and prudent Priest for the new Goldfields." Webb was pleased at Wilkinson's interest in the Transvaal. In the same letter he observed "I [A.B.W.] am most thankful and rejoiced [sic] at the prospect of his [T.E.W.] being able to reside for a season in each year at Pretoria ..."⁵²

When Wilkinson reached Pretoria in 1873 he found two letters from Webb awaiting him.

- A formal commission to act as the deputy of the Bishop of Bloemfontein in the Transvaal.
- A request for Wilkinson to do what he could to help in the Transvaal.⁵³

Wilkinson travelled throughout the Transvaal. "Everywhere I found the greatest possible spiritual need in the Transvaal. I cannot make a formal appeal to you [S.P.G.] in aid of this vast country, ... because at present all such formal applications must come through Bishop Webb. I only hold a commission from him to act episcopally and pastorally for him at my discretion."⁵⁴

⁵¹"The day of intercession," Net, 1873-12-01, p.179.

⁵²A.B. Webb, Letter to S.P.G., 1873-11-06, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁵³"The day of intercession," Net, 1873-12-01, p.178.

⁵⁴T.E. Wilkinson, "AmaSwazi-land: The Transvaal: Zululand," Mission Field, 1874-02-02, p.38.

Webb described Wilkinson's duties in the Transvaal thus: "With Bishop Wilkinson to assist me in the charge of the Transvaal as Coadjutor-Bishop,⁵⁵ I have every hope that all needful episcopal supervision and ministrations which will be required for some few years to come, will be fully supplied."⁵⁶

Wilkinson believed that his 1873 visit to the Transvaal aided in the foundation of the diocese of Pretoria.⁵⁷

In 1873 he bought a house in Proes Street⁵⁸ which for many years was to be a cause of conflict between Wilkinson and H.B. Bousfield. This house was bought with Wilkinson's private money and he promised to live there for some months each year whilst he was helping Webb by serving in the Transvaal.⁵⁹

Wilkinson carried out a survey of the Church of England work in the Transvaal.

- Pretoria was served by the deacon Sharley, who held church in a schoolroom.
- Potchefstroom had as their priest the elderly William Richardson and this place had a small church.
- Zeerust had as priest, Henry Sadler, and a fund to raise money to build their Church had been opened.⁶⁰
- The Lydenburg Goldfields had a deacon, Cawhill-Barker, sent there by Webb.⁶¹

⁵⁵1870 Constitution and Canons of the CPSA had no canon on a Coadjutor Bishop. Canon 6 of the 1876 Constitution and Canons of the CPSA dealt with this subject. A Coadjutor Bishop had to be elected by the Metropolitan and all the CPSA bishops, to help a diocesan bishop and he had automatic succession to the see when it fell vacant.

⁵⁶A.B. Webb, "Neglected English settler," Mission Field, 1874-02-02, p.42.

⁵⁷Mrs. Wilkinson, A lady's life and travels in Zululand and the Transvaal during Cetewayo's reign, London: Hayes, 1882, p.181.

⁵⁸Agar-Hamilton, A Transvaal jubilee ..., p.12.

⁵⁹T.E. Wilkinson, "AmaSwazi-land: The Transvaal: Zululand," Mission Field, 1874-02-02, p.40.

⁶⁰Ibid., p.39.

⁶¹T.E. Wilkinson, "The Eastern and Northern Transvaal", Mission Field, 1874-12-01, p.369.

In 1873 as a result of Wilkinson's appeal to S.P.G. for the Transvaal S.P.G. decided to support the clergymen at

Pretoria (Sharley) from 1873.

Potchefstroom (William Richardson) from 1874.

Zeerust (Henry Sadler) from 1874.

Lydenburg (John Thorne) from 1874.⁶²

Webb had remained in the Transvaal whilst on his rest-cure until February 1872. Towards the end of 1873 Webb returned on a visitation to the Transvaal, confirming at both Potchefstroom and Pretoria. It should be noted that even with the help of Wilkinson, Webb did not neglect to exercise his episcopal duty there.⁶³

After his 1873 visitation Wilkinson drafted his plan⁶⁴ for the Transvaal.

- £20 000 needed to be raised:
 - £10 000 for the Bishopric Endowment.
 - £10 000 for the Clergy Endowment.
- A staff of 6 men was needed. An archdeacon and 2 priests for the north and south of the territory respectively, "and these must move about upon the Wesleyan system of itineration."⁶⁵
- In each village there should be a school and a schoolmaster who should maintain the services of the Church of England. Schools could be started with the aid of Government grants.
- In Pretoria a Diocesan High School should be started, run by a master in holy orders who could help the Bishop in the cure of Pretoria. Wilkinson ended his plan, "This is what it seems to me we must do, and do at once; and remember,

⁶²C.F. Pascoe, Two hundred years of the S.P.G., London: SPG, 1901, p.355.

⁶³Crisp, Some account of the diocese of Bloemfontein ..., p.28-29.

⁶⁴T.E. Wilkinson, "AmaSwazi-land: The Transvaal: Zululand," Mission Field, 1874-02-02, p.40.

⁶⁵Ibid., p.40.

I have said nothing as yet about heathen work, ... How can I speak of this till we have supplied the needs of our own countrymen, who cannot be expected to be, by their own lives, epistles of commendation to the heathen, if we leave them unsought and uncared for?"⁶⁶

In Net Wilkinson wrote: "However, I am of opinion that it is of the first importance that here in the Transvaal we provide first for the white people. I am sure it is wrong to neglect them for the heathen: we cannot expect a blessing upon our native work if we leave the white population uncared for, and it is certain to breed amongst the latter a spirit of bitter jealousy and opposition towards work among the former."⁶⁷ Net noted tersely, "We do not see how Bishop Wilkinson, can, anymore than Bishop Webb, undertake the charge of the Transvaal as well as Zululand. But we would most gladly see this work undertaken by the Church."⁶⁸

1.5.3 1874 visit

In 1874 T.E. Wilkinson was once more in the Transvaal. Net commented about this visit: "With all our heart we wish him God's blessing on his labours [in the Transvaal], and we shall hope to tell of the new work he has undertaken. But we cannot forget that the Memorial Bishopric was founded for Zululand, and that the South African Synod defined the limits of the Diocese. The Transvaal Republic is beyond these limits, and our funds were not given for it. But, as has already been intimated, we have opened a separate fund for the Transvaal, and shall gladly receive all contributions towards planting the Church there."⁶⁹

⁶⁶T.E. Wilkinson, "AmaSwazi-land: The Transvaal: Zululand," Mission Field, 1874-02-02, p.40.

⁶⁷"The day of intercession," Net, 1873-12-01, p.180.

⁶⁸Ibid. p.180.

⁶⁹"The Transvaal and Zululand," Net, 1874-04-01, p.49.

Wilkinson's plan to spend time in Pretoria upset the plans of Robert Robertson, the senior missionary in the Zululand diocese and he wrote to an English clergyman: "With regard to our Mission work, it may be said to be in a transition state, in two ways. When I returned here, it was with an idea of breaking new ground, but after two months, and when I was on the point of making a start, the Bishop resolved to remove from Kwamagwaza [in Zululand] to Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal Republic. In consequence of this my old work will fall back into my hands."⁷⁰

It was Wilkinson's interest in the Transvaal that caused S.P.G. to regain its interest in the Transvaal. Bullock, Secretary of S.P.G. wrote to Wilkinson: "I think I have not yet thanked you for your last interesting letter. We published it in the Mission Field, and it has contributed to move the Society towards extending its work in AmaSwazi-land and in Pretoria. In the latter place it seems necessary to lose no time in following the advice of Bishop Gray, and to send out a Bishop who may relieve both you and Bishop Webb of what must be felt as an overwhelming addition to your own proper duties."⁷¹

S.P.G. informed Webb about its 1875 grant for the Transvaal. "The new grants for the Transvaal (with the exception of the £100 already assigned to Mr Sharley [deacon at Pretoria]) are reserved, i.e. we do not propose to spend any of them until we have had your advice on the subject. It is the wish of many men of the Committee that the plan of the late Bishop Gray should be carried out now, that a new bishop from England should be sent out, who might fix his see at Pretoria, and might relieve both you and Bishop Wilkinson of any care for the Transvaal. If you concur in this view and will say so, we could at

⁷⁰R. Robertson, Letter 1874-01-22, published in, "Waiting time in Zululand," Net, 1874-07-01, p.100.

⁷¹S.P.G., Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1874-07-04, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

once act on it. An episcopal income could be provided by £300 per annum from the Society and something from endowment which could be got in this country."⁷²

S.P.G. increased the sum allocated to the Transvaal by £300 and as Bloemfontein had oversight of the Transvaal Wilkinson was told by S.P.G. to contact Webb about the wisest use of this money. Bullock wrote to Wilkinson: "My own feeling is that we ought to aim at getting some good man from England to go out to [the] Transvaal as bishop."⁷³

Wilkinson made further plans for his work in Pretoria. "E[dward] is building a house on our land opposite this house. It is to be used as a school."⁷⁴

Wilkinson went on 2 visitations of the Transvaal villages. One visitation was to the Western and Southern Transvaal.⁷⁵ At Potchefstroom he ordained on Trinity Sunday 1874 two deacons: James Pilkington Richardson, son of William Richardson of Potchefstroom, whom Wilkinson sent to Rustenburg; and John Thorne an ex-Wesleyan. Wilkinson felt that the South African born Thorne could begin Dutch and mission work at once and sent him to Lydenburg.

In 1874 William Richardson felt that being elderly and in failing health he should retire. It was agreed that he receive a guaranteed pension and a parsonage. His son, James, would travel from Rustenburg to Potchefstroom every 6 weeks for services.⁷⁶

The people of the Transvaal realised that they needed a bishop of their own and not one from another diocese.

⁷²S.P.G., Letter to A.B. Webb, 1874-07-04, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁷³S.P.G., Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1874-08-05, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁷⁴Wilkinson, A lady's life and travels . . . , p.246-247.

⁷⁵T.E. Wilkinson, "The Church in the Western and Southern Transvaal," Mission Field, 1874-10-01, p.293-299.

⁷⁶Ibid., p.297-298.

Wilkinson wrote to S.P.G.: "All the townships are signing a memorial to the Colonial Bishops' Council, your own venerable body, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, asking for a Bishop and urging non-delay; so I do trust you will all be doing what you can to this end before I arrive in England, at the end of the year, to present these memorials, and to plead for the Transvaal as well as for my own mission work."⁷⁷

Wilkinson went on a second visitation in 1874, this time to the Eastern and Northern parts of the Transvaal.⁷⁸ He said after his visitations: "I have visited every township in this Republic, and quite think that a foundation is laid everywhere for our Church to enter and be welcomed in each as the Church of the place; and this may be fully carried out in the course of the next two years if those at home exert themselves to get us a Bishopric Endowment Fund, and a Clergy Sustentation Fund, of at least £10,000 each."⁷⁹

Wilkinson pleaded for an Endowment Fund which would have to be collected in Britain. "Our great need is a Clergy Sustentation Fund. We must make this up to £10,000 and invest it. There is no fund connected with our future work as important as this. To found a church in a country of this extent requires a great outlay, though the people are all doing according to their ability. How we have got so prosperously thus far I know not. We have been remarkably blessed and helped in all we have tried to do, and I feel that I have very much to be thankful for."⁸⁰

As well as confirming and ordaining Wilkinson concerned himself with the problems of the Transvaal clergy. He

⁷⁷T.E. Wilkinson, "The Church in the Western and Southern Transvaal," Mission Field, 1874-10-01, p.298.

⁷⁸T.E. Wilkinson, "The Eastern and Northern Transvaal", Mission Field, 1874-12-01, p.366-373.

⁷⁹Ibid., p.372.

⁸⁰Ibid., p.371.

contacted S.P.G. about the fact that Sharley, stationed at Pretoria, was feeling unsettled and thinking of returning to England as it was too expensive to transport his wife and family to the Transvaal. Wilkinson did not want to lose the services of Sharley as he was impressed by his work in the Transvaal.⁸¹

Wilkinson's enthusiasm for the establishment of a separate diocese in the Transvaal was not shared at this time by Webb. Wilkinson wrote to Webb: "You are evidently not in favo[u]r of the establishment of a Bishopric in the Transvaal, & you give your reasons. As one unprejudiced in the matter beyond feeling a very deep interest in the Republic (for it is my intention to return to my own work when I see the Transvaal safe), I must beg you to reconsider your view of this question. ... I have passed now throughout the whole country & on every side have formed but one feeling, viz, that the Transvaal must have a Bishop of its own. The people are everywhere determined to oppose & ignore any ecclesiastical connection with the Orange Free State, ..."82

In an appeal to Cape Town for support, Wilkinson explained his motives in offering to spend six months of every year in the Transvaal. An extract was published in the Church News: "I could not - indeed I dare not - stand by and see so sad and sore a need; nor could I close my ears to the repeated request made to me to go and do what I could amongst the inhabitants of the various wide districts; I, therefore, promised that I would go and spend six months in each year in the country, moving about the Republic, and doing my very best until aid arrives. This, of course, involves a great increase of work and continual travelling and watchfulness, that no opportunity be overlooked in any corner, however remote; but this I do not mind."⁸³

⁸¹T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to S.P.G., 1874-08-24, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁸²T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to A.B. Webb, 1874-09-17, Copy enclosed, T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to S.P.G., 1874-09-17, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁸³"The Church in the Transvaal," Church News, number 79, 1874-04-01, p.6.

1.5.4 Greenstock's tour

In 1875 the Rev. William Greenstock visited the Transvaal after a planned journey to Matabeleland had had to be abandoned.⁸⁴ An account of his journey was serialised in Mission Field⁸⁵ which brought the Transvaal to the attention of those in Britain interested in Anglican missions.

Greenstock went to Pretoria where he conducted services before travelling northwards to Eerstelling, a gold mining area where Edward Button was the manager of the gold works. Button was an Anglican and had kept up 2 services on Sundays.⁸⁶ Greenstock stated that he went to Eerstelling at "Bishop Wilkinson's urgent recommendation."⁸⁷

Greenstock found an antipathy towards mission work in the Spelonk. "Missions are decidedly not popular - the grand panacea for troubles with the natives, the only means of doing any real good with them, seems in the estimation of the Boers to be the 'making of orphans' - killing off the adults and teaching the children."⁸⁸

Even when a bishop (i.e. H.B. Bousfield) did come, little mission work was done in the Transvaal; the diocesan effort was aimed at the Whites.

Greenstock also visited the Eastern Transvaal, staying at Lydenburg where the deacon, John Thorne, was stationed. Greenstock discussed the difficulty of Thorne's salary with S.P.G. From August 1875 to February 1876, when Greenstock was writing his report, Thorne had not received a salary from his congregation.⁸⁹ A meeting was held by the congregations with Greenstock as chairman, to discuss this matter

⁸⁴"New work at Eerstelling," Mission Field, 1875-11-01, p.335.

⁸⁵Mission Field, 1875-11-01 to 1877-04-02.

⁸⁶"New work at Eerstelling," Mission Field, 1875-11-01, p.336.

⁸⁷W. Greenstock, Letter to E. Crec, 1875-05-16, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁸⁸W. Greenstock, "Mr Greenstock's notes of travel: Eerstelling," Mission Field, 1876-08-01, p.243-244.

⁸⁹W. Greenstock, "Mr Greenstock's notes of travel: Needs of English diggers in the Gold Fields," Mission Field, 1876-11-01, p.344.

and a subscription list was opened with all money collected being paid to Thorne. Although not discussed at the meeting a private school was planned for Lydenburg with Thorne as its first teacher.⁹⁰ Greenstock felt that this would be a great help as his salary would be guaranteed. Later, Bousfield used this deacon-schoolmaster system whereby the deacon ran the village school and used the fees to live on. Unfortunately this meant that very little or no mission work could be done by the clergyman.

Greenstock arrived back in Pretoria in time for Easter 1876 to find that Sharley had left at the end of the previous year.⁹¹

1.5.5 Wilkinson leaves South Africa

Wilkinson decided to visit Britain during 1875 and the family travelled from Pretoria to Zululand before proceeding to England. Wilkinson's ship docked at Cape Town in 1875-01-14 and he was able to discuss with the Metropolitan, William West Jones, work in Zululand and the Transvaal.⁹² Jones gave a letter to Wilkinson authorising him to collect in Britain money for the Transvaal endowment in conjunction with the Bishop of Bloemfontein, the S.P.G., the Colonial Bishops' Fund and the S.P.C.K. A sum of £10 000 was mentioned.⁹³ "The voyage to England was undertaken with a view to settle some difficulties connected with the extension of the work in the diocese of Zululand, and to report upon the state of Church matters in the Transvaal. ... The result of this visit was that the Transvaal bishopric was founded."⁹⁴

⁹⁰W. Greenstock, "Mr Greenstock's notes of travel: Needs of English diggers in the Gold fields," Mission Field, 1876-11-01, p.345.

⁹¹W. Greenstock, "Mr Greenstock's notes of travel: Pretoria," Mission Field, 1877-04-02, p.115.

⁹²Wood, A father in God..., p.75-76.

⁹³Ibid., p.76.

⁹⁴Wilkinson, A lady's life and travels ..., p.253.

In a pamphlet dated May 1875 Wilkinson stated: "My reason for coming to England at this time is two-fold ..."

- The first appeal was for Zululand.
- His next was for the Transvaal and for the English settlers "who are living amidst many hundreds of thousands of heathen."⁹⁵

In 1875 S.P.G. issued a Quarterly Paper on the Transvaal Bishopric⁹⁶ which is not extant, but shows that the case of the Transvaal was being popularised.

Webb wanted an archdeacon stationed in the Transvaal and not a bishop. This puzzled Bullock of S.P.G., who wrote: "I am very glad indeed to get your opinion about the proposed Transvaal Bishopric. I cannot understand the strong opposition of Bishop Webb to it. He is too good a man to oppose without reason, and when he arrives we shall have an opportunity of hearing all he can say. Thank you for your welcome suggestion of names, which I will at once inquire into. Bishop Webb seems to have an unfounded fear that if we begin now to provide for the Bishop in [the] Transvaal we shall never help the endowment of his diocese; which we have already begun, and hope to go on with."⁹⁷

In 1875 both Webb and Wilkinson were in Britain. H.W.A. Cooper, resident magistrate of Lydenburg and special magistrate of the Gold Fields in the South African Republic, used this opportunity to write to S.P.G. pleading for a bishop for the Transvaal and putting forward the claims of Wilkinson for the post. "During the time that the Bishop of Zululand was here the work assumed a vigour and life which was very gratifying and it was hoped that his Lordship would be permanently appointed to the charge of a work which he has so much as heart, and, so zealously,

⁹⁵T.E. Wilkinson, The Church in South Africa: The Diocese of Zululand and the proposed diocese of the Transvaal, p.1.

⁹⁶S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1875-08-06, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁹⁷S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1875-02-15, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

initiated: indeed, had he not discouraged the movement petitions would have been sent from all parts of the Transvaal praying for his appointment as our Bishop."⁹⁸ It is not clear at what point Wilkinson was first suggested as bishop of the Transvaal but from this letter it appears to have been in 1874.

Webb sent a letter dated 1875-07-03 to S.P.G. listing his objections to the establishment of a bishopric in the Transvaal:⁹⁹

- Political changes might take place in the Transvaal to alter its boundaries.
- The Transvaal should be included in the diocese of Bloemfontein.

This letter was sent by S.P.G. to H. Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh and a former bishop of Grahamstown, for his comments.¹⁰⁰ He felt that

- since the 1869 Synod of Bishops, the Anglican Church in South Africa was in favour of the formation of a separate bishopric in the Transvaal.
- even if political changes in the Transvaal caused alterations to its political boundaries, the Church could change the boundaries of the diocese.
- the diocese of Bloemfontein already had missionary areas within its boundaries which created enough work without adding any more land.

Cotterill could foresee the problems of incorporating the Transvaal into the diocese of Bloemfontein. "If the Bishop [Webb] has found much difficulty in maintaining the missionary work in the heathen countries (the Basuto & Barolong) which properly belong to his diocese what would be the result if he were to be responsible to the Church also for the vast country

⁹⁸H.W.A. Cooper, Letter to S.P.G., 1875-05-25, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁹⁹A.B. Webb, Letter to S.P.G., 1875-06-30, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁰⁰H. Cotterill, Letter to S.P.G., 1875-07-03, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

which he wishes to have annexed to his diocese."¹⁰¹

Webb wrote to S.P.G. with an alternative suggestion. "I shall be quite willing to co-operate after obtaining the formal sanction of the Metropolitan in selecting a fit man for the proposed part. I mean that if I am not responsible in anyway for the taking of a premature step, as it appears to be to my mind very decidedly, I shall be quite willing to assist in any way I can & work with the Society in securing the man that is thought desirable in this best possible way.

"It may be more satisfactory that this matter, if it is really resolved upon, should be arranged before I go back to Africa.

"I think that the Metropolitan - & Bishops of the Province would be quite willing to refer such a nomination or selection to some person or persons representing S.P.G. with Bishop Wilkinson & myself who would in any case have to confirm the nomination."¹⁰²

Only by 1875 could S.P.G. inform Jones that the nucleus of an endowment had been raised. "The Society all that time [since 1869] was unable, through want of funds, to comply with the request. Now, however, I am happy to state that an income of £300 per annum and a sum of £1,000 as a nucleus of endowment have been set apart. Doubtless whatever small addition may be necessary to raise this to the stipulated sum of £400 per annum will be procured without difficulty."¹⁰³

Jones was pleased by this offer and felt that an income of £400 p.a. for a bishop would be the minimum he could live on as the cost of living was high and travelling expensive.¹⁰⁴ H.B. Bousfield spent the first years of his episcopacy complaining that his income was inadequate to support himself and his family.

¹⁰¹H. Cotterill, Letter to S.P.G., 1875-07-03, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁰²A.B. Webb, Letter to S.P.G., 1875-07-07, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁰³S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1875-08-06, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁰⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1875-10-02, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

1.5.6 Wilkinson's resignation

At this point Wilkinson resigned as Bishop of Zululand; one of the main reasons for his action was his interest in the Transvaal. "And this leads us in conclusion, to say that it is from the date of his visit to the Transvaal that Bishop Wilkinson's first differences with friends at home, and thought of resigning his See, arose. When the Administrators [of the Mackenzie Memorial Mission Fund] justly remonstrated against the employment of money or property acquired expressly for Zululand in a very different field, the Bishop at once spoke of the necessity he should be under of resigning; and this feeling grew until he came home with this avowed intention, as declared in a Letter to the Guardian of March 17th, 1875.

... "And to this reason the Bishop reverts when, on August 17th, 1875, he announces to the Administrators that his resignation is about to be sent in to the Metropolitan. He says that, as the Administrators have not acceded to his proposition to take the combined oversight of Zululand and the Transvaal, 'It is, therefore, my intention to adhere to the plan proposed by the Bishop of Capetown and myself, which was published in the Guardian in March last, which was, you may remember, to relieve myself of the Diocese of Zululand. I take this opportunity of informing you (he is writing to his Commissary), and through you, your Co-Administrators, that I shall send in my resignation to the Metropolitan by the next mail, ...' "105

When Wilkinson resigned his Zululand diocese in 1875 Jones wrote to S.P.G. prior to the Provincial Synod of 1876 about Wilkinson's future in the South African Church. "Does this imply that he seeks after all to be made B[isho]p of [the] Transvaal, and to unite with it the northern tribes to the E[ast] of it.? It seems to me that it does."106

¹⁰⁵L.T. Lovelace, E.D. Cree, J.H. Moore, J.E. Buller, A. Mackenzie, Reply of the Administrators of the Mackenzie Memorial Mission Fund to the Bishop of Capetown, 1876-08-26, p.6.

¹⁰⁶W.W. Jones, Private letter to S.P.G., 1875-11-22, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Jones mentioned the possibility which did in fact arise, that Wilkinson might resign Zululand but another man be elected to the Transvaal Bishopric. Wilkinson's fund-raising in Britain for the endowment of the Transvaal diocese linked him in people's minds with the Transvaal. Robertson, senior missionary in Zululand, introduced a new idea and Jones quoted from his letter: "... 'If B[isho]p W[ilkinso]n gives up (as I [Robertson] hear that he does) the idea of being B[isho]p of the Transvaal as well as of Zululand, & go to the Limpopo, I do not see how he can possibly do it.' This seems to me [W.W. Jones] to complicate matters still more, & to leave one path only open if B[isho]p W[ilkinso]n is to remain a B[isho]p of this Prov[in]ce viz. to appoint him to the Transvaal ... But - w[oul]d B[isho]p W[ilkinso]n succeed in the T[rans]vaal anymore than in Zululand? & w[oul]d it be wise to transfer him to another see, when so far as one can judge, it is his own fault wh[ich] has compelled him to abandon the work for which he was consecrated? It is a very difficult matter, & I confess I do not see my way at all out of it."¹⁰⁷

The Mackenzie Memorial Mission printed their side of the story in Net; it appeared that Wilkinson's work in the Transvaal had a large share in the disagreement between them. "After two years and a half residence at Kwamagwaza [the main Zululand mission station], circumstances induced him (in 1873) to visit the Transvaal, where he was so impressed with the spiritual needs of the white settlers, and the necessity of doing something at once to meet them, that he determined, very shortly, to leave Kwamagwaza. He bought a house in Pretoria, which he hoped would become the property of the Mackenzie Mission, and he thought to divide his time between it and the northern part of his Diocese. But we at home could not feel justified

¹⁰⁷W.W. Jones, Private letter to S.P.G., 1875-11-22, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

in diverting money that had been given to us for one special purpose and place, to another country. Pretoria is beyond the limits of Zululand, and neither our endowment nor our funds were given for it.

"In the end of 1874, Bishop Wilkinson started for England. He has failed to convince us that we have any right or reason to relax in the work to which we have already pledged ourselves in Zululand. He has, therefore, come to the conclusion that it is best to resign the Diocese."¹⁰⁸

When Wilkinson wrote to Jones explaining his resignation of both Zululand and the rest of the area for which he was consecrated, Jones quoted him as stating, "I [Wilkinson] will still do my best to collect funds to establish the Ch[urch] in that Republic, ...

"Transvaal I [W.W. Jones] do not feel at all inclined to accept B[ishop] Wilkinson's conditions, nor will the other B[ishops], I think."¹⁰⁹

One of these conditions was that he act as Archdeacon of the Transvaal for five years, and another was on how the money he had collected should be invested. Jones realised that Wilkinson would work better outside rather than in Zululand and suggested either

- the Transvaal
- or a mission to the tribes to the north of Zululand to the Zambezi.

Jones felt, from his meagre knowledge of Wilkinson, that he would be more useful in the Transvaal. He wrote to Miss Mackenzie: "But the presence together in England of both B[ishops] Webb and Wilkinson will probably be the best means of enabling people in England to form a tolerably correct opinion of the state of things & a judgem[en]t as to the best course to be pursued in future. The division of [the] Zululand B[ishopric], or the appointm[en]t of B[ishop]

¹⁰⁸"Bishop Wilkinson's resignation of the Diocese of Zululand," Net, 1875-10-01, p.145.

¹⁰⁹W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1876-01-14, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Wilkinson to the Transvaal w[oul]d, I imagine, have necessarily to be sanctioned by the Prov[incia]l Synod of Bishops."¹¹⁰

Jones responded to Wilkinson's resignation by stating that according to Canon 8 he could not resign without the permission of the South African bishops and thus should return for the 1876 Provincial Synod of which he was a member (though Wilkinson questioned this). Jones also planned a Synod of Bishops before the Provincial Synod.¹¹¹

1.6 1876 Provincial Synod

1.6.1 Memoranda from the Transvaal

The members of the Church of England congregations in the Transvaal sent memoranda to the Metropolitan and the Bishops of the Province assembled for the Provincial Synod.

Lydenburg	dated	1876-01-29
Potchefstroom	dated	1876-01
Pretoria	dated	1876
Rustenburg	dated	1876-01-17

The memoranda requested that

- a diocese be constituted in the Transvaal "without delay"
- the bishop of the new diocese be Thomas Edward Wilkinson, former bishop of Zululand.¹¹²

From the copies it would appear that these memoranda were a collective effort by the Transvaal Anglicans. The Potchefstroom and Rustenburg ones were in fact written in the same hand.

¹¹⁰W.W. Jones, Letter to A. Mackenzie, 1875-09-15, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹¹¹W.W. Jones, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1875-10-08, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹¹²Memoranda from Lydenburg (1876-01-29), Potchefstroom (1876-01), Pretoria (1876), Rustenburg (1876-01-17), Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

1.6.2 Canons and Constitution

At the Provincial Synod held in 1876 the name of the Province became the Church of the Province of South Africa or the CPSA. The most important business discussed was the Articles of the Constitution. After much discussion the canon on the election of bishops was passed: "... and the clause having been first amended in committee, and then re-amended in Synod, stands finally thus:- 'The Elective Assembly may either elect a Bishop, in which case it may also at the same time nominate by fresh election, or by successively fresh elections, one or more persons in order that if that person first elected shall refuse to accept the office or his election be unconfirmed, the first on the alternative list shall then be regarded as the elected person; and if he also refuse, or his election be unconfirmed, the next on the list shall be substituted, until the election of one is confirmed, or the list is exhausted: or it may delegate to any person, persons, or body (subject, however, to the subsequent approval of a majority of the Bishops of the Province), the power of choosing a Bishop, and the person so chosen shall then be in the same position as if he had [been] elected by the Assembly.'"¹¹³

1.6.4 The Transvaal

When S.P.G. informed Jones that the first part of an endowment fund for the Transvaal had been collected, Jones was asked to bring this before the 1876 Provincial Synod, "... what has been done, and to obtain from the Synod an expression of its wish as to the next step which should be taken by the Society towards the settlement of a Bishop in the Transvaal."¹¹⁴

Jones wrote to Wilkinson about the money he was collecting for the Transvaal: "... I would advise that the sums you have been good enough to collect should be paid into the S.P.G. special fund for (1) the Bishopric (2) the diocese of the Transvaal."¹¹⁵

¹¹³"The Provincial Synod," Church News, number 101, 1876-03-04, p.1-2.

¹¹⁴S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1875-08-06, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹¹⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1876-02-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Some of this S.P.G. endowment came from Wilkinson's fund-raising and this was kept in mind in the discussion of Wilkinson's possible election to the new Transvaal diocese.

The 1876 Provincial Synod decided to establish a separate diocese in the Transvaal with its own bishop, thus rejecting the suggestion that the Transvaal should become an Archdeaconry of Bloemfontein.¹¹⁶ The boundary between the Transvaal and Zululand or Utrecht diocese should be the watershed of the Drakensberg.¹¹⁷ This was further discussed in November 1877 at an informal Synod of Bishops held in Natal, but it was then agreed to allow the boundary to remain as before.¹¹⁸

The Bishops passed a resolution on the election of a bishop for the Transvaal Republic in which they nominated 3 people to choose a suitable man.¹¹⁹

- William West Jones, Bishop of Capetown and Metropolitan.
- Henry Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh and former Bishop of Grahamstown.
- W.T. Bullock, secretary of S.P.G.

Jones noted to S.P.G. that

- The Bishop of Bloemfontein had been requested to continue his oversight of the Transvaal until their bishop had been elected and his election confirmed.
- "With regard to the Transvaal, our difficulty will be mainly, I fear the insufficiency of the income at present provided, when one considers the extravagant cost of everything in that country & the large extent of country over which the Bishop

¹¹⁶W.W. Jones, Private letter to S.P.G., 1876-02-28, Collection of the Letterbooks of Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹¹⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to A. Mackenzie, 1876-03-01, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa. .

¹¹⁸Wood, A father in God ..., p.112.

¹¹⁹W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1876-02-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

will have to move, & the heavy expenses such journies [sic] will involve."¹²⁰

The next problem to be considered was Wilkinson's resignation. He had refused to return to Cape Town for either the Synod of Bishops or the Provincial Synod. The Synod of Bishops passed a resolution¹²¹ against Wilkinson, feeling that his stated reasons were insufficient cause for his drastic step, but accepting his resignation. When Jones informed Wilkinson of the resolution against him he also told him how the first bishop of the Transvaal was to be chosen.¹²²

1.7 The search for a bishop for the Tranvaal

Jones wrote to S.P.G. about the Transvaal and its relationship to the CPSA. "It is determined that it is to be no Archdeaconry of Bloemfontein Diocese, but a separate Bishopric the Bishop of course to become a Bishop of the Province, to be admitted as such by the next Provincial Synod, which, by the way, is not until 1883, & to take the oath to the Metropolitan, & before consecration to sign the usual declaration of adhesion to the Constitution & Laws of the Province."¹²³

1.7.1 Wilkinson is rejected

In the same letter Jones wrote about the desire of the Transvaal churchmen for Wilkinson to be appointed as their bishop. Wilkinson had written to Jones on 1875-12-24 telling him that Webb had said that he [Wilkinson] should be offered the Transvaal, to which Wilkinson had replied that he would not accept it, but was still prepared to work as an Archdeacon of the Transvaal under the Bishop of Bloemfontein.¹²⁴ Even at this early stage Jones had reservations about offering him the post. "Of course if B[isho]p Wilkinson

¹²⁰W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1876-02-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²¹The full text of the Resolution is to be found, W.W. Jones, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1876-02-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³W.W. Jones, Private letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1876-02-28, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁴Ibid.

need to be made aware of all the addresses in his favour, from the Transvaal, he might be willing to reconsider his resolution & to accept the Bishopric, if it should be offered to him. ... But on the other hand it is to me a very grave question, whether having in mind B[isho]p Wilkinson's past career in these parts, he would be likely to stick firmly in spite of much discouragement to his end, ... One does not wish to make his case worse than it is - but it seems to be very like putting his hand to the plough & looking back.

"My own feeling, as regards the Transvaal, is that it w[oul]d be a dangerous experiment to elect him; ... However I have not so far made up my mind, as to set my face against his election, supposing that you & the B[isho]p of Edinburgh should agree that it w[oul]d be wise, & for the advantage of the Church."¹²⁵

Jones also wrote to Cotterill informing him of the CPSA bishops' decision on the Transvaal and asking if he would be a delegate to find a suitable bishop for the Transvaal. Jones was conscious of the fact that being so far from Britain he would be of little use in the election of the Transvaal bishop, so he appointed Kenneth Macrorie, Bishop of Maritzburg, who was on his way to Britain, to act as his commissary.¹²⁶

Jones thanked Wilkinson for his fund-raising efforts for the Transvaal endowment. Jones was able to tell him of the S.P.G. grant of £300 p.a. for the bishop's salary and of the collection of £1 000 for an endowment. "You have been most active in the matter [of fund-raising] & I must convey to you my hearty thanks for the exertions you have made. The sum you have collected is, I suppose partly for the endowment of the Bishopric & partly for the working of the Diocese ... Of course I do not know but I am afraid it will

¹²⁵W.W. Jones, Private letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1876-02-28, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁶W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Cotterill, 1876-02-24, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

be long ere the £30 000 you spoke of will be secured. But whether this be or not, of one thing, I am sure that the advocates of the Transvaal Bishopric have very much to thank you for in the zeal with which you have thrown yourself into the somewhat ungrateful task of going hither & thither to beg for help towards this purpose. In answer to your postscript to the last letter I would advise that the sums you have been good enough to collect should be paid into the S.P.G. special fund for (1) the Bishopric (2) the Diocese of the Transvaal."¹²⁷

Jones had to tell Wilkinson that his offer of being Archdeacon of the Transvaal under the Bishop of Bloemfontein was unacceptable. "We are pledged by the resolutions of our Episcopal & Provincial Synods & by the action of the S.P.G. & the Colonial Bishopric's Fund, to make the district of the Transvaal a separate Bishopric while of course subject to Provincial Organisation. ... the conditions you attach to your acceptance of the Archdeaconry were if offered you would have been almost beyond all hope of fulfilment."¹²⁸

Thus was the scene set for much unpleasantness.

- Wilkinson had resigned as Bishop of Zululand partly as a result of his work in the Transvaal.
- The Transvaal Anglicans wanted Wilkinson, now that he was free, to be their bishop.
- The CPSA bishops felt that Wilkinson's resignation showed his lack of perseverance, and so would not appoint him as Bishop of the Transvaal.
- The Bishop of the Transvaal, when appointed, would have to work hard to persuade the Churchmen of the Transvaal that he was as good and charming as Wilkinson.

¹²⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1876-02-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁸Ibid.

- When Wilkinson went to Britain he started collecting funds for the Transvaal bishopric and people began to link him with the Transvaal and assumed that he would be its first bishop.

Wilkinson's reply caused Jones to address a circular letter to the CPSA bishops, quoting Wilkinson as saying: "... that he had accepted all the rules of the Adm[inistrato]rs [of the Mackenzie Memorial Mission Fund], & offered to take charge of the Transvaal along with Zululand spending 6 m[on]ths in each Diocese, & that more than that he could not do. This letter was written in June [1875], after the failure of the meeting at the end of May; his resignation to me was dated the 30th of August. I cannot, I confess, easily, see how to reconcile the two accounts. If he had accepted all the rules of the Adm[inistrato]rs, how was it that his resignation was grounded on his ability to accept them? And what had the Episcopal supervision of the Transvaal to do with the Adm[inistrato]rs? How c[oul]d they look upon their sanction to his proposal, had they given it, as giving him any right over a territory not included in his original commission, & to wh[ich] he had not received permission from the B[isho]ps of the Province?"¹²⁹

At this time there were staff changes in the Transvaal. S.P.G. had sent Sharley to Pretoria to work under Webb. He resigned unexpectedly and despite Webb's efforts to keep him at Pretoria, left without telling him.¹³⁰ Wilkinson proposed to Arthur Law, a priest, that he should take Pretoria, subject to Webb's acceptance.¹³¹ This letter shows the interest Wilkinson had in the Transvaal and how the churchpeople there turned to him in times of trouble or for advice.

Jones received a letter from Wilkinson dated 1876-04-01 in defence of his resignation. His point 8 stated:

¹²⁹W.W. Jones, Letter to the Bishops of the Province of South Africa, 1876-05-27, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹³⁰A.B. Webb, Letter to S.P.G., 1876-06-26, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹³¹T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to Russell, Churchwarden of Pretoria, undated but either 1876-11 or 1876-12, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

"That when Miss Mackenzie found that I was unwilling that the affairs of the diocese [of Zululand] should be ruled from home, she wrote a Letter (in Dec., 1873) to a friend of mine in England, in which she twice expresses her wish that I was in some field of work other than Zululand, ..."132

The Mackenzie Memorial Mission Fund stated in their answer "We give a few extracts from the Bishop's correspondence, to show that this was really the case [that he would in some other field of work than Zululand].

"Writing to Miss Mackenzie, May 29th, 1873, after saying that Bishop Webb had 'suggested the idea of his helping him with his work in the Transvaal,' he goes on, 'My opinion is that if the Memorial Fund might be justly expended in the North Transvaal, as a district lying towards the Zambesi, I think I ought to help Bishop Webb.'

"Oct 1st, 1873, 'I have bought a house in Pretoria, and hope to live there for some portion of every year.

"Nov., 1873, 'I have just made up my mind to leave Kwamagwaza at the end of March or beginning of April for Pretoria (as far as I can at present) not to return. I shall hope to divide my time for the future between the Transvaal and my Mission work north of Zululand, and of course, whenever I am wanted here to perform Episcopal functions, I shall journey down at set periods of time for that purpose.' "133

No wonder that differences between Wilkinson and the Mackenzie Memorial Mission escalated until Wilkinson finally resigned!

The delegates settled down to finding a bishop prepared to be elected to the Transvaal. Jones sent lists of the names of suitable men to his co-delegates.¹³⁴

¹³²Lovelace, Cree, Moore, Buller, Mackenzie, Reply of the Administrators of the M.M.H.F. to the Bishop of Capetown, p.2.

¹³³Ibid. p.5.

¹³⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1876-03-07.
W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Cotterill, 1876-03-13, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The main problem was whether or not to offer Wilkinson the bishopric. "Moreover, he himself [Wilkinson], in letters lately received by me, declines to accept the Bishopric, & only expresses himself as willing to accept an Archdeaconry under B[isho]p Webb, wh[ich] is not at all what either the Synod, or the S.P.G. or the Colonial B[isho]prics' Council contemplate."¹³⁵

The Transvaal Churchmen were upset by the three delegates choosing their bishop. A number of senior people wrote to the Metropolitan. V. Holmes-Lys felt that they should elect their own bishop and that in fact they wanted Wilkinson. Lys, far-sightedly, suggested that the Transvaal should have a Metropolitan as it would soon be populous enough for several bishops.¹³⁶ At a special vestry of St Alban's, Pretoria, held to discuss Wilkinson's failure to be nominated, the following resolution was passed: "That this Meeting hears with regret that Bishop Wilkinson has declined to accept of the Bishoprick [sic] of the South African Republic - and would express a hope that any difficulties in the way of such acceptance may yet be resolved."¹³⁷

William Richardson wrote to Jones on a resolution passed at a vestry of St. Mary's, Potchefstroom, which stated that they had learnt with regret that Wilkinson had not been elected in spite of their memorial.¹³⁸

In reply to Lys of Rustenburg, Jones explained why the Provincial Synod had not automatically elected Wilkinson as bishop of the Transvaal but had formed a committee of three delegates to choose a bishop. "The plan wh[ich] it is proposed to pursue in the case of the S[outh] African Republic is the same that has been

¹³⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Cotterill, 1876-03-13, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹³⁶V. Holmes-Lys, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1876-04-12, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹³⁷Vestry of St Alban's, Pretoria, Resolution to W.W. Jones, Metropolitan, 1876-04-07, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹³⁸W. Richardson, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1876-05-12, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

adopted elsewhere, e.g. in the Orange Free State, viz. that a Bishop should be chosen from without & sent forth to the newly formed Diocese, who, when he had become settled there can reduce everything connected with the Church, into such order & system, that his successor can be chosen by the Clergy with the assent of the representative Laity of the Diocese. ... For myself I may add that I shall most gladly give every consideration to the name of any well qualified clergyman that may be suggested to me by any large number of Churchmen in the Transvaal."¹³⁹

Jones wrote to Bullock of S.P.G. about this situation: "I still get communications from them expressing regret at B[ishop] Wilkinson's refusal to become their Bishop or a hope that even yet he may become so. I was somewhat dispirited to hear from Mr Law that B[ishop] W[ilkinson] had told him shortly before he left that he expected shortly to be coming to the Transvaal, while on the other hand B[ishop] W[ilkinson] in the last letter I had from him dated Ap[ril] 1 ... expressed his willingness ... to come out & take work in my diocese, ..." ¹⁴⁰

Jones waited for the replies of the CPSA bishops to his circular letter dated 1876-05-27, before informing Wilkinson of them. "These points have made me feel much doubt as to whether it would be right & wise to consent to your nomination for the Transvaal B[ishopric], should it be proposed by Mr Bullock or by the B[ishop] of Edinburgh. I have not heard for several months from either of them, so that I do not know what movement is being made in the way of nomination." ¹⁴¹

In Britain Bishop Macrorie was acting as Jones' Commissary. He liked the idea of electing Wilkinson

¹³⁹W.W. Jones, Letter to V. Lys, 1876-05-05, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁴⁰W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1876-05-15, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁴¹W.W. Jones, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1876-10-17, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

to the new bishopric. Wilkinson wrote to Law: "I can tell you nothing definite as to our plans yet. At the advice of the Bishop of Maritzburg, who is now in England, I have withdrawn my objection to being nominated for the Transvaal in consequence partly of the memorials from that Country. Whether such withdrawal comes too late, or will be otherwise imperative; I cannot say, any how, you may be sure that we shall always continue to feel a very deep interest in you & in all that concerns the Transvaal towards which our hearts feel very warmly."¹⁴²

The Metropolitan was against Macrorie's view and wrote to tell him so. "As to his [Wilkinson] going to the Transvaal, I must say though with much respect that I must differ from you. You say 'I do not hesitate to say that I wish very much that you [Jones] c[oul]d see your way to nominating him to the Transvaal.' Now my feeling is this. He has not succeeded in the choice of 'his first love,' he has shown an utter want of stability of purpose, & of trustworthiness of memory in important matters of fact. ... - he told me, before he left Africa [in January 1875] that he certainly w[oul]d not accept [the] Transvaal, if it were offered him, ..."¹⁴³

Wilkinson still kept his interest in the Transvaal. By October 1876 he had given up fund-raising for the Zululand diocese and instead concentrated on the Transvaal. Anyone who had given to the Zululand work was sent a circular asking if their contribution could be transferred to the Transvaal "... for settler and mission work."¹⁴⁴ Wilkinson contacted S.P.G. in December 1876 mentioning each of the Transvaal clergy by name.¹⁴⁵ Quite correctly, S.P.G. referred the pecuniary problems of Law and Thorne, raised

¹⁴²T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to A.J. Law, 1876-08-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁴³W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1876-11-01, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁴⁴T.E. Wilkinson, Manuscript of circular, 1876-10-12, sent to S.P.G., D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁴⁵T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to S.P.G., 1876-12-27, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

in this letter, to Webb, Bishop of Bloemfontein.¹⁴⁶ As 1876 came to an end without any success in finding a bishop, the political situation in the Transvaal worsened. "It seems to me that the delay that has arisen in the appointment of a Bishop is not entirely a disadvantage - that a new Bishop arriving in the midst of the present disorder & confusion w[oul]d certainly find his work hampered & crippled in every direction, & from a variety of causes, & that personally he would proba[b]ly meet with opposition, & perhaps continually from the large anti English body now in power."¹⁴⁷

Jones stated the same view to Bullock of S.P.G., also saying that the income of the bishop should be increased to £600.¹⁴⁸

When no one seemed willing to accept the post Jones lost heart and suggested to Bullock and Cotterill that Wilkinson might after all be suitable.¹⁴⁹ Jones felt that although he was against Wilkinson, if the other two delegates were for him then he, Jones, would acquiesce. Wilkinson was better than nobody. "I [Jones] still much doubt his judgm[en]t & his steadfastness & certainly I distrust his financial discession [sic]. As you [Bullock] have found so good a man as Mr Bousfield is, accord[in]g to y[ou]r report of him & as I have heard him to be, another reason in B[isho]p W[ilkinson]'s favo[u]r is gone, viz. the apparent difficulty in finding a thoroughly good man for the work. My strong inclination now is to nominate Mr Bousfield, & to run the chance of anyth[in]g that may be said as to one passing over the man who has been raising the endowm[en]t. After all he was never authorised to lead the people to

¹⁴⁶S.P.G., Letter to A.B. Webb, 1877-03-28, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁴⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to Sir P. Douglas, 1876-12-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁴⁸W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1876-12-12, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁴⁹W.W. Jones, Private letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-03-09, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

suppose, as he has lead them, that he w[oul]d be probably app[oin]t[e]d B[isho]p, ..."150

1.7.2

H.B. Bousfield is selected

Jones wrote to Cotterill¹⁵¹ informing him that Bullock had found a likely man who was prepared to accept nominations, viz. Henry Brougham Bousfield, Vicar of Andover. Jones excuses his suggestion of Wilkinson as bishop to Bullock, whose attitude was that if Jones and Cotterill both wished to nominate Wilkinson then he, Bullock, would resign. "... only that the discovery of Mr Bousfield makes me even less inclined to fall back on Bishop Wilkinson."¹⁵²

As some of the CPSA bishops seemed to be inclining towards Wilkinson, Jones sent them a circular letter dated 1877-03-09. "I have sent a circular letter to all the B[isho]ps, in wh[ich] I have quoted to them passages from y[ou]r letter & Mr Bullock's, & have pointed out to them distinctly that there is apparently no prospect of anyone of the 3 delegates proposing to nominate B[isho]p W[ilkinson] & that therefore, if in the view of the fresh light thrown recently on his conduct, they desire his nomination, the only way will be for them to accept our resignation."¹⁵³

Jones realised that the new bishop would have to win over the Transvaal Churchmen. He wrote privately to Bullock, "I sh[oul]d hope from y[ou]r acc[oun]t that Mr B[ousfield] w[oul]d very soon by his vigour, tact, & geniality, win over all who might be disposed to grumble that their wishes were not complied with."¹⁵⁴

On the same day Jones wrote to Cotterill "I feel now much as I felt then, only that the discovery of Mr Bousfield makes me even less inclined to fall back on

¹⁵⁰W.W. Jones, Private letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-03-09, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵¹W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Cotterill, 1877-03-09, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Ibid.

¹⁵⁴W.W. Jones, Private letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-03-09, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

FIGURE 3



H.B. Bousfield

(Source: J. Robinson, Warborough, Oxfordshire,
Britain.)

Bishop Wilkinson. On the whole I am inclined to think that Mr B[ousfield]'s nomination would be the best course to be taken."¹⁵⁵

Jones awaited the replies to his circular letter. N.J. Merriman, Bishop of Grahamstown, bluntly stated, "I am getting fairly sick of it [the Wilkinson correspondence]. Our resolution need not stand in the way of his appointment to the Transvaal where he seems to be highly appreciated."¹⁵⁶

By the end of that month, on Merriman's return to his diocese from a trip to England, he was prepared to accept H.B. Bousfield as bishop of the Transvaal. He had supported Wilkinson's nomination feeling that Wilkinson was better than a vacant diocese.¹⁵⁷ A.B. Webb, Bishop of Bloemfontein, was delighted at H.B. Bousfield's name being put forward, as Bousfield was an efficient member of the Bloemfontein Committee. Webb had doubted that Bousfield could accept as he had few private means and a large family.¹⁵⁸ Jones told Webb of the first answers from the CPSA bishops. "You will have rec[eive]d my letter relative to B[isho]p[ri]c. The B[isho]p[s] of Maritzburg, S. Helena, & Grahamstown, are all half inclined to advocate B[isho]p W[ilkinson]'s nomination."¹⁵⁹

In May 1877 Jones wrote to Bullock, his co-delegate: "With respect to the Transvaal I can-not at present send you complete information as to the wishes of the Bishops. But with the exception of the Bishop of Maritzburg I have heard from all. None of them will hear of our resigning our office as delegates and all are ready to accept Mr Bousfield,..."¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Cotterill, 1877-03-09, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵⁶N.J. Merriman, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-03-12, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵⁷N.J. Merriman, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-03-27, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵⁸A.B. Webb, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-03-22, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵⁹W.W. Jones, Letter to A.B. Webb, 1877-03-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁰W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-05-01, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The formal annexation of the Transvaal had just taken place which would help the Church of England there. "What effect the annexation of the Transvaal will have upon the condition of our Church, one can-not as yet fore-see, but I shall be much disappointed if it does not give a strong impetus to our Church, and make us in the eyes of the people a far more influential body than before."¹⁶¹

Macrorie's reply arrived. Although Wilkinson had done a great deal for the Transvaal Macrorie did not feel he was the right man. Macrorie did not mention Bousfield by name.¹⁶²

In his letter to Bullock summing up the response to circular letter Jones stated that he now had the informal assent of all the Bishops of the CPSA to Bousfield, except Callaway who had not mentioned him. Jones felt that Cotterill and Bullock should formally nominate H.B. Bousfield as bishop of the Transvaal.¹⁶³

Jones believed that Bousfield was better suited for the Transvaal post than Wilkinson. One of the reasons for the visit of Webb and Jones to the Transvaal in late 1877 was to pave the way for Bousfield. "... and for his cordial acceptance by the people [of the Transvaal]."¹⁶⁴

The vestry of St Mary's, Potchefstroom passed a resolution which ended "... and lastly that this meeting would most respectfully suggest that whomsoever, they in their wisdom may elect, may be consecrated in England which they believe would tend to unite them more closely to the mother church."¹⁶⁵

¹⁵¹W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-05-01, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶²W.K. Macrorie, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-04-21, Macrorie Collection, Macrorie House, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

¹⁵³W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-05-10, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1877-05-17, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁵W. Richardson, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1876-05-01, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

It seems as if the delegation committee told interested bishops that E.B. Bousfield was to be nominated for the Transvaal as Webb wrote to Jones: "It seems strange that we do not hear anything further about Mr Bousfield or the election of a Bishop but I suppose they are waiting in _____ doubtful suspense what the issue of the nomination and its ratification [will be]."166

There seems to have been talk in the Transvaal of using part of the money raised by Wilkinson to enlarge the temporary church in Pretoria after the annexation. S.P.G. replied that the Pretorians should pay for their own Church building. "I think you are hardly aware that the money raised here by Bishop Wilkinson was specially for Endowment: the principal cannot be touched nor invested in buildings but must remain in Government securities. The interest is available partly for payment of a bishop, partly for payment of Clergy."167 S.P.G. suggested to Law that they send an application to the S.P.C.K. for a grant for buildings

Now that the Transvaal had a nominated bishop Jones wondered how the new diocese should be established. "I am not clear whether the Transvaal must be treated, till organized, as a Missionary Diocese,..."168

In spite of the endowment for the Transvaal being inadequate S.P.G. decided to send out a bishop and subsequently to raise the endowment. "And now I have to tell you the good news that the obstacles to the appointment of a bishop for [the] Transvaal are now, I hope, removed: and I hope to be able in a very short time to let you know that a good and able man is coming to you. We have had some difficulty in providing even a moderate income for their bishop. The full endowment must come hereafter, as in the case of Bloemfontein."169

165A.B. Webb, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-07-04, Collection AB876/Ab5.2, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

167S.P.G., Letter to A. Law, 1877-06-16, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

168W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1877-07-26, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishop of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

169S.P.G., Letter to A. Law, 1877-06-16, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

The sources of the small income for the diocese¹⁷⁰ came from

- S.P.G.
- a grant from S.P.C.K.
- a grant from the Colonial Bishops' Council.
- T.E. Wilkinson's fund-raising.

Jones, as a member of the selection committee, although so far away, knew that H.B. Bousfield had accepted the diocese of the Transvaal. He wrote to Macrorie: "I have just heard that Mr Bousfield has expressed his willingness to go to the Transvaal. I am rejoiced. I expect the nomination of him by B[ishop] Cotterill & Mr Bullock by [the] next mail. I shall then at once commence with all my comprovincials."¹⁷¹

H.B. Bousfield's selection required formal notice from Bullock and Cotterill. Then his name would be sent to the Senior Priest (Canonical) for notification, after which there would be a court of confirmation of the bishops of the C.P.S.A.¹⁷² In a letter dated 1877-07-03 Cotterill and Bullock wrote to Jones, the third member of their selection committee, officially nominating H.B. Bousfield as the first bishop of the Transvaal.¹⁷³ Jones replied: "I must thank you, in the name of my Brethren, for the kindness with wh[ich] you & Mr Bullock have undertaken the somewhat anxious & difficult task of finding a suitable man to act as Bishop over the Transvaal. I do not know Mr Bousfield personally, but I have often heard of him, & Archdeacon Badnall now told me that he was once high up on B[ishop] Gray's list of persons to whom he wished the Archdeacon of George to be offered,..."¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰"Transvaal: The British Annexation, Church extension, desire for a bishop," Mission Field, 1877-10-01, p.458.

¹⁷¹W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1877-07-26, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷²W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-05-01, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷³H. Cotterill and W.T. Bullock, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-07-03, CLS Collection USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁷⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Cotterill, 1877-08-17, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

1.8 Jones' and Webb's visit of 1877 to the Transvaal

Jones and Webb travelled to the Transvaal during 1877. Jones was quite open that this visit was to pave the way for Bousfield's arrival as bishop.¹⁷⁵ He asked S.P.G. to finance his trip to the Transvaal from the sum set aside for the Transvaal Bishopric but they refused.¹⁷⁶

Bishop Webb of Bloemfontein had first broached the subject of Jones accompanying him to the Transvaal¹⁷⁷ in April. Jones agreed and a month later Webb plaintively wrote: "Please tell me when I may expect you that I may make proper arrangements with the Transvaal clergy."¹⁷⁸

Once Bousfield had accepted the post Webb felt their journey to be even more important. "Such reconciliation to the idea of not having Bishop Wilkinson as may be required will be best effected by our personal influence and the firm action of the new Bishop sent to them from England."¹⁷⁹

Webb had intended visiting the Transvaal in July but decided to delay until October so that Jones, his Metropolitan could accompany him.¹⁸⁰

On their journey the two bishops visited Potchefstroom and Pretoria. At Pretoria it was decided that a church should be erected as the future Cathedral of the new diocese.¹⁸¹ Jones found the cost of living high in the Transvaal, a constant refrain of Bousfield when he got there. In a letter to Net Jones described the Transvaal as an Aladdin's cave of natural

¹⁷⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to A.C. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1877-11-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷⁶S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-11-07, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁷⁷A.B. Webb, Letter to W.W. Jones, undated but probably 1877-04-26, Collection AB867, AB5.2, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷⁸A.B. Webb, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-05-24, Collection AB867, Ab5.2, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷⁹A.B. Webb, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-08-09, Collection AB867, Ab5.2, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸⁰A.B. Webb, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-08-02, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁸¹"The Bishop of Capetown," Church News, number 122, 1877-12-01, p.8.

resources as well as having a healthy climate, cheap labour (if the Africans worked) and high wages for artisans.¹⁸²

In Pretoria the church people were first told that H.B. Bousfield was to be their new bishop.¹⁸³ They were pleased with the announcement that he was to be consecrated in England.¹⁸⁴ From Pretoria the party proceeded to Pietermaritzburg which was reached on 1877-11-06.¹⁸⁵

Jones was pleased by the success of his visit. "Our visit to the Transvaal has, I am sure, done much good. The people have been pleased and are looking forward to welcome cordially their new Bishop."¹⁸⁶

In Pietermaritzburg a Synod of bishops was held.¹⁸⁷

Once the Transvaal church people had been told of the election of their bishop his name was made known through Mission Field. "Since we last wrote respecting Church affairs in this territory, the Rev. H.B. Bousfield, M.A., Vicar of Andover and Rural Dean, has accepted the episcopal charge of this newly-formed diocese. We trust the Divine blessing will rest upon his endeavours to build up a church in the wilderness."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸²"On the road to Pretoria," Net, 1878-05-01, p.67-68.

¹⁸³J. Kotze, Biographical memoirs and reminiscences, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, [s.a.], p.516.

¹⁸⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to A.C. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1877-11-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸⁵"The Bishop of Capetown," Church News, number 122, 1877-12-01, p.8.

¹⁸⁶"Transvaal: Consecration of the Bishop: The Visitation by the Metropolitan: Bishop Bousfield's plans: The Endowment of the Bishopric: Report from the Rev. A.J. Law," Mission Field, 1878-04-01, p.183.

¹⁸⁷Wood, A father in God..., p.112.

¹⁸⁸"Transvaal: Consequences of the Annexation: New church at Lydenburg: Rev. Arthur Law's report: Church matters at Rustenburg," Mission Field, 1878-01-01, p.41.

CHAPTER TWO

H.B. BOUSFIELD: BACKGROUND TO HIS ARRIVAL IN THE TRANSVAAL

2.1 Early life and education

Henry Brougham Bousfield was born in London on 1832-03-27¹ and baptised on 1832-04-28 in the Bridewell Chapel, New Bridge Street, Blackfriars.² His father, William Cheek Bousfield, was a barrister-at-law³ who seems to have given Henry a life-long interest in the legal correctness of documents. His mother was Rebekah nee Richings and the family lived in Gray's Inn Road.⁴

Henry attended the Merchant Taylors' School from 1840 to 1845⁵ and he always regarded it with affection. "Secondly, I rejoice greatly in having an old Merchant Taylor to aid me, for tho' I left school in the 4th at 13 only, I have regarded it with love, & have been proud of association with it"⁶

In 1841, while he was at the Merchant Taylors' School, Henry's father died.⁷

At some stage he was a pupil of Dorchester School, Oxfordshire,⁸ It is not clear whether this was before or after his years at the Merchant Taylors' School but was probably before.

On 1851-06-25 H.B. Bousfield enrolled at Caius College, Cambridge, where he obtained his B.A. in 1855 and M.A. in 1858.⁹ In addition

¹A.M. Davey, Bousfield, Henry Brougham, South African Standard Encyclopedia, vol.2, 1970, p.465.

²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-10-06, D Collection, USPC Archives, London, Britain.

³Letter received from W.H. Thorning, Acting Headmaster, Merchant Taylors' School, Middlesex, 1981-09-29.

⁴ibid.

⁵ibid.

⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H.E. Jennings, 1881-01-10, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷Bousfield family Bible, kept by the family.

⁸H.B. Bousfield, *Illi viro venerando Georgio Hudsonis*, MS, Collection 890/B1, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁹J.A. Venn, comp., Alumni Cantabrigienses, part 2 1752-1900, vol.1, Cambridge: CUP, 1940, p.335.

he later received two honorary degrees. The University of Cape Town awarded him an *ad eundem*¹⁰ degree of M.A. in 1879.¹¹ In 1878 the University of Cambridge¹² honoured him with a D.D. (*jur dig*).¹³

In a letter dated 1877-10-19 Bousfield wrote to Bullock of S.P.G. about a proposed B.D. or D.D. degree from Cambridge: "Let me first remind you that this is a matter for the University, not for the South African Bishops. The statutes of the power give D.D. degree to an 'Episcopus Designatus' as the Vice Chancellor says. ... the African B[isho]ps are annoyed at my taking a degree on the assumption of Confirmation."¹⁴

2.2 Clerical work

In 1855 Henry Brougham Bousfield was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Winchester and was priested¹⁵ a year later. Bousfield spent 1855 as curate of Braishfield, Hampshire and the next year was transferred to Winchester as rector of St Maurice with St Mary Kalendre where he worked until 1861. In 1861 he was appointed chaplain to the Royal Country Hospital and in 1870 was made vicar of Andover, only resigning this post to go to the Transvaal. In 1872 he was appointed Rural Dean in the diocese of Winchester keeping it until his resignation.¹⁵

In 1886 the S.P.C.K. published Six years in the Transvaal by H.B. Bousfield which was written to collect funds for the diocese of Pretoria. In his book Bousfield endeavoured to show that he was the man chosen by God to be its bishop, giving as one piece of evidence his longstanding interest in mission work.

¹⁰A.J. Bliss, A dictionary of foreign words and phrases in current English, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966.

ad eundem Latin 'to the same (degree)' (the admission of a graduate of one University) to the same degree of another without examination.

¹¹Crockford's Clerical Directory 1902, p.1100.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Bliss, A dictionary of foreign words...

jure dignitatis (a degree awarded) by right of distinction, to one who has achieved a distinguished position in public life.

¹⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-10-19, USPG Archives, London: Britain.

¹⁵Crockford's Clerical Directory 1902, p.1100.

¹⁶Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses..., p.335.

- Bousfield claimed that his enthusiasm for the missionary cause had been fired as a young boy. The clergyman who prepared him for confirmation encouraged him and lent him Wilberforce's History of the American Church which awoke his interest in the Colonial Church.¹⁷
- Bousfield stated that he planned to go to St Augustine's, Canterbury and later to a Theological College founded by a Colonial Bishop. Both these plans fell through and he gave no reasons for his change of mind.¹⁸
- At the close of his time at Caius he was proposed as tutor to a Missionary College but he did not get the post.¹⁹
- "I did not marry until foreign work seemed quite unlikely, and then I stipulated with my bride to go to the earth's end if called."²⁰

Bousfield was also branch secretary of the South American Missionary Society: "I am sorry that I cannot render you assistance in your contemplated efforts for the South American Missionary Society. ...It was only on the failure of all efforts to find a Secretary, that I promised to recruit subscriptions tho' expressly declining further assistance."²¹

Later he was on a committee for the Bloemfontein Diocese but was not able to enthuse others with his desire for missions. "I was for years on the Bloemfonteine [sic] Committee & when a meeting was called even with the Bishop in the chair two, or three, members only would be present."²²

2.3 Marriage

On 1861-11-12 he married the 20 year old Charlotte Elizabeth Higginson, an artistic delicate woman, who bore him eight children.

¹⁷H.B. Bousfield, Six years in the Transvaal, London: SPCK, [1886], p.5.

¹⁸Ibid., p.5.

¹⁹Ibid., p.6.

²⁰Ibid., p.6.

²¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Seay, 1864-03-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.F. Randolph, 1880-01-14, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Henry Richings	born	1863-05-03
Frances Rebekah	born	1864-09-08
Hugh Moberly	born	1866-04-14
Mary Isabel	born	1869-05-16
Ruth Hilda	born	1870-09-15
Catherine Ethel	born	1871-09-29
Naomi Constance	born	1874-03-26
Esther Beatrice	born	1877-04-25

One of baby Esther's sponsors was Ellen Lamb who accompanied the Bousfield family to the Transvaal.²³

Whilst in the Transvaal he constantly remarked that he never should have brought his wife and family to South Africa as the life was too hard for them. After the 1st Boer War a fund was started to remove Mrs Bousfield and her children from the Transvaal.²⁴ Bousfield was criticised for accepting the bishopric of the Transvaal with such a large family.²⁵ Charlotte Elizabeth Bousfield died in April 1886 in Pretoria.

2.4 As a clergyman

2.4.1 Catechising

In 1872 S.P.C.K., under the direction of the Tract Committee, published H.B. Bousfield's Notes for the public catechising, chiefly on the Church Catechism. Bousfield stressed the importance of catechising Christians, whether children or adults; he enjoyed doing it and was apparently successful.

He expressed his own attitude in a letter thanking Espin for sending him a copy of his paper on public catechising: "... & expressing my great pleasure in seeing the attention of your diocese directly to it [public catechising], by one to whose office such direction so particularly belongs, do not count me egotistical if I add that my opinion is the result of nearly 20 years constant catechising, on catechism,

²³Bousfield family Bible, kept by the family.

²⁴"Bishop Bousfield," Guardian, 1881-11-02, p.1570.

²⁵H. Tucker of S.P.G., Private letter to Davidson, private secretary to Tait, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.



The Bishop surrounded by his family taken at Andover July 1878.

Standing behind bench: Hugh, May

Seated: Harry, Mrs Bousfield, Naomi, the Bishop, Emma Hayward holding Esther, Frances Rebekah

On ground: Ruth, Catherine

(Source: AB890/B2, CPSA Archives, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.)

in Church, with a short service, therefore I can cordially support your views ... I will add that I catechise every Sunday [sic] here in the little Cathedral, and on my journeys [sic] when I can find children."²⁶

Catechising helped to build up a knowledgeable Church. "In the afternoon I had intended catechising the children [of Pilgrim's Rest] after the Litany, but a storm kept all but two away - several adults came; so instead of catechising, I invited them to catechise me, and the afternoon passed in considering several questions, among them the fourth Commandment, and the Inspiration of the Scriptures. I have long wished I could establish real, free and open conferences, when matters, talked about and thought over by people, might be considered with the clergy, I cannot but think that many misunderstandings and much ignorance would be removed by them, and that the clergy would be stimulated in their own studies and enquiries."²⁷

Bousfield also helped his clergy with their catechising. "I enclose a Syllabus of instruction on Confirmation, on the lines of which I have prepared my own Candidates for 26 years."²⁸

2.4.2 Organiser

Bousfield was an exceptional organiser. Alfred Roberts, who went to the Transvaal with Bousfield described him as, "... a man noted for his eloquence and powers of organisation."²⁹

Bousfield was a capable man and the Colonial Church needed capable clergy. It was thus inevitable that he should eventually be offered a Colonial bishopric. As Tucker of S.P.G. wrote to Davidson, the private secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "He [Bousfield]

²⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Espin, 1880-02-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷H.B. Bousfield, "To the Gold Fields," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 8, 1884-04, p.6.

²⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to F. Dexter, 1884-05-16, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁹A. Roberts, "Transvaal: Notes compiled in 1906 on only visit to England 1906," TS, Roberts Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa, p.11.

ought never to have gone Pretoria with 3 Children, but he was determined to be a Bishop, & this weakness was generally known."³⁰

2.4.3 Approaches to him about a Colonial Bishopric

In 1873 Bousfield was approached about a Colonial bishopric and in a confidential reply he stated: "For the Bishopric the case stands thus. Since God put aside twice my offer of myself for mission work in my youth, and guided my steps into the Ministry at home I have never had any other wish than to be an English Parish Priest, but I have never been able to lay aside the idea that I might be no less fitted for a rough Colonial Diocese, and that I should dearly like the work. It always has seemed to me the only thing I was as well fitted for was Vicar of Andover & R[ural] D[ean], where I feel thoroughly in place & am very Happy.

"This being so if those who have the fill [of] such posts, able and conscientious judges, knowing my faults as well as powers thought me fit for that office, & proposed to me a Diocese which I could accept, I would look at it as a call from heaven, which it was my duty without a question to obey.

"My greatest deficiency would be in learning ...

"I say 'could accept.' because I have 6 little children and I could not in duty with them go where I could not bring them up as Christians. My wife has always shared my readiness to go abroad and would shrink from nothing, so would be first rate for such a post, but I should not think it right to expose her to heavy hardships. We shall have about £5,000 of private income one day but that is all.

"The upshot being that I have long felt that the only Colonial Bishopric I could take would be one of the better ones, and that for such an one better men could be found."³¹

³⁰H.W. Tucker, Private letter to R. Davidson, secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³¹H.B. Bousfield, Confidential letter to L.W. Owen, 1873-11-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The letter has been quoted extensively as it shows Bousfield's attitude towards his acceptance of a Colonial diocese.

In Six years in the Transvaal Bousfield said: "I was often pressed to let my willingness to go abroad be known, as I should then be made a Bishop: My oft repeated answer was, 'I would bite out my tongue before I spoke the word that would bring such responsibility upon me.' To one, once, I departed from this resolution, having been urged to do so on the ground that willing men were wanted."³²

In 1876 Bousfield's name was suggested for the vacant bishopric of Melbourne by L.W. Owen in a letter to A.C. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury. His letter is quoted in full as it gives a clear assessment of Bousfield's character: "I hear that your Lordship is looking about for a fit man to succeed the Bishop of Melbourne and I doubt not there are many names already suggested. May I venture to add one more? The vicar of Andover - named Bousfield? I have no private reasons whatever for [suggesting?] him, but I have watched him very closely the last six years and have been continually working with him in Diocesan matters, and have been strongly impressed with the belief that he ought to be sent out as a Colonial B[isho]p for these among many reasons. He is a man of untiring zeal - a perfect marvel for work and system - as clearheaded as a man well can be - a very ready and convincing speaker & preacher - and physically strong. He had taken an immense interest in S.P.G. work in which I have been concerned as organising Secretary for our Society. He has been our Diocesan Representative - & as well known by Mr Bullock & the S.P.G. staff. B[isho]p Wilberforce made him a R[ural] Dean, and took him up warmly. He is a moderately High Churchman, married, with, I think, four children, age 44 - or 45 - I fear he has but small private means - &, as I feel bound to mention what I also know

³²Bousfield, Six years ..., p.6.

against him, he is perhaps too egotistical but I am sure we have not his equal in this Country for resolute hard work - & for clearness of head in matters of business - I believe he will never seek promotion, but if he is ever called to take his place at the head of missionary work he will obey - and now - my dear Lord - let me beg to his forgiveness if I have stepped out of my place in suggesting that he is worth thinking of - of course our good Bishop would be consulted if there were any serious thought of considering Mr B[ousfield]'s qualifications - and he will speak out freely whether it be in his favour or other wise, for he knows him thoroughly, or is not blind to his faults."³³

In 1876 Bousfield refused the diocese of Calcutta. "I never thought myself fit for Calcutta, nor do I now. It is too grand a work, & one for which I should like to see an abler man in many points selected, but on the other hand, that is, I fear, useless."³⁴ The reasons he gave were his family and the salary offered. From the above extract it would appear that Calcutta was never formally offered to him.

2.4.3.1 1876 the Transvaal

In the summer of 1876 Bullock of S.P.G. asked Bousfield if he would consider accepting the diocese to be established in the Transvaal³⁵ but Bousfield declined after discussions with Bullock³⁶ and later with Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh.³⁷ His reasons were

- The Transvaal was not ruled by Britain.
- His wife and family.³⁸

³³L.W. Owen, Letter to "My dear Lord", 1876-04-24, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to L.W. Owen, 1876-07-24, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁵H.B. Bousfield, "Statements and appeals," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 7, 1883-11, p.41.

³⁶Documentary evidence of this first offer has not survived at the USPG Archives or in the Bousfield letterbooks.

³⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.6.

³⁸Ibid., p.7.

- He felt that the post was for a committed man or at least one without a family.³⁹

Salary does not seem to have been discussed as he did not give an inadequate salary as a reason.⁴⁰

2.4.3.2 1877 the Transvaal

A year later Bullock again wrote⁴¹ to Bousfield about the Transvaal diocese. Bousfield, after a discussion with Bullock, agreed⁴² to be nominated for the following reasons:

- A salary at £600 and a house were guaranteed.
- The Transvaal was now no longer a Dutch Republic but part of the British Empire.
- This change of government would make the Transvaal safer for his children.

Net also linked the episcopal organisation of the Anglican Church in the Transvaal with the annexation of that country: "[The Transvaal] has the claim of being the most recent addition to British Dominions, and we cannot but think it a matter for thankfulness that no sooner was it annexed to our possessions in South Africa, than it had a Bishop of its own. So that the Church will begin its work here with due organisation and supervision."⁴³

One of the recurrent refrains of Bousfield's episcopacy was his lack of salary. In his book, Six years in the Transvaal, published in 1886 to raise money for his diocese, he said: "... I went to town to see him[Bullock], and after him saw others within the next few weeks - the great question being whether the income was sufficient for me to do the work."⁴⁴

³⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Editor of the Guardian, 1883-06-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁰cf. P. Hinchliff, "The history of the Anglican Church in South Africa," Thesis. University of Oxford [1961], p.136.

⁴¹This letter has not survived at USPG Archives, London, Britian.

⁴²Bousfield, Six years..., p.7.

⁴³"On the road to Pretoria," Net, 1878-05-01, p.65.

⁴⁴Bousfield, Six years..., p.7.

In Six years in the Transvaal he says he investigated the salary offered and found that senior Transvaal officials were paid approximately £600 p.a. so his proposed salary seemed satisfactory.⁴⁵ As Vicar of Andover his stipend was £700 p.a., so he was taking a drop in salary.⁴⁶ Bousfield discussed the situation of the Transvaal Anglicans with Greenstock, who was in Britain at this time. Greenstock explained that with the high cost of living in the Transvaal £600 would be equivalent to £300 in Britain⁴⁷ so Bousfield was aware before his acceptance that his stipend would be inadequate. "To sum up all, so far as this information went I dare not say 'yes' to your call, unless the money mountain seem much less to you than to me, & yet money mountains in Church matters do not generally daunt me. Yet on the other hand I dare not say 'no' without more sufficient cause than Mr Greenstock's report."⁴⁸

After deliberation Bousfield wrote to Bullock accepting the post on condition that his insurance company did not raise his premium so as to make going financially impossible.⁴⁹ On 1877-06-20 Bousfield wrote to Bullock: "I have today heard from the Assurance Society ... so I am now at your disposal and your co[-]electing Bishops."⁵⁰

How did Bousfield see his task? "In Bishop Bousfield's own words, 'Here are English people to be cared for, wanderers from other fields to be gathered, the Church to be represented in her Scriptural and Catholic simplicity, and her Lord in all the glory of His Work and Person to be lifted up before masses of heathen."⁵¹

⁴⁵Bousfield, Six years..., p.7.

⁴⁶H.B. Bousfield, "First year's report," Pretoria Diocesan Fund, First year's report and accounts, p.11.

⁴⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-06-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.8.

⁵⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-06-20, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁵¹"On the road to Pretoria," Net, 1878-05-01, p.65.

"My only doubt about Pretoria is from anxiety for Andover."⁵²

Bousfield knew nothing about the Transvaal but he received plenty of information. One writer told him that the climate was so bad that "I should 'go mad first' & die very shortly."⁵³

In spite of this type of alarmism Bousfield was able to get a fairly accurate picture of the Transvaal and its people.

At the end of 1876 a Mr R. Green of Pretoria asked to consult with Bullock of S.P.G.⁵⁴ In June 1877 Bousfield suggested a meeting with Green at S.P.G. in Delahay Street so that Green could get a favourable impression of him.⁵⁵ Three days later he again wrote to Bullock suggesting a definite meeting with Green.⁵⁶

2.5 As Bishop elect

In the earliest surviving letter of Jones to Bousfield the Metropolitan discussed a number of subjects.⁵⁷

- Bousfield was advised to buy Wilkinson's house in Pretoria.
- It was suggested that Bousfield should be consecrated in England by the Archbishop of Canterbury.
- The boundary between the dioceses of the Transvaal and Zululand was to be the watershed of the Drakensberg.

Jones was pleased that after so many years a suitable bishop had been found for the Transvaal. "It is the best thing possible

⁵²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Warden, 1877-11-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kewley, 1878-01-04, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁴T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to Russell, churchwarden of Pretoria, 1876-[11 or 12], D Collection, USPC Archives, London, Britain.

⁵⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-06-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-06-09, D Collection, USPC Archives, London, Britain.

⁵⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1877-11-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

for us to have the prospect of so good a man. ... Here is a man ... who seems in every way admirably adapted for the post."⁵⁸

Once Bousfield had accepted the bishopric of the Transvaal he was able to have regular meetings with Bullock of S.P.G. to discuss problems as they arose.⁵⁹

Bousfield asked S.P.G. not to announce that he was to be the new Bishop of the Transvaal as "... there may arise some difficulty from friends of B[isho]p Wilkinson & this makes me think it would be wisest to say nothing to him until it is impossible for me to stir up any opposition by letters etc."⁶⁰

Bousfield knew that the work would be difficult. "[Bousfield's] task is not an easy one. The country is as large as France, and the distances immeasurably increased, almost more than we easily realize, from the want of railroads and all our modern ways of locomotion. The English population is small, somewhere about 5,000, the Dutch 40,000 or 50,000, and there are some half million or more native Basuto Kafirs. At present there are but five clergy in the country, and the Churches are of the humblest character."⁶¹

After Bousfield had agreed to his name being forwarded to the South African bishops as bishop of the new diocese of the Transvaal, his appointment had to be confirmed.

2.5.1 Confirmation of his election

Canon 3 Section II of the Constitution and Canons of the CPSA (1876) stated: "As soon as the Metropolitan receives such notification, and is also certified that the person elected is willing to accept, he shall summon the Bishops of the several Dioceses of the Province ... to appear ... at the Cathedral Church of the vacant See, or at such other convenient place as the Metropolitan may appoint ... not later than

⁵⁸W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-05-10, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-09-17, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁶⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-07-02, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁶¹"The Balance Sheet," Net, 1878-03-01, p.36.

sixty days after the issue of his Citation, and then and there to hold their court of Confirmation. ...

"III. Upon the day and at the time appointed, the Bishops shall sit in open Court, and examine and determine upon the following documents to be presented by the Bishop-elect:-

- Certificate or other proof of his Baptism.
- His letters of Orders.
- Letters commendatory or dimissory from the Bishop of his Diocese or Metropolitan of his Province,

and if these be found sufficient ... the Court shall confirm the election; ..."⁶²

Bousfield thought that the confirmation of his election would be swift. He accepted the nomination in a letter dated 1877-06-20 and in letters of 1877-06-26 and 1877-06-29 he expressed a desire to know where he stood so that he could make arrangements with a Curate about Andover.⁶³ Nearly four months later he was annoyed that his confirmation had been delayed by a request for documents which could have been asked for earlier. This delay was holding up his preparations for travelling to his new diocese.⁶⁴

Once the Transvaal diocese had a bishop the Metropolitan had to decide on his title. Jones felt that a bishopric should be called after a town, not a country. For this reason Bousfield should be Bishop of Pretoria and not Bishop of the Transvaal.⁶⁵

By July 1877 the formal nomination of H.B. Bousfield as bishop of Pretoria had still not been received from Jones' co-delegates.⁶⁶

⁶²Church of the Province of South Africa, The constitutions and canons of the CPISA as revised, amended and confirmed by the Provincial Synod held at Capetown A.D.1876 with other acts of the Provincial Synods 1870 and 1876, Capetown: William Foster, 1876, p.24.

⁶³H.B. Bousfield, Letters to S.P.G., 1877-06-20, 1877-06-26, 1877-06-29, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁶⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-10-19, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁶⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to A.B. Webb, 1877-07-27, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁶⁶Ibid.

The Canons of the CPSA made Bousfield's confirmation difficult. Jones felt that the best solution to the problem would be to get the written consent of all the CPSA bishops,⁶⁷ and this was done. Jones also wrote to Macrorie about this problem.⁶⁸ Henry Callaway, Bishop of St John's, set out clearly his view on the confirmation question: "I consider that, as Canon 4 applies to organised Dioceses of the Province, & not to new Dioceses erected outside its present Boundaries, it would be unnecessary, as it would be impossible, to carry out its provisions in reference to the Transvaal; and that there need not be any formal court for confirmation of the appointment of the Rev. H.B. Bousfield, but that a notification on the part of each Bishop of the Province that he approves of the appointment, will suffice."⁶⁹

The one section of Canon 4 which could be implemented was that concerned with documents, so Jones asked Bullock to send out to Cape Town on Bousfield's behalf⁷⁰

- his certificate of Baptism.
- a copy of his letters of Orders.
- testimonials from his Bishop.

2.5.2 The place of consecration?

On 1877-08-16, Jones addressed a circular letter to the Bishops of the CPSA⁷¹ stating that the three delegates had nominated H.B. Bousfield to be bishop of the new diocese of Pretoria and he wished to know where they would like the consecration. Jones was

⁶⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to A.B. Webb, 1877-07-27, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁶⁸W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1877-07-26, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁶⁹H. Callaway, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-08-06, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁰W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-09-01, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷¹W.W. Jones, Circular letter to the CPSA bishops, 1877-08-16, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

in favour of this taking place in Britain. He felt that "... from the petitions we received from the Transvaal, that it w[oul]d give Churchmen there pleasure & would tend to reconcile them to our refusal to accept their nomination to us of B[isho]p Wilkinson."⁷²

The consecration question had disturbed Jones even before Bousfield had accepted the post. "The question of the consecration will have to be also settled, but of course we must get the nomination in due form, and the election confirmed, before we ask Mr Bousfield to leave England."⁷³

By July Jones was thinking in terms of the consecration taking place in Britain. "As some of us are likely to be in England next year, it might save much expense & loss of time if the consecration were to be there. This too would please the Transvaal people, whom it is desirable, as we have rejected their candidate, to conciliate."⁷⁴

Jones like the idea of a consecration in Britain if the Archbishop of Canterbury would perform it. Jones realised that Tait might refuse because

- the Transvaal Church had not accepted H.B. Bousfield as their bishop.
- Tait would be unwilling to act under commission from the Metropolitan of the CPSA.

Jones asked Bullock to find out Tait's views on the subject before he was formally approached.⁷⁵ There had been problems over the oath of obedience when T.E. Wilkinson was consecrated in Britain as Bishop of Zululand by Thomson, Archbishop of York.⁷⁶

⁷²W.W. Jones, Circular letter to the CPSA bishops, 1877-08-16, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷³W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-05-01, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1877-07-26, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-08-17, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁶P.B. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963, p.131-132.

Jones was able to report to Bullock in October 1877 that the bishops who had replied to his circular letter of 1877-08-17 had accepted H.B. Bousfield as Bishop of Pretoria, that the place of consecration should be Britain and he had therefore written formally to the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁷⁷ Of the CPSA bishops, Callaway was the only one who felt that the consecration should take place in Capetown but he was prepared to go with the majority.⁷⁸

2.5.2.1 In England

Once Bousfield's post had been formally confirmed⁷⁹ Jones wrote and reported their progress to him and said that if the Archbishop of Canterbury consented to the consecration but refused to administer the oath of obedience to Jones as Metropolitan of the CPSA, the oath, together with his assent to the constitution and canons of the CPSA would be taken prior to the service.⁸⁰

Jones wrote formally to the Archbishop of Canterbury asking him to consecrate Bousfield in Britain⁸¹ and informing him that

- by Lord Blachford's Act the Archbishop of Canterbury could dispense with the oath of obedience to himself at the time of consecration.
- a British consecration would please the Transvaal Churchmen.
- a consecration in Capetown would involve the great expense of the bishops travelling to the service.

⁷⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-10-08, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁸H. Callaway, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-09-06, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁹W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-10-20, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁸⁰W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1877-10-06, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸¹W.W. Jones, Letter to A.C. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1877-10-06, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Jones asked Tait to invite Cotterill, Bishop of Edinburgh and N.J. Merriman, Bishop of Grahamstown, to take part in the consecration and also for one or other of them to administer the oath if Tait would not.

Jones then wrote to Cotterill⁸² giving him the same information and asking him to ensure that the necessary documents were sent to Capetown after the consecration:

- The certificate of the oath of obedience.
- The declaration of assent to the constitution and canons of the CPSA.

Cotterill had an interview with Tait about Bousfield's consecration and reported to Jones that⁸³

- Tait would consecrate Bousfield and administer the oath of obedience.
- before the service Tait wanted a formal assurance that the CPSA bishops would accept Bousfield as a comprovincial.

During the Synod of Bishops held in Pietermaritzburg on 1877-11-08⁸⁴ Jones obtained the signatures to the required assurance and he promised to send it on to Tait together with extracts of letters on the subject from those bishops not at Synod.⁸⁵

In mid-November Tait wrote to Jones⁸⁶ in reply to his request to consecrate Bousfield in Britain. Tait had consulted his legal advisor, J.R. Lee, as had Bullock of S.P.G. Tait would consecrate

⁸²W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Cotterill, 1877-10-06, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸³W.W. Jones, Letter to A.C. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1877-11-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-09-01, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1877-11-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸⁶A.C. Tait, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-11-14, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

Bousfield on condition that the Queen would issue her Mandate to allow the Archbishop of Canterbury to perform the consecration. Tait said that Jones was incorrect in stating that he, Tait, could act under a Commission from the Metropolitan of the CPSA. "But I shall be quite ready as requested and as empowered in the recent Act⁸⁷ to administer to Mr Bousfield the oath of canonical obedience to you as Metropolitan in the course of the Consecration service."⁸⁸

2.5.3 Wilkinson and the Transvaal churchmen

In spite of Bousfield being the official bishop-elect of Pretoria, Wilkinson was still in touch with the Transvaal Anglicans and in difficulties they turned to him rather than to Bousfield. Wilkinson wrote to Claughton⁸⁹ to ask that, at the next meeting of the Standing Committee of S.P.G., a grant of £400 from the £7 000 collected by Wilkinson and an additional £200 from the S.P.G. general fund might be given to Lydenburg which had suffered during the 1876 Sekhukhune campaign. Wilkinson excused his involvement: "If it be objected that such application should come from Lydenburg to the Bishop elect I must explain that I am the only Bishop known to Mr Thorne [deacon at Lydenburg],... It is but natural therefore that he should apply to me,..."⁹⁰

Claughton handed this letter to S.P.G. for filing. The whole situation of the Transvaal Church turning to Wilkinson rather than Bousfield must have caused disquiet at S.P.G.

2.5.4 Bousfield as fund-raiser

Originally Bousfield had stated that he would not solicit funds for his new diocese before he left England but this proved unrealistic. He tried to

⁸⁷Lord Blachford's Act.

⁸⁸A.C. Tait, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-11-14, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

⁸⁹T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to Claughton, 1877-12-29, D Collection, USPC Archives, London, Britain.

⁹⁰Ibid.

get his begging done before his consecration but this was not successful as people were only interested in a bishop not a bishop elect.⁹¹ Bousfield was concerned about the Endowment Fund. He asked S.P.G.: "Will you let me have in writing the figures you gave me as to the present state of the Endowment Fund. I hope it will not be necessary for me to stump the Country to raise it. This is the part of the recent work of 'Colonials' with which I have no sympathy, for which I am most unfit, & which I believe to be a mistake."⁹²

Little did Bousfield realise that this very problem of fund-raising was to occupy him for many years.

2.6 As consecrated Bishop

Canon 5 of the CPSA stated "I. The Bishops shall proceed at the earliest convenient season from the date of the Confirmation to consecrate ... the person elected and confirmed according to the foregoing provisions. The Metropolitan and two other Bishops of the Province, or if the Metropolitan be unable to act, three Bishops of the Province under a commission of the Metropolitan, shall be required for a consecration: Provided that, with the concurrence of the Metropolitan, the consecration of a Bishop for this Province take place in England or elsewhere by, or under commission of, the Archbishop of Canterbury, ...

"II. The Bishop-elect shall before his consecration ... subscribe a declaration, pledging himself to acknowledge the constitution of this Church, to give due obedience to the decisions of its Synods, and to govern his Diocese in conformity with the Constitution, Laws and Canons of this Church. ..."⁹³

2.6.1 His consecration service

The consecration of H.B. Bousfield as Bishop of Pretoria was carried out on Saturday 1878-02-02, the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in St Paul's Cathedral by A.C. Tait, Archbishop

⁹¹Bousfield, Six years..., p.8.

⁹²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-07-06, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁹³CPSA, The constitutions and canons ... 1876 ..., p.25-26.

of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishop of London.⁹⁴ Bousfield decided to allow his wife, five of the children and the Transvaal mission party to attend the service. He travelled to London on 1st February, followed by his party on the day itself.⁹⁵ According to the CPSA Canon 5 three CPSA bishops had to be present at a British consecration. Those present at Bousfield's consecration were

N.J. Merriman, Bishop of Grahamstown
H. Cotterill, former Bishop of Grahamstown
P. Claughton, former Bishop of St Helena.⁹⁶

The Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury were also at the consecration.⁹⁷

Just before the service Bousfield signed his assent to the Constitution and Canons of the CPSA.⁹⁸

The rubric in the order for Consecration of Bishops states: "Then shall the Archbishop demand the Queen's Mandate for the Consecration, and cause it to be read. And then shall be ministered unto them the Oath of due obedience to the Archbishop,..."⁹⁹

The Mandate from Victoria to consecrate Bousfield is recorded in Archbishop Tait's Register, giving the royal permission, "... to consecrate our Wellbeloved Henry Brougham Bousfield Master of Arts to be a Bishop to the intent that he should exercise his functions in Our Possessions abroad"¹⁰⁰

In 1881 after the Boer War a Colonial Office official wrote to Lord Kimberley, Secretary for the Colonies, about the Queen's Mandate to Bousfield: "We have

⁹⁴Order of ceremonial of the consecration of the Rev. Henry Brougham Bousfield as bishop of Pretoria in S. Paul's Cathedral, Purification of S. Mary the Virgin, 1878-02-02, [s.l.]: [s.n.], [1878].

⁹⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-01-25, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁹⁶H.B. Bousfield, Acta Book, MSS, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1878-02-06, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁹⁹The Book of Common Prayer to the use of the Church of England, Chap.27 The form and manner of making, ordaining and consecrating of bishops, priests and deacons.

¹⁰⁰A.C. Tait, Archbishop Tait's Register, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

always a most unfortunate appearance of being mixed up in these appointments as at a certain period in the Consecration service the Archbishop or one of his officers (a Mr Lee) is required by the Prayer Book to produce the Queen's Mandate and we do issue these mandates at the request of the Ecclesiastical Authorities so as to prevent any irregularity, but we only act ministerially and know nothing about the expediency of appointing him."¹⁰¹

2.6.1.1 The oath of canonical obedience

The order of ceremonial stipulates that: "The Archbishop will then demand the Queen's Mandate for the Consecration and cause it to be read. The Bishop Designate will then proceed to his seat on the South side of the Sacrarium."¹⁰²

Bousfield commented: "At my consecration it was proposed to the Archbishop (Tait), that the oath of Canonical obedience to Cape Town should be ministered to me before the service, by the Metropolitan's Commissioner: His Grace elected to administer it at the appointed place in the service"¹⁰³

Dean Green of Maritzburg objected to the consecration oath being administered by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Even before the service Green wrote to Bousfield foretelling problems about the consecration.¹⁰⁴ Bousfield in his reply to Green said that there was no slight to the CPSA in his being consecrated in England; it had been arranged between the Metropolitan of the CPSA and the Archbishop of Canterbury and he was looking forward to a peaceful service.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹Colonial Office. Minute to Lord Kimberley, Secretary for Colonies, undated, Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, CO291/14, Public Record Office, Kew, London, Britain.

¹⁰²Order of ceremonial of the consecration of the Rev. H.B. Bousfield as bishop of Pretoria...

¹⁰³Bousfield, Six years..., p.8.

¹⁰⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-01-25, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁰⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Dean Green of Maritzburg, 1878-01-25, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Nearly two years later Green was apparently reported as saying that Bousfield took an oath of canonical obedience to Canterbury and not to Capetown. Jones asked Macrorie, Bishop of Maritzburg, to check the truth of this rumour and if proved, to make Green correct it.¹⁰⁶ Jones felt that Green's objection to Bousfield's consecration oath was "entirely illegal & absurd."¹⁰⁷

2.6.2 As a bishop without Letters Patent

Bousfield was a bishop without Letters Patent, which he felt were irrelevant, even useless. "If he had them, he should feel inclined to put the parchment document into the fire and cut off the seal as a plaything for his children. He nevertheless looked on his Consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the request of the Metropolitan as a link to bind the Daughter Church to the Mother Church in England."¹⁰⁸

The CPSA realised that "... the appointment and consecration of Bishops under Letters Patent must be considered a thing of the past."¹⁰⁹

2.6.3 His later views on Colonial Bishops' consecration in Britain

By 1884 Bousfield had changed his views on the consecration of overseas bishops in Britain. "Had it rested with me, my own did not rest with me, the consecration of all Bishops of the Province should take place in the province, and in their own Cathedral Church if such existed. ... I am grieved at the new Metropolitan of Sydney taking the oath of obedience - canonical it is not, there is no Canon - to Canterbury; to my mind it is rank popery."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1879-11-05, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁰⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1880-01-16, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁰⁸"The arrival of the Bishops of Maritzburg and Pretoria etc.," Church News, number 132, 1878-10, p.5.

¹⁰⁹W.W. Jones, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1882-08-10, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

¹¹⁰R.B. Bousfield, Letter to Father Douglas, 1884-02-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Archdeacon Croghan of Bloemfontein felt that as far as the place of consecration of the 3rd bishop of Bloemfontein in 1886 was concerned, the people would prefer a service in England but would accept, without demur, a South African consecration. If Benson, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, did not wish to follow Tait's precedent for Pretoria the Bloemfontein people would accept a South African consecration.¹¹¹

2.6.4 Bousfield as fund-raiser

It was apparent soon after the consecration that it would be inadvisable for the Bishop to travel immediately to his new diocese. He was needed in Britain to raise funds both for his new diocese¹¹² and for the journey of the mission party from Britain to the Transvaal.¹¹³ "The Bishop of Pretoria (Dr. Bousfield) said that when in England he had talked sixteen to the dozen - preaching as he had done five to ten times a week for the last twenty weeks before he left, ..." ¹¹⁴

The Bishop travelled throughout England seeking money for his new diocese. The Bishop of Bedford remembered Bousfield visiting him with one of his catechists and his enthusiasm for his new position.¹¹⁵ Net described his travels thus: "We have watched the Bishop's progress with some interest, and have found him most ubiquitous: London, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, Bath, the Welsh borders, and the Southern coast. If his diocese finds him as active and locomotive, it will soon feel the force of its Bishop, whatever that force may be worth.

¹¹¹Croghan, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1884-05-12, Collection AB867, Ab5.3, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹¹²W.W. Jones, Letter to [Law], 1878-03-18, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹¹³"On the road to Pretoria," Net, 1878-05-01, p.67.

¹¹⁴"The arrival of the Bishops of Maritzburg and Pretoria etc," Church News, number 132, 1878-10, p.4.

¹¹⁵"The Transvaal Mission," Occasional Paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 7, 1883-11, p.31-32.

"We hope soon to see some account of his receipts, but from various hints in local reports which have reached us, we suppose, as things go, he has done well, though alas! how far short of what such a work demands. A friend informs us that he contents himself with £100 a week to his diocese when on the tramp, and £200 if the district be wealthy."¹¹⁶

2.6.5 Wilkinson's Pretoria house

This money was additional to the sum collected by T.E. Wilkinson and handed over to S.P.G. Wilkinson's house in Pretoria was to be a source of friction between the two men. There seem to have been two houses in Pretoria, Wilkinson's and another. In a letter to Law, Wilkinson advised: "Let me know what you have done about the House, would it not be well to go into another house pro tem; whilst the alterations are being made & then give it another trial at the beginning of another wet season, retaining the other house to fall back upon in case the remedies suggested should fail."¹¹⁷ This letter suggests that Wilkinson's house was being used by the Pretoria Church.

Wilkinson's house worried Jones: "With regard to B[isho]p W[ilkinson]'s proposal as to the disposal of the £7 000 he has collected for [the] Transv[aal], I entirely agree with him & think he sh[oul]d be paid for he [sic] house in Pretoria such a sum as either (1) he paid for it, or, if he prefers it (2) what it sh[oul]d be valued by now. Whether it is worth more or less than £1 500, I have not the slightest notion, having never seen it nor had a description of it. It is a g[rea]t thing that the income sh[oul]d be thus made up to £600 a y[ea]r, & certainly we owe a debt of gratitude to B[isho]p W[ilkinson] for his unwearied efforts."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶"On tramp for Pretoria," Net, 1878-08-01, p.113.

¹¹⁷T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to A.J. Law, 1877-03-05, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹¹⁸W.W. Jones, Private letter to W.T. Bullock of S.P.G., 1877-03-09, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

In July 1877 Bousfield contacted S.P.G. about Wilkinson's house: "... and get the house purchased & conveyed. On this point two questions occur to me.

- (1) What is its state of repair?
- (2) How has it be[en] cared for from the time of Wilkinson's conveyance."¹¹⁹

Within a week he again wrote to S.P.G.: "I should like to get the house business settled with Wilkinson as soon as possible."¹²⁰

By October 1877 relations between Bousfield and Wilkinson had deteriorated. "Wilkinson & House I return B[isho]p Wilkinson's letter, which confirms my dealing with him. The house will be full small for my party. I would beg you to give him, as early as possible, 'timely & formal notice' to transfer."¹²¹

The size of Wilkinson's house worried Bousfield because of the size of his family. Bousfield and Wilkinson met at Wilkinson's home in Newton Abbot, on Friday 1877-10-12 and Bousfield reported their discussions to Bullock. "(1) In the first place. He revived(?) all the anxieties of June. \$600 only = £300, & the house will not give a place for such a family as mine to lay their poor little heads. If any confidence is to be placed on him, it is almost certain that you have made a mistake including a man with 8 children, & no private means available for his work in Africa. He ought to have at least another £600 a year of his own.

(2) If I did not feel that my hand was put to the plough, & afraid to look back, I should have returned from Newton & written to you that after all I dare not go, not from any fears for myself, but as a simple matter of duty as a husband, and a father. All my worst misgivings were revived by his communications & the only relief from them left me was the old one of

¹¹⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-07-02, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹²⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-07-06, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹²¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-10-06, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

the irremediable[?] contradictions of the witnesses. B[ishop] & Mrs W[ilkinson] differ in the proportions of length to breadth in the size of a room, the first making them barely sufficient to hold us, the latter so hopelessly insufficient, that I must add one new house to my outfit, or build as soon as we get there?

(3) On this house matter, Wilkinson, told me that his price for the house is £1 460 (I am not sure of the odd sum) & that he had paid in to S.P.G. on this account £1 159:10:2 thus fulfilling his proposal of about £1 200 being raised by himself; & that you were to find the balance from other monies of the Diocese. It oozed out also that there were 4erven bought for £1 460 & he then afterwards spoke of keeping _____ of these for the receipt of his future work in the Transvaal.

(4) You will see the importance of these sums of money _____ (you told me he had paid in £900 or thereabouts); the purchase money, & for what lots, settled; the whole business completed without delay. He is not unlikely I fear to take offence, if not will _____ & bound & to let the negotiation fail then.

(5) Besides this he says he has paid an amount of close upon £7 000. This was (he says) always contemplated, as for a Bishopric & Clergy Endowment Fund. Have you this money? & if so to what amount? and what relation shall I bear to it, & its distribution?

(6) Again he says £322:7:4 has been collected for a Cathedral Fund.

"Lastly he wished me at once to communicate with two or three persons as to going out & work in the Transvaal. This your note makes one hesitate to do, for if the African B[ishops] are annoyed at my taking a degree on the assumption of Confirmation, what will they be at my holding a meeting, or negotiating with

a Clergyman or putting forth an appeal? to say nothing of what I cannot even now help people speaking of me, and treating me, as a Bishop in _____."122

Both Bousfield and Wilkinson were strong-willed men and this meeting and subsequent correspondence shows that they regarded Wilkinson's property in the Transvaal from different view-points.

After Jones' and Webb's visit to the Transvaal Jones advised Bousfield to buy Wilkinson's property for £1 500 and described the house.¹²³

Jones also wrote about this to S.P.G.: "Bishop Wilkinson's house in Pretoria. Recommending the purchase of it, if the whole property c[oul]d be had for £1 500 or £1 600 speaking of the scarcity of houses, & stating that it would be well sold at a future time, if a new house be built on the site chosen on the higher ground."¹²⁴

A.J. Law, priest at Pretoria, wrote to S.P.G. on 1878-01-20 about the property owned by the parish. "At the commencement of last year, our church in Pretoria was £120 in debt. Every halfpenny of this has been paid off. The church property was not properly conveyed to the Church of the province [sic] of South Africa. It is properly conveyed and legally secured, with the exception of the two houses of Bishop Wilkinson, the title deeds of which are not in our hands. We have the present church and erf on which it stands; two erven near Government house, on which the foundations of our new church hall are already built ... also a piece of ground lately presented to the church by Mr George Pyott Moodie ... between one and two acres - ..."¹²⁵

¹²²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.T. Sullock of S.P.G., 1877-10-19, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹²³W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1877-11-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-11-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁵"Transvaal," Mission Field, 1878-04-01, p.184.

"This shows the impression of the Metropolitan.

- That the four erven form one property.
- That £1 500 would be a reasonable price for the four."¹²⁶

Before the end of 1877 Bousfield, with his interest in legal matters, had consulted a London lawyer. He then wrote to Wilkinson: "This authority confirms my own view, viz, that it will be necessary for you to sell and transfer formally by deed the house etc. to me & the Bishop of Capetown, and then to execute a power of Attorney authorizing your Representatives to surrender it to me, and to do all things necessary to secure to me legal possession.

"This involves the antecedent settlement of two points, the land to be conveyed & the price to be paid.

"On the first, you will remember our conversation as to four erven; your power of Attorney refers to two only; but I hope you will decide to part with all four. They may be of great importance to the Church in Pretoria which has already learnt to account one its own.

"2ndly As to price: if you part with the whole your proposal by letter to Mr Bullock was to sell for what you gave (£1 400 & some odd) which you undertook to raise. If you only sell two erven, I should suppose £1 000 an ample price. But on both points [I] would desire to know your mind."¹²⁷

By the beginning of 1878 it had apparently been decided to buy another house in Pretoria. Bousfield questioned S.P.G. on it: "Have you found the £300 yet to buy the house, that begging will be to you more than the £500 for the B[isho]ps [Jones and Webb] promises to Pretoria."¹²⁸

¹²⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1878-02-02, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1877-12-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-01-25, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

Bousfield himself still wished to buy Wilkinson's property in Pretoria. He wrote to Wilkinson on the subject. "There is nothing now that can be done but for me to undertake to pay £1 456 for the larger house, & its two erven of land on your conveying it to myself & B[isho]p Jones for the _____ the arrival in this Country of the issue that your Attorney, has delivered _____ up to mine. Will you instruct your Solicitor to prepare the necessary deed of transfer & power of Attorney, or shall I mine? Please let no further delay, that we can help, arise as my departure from England depends now on this business."¹²⁹

By the same post Bousfield wrote to S.P.G.: "I quite agree with you that it is no good to press B[isho]p Wilkinson any more, and I cannot consent to a loss of income, £600 & a house, - reported by Mr Green to contain ten (?) rooms - you promised me when I accepted the Transvaal Bishopric, & £600 and a house, into which we can get somehow, I must have secure, before I leave my present home.

"I do not think it would be at all wise to buy the other property for the £500 B[isho]p W[ilkinson] asks: the less so as he seems to me bound in honour, to Law & the Pretorians as to the house itself.

"So I see no alternative but to carry on the negotiation for the house & two erven for £1 456: and you must get me somehow £300 to complete the purchase. ... I hate to seem haggling for money but I must see my way in this most important particular."¹³⁰

It seems that Bousfield's letter was of some use as Wilkinson asked him to instruct a Solicitor: "It seems to me those who act for S.P.G. will be better than any in these parts. Will you therefore instruct them for me to prepare the deeds & powers of Attorney,

¹²⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1878-01-14, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹³⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-01-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

for which I enclose particulars & ask them to do it quickly & to send me the drafts."¹³¹

In a series of four letters written between Bousfield and Wilkinson on the Pretoria house, copies of which were sent to S.P.G., Wilkinson wanted £1 456 before transfer, whereas Bousfield wanted a guarantee of price. By February 1878 Wilkinson had ceased to collect money for the Transvaal.¹³² Bousfield denied that he had offered to pay £1 456 but said that this is what he was being asked to pay. Tactlessly, Bousfield called Wilkinson's honour into account.¹³³ Wilkinson explained that he had paid £1 456 for the house so could not go lower, and was upset that his honour was being questioned.¹³⁴ In a letter which shows Bousfield's conduct in a disagreement, he wrote: "Conscious as I am of the inconvenience of the pressure upon myself, as I have already said, I have no wish to press you, still less to enter on mere personalities, but as I have a very clear & strong opinion as to what is the only honourable course in this matter I trust you will forgive me for placing before you that opinion & leaving it for your consideration - quantum valeat."¹³⁵

The diocese still wished to buy Wilkinson's second house. "On poor Law's head hangs another load. You see how he speaks of the little house of Wilkinson's as yielding 5% per month. How it will affect Churchmen in Pretoria when they find this house taken from them, I cannot think. ... Let the Fund buy the House for £500, as Wilkinson asked, & 60% per annum would be good interest."¹³⁶

¹³¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-01-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹³²T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1878-02-13, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹³³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1878-02-14, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹³⁴T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1878-02-16, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹³⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1878-02-18, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹³⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-03-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

From a letter written eighteen months later by Jones to Wilkinson it seems that this sale did not go through.¹³⁷

2.6.6 Land in Pretoria

Bousfield sent notes on the proposed transfer deeds of the Pretoria See House to a legal firm, Nicholl, Mawby and Michell, - evidence of his legal training. The seller is Wilkinson and the erven bought were erf 142 and erf 143. Bousfield had had a plan of the house drawn by a builder in Pretoria.¹³⁸ This seems to have been the house that Bousfield later called Bishop's Cote.

On 1877-09-07 erf 489 (later erf 560) on Schoeman Street was transferred by a power of Attorney to J.C. Preller by A.J. Law, Rector of the parish of St Alban, Pretoria, on behalf of A.B. Webb, D.D., bishop in charge of the Transvaal.¹³⁹ This was the site on which the new Cathedral was to be erected.

2.6.7 Finance

The Balance Sheet for 1877 of contributions received and acknowledged through Net¹⁴⁰ appeared in the March 1878 issue.

- Against Credit for the Mackenzie Memorial Fund paid to S.P.G. - Subscriptions received for Transvaal Bishopric Fund - is the sum of £930 18s 2d.
- In the summary attached to the balance sheet it is noted: "We confess it would have looked better if we had had a full thousand pounds to hand over, but this is a deficiency that can be rectified as quickly as our friends please. We are glad to think that the NET has had a share

¹³⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1879-11-07, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹³⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Nicholl, Mawby and Michell, 1878-06-14, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹³⁹Title deed to Erf 560 Schoeman Street Pretoria, P 10, Pretoria Diocesan Office, Pretoria, South Africa.

¹⁴⁰"The Balance Sheet," Net, 1878-03-01, p.34-35.

in beginning this Bishopric, and we hope that it may please God to give its first Bishop a long career of work and usefulness."¹⁴¹

Bousfield was anxious about the smallness of the Endowment Fund. Within a month of accepting the bishopric he wrote to S.P.G.: "And I would in the meantime suggest that you should do all that can be done to raise the Endowment."¹⁴²

He came to realise that if the Endowment was to be increased he would have to raise it himself. A week after his previous letter he requested a written statement of the Endowment Fund.: "I hope it will not be necessary for me to stump the country to raise it."¹⁴³

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) informed S.P.G. in July 1877¹⁴⁴ that they would grant £1 000 to meet £9 000 for the Transvaal Endowment Fund to be payable in three instalments

£500 to meet	£4 500
£250 more to meet	£2 250 more
£250 more to meet	£2 250 more

Bousfield wrote to S.P.G. to find out how much Wilkinson had actually paid into them.¹⁴⁵ After Jones' and Webb's visit to the Transvaal, Bousfield found out that Jones had pledged the new bishop to give £500 for the building of a new Church in Pretoria. Bousfield complained to S.P.C.K.: "These good Bishops may have done what was wise, & necessary, & it is not for me, at a distance to doubt it: but I maybe permitted to hope they have left the Colony without any more such liberal offers."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹"The Balance Sheet," Net, 1878-03-01, p.35.

¹⁴²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-07-02, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁴³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-07-06, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁴⁴Swabey, Secretary of S.P.C.K., Letter to S.P.G., 1877-07-07, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁴⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1877-10-19, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁴⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.C.K., 1877-12-04, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

In 1872 S.P.C.K. had granted £200 towards the Church in Pretoria which had not been claimed by 1877, so Bousfield asked if it could be revived and used for the new Pretoria building.¹⁴⁷

The Transvaal people did try to raise money. Law, priest at Pretoria, told of raising £27 by a concert and a sale of work sent out from England.¹⁴⁸ These sales of work were to be a regular source of income to the diocese of Pretoria for the next few years.

The Bishop was worried about the promise of £500 for the Pretoria Church which he did not have. "I do wish some plan could be devised for the present utilization of Wilkinson's collection. Why should it not be used like Queen Anne's Bounty Fund; for building loans on good security?"¹⁴⁹

The Bishop was grateful for the help of S.P.G. and aware of the work they did. "You [S.P.G.] may rely on my doing my utmost from the first to impress upon those around me the duty of supporting the Society and its missions to the heathen."¹⁵⁰

In early 1878 S.P.C.K. made a further grant to the diocese of Pretoria. This was £500 for school buildings and was to meet £4 000 from other sources, payable in instalments of £125 for each £1 000.¹⁵¹ The official S.P.C.K. history states that when the diocese of Pretoria was founded in 1878 S.P.C.K. was asked to help towards financing Church buildings in the Transvaal. Initially a block grant of £750 was voted.¹⁵²

2.6.8 Transfer of Church land to Diocesan Trustees

In preparation for the arrival of the bishop in the Transvaal Law told S.P.G. how Church property was

¹⁴⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.C.K., 1877-12-04, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁴⁸"Transvaal," Mission Field, 1878-01-01, p.42.

¹⁴⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-03-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-06-10, D Collection, USFG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁵¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.H. Greve, 1883-10-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵²W.O.B. Allen and E. McClure, Two hundred years, London: SPCK, 1898, p.355.

being transferred to Trustees. "It has taken some time to get all our papers straight - I mean those referring to church property - everything hitherto has been in the hands of clergymen and churchwardens; now we are getting all property transferred to the trustees appointed by the Bishop."¹⁵³

2.6.9 Bishop's Cote

The Bishop was waiting for news of a house in Pretoria before leaving for the Transvaal. Net reported: "... and the Bishop waits to start, until he can be more sure than he was when we had the pleasure of seeing him, that there will be some roof in Pretoria under which they can put their heads. There is a house of brick and thatch, the purchase of which is being negotiated, but a further sum, to that already in hand, of £350, is required to complete the purchase, and there have been, besides, some lawyer's and other vexatious delays in the way of finishing the matter. This house, if bought, will hardly take in so large a party. The Bishop would be thankful to make some additions to it."¹⁵⁴

The Bishop was worried about the house. As he wrote to Kemp: "Can't you get some more [money] out of B[ishop] W[ilkinson] from his collections since July last. It is too bad for me to accept a see with a house and then to raise £250 for its repair & enlargement"¹⁵⁵

By June 1878 the Bishop had sent the draft title deeds to the attorney Michell, hoping that his remarks would not delay the title deeds.¹⁵⁶ The Bishop wrote to Pretoria that he was quite agreeable to allowing the tenants to remain in the Pretoria See House until the end of September 1878 after which the house could be made ready for the Bousfield family.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³"Transvaal," Mission Field, 1878-01-01, p.42.

¹⁵⁴"On the road to Pretoria," Net, 1878-05-01, p.65-66.

¹⁵⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kemp, 1878-05-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kemp, 1878-06-14, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to [Law?], 1878-05-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

2.6.10 A statement of accounts from the Pretoria Diocesan Fund

"Before leaving England the Bishop thinks it right to publish the amounts received by him, and to announce to the Subscribers and other friends of his Diocese the financial arrangements he had made for the support of his work in in England."¹⁵⁸

The Pretoria Diocesan Fund published a statement of accounts to 1878-07-31¹⁵⁹

- Wilkinson and Sir Percy Douglas had collected £423 19s 0d for the Cathedral Fund.
- The total amount received by the P.D.F. was £2 686 2s 11d.
- The Bishop's House had cost £120 1s 5d.
- The balance in the bank was £2 085 8s 11d.

2.6.11 The Transvaal Prayer Union

The Transvaal Prayer Union was started by the Bishop to pray for the Diocese of Pretoria and keep alive its memory in Britain.¹⁶⁰ A Manual of Prayers for the use of the Transvaal Prayer Union was printed in 1878 and each member was issued with a copy.¹⁶¹ The Bishop even sent a copy to Tait, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The T.P.U. was intended for friends outside the Diocese.

2.7 The mission party

2.7.1 Spratt and Roberts

Bousfield needed to find staff for his diocese: "The Bishop appealed everywhere for volunteers for the work. ... Not one ordained clergyman in England was thus to be found. On the recommendation of the S.P.G., two students of S. Aug[ustine's] Coll[ege], [Canterbury] volunteered out of several that were asked. These with three ladies, personal friends

¹⁵⁸Pretoria Diocesan Fund, Statement of Account to 1878-07-31, p.3.

¹⁵⁹Pretoria Diocesan Fund, Balance Sheet to 1878-07-31.

¹⁶⁰"On tramp for Pretoria," Net, 1878-08-01, p.113.

¹⁶¹A manual of prayers for the use of the Transvaal Prayer Union with the rules of the Union, [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1878.

of the Bishop, and two young male parishioners of the Bishop in Andover, were the sole volunteers."¹⁶²

The two St Augustine's students were Alfred Roberts and Charles Spratt. Fifty years later Roberts described how the two friends volunteered for work in the Transvaal: "Funds did not allow me to enter Oxford University, for which I had been preparing, so at 21 I went to the missionary College of St Augustine's Canterbury for three years. After a successful course, and ready for ordination I offered myself for Zululand, but owing to the pending Zulu war they could not accept me. Even the resident missionaries were being withdrawn in the crisis. The S.P.G. Committee who were well acquainted with my career made me an exceptional offer for India, but I felt that my life call was to South Africa, so in Dec, 1877 they introduced me to the Bishop designate of Pretoria, at their Offices. I determined to accept, and persuaded my dear friend and colleague C.M. Spratt to join me. We joined him early in the next year, ..." ¹⁶³

Roberts was interested in mission work: "When I first joined the first Bishop in England as his first volunteer in 1878, I had stipulated that I should devote myself solely to native work in the new Diocese, but when we arrived in Pretoria the Bishop announced to me that it could not be done, as owing to his meagre staff he required me for white work, ..." ¹⁶⁴

Bousfield met Charles Muskett Spratt at S.P.G. in London and was impressed: "... he had a pleasant, gentlemanly bearing which seemed to commend him for Colonial Service, where I believe that [sic] is a justly assumed jealousy of being put off with inferior

¹⁶²A. Roberts, The genesis of the diocese of Pretoria, South Africa, MSS, f.17, Alfred Roberts Papers, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶³A. Roberts, "Sermon to commemorate 50 years jubilee of ordination," TS, p.3, Alfred Roberts Papers, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁴A. Roberts, "The foundation of the Native Mission in Pretoria," TS, p.1., Alfred Roberts Papers, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

workers, & men of rough & coarse manners. ... I took to Spratt, & hope I shall have him, the bitter herb of a Colonial Bishop's lot in Candidates failing at last, has entered largely into mine already."¹⁶⁵

Bousfield wanted both Spratt and Roberts to continue their education and advised Spratt to take various textbooks with him to the Transvaal.¹⁶⁶

Bousfield invited Spratt to live in the house in Andover from the Monday after his consecration: "My desire would be that you should have time for reading & some 2 or 4 hours daily of parish work if you could do it; my aim being to secure you some insight into what I regard as the true way of working a parish."¹⁶⁷

To Roberts Bousfield wrote: "My own consecration is to be on S. Paul's Day ... after which if there be no legal or other hindrance, I might be able to make arrangements for ordaining you, if first you would arrange either to come & see a little English Parish work with me, or elsewhere."¹⁶⁸

Bousfield received a favourable testimonial on Roberts from the Rev O.M. Fielden. "... in the meantime I should like either to have him here under my own eye, or if not able to accomplish this to know that he was working well under some other Clergyman. ... Could you, & his other friends, in any way assist him for a time by clothing, or pocket money etc. Every little would help."¹⁶⁹ Bousfield asked S.P.G. for financial help in supporting his two Augustinian students until they sailed or could get someone to help them.¹⁷⁰ This was to be one of the first of many pleas for financial aid from S.P.G.

¹⁶⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kewley, 1878-01-04, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1878-01-08, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1878-01-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Roberts, 1878-01-04, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to O.M. Fielden, 1878-01-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-01-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

On Trinity Sunday, 1878-06-16, the Bishop ordained C.M. Spratt and A. Roberts as deacons in the Parish Church of Andover.¹⁷¹ On the second page of his new Acta book Bousfield inscribed that Alfred Roberts and Charles Muskett Spratt had on Saturday 1878-06-15 taken their oath of canonical obedience to Henry Brougham Bousfield, signed a written declaration and that on Sunday 1878-06-16 he had ordained them deacon.¹⁷²

Even before his consecration Bousfield had formulated a plan of using itinerating clergymen in the Transvaal rural districts. "I should propose to take him [Spratt] with me, for the present, on what I shall consider my personal staff, & for a name call Chaplains. i.e. as one of a body of Clergy who will be at my disposal for the present until permanent posts are provided for them probably at headquarters in Pretoria, doing (?) our first duty on Sunday etc or on the [Eastern Transvaal] Gold Fields."¹⁷³

2.7.2 Educational work

The Bishop also had to find suitable staff for his proposed ecclesiastical - educational work. In a letter to a prospective clergyman he said he would be able to offer £200 - £300 p.a. for a period to work during the week in the Boys' schoolroom, building it up to a Diocesan School. On Sundays he would be expected to do clerical duty and also continue the services in Pretoria when the bishop was absent.¹⁷⁴

The Bishop also wished to start a better class girls' school. "There are three ladies well competent to give sound education to young gentlewomen in England, and therefore to a better class of Colonists abroad, as well as to any others."¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹"On tramp for Pretoria," Net, 1878-08-01, p.114.

¹⁷²H.B. Bousfield, Acta Book, MSS, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kemp, 1878-01-04, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to D. Mackey, 1878-04-18 (Good Friday), Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷⁵"On tramp for Pretoria," Net, 1878-08-01, p.114.

The Bishop appears to have thought deeply about how he was to run his diocese. His lack of staff was a handicap, but it seems other people were interested in working under him. "A student of St. John's College, Cambridge, is to follow, after taking his degree at Christmas, and negotiations are now going on with a Priest of some three years' standing, and with a beneficed clergyman also, as to going with them. These last would indeed be a strength. Men of University education, and a few years' English experience, would be to the young Church the greatest possible treasure."¹⁷⁶

Not one of these men materialised. After money, the lack of good, educated staff was to be the Bishop's greatest problem.

2.7.3 Members

The mission party finally consisted of

H.B. Bousfield, his wife and 3 children
The Thurgoods - their servants
Emma Hayward - the children's nanny
Elizabeth Dowling - school teacher
Ellen Lamb - school teacher
Alfred Roberts - deacon
Charles Spratt - deacon
Frank Dowling - an ordination candidate
Henry Adams - an ordination candidate.

2.8 The voyage

2.8.1 Reasons for the delay

In an article in Net¹⁷⁷ the Bishop wrote that his departure had been delayed in order to

- collect money
 - assemble staff
 - arrange for a house in Pretoria for his family.
- By the time the article was published in Net negotiations for the purchase of a house were in progress. The Bishop saw the Bishop's Palace as being the spiritual centre of the diocese.

¹⁷⁶"On tramp for Pretoria," Net, 1878-05-01, p.114.

¹⁷⁷"On the road to Pretoria," Net, 1878-05-01, p.65-66.



The Transvaal Mission Party taken at Andover July 1878

Back row: H. Adams, C.M. Spratt, F. Dowling
Seated: E. Lamb, E. Dowling, Mrs Bousfield, the Bishop
On ground: Hugh Bousfield, Harry Bousfield, A. Roberts

(Source: B. Addison, Daughters of the King, Pretoria: Gov. Body of St. Mary's, 1970, p. 1)

Bousfield refused to resign his Andover post and so lose the house until the problems over the conveyance of their Pretoria house had been solved.¹⁷⁸

The Bishop found out unexpectedly in June 1878 that they would have to travel on 1878-08-08. However he would not change his plans until he had returned to Andover and had spoken to his wife on Saturday 30th June.¹⁷⁹

2.8.2 "Danube"

The Union Steam Ship Company's Steamer, "Danube" set sail from Southampton on 1878-08-08. Its passenger list had an "odour of sanctity". As well as the Bishop of Pretoria, Macrorie, Bishop of Maritzburg; Green, Dean of Maritzburg and their parties and J.W. Alington who was to head the Zulu mission from Utrecht, were on board.¹⁸⁰ Bousfield had decided to travel by the Union Steamers as their direct route to Durban was more convenient for his large party of adults and children.¹⁸¹ The route through Delagoa Bay, the other way to the Transvaal, was considered impracticable.¹⁸²

The Bishop claimed that he went to the Transvaal without sufficient money (i.e. £5 000 instead of the planned £10 000) or trained staff for school or hospital work because advisors felt that the unsettled state of South Africa, especially through the Zulu War, required a bishop in the Transvaal. Typically, Bousfield blamed others. "My judgement was, however, again surrendered to those who seemed entitled to guide me."¹⁸³

Bousfield realised that once his family sailed for Africa it would be many years before they returned to Britain so for three weeks before they left they went

¹⁷⁸Bousfield, Six years..., p.8.

¹⁷⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Collier, 1878-07-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸⁰Union Steam Ship Company, List of passengers per Royal Mail Steamer "Danube" 1878-08-08, Southampton: A. Dyer, 1878, Bousfield Collection, State Library, Pretoria.

¹⁸¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to D. Curria, 1878-02-07, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸²"On the road to Pretoria," Net, 1878-05-01, p.66.

¹⁸³Bousfield, Six years..., p.9.

to see the sights in and near London.¹⁸⁴ On Wednesday 1878-08-07 Bousfield ministered for the last time at Andover, and the next day sailed for his new diocese.¹⁸⁵ Every parish Bousfield had worked in sent some members to bid farewell to them.¹⁸⁶

Before leaving Britain the Bishop's eyesight began to fail, due he felt, to overuse under artificial light. He decided that, once aboard the Danube, he would read as much as possible during the day and after the light had gone he would walk and talk on the deck. He spent time in intercessory prayer for the parishes in which he had worked.¹⁸⁷ Church services were held, with daily Morning and Evening Prayer in the saloon.¹⁸⁸ Holy Communion was celebrated on Sundays.

The children and young men continued with their education. Bousfield attended to his boys and the males of the party: "... when I was on deck, [I] was able to make some little pickings at Dutch or Sochuana while keeping my boys & young men to some measure of work."¹⁸⁹ The Bousfield girls were taught by Miss Dowling and their mother.¹⁹⁰

The Danube called at Cape St Vincent in the Cape Verde Islands on Sunday 1878-08-18 to bunker.¹⁹¹ After leaving the Cape Verde Islands the Danube was at sea for nearly three weeks before calling at Port Elizabeth. Bousfield and the other clerical passengers disembarked on the Saturday and preached at the Port Elizabeth Churches.¹⁹² Macrorie preached at St Mary's on Sunday morning and Bousfield in the evening. At Trinity Dean Green preached in the morning and

¹⁸⁴F.R. Bousfield, "Diary describing voyage on the Danube out to South Africa 1878," TS, p.1, Bousfield Collection, State Library, Pretoria, South Africa.

¹⁸⁵Bousfield, Six years..., p.9.

¹⁸⁶"En route for Pretoria," Net, 1878-12-01, p.190

¹⁸⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.11.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., p.11.

¹⁸⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-09-20, D Collection, USPC Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁹⁰F.R. Bousfield, "Diary...", TS, p.1.

¹⁹¹Ibid., p.2.

¹⁹²Ibid., p.2.

Macrorie in the evening. At St Paul's Alington preached in the morning and Dean Green in the evening. At the fourth Port Elizabeth Church, St Peter's, Bousfield preached in the morning and Alington in the evening. Of this feast of sermons the Church News wrote: "The whole of the services were attended by large congregations."¹⁹³

In the preface to a printed sermon preached on 1874-11-08 Bousfield gave his attitude to written sermons. "The writer 'dislikes written sermons because he dislikes extempore sermons.' "¹⁹⁴ which is meaningless as extempore means without preparation or without notes. The Church News gives us an outline of a sermon preached by Bousfield. As he usually preached extempore, and this report is the only one extant from the period covered by this research, it is given in full. "The choral service at S. Mary's was heartily rendered by choir and people, and the Bishop took as his text 'And he took the mantle of Elijah which fell from him and smote the waters and said, where is the Lord God of Elijah?' He viewed Elisha's succession to his great predecessor's office as typical of the Apostles receiving power from on high to rule and govern Christ's Church in His name when He had ascended into heaven. In faith Elisha grasped the mantle of Elijah which fell from him and wrought miracles even as he had done. So upon Christ's Church at the Day of Pentecost fell our Saviour's mantle with power and authority to carry on His work by preaching His Gospel to all nations until the world's kingdoms became the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ. The Bishop eloquently set forth the grand historic position of the English Church spreading over empires through her daughter Churches the faith of Christ. He then briefly alluded to his future work in the Transvaal trusting that he should be sustained by the prayers and sympathy of all who realised their vast responsibilities as Christians in South Africa. He

¹⁹³"The arrival of the Bishops of Maritzburg and Pretoria etc.," Church News, number 132, 1878-10, p.3.

¹⁹⁴H.B. Bousfield, Zion's builders, London: Simpkin & Marshall, [s.a.], p.4.

forcibly expressed his conviction that mission work in South Africa, to be successful, must be carried on by the prayers and alms of the Church of this Province, and that our portion of the responsibility to our heathen neighbours can only be adequately grasped by ourselves."¹⁹⁵

Charles Spratt also disembarked at Port Elizabeth and was sent inland, "... where his ministry was very acceptable, I heard."¹⁹⁶

A public meeting was held in the Port Elizabeth Town Hall on Monday evening, 1878-09-09, to welcome the two Bishops and clergymen from the Danube. Bousfield as a newcomer to South Africa was especially welcomed. Dr. Wirgman, in his talk, explained that mission was the duty of the South African Church and should not be supported solely from the English Church. In an address read by Wirgman the Port Elizabeth clergy made it quite clear that they realised the arduousness of Bousfield's work in the Transvaal and his duty to undertake mission work: "Our mission work in this province is a cause near to the heart of our Metropolitan and Bishops, and we trust and hope that our direct missionary efforts may be blessed with increase in every Diocese. Your Lordship will recognise the fact that South Africa must be Christianized through the prayers and alms of our people, and that it is therefore of primary necessity that the Clergy throughout the province should rouse their flocks to a sense of this, their duty. A wise and beneficent class legislation, that would judiciously wean our native neighbours from their heathenish customs and practices, and teach them a loyal obedience to the laws of England, would solve our native question in the Christianity and gradual civilization of the heathen around us. Our people must be taught the responsibilities of our race in this country as guardians in our maturity of a race in its infancy of developement [sic]"¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵"The arrival of the Bishops of Maritzburg and Pretoria etc.," Church News, number 132, 1878-10, p.3.

¹⁹⁶"Pretoria (Transvaal)," Mission Field, 1878-12-02, p.573.

¹⁹⁷"The arrival of the Bishops of Maritzburg and Pretoria etc.," Church News, number 132, 1878-10, p.4.

Bousfield in his address explained why in spite of problems such as a lack of money and an excess of children, he had accepted the see: "He was glad that he had done so, for the first thing that had struck him on landing was the heathendom on the beach. We, as Englishmen, had taught aborigines to labour, to trade, but alas! we had also taught them to curse and swear. Yes: he saw souls labouring for England and for Englishmen, but had England laboured for them? Now what a blessed work it would be to train these natives for Christ."¹⁹⁸

In spite of these noble words little mission work was attempted for a number of years in the Transvaal: "A Churchman who heard me told me some time afterwards in Pretoria, that his heart sank as he heard me, and that he went home sorrowful, feeling how thoroughly my life, and the lives of all belonging to me, were being thrown away."¹⁹⁹

2.8.2.1 At Durban

The Danube reached Durban on 1878-09-12 and in spite of a bad swell the majority of passengers, including Bousfield and the Captain, landed. The next day the swell worsened to such an extent that neither the Captain nor Bousfield could get back on board and there was even talk of taking the Danube, with the mission party on board, out to sea again but this did not happen. On Saturday 14th September the party disembarked.²⁰⁰

2.8.3 Luggage

The landing of the luggage caused problems as it could only be taken off the Danube on two days of the week. Some of the luggage was offloaded but someone had to be at the Point to sort through it all and remove what belonged to the Pretoria Mission Party. Finally everything possible was discharged and the

¹⁹⁸"The arrival of the Bishops of Maritzburg and Pretoria etc.," Church News, number 132, 1878-10, p.4-5.

¹⁹⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.11.

²⁰⁰F.R. Bousfield, "Diary...", p.2-3.

Danube left with the rest of the luggage, including unfortunately most of the things needed for the wagon journey into the interior.²⁰¹ "Any one who has had very much trouble in getting luggage through a Customs-house in England, if he will multiply his utmost trouble by the number of miles from Southampton to Durban, may conceive some idea of getting the luggage of nineteen people over 'the Point' at Durban in that marvellously exceptional time, as Natalians tell us, September and October, 1878."²⁰²

After a month's delay, most of their luggage was retrieved from the Danube on her return to Durban. Cato, their agent, arranged for the storage of the boxes until the wagons could return to collect them.²⁰³ The author of Rosmarine,²⁰⁴ the history of St Etheldreda's School, had access to a diary, possibly kept by Ellen Lamb. Against the entry for 1879-08-25, a year later, it is noted that the remainder of their luggage had arrived, some pieces had gone on to Australia and others returned to England before reaching them.²⁰⁵ Even in March 1879 the Bishop was having trouble with the luggage; Cato, his Durban agent, claimed he had not paid for the freight from the Point to Cato's store. The Bishop was upset as he disliked bad debts and had paid Cato's employee.²⁰⁶ Even on the overland route luggage was lost: Spratt's luggage went missing between Howick and Estcourt.²⁰⁷

On the first Sunday in Durban the Bishop followed an energetic programme similar to that at Port Elizabeth. In the morning he celebrated Communion at St Cyprian's before going to the Umgeni where Gordon had a small

²⁰¹"En Route for Pretoria," Net, 1878-12-01, p.190-191.

²⁰²H.B. Bousfield, "En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1878-06-02, p.260.

²⁰³Bousfield, Six years..., p.12-13.

²⁰⁴Sister Juliana, Rosmarine, London: Mowbray, 1913.

²⁰⁵Ibid., p.204.

²⁰⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to G. Cato, 1879-03-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁰⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to G. Cato, 1879-03-24, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

church. At the 11 a.m. service he "... read the lessons and preached from the first [Lesson] 2 Kings v.15 - according to one of my hearers, 'sending every one home with a fitting cap,' which they seem, however, to have worn with pleasure, and I hope it may prove, profit."²⁰⁸

He preached through an interpreter at the Zulu chapel at 4 p.m. and again at St Cyprian's at Evening Prayer.

2.9 The journey to the Transvaal

2.9.1 Planning

The Bishop, as a talented organiser, had obtained advice from the knowledgeable before leaving Britain on ox-wagon travel in South Africa. "Before leaving London, the Bishop had taken such counsel as he could obtain, and made the best provision that he could for the long land journey in bullock-waggons - some 400 miles - from Durban to Pretoria. Sundry storm-lanterns, supposed to burn steadily however much the wind might blow, and waterproof sheets for those who had to sleep upon the ground, were duly provided and carefully packed in a case clearly marked 'For the Journey,' wherein also were blankets for the young men of the party. But alas for human foresight! When we arrived in Natal, after long delays and much unromantic trouble to secure the baggage, ... the ship could wait no longer! ... So she left with much luggage undischarged, and amongst others the said cases 'for the journey' of our Mission party!"²⁰⁹

2.9.2 To Howick

The easiest part of the journey was the train ride to Pinetown. There they met up with the wagons and oxen which were to take them the 350 miles to Pretoria.²¹⁰ The imminence of the Zulu War and drought had pushed up the price of wagons and oxen. Law, priest at Pretoria, had estimated that the journey should cost £700 but Bousfield exceeded this estimate. The wagons

²⁰⁸"Pretoria (Transvaal)," Mission Field, 1878-12-02, p.573.

²⁰⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.78-79.

²¹⁰F.R. Bousfield, "Diary ...," p.3.

cost £120 instead of £80 and oxen £11 instead of £5. Oxen which died were replaced at an even higher price.²¹¹ In 1883, reminiscing, the Bishop said that the journey eventually cost him £2 000 but this figure may be exaggerated.²¹²

The trek began on Saturday 1878-09-21.²¹³ Sundays were usually kept as days of rest with the services for the party being attended by the English speaking people of the neighbourhood.²¹³ A portable altar was used for Communion, with a flagon and paten given by "a kind clerical neighbour at Andover for colonial use."²¹⁵

Macrorie had travelled up to Pietermaritzburg immediately after leaving the Danube at Durban. He met the Pretoria party on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg and took one of the children and Miss Dowling back.²¹⁶ When they reached the city in the evening of 1878-09-25, the wagons were outspanned in an empty erf as the Bishop could not afford hotel bills.²¹⁷ The party remained in Pietermaritzburg for three weeks.²¹⁸ On the first Monday in Pietermaritzburg Spratt and Roberts left the party and walked to Estcourt and Ladysmith respectively where they had been invited to learn Colonial ways.²¹⁹

Sir Bartle Frere was in Pietermaritzburg at this time and the Bishop and his wife were invited to dinner one night.²²⁰ A friendship was struck up between the two men and Sir Bartle did his best for the Pretoria diocese for the rest of his life. In December 1880 Sir Bartle spoke at a meeting held in the Schoolroom

²¹¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-11-08, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

²¹²"The Church in the Transvaal," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 6, 1883-05, p.53.

²¹³F.R. Bousfield, "Diary...", p.3.

²¹⁴"En route for Pretoria," Net, 1878-12-01, p.191-192.

²¹⁵Bousfield, Six years..., p.81.

²¹⁶Ibid., p.83.

²¹⁷"En route for Pretoria," Net, 1878-12-01, p.192.

²¹⁸Bousfield, Six years..., p.84-85.

²¹⁹"En route for Pretoria," Net, 1878-12-01, p.192.

²²⁰F.R. Bousfield, "Diary ...," p.4.

at St James the Less, Westminster, and described his first meetings with the Bishop: "It was a few days after he landed that I met him, and I found him between two waggons which contained his baggage, etc., together with his children and those who went to assist him. They were all pitched in the open plain in a small space within view of Pietermaritzburg, and the Bishop was adjusting the cover of the waggons with his own hands. After a detention caused by want of oxen, he proceeded on his journey, and it would be very difficult for you to imagine what hard work it was for the Bishop to get his waggon out of Pietermaritzburg and on to the high mountains which lead towards the Transvaal. I was able to follow him in a few days, and I found him surmounting a hill 1,200 feet high, where he was obliged to put on what are called double spans, twelve oxen to each waggon to trek them to the top of the hill."²²¹

The Pretoria Mission party had to leave Pietermaritzburg as there was no food for the oxen. Shears, the clergyman at Howick, told them there was grass and water there which decided them to move.²²² The drought caused them many weeks' delay. Alington described to Jones the effect of the drought on Natal when he saw it on his way from Durban to Utrecht. "You doubtless know how Natal & Zululand & I believe some of the Transvaal are suffering from drought the usual rains are delayed as during several years only with a more severe effect. The hills all round Maritzburg look as dry & brown as ploughed fields. There has been a little rain - thundershowers, but no downpour such as we saw at Port Elizabeth. It is a matter of more serious difficulty to the B[ishop] of Pretoria with his large party. They are most of them still here, & he has already lost 5 of his oxen."²²³

²²¹"Sir Bartle Frere on the Transvaal," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria number 1, 1881-01, p.17.

²²²Bousfield, Six years..., p.85.

²²³J.W. Alington, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1878-10-12, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The Bishop was forced to use borrowed oxen to move the wagons up to Howick and even there the oxen continued to die.²²⁴ The first wagon went up on Friday 18th October and the second on Monday 21st. Alington called in at the Bousfield camp. "Poor B[isho]p of Pretoria & Party. I saw all of them on my way down [to Pietermaritzburg]. His wagons are not further than Howick, 12 miles beyond P[ieter]m[aritz]b[ur]g! I heard he was very depressed but found him ab[ou]t as cheerful as ever."²²⁵

Because of the problems caused by the drought in Natal, a day of humiliation and intercession for rain was proclaimed on 1878-11-06. "From that day rain fell every day for a month. Grass soon began to appear, ..." ²²⁶

In a letter to S.P.G. Law says that when he received a letter from the Bishop telling him that they had come to a halt at Howick he wrote suggesting that the Bishop send up a clerical replacement to Pretoria for him so that he could come to help the party: "I don't pretend to be thoroughly up in ox waggon travelling - But my two years experience would I think be a help to him - You little know at home - the discomforts he has to put up with - And let me tell you that everyone I have met who has travelled much says that this is without exception the worst country to travel in. Till you know the ways & means & dodges."²²⁷

Law's suggestion was not taken up, possibly because the Bishop had no spare clergyman as his only two deacons were in Estcourt and Ladysmith. The Bishop did consider leaving the party: "My mind has been much exercised as to leaving my party on the road, & pushing on to Pretoria alone, but as the expense would be very great, & they could not travel on alone without head and guide, and once in the Transvaal

²²⁴H.B. Bousfield, "En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.260.

²²⁵J.W. Alington, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1878-12-03, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²²⁶Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.9.

²²⁷A.J. Law. Letter to S.P.G., 1878-11-14, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

all our difficulties are said to be at an end, I shall perhaps now be able to manage without it,..."²²⁸

The people of Pretoria, realizing that the drought had increased the cost of the journey, sent £57 10s and an address of welcome.²²⁹

2.9.3 From Howick to Pretoria

When at last the grass grew and the oxen fattened the Pretoria Mission Party set off from Howick on 1878-12-03²³⁰ ²³¹Luckily the Bishop met Tom Hodgson, a transport driver, who was taking light wagons up country and he undertook to get them safely to Pretoria.²³²

Along the way the party was met by Lieut. Flack with a message from Macrorie, asking if Spratt could be allowed to take care of Estcourt whilst Smith, their clergyman, was Chaplain to the troops.²³³ Spratt was accordingly left behind in Natal.

The party was joined by a Mrs Jacob, a young widow from Durban with teaching experience. Mrs Bousfield says that she joined them by prior arrangement as they passed through Estcourt: "... so we had to part with him [Spratt] once more and on we trekked looking for another now to join us viz. Mrs Jacob, before meeting her we had to pass the Moorde Spruit ... shortly after this Mrs Jacob rode up and very glad we were to have her."²³⁴

Roberts was collected, as they passed through Ladysmith. Christmas Day was spent at Coldstream River and Hotel.²³⁵ The next day, St Stephen's Day, they entered the Transvaal and the Bishop sent a short

²²⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-11-08, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

²²⁹Ibid.

²³⁰G.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's narrative of a journey from Pietermaritzburg to Pretoria," TS., p.2, Bousfield Collection, State Library, Pretoria, South Africa.

²³¹Bousfield, Six years..., p.14, says they left on Tuesday 1878-12-10 but this is incorrect.

²³²Bousfield, Six years..., p.14.

²³³G.E. Bousfield, "Narrative ...," p.2.

²³⁴Ibid., p.3.

²³⁵H.B. Bousfield, "En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.265.

pastoral letter to the several congregations and clergymen in his diocese.²³⁶ Once in the Transvaal Hodgson took them off the main road on to what he felt was a shorter and easier route.²³⁷ Travelling off the beaten track presented problems in obtaining fresh food. The Bishop wrote to a friend in Andover: "You would have been amused to see Miss Lamb (who has been our housekeeper - cats eyes we call her - and therefore always had her eyes open to see a farm where we might get milk or bread)..."²³⁸

2.9.4 Journey's end

By Monday 1879-01-06 they were nearing Pretoria. Coming across a German Mission Station, they entered and the school children sang a song for them.²³⁹ They approached Pretoria from the east through Silverton. At their last campsite Law, Wyon and Lagden came to meet them. Lagden in his laconic diary noted: "Tuesday Jan[uary] 7 (1879) Went out with Law and Wyon to meet the Bishop. Helped him unload etc."²⁴⁰

Nearer Pretoria several other people joined them including Advocate Cooper, Judge Kotzé and Rider Haggard. Rider Haggard remembered the scene years later: "... in the company of sundry of the inhabitants of the town I rode out to assist at the presentation of an address of welcome to the travel-stained party, then arriving after their long trek from Natal, which in those days took more than a month to accomplish. If my memory serves me right, especially did we admire one of them, Miss Lamb, who, we were informed, had walked all the way from Maritzburg, a distance of several hundred miles."²⁴¹

Judge Kotze also recalled the meeting. Bousfield introduced his wife as the Archbishop which Kotze

²³⁶I have not been able to trace this.

²³⁷H.B. Bousfield, "En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.266.

²³⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Clarke, 1879-01-06, in private ownership, R. Keel, Horsham, Surrey, Britain.

²³⁹C.E. Bousfield, "Narrative...", p.12.

²⁴⁰G.Y. Lagden, Diary 1878, MS, Lagden Papers, MSS Af.s 143, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

²⁴¹Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.viii.

found facetious. He described the Bishop as of "... fresh, handsome and dignified appearance, full of assurance and self-sufficiency."²⁴²

As there was about an hour to spare while the ladies of the Committee prepared lunch, Cooper suggested that they drive the Bishop and his wife into Pretoria and around the town to orientate them. They crossed the Aapias River at the present Lion Bridge. "As we crossed the river at Meintjes Drift I observed: 'Bishop, you are now within the town.' In answer to my remark the Bishop exclaimed: 'Pretoria, henceforth thou art a city, for I am in thee!' Cooper nudged my knee and flicked the horses, while I was highly amused, and satisfied that I had correctly sized up our new friend. The above episcopal remark is a good index to the character of Dr. Bousfield, both as a bishop and a man. And yet, as time rolled by, we became very good friends, for I liked the Bishop, because of the human side of him."²⁴³ The Bishop described Pretoria as a very large village trying too hard to be a town.²⁴⁴

Their journey was wryly described by the Bishop: "All agree that our experiences of South Africa are exceptionally severe, and the season altogether unprecedented. I can only say I hope no one may ever have the same to endure. No mother and children ought to have such to go through."²⁴⁵

Mrs Bousfield, after her drenching time in the wagons described Bishop's Cote thus: "It is clean and dry overhead, more I cannot say; ..." ²⁴⁶ In her story of the journey she wrote of their home in Proes Street: "Our house though much out of repair is fairly commodious & has a nice garden or rather will have when it is put in a little order."²⁴⁷

²⁴²J. Kotze, Biographical memoirs and reminiscences, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, [s.a.], p.554.

²⁴³Ibid., p.556.

²⁴⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Clarke, 1878-01-12, in private ownership, R. Keel, Horsham, Surrey, Britain.

²⁴⁵"Pretoria (Transvaal)," Mission Field, 1879-03-01, p.120.

²⁴⁶"First impressions of Pretoria," Nat, 1879-04-01, p.60.

²⁴⁷C.E. Bousfield, "Narrative...", p.13.

The Bishop was more severe: "It is a long, low cottage, with rose hedge all round the garden, and a verandah along about half the front, standing amidst gum-trees and willows. It wants much repair and some addition before it will hold the Bishop's family, and the garden is a wilderness at present, ..."248

On Thursday, 1879-01-09, a day of thanksgiving was set aside for the safe arrival of the Bishop and his party. Many people joined them249 at the service at St Alban's. The Sunday morning service was so crowded with the curious that people were forced to stand for the whole time. In his sermon the Bishop invited all to "make use, abundant use, of the privileges he had come to head."250

After being scrutinised by Pretoria at the Thursday and Sunday Services, Mrs Bousfield awaited the visits of the ladies of the parish. The arrival of the Bishop and his family was a topic of gossip and the people were anxious to know, "What are they like?" This is a typical example of an answer to this question: "... the Bishop & party has arrived. I have not seen them yet but if fine this afternoon I mean to call, a very nice lunch was prepared & set out in their own house by the ladies of the Congregation. It has been raining nearly ever since they came. Perhaps they wish themselves back in their comfortable home in England only he would not then be a Bishop.

"Friday Mor[nin]g 10th. Well I called to see [the] Bishop & family. I like Mrs Bousfield very much. She is a Lady of winning manners with 5 sweet little girls."251

The Pretoria laity soon knew that their energetic Bishop had arrived. "On arriving in Pretoria I

248H.B. Bousfield, "En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.267.

249C.E. Bousfield, "Narrative...", p.12.

250"First impressions of Pretoria," Net, 1879-04-01, p.60.

251Mrs McCorkendale, Letter to K. Forbes, 1879-01-09, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

made immediate arrangements for daily services, at 6.15 a.m. and 5.15 p.m.; for the singing of the Litany, with celebration only once a fortnight at 9.15; for public catechising at the 5 p.m. service on Sundays; and for a celebration on all Holy Days at 9. I cannot report good attendance at these services, but there is a small steady attendance at the two most novel, and most important in my judgment - the weekly Communion at 9, and the catechising at 5."²⁵²

2.10 Diocesan staff

What was the state of the Diocese of Pretoria when its Bishop first arrived?

Congregation	Clergyman	Buildings
Pretoria	A.J. Law priest	Church Law lived in own house. Wilkinson's house but he had the title deeds.
Potchefstroom	William Richardson priest	Church and Parsonage
Rustenburg	J.P. Richardson deacon	Church
Zeerust	H. Sadler priest	Church
Lydenburg	J. Thorne deacon	Parsonage Church in building ²⁵³

In the party were:

H.B. Bousfield	bishop
A. Roberts	deacon
C.M. Spratt	deacon
F. Dowling	layman - training for deacon's orders
H. Adams	layman - training for deacon's orders

There were three women to start educational work:

E. Lamb	E. Dowling	Mrs Jacob
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At the head of these people Bousfield set out to organise his diocese on a sound legal and ecclesiastical footing.

²⁵²H.B. Bousfield, "En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879,06-02, p.267.

²⁵³H.B. Bousfield, S.P.C. returns, 1878-12-14, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DIOCESE OF PRETORIA UNTIL THE WAR OF
INDEPENDENCE: INITIAL ORGANISATION

3.1 The arrival of their Bishop

Thorne of Lydenburg wrote of Bousfield: "The reports which have reached us from Pretoria of his earnest and plain-spoken discourses give us the assurance that at length we have a chief pastor who will be blessed of God as an instrument in the revival of His work. It is a new thing in the Transvaal to have a preacher who unites bold and unflinching truth-speaking with ecclesiastical position and authority. The Bishop will not gain immediate popularity by the course he is adopting among a people who have long been used to walk as they list, but, under God, he may help greatly towards the salvation of the country."¹

Bousfield had already planned the organisation of his diocese. He intended to:

- Build a Cathedral in Pretoria.
- Establish two schools, to be called St Birinus' for boys and St Etheldreda's for girls.
- Organise the services at Pretoria.
- Spend much of his time travelling from settlement to settlement organising the congregations.
- Use deacon-schoolmasters to try and make the work self-supporting. This meant that the clergy would be teaching school in preference to mission work.
- Use itinerant clergymen to scattered communities too small to warrant a resident priest.
- Attempt mission work only if men could be released from other work. This meant that work among Whites and financial self-sufficiency would have preference over mission work.

¹"En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.269.

Life in Pretoria was much harder than in Britain. The women did work done by servants in Britain, which horrified Sir Garnet Wolseley, the High Commissioner for South East Africa. "Poor devils, these women are nothing more than household servants here, ... The Colonial women who in other towns could always obtain a few rough naked Kaffirs to do their very hardest work for them feel the hardness of their position here acutely, but only fancy what the woman brought up as a lady in England must undergo here. I pity her with all my heart."²

Mrs Bousfield, who had Emma Hayward to help with the children, as well as the Thurgoods, still had to do some housework.

3.1.1 The state of the diocese

What was the state of the diocese when the Bishop arrived? "How stood matters then? The Diocese contained four churches and a school chapel, all save one in heavy debt, one building standing still for the money I [Bousfield] was to bring. The Church perhaps rather one of her Clergy, owned one school; her one cemetery shares with others a desolation disgraceful to the common civilization of the land. The Clergy numbered three priests and two Deacons in the Diocese, and two Deacons with me."³

The clergy were anxious to meet their Bishop. Henry Sadler of Zeerust went to Pretoria to meet Bousfield and found him a sympathetic listener. "I returned to my parish, after laying difficulties before his Lordship at Pretoria, with a lighter heart - indeed under a sense of relief, as from a burden that had long rested with crushing weight on my spirit, whilst feebly endeavouring to run manfully in the race set before me."⁴

James Richardson of Rustenburg described the relief of having a bishop. "But through the kind Providence of the Great Head, the organisation of the Church

²A. Preston, ed., The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley 1879 - 1880, Cape Town, A.A. Balkema, 1973, p.129-130.

³H.B. Bousfield, "A charge delivered to the Synod of the Diocese of Pretoria, November 16th 1884," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 10, 1885-04., p.7.

⁴"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.553.

has now been brought a great way on towards completion by the arrival of the Bishop of Pretoria, which encourages the faithful few to hope that many of the disadvantages under which we have for so many years laboured will be speedily remedied."⁵

3.2 Settling in at Pretoria

3.2.1 Bishop's Cote

The Bishop had expressly told Law to get Bishop's Cote ready for occupation without incurring any extra expenses.⁶ The sum of £500 had been collected for the house⁷ but it was in such bad condition that the Bishop had to pay the rest out of "his own exhausted pocket."⁸

3.2.2 St Alban's Church

At the beginning of 1879 the old St Alban's Church was "a small ill-built, thatched barn-like erection, the pointed windows, cross on the top, and bell hanging by, proclaimed its sacred character."⁹

It could seat 100 people and was built of red brick and thatch.¹⁰ The old church was in Church Street West¹¹ whereas the new church was being built on erf 560 (formerly erf 489) in Schoeman Street. When the Bishop first arrived the walls were about eight to nine feet high.¹² When Bishop Jones had visited the Transvaal in October 1877 he had promised £500 to meet the people's £500 for the new church. Bousfield inherited this promise but had no funds to meet it.¹³ Wilkinson had collected £400 for a Cathedral and following a meeting called by Bousfield to put the

⁵"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-09-01, p.407.

⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Law, undated, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷Pretoria Diocesan Fund, First year's report and accounts, p.10-11.

⁸Ibid., p.11.

⁹H.B. Bousfield, Six years in the Transvaal, London: SPCK, [1886], p.18.

¹⁰"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.28.

¹¹J. Kotze, Biographical memoirs and reminiscences, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, [s.a.], p.556.

¹²Bousfield, Six years..., p.19.

¹³Ibid., p.20.

financial position to the subscribers, it was decided that this fund should be used for the new Pretoria Church. The Church would become a Cathedral with the Curate of Pretoria as a Canon. The offertories would be at the disposal of the Bishop or the Dean and Chapter. The Bishop was forced to charge pew rents, "... but I could not without discord make all seats free."¹⁴

The Bishop managed to pay off his £500 debt before the end of 1879. "I have paid over now the £500 promised by the Bishops of Capetown and Bloemfonteine, [sic] and mostly collected by Bishop Wilkinson, and we have agreed to account it our Cathedral as well as parish Church. This arrangement is just now occasioning some difficulty about assigning seats to some who still have the old English notions on the matter. I should like all seats free, but those who wish otherwise are treating the question in so good a spirit, that we shall no doubt be able to settle some plan by which harmony may be preserved, and a common love and zeal for our little church, and the spiritual fabric also, may be secured."¹⁵

When Sir Garnet Wolseley saw the old church in September 1879 he dismissed it with the remark: "Went to the Bishop's Church; a tawdry barn with every desire to be popish but without the means."¹⁶

By May-June 1879 £21 had been collected by the volunteer organist towards an organ. The bishop appealed through Net for 2 dozen surplices for the choir.¹⁷

The Bishop also played his part in the secular life of Pretoria: "The Bishop was a social acquisition to the life of our little capital and he took an interest in the welfare of the people and also joined the committee of our little local library."¹⁸

¹⁴Bousfield, Six years..., p.20.

¹⁵P.D.F., First year's report..., p.4-5.

¹⁶Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.125.

¹⁷"Church wants in Pretoria," Net, 1879-10-01, p.147.

¹⁸Kotze, Biographical memoirs..., p.556.

3.2.3 Church going

Until the arrival of A.J. Law the clergymen stationed there had not been of the highest calibre. Law's institution of regular worship had resulted in a stable congregation. The Bishop wished to hold many services in order to cultivate the habit of church going. "Daily attendance at services has difficulties in England, and much greater here, so much greater that it will be long before it is well used; but I know I rightly judged that early hours would have given health of mind and body, and that nothing would have told so well in Pretoria as the Bishop and his little band of clergy, students, and ladies, thus in early hours uniting for their morning prayer."¹⁹

Some of the Bishop's innovations were

- daily services at 6.15 a.m. and 5.15 p.m.
- the singing of the Litany.
- Holy Communion every Sunday at 9.00 a.m. instead of fortnightly at 9.15 a.m.
- public catechising at the 5 p.m. service on Sundays.
- Holy Communion celebrated on all Holy days at 9 a.m.²⁰

Attendance at this plethora of services was low. The Bishop explained: "I cannot report good attendance at these services, but there is a small steady attendance at the two most novel, and most important in my judgment - the weekly Communion at 9, and the catechising at 5."²¹

The Bishop believed in fasting before communion and the communicants could attend the 9 a.m. service without strain.²²

¹⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.27.

²⁰H.B. Bousfield, "En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.267.

²¹Ibid, p.267.

²²Bousfield, Six years..., p.28.

Catechising the children was at either 4 p.m. or 5 p.m. depending on the season. To the Bishop catechising was a way of raising the standards of the Church. Sir Owen Lanyon, Administrator of the Transvaal, often attended them "... to show, as I suggested to him, that a man might be present at the children's service without loss of dignity."²³

Evensong was in the early evening. Godfrey Yeatman Lagden, secretary to the Governor, got into the habit of dining with the Bousfields on Sundays and accompanying them to this service.²⁴

During Lent 1879 the Bishop added an extra Sunday service in the Court House at 3.30 p.m. "... consisting of hymns, Scripture and exposition, with a confession and prayers, hoping to draw those who did not come to church; but it has been a complete failure as also a short sermon and Litany service on Wednesday and Friday evenings in church."²⁵

During 1879 Spratt, Roberts and two other men, probably Adams and Dowling, lived in a six roomed house on the outskirts of Pretoria, about a mile from the old St Alban's.²⁶ The weekday services were so badly attended that the clergy usually had them to themselves.²⁷ The dawn service, at 5.15 a.m. had to be changed and the Bishop blamed the young clergy.²⁸ Roberts had a different story. In his copy of Bousfield's Six years in the Transvaal he underlined "... my young clergy." and wrote in the margin "only I." But I had to walk a mile, & sit up late at night to write my sermons after school all day [,] two nights a week night school & two choir practices. The B[isho]p was very thoughtless of us. He used to retire to bed himself at 9 p.m. I know I worked far harder than he

²³Bousfield, Six years..., p.28.

²⁴G.Y. Lagden, Diaries 1879, 1880, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS Af.s 143/144, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

²⁵H.B. Bousfield, "En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.267.

²⁶"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.28.

²⁷Ibid, p.28.

²⁸Bousfield, Six years..., p.28.

did and did most of the work in his absence without grumbling, & very little appreciation from him."²⁹

"But all this was due to me alone, in carrying out daily services. Mr Law was only there a year & did chaplain's work. He rarely attended daily services, whilst the B[ishop]p was so often away & I was alone, & never failed."³⁰

One Sunday evening, during a packed service, a fire in the vestry got out of control. Luckily Law came in as the flames ran up the thatch towards the Church roof and was able to beat them out with his hands, which were burnt. This incident was kept quiet but "... [we] quietly thanked God for averting a catastrophe..."³¹

The Bishop had a reputation as a good preacher and when he preached, usually in the evening, the church was crowded, with people often standing outside.³² Roberts, on the other hand, was an inexperienced preacher and the Bishop had little faith in him: "... with only Roberts to help me, who is woefully deficient in all public gifts..."³³

C.M. Spratt arrived in Pretoria from Natal on 1879-04-02.³⁴ His duties during 1879 were³⁵

- to take his turn at the daily services.
- to take his share in the Sunday duties.
- to be away for a fortnight every month. He went by post cart to take church services in Standerton and Heidelberg.

The post cart contractor allowed one free return passage each month for a clergyman to Standerton. In this way expenses were reduced.

²⁹A. Roberts, annotated copy of Bousfield, Six years..., p.27, Alfred Roberts Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁰Ibid., p.28.

³¹A. Roberts, The genesis of the diocese of Pretoria, MSS, p.22, Alfred Roberts Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³²Ibid., p.22.

³³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.F. Randolph, 1879-12-16, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁴"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.28.

³⁵Ibid., p.28-29.

When the Bishop arrived in the Transvaal he found readers licensed by the Bishop of Bloemfontein. On meeting these men he was dissatisfied "... because when I came hither three persons holding Reader's Licences from the Bishop of Bloemfonteine [sic], had become more or less habitual drinkers...",³⁶

The manual of the Transvaal Prayer Union was used every Wednesday at the 5 p.m. Evening Prayer and at the Litany on Friday evenings. The Bishop allowed a few young men to join and hoped for others: "The Service is a comfort and a link to those far away, who we know help us and our work by using the prayers earnestly and regularly."³⁷

The T.P.U. continued in Britain, and the Bishop occasionally wrote to them.³⁸ A register of members was kept by the Bishop and his Commissary in Britain.³⁹ When Randolph resigned as Commissary Giveen took over the Prayer Union. Bousfield used the T.P.U. to keep alive the work of the Pretoria diocese in Britain. "And I can only say may He by you [Giveen] stir up interest in England to help me, or my work must fail."⁴⁰

In his report to S.P.G. A.J. Law described the work in Pretoria: "We are now putting in the foundations of the future work in Pretoria and though at present we do not make much show of progress, I hope our work may develop in time both substantially and successfully."⁴¹

3.2.4 War

On their arrival in South Africa, the Bousfields had met one of the country's problems - drought. In January 1879 they were introduced to another - war, when news

³⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C. Page-Wood, 1882-12-10, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁷"Church wants in Pretoria," Net, 1879-10-01, p.146.

³⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Transvaal Prayer Union, 1880-02 and 1880-07, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to R.L. Giveen, 1880-10-05, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.551.

arrived of the massacre of British troops at Isandhlwana on 1879-01-22 during the Zulu War.⁴²

Soon after there was a Zulu scare which forced the Pretorians to prepare to go into Laager. The Bishop over-reacted on hearing this rumour, and went to see the Acting-Governor, Osborne. His family, after dismantling their home, spent the night prepared for flight. As a father Bousfield was anxious for the safety of his family and party.⁴³ Roberts later wrote of this scare: "I went to see the B[ishop] & was amused to see how scared he was. But he was physically a great coward as I had already discovered on the road. There was really no great reason for the scare. It was raining very badly, & whilst Adams & Dowling joined the guard in the Dutch Church, I went home & to bed & slept the sleep of the just. Our Shangaan servant whom I consulted laughed at the scare."⁴⁴

"I reckoned it out, & felt it impossible for the Zulus to get up so far, so I went to bed tranquilly. But the B[ishop] was in great fright & quite angry with me for my incredulity."⁴⁵

Later in 1879 there was another scare, this time from the Boers, who were not happy about the annexation and resultant British rule in the Transvaal. A Boer meeting held near Pretoria was sufficiently threatening for preparations to be made to protect Pretoria's inhabitants, by going into Laager but the attack did not materialise. Mrs Bousfield refused to leave her home as the previous scare had come to nought.⁴⁶

3.2.4 The Bishop's salary

The Bishop soon realised that because of the high cost of living in the Transvaal his salary was inadequate. In Six years in the Transvaal he explained this: "But there was one sad lesson of those early

⁴²Kotze, Biographical memoirs..., p.556-557.

⁴³Bousfield, Six years..., p.30.

⁴⁴Roberts annotated copy of Bousfield, Six years..., p.30.

⁴⁵Ibid., p.31.

⁴⁶Bousfield, Six years..., p.32.

days, too early learnt, too deeply realised since then. It was not long before I found how great was the mistake made in taking the bishopric of Pretoria with £600 a year, and I should say in founding it. I took it as a mission sphere, expecting roughing and discomfort in a place remote and small. I found an aspiring and gay little capital, 'the Paris of South Africa,' in which a Bishop grooming his horse, and digging his garden, and building his house, from necessity, would be as little suitable as in England or London itself. I took it as supposing the salaries of the Bishop's equals were £600 or £800; I found them doubled, and more. I took it understanding living would be cheap and simple, and £600 equal to £600 elsewhere. I found all this was wrong or changed. I was told upon arriving it was the most expensive place in the world, and I hope it is."⁴⁷

Bousfield had agreed to the salary guaranteed by S.P.G. but continued to complain about its inadequacy. "Our sixth want is really more pressing than any other, because upon his work all now turns, and that is, an increase in the Bishop's income. This was fixed, upon the best information obtainable at the time, at £600 a year, and made up by interest on capital invested, £220, and S.P.G. grant, £380. But when it is borne in mind, as before stated, that £1 in the Transvaal equals only, at the outside, 13s 4d in England, which makes this £600 equivalent to £400 only; and remembered that the Bishop must travel, and keep horses to travel with; and noted that the simple necessaries of life must be done without, and his children stinted even in food and milk-bread and meat so dear as to swallow up the whole income, leaving nothing for clothing, - it must be apparent that the income must be raised, or a Bishop found with courage to face the labours and difficulties of the present, and an income given him to live on, when the present Bishop has been overwhelmed."⁴⁸

⁴⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.33.

⁴⁸P.D.F., First year's report..., p.9-10.

Already there were oblique references to resignation and an over-dramatising of the situation. Just before Bousfield's arrival in the Transvaal Law had written to S.P.G. about the inadequate salary assigned to the bishop of the Transvaal⁴⁹ so S.P.G. knew that the salary they had guaranteed would be insufficient for his needs.

3.2.6 Help to S.P.G.

The Bishop was aware that his diocese should help S.P.G. yet the financial situation was such that the diocese needed the funds for its own development. He wrote to William Richardson of Potchefstroom: "I shall indeed be glad when we can do something in every Church in the Diocese for the S.P.G. but in the present state of your parish, not having yet done anything, I would recommend you to delay it for a little until all your present money matters are settled. Perhaps at some future visit of mine, when the people are better disposed I might be able to gather the first offering for it."⁵⁰

3.2.7 Ecclesiastical donations

Once settled in, the Bishop was able to open one of the boxes he had brought over with him. He thanked the Kilburn Sisters for their gifts: "At last after long wanderings & many trials we are sufficiently near an approach to settlement to have opened the case of work you have so kindly given to us thro' Miss Wigram, and I write at once to thank you very much for each & all of the gifts in it. My only regret is that I have not a Church in the Diocese fit to receive them, no one with any altar plate, or font (save Pretoria). I am obliged to enjoin⁵¹ common brass basins from the stores to stand on wooden pedestals! There is stone in the land but no one capable of working it."⁵²

⁴⁹A.J. Law, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-11-14, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁵⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Richardson, 1879-06-30, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵¹enjoin COD command.

⁵²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Sisters of the Church Extension Kilburn, 1879-08-18 Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The font in St Alban's, Pretoria had been donated by the parish of Plympton St Mary through Wilkinson in 1877. He described the occasion: "I was at a meeting at Plympton near Plymouth not long since. The people expressed a wish to give a font to the future Cathedral at Pretoria of Devonsh(ire) Marble. It is being made at Newton of pink-black marble & granite base. I will send it out when finished."⁵³

Also part of the furnishing was the beautiful bishop's throne. "There was one thing, however, of which he was very proud, and that was the Bishop's throne, which was made from wood obtained from Winchester Cathedral. When he left Winchester, he expressed a desire to have something old in the Transvaal besides the hills, and that something was a Bishop's throne. He then, after some trouble, succeeded in obtaining a quantity of wood from the old Norman roof, which had been in the roof of Winchester Cathedral for 800 years, and of this his Bishop's throne had been constructed. He had also obtained some wood from the College wherewith to make himself a pastoral staff, and he trusted that the work of Christianity at Pretoria might prove as firm and lasting as the wood of which that throne and that staff had been formed."⁵⁴ ⁵⁵

3.3 The Pretoria schools

Before the Bishop came to the Transvaal he had planned the opening of two diocesan schools.

3.3.1 St Etheldreda

He had brought out two teachers from England for the girls' school, Elizabeth Dowling who was to be headmistress, and Ellen Lamb. A third teacher, Mrs Jacob, had joined the party in Natal.

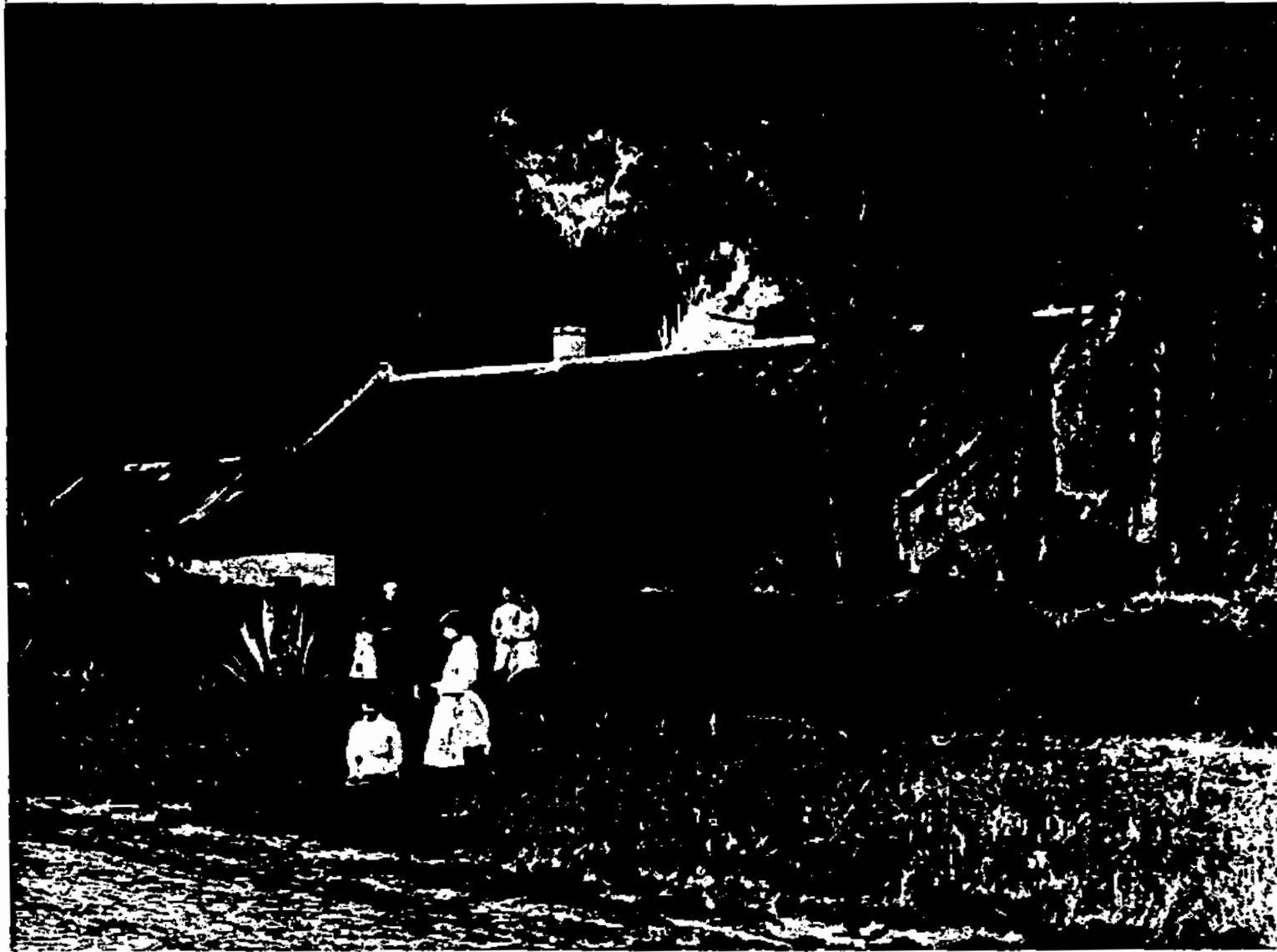
The school was to be known as St Etheldreda's after the only female saint in the Calendar⁵⁶ (feast day

⁵³T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to A.J. Law, 1877-04-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁴"The Church in the Transvaal," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 6, 1883-05, p.54.

⁵⁵The throne is at St Alban's Cathedral, Pretoria but the font is not.

⁵⁶"Church wants in Pretoria," Net, 1879-10-01, p.146.



Bishop's Cote where St Etheldreda's School began.
(Source: AB890/B2, CPSA Archives, University of the Witwatersrand,
Johannesburg.)

17th October). St Etheldreda is buried in the Cathedral at Ely,⁵⁷ the diocese which included Cambridge, Bousfield's university.⁵⁸

In Pretoria there was already a Catholic school run by the Loreto Sisters, started on 1878-06-07.⁵⁹ Bousfield commented: "As we came up country many were the expressions of desire for a school which should free the parents from the almost necessity of sending their children to the Convent school."⁶⁰

Within two weeks of the party settling in their Proes Street house, the Bishop advertised for pupils.⁶¹ The school was initially held in Bishop's Cote but soon moved to a house the Bishop had rented for it on the corner of Andries and Vermeulen Streets.⁶² In mid-1879 St Etheldreda's moved to a house in Koch Street,⁶³ for which the Bishop paid a rent of £12 per month. The school fees were £20 p.a. paid quarterly in advance.⁶⁴ In November 1879 the Bishop decided to apply for a Government grant. He wrote to the Superintendent-General of Education: "I enclose an application for Government assistance towards St. Etheldreda (Ladies) School, Pretoria, and shall feel obliged if you will give it your early consideration as also that sent in some time ago of St. Alban's Elementary School, Pretoria."⁶⁵

The Bishop had woken up to the financial realities of education. If pupils did not pay their fees he wrote to the parents asking for them.⁶⁶

⁵⁷For a biography of Etheldreda of Ely vide Sister Juliana, Rosmarie, London: Mowbray, 1913, p.128-143.

⁵⁸H.B. Bousfield, Illi viro venerando Georgio Hudsonis, MSS, Collection AB 890/B1, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁹Loreto in South Africa 1878 - 1978, [S.l.]: Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary Loreto Sisters, [s.a.], p.10.

⁶⁰Bousfield, Six years..., p.29.

⁶¹Ibid., p.29.

⁶²B. Addison, Daughters of the King, Pretoria: Gov. Body of St. Mary's DSG, 1979, p.4.

⁶³Ibid., p.4.

⁶⁴H.B. Bousfield, "En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.268.

⁶⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Bosman, 1879-11-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁶⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.J. Meintjies, 1879-12-26, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

At the end of 1879 the departure of Mrs Jacob to marry Alfred Roberts caused staffing problems. The Bishop advertised for three teachers: "... gentlewomen. One immediately to teach music and drawing in our girls' school in Pretoria; two more for educational work would be valuable indeed."⁶⁷

The school buildings needed money spent on them. In the Balance Sheet from 1879-09-29 to 1880-09-29 an amount of £711 2s 0d was spent on the school buildings and £44 2s 6d on their repair.⁶⁸ "The purchase and repair of the buildings for the Girls' School has mainly occasioned the heavy deficit."⁶⁹ However St Etheldreda's only ran at a loss of £1 15s 0d.⁷⁰

St Etheldreda's attempted to give its pupils an education based on British girls schools: "... one designed to be a superior school of girls of the better class, ... our first attention is given to the thorough grounding of our pupils in reading, writing, and arithmetic, in addition to which instruction is given in history, geography, music, drawing, the modern languages, and plain and ornamental needlework."⁷¹

The girls were examined at Easter, 1880. "One examiner states that 'the knowledge of universal history and English history displayed by the pupils reflects much credit on their training.' Others that the knowledge of English grammar is 'very good,' French translation and grammar 'creditable,' and that English reading and dictation displays 'great accuracy.' Altogether, the examination proved the thorough solidness of the education given and the steady progress of the pupils."⁷²

⁶⁷P.D.F., First year's report..., p.9.

⁶⁸H.B. Bousfield, "Diocese of Pretoria report for Quarter ending 1880-09-29," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.12.

⁶⁹Ibid., p.8.

⁷⁰Ibid., p.12.

⁷¹E. Lamb, "Miss Lamb's report to the Education Department," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.27.

⁷²Diocese of Pretoria Transvaal, Report for April, May and June 1880, p.7.

The Bishop described the true situation: "We have a few more pupils and if our rooms were better might do but the Romans have just had a tremendous shine! theatricals, prizes, performances eno' to dazzle Pretoria utterly, and the Dutch have good rooms, & boarding arrangements."⁷³

To the great relief of the Bishop the Government Grant was given to him on 1880-09-11 "... for the Ecclesiastical and Educational purposes of the English Church, including the Girls' School and mistresses' residence."⁷⁴

In 1880. the teachers were joined by a Miss Lorentz. At this time the school had no boarders.⁷⁵

3.3.2 St Birinus

The second school was for boys and called after St Birinus. Bousfield's mother, Rebekah Richings, had come from Warborough in Oxfordshire, within walking distance of Dorchester, the centre of Birinus' missionary work "... [I] would fain, follow the example and perpetuate the memory of one now unknown by many here but honoured there, 'where the saints of all ages in harmony meet.' "⁷⁶

The Bishop had no trained schoolmaster and he asked Alfred Roberts to take on the task of organising St Birinus. "At the same time the B[isho]p wanted a boys school. I had come out to undertake native mission work, but the B[isho]p could not spare me, & with reluctance I took up the boys school, in addition to the Cathedral & parish work."⁷⁷ It was apparently only in March that Roberts was approached about the school. The Bishop wrote to Dr Lyle, Inspector of Education: "Since seeing you yesterday I have spoken to Mr Roberts, my Deacon, who is willing, at my request, to give an hour a day from 11 - 12, to the education of your sons, & Mr Swartz's if he wish

⁷³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.J. Law, 1880-07-10, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁴Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.127.

⁷⁵Ibid., p.27.

⁷⁶H.B. Bousfield, Illi viro venerando Georgio Hudsonio, MSS, Collection AB890/B1, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁷Roberts, Genesis..., p.25.

it, & any others appointed by me. ... the boys can go to him on Monday next. The preparation of Lessons must be at home. I hope this may prove the commencement of a good school for boys. In this view I should propose to charge 2 g[ui]n[e]as a month for the present, for each pupil, to be paid ... in advance."⁷⁸

The school opened with three pupils, the two sons of Dr Lyle and the youngest son of Mr Swartz. The numbers quickly increased so a house was hired to accommodate St Birinus'. In the middle of 1880 a school was built for the boys and they moved there in November 1880.⁷⁹

St Birinus did fulfil a need. Mrs Bousfield told how on trek her husband met a man on the road. "He gave us his name and your Father gave his card and address as our friend said he would come and see us in Pretoria. He wanted his boy to go to school. He was a pleasant man, Cape born and educated, so not an enemy to law or order."⁸⁰

St Birinus', in the year between 1879-09-29 and 1880-02-29, sustained a loss of £67 3s 8d, incurred through having to pay rent. The Bishop wrote: "If the Boys' School is to be continued at all, it must be provided with a good schoolroom, and I have therefore most reluctantly commenced the building at an estimated cost of £250."⁸¹

On visitation in Standerton the Bishop was given a donation of £100 for St Birinus'; the donor was allowed to nominate two boys to attend the school at slightly reduced fees.⁸²

After eighteen months of patient work Roberts was able to report: "Nevertheless, the boys have all

⁷⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Dr Lyle, 1879-03-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁹Roberts, Genesis..., p.25.

⁸⁰C.E. Bousfield, "Journals of Mrs Bousfield," Letter to her children, 1879-10-20, p.4, TS, Bousfield Collection, State Library, Pretoria, South Africa.

⁸¹Diocese of Pretoria, "Report for quarter ending 1880-02-29," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.8.

⁸²H.B. Bousfield, "Five weeks on trek," Mission Field, 1880-03-01, p.94.

made rapid strides. The examiners last year all reported well of the boys, particularly in mathematics and English grammar. I have had under my charge during this last year and a half nearly forty boys, but the migratory habits of the people have compelled many to withdraw the children when leaving the country."

The Bishop was worried about the school's inadequate accommodation which consisted of a single room, 12 ft by 20 ft in a 7 roomed cottage on the outskirts of Pretoria, at the high rent of £9 per month. St Birinus needed a more central position and a larger school-room.⁸⁴ The Bishop explained his needs to Law who was in England: "I cannot say how much I should be cheered by £500 to pay off the school debt for building and £500 to build a school room for Roberts on the empty erf by the Church, and if money for buildings is not sent my school work must break down before the Romans. They are building still, I understand a school and college for boys and while such men as Ford, & Judge Kotze send children to them 'because they make the better show' (_____dly), I have no chance if not."⁸⁵ The new school was built. "Just before our troubles I completed a boy's school room at a cost of £400..."⁸⁶

On 1880-09-16 a deputation of Deecker, Ford, Swartz and Dyer went to see the Governor about the High School,⁸⁷ probably to discuss the Government Educational Grant.

3.3.3 The elementary school

A co-educational elementary school was started "giving a lower class of education."⁸⁸

In a letter dated the end of May, 1879 Mrs Bousfield explained why they wished to open an elementary school.

⁸³Diocese of Pretoria Transvaal, Report for April, May and June 1880, p.6.

⁸⁴Ibid., p.7.

⁸⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.J. Law, 1880-10-07, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.H. Grove, 1881-04-08, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸⁷G.Y. Lagden, Diary 1880, 1880-09-16, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS Afr.s 145, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

⁸⁸P.D.F., First year's report..., p.5.

"Our next aim is to start a school for the working classes, white people, whose children are quite unprovided for, and grow up with the idea that work is a disgrace; the hope is to get the little ones, under twelve years of age, and, after a time, choose from these some to whom we can give industrial training. I cannot enter more into this subject now, but if the Church does not come forward to rescue the little ones, and seek help the parents out of their torpor, they and their children will be as degraded as the heathen around."⁸⁹

Rosmarine, the history of St Etheldreda's, calls this institution "The School of the Good Shepherd",⁹⁰ but in a letter to Dr Bosman the Bishop refers to it as "St Alban's Elementary School."⁹¹ The school was housed near Bishop's Cote. One of its teachers was Ellen Lamb who taught at St Etheldreda's as well.

The loss on the Elementary School from 1879-09-29 to 1880-09-29 was £11 13s 9d⁹² "... from the necessity of supplying a free education for various short periods of time to families in temporary distress."⁹³

In 1880 a new Dutch school, which opened in Pretoria, affected the numbers at the Anglican schools. "Our Elementary School is very fairly successful, but both the upper class schools have received a check from the opening of a Dutch Church School with good buildings & fittings, & 4 fresh teachers from Holland. It may prove but a brief check, & I hope will but it has been a severe threat to us yet."⁹⁴

"In the elementary school there has been this quarter a decided change for the better. The opening of the new Dutch school took away from us most of our Dutch pupils of the lower grade; but these, I am glad to

⁸⁹"Church wants in Pretoria," Net, 1879-10-01, p.144.

⁹⁰Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.23.

⁹¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Bosman, 1879-11-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁹²Diocese of Pretoria, "Report for quarter ending 1880-09-29," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.12.

⁹³Ibid., p.8.

⁹⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.H. Grove, 1880-04-02, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

say, have been replaced by a better class of English children, so that the whole tone of the school is raised, and a higher standard of education given. The two mistresses, who speak both Dutch and English, are painstaking and persevering, and the progress of the children under their care is most satisfactory."⁹⁵

3.3.4 The night school

One other school opened, night school run by Roberts, two nights a week,⁹⁶ for law students, surveyors, etc.⁹⁷

3.3.4 Problems

In spite of the problems the Bishop kept the schools functioning. The girl's school tried to solve its problems when a site was offered to St Etheldreda's in the absence of the Bishop. "The school was badly wanted, the offer seemed opportune, and included that of a small house close by, in Skinner Street, at right angles to the proposed school. The rent of the small house would pay the interest on the purchase-price till the amount could be raised. The small house is humorously spoken of as "Lawless Lodge," in which Mr Law was living, and of which he paid the rent. So, in consultation with others he undertook the purchase on behalf of the Bishop. Of course there was difficulty in raising this money, but upon his return the Bishop took on himself the responsibility of the purchase."⁹⁸

The Bishop told a different story: "During this journey [to the Western Transvaal] and in my absence, arrangements were made without me for the purchase of a house for a school. My first thought when I heard of them was to repudiate the whole; but to save the author [Law] from the trouble my so doing would have caused, I accepted the arrangement, never supposing

⁹⁵Diocese of Pretoria Transvaal, Report for April, May and June 1880, p.7-8.

⁹⁶Roberts annotated copy of Bousfield, Six years..., p.27.

⁹⁷A. Roberts, "Sermon to commemorate 50 years jubilee of ordination," TS, Alfred Roberts Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁹⁸Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.18.

how great an error had been made. It has been the source of never-ceasing regret and trouble since.⁹⁹

The contrast between Catholic and Anglican schools was also a problem. "Rome is struggling to get hold of the young, & succeeding, because I have not funds to build showy schools as theirs, and many places are neglected because I have not men to fill them."¹⁰⁰

Bousfield's attitude to the teaching of children was modern. In 1875 he wrote to his son Hugh's school-master: "... and if you find it necessary to use the cane, I cannot say don't do so but I must ask you to be sparing rather than frequent in the use of it as I know how tender and excitable the child is, and how utterly severity would break his spirit and destroy his zeal. ... and I cannot help suggesting that the Book of History is too dry, & that the portions he has to get up as a night's work are too long for a child of his age to do thoroughly with other work. So too in Geography..."¹⁰¹

With such humane, child-centred views on education it is not surprising that in spite of the problems the schools continued.

3.4 Medical work

Within the period under review medical work remained a dream, even though the Bishop tried to keep it before his supporters in Britain.

At the end of his first year in the Transvaal Bousfield appealed for additional staff: "And if two skilled in nursing could be found, who would nurse the sick in their houses and take charge of a small hospital, the funds for its erection and maintenance could be raised on the spot."¹⁰²

⁹⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.41.

¹⁰⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kenney, 1880-10-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁰¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.D. Cope, 1875-11-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁰²P.D.F., First year's report..., p.9.

During the Sekhukhune Campaign the Pretoria ladies held work meetings for more than a year to send comforts and necessaries for the sick and wounded. After the campaign the work produced was sold for Church purposes, with 10% being given to the poor.¹⁰³

Towards the end of 1880 the Bishop once more raised the subject of medical work. He wrote to A.B. Webb, Bishop of Bloemfontein, about his hospital: "Will you send me as soon as possible, any, & all possible particulars of your Hospital, & Home, their foundation, & expenses."¹⁰⁴

The Bishop had an idea of offering accommodation in a house in Pretoria to teachers and nurses. "As to ladies, ... The work I want to provide for is that of my first class girls school, & my elementary School ... and if I can the qualifications & will for nursing the sick. There is a hospital now being started here and ladies, or others, qualified to nurse, & especially bringing any certificates of qualification would be almost certainly secured for. The best plan would be for the ladies to live together (I have a house for them) at the expense of my funds, & to now [sic] from me in addition, if they needed it, a stipend for personal expenses as you might fix with each, £25 - £50 per an[nu]m. This would secure, economy, & comfort in helping each other, where servants are not."¹⁰⁵

3.4.1 Hospital visits

The Bishop undertook hospital visits himself. Henry Sadler was taken on one such visit: "I must add that the Bishop most kindly and patiently put me through my pacings in the matter of whatever I had to do; taking me with him first to the camp hospital, for instance, and showing me how the work was to be done by doing it himself, I being present, and then giving me counsel and directions."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.28.

¹⁰⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.B. Webb, 1880-09-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁰⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1880-10-23, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁰⁶"Itinerent work in the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1881-03-01, p.124.

How did the soldiers react to the Bishop's visits? This was the scene witnessed by Father J.N. Meyer, who was also visiting: "[The sick soldiers] knew that the best tonic for the sick was cheerfulness & this tonic I administered freely. ... I remember one day, as the hilarity was at its highest, a sudden hush fell upon the whole ward. Those who, a moment before, were convulsed with laughter, had suddenly fallen asleep. Some even snored. This was very strange &, as I looked about in utter amazement, one of the invalids told me that a great somebody was to make his appearance. An orderly had spied the Anglican bishop, the Right Reverend Dr. Bousfield, making his way towards the hospital & very charitably announced his arrival to give the boys a chance, as he said. They took the chance & hence this universal fit of sleeping sickness, I had barely time to recover from my astonishment when I beheld his Lordship surveying the whole ward with a most pleasant smile. He must have been very edified to find everybody so well behaved but, as there was no sign of life besides the heavy breathing & snoring of the sleepers, his Lordship made his way towards me & the little row of invalids about me. He walked on tiptoe, very lightly not to disturb the sleepers, keeping meanwhile a sharp eye on the double row of beds. He had hardly reached the middle of the ward when he turned round sharply & caught the eye of one of the unfortunate sleepers before its owner had time to close it again. The Bishop thereupon approached the bed and treated the unfortunate man to a long string of prayers with three or four chapters of St. John into the bargain. A titter ran round the ward as I was confidentially informed that poor Jack Wilson [had] caught it. I understood the expression now but could not possibly join in the general pity in favour of poor Jack who had stopped snoring a trifle too soon, as I could not approve of the mean way the poor Bishop was being treated by his own people. ... Meanwhile Dr Bousfield who had more than one trick up his sleeve and was a perfect match for the dodgers [,] went on rolling off chapters of St John in his beautiful sonorous voice

which could be heard all over the ward. He stopped at times to comment on a particular verse which he judged to be particularly refreshing, looking about him meanwhile in search of fresh victims. At the end of the last chapter, when poor Jack had really fallen asleep, his Lordship closed the Bible & disappeared on tiptoe as mysteriously as he had come, not however without casting a few backward glances on the ward, but the men were not to be caught. They went on sleeping until the charitable orderly came to announce that the coast was clear. Then there was a general laugh in which I had to laugh much against my will as the incident was a little too comical. In my very heart of hearts I could not blame the poor soldiers for the innocent trick they had played; his Lordship should have understood that no good comes out of stuffing a reluctant, defenceless patient with whole chapters of St John. Syrup is all right when thinly spread on a slice of bread, but taken in jarfuls it is too much of a good thing."¹⁰⁷

This long extract reinforces Judge Kotze's opinion of the Bishop: "He lacked the tact that is born of common sense."¹⁰⁸

3.5 Travelling

3.5.1 Reasons

A noticeable feature of the episcopacy of H.B. Bousfield was his tireless travelling throughout the Transvaal, visiting his scattered flock in villages and on farms. "If the work of the Bishop is to be done on the low view of one visit to each settled congregation in a year, he must travel 3,000 miles. What this means in a land like the Transvaal, Transvaal travellers only know."¹⁰⁹

William Richardson was at Potchefstroom. His son, James P. Richardson was stationed at Rustenburg.

¹⁰⁷J.N. Meyer, "Reminiscences of thirty years missionary work in South Africa," TS, p.25-26, R.C. Archdiocesan Archives, Durban, South Africa.

¹⁰⁸Kotze, Biographical memoirs..., p.555.

¹⁰⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.33.

Zeerust had Henry Sadler. In the Eastern Transvaal the only clergyman was John Thorne of Lydenburg. Pretoria had Arthur J. Law.

3.5.2 Heidelberg during February 1879

Before Lent 1879 the Bishop authorised two young communicants to hold Sunday services at Heidelberg,¹¹⁰ and the first journey he made was to Heidelberg, from 1879-02-14 to -02-21, to take the Sunday services. He visited a few English speaking families, including non-Anglicans, who might be interested in building a church.¹¹¹ T.E. Wilkinson had secured a site and another erf had been added by the time of Bousfield's first visit.¹¹²

The Bishop decided to send a clergyman to Heidelberg every month, with a visit every three months by himself or Law to celebrate Holy Communion. The young men were to continue with their work, as well as running the Sunday School.¹¹³ Heidelberg had an army camp and Captain Spurgeon of the 21st Fusilliers held services for the troops and any interested civilians.¹¹⁴

3.5.3 To farms

In the beginning the Bishop was without his own transport so one of the readers in Heidelberg travelled to Pretoria to fetch him.¹¹⁵ This problem of transport led him to buy a supposedly "salted" mare, Nelly, who contracted horsesickness within a few months but survived. For his next journey the bishop was able to travel on horseback with his goods in saddlebags. With this greater mobility he was able to reach Anglicans on farms for communion and confirmation.¹¹⁶

3.5.4 To the Western Transvaal during May 1879

For his third journey the Bishop accompanied Judge Kotze in May 1879 on circuit to the Western Transvaal,

¹¹⁰"En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.267.

¹¹¹Ibid., p.267.

¹¹²Bousfield, Six years..., p.35.

¹¹³"En route to Pretoria," Mission Field, 1879-06-02, p.267.

¹¹⁴Bousfield, Six years..., p.36.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p.35-36.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p.37.

visiting Potchefstroom, Zeerust and Rustenburg. The Bishop was also able to get to Klerksdorp.¹¹⁷

Having only recently arrived from Britain, the Bishop had not absorbed the racial attitudes of the Transvalers. At Potchefstroom he had to reprimand the congregation for refusing to enter the Church again after the Bishop had arranged for some Africans who wanted a teacher, to meet him in the Church.¹¹⁸ "I had told the natives who applied to me that they must build for themselves a school room, & had appointed them to meet me twice in the Church, when the people sent me a message that if the Blacks entered the Church they would never do so again, & their message was couched in such terms that I introduced my reply by saying no Christian B[isho]p could hesitate what to say in answer thus to act, in face of them all I should have held the service, but (as I had half expected) the blacks themselves shrunk from my test and all came to nothing."¹¹⁹

The white congregation did not carry out their threats but animosity remained between them and the Bishop.¹²⁰ At the end of 1879 he described them thus: "[Potchefstroom] has the inevitable distinction in my mind, and must have in this report, of being the one place in the Diocese which has treated me badly. The good people seem to have made up their mind to do so before I went there, did it to perfection, and did not repent and amend before I left, nor since."¹²¹

The only consistent mission work in the diocese sanctioned by the Bishop was to the Deel Kraal congregation, near Potchefstroom. Their leader, Jacob Tabane, had taught them what little Christianity he knew. On this visit Jacob Tabane met the Bishop to explain the situation. His people wanted a farm where they might

¹¹⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.37-38.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p.38.

¹¹⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Bevan, 1879-07-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wirs, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁰Bousfield, Six years..., p.38.

¹²¹P.D.F., First year's report..., p.6.

live together, but unfortunately the Bishop was unable to allocate money for this in the period researched.¹²² It is not clear when this congregation started: "... a small body of independent native Christians - remnant apparently of other religions - approached [the Bishop of Pretoria] for union with the Church. These, in the town of Potchefstroom, and another at Deel Kraal,...

Alfred Roberts described it slightly differently: "About this time also began our real native Mission Work. In 1879 a party of natives from some unknown sect, being left without a teacher approached Mr Richardson & the Bishop to be received. They were accepted."¹²⁴

The Bishop was upset about the anti-mission feeling of the Colonists: "Lastly, the Church has duties to the heathen; and alas! such prejudice exists against them among the Colonists that it is hopeless to think of their aiding Missions."¹²⁵

When the Bishop returned to Pretoria he wrote to William Richardson about the mission work in Potchefstroom. "Native work. I shall be glad if you are able to effect any good thro' Mr Shubart's means & arrangements, but it will be necessary to make sure and for the Church not to teach on approval by the six Kaffir Trustees"¹²⁶

The Potchefstroom church mortgage was transferred to the Bishop and he obtained financial help for the elderly William Richardson. The Bishop estimated that the number of nominal Churchmen in the congregation was about 300.¹²⁷

The Circuit Court sat in Potchefstroom for four to five days so the Bishop used this opportunity to visit Klerksdorp.¹²⁸ Here he found one Anglican family

¹²²H.B. Bousfield, Six years..., p.39.

¹²³C.F. Pascoe, Two hundred years of the S.P.G., London: SPG, 1901, p.358b.

¹²⁴Roberts, Genesis..., p.37.

¹²⁵P.D.F., First year's report..., p.10.

¹²⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Richardson, 1879-06-30, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁷P.D.F., First year's report..., p.6.

¹²⁸Kotze, Biographical memoirs..., p.631.

and another ready to join. It was at Klerksdorp that he encountered the abysmally low standard of Transvaal schooling.¹²⁹

At Zeerust Bousfield inspected the work of Sadler who at least had a church building even if it was in debt.¹³⁰ He was able to relieve the congregation of the debt.¹³¹ There was friction between Sadler and his congregation and the Bishop was able to reunite them.¹³² Bousfield guaranteed Sadler an income of £150 p.a. made up of £50 from S.P.G., £50 from the congregation and £50 from the diocese.¹³³

Rustenburg was the last town visited by the Circuit Court. Here the Bishop was impressed by the work of J.P. Richardson¹³⁴ who had a congregation made up of barely twenty Anglicans and about the same number of other denominations.¹³⁵ J.P. Richardson also ran a school. "A schoolroom-chapel, with two rooms attached for his lodging, had been built, and in it he was doing good and solid, if elementary, work."¹³⁶

While travelling during May and June, both cold months, the Bishop had slept in a tent. Kotze summed up the journey "... and on getting home we all agreed that we had had a most enjoyable trip. Although it had been a novel experience to the Bishop, he adapted himself very well to the conditions of the African veld, and proved himself an excellent travelling companion."¹³⁷ Kotze remembered and recorded a conversation between Bousfield and Henry Cloete, a member of the local bar, whilst on the journey: "... I listened to the following colloquy between the Bishop and Cloete.

"The Bishop, as was at times his wont, adopted the episcopal 'we', and led off by observing to Cloete,

¹²⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.39.

¹³⁰Ibid., p.40.

¹³¹P.D.F., First year's report..., p.7.

¹³²Ibid., p.7.

¹³³Ibid., p.7.

¹³⁴Bousfield, Six years..., p.41.

¹³⁵P.D.F., First year's report..., p.7.

¹³⁶Bousfield, Six years..., p.41.

¹³⁷Kotze, Biographical memoirs..., p.635.

'We, if we had been of your profession of the law, would have been on the woolsack by now.'

"Cloete: 'No, I do not think you would have done as Lord Chancellor.'

"The Bishop: 'Perhaps you are right; a victorious general at the head of our conquering army would have suited us better.'

"Cloete: 'I do not think you would have been good at that either.'

"The Bishop: 'Well then, what do you think would have suited us?'

"Cloete: 'You, Bishop, I think, would have made a splendid Shakespearian actor.'

"The Bishop was silent for a minute, and then changed the conversation ... Whether the Bishop suspected there might be a slight dig at him in which Cloete had said, I do not know, but I took Cloete to be quite frank and serious in giving his opinion."¹³⁸

3.5.5 Church equipment needed

After this journey the Bishop wrote a report for Net. In the Pretoria church and the three he had visited there were no Communion vessels, fonts, altar linen, or kneelers for either the clergy or communicants, and the local Church had no money for these. The Bishop felt that without them "... the idea of worship can be but poorly and indifferently before them. Help now, to enable each Church to begin by having all things decently and in order, would greatly strengthen the Bishop's hands."¹³⁹

At Pretoria the Communion Plate was on loan and the owners had asked for its return. The Bishop was thus forced to use his own portable set of Communion vessels which were too small. Net issued an appeal for £15 to buy a set in silver large enough for the increasing Pretoria congregation.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸Kotze, Biographical memoirs..., p.630.

¹³⁹"Church wants in Pretoria," Net, 1879-10-01, p.145.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p.145.

Sent out in boxes from Britain were

3 sets of altar linen

2 crimson covers

4 surplices

4 alms boxes.¹⁴¹

In Net of December 1879, under the title "Communion Plate for the church at Pretoria," it was announced that sufficient money had been received for a Chalice, with a little over for a Paten.¹⁴² In the February 1880 issue Net was able to report that the Communion Plate for the Pretoria Cathedral "of good size and of silver" had been chosen and was to be sent.¹⁴³ It arrived just before the siege of Pretoria and was kept until Easter 1881.¹⁴⁴

3.5.6 To Vaal Bank during July 1879

At the beginning of July 1879 the Bishop made an eight day trip to the farming area of Vaal Bank (Hekpoort)¹⁴⁵ where he was able to examine, then confirm, a number of people from the surrounding farms. This group became the congregation of Thorndale. Nooitgedacht was a farm in this area. "Bishop Bousfield arranged a Confirmation service at Nooitgedacht home during May 1879. This was the first confirmation in the parish. The candidates were James and Sarah Jennings, parents of William, with their daughters Alice and Ada, also Augusta their granddaughter, (the last mentioned was my mother.) I have amongst my cherished possessions Augusta's Confirmation Card, signed by the Bishop. It is unlike the very plain one of today, in contrast there is much colour, and it is attractively decorated. There is a 'daily prayer' printed on the front and the back of the card..."¹⁴⁶

It would appear from this extract that from 1879 Confirmation certificates were available. However

¹⁴¹"Church wants in Pretoria," Net, 1879-10-01, p.145.

¹⁴²"Communion Plate for the Church at Pretoria," Net, 1879-12-01, p.192.

¹⁴³"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.30.

¹⁴⁴"Diocese of Pretoria," Net, 1881-08-01, p.120.

¹⁴⁵"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.539-545.

¹⁴⁶M.H. Sanders, Glimpses of the past, [s.l.]: [s.n.], [s.a.].

it is clear that the diocese did not have registers as the Bishop told Spratt that he would have to send to Capetown for them.¹⁴⁷

In the report he wrote after this visit Bousfield pleaded for more staff: "I cannot but think our present troubles over, this land shall receive, and it will readily support, an abundant and prosperous community. Only I pray for men of energy, early risers, small smokers; or the sloth-breeding beauties of this land, will bring them down."¹⁴⁸

3.5.7 To Standerton and Heidelberg

Standerton had asked for a clergyman, so the Bishop visited it. After discussions it was arranged that the congregation would pay £130 p.a. towards the stipend to which the diocese promised to add £70 to make it up to £200 p.a. Later the congregation's contribution would rise to £150 and that of the diocese decrease to £50.¹⁴⁹ Bousfield had personal reservations about allowing them a clergyman but he gave in. He could ill spare a man for so small a village but he did not want to put a damper on their enthusiasm.¹⁵⁰ The money had to be paid into the Diocesan Fund at Pretoria then the Bishop could guarantee the stipend for the year. This was to be Bousfield's usual plan for parochial self-sufficiency: "The plan I was earnest to secure, as putting myself beyond the possibilities of failing guarantees, and the clergyman of failing or changing popularity and leading, I hope, to a sound financial basis for the diocese hereafter. The pinch is with the first £150. Then the offertories are to accumulate for another year's stipend, and so I hope Standerton, and other places after its example, may be kept in advance of their pecuniary responsibilities, and not always struggling to make up deficiencies."¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1880-02-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁴⁸"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.544.

¹⁴⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.41-42.

¹⁵⁰P.D.F., First year's report..., p.7.

¹⁵¹"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.549.

The Bishop as he generally did had thought out this plan carefully before implementing it. The Bishop promised the Standerton congregation the services of C.M. Spratt from January 1880. In 1886, he wrote with hindsight of this arrangement: "... though I pointed out the difficulty they would find in both arrangements, being well satisfied they would not do all they undertake nor he [to] fulfil their expectations."¹⁵²

On the Saturday afternoon and evening at Standerton the Bishop examined some candidates for confirmation; he passed six and these were confirmed the next day between Matins and Holy Communion "... thus allowing them to seal their vows with Eucharistic bread and cup the first fruits of our little Church in Standerton."¹⁵³

The Bishop promised Rix his license as Reader.¹⁵⁴ A Church Committee of five was appointed

- to collect the money for the clergyman
- to manage all other local Church matters in conjunction with the Bishop,

"... which may be the basis of the parochial organisation of the future."¹⁵⁵

Bousfield planned that Heidelberg and Standerton, being geographically linked on the road to Natal, should be worked together with fortnightly services along the road at Anglican homes or farms.¹⁵⁶

The Bishop and his youngest son Hugh had travelled down on horseback but the return journey was by a different method. The Bishop had been given a horse so he bought "the ruins of a Cape cart", which he hoped to repair and use until a wagonette for sleeping in could be bought.¹⁵⁷ Once he had bought a second horse he was able to drive back to Pretoria via

¹⁵²Bousfield, Six years..., p.42.

¹⁵³"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.549.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p.549.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., p.549-550.

¹⁵⁶Bousfield, Six years..., p.42.

¹⁵⁷"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.550.

Heidelberg.¹⁵⁸ Here he examined confirmation candidates, but only passed one,¹⁵⁹ evidence that he was trying to raise the standards of Churchpeople.

3.5.8 To the Eastern Transvaal

For his first Visitation to the Eastern Transvaal the Bishop travelled by postcart which was accompanied by a military escort for part of the way because of the Sekhukhune War.¹⁶⁰ "On the way I found more than one English speaking resident who expressed satisfaction with my plans for itineration."¹⁶¹ The free¹⁶² post cart journey with its rigid timetable and route, convinced the Bishop that he needed a mode of travel which would give him greater control over his time and route.¹⁶³ The postcart allowed him only a few hours at Middelburg unless he waited for the next post cart the following week but he used this time to trace about six Anglicans although he had been told there was only one.¹⁶⁴

At Lydenburg he was impressed by their debt ridden church and parsonage. Thorne had been left with the debt by the church's planners. "And the care of all this, with many other troubles he has had to bear, have broken him down so much, that my pleasure in his work was almost too much for him."¹⁶⁵ As usual he examined confirmation candidates, confirmed them and catechised the children. The offertories were used to pay off a little of the £750 debt on the church. On the Monday evening, a meeting was held to discuss this debt and other Church matters. That morning when he had been through the accounts, he had found a bill for £125 signed by five people. In his usual ruthless way the Bishop visited each in turn to secure "... their co-operation in collecting the money before the bill should become due."¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁸Bousfield, Six years..., p.42.

¹⁵⁹"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.551.

¹⁶⁰Bousfield, Six years..., p.42.

¹⁶¹Ibid., p.42-43.

¹⁶²"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.29.

¹⁶³Bousfield, Six years..., p.43.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p.43.

¹⁶⁵"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.29.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., p.30.

This showed how much he disliked debt and people who promised money but did not pay it over.

At the evening meeting enough money was raised to pay off the debt for the site of the Church.¹⁶⁷ Bousfield appealed through Net for help in paying off the debt on the Lydenburg Church. The diocese could afford the last £100 so £250 was still needed.¹⁶⁸ In Net of 1880-06-01 under the heading "Lydenburg Church," it was announced that a "kind friend" had donated the final £250.¹⁶⁹

Thorne had lived in Lydenburg since 1874 with all the stress of being in the major mining settlement and the largest town in the region of the Sekhukhune Wars. It was obvious to the Bishop that Thorne needed to rest so he promised that he would relieve him during part of 1880. The Bishop did arrange for Roberts to be sent there for six weeks so that Thorne could get to Pretoria for his ordination as priest,¹⁷⁰ but circumstances prevented him relieving Thorne during 1880.

On 1879-09-21 Bousfield ordained Thorne priest in Pretoria.¹⁷¹ Many years later Roberts recounted an anecdote about his time in Lydenburg which showed the tension under which Thorne had had to live since his arrival there in 1874. Firstly no one would lend him a horse as it could get killed. "A week later thirty natives invaded the townlands of Lydenburg and swept off Mr Thorne's cows in broad daylight, despite the fact that the town was occupied by a garrison of soldiers and mounted volunteers. I was bathing alone about a hundred yards from these cows, but providentially the high banks concealed me and we were both unconscious of each others presence, and I only discovered my escape when I returned to town."¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.30.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p.30.

¹⁶⁹"Lydenburg Church," Net, 1880-06-01, p.95.

¹⁷⁰Bousfield, Six years..., p.44.

¹⁷¹A. Roberts, "Early memories of Pilgrim's Rest Parish," TS, p.2, Alfred Roberts Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

3.5.9 To Wakkerstroom during September 1879

On the 1879-09-26¹⁷² the Bishop left for Wakkerstroom taking with him his wife as she had "long been very unwell."¹⁷³ In his report to S.P.G. he elaborated on his reasons for taking his wife: "She had been so long unwell, shattered in every nerve by the long and heavy trial time that we have had to pass, that a change was the only, and absolutely necessary remedy. To me it seemed a case of kill or cure, and I started with no small anxiety, knowing too much of the risks that lay before us."¹⁷⁴

Utrecht and Wakkerstroom were politically within the Transvaal but ecclesiastically part of the diocese of Zululand. This upset Bousfield who felt that they should fall within the diocese of Pretoria and therefore planned to visit Alington, Vicar General of the Zulu Mission, at Utrecht to discuss the boundary question. Net explained the situation: "... the South African Bishops decided, when they met in Maritzburg, in November, 1877, that the name of the Bishopric [of Zululand] should be changed. It will be better perhaps to recall the Metropolitan's own words on the subject. "The boundary of the Diocese is left as agreed by the Synod of 1876: the Drakensberg Watershed is to be boundary between Pretoria Diocese and Utrecht, the name we propose shall be given to the Bishopric of Zululand. The advice is based on the ground of the absolute necessity of a civilized basis for operations, a basis where the Bishop can be absolutely independent of the [Zulu] King, and where, in case of persecution, Christians may retreat."¹⁷⁵

Bousfield saw the problem from a different angle: "The boundaries of the Transvaal are not at present the boundaries of the diocese of Pretoria, the Provincial

¹⁷²C.E. Bousfield, "Journals from Mrs Bousfield," Letter to her children, 1879-09-28, p.1, TS, State Library, Pretoria, South Africa.

¹⁷³H.B. Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879, London: R Clay & Taylor, 1880, p.1.

¹⁷⁴H.B. Bousfield, "Five weeks on the trek," Mission Field, 1880-03-01, p.90.

¹⁷⁵"Zululand," Net, 1879-11-01, p.161.

Synod having thought it wise, in one part, to prefer as a boundary the watershed of the Drakensberg range. Therefore I had been requested by the Metropolitan to settle with Mr Alington what was the boundary line between us; and to this point one day on shipboard we directed our minds; but with so ill success, that we decided to refer the question to the Bishops themselves; and until their decision, that if episcopal services were needed in any place within the Transvaal limits, I should perform them; so that should the boundary be hereafter altered, the people might have what episcopal associations they had with the Bishop of Pretoria."¹⁷⁶

In reality Bousfield had enough work within the boundaries of his demarcated diocese without adding to it. To him the diocese of Pretoria meant the political entity of the Transvaal and he meant to gain control of that section which lay outside his diocese but within the Transvaal.

Sir Owen Lanyon was Resident in Pretoria and Administrator of the Transvaal.¹⁷⁷ During 1879 there was unrest from the Pedi under Sekhukhune and from the Boers who had never accepted the annexation. Sir Garnet Wolseley, as High Commissioner, was sent to the Transvaal to sort out the problems. In his diary entry for the day he arrived he noted: "How Lanyon can live here on his salary I know not, for everything costs large sums."¹⁷⁸

This was to be one of the few subjects on which Sir Garnet and the Bishop agreed. Bousfield and his wife en route for Utrecht met Wolseley with his Dragoons at their afternoon outspan on their way to Pretoria. The Bishop went over to greet Sir Garnet.¹⁷⁹ Wolseley wrote down his feelings about this meeting: "I met Bishop Bonsefield [sic], the English Bishop of the Transvaal, a most loquacious individual who was never

¹⁷⁶H.B. Bousfield, "Five weeks on the trek," Mission Field, 1880-03-01, p.89.

¹⁷⁷Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.324, notell4.9.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., p.124.

¹⁷⁹C.E. Bousfield, "Journals...", Letter to her children, 1879-09-28, p.2.

tired of talking of himself, of his wife & of his 8 children. He is on his way [to] Utrecht to meet some parson there for the purpose of discussing the Boundaries of his Diocese. He talked what seemed to me a great deal of nonsense, but as I have never yet realised what it is that Bishops have to do that any curate might not carry out if given an extra 50 a year, I may not possibly be a good judge on such a matter."¹⁸⁰

On their way to Wakkerstroom the Bousfields passed through Heidelberg and Standerton where the Bishop was able to hold services. He was also able to baptise and hold services on farms and at houses along the route. At Wakkerstroom where Ransom, of the Zulu Mission, was stationed, news was received from Utrecht that Alington was ill. Ransom went there and a few days later wrote to tell of Alington's death from typhoid.¹⁸¹ It seems strange that Bousfield was unable to travel to Utrecht for Alington's funeral when they had sailed to South Africa together on the Danube.

The Bishop continued the services at Wakkerstroom and his wife was forced to make a mitre for him out of cambric and brown paper¹⁸² for the camp service. At the Confirmation he had eight candidates. Wakkerstroom had a large army camp so the Bishop visited the camp hospital where he was able to talk to the patients as well as read to and pray for them.¹⁸³

The Bishop travelled over to Utrecht on Tuesday 1879-10-14¹⁸⁴ returning the next evening with Ransom.¹⁸⁵ After the death of Alington the Bishop of Maritzburg resumed the oversight of the Zululand Mission until a successor was appointed.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.124.

¹⁸¹C.E. Bousfield, "Journals...", letter to her children, 1879-10-11, p.6.

¹⁸²Ibid., letter, 1879-10-11, p.6.

¹⁸³Ibid., letter, 1879-10-11, p.8.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., letter, 1879-10-20, p.1.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., letter, 1879-10-20, p.3.

¹⁸⁶"New ground for the Mackenzie Memorial Mission," Net, 1880-02-01, p.17.

The Bousfields returned to Pretoria by the same route with services being held where possible. At Heidelberg the Bishop had a successful catechizing session which his wife described: "In the afternoon some children came for catechizing which followed the Litany. After this was over your Father asked all those who were present (all soldiers and an Officer or two) if they had any question to ask or if in the catechizing of the children anything had struck them which they had not thought of before. They did all ask questions and your Father answered them fully and they were encouraged to continue. Very interesting and instructive it was, I assure you."¹⁸⁷ Heidelberg had the services of a clergyman on the last Sunday of each month. The Bishop arranged with Capt. Spurgeon for the continuation of the Sunday services which other denominations could attend.¹⁸⁸

They arrived home in Pretoria to find the alterations to the Bishop's Cote verandah buildings completed.¹⁸⁹ "Mrs Bousfield [was] all the better for her journey, and there I stayed, in my usual home employments, until Tuesday, November 11, when again we packed the old Cape cart and started for Middleburgh."¹⁹⁰

3.5.10 To Middelburg accompanied by H. Adams

The Bishop felt that his first visit to Middelburg had been unsatisfactory so he went there a second time taking Henry Adams with him. This time they went in the diocesan Cape cart reaching Middelburg on 1879-11-14.¹⁹¹ A meeting was held to discuss Church matters. The Bishop suggested that he should appoint a lay reader but this was unacceptable to the congregation. The Bishop promised them a monthly service held by either himself or Arthur Law.¹⁹² A subscription list was opened for a Church building and by the next day £117 16s had been collected.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁷C.E. Bousfield, "Journals...", Letter, 1879-10-27, p.1.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., Letter, 1879-10-27, p.1.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., Letter, 1879-10-27, p.3.

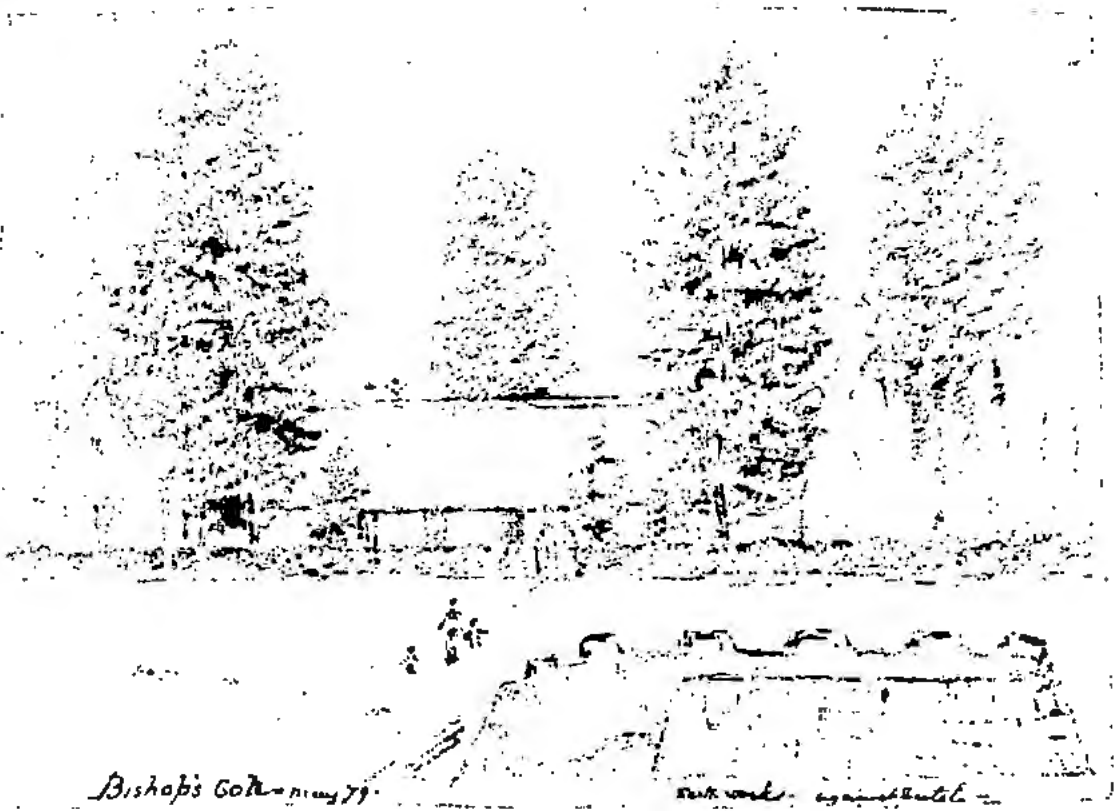
¹⁹⁰Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879..., p.4.

¹⁹¹Ibid., p.4.

¹⁹²Bousfield, Six years..., p.46-47.

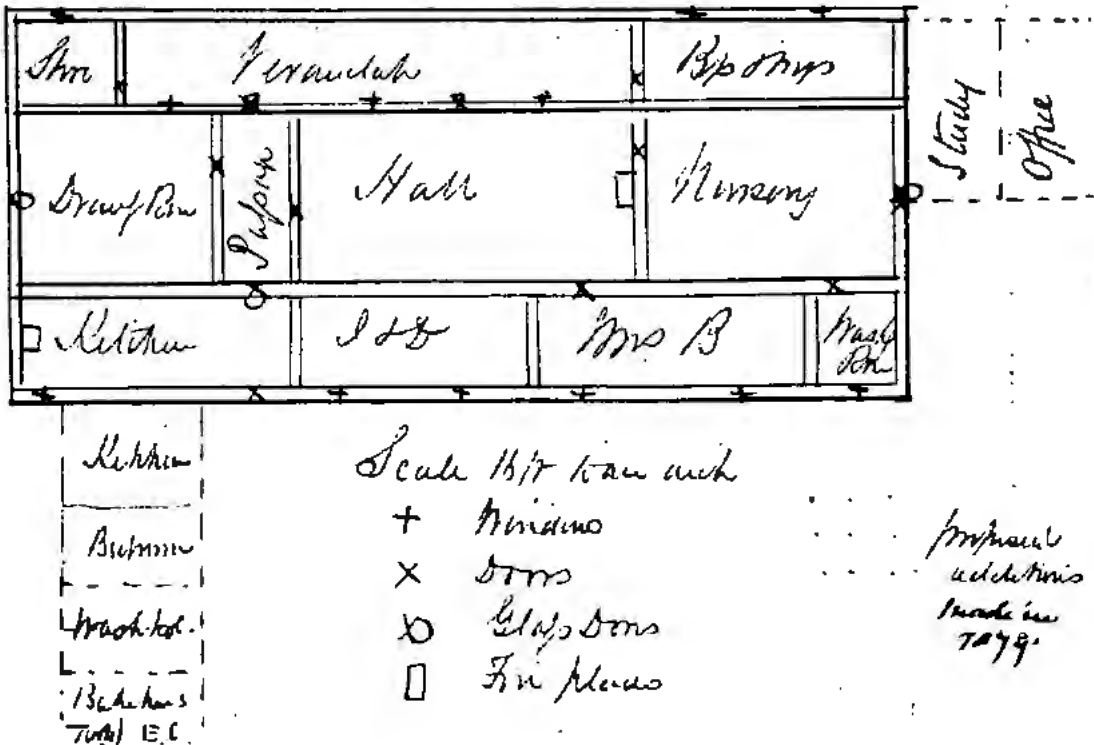
¹⁹³Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879..., p.4.

FIGURE 7



Bishop's Cote May 1879 by Mrs Bousfield
 (Source: State Library, Pretoria)

FIGURE 8



Ground plan of Bishop's Cote indicating proposed additions made in 1879

Bousfield described a visit to a successful mission station: "On Monday we rode over the Botshabelo Mr Merensky's Mission-station; a real treat because [it was] an unassailable proof that Missions do succeed, and do real good, when God blesses man's sensible schemes."¹⁹⁴

3.5.11 Survey of diocese at the end of 1879

The Bishop returned to Pretoria on Friday 1879-11-21 and was forced to remain there.¹⁹⁵ It was the time of the Sekhukhune Campaign and as Arthur Law had been asked to act as chaplain to the troops the Bishop had to act as the Pretoria parish priest.¹⁹⁶ In his first year in the Transvaal the new Bishop had visited each village within his diocese except for the Woodbush and the Spelonk in the northern Transvaal.¹⁹⁷ Why did the Bishop travel so much? "A small scattered population - three English or Africanic households only, and these small, in a space of fifty miles, separated from each other by rivers or small streams - boggy bottoms - and mountain ranges, which make travelling so difficult and uncertain, that you can scarcely reckon what time each stage may take you. At present, and for years to come, our work must be to look for Christ's sheep scattered abroad indeed; and the case of our little towns is not much more inviting - a small knot of people, some three or four perhaps real Churchmen, others trained in one sect or another; several Scotch Presbyterians who, at a distance from any ministrations of their own, gladly welcome the Church's services. Of such material are our little congregations formed, who meet in a store, or court-house, or a private house for the Sunday, and, if I can gather them, for daily worship. I have now visited every place where any hope of congregations could be found, and many a lonely farm besides."¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879..., p.4.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p.5.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., p.6.

¹⁹⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.47.

¹⁹⁸H.B. Bousfield, "Five weeks on the trek," Mission Field, 1880-03-01, p.97.

How did the Bishop see his task? "... [I had] very clear ideas of what [the Diocese] needed. Every town would have welcomed, and in the main supported, a schoolmaster, who as a deacon, might hold services on Sunday; and all would have welcomed also the itinerant priest, who came to celebrate the Holy Eucharist, and keep school and schoolmaster alive and well up to the mark. For six years I have striven hard to carry out my plan,..."¹⁹⁹

When he looked over the evidence of the carrying out of his plan he found -²⁰⁰

- The diocese had clergy stationed at Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Zeerust and Lydenburg.
- Four other places, Heidelberg, Wakkerstroom, Standerton and Middelburg wished for the services of the Church and were making efforts towards the building of churches.
- There were also two circuits of farms which wanted clergy.
- There were isolated farms which needed the services of the Church.

By December 1879 the Bishop had formulated a plan for an itinerant clergyman working from Pretoria to visit lonely farms and new districts.²⁰¹ This was to develop into the Pretoria Cathedral Mission District.

Once in the Transvaal the bishop realised that people in Britain would remember the work only if they were kept informed about it. The bishop must have spent hours writing, for long reports appeared in magazines such as Mission Field and Net. The Pretoria Diocesan Fund also published a report for 1879 and three quarterly reports but these were discontinued when the Diocese of Pretoria's Occasional Papers began to be printed.

The Bishop said that the Diocese needed²⁰²

¹⁹⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.47.

²⁰⁰p.D.F., First year's report..., p.7-8.

²⁰¹Ibid., p.8.

²⁰²p.D.F., First year's report..., p.8-10.

- Clergymen.
- Money. The Transvaal Churchpeople could supply £300 p.a. but £1 000 was needed from outside sources for many years.
- Women teachers.
- Money for school buildings.
- An increase to the Bishop's salary.
- Mission work.

The Sekhukhune Campaign was successfully completed soon after. Thorne poignantly summed up its end: "After nearly four years of unrest caused by Secoceni's [sic] inroads, it was for some weeks difficult to realise that the roads were safe to travel, that farmers could return to their homesteads, gold-diggers to their claims and that the district was once more - and now as it had never been before - open to enterprise and development."²⁰³ At the end of four years of war Thorne described his situation: "One man, and he with broken health, cannot overtake the work."²⁰⁴

3.5.12 Law's resignation

When Law returned from the Sekhukhune Campaign he left hurriedly for Britain on 1880-01-05²⁰⁵ as his mother was ill. In spite of being so useful to the Bishop Law had wanted to leave Pretoria since March 1879. Bousfield wrote of Law: "... and the good spirit he has always shown me. He wanted to go home in March, and his health would seem to demand it, but he had consented to stay another year, so as not to desert me when so short-handed as we are. He is now at the front acting Chaplain to the troops, and since he left news has arrived of his mother's death. This may call him home to England but at present I know not definitely his plans. I can only say the loss of him at any time would be very great, and his loss just now,

²⁰³"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1880-06-01, p.187.

²⁰⁴Ibid., p.187.

²⁰⁵Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.202.

without another man to take his place, seems utterly irreparable."²⁰⁶ When Law left Godfrey Lagden packed up his possessions and after consulting the Bishop and Miss Lamb sent them to Preller's sale.²⁰⁷ Evidently there seemed little chance of Law returning. The Bishop was upset at the thought of losing Law, and described his going in 1880 to Borton as "... losing my one decent University man with any go."²⁰⁸

To Law the Bishop wrote in an attempt to keep him in the Transvaal: "First you are the only gentleman, of University Education and good repute, the only representative of the ordinary stamp of English Clergyman, in the Diocese. Whatever may be the value of other men, it must be ruination to the tone of the Church in this Diocese if all her clergy are of the inferior class. Another man of your own stamp here, and a third at Potchefstroom seems to me imperatively necessary if the Church is to hold her own; and what shall she do, if instead of gaining two, she loses her only one."²⁰⁹

It was not clear whether Law would return to his post, although he had not officially resigned: "I enclose your testimonials, and if you decide never to return send me a formal resignation."²¹⁰ In Britain Law became a fund-raiser for the diocese of Pretoria.²¹¹ Towards the end of 1880, after Law had resigned,²¹² the Bishop denigrated him to the Metropolitan: "And so with Law, I hope he will yet do something, as he

²⁰⁶P.D.F., First year's report..., p.5.

²⁰⁷G.Y. Lagden, Diary 1879, 1880-01-06 and -07, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS Af.s 143, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

²⁰⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Borton, 1879-05-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁰⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.J. Law, 1879-05-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²¹⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.J. Law, 1880-04-23, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²¹¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Warren, 1880-07-16, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²¹²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Swinney [W.W. Jones], 1880-07-08, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

caused me my one great mistake & embarrassment here, thro' his buying a house [for St Etheldreda] without my authority, but I am almost afraid of his advocacy he suffered so much here, partly thro' his own fault, & tho' having excellent qualities, & some for which I would have been glad to retain him, he was not the man for Pretoria."²¹³

During 1880 the Bishop seldom left Pretoria as he had no one to leave in charge of the parish as he wrote: "... I had the help of Mr Roberts only, who was in charge of the school, and to whose efforts to assist me in these years I gladly bear witness. In my absences - not many - he did it all, and would not be induced to discontinue any one of the services."²¹⁴ Roberts, in his annotated copy of Six years in the Transvaal, underlined 'not many' and wrote "too many AR"²¹⁵

2.5.13 To the Western Transvaal during the winter of 1880
During the winter of 1880 the Bishop went on Visitation to the Western Transvaal towns of Rustenburg, Zeerust, Jacobsdal, Lichtenburg, and Potchefstroom²¹⁶ accompanied by Saßler.²¹⁷ This journey of 400 miles took 22 days and they travelled in the little wagon the Bishop had bought. From September 1879 he had been exploring the possibilities of a wagonette for sleeping in.²¹⁸ He had finally bought from MacHattie the wagon in which Sir Garnet Wolseley had travelled to the Transvaal. The Bishop drove the wagonette with three horses, unicorn²¹⁹ fashion.²²⁰

At Rustenburg J.P. Richardson had continued his work and was in the process of building a new schoolroom.

²¹³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to L. Giveen, 1880-10-25, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²¹⁴Bousfield, Six years..., p.50.

²¹⁵Roberts, annotated copy of Bousfield, Six years..., p.50.

²¹⁶H.B. Bousfield, Pretoria diocese, report for April, May and June 1880, [s.l.]: [s.n.], 1880, p.3.

²¹⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.51.

²¹⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Scott Bros, 1879-09-05, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²¹⁹unicorn COD pair of horses with third horse in front.

²²⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.J. Law, 1880-05-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The Richardsons also needed to add to their house so the Bishop promised to give them the last £50 for the extensions and to beg for a further £100 if all the work together was finished without debt.²²¹

The Bishop visited Potchefstroom where he felt that the animosity of the previous visit had dissipated. George Reid of London had promised the diocese £150 which Bousfield used for the Potchefstroom church debt and he made the diocese responsible for the balance of the debt, hoping to get the money from Britain.²²² The Bishop felt that the Potchefstroom people were co-operating fully and £200 had been promised towards the stipend of a new clergyman.²²³ The Potchefstroom congregation decided to raise £300 for a clergyman's salary, to which the diocese would add £100, and they would also give £50 for a pension for their elderly clergyman, William Richardson. "He has done good work in his day; but the good man's work is done."²²⁴

The parsonage needed to be repaired as well.²²⁵

3.5.14 To the Magaliesburg

The Bishop's luggage on his journeys included his robes, a portable font, chalice, paten and some books.²²⁶ Visitations were busy; in a report he wrote: "Abroad on two occasions: starting from home on Monday and journeying till Saturday among the farms in the Maghabisberg [Magaliesberg] hills, travelling about 120 miles each week."²²⁷

To Miss Barber he wrote that he found these "hasty visitations" trying and unsatisfactory.²²⁸

²²¹Bousfield, Report for April, May and June 1880..., p.3.

²²²Ibid., p.4.

²²³H.B. Bousfield, "Diocese of Pretoria report for quarter ending 1880-09-20," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.10.

²²⁴Bousfield, Report for April, May and June 1880..., p.4.

²²⁵Ibid., p.4.

²²⁶H.B. Bousfield, "Five weeks on trek," Mission Field, 1880-03-01, p.90.

²²⁷H.B. Bousfield, "Diocese of Pretoria report for quarter ending 1880-09-20," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.10.

²²⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Miss Barber, 1880-07-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

3.5.15 To Potchefstroom during September 1880

Immediately after his return from the second short trip Bousfield went to Potchefstroom for a week to examine and prepare J.P. Richardson and Alexander Temple before he ordained them priest on Sunday 1880-09-19.²²⁹

Alexander Temple had completed his training at St Augustine's, Canterbury in 1870 and was deaconed in 1873 by the Bishop of St Helena to work in the diocese of Capetown. He was working in the diocese of Grahamstown in 1879 when he applied to Bousfield for employment in his diocese.²³⁰ On his submitting satisfactory testimonials²³¹ Bousfield assigned him to help William Richardson in Potchefstroom and to do mission work.²³² From the first there was trouble over Temple's attitude to the choir and his laziness in not helping William Richardson.²³³ Bousfield refused to listen to any complaints against Temple unless they came through William Richardson.²³⁴ He also wrote to Richardson that he would not act unless he (Richardson) endorsed any of the complaints, for example, Temple's laziness.²³⁵ When Temple came to the Transvaal the diocese guaranteed him a salary of £100 p.a. from the S.P.G. grant.²³⁶ Over the period of Christmas 1879 - New Year 1880 Temple left the diocese. Bousfield wrote to W. Richardson: "Do I understand from your letter that Mr Temple left you altogether, or as I supposed gone to the Colony to marry (?) & return?"²³⁷

²²⁹H.B. Bousfield, "Diocese of Pretoria report for quarter ending 1880-09-20," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.10.

²³⁰Diocese of Pretoria, Diocesan Calendar 1898, [Pretoria]: [s.n.], [1898].

²³¹W. Rossiter, W. Steabler, N.J. Merriman, Letters testimonial of A. Temple, 1879-05, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²³²A. Temple, "Report," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.21-24.

²³³This letter has not survived.

²³⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Allen, 1879-08-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²³⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Richardson, 1879-08-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²³⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Richardson, 1880-01-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²³⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Richardson, 1880-01-02, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Temple did return to continue his mission work and the Bishop promised to ordain him priest if he studied and Richardson would nominate him.²³⁸ In June 1880 Temple accepted Bousfield's suggestion that he move to Zeerust, which had been vacant since Sadler left, and the Bishop decided to nominate him as priest himself.²³⁹ Whether Richardson refused to nominate Temple or his age made him forgetful is not clear. After his ordination Temple took his oath of canonical obedience to Bousfield²⁴⁰ and was licensed to assist at Potchefstroom.²⁴¹ Temple remained at Potchefstroom until the War when he left the diocese.

James Richardson had been appointed to Rustenburg in 1874. He kept his work solvent with the fees from his school.²⁴² He was a carpenter and when the Bishop gave him a grant from S.P.C.K. for the church furniture he made the seats for the Chapel himself.²⁴³ Richardson did not wish to be a schoolmaster; he would have liked to give this up and occupy his time in mission work. However the Bishop was against this for financial reasons: "Nothing would give me more comfort & thankfulness, than that you should do some work among the natives as well as the white population, but with your school, your ministerial work in Rustenburg, your ministrations at the Gaol, your possible employment among troops, I cannot as a 'Father in God' recommend a zealous son to attempt more, and as Bishop in the present low state of Diocesan Funds I cannot offer to set you free from the school work, to commence it. Therefore I would say, if a little service within your powers & strength, be open to, and possible for, you, do it, and so keep the door open,..."²⁴⁴

²³⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Temple, 1880-03-11, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²³⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Temple, 1880-07-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁴⁰H.B. Bousfield, Acta Book 1878-1899, MSS, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa, p.7.

²⁴¹Ibid., p.3.

²⁴²P.D.F., First year's report..., p.7.

²⁴³H.B. Bousfield, "Rustenburg as it was and is," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 5, 1883-01, p.40.

²⁴⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.P. Richardson, 1880-01-09, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Along with Temple, Richardson was ordained priest by Bousfield²⁴⁵ and took his oath of canonical obedience to him as bishop of Pretoria.²⁴⁶

3.5.16 To Capetown for the Episcopal Synod of December 1880
The last journey of the Bishop in 1880 was to Cape Town for an Episcopal Synod to confirm the election of Douglas McKenzie as Bishop of Zululand.²⁴⁷ Bousfield had already accepted McKenzie for the post. He wrote to Jones: "I should indeed be glad to come to Capetown for a Synod, for his [D. McKenzie's] confirmation & consecration, if only I can find the money for so expensive a journey, and provide for Pretoria, during my absence. ... But I shall make every effort to be present, as I am most anxious to confer with the Bishops of the Province on the boundary question, & if necessary also on the question of the investment of the endowment of this see which I should like to have invested one half in the Cape Colony, & one half up here."²⁴⁸

Eventually Bousfield decided to go because of the investment of the endowment of the see.²⁴⁹ In a letter which shows his attention to detail he asked Jones which robes he should take for the consecration: "... and I am most ready as to such subjects to conform to custom, so only desire to know your wishes and I will be as scarlet as the Sc[arlet] Lady herself, or as black as B[ishop] Hooper, or ready for either, or both, saving only respect for post cart restrictions."²⁵⁰

Meanwhile in the Transvaal there were rumours of unrest. The Bishop did not believe that the Boers would fight and felt that conversations with people upheld this view. "But I never remember one man before

²⁴⁵"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1881-09-01, p.330-331.

²⁴⁶H.B. Bousfield, Acta Book 1878-1899, MSS, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa, p.7.

²⁴⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.54.

²⁴⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-07-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁴⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-09-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-08-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

the war express the idea that the Boers would fight. If then, when I first went to the Cape, I expressed a like incredulity, I spoke the language of all with whom I had come into contact."²⁵¹

Roberts disagreed, writing in the margin of his copy of the Bishop's memoirs: "This was not my experience. Country people assured me of it. But the English townfolk did not believe it, neither did I. AR"²⁵²

The Bishop left for Cape Town on 1880-11-17²⁵³ by post cart and then by train from Beaufort West. He estimated the cost of the round trip as about £100.²⁵⁴ When he returned to the Transvaal the Boers were in revolt and the country was in a state of war.

3.6 Bousfield and the British Administration

When the Bishop had been in the Transvaal for two months, he wrote to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach who had succeeded Carnarvon as Colonial Secretary in 1878-03.²⁵⁵ "You kindly expressed a wish [?] to hear from me when I reached my new home in this remote colony."²⁵⁶ In his report he stressed the need for a railway to help lower the cost of living, the lack of education, the need for skilled labour and industrial training for the Africans. He also asked Sir Michael for a grant of land: "The hope you kindly held out to me of receiving a grant of land to myself and my children, I would remind you of it, and venture to press the claim on private and public grounds."²⁵⁷

The grant was not forthcoming from the British Administration but Bousfield did buy land in Heidelberg: "I will gladly take the whole four erven at £7.10. - each, I paying transfer

²⁵¹Bousfield Six years..., p.53-54.

²⁵²Roberts annotated copy of Bousfield, Six years..., p.54.

²⁵³G.Y. Lagden, Diary 1880, 1880-11-17, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS Af. s 144, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

²⁵⁴H.B. Bousfield, "Letter to E.H. Bousfield, 1880-12-01," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.31.

²⁵⁵Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.313, 32.33.

²⁵⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to M. Hicks-Beach, 1879-03-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵⁷Ibid.

expenses. Will you have them all duly conveyed to 'Henry Brougham Bousfield, D.D. Bishop of Pretoria, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns.' Please be particular as to this as I shall purchase for myself, this land, and not for the see."²⁵⁸ Surely, if this was so, the "... D.D. Bishop of Pretoria..." was irrelevant?

3.7 Pretoria Parochial Organisation

In spite of his constant travels during 1879 the Bishop did not neglect his episcopal duties in Pretoria. Seventeen candidates were confirmed at St Alban's on 1879-04-25 and a month later one woman was confirmed.²⁵⁹ The Bishop described his work in Pretoria during 1879 as: "At home, writing, teaching, accounts."²⁶⁰

3.7.1 The new St Alban's Church

The Bishop was involved in getting the new church in Pretoria completed²⁶¹ but by the end of August the new Church had run into problems.²⁶²

- Timber could not be obtained.
- Labour was very scarce and expensive.
- The Zulu War had taken nearly all the transport, so rates for carriage were high.
- The grass was so poor that the oxen were dying along the way and this had also raised transport costs.

The Bishop began his year with Advent, the liturgical new year.²⁶³ He wished to get the Pretoria congregation moved from the old church to the larger new one²⁶⁴ by Advent Sunday, 1879-11-30. To the Bishop, accustomed to his large Victorian Church at Andover, the new

²⁵⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.N. Noyce, 1879-05-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵⁹"Church wants in Pretoria," Net, 1879-10-01, p.146.

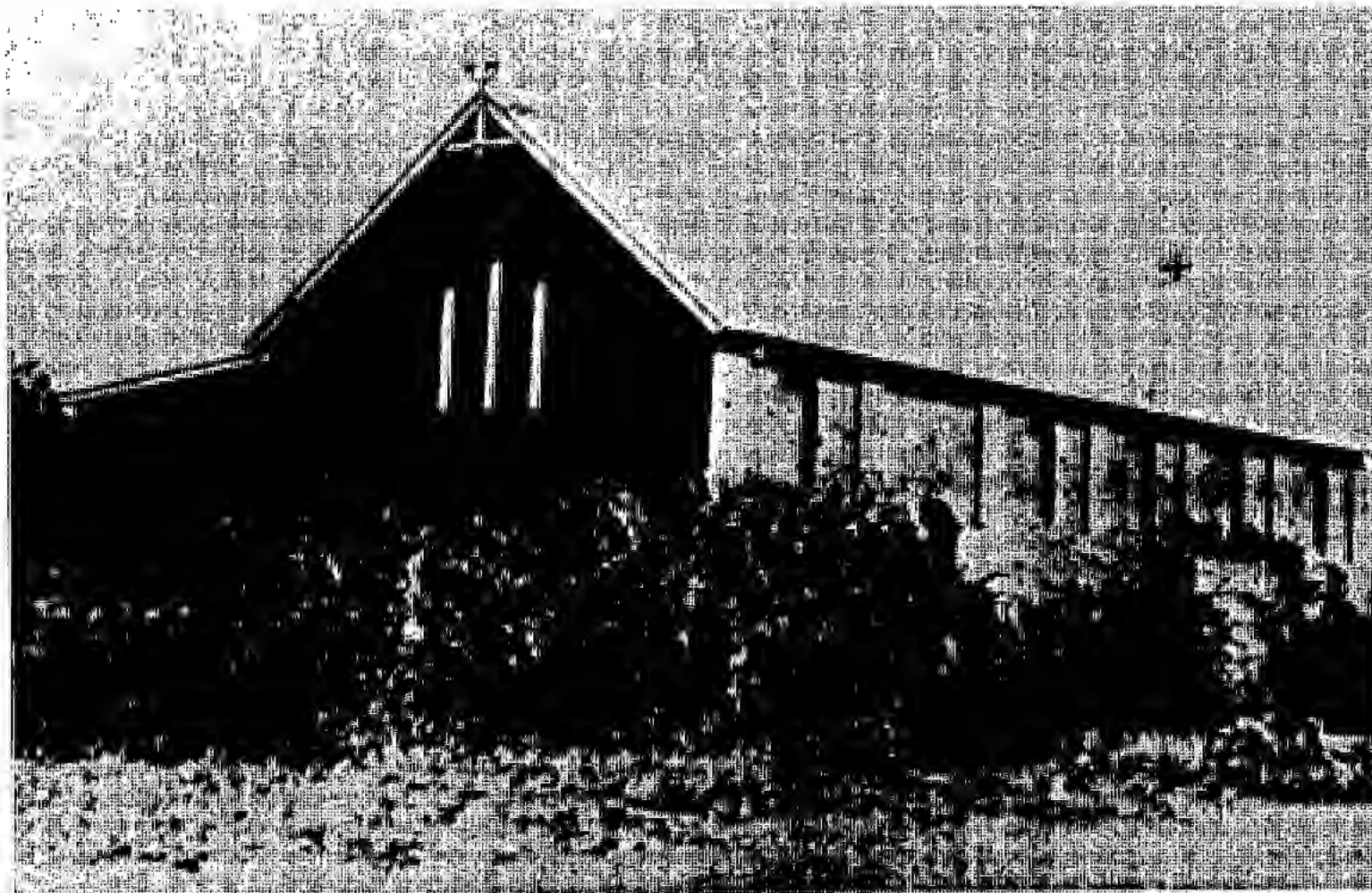
²⁶⁰H.B. Bousfield, "Diocese of Pretoria report for quarter ending 1880-09-29," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.10.

²⁶¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to B.H. Dewey, 1880-04-24, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁶²"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.551-552.

²⁶³Bousfield, Six years..., p.48.

²⁶⁴Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879..., p.5.



St Alban's Church Pretoria 1879.

(Source: B Addison, *Daughters of the King*,
Pretoria: Gov. Body of St. Mary's DSG, 1979, p.2.)

Pretoria church did not look as he felt a church should from the outside but it had been made to look a little ecclesiastical on the inside.²⁶⁵

On the Sunday before Advent the Bishop let it be known that he wished the Advent Sunday services to be held in the new church so the following week was a flurry of activity as the floor still had to be levelled and the furniture moved. By the Wednesday it seemed to the Bishop that he had been unrealistic in his estimation as workmen could not be found and the Government refused to allow convicts to be used for sectarian work. However with the help of an engineering officer, Major Yeatman Biggs, a fatigue²⁶⁶ party was sent on the Thursday. Even the Bishop helped and the work was completed down to the bell being hung outside.²⁶⁷ Roberts in his annotated copy of Six years in the Transvaal wrote: "Don't leave me out. I worked my best, much harder than the B[isho]p, who chiefly did the talking. AR"²⁶⁸

Godfrey Lagden noted in his diary that the Bishop returned from a trip on Friday 1879-11-21²⁶⁹ so he actually had only nine days in Pretoria before the opening of the new church. Lagden himself helped to get the church ready on Saturday 29th November.²⁷⁰ The fittings of the old church had to be transferred to the new St Alban's and also the marble font sent to the Cathedral by the Devonshire parish of Plymton St Mary's.²⁷¹ "These arrangements, with such lamps and carpet for the choir as the stores of the little city could provide, and matting to our still mud floor, made the plain hut building look more church-like, ... The one old thing in it is my humble throne, made, after the model of the stalls in Winchester

²⁶⁵P.D.F., First years report..., p.4-5.

²⁶⁶fatigue COD soldiers' non-military duty

²⁶⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.49.

²⁶⁸Roberts annotated copy of Bousfield, Six years..., p.49.

²⁶⁹G.Y. Lagden, Diary 1879, 1879-11-21, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS af.s 143, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

²⁷⁰Ibid., 1879-11-29.

²⁷¹vide p.128.

Cathedral, of old wood given me by the Dean and Chapter, some of which was supporting the roof from the days of William of Walkelyn, the Norman Bishop, full 800 years. I need not add how highly I prize this, our chief treasure. May my work bear fruit as long!"²⁷²

The move went off well, apart from "... some difficulties about assigning seats to some who still have the old English notions on the matter, I should have all seats free, but those who wish otherwise are treating the question in so good a spirit, that we shall no doubt be able to settle some plan by which harmony may be preserved, and a common love and zeal for our little church, and the spiritual fabric also, may be secured."²⁷³

The Bishop felt that he had to be in control of the Cathedral services: "The Cathedral being Parish Church, or rather parish Church being by desire of the people, adopted by me as Cathedral, I felt bound to stipulate that its ritual & services should be under my control, to avoid such scenes as S[outh] Africa has elsewhere seen, to keep myself from a Cathedral which would be a hindrance instead of help, therein I had all the people with me. I plainly said I could do without a Cathedral, but I could not be a show, or dummy, in it"²⁷⁴

The services at St Alban's had continued. During Advent 1879 the Bishop had given readings on Wednesdays and Fridays from the Book of Revelation followed by a metrical Litany and collects. This was in addition to the usual services.²⁷⁵ On 1879-12-21 Roberts and Spratt had been ordained priest by Bousfield. Roberts continued with his schoolteaching and Spratt was sent to Standerton.²⁷⁶

²⁷²Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879..., p.5.

²⁷³P.D.F., First year's report..., p.4-5.

²⁷⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Wood, 1880-07-28, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷⁵H.B. Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879..., p.6.

²⁷⁶Ibid., p.6.

The move to the new Church resulted in increased congregations and doubled offertories.²⁷⁷ The army orderly assigned to the Bishop as acting Chaplain cared for the Church.²⁷⁸ The Bishop had further plans for St Alban's²⁷⁹ but the war put a stop to them.

The Bishop called St Alban's his pro-Cathedral, which the C.O.D. defines as a substitute for a Cathedral. Sir Garnet Wolseley found this title pretentious: "Went to church with the troops in what Bishop Bousfield - or Bouscifiel as he is appropriately called in Natal - styles his 'pro-Cathedral'. He had a parson or an 'acolyte' to carry his crosier in front of him. The tawdry attempt to give this protestant place of worship the appearance of a Roman Catholic church was very painful to see."²⁸⁰ In his report to the Pretoria Diocesan Fund at the end of 1879 the Bishop explained his plans for a Cathedral complex: "I must not forget to add that we have secured the land eastward of the present church, whereby our present building may be regarded as a pro Cathedral no longer, but what is will be able to be used as long as it will last; and additions can be made to it to almost any extent ever likely to be required, as we have now a considerable plot lying together in a square block, and two smaller plots close at hand, on which I hope in time to see our schools erected, and a house or houses for our clergy."²⁸¹

During Lent 1880 there were the usual daily services with one addition. At 8 p.m. a musical Litany was held and a sermon preached. The Lent services were better attended in 1880 than they had been in 1879.²⁸²

²⁷⁷H.B. Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879..., p.6.

²⁷⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Colonel Gildea, 1880-06-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1880-08-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁸⁰Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.246.

²⁸¹H.B. Bousfield, The Bishop's report for the months January to March 1880..., p.4.

²⁸²Ibid., p.4.

Since Bousfield was forced to remain in Pretoria he turned his organising ability to the completion of the new Cathedral and to the cemetery. As a result of his persistence the Church was improved. Before this, on 1880-02-29, the church had been flooded and services had had to be cancelled.²⁸³ In April the Church was plastered. Bousfield wrote to Law of the improvements: "The plasterers are in the Church at last, the roof is finished, the crosses at each end, the windows all ready to go in when the plasterers came out."²⁸⁴ New seats were put in and a chancel added with seats on platforms for the choir and clergy, and accommodation for the priest with assistant and Gospeller.²⁸⁵

The Bishop preached frequently. Sir Garnet was greatly upset by a sermon on 1 Corinthians 7: "Went to evening service & heard this horrid Bishop preach on that indecent chapter on marriage in Corinthians. It was a filthy sermon that no girl should have listened to: indeed the chapter from which the text was taken should never be read in church."²⁸⁶ In spite of disagreeing with the sermon the next Sunday evening saw Sir Garnet and more in church: "... I went to evening service to the Church here which was well conducted & the Bishop did not preach a prudent²⁸⁷ sermon."²⁸⁸

Sir Garnet was a stern critic of sermons. The previous year he had been to the old St Alban's when either Roberts or Law had preached: "Went to the Bishop's church: ... The fellow who preached tried to prove there was an intermediary heaven, a purgatory in fact: he called it all sorts of names, Hades, Purgatory, etc. etc. but he had not the courage to call it purgatory: a wolf in sheep's clothing was he, & a coward

²⁸³Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.243.

²⁸⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.J. Law, 1880-04-23, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁸⁵"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1880-09-01, p.317.

²⁸⁶Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.254.

²⁸⁷prurient COD given to or arising from indulgence of lewd ideas

²⁸⁸Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.258.

withal. How I longed to apply my boot to his stern!"²⁸⁹ The Bishop did not have a high opinion of Roberts' preaching either, and complained that he was "... assisted only by Mr Roberts (of S. Augustine's) who is Master of the Boys School, and so bad a preacher and public officiant that the people will not go to Church if they know he is going to preach. It was a really great [?] trial to me to ordain him priest, but necessity compelled and tho' I cannot excuse, I cannot but sympathize with the people He seems unable to comprehend the idea of preaching decently..."²⁹⁰ So Sir Garnet had probably heard Roberts.

3.7.2 The Cemetery

The cemetery also engaged the Bishop's attention. Law had tried to get this enclosed by holding public meetings and a Committee had been formed. However because of legal problems nothing had happened and the Committee had been dissolved. Law advised the Bishop to allow the legal questions to settle themselves and had given him the money collected, approximately £30.²⁹¹ The Bishop used the offertory collection at St Albans from 1880-01-01 to -09-31, a sum of £292 16s 2d, to pay Church expenses and the stipends of Law and an assistant for the Bishop (both sums ceased on 1880-07-01). £100 was spent on enclosing the cemetery.²⁹²

The Bishop accepted Henshall's tender for the work: "I hereby accept the tender you have made to me for enclosing the four erven of ground appropriated to the English Church, and shall [be] obliged by your proceeding with the work immediately."²⁹³

²⁸⁹Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.125.

²⁹⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Miss Barber, 1880-07-22, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁹¹Bousfield, Six years..., p.51.

²⁹²H.B. Bousfield, "Report for quarter ending 1880-09-29," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.9.

²⁹³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.W. Henshall, 1880-02-13, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The work was completed within three months. The Bishop told Law of its progress: "The posts & wires are all round our Burial Ground, the gate is to be put up at once, and then I hope to get a hedge planted, a large cross erected on the mound, and a bier made for funerals."²⁹⁴

Once the enclosure was complete the Bishop wrote to the Governor, Sir Owen Lanyon: "I am happy now to report the almost finished enclosure of the Church's portion of the Burial Ground, and am anxious to make sure of the indefeasibility of her title to it before moving further. Will you kindly find out for me, what her strict title is, and if there be any possibility of her disturbance in the use and regulation of her portion: and should there be any such danger, put me in the way of securing a Legislative; or some unquestionable Government title, that would secure its use as a Cemetery to the Church for ever."²⁹⁵

It is not clear whether he was ever given this title but on 1880-06-04 there was a discussion in the Legislative Assembly on his action of enclosing this land.²⁹⁶ The Bishop asked for elucidation on these questions and then discovered that his actions at the cemetery were at fault and he was charged with enclosing and appropriating public ground. The Bishop was able to show off his legal knowledge in the ensuing discussion: "I pleaded common decency's requirements as my justification, but knowing how little they would stand before legal quibbles, at once deferred a journey to examine the legal status. This I soon found very satisfactory; the ground has been appropriated to sepulture²⁹⁷ by the Volksraad before the annexation, and intrusted to the charge of a Committee, whose rules determined to assign portions to the several

²⁹⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.J. Law, 1880-04-23, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁹⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Owen Lanyon, 1880-05-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁹⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Owen Lanyon, 1880-06-05, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁹⁷sepulture COD burying, putting in a grave

congregations in Pretoria, ... My justification was complete..."²⁹⁸ The Bishop was pleased with the end results. The cemetery "... which has been hitherto a disgrace to our race and civilisation and Christianity, is now decently enclosed, and I hope soon to see hedges planted and dedicated to its holy use, if, as I fear, the laws of the colony, in their confusion, stand in the way of the consecration of a freehold."²⁹⁹

3.7.3 As acting Military Chaplain

When Law left the Transvaal in January 1880 Bousfield had been forced to remain in Pretoria as its parish priest and had taken over Law's duties as military chaplain.³⁰⁰ At first the Bishop had ridden up to the barracks for service but this increased his work load so the troops used to come down for service at 8 a.m.: "... the service fell in well with my plans, enabling me to comply with that old Canon of the English Church, so commonly and conveniently ignored by many who profess great regard for the ancient and 'correct', which forbids a priest to celebrate until he have said Matins."³⁰¹ Bousfield found the work "... a most pleasant labour. The great number of sick and funerals has made the trial; the eight o'clock congregation, which makes the service a reality, has caused its greatest pleasure, though of course an increase of labour - but, thank God, that is pleasure; and the number of soldiers who attend at the other services shows that they appreciate the efforts of their acting chaplain to speak plainly the things of the kingdom of God."³⁰² The Bishop always preached at the 8 a.m. service.³⁰³ Sir Garnet Wolseley attended some of these military church parades.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁸Bousfield, Six years..., p.51-52.

²⁹⁹"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1880-09-01, p.317.

³⁰⁰Bousfield, Six years..., p.49.

³⁰¹Ibid., p.49-50.

³⁰²Bousfield, The Bishop's report for the months January to March..., p.3-4.

³⁰³"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1880-09-01, p.310.

³⁰⁴e.g. Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.204.

William Russell was a war correspondent of the Daily Telegraph with the British troops on the Sekhukhune Campaign. On 1879-11-21 the Daily Telegraph published a report dated 1879-10-10 written by Russell from Pretoria, in which he accused the troops of undisciplined behaviour towards the citizens of the Transvaal i.e. Boers and Africans. He then accused the military chiefs i.e. Wolseley, of allowing these conditions to occur.³⁰⁵ A. Preston, the editor of Wolseley's diaries, writes of this incident: "[Wolseley] therefore tried to make out that Russell's evidence was ill-founded and his motives wrongheaded. But Harrison [a member of Wolseley's staff], always an independent critic, comments upon the prevalence of slack discipline, largely attributing it to a combination of prolonged boredom, uncertain and indecisive leadership and the defused tensions which come automatically to soldiers long primed for a great battle which did not eventuate. Wolseley.. seems to have attributed Russell's - indeed any civilians' - abuse of the military to petty personal motives:..."³⁰⁶

The Bishop, without checking the charges with Wolseley, preached a sermon on the allegations. Wolseley noted in his diary: "The Bishop who had evidently been reading Billy Russell's letter of abuse of our soldiers, pitched into them roundly for their 'violence'. I have therefore determined upon sending a copy of my letter in answer to these charges to the newspapers in this Colonies. The W[ar] O[ffice] cannot therefore avoid publishing it in England. Billy Russell dislikes me already, & now I shall have him as a violent enemy for life - I cannot help it - I despise him as a miserable coward & slanderer of brave men, the meanest of whom he would not dare to face in any fair fight."³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵W. Russell, "The British Army in the Transvaal," Daily Telegraph, 1879-11-21, British Library Newspaper section, Colindale, London.

³⁰⁶Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.329, note 199.16.

³⁰⁷Ibid., p.212

One wonders how the soldiers felt about the sermon if this is how their Commanding Officer felt. Sir Garnet also did not like the Bishop: "The Bishop, Lanyon & Billy Russell dined here [at Government House]. The last named goes home tomorrow, the first named is full of bumptiousness & ready to argue on any subject, no matter what it may be, and although it may be one regarding which he has no means of knowing anything. How [a]like Bishops are to one another in their bigotry, their prejudices & the narrowness of their view."³⁰⁸

As well as conducting the military services the Bishop also³⁰⁹

- visited soldiers in the hospital.
- held Bible Classes among the army families when they reached Pretoria.
- visited army camps when on his travels.

The Bishop, being chronically short of money, found the military salary of £130 p.a. useful for his stable expenses.³¹⁰ In January 1880 the bishop wrote to the Colonel Commanding, Pretoria, suggesting that as a result of his work among the troops in the Transvaal, both in Pretoria and on his travels, he should be appointed "... a Chaplain General in the Transvaal, so as to allow of my controlling the camp (as well as parochial) ministrations of the Clergy, mostly I regret to say, young inexperienced men of inferior stamp, and visiting occasionally stations without Clergy, without being accounted to neglect the duties of acting Chaplain here."³¹¹ Nothing seems to have come of this and the Bishop remained as acting Chaplain in Pretoria.

3.7.4 Visiting

As Pretoria parish priest during 1880 Bousfield worked, as always, to a plan and for a specific aim:

³⁰⁸Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.193.

³⁰⁹Bousfield, Six years..., p.50.

³¹⁰Ibid., p.50-51.

³¹¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Colonel Commanding, Pretoria, 1880-01-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

"I have done my utmost also to visit the people in their houses, and so make way for what I desire in the next curate of Pretoria 'the house-going parson', who shall make 'a Churchgoing people'. I may report favourably of our increased congregations and communicants, and offertories."³¹²

3.7.5 Pretoria clergy

The Bishop felt let down by his diocesan clergy, and grumbled in an article for Mission Field "... the old adage, 'If you want a thing done, do it yourself', is ten times more true than usual in this diocese."³¹³ Not the sort of remark to make publicly about one's staff in a widely-read magazine.

3.8 Diocesan organisation

3.8.1 Staff

3.8.1.1 H. Adams

Henry Adams seems to have remained in Pretoria until he was sent to Middelburg in May 1880. He accompanied the Bishop on one of his journeys to Middelburg during November 1879 for ten days.³¹⁴ In Pretoria Adams kept up his studies and on 1880-05-25 he was ordained deacon by the Bishop, who licensed him to preach in Middelburg.³¹⁵

3.8.1.2 H. Sadler

Sadler was sent first to Middelburg to start the school and institute regular services; then Adams was sent³¹⁶ as deacon-schoolmaster. The Bishop felt that the fees from the school could supplement the income of the deacon.³¹⁷

When the Bishop arrived in the Transvaal Sadler had been stationed at Zeerust for a number of

³¹²"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1880-09-01, p.316.

³¹³Ibid., p.317.

³¹⁴Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879..., p.4.

³¹⁵H.B. Bousfield, Acta Book 1878-1899, MSS, p.3-4, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³¹⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kirsten, 1880-04-26, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³¹⁷Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879..., p.2-3.

years. On his first visit to Zeerust the Bishop sensed a division between the laity and their priest but thought he had been able to heal the breach.³¹⁸ Roberts described Sadler thus: "The meekness & patience which he displayed marks him to my mind with Mr [William] Richardson, as one of our greatest Christian heroes in the Transvaal. The Church [in Zeerust] is his monument."³¹⁹ As well as caring for Zeerust Sadler itinerated to Lichtenburg.³²⁰

On 1880-04-13³²¹ Sadler left Zeerust after trouble with the congregation. Unfortunately the Bishop had no clergyman to replace him³²² but felt he should remove Sadler rather than send him back: "I cannot find blame attaching to him, so shall try to find him work elsewhere; but he is too much the worse for South Africa to be easily well placed."³²³

The Bishop wrote to the Zeerust congregation through Rutherford: "Your reference to Mr Sadler's leaving, and his account of it (who arrived here yesterday) are equally painful, and demand from me every effort to know the whole truth concerning it, which I do trust the people of Zeerust will cordially & sincerely state to me, on my approaching visit."³²⁴

Sadler reached Pretoria on 21st April, remaining there a week and helping his Bishop.³²⁵ On 27th April he was sent to Middelburg to start the

³¹⁸Bousfield, First year's report..., p.7.

³¹⁹Roberts, Genesis..., p.14.

³²⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Sadler, 1879-05-13, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³²¹"Itinerant work in the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1881-03-01, p.123.

³²²Bousfield, The Bishop's report for the months January to March 1880..., p.6.

³²³Bousfield, Report for April, May and June 1880..., p.3.

³²⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to R. Rutherford, 1880-04-23, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³²⁵"Itinerant work in the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1881-03-01, p.123.

school and work before Adams' advent.³²⁶ When Adams arrived Sadler returned to Pretoria.

On his return he again helped the Bishop in the parish but always under Bousfield's guidance: "I must add that the Bishop most kindly and patiently put me through my pacings in the matter of whatever I had to do; ... After remaining in Pretoria about three weeks thus occupied, the Bishop took me with him as his (acting) chaplain on a three weeks' visitation journey. I may say, en passant, that for those three weeks I found myself in the constant presence of one of the least time wasting, the least exacting, and the most unselfish of men. The journey embraced the towns of Rustenburg, Zeerust, Lichtenburg, and Potchefstroom, besides other places..."³²⁷ This visit enabled the Bishop to get the Zeerust congregation and Sadler together to discuss their differences.

On 1880-08-02 the Bishop sent Sadler to Wakkerstroom with instructions to itinerate to Utrecht and he worked in this area until his death in 1904.³²⁸

3.8.1.3 J. Thorne

By July 1880 the Bishop still had not solved the problem of Thorne's holiday. He had hoped to send him away for three months and replace him with Sadler. In this way the work at Lydenburg would continue and Thorne could return refreshed.³²⁹ However this did not happen as the Bishop sent Sadler to Wakkerstroom. In August 1880 the Bishop had plans for sending a new clergyman, G.D. Webster, to Lydenburg when he arrived from Britain and had been broken in to the work.³³⁰

³²⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kirsten, 1880-04-26, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³²⁷"Itinerant work in the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1881-03-01, p.124.

³²⁸Roberts, Genesis..., p.17.

³²⁹Bousfield, Report for April, May and June 1880..., p.4-5.

³³⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Thorne, 1880-09-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The Bishop wrote sternly to Thorne who felt that his wants were being neglected: "You must not write to me as if I would not help you. You know that but for Law's desertion which has tied me here I would have not a man to hold this place (& Potchefstroom) & could not even visit you. ... I never suspect others of personal motives, but am sorry to see you writing as if 'rest & be thankful' were possible this side of the grave,..."³³¹

3.8.1.4 C. Spratt

At Standerton Spratt was able to collect £195 towards the new church.³³²

3.8.1.5 F. Dowling and the Thurgoods

The Bishop had trouble with three of his original mission party. Frank Dowling was the son of the grocer in Andover and had come to the Transvaal as a candidate for ordination. He decided to abandon his studies and found secular employment.³³³ The Thurgoods left the Bousfields employment when Mrs Bousfield was ill.³³⁴ "My disappointments have been very great. One of my Candidates for orders has failed me, the two people who came (thro' Miss Wigram) as I should have said 'serving brother & sister' have deserted, a work (?) for which they had special powers, and me in my deepest trial. My Augustinians have shown more care to money than to serve the Bride of Christ, but God has not failed yet."³³⁵

3.8.1.6 Clergy education

The Bishop had the idea that a clergyman could be self-supporting as a deacon-schoolmaster while studying, as Adams was at Middelburg.

³³¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Thorne, 1880-10-18, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³³²Bousfield, Report for April, May and June 1880..., p.5.

³³³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Dowling, 1880-07-30, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³³⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Miss Wigram, 1880-01-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³³⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Miss Barber, 1880-07-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

He explained his plan in a letter to a prospective worker: "My original idea was that your brother should be stationed in some of our districts as Reader and Schoolmaster, in which capacity he might [be] qualifying for Holy Orders, and that you should be with him, & help in forming a school, sharing his stipend etc."³³⁶

The Bishop continued with the training of his clergy which S.P.G. made a condition of their grant: "... the attainments of the Divinity students to be tested by the Preliminary Theological Examination conducted under the auspices of the Theological Faculty of the University of Cambridge."³³⁷

The Bishop sent A. Temple a syllabus to work through before he could be ordained priest.³³⁸ Bousfield told J.P. Richardson that he would only ordain him on the condition that he learnt Greek and that he would send him a course.³³⁹

The Bishop did not like the products of St Augustine's, Canterbury, describing them thus: "The Augustinians are bad eno', oh such conceit! such airs! such incompetence & want of go."³⁴⁰ His two former Augustinian students were Roberts and Spratt and one wonders if the Bousfield's criticisms applied to one or both of them.

3.8.1.7 Clergy roll in December 1880

When the Bishop went to Capetown for the Episcopal Synod at the end of 1880 the diocesan Clergy roll was as follows:

³³⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Miss Powell, 1880-11-09, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³³⁷SPG, Grants, 1879-05, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³³⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Temple, 1880-03-11, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³³⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.P. Richardson, 1880-01-09, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁴⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.R. Randolph, 1880-02-19, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

H.B. Bousfield	bishop	Pretoria
A. Roberts	priest/ schoolmaster	Pretoria
C.R. Lange	retired priest	Pretoria
W. Richardson	priest	Potchefstroom
A. Temple	priest/ missionary	Potchefstroom
J.P. Richardson	priest/ schoolmaster	Rustenburg
C.M. Spratt	priest	Standerton
J. Thorne	priest/ schoolmaster	Lydenburg
H. Adams	deacon/ schoolmaster	Middelburg
H. Sadler	priest	Wakkerstroom

3.8.2 Parochial organisation within the diocese

While Pretoria-bound through Law's absence the Bishop set out his ideas on parochial organisation in the diocese: "The work of the Church in Pretoria, & Potchefstroom, should be that of an English parish, & in the former place I am trying to make it so. In the other places it is that of watcher on an outpost, looking for stray sheep. I want 3 more of these occupied, Heidelberg, Middleburg, Wakkerstroom and two itinerating clergy. At present there is no opening for the church to the heathen, the English are heathen, but it is our duty and the unspeakable comfort it would be to have minds at home, turning to our heathen, praying for them & preparing funds to go in when the Lord opens a door."³⁴¹

The vast distances made itinerant clergymen a necessity to "... impart of its life to such separate atoms. But if the souls are to be saved this is the work wanted, itinerants on horseback from place to place constantly at the work."³⁴²

On 1880-03-09 the Bishop addressed a pastoral letter to the priests, deacons, churchwardens, sidesmen and

³⁴¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C. Bury, 1880-02-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁴²Ibid.

members of the Church in the diocese of Pretoria.³⁴³ Bousfield explained his actions and how he wanted the diocese organised.

1. Law's departure had stopped his travelling in the Diocese.
2. He explained how he wished the congregations to be organised.
 - 2.1 He wanted 2 Churchwardens and if possible 4 sidesmen elected at an Easter vestry. The Bishop would act as Archdeacon because as yet there was none.
 - 2.2 The Church Councils working efficiently could prepare the way for a Synod. The Church Committees or Councils would consist of the
 - Curate
 - 2 Churchwardens
 - 4 Sidesmen
3.
 - 3.1 The laity were to be urged to support the Church financially for its maintenance and work: "If the Church is to take root and flourish among us, it must be an endogen and not an exotic maintained from old England."³⁴⁴
 - 3.2 The Bishop explained that educated clergy would only be attracted by adequate salaries: "They will not seek wealth and ease, but they will need shelter from a harassing struggle with dirt, disorder and starvation."³⁴⁵
 - 3.3 The Bishop felt the best way to raise money was through the introduction of the tithe.
4. S.P.G. had given money to the diocese. The Bishop requested that in each congregation a sermon

³⁴³H.B. Bousfield, To the priests, deacons, churchwardens, sidesmen and members of the Church in the diocese of Pretoria [1880]-03-09, Pretoria: Diocese of Pretoria, 1880.

³⁴⁴Ibid., p.2.

³⁴⁵Ibid., p.2

be preached and an offertory made for S.P.G. before the end of the Church year.

This pastoral letter set out briefly how the Bishop wanted the congregations to be organised, his wish that the diocese should be self-supporting and his conviction that S.P.G. deserved their support. He was prepared to start from small beginnings to get the diocese going. None of the points he mentioned were beyond the capability of each congregation.

3.8.3 Boundary with the diocese of Zululand

The Bishop was still concerned about the boundary between the dioceses of Zululand and Pretoria. Bousfield wrote to Macrorie asking him to tell Ransom to send all particulars of the Wakkerstroom church work to Bousfield: "On sound ancient principles both Wakkerstroom & Utrecht should fall to the Transvaal Diocese. The principle of division adopted by the House of Bishops parts them, leaving the former to me, and until they alter it, if you are at Newcastle you can reach Utrecht far easier than I from Wakkerstroom, if you would keep it under your wing. but if I can send a man to Wakkerstroom the two can still go together."³⁴⁶

Jones had second thoughts about Utrecht being the headquarters of the Zululand Mission and explained his doubts to Miss Barber: "...: Utrecht has proved to be a very unhealthy place, dangerous to life and Wakkerstroom is probably in Pretoria Diocese. Indeed now that the Civil boundaries are defined it may very probably be decided by the B[isho]ps in the next Synod that it w[oul]d be well to make the boundaries of the Diocese identical with the Political boundaries & to bring Utrecht into Pretoria Diocese, a course wh[ich] w[ould] probably be acceptable to the people at Utrecht."³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1880-02-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁴⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to Miss Barber, 1880-03-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

From the following extract it seems that the Episcopal Synod was to discuss the matter when they gathered to consecrate Douglas McKenzie as Bishop of Zululand. Jones wrote to Callaway, Bishop of St John's: "My idea was that in October or November the Bishops might meet, such as can come, here in Synod, that we should appoint, consecrate, & send forth McKenzie as Bishop - that we should transact such other business as might be practicable, as e.g. ... define clearly the boundary line of Pretoria Diocese & Zululand..."³⁴⁸

When Episcopal Synod was held in November 1880 it was decided: "The boundaries of the Diocese of Pretoria having been considered, and maps consulted, & presence of the Bishop Elect of Zululand obtained. Resolved that 'notwithstanding' the previous resolution to the contrary the Diocese of Pretoria do include the whole territory within the Civil Boundaries of the Transvaal, except Swaziland and the Baralong country should then fall within those bound."³⁴⁹ Bousfield, having made a mountain out of a molehill, was the winner.

3.4.8 Church buildings and property

In the Diocese the Bishop kept a tight hold over the church buildings. At Standerton the Building Committee had collected funds for their church. The Bishop had promised £100 of diocesan money for £300 or more collected with the diocesan share being paid when the building was completed.³⁵⁰ The Bishop described the best building committee as "... one of three members with two absent."³⁵¹ The Standerton Building Committee wanted an iron church but the Bishop who did not want Spratt saddled with its debt felt that one of well-plastered green brick would be best.³⁵² The Building

³⁴⁸W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Callaway, 1880-06-15, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁴⁹W.W. Jones, Resolutions of the Synod of Bishops held Nov. and Dec. 1880, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³⁵⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1880-01-31, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁵¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1880-02-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁵²Ibid.

Committee determined on their original plan,³⁵³ but it finally came to nothing. Spratt even spoke of leaving Standerton and the Bishop offered to find him an alternative post³⁵⁴ but he did not leave.

In October 1830 Spratt acquired a house which could be used for Church purposes. The Bishop refused to hand over part of the S.P.C.K. grant as the house had to be

- insured
- free from debt
- transferred to the Diocese

However the Bishop said he would only insist on the last point.³⁵⁵

Adams of Middelburg also submitted church plans for comment. The Bishop's reply is reproduced to show how meticulously he considered them and the comfort of the congregation: "1. The height of an altar must be proportionate to its length & that to the width of the Church. The width of my proposed Church being $17/6$, $5/3$ would be nearly a third for the length of the altar quite enough you will see if you can plan it out any where $5/3$ being the length you will find you will find $2/11$ ample height, and quite high enough to kneel at, & sufficient for standing, whereas 4 feet would be out of proportion to length, & inconvenient for kneeling, take two scale drawings & judge by them the proportion & remember $5/3$ is the length of my desk & $2/11$ is nearly 6 inches higher. 4 feet would be nearly the top of the towers [?!]

2. If you try my views I think you will find them beautiful for perfection, & if you consider that your congregation are kneeling or sitting while you stand, you will find it ample especially in a small church.

³⁵³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1880-03-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁵⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1880-05-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁵⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1880-10, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

3. I hope the Committee have not crowded out kneeling, which I much fear, or chancel space."³⁵⁶

The Bishop wished Church property to be insured. The Zeerust congregation was given £100 from the S.P.C.K. grant to insure their Church. The Bishop wrote to Rutherford telling him sharply that since the money had been paid out to them they had better insure the building immediately.³⁵⁷ The Bishop was even able to obtain insurance for thatched Churches.³⁵⁸

In October 1880 the Bishop told J.P. Richardson of Rustenburg to find a purchaser for the Jankowitz farm at Rustenburg as part of the money was to go to the Church.³⁵⁹

This tight control over finance and building was characteristic of Bousfield in his successful efforts to keep the Diocese solvent.

3.8.4.1 Diocesan Trustees

Bousfield wanted Church property to be under the Diocesan Trustees. To Kirsten of Middelburg he explained carefully why the parish could not hold the title deeds of the land and that they should be held by the Provincial Trustees or by the Bishop of the diocese.³⁶⁰

Bousfield did expect the British Administration to give the Church grants of land. In 1880 he requested an erf for the Church in Middelburg, even giving the erf numbers he wanted.³⁶¹

Whether the British Administration gave the erf is not clear but a site was obtained. The Middelburg congregation wanted the parochial synod to

³⁵⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Adams, 1880-07-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁵⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to R. Rutherford, 1880-04-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁵⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Secretary, Board of Executors, 1880-09-07, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁵⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.P. Richardson, 1880-10-04, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁶⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kirsten, 1880-11-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁶¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to G. Hudson, Colonial Secretary, 1880-04-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

hold the title but Bousfield refused to assent to this.³⁶² He told them that the title must be vested either in the Bishop of Pretoria or in the Provincial Trustees (as was the case with property in Pretoria, Zeerust and Lydenburg).³⁶³

When the diocese was awarded two erven in Pretoria the Bishop asked for either erven 661 and 662 or 662 and 663. The Bishop specified to whom the land should be conveyed: "Henry Brougham Bousfield, D.D., Bishop of Pretoria, in trust for the Church of the Diocese of Pretoria, in the Province of South Africa, or English Church, or Church of the Anglican Communion, in the said diocese of Pretoria, and his Successors in Office."³⁶⁴

The British Administration awarded them erven 661 and 662. Bousfield asked the Colonial Office for transfer as soon as possible and for a lowering of transfer fees as the property was for public benefit.³⁶⁵ By October 1880 the Bishop wrote to Sir Owen Lanyon: "I am proud to find my legal exception supported by the authority of the Attorney-General."³⁶⁶ He included in this letter the transfer of erf 662 for Lanyon's correction.

The Bishop had problems over Wilkinson's guarantees offered from 1873 to 1875. He explained this to William Richardson: "I quite understood the arrangements made by Bishop Wilkinson, but like others of his plans, they had all ended in words, and no steps were ever taken to carry

³⁶²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kirsten, 1880-11-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁶³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kirsten, 1880-11-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁶⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S. Melvill, 1879-12-30, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁶⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to G. Hudson, Colonial Secretary, 1880-04-02, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁶⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Owen Lanyon, 1880-10-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

them out. Reckless, and unreasonable in my judgment, at their best, I should have repudiated them all at once. ..."367

3.8.4.2 Wilkinson's Pretoria house

The confusion over Wilkinson's Pretoria property still continued. When Wilkinson and Law had a disagreement over the rents for the house Wilkinson wrote to Jones and not to Bousfield. Quite correctly Jones referred the matter to Bousfield, as Law's Bishop; "It seems to me {Jones} purely a matter of law for lawyers to settle. If the land is yours, conveyed to you personally, & you hold the deeds. Mr Law ... can have no possible legal claim to take the rents of the property... He [Law] seems rather to imply that it was bought with money raised for the good of the Church in the Transvaal - but of course if it were so, you would never dream of claiming it now as yours."368

Bousfield investigated the case and sent his findings to Jones: "We have the B[isho]p's own letters promising to carry it, speaking of it as Church property etc. so that ... his communication to me on the case of Pretoria is clear, and this is the real case. Mr Law's personal claims are a great addition to the strength of the case against the Bishop; but the Pretoria people have claim for a house announced as to be given over to their minister for a residence: and the Church of the Transvaal has also a claim on a house purchased by the Bishop with money raised for her service when he was acting on her behalf & pleading her cause."369

³⁶⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Richardson, 1880-01-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁶⁸W.W. Jones, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1879-11-07, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁶⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1879-11-25, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The confusion over this house seemed to be caused partly by doubts as to whose money had purchased it and partly by the question of who owned the title deeds. The house had been transferred to T.E. Wilkinson but Law had the title deeds. Wilkinson had four erven of land but how many of these were vacant was not certain. Bousfield offered to buy the erven: "As the possession of the erven opposite to this house would be a convenience to myself & successors, I shall be happy to give the valuation price, £105 for the unoccupied erf if Bishop Wilkinson will sell to me. I shall on the same ground make an offer for the parsonage house & erf, but that I feel it a painful duty to dispute the Bishop's right to dispense of it after his declarations and promises on the subject. I sincerely trust the Bishop will submit this question to arbitration while Mr Law is in England, & not compel an appeal to the High Court here. Should the arbitrators or the Court decide against the Parishioners of Pretoria I would then gladly take the house also at a valuation."³⁷⁰

To Wilkinson the house and land belonged to him as his late Chancellor had given him, personally, £500 to spend as he saw fit. With this money he had bought the house and erf in Pretoria.³⁷¹

Wilkinson had given Law the title deeds to the Parsonage House and said that he would convey it legally - to whom is not clear but presumably to the new Diocese. When Law left the Transvaal at the beginning of 1880 he handed the title deeds to Bousfield. Bousfield, after ten months, wrote to Wilkinson about the title deeds: "I must maintain that you are bound to complete this arrangement by giving legal transfer to the Church, & unless you do I shall retain the title

³⁷⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to R.W.J. Johnstone, 1880-06-08, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁷¹T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-08-27, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

deeds, resist any attempt at sale, and, if necessary, apply to the court to compel transfer. But I do sincerely hope you will not force upon me any such unpleasant course, but allow this diocese to escape the South African evil of litigation between prominent ecclesiastics, and therefore I would urge you to agree in a reference of the question to an English Bishop."³⁷² Bousfield offered, if the arbitrator rules against the parish of Pretoria, to hand over the title deeds to Wilkinson. He was suspicious of Wilkinson and refused to go to arbitration unless Wilkinson pledged beforehand to give immediate transfer if the arbitrator ruled for the Pretoria Parish.³⁷³ Wilkinson decided at the end of 1880 to sell the house and two erven in Pretoria.³⁷⁴ Writing to tell Jones of his decision, he said that as far back as 1877 he had told Bousfield that he would not make over his Pretoria property to the Church; having raised so much of its endowment, his own finances would not allow it. Wilkinson felt that Bousfield should also return the title deeds to his property.³⁷⁵

Like Bousfield, Jones felt that a lawsuit should be avoided if possible. He summed up his view of the conflict in a letter to Wilkinson: "... as I understand it the property in question was bought with money that was intrusted to you to use at your discretion, & is therefore your private property. The Bishop of Pretoria's contention, on the other hand, if I understand it aright is that by your own admission that money was intrusted you for Church purposes in the Transvaal, that you deliberately used it

³⁷²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1880-10-08, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁷³Ibid.

³⁷⁴T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-12-01, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁷⁵Ibid.

for the purchase of a house for the clergyman at Pretoria, & that he holds documents in wh[ich] you promise to make it over to the Diocese. Wh[ich] of these two views is the correct one, of course I do not know. ... I am free to confess that I was always under the distinct impression that the property was to all intents & purposes Church property & that, if not actually made over to the Church, this was only caused by inadvertance or by some small technical hindrance."³⁷⁶

In his reply to Jones' letter Wilkinson reiterated that the money had been given to him unconditionally, so the property was his, but he would accept Jones' arbitration.³⁷⁷ Jones was puzzled that Wilkinson refused to accept Bousfield's suggestion of an English bishop as arbitrator. In the same letter Jones wrote: "But no doubt the question with him [the Bishop of Pretoria] will be whether after you had, as he asserts, designated to him or to Mr Law the purpose for which the property was to be used, you w[oul]d be at liberty to change the object even with the original donor's assent, & to disendow practically the Parish of Preteoria."³⁷⁸ The dispute over Wilkinson's house in Pretoria continued after the Transvaal reverted to Boer rule.

3.8.4.3 Diocesan property in Pretoria

In June 1879 the diocese bought erf 609 in Pretoria.³⁷⁹

Towards the end of 1879 Bishop's Cote was enlarged. Once the alterations were complete the Bishop

³⁷⁶W.W. Jones, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1881-01-05, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁷⁷T.E. Wilkinson, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-02-08, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁷⁸W.W. Jones, Letter to T.E. Wilkinson, 1881-03-08, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁷⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Preller and de Villiers, 1879-06-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁸⁰C.E. Bousfield, "Journals of Mrs Bousfield," Letter to her children, 1879-10-27 p.3, TS, Bousfield Collection, State Library, Pretoria, South Africa.

valued Bishop's Cote at £1 500.³⁸¹ The Diocesan Library was also housed in Bishop's Cote, the books having been donated in England. The parish of Catham, near Esher, in Surrey had given approximately £100 for the purchase of books.

In the beginning the bookshelves in the library had been stacked packing cases cut in half.³⁸²

Once the Bishop had erven 661 and 662 he planned a cathedral complex. The diocese owned two erven in a square plot for the cathedral, and two smaller erven nearby on which he wanted to build the diocesan schools and a house or houses for the Pretoria clergy.³⁸³

3.8.5 The Bishop's Commissaries in Britain

Some of Bousfield's problems with recruiting and fund-raising in Britain came from the resignation of his Commissary, E.F. Randolph, through ill-health.³⁸⁴ Bousfield did not have a high opinion of Randolph's efficiency as a Commissary anyway.³⁸⁵ He was replaced by R.L. Giveen and E. Durnford, as joint Commissaries, who had to make a fresh start at raising funds, recruiting men and administering the Transvaal Prayer Union.³⁸⁶ In early 1880 Randolph engaged an H. Read to come to the Transvaal. However, as S.P.G. rejected him he did not come.³⁸⁷

There seems to have been talk of Bousfield returning to Britain to recruit men and collect money. S.P.G. wrote to Jones to say that they deprecated Bousfield's

³⁸¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Preller and de Villiers, 1880-01-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁸²C.W. Bousfield, "Journals...", Letter to her children, 1879-09-28, TS, p.7.

³⁸³"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1880-09-01, p.317.

³⁸⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to R.L. Giveen, 1880-07-16, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁸⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.H. Bousfield, 1880-05-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁸⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to R.L. Giveen, 1880-10-25, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁸⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.F. Randolph, 1880-02-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

fund-raising visit to Britain.³⁸⁸ The Bishop wrote to Durnford, his Commissary, that he would not go to Britain until Advent 1884 or 1885, which is what happened.³⁸⁹

3.8.6 Plans for 1881

In spite of all his work the Bishop still had time to plan for 1881: "I may add my present hope is to consecrate the Cathedral, be myself enthroned, instal my Canon, & appoint Priest _____ also, not later than February 2nd [1881] that so order may spring from the then three years of confusion."³⁹⁰ This 'confusion' came from having to supply an infrastructure: "Money now is worth far more than double what it will be in a few years' time. Wisely spent in buildings and land, a good foundation for the temporalities of the Church might readily be raised."³⁹¹

3.9 Mission Work

3.9.1 Anti mission feeling

The Bishop attempted only a little mission work. In the Transvaal there was an anti-mission feeling among the Whites. Spratt wrote to the Sub-Warden of St Augustine's, Canterbury about this: "[The colonist] is, however, quite against Missions to the heathen, looking upon such efforts as corrupting the natural virtues of the native. I seldom visit a house without hearing vigorous denunciations of Christian natives and strong expressions of opinion against all attempts at Christianizing them. You can imagine how such language stirs the spirit of an English Churchman taught to regard one's duty to the heathen as of first importance, ..."³⁹² Spratt, on his monthly itineration to Heidelberg and Standerton, was able to meet a cross section of rural opinion so his remarks should be accepted as accurate.

³⁸⁸S.P.G., Private letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-10-28, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³⁸⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1880-10-23, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁹⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Wood, 1880-07-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁹¹Bousfield, The Bishop's report for the months January to March 1880..., p.4-5.

³⁹²"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.29.

The Bishop, on his journey up country from Durban, had learnt a few words of an African language but found that he did not have enough time to learn more.³⁹³ This shows that he did have some interest in mission work. Within a few months of arriving in Pretoria he wrote to Crisp in the diocese of Bloemfontein asking for one more copy of the Sechuana Prayer Book for a missionary in the Transvaal. He also requested a copy of Crisp's Sechuana Grammar when it was published.³⁹⁴ Since the only Anglican mission work at this time was at Potchefstroom, the Sechuana Prayer Book was presumably for this field. The Bishop kept up his own Sechuana studies. He thanked Crisp for the Sechuana Grammar but complained that as he had so much work he did not have sufficient time for his language studies.³⁹⁵

The Bishop wrote quite openly towards the end of 1879 about the lack of diocesan mission work: "We have at present no mission work among the natives, which your ladies could support directly, and there are great difficulties in the present state of Colonial feelings, & politics in doing the most simple things with them."³⁹⁶

Two missionaries from other diocese were working within the Pretoria diocesan boundaries.

3.9.2 Henry Bevan of Bloemfontein

The first was Henry Bevan of the diocese of Bloemfontein who worked in the Klerksdorp-Bloemhof area of the Western Transvaal. The Bishop was pleased with Bevan's work and told him that mission work could be started at Zeerust.³⁹⁷ However the Bishop made

³⁹³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Clarke, 1879-01-06 and -12, Bousfield Letters, R. Keel, Horsham, Surrey, Britain.

³⁹⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Crisp, 1879-03-18, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁹⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Crisp, 1879-05-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁹⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to U.Z. Rule, 1879-11-28, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁹⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.H.R. Bevan, 1879-07-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

quite clear to Bevan his views on mission work: "... so as to the importance of directing first efforts to the Christians of the land, & especially of our own communion. Yet I feel we have a duty to the heathen around, and in the midst of us a duty which we cannot neglect without spiritual & temporal loss. At present my infant Church cannot undertake it, ..."398

J.P. Richardson of Rustenburg asked the Bishop's permission to give up his schoolteaching to start mission work. The Bishop was against this as he wished the congregations to be as self-supporting as possible. The clergyman could supplement his income from the school fees but mission work would have to be funded from the diocese which could not afford it.399

3.9.3 Joel Jackson of Swaziland

The second outsider to work within Bousfield's diocese was Joel Jackson who had started a station on the Swaziland border in 1868. Bousfield wrote to Macrorie, Bishop of Maritzburg about Jackson whom he felt should now be licensed by the Bishop of Pretoria and placed under his jurisdiction. Bousfield wanted to have whatever funds were collected⁴⁰⁰ for re-starting Jackson's station after the Zulu War but nothing came of this suggestion.

There seems to have been some mission interest in the region to the east of the Drakensberg as the Bishop asked Macrorie to send him a Zulu testament and hymnal.⁴⁰¹ Three weeks later he again wrote to Macrorie for an American hymnal.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.H.R. Bevan, 1879-07-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁹⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.P. Richardson, 1880-01-09, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁰⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1880-04-02, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁰¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1880-05-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁰²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1880-05-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

3.9.4 Potchefstroom

For the start of Anglican mission work in Potchefstroom see p.142-143. The Bishop was able to send Alexander Temple from the diocese of Grahamstown to help William Temple and work as a missionary in Potchefstroom. He was able to visit those Africans who wished for Anglican instruction, at their kraals.⁴⁰³ Temple wrote a report for the first Occasional paper in which he described a journey, lasting a week, during which he visited the kraals surrounding Potchefstroom.⁴⁰⁴ He wrote: "And I must first state that this visit was not undertaken of my own accord but on the repeated and urgent request of the natives themselves."⁴⁰⁵ Temple was accompanied by Jacob Tabane, the leader of the African Christians. At Kopje Alleen, their first stop, Temple held a service in Dutch with Jacob interpreting. Temple was impressed at the people's desire for Christian teaching.⁴⁰⁶ Of the other kraals visited, Deel Kraal had the largest number of believers. These people desired teaching and Temple held his Sunday services there. Temple issued an appeal for his Africans, writing that whenever they came into Potchefstroom they visited him.⁴⁰⁷

Since mission work was not a priority of the diocese very little else was done for the Potchefstroom Africans.

In Potchefstroom Temple rented a building for his African services but by March 1880 he had given this up. The Bishop advised him to get another for which the diocese would give £5 towards the rent. Whether this grant was to be monthly, quarterly or annually is not clear. He suggested that Temple motivate

⁴⁰³H.B. Bousfield, "Diocese of Pretoria report for quarter ending 1880-09-12," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.11

⁴⁰⁴A. Temple, "Report," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.21-24.

⁴⁰⁵Ibid., p.21.

⁴⁰⁶Ibid., p.22-23.

⁴⁰⁷Ibid., p.24.

his Africans to build on land at the bottom of the Potchefstroom parsonage garden.⁴⁰⁸

3.9.5 C.R. Lange

A second clergyman who did mission work in the Pretoria diocese was C.R. Lange, an elderly priest from Grahams-town who settled in Pretoria in July 1880.⁴⁰⁹ Lange was a German who had originally come to South Africa with the Berlin Mission and while working on the south-west border of Bechuanaland had learnt Tswana and Dutch. Later he had gone to Grahamstown and had joined the Anglican Church and been ordained priest. When his children settled in the Transvaal he joined them, living in Pretoria.

Although over eighty years of age he offered his services to Bousfield as a missionary. However, through lack of funds, the diocese could not allow him to establish a mission congregation. The Bishop used him for cathedral work.⁴¹⁰ Lange visited Africans who were not associated with the neighbouring German Mission and through this was able to meet with Africans baptised by the CPSA in other diocese. The Bishop felt that these people needed supervision and pastoral care: "I am striving to make some provision."⁴¹¹ Lange held a Sunday service in Dutch for the mule drivers of the Military Transport Department. These services were interrupted when the 58th Regiment was transferred to Cape Town, and other troops were stationed at Pretoria. The Coloureds and Africans wanted a church building and begged Lange to get a place of worship for them.⁴¹² Like Temple, Lange ended his report to the Bishop with a plea for his congregation: "The Church will have to do something.

⁴⁰⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Temple, 1880-03-11, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁰⁹H.B. Bousfield, "Diocese of Pretoria report for quarter ending 1880-09-12," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.11.

⁴¹⁰A. Roberts, "The foundation of the Native Mission in Pretoria," TS, p.2, Alfred Roberts Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴¹¹H.B. Bousfield, "Diocese of Pretoria Report for quarter ending 1880-09-29," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.11.

⁴¹²C.R. Lange, "Extracts from report of Rev. C.R. Lange," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.25-26.

The field indeed is ripe for the harvest, but where are the labourers in this large and populous diocese? The net is tearing, and the boat sinking, but where are the helpers?"⁴¹³

Lange suggested that a farm should be bought for a Mission Station. This might become a Mission parish and be self-supporting. It was estimated that a farm of 6 000 acres would cost £1 500.⁴¹⁴ Another of Lange's duties was to visit the African jail where Sekhukhune was a prisoner at this time. Roberts felt that Lange had failed to establish any permanent work in Pretoria.⁴¹⁵ In any case he died the following year (1881).

Evidently not much mission work was done in the Pretoria diocese before the war. If the war had not occurred more might have been attempted and the slow rate of progress been at least maintained.

3.10 Questions on ritual⁴¹⁶ and services

Once the diocese of Pretoria had a bishop as its head his clergymen sent him questions on Church services and their accompanying rubrics.⁴¹⁷ The way in which the Bishop answered these questions showed that he wished to have a uniform interpretation of services and rubrics in the Diocese. The Prayer Book used was the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the Church of England [B.C.P.], (1662).

In the Transvaal the Bishop also needed Dutch Prayer Books. At the end of 1879 he had to order them from Britain as they were unobtainable in South Africa.⁴¹⁸

At the end of 1879 Bishop Jones received the report of the Committee on Church services. When he had studied it he sent

⁴¹³C.R. Lange, "Extracts from report of Rev. C.R. Lange," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.26.

⁴¹⁴"A suggestion," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.28.

⁴¹⁵Roberts, "The foundation of the Native Mission in Pretoria...", p.2.

⁴¹⁶Ritual COD, prescribed order of performing religious etc. rites.

⁴¹⁷Rubric COD, direction for conduct of divine service inserted in liturgical book.

⁴¹⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to F. Iliff, 1879-12-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

it in turn to all the CPSA bishops.⁴¹⁹ Clearly the South African Church realised that it needed additional services to those in the B.C.P.

A rubric in the B.C.P. ordination service states: "... When this prayer is done, the Bishop with the Priests present shall lay their hands severally upon the head of everyone that receiveth the Order of Priesthood; the receivers humbly kneeling upon their knees...",⁴²⁰ The rubric presented the Bishop with a problem in August 1879 when he wished to ordain Thorne as he had only two priests, W. Richardson and Sadler, in the diocese. The Bishop invited William Richardson to take part in the ordination at Pretoria.⁴²¹

The rubrics in the services for the ordaining of deacons and priests specify: "First, the Archdeacon, or his Deputy, shall present unto the Bishop such as desire to be ordained Deacons,..."⁴²² and later, "First, the Archdeacon, or, in his absence, one appointed in his stead, shall present unto the Bishop all them that shall receive the Order of Priesthood that day;..."⁴²³ For the Christmas ordination of Spratt and Roberts the Bishop invited Ransom, of the Zululand Mission, to travel to Pretoria to act as Ritual Archdeacon⁴²⁴ but he was unable to do so.

Adams, the deacon at Middelburg, asked advice on whether he could both baptise an infant and be one of its sponsors. The Bishop replied: "You may baptize, & answer for a child, & in that case you should answer with the other sponsors. But it is awkward & suggests the idea of having favo[u]red the parties by dispensing with one sponsor."⁴²⁵

⁴¹⁹W.W. Jones (Holmes), Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1879-11-24, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴²⁰B.C.P., "The form and manner of ordering of priests."

⁴²¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Richardson, 1879-08-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴²²B.C.P., "The form and manner of making of deacons."

⁴²³B.C.P., "The form and manner of ordering of priests."

⁴²⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to R.H. Ransom, 1879-11, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴²⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Adams, 1880-06-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Administering confirmation was also a problem. The Bishop gave Spratt a ruling: "Who to confirm - confirmed Lutherans and Dutch to receive Church Confirmation that would be my ideal and I would point out to such the scriptural 'laying on of hands' as by an Apostle, as grounds for pressing it, ..."426

Thorne of Lydenburg asked the Bishop for guidance on whom to bury. Thorne's area included the gold diggings with its unsettled population so he was asked to bury people who were not regular churchgoers at all. The Bishop said that he had refused to bury on occasion and would only use the burial service for reputable Christians. This even included those who had had no connection during life with the Church (Adaptation).427

The B.C.P. has only one burial service which is not for the unbaptized, excommunicated or suicides.428 At the beginning of 1880 Bousfield wrote out a burial service which he headed: "An order for the burial of the dead in the Diocese of Pretoria when for sufficient cause the service of the Church cannot be used."429 Adams asked for guidance on how to decide which service to use. Bousfield was not helpful: "Your difficulty as to the two services for Burial is the difficulty of the subject."430

On being asked by Adams for a ruling on the burial of an unbaptized child Bousfield wrote that he should use the service authorized by the Bishop and read 1 Sam 12.15-23 as a lesson.431

At Standerton Bousfield received into the Church a child baptized by the D.R.C. dominee.432

426H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1880-04-23, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

427H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Thorne, 1880-04-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

428B.C.P., "The order for the burial of the dead."

429H.B. Bousfield, An order for the burial of the dead in the Diocese of Pretoria when for sufficient cause the service of the Church cannot be used, MSS, Bousfield Letterbook 1879-11 to 1880-09, p.380, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

430H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Adams, 1880-04-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

431H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Adams, 1880-07-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

432H.B. Bousfield, "In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.549.

The Bishop was even concerned about minor details. A rubric in the service for the Churching of women states: "The Woman shall come into the Church decently apparelled, and there shall kneel down in some convenient place, as has been accustomed, or as the Ordinary shall direct..."⁴³³ Thorne wished to know where the "convenient place" should be and the Bishop said the chancel steps.⁴³⁴

An unarithmetical rubric specifies the number of communicants required at Holy Communion: "If there be not above 20 persons in the Parish of discretion to receive the Communion: yet there shall be no Communion except 4 (or 3 at the least) communicate with the Priest."⁴³⁵ Thorne asked how many people had to be communicants before a service could be held. The Bishop was against the rubric and felt that even if only one person communicated the service should be held.⁴³⁶

The Bishop wished to restore an obsolete canon of the English Church which provided that a priest should say Matins before celebrating Communion.⁴³⁷

The Bishop wrote a prayer for the Government. He wrote to Lanyon: "I am sorry to find a mistake was unwittingly made in the description of the Legislative body in the prayer at Church on Sundays. As 'Legislative assembly at this time assembled' is tautologous I would propose the sentence 'the Legislative assembly under our Governor at this time in session.' I hope this will meet Your Excellency's approval, ..." ⁴³⁸

⁴³³B.C.P., "The thanksgiving of women after child-birth commonly called the churching of women."

⁴³⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Thorne, 1880-04-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴³⁵B.C.P., "The order for the administration of the Lord's Supper of Holy Communion."

⁴³⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Thorne, 1880-02-07, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴³⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.49-50.

⁴³⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Owen Lanyon, 1880-03-16, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

At the Cathedral the Athanasian Creed was used to the disgust of Sir Garnet Wolseley: "Church with the men as usual: we had that Athanasian creed repeated: it is strange how sensible men can go on repeating such a jibberish & slick blasphemous nonsense."⁴³⁹ The Prayer Book rubric directs the Athanasian Creed should be said on certain Sundays at Morning Prayer instead of the Apostles' Creed.⁴⁴⁰

In an obituary of Bousfield, Edwin Farmer, a diocesan missionary, described the Bishop's beliefs in these words: "As a rector in Winchester, he often came in contact with well-known men of the Evangelical and Tractarian schools, who left their impression on him, but he seems to have readily thrown off all that was unreal in either party, and to have adopted and ever after firmly held what he considered the strong points of both, with the result that High Churchmen considered him as 'Low' and Evangelicals could not recognise him as one of themselves. He would probably have called himself a High Churchman as far as practices were concerned, but an Evangelical in all its essential doctrines. He certainly had what seemed to most of us very peculiar views on ritual. Vestments, he maintained, were at the Reformation retained for the Bishops, but prohibited to the rest of the clergy. He looked to old English usages for modern ceremonial in the English Church, and had a great horror of anything taken from western custom. His strong views on these points made him a ritualist, while his deep-rooted objections to the ordinary practices of modern High Churchmen often brought him into conflict and put him out of sympathy with many of the High Church clergy when he became Bishop."⁴⁴¹

Alexander Temple of Potchefstroom asked to be made a marriage officer in Potchefstroom. The Bishop refused as William Richardson already held this post and Temple was only a deacon.⁴⁴² The Bishop told J.P. Richardson not to publish the banns of marriage of Baptists, Dissenters generally and unbaptized people.⁴⁴³

⁴³⁹Preston, South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.260.

⁴⁴⁰P.C.B., "At Morning Prayer: Quicunque Vult."

⁴⁴¹E. F[armer], "Bishop Bousfield, a sketch," Anglican, volume 1, number 4, 1904-02, p.80-81.

⁴⁴²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Temple, 1880-03-11, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁴³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.P. Richardson, 1880-07-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The Bishop maintained his great interest in catechising. To his Commissary, Durnford, he explained his point of view: "Our people are baptized heathens, they have notions of religion, & religious duty & obligation..., and they need to be firmly & clearly, & yet duly taught the first elements of religious duty, & doctrine."⁴⁴⁴

In the absence of published sermons the following is an example of Bousfield's teaching: "I would say (1) I would ask consideration be given: (a) to the state of ethnological science, in its testimony to the original unity of the human race. (b) the evidence afforded to Scripture by the palestine [sic] exploration fund. (c) the present state of scientific evidence for, or against, the universality of the deluge. (2) The scepticism of many here is so shallow & superficial that it seems to me to require most plain, pithy, pat, statements in short papers, showing the perfect compatibility of all sound scientific conclusions with reverence for holy scripture. Some short scientific papers, written from the scientific stand point, after the fashion of religious tract & hand bills."⁴⁴⁵

The Bishop presented a King James Version of the Bible to the High Court after he had been told that the one in use was a (Roman Catholic) Douay Bible.⁴⁴⁶

Bousfield believed in a Spirit-filled life which gave power and love to a Christian. He warned Adams against depending on his emotions in being guided by the Holy Spirit.⁴⁴⁷

Questions on ritual and the need for adaptation to the situation in a colony made the Bishop publish:

- Alteration in the services of the Church for use in the Diocese [of Pretoria]⁴⁴⁸ in 1890.

⁴⁴⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1880-08-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁴⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Victoria Institute, 1880-03-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁴⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Owen Lanyon, 1880-05-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁴⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Adams, 1880-06-07, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁴⁸Alterations in services of the Church approved by the Bishop of Pretoria for use in the diocese, Pretoria: Flavell, Brown, 1890.

- A use in matters of ritual for the Diocese of Pretoria⁴⁴⁹
in 1891.

One of the Bishop's idiosyncracies was his use of the titles rector, parson and curate. He reverted to the B.C.P. use of Curate as "he who hath the cure of souls."⁴⁵⁰ The senior clergyman of a congregation was thus the Curate.

3.10.1 Need for Constitution and Canons

The Bishop felt the lack of Canons which would enable the diocese to run more smoothly, and planned to institute a Synod to make Canons.⁴⁵¹

Bousfield felt his efforts were being rewarded and the diocese was being organised in the way he wanted, bringing, as he said, order out of confusion.⁴⁵² He planned to consecrate the Cathedral, be enthroned and instal a Canon by 1881-02-02, the fourth anniversary of his consecration.⁴⁵³ In mid-1880 he wrote to the Metropolitan asking for a mandate for enthronement.⁴⁵⁴ Bousfield also wrote to the Bishop of Dover asking him for any forms and instructions for guidance on enthronement to improve the common CPSA practice.⁴⁵⁵

A Parochial Synod was held in Pretoria on 1880-08-19 with plans for a vestry on the agenda.⁴⁵⁶

3.11 Personal life

The Bishop came to the Transvaal accompanied by his wife and their eight children.

⁴⁴⁹A use in matters of ritual for the diocese of Pretoria, Pretoria: Flavell, Brown, 1891.

⁴⁵⁰H.B. Bousfield, "A Sunday at Potchefstroom," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria., number 2, 1881-09, p.6-7.

⁴⁵¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Wood, 1880-07-28, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁵²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Wood, 1830-07-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁵³Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-06-09, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁵⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Bishop of Dover, 1880-06-09, Bousfield Collection CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁵⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Taylor, 1880-08-18, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

3.11.1 Mrs Bousfield

Mrs Bousfield was delicate. Sir Garnet wrote of her malady: "Paid the Bishop's house a visit to say good bye - glad to say he was out, I suppose riding with Miss Lamb. Had tea with his wife; a painful occupation for in talking to the poor woman one can see that she has the greatest difficulty to collect her thoughts and talk coherently. She gave me the jumps, and I felt as if I should have had delirium tremens had I remained long in her society: I believe she goes off her head at times. She must have been a very pretty woman before she had a host of children."⁴⁵⁷

The Bishop wrote quite openly of her emotional state. To Miss Wigram he described his wife as "... unstrung by what we have had to endure."⁴⁵⁸ To Law: "Mrs Bousfield [is] better, overstraining herself from inability to take things as they must be taken here."⁴⁵⁹ The Bishop wrote to Macrorie that if he had realised how hard her life was he would not have accepted the post.⁴⁶⁰ After the War the Bishop told Jones: "Mrs B[ousfield]'s condition is the source of my most hopeless anxiety, as it does my work much harm & seems incapable of cure while I am Bishop of Pretoria."⁴⁶¹

3.11.2 Miss Lamb

The Bishop's name was linked with that of Ellen Lamb. How serious the gossip was at this stage is not clear but its mention by both Sir Garnet Wolseley⁴⁶² and Godfrey Lagden⁴⁶³ seems to indicate that their friendship was generally known and accepted.

⁴⁵⁷Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.265.

⁴⁵⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Miss Wigram, 1880-01-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁵⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.J. Law, 1880-04-23, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁶⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1880-02-18, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁶¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-12-05, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁶²Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.265.

⁴⁶³G.Y. Langden, Diary 1879, 1880-01-06, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS Af.s 143, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

3.11.3 Depression during 1880

During 1880 the Bishop suffered from depression as a result of his work problems. In February he wrote to Bury: "Indeed I feel God has not sent me here for nothing, but sometimes my special troubles make me fear how I am to do the work for which He sent me."⁴⁶⁴

By October he had slid further into depression. He felt that he had not got the support from Britain which he deserved. He wrote to W.H. Grove of S.P.C.K.: "I am sometimes near despair, and the anxiety, added to my work, is at last telling on my health."⁴⁶⁵ The next day he told Durnford, his Commissary, that he was ill from overwork and troubles stemming from being ill-equipped with men and money.⁴⁶⁶ A few days later he wrote to Bishop Macrorie's wife: "Want of men, & money, with other episcopal cares, & the pastoral work depending on me wholly besides have nearly broken me, and my poor wife has fulfilled the said fear I breathed to your husband once,..."⁴⁶⁷ S.P.G. also had to be told of his troubles: "You will see from the underneath how near to despair..."⁴⁶⁸ and he then proceeded to enumerate his problems.

Bousfield had a tendency to exaggerate. In 1885 Tucker, Secretary of S.P.G., described him to Bishop McKenzie of Zululand, who had had to rebuild a diocese after the destruction of the Zulu War of 1879: "No Bishop has ever in our generation at least, had so troublous an episcopate as yours has been, I think I rather surprised Bishop Bousfield the other day when he was magnifying his troubles, by telling him

⁴⁶⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C. Bury, 1880-02-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁶⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.H. Grove, 1880-10-14, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁶⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1880-10-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁶⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Mrs Macrorie, 1880-10-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁶⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1880-10-23, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

that they were nothing compared to yours, & that your life had been that of a hunted hare."⁴⁶⁹

3.11.4 Personal feelings towards Romanists and Wesleyans

The Bishop had a recurrent fear that the Romanists and Wesleyans, the other two denominations working among the White non-Boer population, would take over the Anglican work: "I add this year [1880] that after a fresh year's experience I cannot trust myself to write how promising & good I think the opening is, nor how galling to be compelled from want of help from home to stand by & see Rome, & Wesleyanism, stepping in where they would not have found standing room had my hands been strengthened, and my voice regarded."⁴⁷⁰

In 1880 the Transvaal was made a district of the Methodist Church with Owen Watkins as its first Chairman.⁴⁷¹ Watkins met Bousfield whilst riding into Pretoria and politely raised his hat and said: "Wesleyan Mission, Pretoria Transvaal," but Bousfield refused to greet him. Watkins entered in his diary: "I think his liver would be out of order for the rest of the day."⁴⁷²

Bousfield's rudeness about the Catholics was described by Father Meyer: "[Bousfield] had been pleased on several occasions to run down the Catholic clergy whom he styled as rich clergy, particularly behind the times and fairly ignorant. This assertion which he had made before Sir Garnet Wolseley had earned him a biting rebuke from the part of the General, who, being an Irishman himself though not a Catholic, had had many opportunities of seeing the Irish clergy. He affirmed that not only did he find them up to the times, but rather in advance of them, and that a

⁴⁶⁹H. Tucker of S.P.G., Unofficial letter to D. McKenzie, 1885-06-25, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁴⁷⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1880-11-17, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁷¹P.B. Hinchliff, The Church in South Africa, London: S.P.C.K., 1968, p.76.

⁴⁷²O. Watkins, "Diary of his journey to the Transvaal," 1880-10-29, as quoted by W.A. Venter, "Die geskiedenis en invloed van die Wesleyaanse sending in die Transvaal gedurende die negentiende eeu," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of the Orange Free State, 1961, p.385.

greedy clergyman of another denomination could take a leaf out of the Irish clergyman's book for their own personal improvement. Sir Garnet knew his man; he was aware that he had to make an impression."⁴⁷³

"Dr. Bousfield had swallowed wholesale all the slanders which ever were printed by a bigoted press against the Church of Rome and her priests, without ever going to the trouble of challenging such slanders. The amount of gullibility in religiously prejudiced persons is simply appalling."⁴⁷⁴

3.12 Finance

3.12.1 Anxiety

The Bishop had financial worries, both personal and diocesan. After a year in South Africa he wrote to his Commissary setting out his problem: "I am in great anxiety about money, having spent all I have, and thro' the extreme folly of others, having had to anticipate also. If help do not come I must speedily, and utterly collapse."⁴⁷⁵

S.P.G. put their finger on the problem when they advised Bousfield not to attempt too much.⁴⁷⁶

Wilkinson had collected most of the money for the endowment of the Transvaal bishopric. This money was divided, with a third going to the diocesan endowment and the other two-thirds to the clergy endowment.⁴⁷⁷

Bousfield had an unrealistic idea of what it would have been like had he come to his diocese with sufficient funds and men. He said that the journey to Pretoria had used up half his funds and he had to start with financial difficulties. In 1883, looking back to 1878 - 1879, he saw his problems as stemming

⁴⁷³Meyer, "Reminiscences of thirty years missionary work in South Africa...", p.35.

⁴⁷⁴Ibid., p.36.

⁴⁷⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.F. Randolph, 1879-11-28, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁷⁶S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-10-21, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London Britain.

⁴⁷⁷S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1879-09-27, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

from a lack of money and suitable men; this was too simplistic a view of starting a new diocese.⁴⁷⁸ The fact that the majority of his clergy in 1883 had been with him since the beginning made his remark about his staff tactless.

Before the Bishop left Britain he opened an account for the Pretoria Diocese at the London and Country Bank to be paid out to B.H. Dewey. In April 1879 he asked Dewey to send any money in the account either to F.H. Chalmers or to E.H. Bousfield, the Bishop's brother.⁴⁷⁹ The money would then presumably be used by the Pretoria Diocesan Fund.

3.12.2 An S.P.C.K. grant?

Soon after the Bishop arrived in Pretoria he wrote to S.P.C.K. begging for an educational grant for St Birinus and St Etheldreda. The rent for the house used by St Etheldreda's was £144 p.a. The Bishop wanted to buy a house valued at £1 300 for the school so that it could take six to eight boarders. He also asked for £500 for a schoolroom for St Birinus.⁴⁸⁰ At the same time he issued an appeal through the Committee of the Pretoria Diocesan Fund for the schools.⁴⁸¹

Towards the end of 1879 the Bishop also asked S.P.G. for money for his schools but this was outside their province. They were able to issued an appeal through Mission Field but referred him to S.P.C.K. who did give educational grants.⁴⁸² From this it appears that S.P.C.K. had not answered his appeal of March.

3.12.3 S.P.G.

S.P.G. sent out their application forms for grants nineteen months in advance. The Bishop therefore

⁴⁷⁸"The Church in the Transvaal (from the Cape Times)," Occasional paper of the diocese of the Transvaal, number 5, 1883-01, p.53.

⁴⁷⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to B.H. Dewey, 1879-04-24, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁸⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.C.K., 1879-03-25, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁸¹Ibid.

⁴⁸²S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1879-10-29, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

had to submit the application for 1880 in December 1878⁴⁸³ before he had even arrived in his diocese.

At the end of 1879 Bousfield asked S.P.G. for an additional grant and in February 1880 was awarded an extra £100.⁴⁸⁴ At the end of 1880 S.P.G. ruled, in answer to a query from Bousfield, that their grant could not be used for pensions.⁴⁸⁵ Was this for William Richardson?

The Bishop discovered that in 1876 S.P.G. had set aside £1 000 for the proposed Transvaal Bishopric. In 1880 he inquired about this fund and was told that £700 remained but the grant had lapsed at the end of 1879.⁴⁸⁶

During 1880 S.P.G. held £50 for the Bishop to pay any bills in Britain. They informed Bousfield that they would put it at his disposal.⁴⁸⁷

S.P.G. found a clergyman for Pretoria, a deacon called T. Bailey who had spent three years in Madagascar. S.P.G. had increased the Pretoria Diocesan grant by £200 and the cost of Bailey's passage and outfit would be deducted from this.⁴⁸⁸ Bailey however decided before the end of 1880 not to go to the Transvaal.⁴⁸⁹ S.P.G. sent £150 to E.H. Bousfield for the passage of a clergyman, R.T. Kempthorne, to Pretoria; this was deducted from the 1881 S.P.G. grant.⁴⁹⁰ In the end he did not go to the Transvaal either.

⁴⁸³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1878-12-13, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁴⁸⁴S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-02-18, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁴⁸⁵S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-10-21, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁴⁸⁶S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-12-02, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁴⁸⁷S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1879-07-16, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁴⁸⁸S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-09-23, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁴⁸⁹S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-12-23, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁴⁹⁰S.P.G., Letter to E.H. Bousfield, 1880-12-20, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

3.12.4 The Pretoria Diocesan Fund

The P.D.F. had been set up in Britain to raise funds for the diocese of Pretoria. In November 1879 the Bishop informed F.H. Chalmers of the P.D.F. that he had drawn bills upon him for £200⁴⁹¹ so apparently that P.D.F. sent out additional funds. At the end of 1879 the Bishop appealed through the P.D.F. for £1 000 a year for seven years⁴⁹² from which he could make grants for Church and school buildings, and for additional schemes in congregations which needed a little aid from the central authority.⁴⁹³

The financial condition of the diocese seemed to be in a better position in 1880. The Balance Sheet of the P.D.F. for the year from 1879-09-29 to 1880-09-29 showed that at the beginning the balance held by the Bishop was £66 4s 7d and at the end of the period £590 0s 9d was due to the Bishop. The sale of work brought in £115 11s 6d.⁴⁹⁴

In Britain the P.D.F. organised the fundraising campaign. E.F. Randolph, Bousfield's Commissary collected money from friends and travelled around preaching.⁴⁹⁵ Randolph even wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury and offered to see him if Tait wished for a meeting.⁴⁹⁶

A meeting was held by the P.D.F. at S.P.G. headquarters, 19 Delahay Street, London, on 1880-05-12 to discuss how this diocese could be helped. Law attended and was able to give a first hand account of conditions in the Transvaal. The Archbishop of Canterbury did not attend but he did send a contribution.⁴⁹⁷

⁴⁹¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to F.H. Chalmers, 1879-11-24, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁹²Bousfield, "The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879...", p.7.

⁴⁹³P.D.F., First year's report and accounts, p.9.

⁴⁹⁴H.B. Bousfield, "Diocese of Pretoria report for quarter ending 1880-09-29," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.12.

⁴⁹⁵E.F. Randolph, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1879-01-21, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

⁴⁹⁶Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1880-06-01, p.185

Through Mission Field the P.D.F. appealed for small sums for seven years after which time the Bishop expected the diocese to be self-supporting.⁴⁹⁸

The Bishop tried to organise some of the appeals for the Transvaal in Britain. He encouraged Randolph in his fund-raising and made suggestions for possible places for him to preach.⁴⁹⁹

Sadler asked the Bishop's permission to raise funds for Zeerust in Britain. The Bishop agreed on condition it was only from friends. He was against a public appeal as this would prejudice all general appeals for the diocese; the diocese could allocate money fairly according to the needs of each place.⁵⁰⁰

At the beginning of 1880 the Bishop changed his policy on reports for periodicals. During 1879 he had sent them straight to Mission Life, Mission Field and Net but in 1880 he decided to send them to his brother who would hand them over to the editors.⁵⁰¹ The Bishop was a tireless writer and certainly kept the diocese of Pretoria before the readers of the missionary journals.

In mid-1880 both Randolph, his Commissary, and Law resigned, which meant that the Bishop's British organisation had broken down.⁵⁰²

At times the Bishop felt despondent about the small sums of money arriving from Britain. He wrote to Canon Kenney that he had not intended to travel to Britain to beg until he had been in his diocese for six years but he was tempted to go sooner.⁵⁰³ Bousfield's sister Kate also tried to raise funds for him. She told him how she had seen the bishops of

⁴⁹⁸"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1880-06-01, p.185-186.

⁴⁹⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.F. Randolph, 1880-01-14, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁰⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Sadler, 1880-01-16, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁰¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.F. Randolph, 1880-01-14, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁰²"Up hill work in the diocese of Pretoria," Net, 1880-10-01, p.159.

⁵⁰³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Canon Kenney, 1880-10-26, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Edinburgh and Lichfield but without success. This dispirited the Bishop who felt that the British could do more for his diocese.⁵⁰⁴ The Bishop wrote to his clerical friends, e.g. Canon Kenney, to ask them to hold a collection for his diocese.⁵⁰⁵ He wrote to a Mr Hutchinson inquiring why his (Bousfield's) Oxford friends had forgotten him and where were their promised offertories.⁵⁰⁶ By the end of 1880 the P.D.F. had appointed H.E. Jennings as their Organizing Secretary. He appealed to clergy to contact him about their parishes granting a Collection to the diocese of Pretoria.⁵⁰⁷

3.12.5 Diocesan self-sufficiency

According to the Balance Sheet of the P.D.F. (local) from 1879-01-01 to -12-31 offertories raised £63 4s 0d with donations bringing in £15. Itinerating in the diocese had used £71 11s 1d so the General Fund stood at £6 12s 11d which meant that income had exceeded expenditure.⁵⁰⁸ The P.D.F. in England in their Balance Sheet from 1879-09-29 to -12-31 reflected a balance of £14 13s 1d.⁵⁰⁹

The Bishop wanted to make the diocese self-supporting, an admirable aim for a new diocese. In his pastoral letter of March 1880 the Bishop urged the laity to aim at making the Church grow from within the Transvaal and not to be financially dependant on outside sources.⁵¹⁰ The Bishop was aiming at laying a good foundation in his diocese.⁵¹¹

3.12.6 Clergy stipends

Bousfield also needed money for his clergy stipends. It is not clear if his appeal through the P.D.F. at

⁵⁰⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to K. Bousfield, 1880-10-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁰⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Canon Kenney, 1880-10-26, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁰⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Hutchinson, 1880-04-30, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁰⁷"The Rev. H.E. Jennings. . . .", Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 1, 1881-01, p.29.

⁵⁰⁸P.D.F. (local), Balance sheet 1879-01-01 to 1879-12-31.

⁵⁰⁹Bousfield, The Bishop's account of the months October to December 1879 . . . , p.7.

⁵¹⁰H.B. Bousfield, To the priests, deacons, churchwardens, sidesmen and members of the Church in the diocese of Pretoria, 1880-03-09, p.2.

⁵¹¹"Pretoria," Mission Field, 1880-09-01, p.317.

the end of 1879, for £1 000 p.a., was to increase the Clergy Endowment or to be paid out in salaries. He felt that the Diocese could supply a third of the stipends and expenses with the rest coming from outside the Diocese.⁵¹²

The Bishop used the system of guaranteeing stipends. In Standerton, for example, the congregation wanted a clergyman. They promised to pay £100 or if possible £150 by Christmas 1879. This amount would be paid into the Diocesan Fund in Pretoria and only then could the Bishop guarantee the stipend. Once the first amount had been collected the offertories would accumulate for the stipend for the following year. In this way the money collected would be ahead of the out payments and the congregation would not be struggling to make up the deficit.⁵¹³

3.12.7 Debt on buildings

The Bishop found on his arrival in the Transvaal that the Church buildings were in debt, the church and parsonage at Lydenburg being the most burdened. The Bishop wished to transfer parochial debts to the diocese and then get them paid off.⁵¹⁴ The following anecdote sent to S.P.G. by Thorne when £350 was still needed to pay off his church debt shows the Bishop's tenacity in gathering in promised money: "But scarcely a month had passed when I was able to pay off 50£, by the unexpected receipt of a long-promised subscription, which I had given up for lost, and which, perhaps would never have been paid were it not for the earnest pleading of our Bishop, who, both 'in and out of season,' reminded the delinquent of his duty. The last dun occurred on the banks of a spruit, somewhere between Pretoria and Middelburg, hour, towards midnight. The Bishop was spanned out, when the post-cart passed, on which was the obdurate gentleman who had been so prejudiced that he had withheld the amount which really had been offered about two

⁵¹²P.D.F., First year's report and accounts, p.9.

⁵¹³"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.549.

⁵¹⁴Pretoria Diocesan Fund, First year's report and accounts, p.6.

years before we commenced to build a church. This last effort on the part of the Bishop was successful and when the passenger arrived in Lydenburg he informed me that as 'constant dropping wore away the hardest stone,' so the constant dunning of the Bishop had brought him to the conviction that he had better 'pay up.' "515

The Bishop was pleased to find that by 1880 the Lydenburg and Potchefstroom Churches were free of debt. George Reid of Putney had sent £150 for the debt on the Potchefstroom building so reducing it to £75. This had been subsequently paid off.⁵¹⁶ An unknown benefactor to Net sent £250 for the debt on the Lydenburg Church, which paid it off.⁵¹⁷

3.12.8 Fund-raising in Pretoria

In Pretoria itself the congregation did raise money. Mrs Bousfield received boxes of work from Andover which she sold. She reported to Net that the people in particular asked for ready made underclothing.⁵¹⁸ Net helped by advertising for goods for the Pretoria diocesan boxes.⁵¹⁹ Cato, Bousfield's agent in Durban, arranged for their transportation from Durban to Pretoria.⁵²⁰ A bazaar for Church funds was held on 1879-05-21 in the grounds of Bishop's Cote.⁵²¹ The women of Pretoria also made clothing and sold it periodically for Church funds.⁵²² Mrs Bousfield tried to organise groups of ladies into general working associations. On her journey to Wakkerstroom she was able to interest women and through them to sell work.⁵²³

⁵¹⁵"Pretoria, encouragement at Lydenburg," Mission Field, 1880-12-01, p.418.

⁵¹⁶Bousfield, Report for April, May and June 1880..., p.1.

⁵¹⁷Ibid., p.1.

⁵¹⁸"Church wants in Pretoria," Net, 1879-10-01, p.147.

⁵¹⁹"Pretoria," Net, 1880-01-01, p.16.

⁵²⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to G. Cato, 1880-08-07, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵²¹G.Y. Lagden, Diary 1879, 1879-05-21, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS Af.s 143, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

⁵²²"The day of small things," Net, 1880-02-01, p.28.

⁵²³C.E. Bousfield, "Journals...", Letter to her children, 1879-10-11, p.4-5.

The P.D.F. Balance Sheet from 1878-08-01 to 1879-09-29 showed that an amount of £68 9s 6d had been raised through sales of work, slightly more than the offer-tories, which contributed £61 9s 6d.⁵²⁴

3.12.9 The Endowment Funds

When the diocese was formed S.P.G. gave funds to the Endowment and for the Bishop.⁵²⁵ In 1878 the Bishop had published the extent of the endowment in Mission Field: "Through the exertions of Bishop Wilkinson and the friends of the Mackenzie Memorial, with grants from the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., and the Colonial Bishops' Fund, it now amounts to 5,304£. The S.P.C.K. have promised another 250£. when the amount has reached 7,250£., and a further 250£. when it reached 9,750£., which would give a capital of 10,000£., and so secure the proposed income, and the permanence of the Episcopate."⁵²⁶

S.P.G. informed Jones that a third of the endowment of the diocese of Pretoria was for the diocese and two thirds for the clergy endowment.⁵²⁷ Before Bousfield left Britain Jones wrote to him suggesting that as soon as he arrived in the Transvaal a proper Board of Diocesan Trustees should be formed and the whole endowment transferred to them for investment:⁵²⁸

"Until a properly constituted Board of Diocesan Trustees can be founded the management, I suppose, be left with the S.P.G. - or it can be invested by the Provincial Trustees - but it ought to be invested, that, the moment a board of Diocesan Trustees is formed, the capital c[oul]d be released & invested as they think best."⁵²⁹

At the end of 1879 S.P.G. wrote to the Bishop that in spite of his two letters of mid-1879 they could not consent to part with any portion of the Clergy Endowment

⁵²⁴P.D.F., First year's report and accounts, p.15.

⁵²⁵C.F. Pascoe, Two hundred years of the S.P.G., London: S.P.G., 1901, p.765.

⁵²⁶S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1879-07-16, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁵²⁷"Transvaal," Mission Field, 1880-04-01, p.183.

⁵²⁸W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1878-05-22, Collection of the Letters of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵²⁹Ibid.

Fund⁵³⁰ until a Diocesan Synod had been formed and legally recognized as qualified to hold Trust Funds.

At the beginning of 1880 the Bishop wrote to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal about who could hold property: "By the laws of this Colony, 1. Does a conveyance of land to the 'Bishop of Pretoria, and his successors in office' hold good so that land so conveyed will pass to the control of His Successors, without reconveyance, as in England where a Bishop is 'a Corporation Sole'? 2. Can 'the Bishop of Pretoria and his Successors in office' hold money, or land, as Trustees, investing the former on mortgage or otherwise, calling in, foreclosing, suing for payment, and reinvesting from time to time, as any other 'Trustee?'"⁵³¹

There was a discussion between Bousfield and Jones over the choice of Trustees. Jones wrote to Bousfield after reading his proposals: "Your suggestions seem very practical, the only difficulty, so far as I see, if the Societies [S.P.G. and S.P.C.K.] agree to increasing their grants, being that as to the Trusteeship of the £3 000 which you propose to have invested at Pretoria. The difficulty of the Bishop being his own Trustee seems to be that, in the vacancy of the See, there would be no Trustee, & I am not sure whether the succession of Bishops would be recognised in the Law Courts, but of this lawyers would be better judges. It seems right, & more in accordance with our Provincial Rules that all monies invested for the Endowment of the Bishop-rics should be held by the Provincial Trustees - But then our Registrar could scarcely receive the interest at this distance. Perhaps the Provincial Trustees could hold the funds, & entrust the investment of them to your Diocesan Registrar, or to some well-qualified layman in Pretoria. ... I do hope your appeal will be successful."⁵³²

⁵³⁰S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1879-10-29, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁵³¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, 1880-01-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵³²W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-02-20, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The Bishop, who enjoyed a legal conundrum, answered Jones' letter promptly: "As to the legal question you raise I am advised that the Bishop & His Successors can hold property as a Corporation in England does. If invested in the names of Provincial Trustees, they must constitute a body to represent them here as by Resolution 9 of 1870."⁵³³ Bousfield, who had some legal training, proposed to be his own Registrar and Chancellor as he relied little on the legal profession in Pretoria.⁵³⁴

The Bishop also discussed with S.P.G. the problem of the Provincial Trustees whom he felt were an unsuitable body for his purpose: "4. I would therefore suggest that instead of introducing the Provincial Trustees, if the Committee's do not accept the Bishop of Pretoria, as Trustee, they should issue powers of Attorney, & let the monies be invested in the names of the Trustees of S.P.G. & C.B.F. sending here powers of Attorney for the actual investment."⁵³⁵ He suggested that those men who had signed the certificate attached to his memorandum on the income of the Pretoria see should advise him on the actual investment.⁵³⁶

In April 1880 the Bishop informed the Attorney-General that he had conveyed all Diocesan property to himself as Bishop and Trustee for the Church of the Diocese.⁵³⁷

3.12.10 "Memorandum on the income of the See"

The Bishop continued to be concerned about money both for his family and for the diocese.⁵³⁸ At the end of

⁵³³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-03-10, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵³⁴Ibid.

⁵³⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1880-03-27, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵³⁶Ibid.

⁵³⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Attorney-General of the Transvaal, 1880-04-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵³⁸"The Transvaal Mission: Report of a public meeting held at the Mansion House London on Monday the 21st May 1883," Occasional paper of th diocese of Pretoria, number 7, 1883-11, p.35.

1879 the Bishop wrote to Jones, who headed this letter: "Bishop Bousfield Poverty & gloom." With typical exaggeration Bousfield wrote: "This is no place for wife & children at the best, but to see them suffer, & one's work suffer also, is more than I can bear. If the Church cannot, or will not, support me the work must be surrendered to others if they can do it. This is the darkest, save one, of the dark clouds which threaten to overwhelm me."⁵³⁹

In January 1880 the Bishop wrote: "A Memorandum on the Income of the See of Pretoria."⁵⁴⁰ Copies were sent to the Metropolitan of the CPSA,⁵⁴¹ S.P.G.⁵⁴² and the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁴³ In his memorandum he threatened to resign unless his salary was increased. He outlined a carefully prepared plan for increasing his salary from £600 p.a. to £900. His salary came from the interest (£218 14s 0d) on capital of £5 468 11s 4d held by the Colonial Bishopric's Council with the balance being paid by S.P.G. who had guaranteed his stipend of £600. He felt that a salary of \$1 000 would be sufficient because of the high cost of living in the Transvaal. The Bishop wanted the capital to be raised to £6 000 with half being invested in the Transvaal at 10% p.a. interest and the rest retained in England at 3¹/₂% p.a. This would raise an extra £415 p.a. S.P.G. should then guarantee him a salary of £900 p.a.

The Bishop was concerned about his family. He told Jones of their circumstances: "This is no place for a man with a family, our sufferings have nearly killed my wife and may do even worse yet."⁵⁴⁴

⁵³⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1879-11-25, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁴⁰vide Appendix 2.

⁵⁴¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-01-28, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁴²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1880-01-28, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁴³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1880-01-21, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

⁵⁴⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-01-28, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The final remark evidently refers to Mrs Bousfield's psychological problems.

The Bishop wrote to the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury⁵⁴⁵ explaining that his salary was inadequate to support his family. These men would be able to tell their people of the Bousfields' plight.

Attached to Bousfield's memorandum was a document signed by J. Turton of the Cape Commercial Bank, R. Johnston of the Standard Bank of British South Africa, R. Green and H. Struben, who had been consulted by the Bishop on the investment of the endowment in the Transvaal and supported his proposal.⁵⁴⁶

Jones told S.P.G. that he thought Bousfield's proposals were practicable and they had his support. If the C.B.F. added an extra £500 to the Pretoria Endowment, and so increased the interest by £100 p.a., Bousfield's salary could be raised to £900.⁵⁴⁷ Jones explained that the cost of living in Pretoria was exorbitant and with Bousfield's large family his salary really was inadequate. It had taken a number of years to fill the vacant bishopric and Jones felt that if Bousfield resigned it would be probably just as difficult to refill it.⁵⁴⁸ At the same time Jones sternly wrote to Bousfield that the other dioceses were in the same financial difficulty.⁵⁴⁹

In February 1880 the Standing Committee of S.P.G. decided to recommend the transfer of half the Transvaal Clergy Endowment Fund to the Provincial Trustees of the CPSA if they would submit a scheme for its investment which commended itself to S.P.G.⁵⁵⁰ The

⁵⁴⁵H. B. Bousfield, Letter to the Bishop of Salisbury, 1880-01-30, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁴⁶J. Turton, R.W.J. Johnston, R.C. Green, H.W. Struben, Certificate for W.W. Jones, accompanying H.B. Bousfield's Memorandum on the income of the see of Pretoria, Collection of the Archbishops of Capetown, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁴⁷W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1880-02-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁴⁸Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-02-20, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁵⁰S.P.C., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-02-18, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

CBC would adopt a similar course with the Endowment if the Bishop made an application.⁵⁵¹

In May 1880 S.P.G. informed Jones that they were willing to allow half the Transvaal Clergy Endowment Fund to be invested in the Cape in the name of the Provincial Trustees. Bousfield had wanted it to be invested in the Transvaal but S.P.G. would not sanction this.⁵⁵² Five months later in a private letter to Jones S.P.G. said that Bousfield could invest the Pretoria Clergy Endowment Funds in the names of the Provincial Trustees in Cape Securities.⁵⁵³

In July 1880 Jones informed Bousfield that S.P.G. had agreed to his request on the investment of the Endowment. Although they had not as yet accepted, the Provincial Trustees would accept the trust and he asked if Bousfield would submit a scheme for its investment.⁵⁵⁴ Bousfield, in his prompt reply, told Jones that since S.P.G. refused to allow him to invest the Endowment in the Transvaal he would invest it in the Cape. He said that according to the Manager of the Standard Bank in Pretoria a mortgage could be obtained for £2 500 at 10¹/₂% p.a. and that 12% p.a. could be safely got in the Transvaal.⁵⁵⁵ A couple of weeks later Bousfield told Jones that he would attend the Synod of Bishops in Capetown and discuss the investment of the endowment in the Cape with him.⁵⁵⁶

When Jones and Bousfield met in Capetown there seems to have been a disagreement between them. Jones privately wrote to Tucker of S.P.G.: "I entirely

⁵⁵¹S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-02-18, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁵⁵²S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-02-18, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁵⁵³S.P.G., Private letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-10-28, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁵⁵⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-07-23, Collection of the Letterbook of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁵⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-08-03, Collection of the Archbishop of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁵⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1880-08-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

agree with you in what you say as to the Bishop of Pretoria. At the same time it must certainly not be forgotten in justice to him that he has had an exceptionally difficult & trying time of it & with a delicate wife & a tribe of children together with a certainly most inadequate stipend & with great difficulties in securing good clergy and very little sympathy from the overwhelming majority of the Transvaal people he has had to endure enough to break a stout heart. ... His manner is certainly unfortunate & his conversation painfully egotistical, but with all his faults, he is a brave man, unflinching in the assertion of principle & determined to carry out his work & to deliver his message. And brave determined men are never more wanted than they are now."⁵⁵⁷

Jones agreed that Bousfield should have the services of his chaplain, Swinney, for six months, after which Swinney would go to the diocese of Zululand.⁵⁵⁸

In a letter to Sir Bartle Frere Bousfield explained the conclusion of his business in Capetown. It was decided that the Provincial Trustees would invest part of the endowment in the Transvaal but they were cautious about obtaining real security.⁵⁵⁹ Bousfield said of Jones: "I did confer with the Metropolitan, & hope so far convinced him that he did not differ from his cotrustees, but very few men are equal to Metropolitan functions, if large, & varying dioceses are to be in any measure ruled by them. The man who fills a Metropolitan see ought first to have served the roughest of the Province, & hence an elected Primate has many advantages over an established Metropolitan Chair."⁵⁶⁰ One wonders what was the cause of this tirade?

⁵⁵⁷W.W. Jones, Private letter to H. Tucker of S.P.G., 1880-12-13, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Bartle Frere, 1881-01-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁶⁰Ibid.

3.12.11 Bousfield's salary

On various occasions Bousfield threatened to resign. In January 1880 he told the Bishop of London that he would resign if the income of the see was not increased.⁵⁶¹

Bousfield was also able to increase his salary by other means. In February 1880 he thanked Randolph for £60 which would help him get through the year until something could be done about his income.⁵⁶² The Bishop also tried to get a military allowance as an acting Chaplain.⁵⁶³ It is unlikely that this was awarded to him as he did not mention it again. In February 1880 the Standing Committee of S.P.G. voted Bousfield an additional £100 from an extra fund held by them.⁵⁶⁴

A donation of £50 was given to the Pretoria Diocesan Fund for the personal use of the Bishop. He puts it towards buying a wagonette costing £90⁵⁶⁵: "It is just large enough to sleep in, will carry all I want, runs light, and will, I hope, be drawn by two mules. Two mules means driving myself, and this saves both the expense and disagreeableness of a native servant, who most undoubtedly do disperse around them a most sickening personal odour. This wagonette costs £90, and I am now trying to get two mules which may cost £50 or even £60. Towards this I hope to sell the old Cape cart, and then I shall be set up, unless misfortune comes again into the stable."⁵⁶⁶ Of his three horses, one had died and the second broken a leg but the third was in good condition.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to the Bishop of London, 1880-01-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁶²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.F. Randolph, 1880-02-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁶³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Col. Harrison, 1880-01-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁶⁴S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-02-18, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁵⁶⁵Bousfield, The Bishop's report for the months January to March 1880..., p.3.

⁵⁶⁶Ibid., p.3.

⁵⁶⁷Ibid., p.3.

During the War of Independence Bousfield described his feelings about this wrangling over his salary: "[The episcopal income] is to me a sickening subject for nothing is more unnatural to me (or injurious) than seeking my own, and few more painful than seeking to do so."⁵⁶⁸

If it was such a painful subject why did he constantly pursue it?

⁵⁶⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Bartle Frere, 1881-01-12, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
1880 - 1881

4.1 Historical background^{1 2}

Many Boers had not been happy about the annexation of the Transvaal. Since 1877 a number of grievances against the British Administration had surfaced, chief among them the desire to be allowed to rule themselves once more.³ Gladstone, whilst Opposition Leader in the British Parliament had spoken against Prime Minister Disraeli's policy towards the Transvaal, so when Gladstone became British Prime Minister in 1880 the Boer leaders in the Transvaal felt hopeful of regaining control of their country. Their hopes were dashed however when Gladstone made it clear that Britain would not change its policy towards the Transvaal.⁴

During 1880 the Boers were quiet but were preparing themselves for war. A meeting was called at Paardekraal on 1881-01-08 at which Piet Joubert and Paul Kruger would report back to the Boers⁵ on the negotiations with the British. The meeting was brought forward to 1880-12-08. Initially under five thousand burghers attended but the number rose to approximately ten thousand. It was decided on 1880-12-10 that the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (Z.A.R.) Government would be re-introduced and the Volksraad called as from the next day. Paul Kruger and Piet Joubert would resume their previous positions as Vice-President and Commandant-General respectively.⁶ A triumvirate of Kruger, Joubert and M.W. Pretorius was to run the Z.A.R. and Heidelberg was to be the provisional seat of government. Sir

¹C.F.J. Muller, ed., Five hundred years, 2nd ed., Pretoria: Academica, 1977, p.263-272.

²M. Wilson and L. Thompson, ed., The Oxford history of South Africa, 2nd vol., Oxford: OUP, 1971, p.296-300.

³Muller, Five hundred years..., p.267-268.

⁴Ibid., p.268

⁵Ibid., p.269.

⁶Ibid., p.269

Owen Lanyon was informed that war would break out if he did not peacefully hand over government to the Triumvirate. As Lanyon was unable to accept the terms the 1st Anglo-Boer War started. Boer Commandoes were sent to the larger Transvaal towns. In Pretoria the people were forced to enter a Laager when the Boer forces besieged their town.⁷

When war broke out the clergy of the diocese of Pretoria were scattered among the British in the Transvaal towns and shared the dangers of war with them.

- The Bishop was returning from the 1880 Episcopal Synod held in Capetown.
- Mrs Bousfield and her family, Roberts and his family and the staff from the Pretoria schools moved into the Pretoria Laager.
- The elderly William Richardson was in Potchchefstroom. Alexander Temple had left the diocese.
- Charles Spratt was in Pietermaritzburg with his wife and infant and returned to Standerton with the Bishop.⁸
- J.P. Richardson was in Rustenburg.
- H. Sadler was in Wakkerstroom.
- H. Adams was in Middelburg.
- John Thorne was once more involved in war at Lydenburg.

4.2 Into the Pretoria Laager⁹

Col. Bellairs, head of the British Garrison at Pretoria, realised that he would have to protect all the civilians in Pretoria. He was expecting a column from Lydenburg under Lieut-Col Anstruther to reach Pretoria and provide extra troops. Unfortunately for Bellairs' plans the Lydenburg column was ambushed and destroyed at Bronkhorstspruit on 1880-12-20 by a Boer commando under Commandant Frans Joubert. Bellairs was left to defend Pretoria and its civilians with the help of volunteers. The 3 700 townspeople were moved from their homes on 21st December to tents in

⁷Muller, Five hundred years..., p.269.

⁸H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.12.

⁹A.M. Davey, "The siege of Pretoria," Archives Yearbook, number 1, 1956, p.265-316

the military camp area.¹⁰ Gathering all the civilians together in this way facilitated

- their protection
- the issuing of rations
- their control.

However if any in the Laager were Boer sympathisers they could spy and send messages to the besiegers.

The tents were in three groups¹¹ at

- the Military Camp;
- the Civil or Wagon Laager where many families were placed;
- Tronk Laager, which enclosed the area between the Loreto Convent and the gaol.

Mrs Bousfield, the six Bousfield daughters, Emma Haywood and Elizabeth Dowling shared the comparative comfort of a marquee in which they could stand upright. Ellen Lamb lived alone nearby in an old, small bell tent which let in the rain.¹² She had to crawl into it and dress seated so what she won in privacy she lost in comfort. Emma Haywood was able to help Mrs Roberts with her new baby¹³ so presumably the Roberts family were camped nearby.

The family and friends of the Bishop anxiously awaited news of him.

4.3 The Bishop's journey to Pretoria

When war broke out the Bishop was in Natal on his way back to the Transvaal from Capetown. He was delayed at Pietermaritzburg as the post cart was too overloaded with mail to take him.¹⁴ He was only able to start for Pretoria on Saturday 18th December which he disliked as it meant travelling on a Sunday.¹⁵ He

¹⁰A.M. Davey, "The siege of Pretoria," Archives Yearbook, number 1, 1956, p.279.

¹¹Ibid., p.279.

¹²Sister Juliana, Rosmarie, London: Mowbray, 1913, p.29-30.

¹³C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary (Part 1 missing)," TS, p.3, Bousfield Collection, State Library, Pretoria, South Africa.

¹⁴H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.11.

¹⁵Ibid., p.12.

was able to hold an evening service at the hotel at Sundays River between Pietermaritzburg and Newcastle. When Newcastle was reached the next day he heard that the rumours of unrest in the Transvaal, which he had at first disbelieved, were true. The post cart refused to continue as the two ahead of it on the road had been stopped at Heidelberg. The Bishop felt that he and Spratt, who was returning to Standerton, were needed at their posts so he searched for alternative means of transport. He eventually found a spider and horses which he had to break himself.¹⁶ On Wednesday they heard that the two previous post carts had been examined by the Boers at Heidelberg and allowed to proceed, the one to Natal and the other to Pretoria. At Newcastle the post cart in which Bousfield was travelling decided to continue¹⁷ so the Bishop did not need to travel in the spider with the newly broken horses after all.

The post cart left Newcastle on Wednesday 22nd December bound for Standerton¹⁸ where there was a military garrison and preparations had been made for a siege.¹⁹ At Standerton the post cart was delayed for a day and a half before the Landdrost would allow it to continue.²⁰ In Six years in the Transvaal Bousfield claimed that rumours were rife in Standerton and that he persuaded the Landdrost to allow the post cart to travel on its way.²¹ Spratt was left behind to minister to his congregation and the Bishop was determined to reach his own post in Pretoria. He described his feelings: "... for to reach Pretoria I was bent, unless stopped by the Boers indeed. And as the boldest course appeared the wisest, I had decided to go straight to their headquarters, Heidelberg, and demand a passage through."²²

On reaching Heidelberg the post cart travelled through the Laager. Once through the first defences the bishop claimed

¹⁶H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.12.

¹⁷Ibid., p.12.

¹⁸Ibid., p.12.

¹⁹H.B. Bousfield, Six years in the Transval, London: S.P.C.K., [1886], p.55.

²⁰H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.13.

²¹Bousfield, Six years..., p.55.

²²H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.13.

that he ordered the driver to proceed to the Boer headquarters.²³ The Bishop told Jorrisen, the Attorney-General of the Provisional Government, that he wished to travel to Pretoria to be in time for the Christmas services the next day. After telling Jorrisen that he did not have any messages, either verbal or written, to the British in Pretoria²⁴ Bousfield was next interviewed by Piet Joubert. The Bishop was sent to Graham's Hotel to join some of the British residents of Heidelberg. They had not been molested in any way and their property had been respected. The day before the Bishop's arrival the prisoners of war from the 94th Regiment, ambushed at Bronkhorstspuit²⁵, had been brought in.²⁶

On Christmas Day Jorrisen came to the hotel to tell the Bishop that his request for a pass had been refused and that unless he went to the Orange Free State he would be kept a prisoner in Heidelberg.²⁷ Bousfield wrote to the Commandant General reiterating that he wished to go to Pretoria to resume his spiritual duties.²⁸ Permission was granted for him to visit the prisoners but was unable to speak to them as they were being sent to the O.F.S.²⁹ On returning to the hotel he received a letter from the Boer leaders explaining that one of the other passes granted had been abused. They wanted a declaration from the Bishop that he had no military information. This he was able to give.³⁰ The Bishop held a service at the hotel and was even able to preach a sermon.³¹ After this Bok, Secretary of the Z.A.R., sent for the Bishop to sign a declaration³² which included a clause that he would not mention anything that he

²³H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.13.

²⁴Ibid., p.14.

²⁵Muller, Five hundred years..., p.270.

²⁶H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.14.

²⁷Ibid., p.14.

²⁸Ibid., p.15.

²⁹Ibid., p.15.

³⁰Ibid., p.15.

³¹Ibid., p.15.

³²Ibid., p.16.

had seen or heard.³³ The declaration was written on paper with a Z.A.R. letterhead so the Bishop refused to sign.³⁴ He felt that by signing the document he would be recognising the Z.A.R. which he did not. He said that he would sign if the heading was changed to "now garrisoned in the name of the South African Republic." Once this was done the Bishop signed the declaration.³⁵ T.F. Carter in his Narrative of the Boer War wrote of this incident "... [Bousfield's] obstinacy was too much for the Boers, so they let him proceed."³⁶

With his pass secure the Bishop arranged for a spider and horses to carry him to Pretoria as the Boers would not let the post cart continue.³⁷ The Bishop travelled on St Stephen's Day, the day after Christmas Day, with the post cart driver and a small bag of letters.³⁸ Horses were difficult to get along the way, as many had been removed from the post cart stations but they did get one change.³⁹ Only once on the journey were they asked to show their pass.⁴⁰ The Bishop, unaware that the townspeople had been taken into laager wished to reach Pretoria in time for evening service.⁴¹

4.3.1 Arrival in Pretoria

In the afternoon⁴² the Bishop drove into Pretoria and went to Government House as he had letters to deliver from Bok and others and wished to obtain Sir Owen Lanyon's permission.⁴³ On finding the place deserted

³³Bousfield, Six years..., p.57.

³⁴H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.16.

³⁵Bousfield, Six years..., p.57.

³⁶T.F. Carter, A narrative of the Boer War its causes and results, London: Macqueen, 1896, p.381.

³⁷C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.5.

³⁸H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.16.

³⁹Ibid., p.16.

⁴⁰Bousfield, Six years..., p.58.

⁴¹H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.16.

⁴²G.Y. Lagden, Diary 1880, 1880-12-26, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS Af. s 144, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

⁴³Bousfield, Six years..., p.58.

he went to Bishop's Cote; on the way a picket told him where he could find his family.⁴⁴

In Mother Teresa Colahan's diary she wrote on 1880-12-26: "... Dr. Bousfield has just arrived, he passed through the Boer Camp and was allowed to pass, as the Boers have great respect for a predicant [sic] - We trust they were equally obliging to our dear little Bishop and let him go onto Kimberly [sic] - We never heard from him since he left."⁴⁵

Mrs Bousfield in her diary for the same day wrote: "... about 5 o'clock I heard voices say 'the Bishop is in Pretoria & in the camp' all were out to greet him & he was sought by the Governor etc. ... It was delightful to have him back again and Harry and I felt as if a load of responsibility was off our shoulders ... so end[ed] a never to be forgotten week & a most strange Xmas day and Sunday."⁴⁶

That day the Bishop handed over the bag of letters he was carrying to the British authorities. He also spoke to the heads of the departments privately.⁴⁷ The Bishop spent the early part of the siege, until 1881-01-13, sharing Lagden's tent.⁴⁸ Even though the Bishop had reached Pretoria on a Sunday he was unable to hold evening service, as he had wished because it had been raining heavily all day and the Laager was still in confusion.⁴⁹

Charles Du Val published a newspaper for the Pretorians in Laager known as the News of the Camp, which joked about the Bishop eventful journey from Natal: "Bishop Bousfield (just arrived) 'Story!' 'God bless you, I have none to tell, Sir!' _____ Canning."⁵⁰

⁴⁴H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.16.

⁴⁵Mother M.T. Colahan, Diary kept during the siege of Pretoria 1880-1881, 1880-12-26, MSS, Colahan Papers, Loreto Convent, Pretoria, South Africa.

⁴⁶C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.5-6.

⁴⁷Ibid., p.5.

⁴⁸G.Y. Lagden, Diary 1881, 1881-01-13, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS Af. s 145, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

⁴⁹H.B. Bousfield, "An episcopal prisoner," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.17.

⁵⁰"Quotational Aproposities," News of the Camp, number 2, 1880-12-28, p.3.

The Bishop had probably told everyone he met the story of his bravery in returning to Pretoria.

The Catholic Vicar Apostolic of Natal, Bishop Jolivet O.M.I., was not as lucky as Bousfield. Mother Teresa Colahan noted in her diary on 1881-01-05 that news had been received that the post cart carrying Jolivet had been stopped at Potchefstroom and all its passengers detained.⁵¹ After two weeks Jolivet obtained a pass from Commandant Cronje which enabled him to leave the Transvaal and he went to Bloemfontein.⁵²

4.4 Life within the Laager

The Bishop soon got into a routine.⁵³ He would visit the hospitals in the mornings. At noon he would visit Bishop's Cote to check on his African workers and for a time of quiet, either reading or writing, while the sun was at its hottest. During the afternoon he would visit his parishioners in the Laager until 6.15 p.m.

4.4.1 Hospital visits

The Bishop felt that visiting the wounded in hospital was an important duty as he was acting Chaplain to the army. This occupied him from 10 a.m. to 12 noon on most days.⁵⁴ The Bishop was sickened by the wounds inflicted in battle. On 1881-01-06 the engagement at the Zwartkopje took place in which the British tried to test the defences of the besiegers.⁵⁵ Mrs Bousfield watched the dead, wounded and prisoners arrive in Pretoria. She described the scene: "... we were sitting after dinner looking for the troops return and thankful all were no more (sic) were hurt - 16 wounded & 5 killed. The latter came in on [an] open wagon and the others in [an] ambulance the 14 prisoners included. ... I hear one prisoner died and was buried with another who died as he was being brought

⁵¹Mother M.T. Colahan, Diary kept during the siege of Pretoria 1880-1881, 1881-01-05, MSS, Colahan Papers, Loreto Convent, Pretoria, South Africa.

⁵²Loreto in South Africa 1878-1978, [s.l.]: Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary Loreto Sisters, [s.a.], p.22.

⁵³H.B. Bousfield, "In Laager at Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.30.

⁵⁴Ibid., p.30.

⁵⁵Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.284.

in. These were buried ... from the prison by the prison authorities & laid in the Dutch burying place. ... the Bishop went to see all the wounded & dying directly & was shocked at the sad havoc made of the poor fellows."⁵⁶

The battle of Elandsfontein in which Harry Bousfield, the Bishop's eldest son, took part was fought the following week on Saturday 21st. The Bishop as before visited the hospitals soon after. He described his feelings on seeing the wounded: "My work has been more melancholy still since then; more funerals; four poor fellows, each with one leg off, one of them likely to lose both, or life itself. My heart grows sick, and my pen fails to tell of their sufferings, and my own as I visit the beds of the more-than-half unconscious sufferers, not knowing at which visit to pass on, at which to speak, at which to kneel, and softly whisper some short prayer in which perhaps the spirit might find relief or might join. I have had comfort by the bedsides of some, but never in my ministry such anxious sorrows by others."⁵⁷

Mrs Bousfield occasionally cut flowers from the Bishop's Cote garden and sent them to the hospitals.⁵⁸ On Friday 1881-01-21 the Bishop gave each man in the hospital a bunch of flowers which included lemon plant and heliotrope.⁵⁹ It would appear that Mrs Bousfield also occasionally visited the hospitals with her husband. She tells of visiting a patient: "... poor Mr Arber⁶⁰ is now conscious and smiles with pleasure at seeing the Bishop or any of us, he is so altered."⁶¹

⁵⁶C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.17-18.

⁵⁷H.B. Bousfield, "In Laager at Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.35.

⁵⁸C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.16.

⁵⁹Ibid., p.29.

⁶⁰Arber is not mentioned in Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.309-310, Annexure A, Casualties [of the Boer and British Armies] during the siege of Pretoria. He might however have been a civilian.

⁶¹C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.46-47.

On 1881-02-12 Col. Gildea led a sortie against the Boer laager at Roodehuis and on the way his force was defeated at Elandsfontein.⁶² Once again the Bishop did the rounds of the wounded. His wife admired him for this distressful duty: "... the return to the camp about midday was truly a depressing sight, the Col., [Gildea] wounded besides 9 others & all for nothing one may say - the Bishop did his best in seeing them all & I consider him wonderful in bearing up as bravely as he does under the most harassing scenes in visiting the Hospitals, I will not name them as many would not be of interest and all of us can imagine the suffering of a time of war -"⁶³ Mrs Bousfield sent flowers and some blancmange to the wounded from this engagement.⁶⁴ News of the Camp noted that the commotion caused by the Elandsfontein skirmish had robbed the Bishop of his Sunday congregation "... so he sought one where he knew it was to be found, and ministered to the wounded in the hospital."⁶⁵

Some of the wounded from the first engagements of the siege were still in hospital at the end of February. The Bishop visited the most seriously wounded daily, preparing some for death.⁶⁶

4.4.2 Camp sick visiting

From the beginning when Col. Bellairs, the Colonel Commanding the military⁶⁷, sent the civilians into laager careful attention was paid to hygiene and sanitation.⁶⁸ Hutments had to be kept out clean, refuse removal was efficiently carried out and no washing was allowed in the sluits near the camp. Drinking water was brought in by cart and a well was sunk at the Convent as the Fountains supply could

⁶²Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.287.

⁶³C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.38.

⁶⁴Ibid., p.40.

⁶⁵"Church News," News of the Camp, number 11, 1881-01-18, p.2.

⁶⁶C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.42.

⁶⁷Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.270.

⁶⁸Ibid., p.280.

easily be cut off by the Boers. The summer of 1880-1881 was wet, settling the dust which probably lowered the sickness rate. In spite of these precautions people did become ill so the district surgeon went on his rounds daily.⁶⁹ Mrs Bousfield described the scene. An African ringing a bell called out "Doctor wanted" "... this prevents delays in case of sickness and has proved an excellent plan though comical,..."⁷⁰

Two days after his arrival in Pretoria the Bishop started his civilian sick visiting.⁷¹ The deaths soon came. An unfortunate misunderstanding occurred when a child came to the Bousfield's on 28th December to say that her sister had died and they wanted a coffin made. The Bishop explained to her that this was not possible and told her they should wrap the body in a blanket and he would come later and bring a covering for it. The child returned home and told her mother that the Bishop had said to wrap the body in a blanket, dig a hole in the veld and throw the body into it. The Bishop only found out about this story when he visited the family with the covering and they had just returned from the burial as instructed by the Bishop.⁷²

The Bishop described the illnesses suffered by the civilians: "Sickness, too, has made its appearance among the civilians, sore eyes, dysentery fever adding to the hospital patients; sending some out of 'laager' to their homes, and more than one to their last earthly bed."⁷³

One of the tragic deaths from dysentery was that of the Mother Superior of the Loreto Convent, Celine Jolivet, sister of the Catholic bishop. She died on 5th January aged 35 years⁷⁴ and was buried two days

⁶⁹Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.280.

⁷⁰C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.30.

⁷¹Ibid., p.6-7.

⁷²Ibid., p.7.

⁷³H.B. Bousfield, "In Laager at Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.30.

⁷⁴"Death of the Lady Superior," News of the Camp, number 10, 1881-01-15, p.2.

later. Her funeral was well attended,⁷⁵ the mourners including Sir Owen Lanyon, Col. Bellairs and Bishop Bousfield.⁷⁶

Death also touched the Anglican staff when on Wednesday 1881-02-25 one of the Misses Lorentz died. The two spinster sisters had been teachers at the elementary school.⁷⁷

On Friday 1881-02-11 Mrs Bousfield accompanied her husband on his visits to the Wagon Laager; she felt that his visits to the sick and poor were appreciated.⁷⁸ Mrs Bousfield, a seasoned priest's wife taught her children to be thoughtful of others and to lead useful lives, so they also took turns in going to the Hospitals and visiting the sick at their homes taking gifts.⁷⁹

4.4.3 Schools

When the Pretorians were moved into Laager the schools closed but were reopened when it became obvious that the siege would not be lifted quickly.

On 15th January News of the Camp printed the following on its front page: "Fathers and mothers will be glad to hear that the Rev. Mr Roberts intends opening his school in town on Monday next. The young urchins will now be kept out of the way, and we hope we shall be less troubled with their noise in future."⁸⁰ On the next page was an advertisement for St Birinus' re-opening at the new school room.⁸¹ This had been nearing completion when the siege had begun.⁸²

The other Anglican schools followed St Birinus' example. News of the Camp five days later contained

⁷⁵"R.I.P.," News of the Camp, number 11, 1881-01-18, p.3.

⁷⁶Mother M.T. Colahan, Diary kept during the siege of Pretoria 1880-1881, 1881-02-18, p.76, MSS, Colahan Papers, Loreto Convent, Pretoria, South Africa.

⁷⁷Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.33.

⁷⁸C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.35.

⁷⁹Ibid., p.36.

⁸⁰"Scholastic," News of the Camp, number 10, 1881-01-15, p.1.

⁸¹"S. Birinus School," News of the Camp, number 10, 1881-01-15, p.2.

⁸²H.B. Bousfield, "In Laager at Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.30.

advertisements stating that St Alban's Elementary School would open on Monday 24th at 10 a.m. and St Etheldreda's on the same day at 9 a.m. at the School House.⁸³ For the opening of these schools the Bishop had secured an omnibus (an ox-wagon driven by Africans and pulled by eight mules) to take the children to school in the morning, returning at 1 p.m.⁸⁴ The Catholics opened their school on 31st January.⁸⁵ When Prospect Seminary was re-opened Weavind, its Honorary Secretary, arranged for a wagon to leave the East Gate of the Camp at 9 a.m. each school morning and return the pupils at 12.30 p.m.⁸⁶

On 27th January Miss Dowling from St Etheldreda's went to nurse a newly delivered mother and baby leaving the school short staffed.⁸⁷ By 8th February she still had not returned from her nursing.⁸⁸

Clarke, a Government Inspector from Capetown who had come to Pretoria just before the siege was also in the Laager. As he wished to leave Pretoria as soon as the siege was lifted he thought it better to continue with his work.⁸⁹ So on 10th March Clarke examined the girls of St Etheldreda's School. The younger girls did well and all passed.⁹⁰ Francis Rebekah, the eldest Bousfield daughter and their star pupil, did badly which was a great disappointment. One of her teachers excused her lack of achievement thus: "One can hardly expect a girl who has gone through all the strain of the last ten weeks to be ready to shine in such an impromptu examination."⁹¹

This teacher felt that the Inspector's visit was inopportune as the school was disorganised, it had

⁸³"S. Alban's Elementary School," and "S. Etheldreda's School," News of the Camp, number 12, 1881-01-20, p.4.

⁸⁴Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.33.

⁸⁵"Advertisements: Education," News of the Camp, number 14, 1881-01-25, p.3.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.34.

⁸⁸C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.28.

⁸⁹Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.36.

⁹⁰Ibid., p.36.

⁹¹Ibid., p.37.

only half its usual number of pupils and there was no afternoon school.⁹²

4.4.4 Church services

In spite of being in Laager, denominational church services continued to be held.

Christmas Day 1880 was wet and miserable and the people were still learning how to live in tents. Mrs Bousfield described her day: "... , so the day drew to a close without any service here as rain totally prohibited every effort to hold one out of 4 arranged for in various places through the Camp - the only one held was at the Convent which is garrisoned by the Volunteers - this was well attended Mr Roberts told me."⁹³

News of the Camp announced the services for Sunday 26th, St Stephen's Day: "Wind, weather, and Boers permitting, there will be services of the various religious sects now somewhat incongruously mixed together in fort, laager, and under canvas, in the Military Camp, Pretoria, to-morrow morning at seven o'clock. This is authoritative, and standing orders have been posted, notifying the following arrangements for the holding of the services, and the places where each will be held as follows:-

Church of England - In the Square in front of Garrison office. ... (Hour for all - 7 a.m.)"⁹⁴

To the great pleasure of the Anglicans the Bishop returned that evening and was able to organise their services. On Tuesday 28th December the Bishop, his wife and a few others met under the mitrailleuse⁹⁵ just outside the rampart. During this service a prayer for peace, which the Bishop had drawn up during the Zulu War and used subsequently, was read.⁹⁶

⁹²Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.36.

⁹³C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.4.

⁹⁴"Wind, weather, and Boers permitting...", News of the Camp, number 1, 1880-12-25, p.1.

⁹⁵Mitrailleuse COD many-barrelled breech loading machine-gun discharging small missiles simultaneously or in rapid succession.

⁹⁶C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.6.

The Bishop started regular services and these were continued by both the Bishop and Alfred Roberts until the siege was lifted. There were five services on Sunday and two on weekdays. Most of these services were held in the open air.⁹⁷ The third edition of News of the Camp stated that the Bishop was holding his two weekday services at the Camp Ground near the Headquarters' Bungalow at 7.15 a.m. and 6.30 p.m.⁹⁸ Later these services were changed to 7.30 a.m. and 6.15 p.m.⁹⁹ The evening service was attended by all the Bousfield children.¹⁰⁰ The Bishop fell into the daily habit of going down to Bishop's Cote before returning to the Laager for Morning Prayer. This service was usually only attended by Church workers.¹⁰¹

During the evening the band played in the "Flagstaff Square." After that came the evening hymns,¹⁰² "God save the Queen" and lights out at 8.45 p.m.¹⁰³ On the last day of 1880 Morning Prayer was held at 7 a.m.¹⁰⁴ A midnight service was held by the Bishop to welcome in the New Year.¹⁰⁵ On New Year's day the Bishop and a few others went down to the Cathedral and celebrated Holy Communion.¹⁰⁶ The same day the Bishop went to the Garrison Adjutant to get him to counter-sign the times for the five Anglican services for 2nd January.¹⁰⁷ Sunday 2nd January was the first really settled Sabbath in the Laager. The Bishop attended all the services and preached at the Holy Communion which was held in a small empty hut. At one of the Sunday services three babies were baptised. A number of people attended Evening Prayer at 6.30 p.m. in the

⁹⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.58.

⁹⁸"Divine service is held daily...", News of the Camp, number 3, 1880-12-30, p.2.

⁹⁹"Beseiged Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.23.

¹⁰⁰C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.10.

¹⁰¹H.B. Bousfield, "In Laager at Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.29.

¹⁰²Ibid., p.33-34.

¹⁰³Ibid., p.31.

¹⁰⁴C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.10.

¹⁰⁵"We understand that his Lordship...", News of the Camp, number 4, 1881-01-01, p.1.

¹⁰⁶Sister Juliana, Rosmarie..., p.30.

¹⁰⁷"Official Announcements," News of the Camp, number 4, 1881-01-01, p.4.

hut and the Bishop preached again. Just before bedtime Mrs Bousfield sat outside and listened to the band of the 21st playing "Hark the herald angels sing" and "Thy way not mine".¹⁰⁸ News of the Camp joked about the five Sunday Anglican services: "We don't know which to admire most - the enthusiasm or physical powers of his Lordship."¹⁰⁹

The British attacked the "wagpos" at Zwartkopje, Cockcroft's Farm and Pienaar's River on Thursday 6th January.¹¹⁰ The Bishop, his wife and Miss Sarah,¹¹¹ at the Cathedral for Communion, heard the firing and dynamite explosions. An Italian man was the only other member of the congregation.¹¹²

The weather on the next Sunday, 9th January, was so wet and miserable that some services were cancelled. At the 11 a.m. service held in the Cathedral the communicants included four soldiers, one of them a Captain in the 21st. The Sunday School had to be abandoned because of the weather.¹¹³

The Elandsfontein engagement took place the next Sunday, 16th January which meant that congregations were small. News of the Camp reported: "Even His Lordship, the Bishop, failed to secure the nucleus of a congregation, so he sought one where he knew it was to be found, and ministered to the wounded in the hospital."¹¹⁴

The Sunday School held by Frances Rebekah Bousfield and Miss Lorentz had already started on 30th January when a severe thunderstorm interrupted it.¹¹⁵ News of the Camp reported that the Church Parade had

¹⁰⁸C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.13.

¹⁰⁹"Church Militant," News of the Camp, number 5, 1881-01-04, p.1.

¹¹⁰Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.284.

¹¹¹It is not certain who Miss Sarah was but she was probably a staff member or family friend.

¹¹²C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.17.

¹¹³Ibid., p.19.

¹¹⁴"Church News," News of the Camp, number 11, 1881-01-18, p.2.

¹¹⁵C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.31.

a congregation of four (three NCO's and a trooper.)¹¹⁶
Evening Prayer had to be abandoned.¹¹⁷

On 30th January the Garrison Adjutant, Spencer F. Chichester, signed a notice giving the times of the Church services for the troops, which was published for the first time in the next edition of News of the Camp. The times were as follows:

"Church of England at 7 a.m.
Roman Catholic at 7 a.m.
Wesleyan at 8.15 a.m. and
Voluntary Service at 4.30 p.m."¹¹⁸

On the third anniversary of Bousfield's consecration as bishop a special service was held at the Cathedral at 10 a.m. with a few attendants, followed by Holy Communion. Mrs Bousfield described her feelings in her diary: "... and a deep comfort was it to feel that at least our P[raayer] U[nion] members at Home were thinking of us & many others also,..."¹¹⁹

News of the Camp gleefully reported that only two of a Company of Volunteers, their officer and a few other worshippers attended a service held by the Bishop in the Convent Redoubt on the boisterous morning 13th February.¹²⁰ Two days later the journalists had to retract their report as the service had been held by Roberts, not by the Bishop, and they printed the following: "We understand that in consequence of the very small number of persons attending the services at the Convent Redoubt, the Bishop has decided on not holding any more there. He has invited the people to the Cathedral instead."¹²¹

On Sundays services were held in a shelter of wood with an iron roof in the Engineers' Square. At night soldiers slept under it and during the day it was used

¹¹⁶"Church Parades," News of the Camp, number 17, 1881-02-01, p.1-2.

¹¹⁷C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.31.

¹¹⁸"Official Announcements," News of the Camp, number 17, 1881-02-01, p.4.

¹¹⁹C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.32.

¹²⁰"Every inch an officer -," News of the Camp, number 24, 1881-02-17, p.2.

¹²¹"Irreligious," News of the Camp, number 25, 1881-02-19, p.2.

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In the Pretoria Laager. Sketch by Mrs. Bousfield.
"The Shed-place so often named in [Mrs. Bousfield's] Journal.
Miss Lamb's old tent. The Bishop's Wagonette."

(Source: State Library, Pretoria.)



by the women and children. One end was used by the Anglicans for services and the other by the Wesleyans. The Anglican Litany and Holy Communion was at 9 a.m. The first part of the service was held outside at the usual place for Morning Prayer and the Consecration and Communion in the shelter where the Bishop's temporary altar had been set up.¹²²

The times and places of Anglican services were as follows:

- 7 a.m. Church Parade for the Regular Garrison in the Flagstaff Square. This was shortened Morning Prayer. The band played and the Canticles and a hymn were sung.
- 8 a.m. The Volunteers Church Parade in the Convent Redoubt. This was the same service as for the Regulars but without music.
- 9 a.m. Litany and Holy Communion, held out of doors as far as the Offertory, the rest under cover.
- 11 a.m. Morning Prayer with Litany or Holy Communion and sermon, in the Cathedral.
- 4.30 p.m. Evening Prayer and sermon in the Convent Redoubt.
- 6 p.m. Evening Prayer and sermon on the Parade Ground at the Camp.¹²³

Roberts usually took the Sunday 11 a.m. service of Mattins at the Cathedral.¹²⁴

By mid-February the Sunday School had been discontinued but Mrs Bousfield still taught her younger daughters together with a few other children who had asked permission to attend. Mrs Bousfield described her duty thus: "... I am glad to help in any way I can to teach the children 'to keep the sabbath day holy'."¹²⁵ On 20th February she taught her class

¹²²H.B. Bousfield, "In Laager at Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.31.

¹²³Ibid., p.32.

¹²⁴A. Roberts, The genesis of the diocese of Pretoria South Africa, MSS, p.28, Alfred Roberts Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹²⁵C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.38.

for three hours and read them stories from the Old Testament. She explained her use of the Bible in teaching: "I find the book which was sent to my children 'Bible Steps' most helpful as I always like using the Bible itself as far as possible which is the object of the book."¹²⁶

On Monday, 21st February, a typical Highveld thunderstorm prevented the Bishop from holding the 4.30 p.m. service in the Cathedral and the 6.15 p.m. service at the Camp.¹²⁷ On Ash Wednesday, 2nd March, the Bishop advertised services in the Cathedral at 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. At the one he had a congregation of four and none at the other as the result of a storm.¹²⁸ The Cathedral was draped in purple to commemorate the beginning of Lent.¹²⁹ A service was also held in the Cathedral on the First Sunday in Lent.¹³⁰

The afternoon service in the Laager had to be moved to the Cathedral as the congregations were small. The Bishop put this down to "the excessive heat and the lack of seats," and the absence of people attending from the Gaol Laager for which this service was held.¹³¹ By the end of the siege the Anglicans had fallen into the routine of having the services in the Cathedral on Wednesday and Sunday evenings.¹³²

The number of Anglican services caused comment, as the Bishop records: "As time went on ... our daily prayers were said in secret, for fear the gathering of ourselves alone should provoke more smiles than reverence, and so do harm."¹³³ The Bishop explained

¹²⁶C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.41.

¹²⁷Ibid., p.40.

¹²⁸H.B. Bousfield, "In Laager at Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.36.

¹²⁹C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.47.

¹³⁰Ibid., p.47.

¹³¹H.B. Bousfield, "In Laager at Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.34.

¹³²C.E. Bousfield, "Mrs Bousfield's diary...", p.54.

¹³³H.B. Bousfield, "In Laager at Pretoria," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.36.

away the small congregations as lack of interest in the people and their situation rather than the number of services and his own pomposity. After the lifting of the siege the Bishop wrote to Arnold Clarke, an ex-parishoner: "There is a hustle about war and a siege, which keeps from prayer and worship and solemn thought and funerals of the wounded and hospital scenes has no spiritual effect."¹³⁴

4.5 Concern for the Bishop

With the outbreak of war anxiety was felt about the safety of the Bishop and clergy of the diocese of Pretoria. The confusion at the start of hostilities worried Archbishop Jones as he was not sure where the bishops of Pretoria and Zululand were.¹³⁵ Macrorie was able to tell him that Bousfield had reached Pretoria but the whereabouts of Swinney, who had been sent to Pretoria for six months to help Bousfield before going on to Zululand, was unknown.¹³⁶

Mission Field printed a paragraph on the anxiety felt by S.P.G. "No news has been received for some time from the Bishop of Pretoria, who was returning from Capetown at the time of the outbreak of the Boers; nor since the outbreak has the Society heard anything of its Missionaries shut up in the Transvaal."¹³⁷ In mid-January a concerned Edward Holroyd Bousfield, the Bishop's brother, wrote to S.P.G.: "I am awfully anxious about the Bishop - fancy them missing, first, horrors, of being shut up in fort with all his family or worse still."¹³⁸

S.P.G. did write to the Bishop despite not knowing his whereabouts: "We are very anxious to receive some tidings from you, your last letter was dated Dec 9; off Port Elizabeth, and we cannot but fear that you did not reach Pretoria before the outbreak."¹³⁹

¹³⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Clarke, 1881-04-16, Bousfield Letters, R. Keel, Horsham, Surrey, Britain.

¹³⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1881-01-18, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷"Bloemfontein and the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1880-03-01, p.121.

¹³⁸E.H. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1881-01-18, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹³⁹S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1881-02-22, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

However they were eventually able to establish contact with him. In May, after the siege had ended, Tucker of S.P.G. wrote: "I am very glad to be able to resume correspondence with you: you were much in our thoughts during the siege."¹⁴⁰

After the war had ended the Bishop wrote to Durnford, his Commissary in Britain, requesting him to allay the fears of those in England if they did not hear from him and/or if their letters were unanswered as the land and postal service were in confusion.¹⁴¹ This Durnford did by publishing the letter in the next copy of the Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria.

4.6 The siege is lifted

On 1881-03-29 the siege was lifted when the Boers entered Pretoria.¹⁴² The Bishop graphically described his feelings at this event in a letter to a friend: "A disgraceful compact with the Boers has raised the siege today. ... May England's eyes be opened to the way she has treated her legal children here!"¹⁴³ To S.P.G. he wrote: "This morning our siege was raised, and publication has been made among us of the disgraceful compact to which we owe the relief."¹⁴⁴ The writer of the diary printed in Rosmarine wrote: "March 29 - Martial law is over, Peace has been signed. But at what a price! The siege has lasted one hundred days. The effigy of the Prime Minister (W.E. Gladstone) was burnt in the square. It means ruin to us. Many rich men say they are not worth 6d."¹⁴⁵

That day, 29th March, the Bishop left the camp and returned to sleep in Bishop's Cote. The house was re-arranged and by Sunday, 3rd April, all the family were once more there.

¹⁴⁰S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1881-05-25, CLS Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁴¹H.B. Bousfield, "Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-05-08," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.5.

¹⁴²Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.301.

¹⁴³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H.E. Jennings, 1881-03-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁴⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1881-03-29, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁴⁵Sister Juliana, Rosmarine..., p.37.

The Bishop remained in Pretoria until 12th July following his usual pursuits of services, visiting, studying, letter writing and gardening as well as the new task of teaching geometry and arithmetic in the schools.¹⁴⁶

4.7 After the War

4.7.1 Historical background

The battle of Amajuba, which ended the war, was fought on 1881-02-27¹⁴⁷ and resulted in a victory for the Boers and the British General and Governor of Natal, George Colley, being killed. Only two and a half weeks later, on 15th March, the news of an armistice concluded reached Pretoria.¹⁴⁸ Soon after the siege had been lifted Sir Owen Lanyon had left Pretoria and been replaced as Administrator by Bellairs who had been promoted to Brigadier.¹⁴⁹

A Royal Commission was appointed by the British Government to conduct the peace negotiations with the Boer Triumvirate. The members of the Commission were Sir Hercules Robinson, Governor of the Cape; H. de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape; and Sir Evelyn Wood.¹⁵⁰ The Boer delegates were Paul Kruger, Commandant-General Piet Joubert and M.W. Pretorius.¹⁵¹ Brand, President of the Orange Free State, attended the meetings as an advisor. Six months later, on 1881-08-03, the Pretoria Convention was signed making the Transvaal self-governing under the suzerainty of the British Government.¹⁵² The Convention also defined the Transvaal boundaries. A British Resident was to live in Pretoria, with power over the African population.¹⁵³ The Boers were once more ruling themselves but the Transvaal burghers disliked the Pretoria Convention.

¹⁴⁶H.B. Bousfield, "The Bishop's report," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.10.

¹⁴⁷Muller, Five hundred years..., p.271.

¹⁴⁸Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.301.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p.302.

¹⁵⁰Muller, Five hundred years..., p.271.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p.271.

¹⁵²Ibid., p.271.

¹⁵³Wilson and Thompson, The Oxford history of South Africa..., p.300.

Negotiations were re-opened and the London Convention, signed on 1884-02-27, provided that the Transvaal could once more use its old name of the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek and was no longer under British suzerainty. By the London Convention the Transvaal regained her independence.¹⁵⁴

4.7.2 The Bishop's attitude to the retrocession

With the end of the war and the resumption of Boer rule in the Transvaal the Bishop had to decide on his future. He was faced with a number of alternatives:

1. How could he carry on as Bishop of Pretoria?
 - 1.1 Should he remain in the Transvaal?
 - 1.2 Should he resign and return to Britain?
 - 1.3 Could he remain within the CPSA and control the diocese of Pretoria yet reside in a British colony?
2. What should he do about his family?
 - 2.1 Should they be sent back to Britain?
 - 2.2 Should they remain with him?
3. Could the work of the diocese of Pretoria be continued and if so, how could he get the necessary money? If insufficient English people remained the diocese could be changed into a mission-orientated diocese.

Bousfield's search for an answer was not made easier by the fact that the British did not know how the victorious Boers would treat them. Ever since 1879 Bousfield had threatened to resign, he had been depressed in October 1880 and the retrocession made him slide deeper into depression.

4.7.3 The Grahamstown - Capetown plan

In May 1881 Bousfield came up with a compromise plan as an alternative to his leaving South Africa. Could he not work from the Cape Colony, living in either the diocese of Grahamstown or the diocese of Capetown? Bousfield wrote to Bishop Merriman of Grahamstown:

¹⁵⁴Muller, Five hundred years..., p.271.

"If I am forced away I shall fall back on your diocese for safety, & such employment as may allow of my still visiting this diocese & walking its ruins till a better day, which will not return for many days, beyond my time, so please consider if you [can] use me, if neither you nor Capetown can, I shall have to return whence I came."¹⁵⁵

On the same day he wrote to Bishop Jones of Capetown putting forward a variant plan by which he would spend eight months in the Cape. He wrote: "Should these worst things happen so that I am fairly driven out I shall fall back upon Port Elizabeth, & then the Cape, seeking a resting place for my family, and a post of usefulness for myself from which I may watch over the ruins here until a better day returns which will never be in the time of my activity, if it be of my life and so you must consider 1st whether such a retreat requires your permission under Canon 7, and if so send me a permit at once, for my security if needed; & 2ndly whether you can partially employ me so as to allow of my visiting this diocese every year for some four months, which is all it will then be capable of. If the Church of this province has no use for me, I must return whence I came, but I hope this sad sorrow will not be forced on me."¹⁵⁶ Jones has headed this letter: "Bishop Bousfield. State of the Transvaal ominous for the English. Proposes to live in the Capital for 8 months in the year."¹⁵⁷ Before he committed himself Jones asked the advice of Macrorie who was against Bousfield's plan.¹⁵⁸ Moreover Macrorie felt that the Church in the Transvaal would win through its difficulties. Macrorie told Jones: " I sh[oul]d feel very strongly against it as certain to damage the Church's prospects in the Transvaal, while the advantage to you w[oul]d be very

¹⁵⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to N.J. Merriman, 1881-05-10, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-05-10, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸W.W. Jones, Letters to W.K. Macrorie, 1881-05-28 and 1881-06-01, these are probably not extant.

doubtful. I think that the Bishop's leaving the country w[ould] most effectively prevent clergy from going to work there, & it is difficult enough already. He ought to stay there, if it be possible to live there, & fight through all difficulties. I feel much for him, & know there must be a struggle before him, but I don't believe it to be a harder one than the Church in the Free State had to encounter, so we may take courage from that example."¹⁵⁹

On 7th June Bousfield once more wrote to Jones, this time hinting at resignation: "In either case it seems to me that the wise course will be to fall back to Grahamstown or Port Elizabeth, & take up my abode there where there ought to be work for me, apart from any episcopal help I could give the Bishop, which would allow of my still administering this diocese and visiting it until some clear course made the appointment of a successor possible."¹⁶⁰ This letter Jones headed: "Bishop Bousfield State of Transvaal full of uncertainty. Possible work in Cape Colony."¹⁶¹

It was only at the beginning of July that Jones replied sternly and unsympathetically to Bousfield's letters: "I have been thinking most anxiously over your idea of leaving the Transvaal to other hands than yours, & the more earnestly do I deprecate it. I cannot think that your position in Pretoria Diocese, painful & distressing as it must be, can be more difficult & harassing than was that of the B[ishop] of Bloemfontein on succeeding B[ishop] Twells, or that of the B[ishop] of Maritzburg in having year after year to face the rival forces of Colenso. Of course, as I said before, if your life is in danger, I cannot doubt but that it w[ould] be your duty to escape, till the tyranny be overpast: but I honestly do not think that anything short of

¹⁵⁹W.K. Macrorie, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-06-26, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-06-07, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

this ought to lead you to think of a permanent absence from your Diocese. It is not as though you were broken down in health, nor as though, even supposing our own countrymen sh[oul]d leave almost to a man, there were no other souls to be won to Christ. In that case it m[igh]t become more decidedly a Missionary Diocese, but that m[igh]t be our strength, ... , our duty as a Church seems all the more distinct, to preach among the myriads of natives the Gospel of our Master. I do therefore hope that you will abandon the idea of quitting the work. You say 'So far as I can see, my own ministry here is at an end.' Surely to say this is premature. Who can tell what good & blessed work you may have yet in store for you in the Transvaal extending among the native tribes the Kingdom of our Lord & Master? I say, 'Solid good & enlarged usefulness may in time come out of all.' Why sh[oul]d you by coming to the conclusion that your work is done deprive yourself of the blessedness of being God's instrument in fathering in the goodly harvest of souls?"¹⁶² This letter has been quoted in full to show the attitude of the CPSA to Bousfield leaving his diocese. Bousfield apparently had little concept of the difficulties of the other bishops of the Province, e.g.

- The problems Webb encountered on coming into the Free State to re-organise the diocese of Bloemfontein after the sudden departure of Twells in the wake of a homosexual scandal.
- Macrorie's life in Pietermaritzburg whilst Colenso lived there and Macrorie's attempt to draw the Colenso party back to the CPSA.
- Douglas McKenzie had to re-organise the diocese of Zululand after the Zulu War during which most mission-buildings had been destroyed and congregations disrupted.

¹⁶²W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1881-07-06, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Bousfield wrote to Webb of Bloemfontein¹⁶³ who puzzled, asked Jones for clarification and suggested his own solution to the problem: "Certainly the line taken by the Bishop of Pretoria is most disappointing. I do not understand what he refers to in saying that the Bishops of the Province do not support his plans. Is it the idea he had at one time of living in the Grahamstown Diocese and [directing] the Diocese from there? ... I have thought whether it could be brought about that B[isho]p Bousfield should be Coadjutor of Grahamstown [and] Bishop Wilkinson can go to Pretoria? It would seem from an earthly human point of view a convenient disposition of forces - but I fear it could scarcely bear the test of Divine adjustment of responsibility and providential order with wh[ich] for weal or woe as long as it is anyway possible the Bishop ought to hold on to his see: ... but I do not see how you or the B[isho]ps of the Province are in any way responsible for the Ecclesiastical difficulties [of Bousfield], some of which, it is only fair to say I know are owing to the Bishop's own way of dealing with his clergy & people."¹⁶⁴

Jones notified Bousfield that his Grahamstown - Capetown plan was not feasible.¹⁶⁵ Bousfield, in typical fashion, blamed the Metropolitan for misunderstanding him and referred to "... your unavoidable inability to conceive the state of things here."¹⁶⁶ Bousfield wrote that he would try to travel to Capetown to explain the whole situation personally.¹⁶⁷

Bousfield also wrote to Canon Wilson in Britain asking for his advice.¹⁶⁸ Bousfield replied to Wilson's suggestion: "Your notion of Suffragan¹⁶⁹ of Capetown

¹⁶³This letter is not extant.

¹⁶⁴A.B. Webb, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-09-21, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁵This letter is not extant.

¹⁶⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-12-05, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁶⁷Ibid.

¹⁶⁸This letter is not extant.

¹⁶⁹There is no Canon in the 1876 Constitution and Canons of the CPSA on Suffragan Bishops. In Britain, Suffragans are assistants to the diocesan bishop, usually with responsibility for a particular area of the diocese.

or better to my mind Coadjutor¹⁷⁰ of Grahamstown, administering Pretoria till its future was plain, be as from the first moment of our disaster appeared to me the true solution both for the Diocese and myself,..."¹⁷¹ Thus the suggestion of living in the Cape Colony and administering the diocese of Pretoria from there came to nothing.

4.7.4 The Bishop's letters to friends in Britain

The Bishop wrote exaggerated letters to Britain describing the situation in the Transvaal, not realising that they might get published and getting upset when they were.

4.7.4.1 To C. Watkins

A letter appealing for financial help to C. Watkins, a former curate of Bousfield's, was published both in Britain¹⁷² and in the Transvaal, with Watkins also sending a copy to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The sections which did the most harm were: "The poor wife does the work of a housemaid, [Francis] Rebekah is cook, & the little one's waiting etc. ... The political horizon is most alarming, the nation, the army, disgraced and departed. The Dutch so {ill}-treating the Kaffirs that an outbreak is almost certain."¹⁷³ In his covering letter to Archbishop Tait of Canterbury, Watkins explained that as he only earned £90 p.a. and had ten children he was unable to help Bousfield himself and so was referring the case to the Archbishop.¹⁷⁴ At the top of this letter has been written in pencil: "to SPG what can be done."¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰Canon 6 of the 1876 Constitution and Canons of the CPSA dealt with this. A Coadjutor Bishop had to be elected by the Metropolitan and all the CPSA bishops, to help a diocesan bishop and he had automatic succession to the see when it fell vacant.

¹⁷¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Canon Wilson, 1881-12-17, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷²Evening Standard, undated, Guardian, 1881-10-19, p.1467.

¹⁷³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C. Watkins, 1881-09-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷⁴C. Watkins, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-14, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

¹⁷⁵Ibid.

Was Bousfield's condition as critical as he had made out? After Tucker had read Bousfield's letter to Watkins he replied confidentially to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "The Bishop of Pretoria has been exposed to very great anxieties & I am afraid that under the stress of these cares he rather exaggerates his difficulties; in this opinion I am confirmed by letters from other correspondents in Africa. He ought not to be in any great pecuniary strait. The Society has guaranteed that his income shall not fall below £700 p.a.; he has also a good house free; a special Organization, which has been working for him in England. ... I very much fear that the Bishop's real difficulties are not such as the Society can help for I understand that he has invested his own small fortune, together with other monies given to him for the benefit of his work, in lands & houses in the Transvaal & when the Country ceased to be a Colony and became again a Dutch Republic, the value of these investments fell very low indeed."¹⁷⁶

Bousfield was annoyed and wrote to Watkins: "It is hard to rebuke over one who has caused 'a regular riot in England' when he did it from personal kindness to oneself, & with the best motives, but the publication of your letter in England must do me much service if it is to make up for its disservice here."¹⁷⁷

When the first letter to Watkins was published in the Transvaal the remarks on the ill-treatment of Africans by the Boers earned the Bishop a letter from the Attorney-General.¹⁷⁸ Bousfield explained this statement to Jones: "... which may lead to a discussion on the truth of my statement 'that the Boers were illtreating the Kaffirs,' which of course I am quite able to prove, if I could tell all I knew. He may be wise eno' to let the matter drop, but I fear an awkward & perhaps injurious result is possible which

¹⁷⁶H. Tucker, Confidential letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-18, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

¹⁷⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C. Watkins, 1881-12-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁷⁸This letter is probably not extant.

is a pity as I hear often that I am very popular among the Boers, why I know not."¹⁷⁹ To Watkins he was not so sanguine. He wrote: "[The letter] ... has brought me a communication from the Attorney-General that it is 'calculated to offend the feelings of the government & people of this state and moreover altogether untrue.' This latter statement, of course, I controverted¹⁸⁰, but as I cannot in most cases give up my authorities, I may be in an awkward position."¹⁸¹ To a friend, Miss Mary May, Bousfield wrote: "I hasten to reply to one point in your letter the anxieties, & misunderstandings created by poor dear Watkins' kind cruelty in making my anxieties public, ..."¹⁸²

4.7.5 Letters from Bousfield to W.W. Jones

To the Metropolitan Bousfield wrote a series of querulous letters describing the state of the Transvaal as he saw it. Jones annotated some of the letters as they came in so that he knew their contents. The headings of the letters from Bousfield are as follows:

1881-05-10 "State of the Transvaal ominous for the English."¹⁸³

1881-06-07 "State of [the] Transvaal full of uncertainty."¹⁸⁴

1881-07-05. No heading but Bousfield wrote: "In the present state of this province, and especially of this Diocese & Zululand no new work should be undertaken."¹⁸⁵

1881-07-25 "Bishop Bousfield - a Manifesto." This letter includes the following: "... the only replies

¹⁷⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-12-05, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸⁰controvert COD dispute about, discuss; dispute, deny.

¹⁸¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C. Watkins, 1881-12-10, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to M. May, 1881-12-10, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-05-10, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-06-07, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-07-05, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

I have received ... exhort me not to abandon my post - which I never dreamt of doing so long as I could hold on to it ...; and if the Bishops of the Province do not so trust me as to support my plans as they arise, the muddle ecclesiastical will be as great as the other two [political & military]: perhaps greater, for I shall not willingly be any longer scapegoat for other men's mistakes, but shall not hesitate to abandon my post, if thro' lack of support of the Bishops of the Province made [it] (as it will be) utterly untenable."¹⁸⁶

1881-08-08 "A lament." In this letter Bousfield wrote: "A greater [trial] than I have by day and night to keep the mere shreds of a diocese together with heart and mind, and body failing, thro' ceaseless trials, indefensible desertions, and failures of support, every trial caused by other men's mistakes, in defiance of all your caution, and expressed foreboding? ... and you will have the more [sympathy] for me when I too vacate, (without I trust surrender, or desertion) my post: from which an hour in Pretoria might have sent me at the first."¹⁸⁷

By this stage Bousfield had resumed his travelling throughout his diocese, re-organising it so he was not planning to leave immediately. The deterioration in his mental state can be detected from these letters.

1881-10-14 "Reproaches." Bousfield felt that his lot and, especially, that of his wife and family were bad. They had endured much and deserved better.¹⁸⁸

1881-12-05 Jones has not headed this letter but in it Bousfield accuses Jones of misunderstanding him and the Transvaal situation.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-07-25, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-08-08, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-11-14, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁸⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-12-05, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

4.7.6 To resign, to be recalled, or to stay

Bousfield had threatened to resign at the beginning of 1880 over his inadequate salary. When the Bishop applied for the renewal of the S.P.G. grant for 1881 he said that unless "he be not better supported, and his own income made sufficient (£1 000), he will resign."¹⁹⁰ This was acknowledged by the Standing Committee.

As soon as the siege ended he wrote to the S.P.G. explaining the confused situation in the Transvaal. In a letter written on the day the siege ended he wrote: "This disgraceful business may seriously affect in the future my own relation to this diocese and province, and I reserve to myself full liberty of personal action at any time hereafter now my business will be, as its Bishop, to strive to build the Church of God, among the ruins & confusion, and the question of most importance to me is this, will the Church of England, & its tried handmaid, the dear old Society, help & support me?"¹⁹¹

In mid-1881 Jones told S.P.G. that he had tried his utmost to persuade Bousfield to remain in the Transvaal¹⁹² so apparently he was concerned about Bousfield leaving his post. Jones, however, refused to give Bousfield any guidance about his leaving until the Transvaal situation was more fully developed, but he hoped that Bousfield would remain as long as possible. Jones guided Bousfield's mind to mission work.¹⁹³ In September 1881 Bousfield curtly reminded Jones to mind his own business about any missionary work in the Transvaal. Jones told Tucker about this letter and enclosed a copy of his (Jones) last letter to Bousfield. Jones wrote privately to Tucker: "Today I have a somewhat indignant letter from the B[ishop]

¹⁹⁰S.P.G., Standing Committee meeting, 1881-01-13, p.72, SC Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁹¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1881-03-29, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁹²W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1881-06-14, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁹³W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1881-06-17, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

of Pretoria in answer to mine, in wh[ich] I had simply urged him to hold to his post wh[ich] he had hinted he might abandon, I had reminded him that there was any am[oun]t of missionary work to be done even supposing very few English sh[ould]d remain. He says 'I cannot see with you my duty to remain as head of a Missionary as distinguished from a Colonial Diocese. Such a post I did not accept & sh[oul]d not have accepted, knowing my own unfitness for it.' The whole tone of his letter to me was most painful."¹⁹⁴ In his letter to Bousfield Jones apologised for upsetting him but felt he had shown sympathy for Bousfield's plight and confidence in him. Jones challenged Bousfield about his resignation: "You had spoken in previous letters & you have since spoken of your resignation as more than probable, of placing the people in my hands; of the improbability, humanly speaking, of your remaining in Pretoria with your young family; of y[ou]r not resigning till the crisis is over, & so forth. I can see nothing inconsistent ... in praying you to remain."¹⁹⁵ Bousfield seemed to find it difficult to accept what he, himself, had written. In his letters to Jones, the Metropolitan was at fault for being unsympathetic and not showing confidence in him.

In August 1881 Bousfield wrote to the Rev. J. Burnett that fears for the personal safety of his wife and family might necessitate their removal from the Transvaal to Britain. He said that as soon as he could he would escort them to safety.¹⁹⁶

In a dramatic letter to his Commissary, Durnford, he wrote: "If there is any force in a Kaffir's threats we shall have a bloody assault by Kaffirs. Had I the means I would send away wife and children at once to

¹⁹⁴W.W. Jones, Private letter to H. Tucker of S.P.G., 1881-09-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁹⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1881-09-07, extract quoted after private letter to H. Tucker of S.P.G., 1881-09-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁹⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Burnett, 1881-08-09, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

the Cape Colony or England, though doing so would be a final removal of them to be followed by my own. I would stay myself till the breakers are past, tho' I do not think my own life safe. I know too much and must live and speak at times for truth and honesty among a people who know neither."¹⁹⁷ What he knew too much about which endangered his life is not clear. Durnford sent a copy of this letter to Archbishop Tait.¹⁹⁸ A lack of money prevented Bousfield sending his wife and family away.¹⁹⁹ The retrocession of the Transvaal to the Boers had lost him £300 p.a. of his private income.²⁰⁰

Durnford asked Tait for advice on Bousfield's situation: "I imagine that it would be a disastrous thing for the Bishop of Pretoria to come home now in this extremity but of course your Grace is able to form a far better opinion on this point than I am. Were we to advise him to do so, he probably would return."²⁰¹ Edward Bousfield, who had been working for his brother, wrote to Tait: "I ought not to expect His Grace to suggest a way out of the difficulty."²⁰² A week later he decided to ask Tait's advice and wrote to Davidson, Tait's secretary: "I do trust something may be devised to extricate the Bishop from his sad position. Sir Bartle Frere says he ought to be recalled; Sir Owen Lanyon goes further and says no Bishop is [so insulted?]. I am urging his immediate return, that he may come back to make the land re-echo with the story of his wrongs, and the Church's disgrace."²⁰³ Durnford on the other hand was more hopeful.

¹⁹⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-09-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁹⁸E. Durnford, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-18, copy attached of H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-09-03, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

¹⁹⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-09-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁰⁰"Statements and appeals," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 7 1883-11, p.42.

²⁰¹E. Durnford, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-18, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

²⁰²E.H. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-22, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

²⁰³E.H. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-29, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

He also wrote to Davidson on the same day as Edward Bousfield. He said that the English Church would contribute to financing the continuation of the diocese of Pretoria "... and that if only Bishop Bousfield can remain at his post, material help will be given to him and his work."²⁰⁴

Sergeant of Winchester College was in charge of collecting money in Britain for the travelling expenses of Mrs Bousfield and her family. He issued an appeal through the Guardian. This fund would be separate from the general Pretoria Diocesan Fund. Sergeant promised to repay the subscribers if the Bousfield family remained in the Transvaal.²⁰⁵

The Standing Committee of S.P.G. discussed the situation in the Transvaal at its meeting held on 1881-11-03. The minutes read: "Read letters from the Bishop of Pretoria, dated July 6 and August 4 and 20, on the difficulty of maintaining his position without additional help and speaking of his possible resignation. Also letters on the same subject from the Rev. E. Durnford and the Bishop of Pretoria addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury which his Grace had referred to the Society."²⁰⁶ The following resolution was passed and a copy sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury:²⁰⁷ "Agreed that the Standing Committee recognize to the full the trials and difficulties to which the Bishop of Pretoria has been exposed since his arrival in South Africa, owing to the exceptional state of the Transvaal during the period. At the same time the Committee can offer no encouragement to resign his See; and if the Bishop take that step the Standing Committee feel that so far as they are concerned they must leave the responsibility to himself alone. They

²⁰⁴E. Durnford, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-29, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

²⁰⁵E.W. Sergeant, "Letter to the Guardian, 1881-10-20," Guardian, 1881-11-02, p.1570.

²⁰⁶Standing Committee of S.P.G., 1881-11-03, p.245-246, SC Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

²⁰⁷S.P.G. Resolution on the Bishop of Pretoria, 1881-11-03, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

think it right, however, to inform the Bishop that if he do resign the Society will on no account abandon the mission which has already borne promising fruit, but will take steps for the immediate appointment of a successor in the See."²⁰⁸

Tait replied to Durnford's request for advice for the Bishop of Pretoria. He wrote: "It is evident that the difficulties which the Bishop [of Pretoria] has had to encounter have been of this greatest kind and also that they have not been of such a character as he had any reason to anticipate when he was consecrated to the see of Pretoria in 1878. ... As regards the prospects of the work - apart from the personal difficulties of B[isho]p Bousfield - I am informed that we have no cause for special discouragement, ... Under the circumstances it seems to me that the responsibility for the course which he knew [?] it right to adopt must be left with Bishop Bousfield, who is alone able rightly to estimate the personal & domestic difficulties which undoubtedly surround him in the present state of the Transvaal."²⁰⁹

How did Bousfield feel about S.P.G. resolution and Tait's letter? In a minute published by the Pretoria Diocesan Fund Bousfield wrote: "I And first, the Archbishop's letter, dated November 4th, is just such as might be expected of His Grace. For the kind and sympathizing discernment with which he sets out my difficulties and responsibilities, I heartily thank him. Such sensible sympathy is a support. ... II The Resolution of the S.P.G., on the other hand, dated November 3rd, seems to me so different, and so like a vote of censure, or, at least, of want of confidence, that I shall only venture to suggest in reply that before the Committee take steps which might be 'in the dark' from their unavoidable ignorance of the state of things here, it might not be amiss to

²⁰⁸S.P.G., Standing Committee resolution on the Bishop of Pretoria, 1881-11-03, p.253-254, SC Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

²⁰⁹A.C. Tait, Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-11-04, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

seek a little information from, nay! I am bold enough even to suggest the necessity of a little conference with, the one who knows them best."²¹⁰

At the end of November Edward Bousfield once more wrote to Tait saying: "Nothing is more calculated to induce him to remain than the support and sympathy of those in authority at home:- and nothing more calculated to bring him back than the receipt of the hard and unsympathetic resolution of Mr Tucker's Standing Committee; holding the rod in harrasment over a noble man, of high spirit, like my brother, as that resolution does, in the language I have often heard from Mr Tucker, is a mistake: and it would be very gratifying and encouraging to him to realise that though his Grace cannot recall him, yet that he sympathises practically with his sufferings and tribulations."²¹¹ It would seem that the future of the diocese of Pretoria was discussed among those interested in it. In the third Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria the following paragraph appeared. "In spite of the severe shock given to the Diocese by the Boer war, and the consequent uncertainty whether the existence of the Diocese would continue ..."²¹²

By mid-December Bousfield was still undecided whether or not to send away his family. In a letter to Durnford he said: "The question of sending my family home is one of great difficulty & not to be hastily decided. If any actual danger arose, one would regret not having done it, and in the state of anxiety, I should be glad of the money for their removal, & the possession of a suitable waggon & span of oxen, or mules. ... But at present they are in no danger, & none may arise, they are well, happy & getting on at school, ..."²¹³

²¹⁰H.B. Bousfield, Minute by Bishop of Pretoria in response to resolution of Committee of the Pretoria Diocesan Fund, p.1.

²¹¹E.H. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-11-27, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

²¹²"Report of the Committee," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-01, p.3.

²¹³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-12-17, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Bousfield wrote to Sergeant the day after he had received the Guardian of 2nd November to thank him for his appeal. The Bishop was upset at the furore caused by Watkins' letter. "I have turned sick at my own name in print, lest it should expose me to the animadversions²¹⁴ of those who know neither me nor my circumstances, past; present, or in prospect; make the world weary of me and my diocese, & so eliminate from the latter the sympathy which I would claim for it from all, to the uttermost."²¹⁵ In the same letter the Bishop said that he did not want to allow his wife and family to leave the Transvaal until he had decided on his own future. At the retrocession when there were fears of an African uprising he had approached the ladies who worked for the diocese and his wife with a view to their leaving but they refused to go until it was unavoidable.²¹⁶

At the end of 1881 he wrote in the minute published by the P.D.F.: "But, whatever comes of the country or of my family, my own idea of duty is - if properly supported - to stick to this tried church until the crisis is over and the breakers passed. Another three years will have decided its future, and though I will not undertake to refuse any other post during that time which might afford a solution of all difficulties, I shall not take a step to secure one, nor, compelled, abandon the crumbling walls of this desolated Zion."²¹⁷

Bishop Jones sent Bousfield a small contribution to the travel fund. He hoped that if the Bousfield family travelled through Capetown he could be of some help to them.²¹⁸ Bousfield had written to him about his wife's illness: "I am sorry to say - to you alone - Mrs Bousfield's condition is the source of my most hopeless anxiety, as it does my work much harm

²¹⁴animadversions COD pass criticism or censure on (conduct, fault, etc).

²¹⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.W. Sergeant, 1881-12-23, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²¹⁶Ibid.

²¹⁷H.B. Bousfield, Minute by Bishop of Pretoria in response to resolution of committee of the Pretoria Diocesan Fund, p.2.

²¹⁸W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1882-01-13, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

& seems incapable of cure while I am Bishop of Pretoria."²¹⁹ This seems to indicate that Mrs Bousfield had had a relapse. Jones was sympathetic, realising that the sufferings she had endured had caused her illness.²²⁰

In a letter to his brother Edward, Bousfield explained why he did not resign: "Sometimes I feel the quiet, inner hope & confidence that all will come out well, & I shall be allowed even in troublous times to build a Church which shall bear fruit with God. At others, all seems so hopeless as to this place as a home for the children, Charlotte's accepting & fulfilling a position in which she is as important as I, the income of the Bishopric keeping us going especially after my losses by the war, that I feel must not hope, but must come home, tho' no trial would be so great to me as to see my name at the bottom of a list of retired Bishops, and having given up all for the Colonial Church & being still in as good heart as ever to live or die for it, to be 'returned empty' because other men could not see how to place men, but must put a square man in a round hole and a strong man where a weak would be better."²²¹ Later it was counted to the Bishop's credit that in spite of all the difficulties he had not deserted his post.²²² What emerges from all the correspondence over Bousfield's resignation is that if someone in authority, e.g. Tait, Tucker, Jones, or Lord Kimberley, had advised him to leave he would have done so and been able to lay the blame on them for the failure of his episcopacy.

4.7.7 Disruption of the work

4.7.7.1 English leave

Roberts in later years described the situation thus: "The English inhabitants felt the Transvaal

²¹⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-12-05, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²²⁰W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1882-01-13, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²²¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.H. Bousfield, 1882-04-15, copy of letter attached to E.H. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1882-05-26, Tait Collection Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

²²²"The Brighton meeting," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 6, 1883-05, p.18.

no place for them. They sold out by hundreds at great sacrifice, & the next month saw the roads crowded with families trekking to Natal & Kimberley. Our Churches became empty, and those who remained were nigh hopeless. Even our optimistic Bishop was almost in despair [sic]. There were clergy without congregations as at Middelburg, and Churches without clergy as at Lydenburg. ... Yet at the bottom there was in those that remained the feeling of Faith."²²³

As far as numbers were concerned the diocese of Pretoria did not recover until the discovery of the Main Reef in 1886. The English were more scattered than before and numbers in the villages decreased.²²⁴ The Pretoria newspaper De Volksstem said that those who were leaving were "principally speculators, landjobbers, tradesmen, so called professional men and officials, whose personal or political qualifications unfit them for continuing in office under a Dutch Boer Republic."²²⁵

The British did not understand that the Boers were not vindictive. Mrs Bousfield, whilst in Laager, had a conversation with Mrs Sarah Heckford,²²⁶ an Anglican who had worked as governess to the Jenkins family of Nooitgedacht. "[Mrs Sarah Heckford] knows the Transvaal well, she knows the Dutch well & can converse with them. One of the leaders told her quietly that the English were hated, all they wanted was their land back again, ..."²²⁷

There was alarmist rumours of an African uprising after the Pretoria Convention had been ratified. The Guardian printed this paragraph from the Daily News correspondent: "One despatch says:-

²²³Roberts, Genesis..., p.30.

²²⁴Wilson and Thompson, Oxford history of South Africa..., p.308.

²²⁵De Volksstem, 1881-06-18, reproduced in Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.303.

²²⁶v. Allen, Lady Trader: A Biography of Mrs Sarah Heckford, London: Collins, 1979.

²²⁷C.E. Bousfield, "Diary...", p.4.

It is believed that the Boers will eventually ratify the Convention, but with no intention to act upon it. There is great disunion amongst the Boers themselves. Reports from the native districts are still of a warlike complexion."²²⁸ The Guardian later printed that the Boers were trying to force the English to leave by boycotting English traders and settlers.²²⁹ The Times was more objective. In a report which was reprinted in the Guardian they said: "The condition of the Transvaal is not so bad as it is represented to be. Though money is most scarce, prices keep up, and business is brisk. ... English visitors are well received at Boer houses."²³⁰

When the Bishop filled in the S.P.G. returns for the parish of Pretoria to the end of 1881 he stated²³¹:

- Before the war the congregation was commonly 270 of whom 80 were communicants. After the war the communicants had fallen to 30.
- Two persons had been confirmed and 49 infants or adults baptised.
- There had been 30 funerals which included military funerals.

The decline in the numbers of the Pretoria parish was approximately 75%.

In the confusion of war families lost touch with their members. The Bishop wrote to Col. le Mesurier about a young man, Stockwell, from Bath whose family were trying to trace him, asking if he could give him any clue as to his whereabouts.²³² As bishop, Bousfield could arrange for protection

²²⁸"South Africa," Guardian, 1881-10-19, p.1467.

²²⁹"From the Transvaal...", Guardian, 1881-12-07, p.1735.

²³⁰"The Times advice...", Guardian, 1882-01-04, p.3.

²³¹H.B. Bousfield, SPG returns to S.P.G., 1881-11-26, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

²³²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Col. le Mesurier, 1881-10-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

for those who were leaving. In April the Bishop asked Whittington to look after a woman and her children who were leaving the Transvaal.²³³

4.7.7.2 Funds needed

The Bishop now tried to put a good face on the situation. He wrote to Durnford: "Do not let friends be discouraged, some good may come out of it all; by throwing us on our 'beam ends,' we shall be tested to the very bottom, and may make a fresh start, more solid, sound, reliable, wise, and true." ²³⁴ Money was needed as the Bishop was responsible for Church debts, "... no[t] one of them originally incurred by me, but into which I was drawn to save those who, with good intentions and less practical wisdom had incurred them originally."²³⁵ The fund-raising appeals of the Pretoria Diocesan Fund in Britain intimated that the Bishop and his clergy would remain: "The praises of the Church, both in the Transvaal and at home, are due to Almighty God for these benefits; for, owing to the health and confidence of the Missionary party, the courageous course which was so much desired has been adopted. It would have been a grievous disaster had the Bishop, Clergy, or lay helpers of the diocese been compelled to return home broken in health and dispirited by failure. The Bishop mentions no sign of fainthardenedness anywhere. All the officers of the Church are firmly at their posts, in spite of altered circumstances, and the depression attendant upon the last few months of anxiety and tension. Alluding to his own prospects the Bishop writes:- 'Unless driven out, which I do not expect, my own course is plain.

²³³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Whittington, 1881-04-16, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²³⁴H.B. Bousfield, "Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-05-03," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.5.

²³⁵Bousfield, Six years..., p.62.

I shall labour to build the Church; and shall hold on till she is firmly established, and endeavour to promote quietness, peace, and love among all people. May the labour not be in vain! Help by unceasing prayer.' "236

If the diocese was abandoned the mission work already started would fail.²³⁷ In a letter to Jennings the Bishop wrote: "Hitherto I have had too few men for the crying calls of the English, and could not look out as I should have liked upon the heathen world. ... let the Church weather the storm, and she will be ready to enter doors God may hereafter open among the heathen."238

The Bishop pleaded for funds and wrote to a friend: "I mean to stick to the last hope for the Church, and trust the home Church will uphold me in doing so."239 To his Commissary the Bishop stated that he would not leave unless forced. "Hereafter the political change may compel my removal from the land, as a father; but until that time comes I have only to do my duty as Bishop, and that is [to] strive to build the Church, and in this prospect the pressing question, Will the Church at home support me, in lending her scattered sons, & those who will stick here to her? or will she forsake them as the nation has done?"240 To J.P. Richardson the Bishop wrote: "I hope to be able to hold on, even if I have to remove my family, and to see true & more solid Churchmanship i.e. Christianity entire, come from this unsettlement."241

²³⁶"The following appeal..." Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.39-40.

²³⁷Ibid., p.42.

²³⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H.E. Jennings, 1881-09-03, Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.42-43.

²³⁹H.B. Bousfield, "Letter, 1881-05-31," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.41.

²⁴⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-03-29, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁴¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.P. Richardson, 1881-06-07, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The Bishop also tried to raise funds in the Cape. On the same day he wrote to both Dr. Wirgman, a clergyman of Port Elizabeth²⁴² and Bishop Merriman of Grahamstown,²⁴³ for their help in raising money, in particular from Port Elizabeth merchants.

4.7.8 Staff

Once the siege of Pretoria had been lifted the Bishop tried to find out where his staff were but because his horses had been requisitioned by the British Army he was unable to move out of Pretoria. The Bishop discovered that three of his clergy, Spratt, Temple and Thorne, had left the Transvaal.

- 4.7.8.1 C.M. Spratt had removed his delicate wife and baby to Pietermaritzburg and wrote to Bousfield asking for permission to remain in the diocese of Maritzburg²⁴⁴ for six months.²⁴⁵ Bousfield refused, commanded Spratt to return and wrote to Macrorie requesting him to see that Spratt was delivered back to his diocese. "As this is his second desertion, & probably will lead to Stander-ton passing to the Wesleyans, I cannot pass it over, and I have written to him to return to his post & to consider his licence suspended until he do. I do not want to be too severe, & so write to you privately about this but if he does not return at once, I shall formally notify his suspension to the Province."²⁴⁶ Bousfield felt that Spratt's leaving his post without permission was inexcusable. Spratt had left his post before war and had been brought back by Bousfield only to leave again once peace had been

²⁴²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Wirgman, 1881-05-10, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁴³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to N.J. Merriman, 1881-05-10, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁴⁴C.M. Spratt is not mentioned in Vineyard, the magazine of the diocese of Maritzburg.

²⁴⁵This letter is not extant.

²⁴⁶H.B. Bousfield, Private letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1881-04-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

proclaimed. Spratt had obtained a post in Pietermaritzburg as Chaplain to the Troops and refused to return to Standerton. Bousfield told Bishop Jones that as the work at Standerton was damaged irreparably by Spratt's action he had decided to place Spratt elsewhere.²⁴⁷ At the end of June 1881 Bousfield revoked Spratt's license and gave notice to the bishops of the Province that this was done because of his continued absence from his post and his refusal to return when commanded.²⁴⁸

After a great number of letters and threats, Spratt returned to Standerton in August 1881 and the Bishop instructed him to wind up the affairs of the church.²⁴⁹ The next month the Bishop offered Spratt a post at Potchefstroom and the offer was accepted.²⁵⁰ In November the Spratt's and their baby moved to Potchefstroom.²⁵¹ Bousfield added a note under the revocation of Spratt's license: "The same C.M. Spratt having returned to his post at Standerton, was allowed to officiate there by the said Bishop, & by him removed to Potchefstroom in November 1881 to which cure he would have been duly Licensed, but it pleased God to remove him by death on the 27th December in the same year."²⁵² In his copy of Six years in the Transvaal Roberts wrote against Spratt's death: "Poor Spratt had left his wife and newborn child (both delicate) with friends in Maritzburg, & had heard nothing of them during the war. No wonder he did not wait. Had the B[isho]p put himself in his place he would

²⁴⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-08-04, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁴⁸H.B. Bousfield, Acta Book, MSS, p.9, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁴⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1881-08-08, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.M. Spratt, 1881-09-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Mrs Spratt, 1882-02-16, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵²Bousfield, Acta Book:..., p.9.

On 20th June 1814, the cause of Spratt's death, & the
 cure of it, was noted by writing a letter to the
 Bishop of the diocese, & the Bishops of the same, & continued
 a letter from his cure, & to return when convenient.

Note. The same C. M. Spratt having returned to his, just at
 Sturminster, was allowed to officiate there by the said Bishop,
 & by him removed to Pithaystone in November 1814 to
 which cure he would have been duly licensed, but
 it pleased God to remove him by death in the
 2nd of December the same year.

Specimen of Bousfield's handwriting noting C.M. Spratt's death.

(Source: H.B. Bousfield, Acta Book, Bousfield Collection,
 CPSA Archives, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)

have done the same. I never forgave the B[ishop] for this, and blame him for poor Spratt's death. AR"²⁵³ A few years later Bousfield was accused of the murder of Spratt. Clulee, the missionary of the diocese, wrote to the Metropolitan in 1884: "The article of murder rests upon the Bishop's harsh treatment of Mr Spratt at Potchefstroom."²⁵⁴ When he heard of Spratt's death, the Bishop wrote to Kewley who had given Spratt a reference: "Had had just reached Potchefstroom, and was as usual (for he was always liked at first) commencing work with much acceptance, with a good field before him, & an income on which he might have done well, when he took fever, and ... passed away."²⁵⁵ The Bishop wrote to Durnford: "All the circumstances of Spratt's death were painful, save the manifestations of his own piety, & the popularity which his fortnight's ministry had secured."²⁵⁶

After the death of her husband Mrs Spratt returned to Natal.²⁵⁷ From there she asked Bousfield to investigate whether she could claim an S.P.G. pension as the widow of an S.P.G. missionary. The Bishop had to tell her that this was not possible.²⁵⁸

- 4.7.8.2 The Bishop's treatment of J. Thorne was more compassionate. In April, 1881 Thorne wrote to Bousfield that he was leaving immediately for Natal.²⁵⁹ Bousfield told Bishop Macrorie of his diocese to let Thorne go: "He has suffered & done so much that I desire to act tenderly with

²⁵³A. Roberts, Annotated copy of Bousfield, Six years..., p.60.

²⁵⁴C. Clulee, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1884-04-24, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Kewley, 1882-01-02, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1882-04-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Adams, 1882-01-26, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Mrs Spratt, 1882-04-26, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵⁹This letter is not extant.

him; but is it not bad to run away at a crisis and that on plea of needing rest, when some time ago, I offered him the leave of absence he really needed when I could provide for his work, & he declined it."²⁶⁰

Thorne wrote to Bishop Jones just before he left Lydenburg asking if he had a post for him.²⁶¹ Bousfield was proud of his lenient treatment of Thorne's desertion.²⁶² Thorne also wrote to the S.P.G. from Pietermaritzburg explaining why he had left Lydenburg and that he was seeking work in the Cape Colony.²⁶³ The reasons he gave were: "The first & formost has reference to my health which has long been overtaxed by the strain of a most peculiar work. Mine was a most remote station situated among a population which was always fluctuating & with little sympathy with the Church. Two Kafir [sic] wars helped to scatter the people who might otherwise have settled down & helped to develope [sic] the country. Their numbers were afterwards made up by the military who were stationed there. ... Then the Boer War came in December last. We were left in an almost entirely unprotected state ... exposed for three months not only to the exactions of the boers [sic], but to the fire of the camp, which scarcely ceased day or night for nearly 90 days. When the peace came it was of so unsatisfactory a kind that neither Dutch nor English believed in its continuance. Taking all the circumstances into account I judged that the moment [to leave] had been indicated."²⁶⁴ In June 1881 the Bishop said to Thorne that he would not oppose him getting employment in the Cape and offered him a testi-

²⁶⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1881-04-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁶¹J. Thorne, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-04-11, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁶²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-08-04, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁶³J. Thorne, Letter to S.P.G., 1881-05-25, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

²⁶⁴Ibid.

monial.²⁶⁵ However Jones had to ask twice for Thorne's testimonials before Bousfield sent them.²⁶⁶

Bousfield gave Jones his side of his disagreement with Thorne: "Now for Mr Thorne. He ought not to have deserted his post, he has left it to the Romanists, and you must all stand by me in refusing my deserters admission to your dioceses without a pass and reference to me. Temple, & above all Spratt, are utterly inexcusable, & so is Thorne properly, but as he has done good work, & suffered much, and had really better go I shall make no difficulty as to his acceptance elsewhere. He is very unpopular, a man I think, of most real, but unattractive piety, broken & soured in spirit, of Wesleyan antecedents, burdened with a wife who is credited with $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of his blame, and looks as if she deserved it. A change altogether would do him good, and might allow his doing good also."²⁶⁷

Thorne wrote to Jones twice during July 1881 denying Bousfield's accusation of desertion. In the first letter he said that he was leaving because he had lived through three wars in the $6\frac{1}{2}$ years he had spent in Lydenburg.²⁶⁸ In the second letter Thorne claimed that he had simply taken the leave of absence offered him by Bousfield before the war. After the war he informed his Bishop that he was taking this leave of absence and if a Boer Government came to power he would never return. He waited three weeks for a reply from Bousfield before he left Lydenburg. The journey to Newcastle had taken a

²⁶⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Thorne, 1881-06-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁶⁶W.W. Jones, Letters to H.B. Bousfield, 1881-06-17 and 1881-07-19, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁶⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-06-07, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁶⁸J. Thorne, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-07-11, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, Abl.1, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

further five weeks. During this period Bousfield had had ample time to write to him but had not done so.²⁶⁹

The last time Bousfield wrote to Thorne was in December 1883 when he sent him a cheque for £10 from the Lydenburg people who had bought goods from Thorne.²⁷⁰

4.7.8.3 A. Temple, who was stationed at Potchefstroom, had left his post for the Cape Colony before the siege.²⁷¹ Bousfield was forced to use the same tactics as he had with Spratt to get him to return to the Transvaal. In April 1881 the Bishop wrote to Temple informing him that his licence would be revoked unless he returned to Potchefstroom.²⁷² Two days later the Bishop wrote to W. Richardson instructing him not to allow Temple to continue any ministry at Potchefstroom if he should return as his licence had been withdrawn.²⁷³

Temple had apparently gone to the diocese of Grahamstown but had not made a good impression. Bishop Merriman wrote to Jones: "I don't want another man like Temple who I hope does better under B[isho]p Bousfield than he did in my Diocese."²⁷⁴ Jones said to Bousfield: "I am not surprised at Temple's action. I know him of old & never had the slightest confidence in him."²⁷⁵ By June 1881 Temple had returned to Potchefstroom and the Bishop was able to offer him Zeerust which he accepted.²⁷⁶ Within months

²⁶⁹J. Thorne, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-07-16, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, Abl.1, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Thorne, 1883-12-29, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷¹Bousfield, Six years..., p.61.

²⁷²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to A. Temple, 1881-04-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Richardson, 1881-04-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷⁴N.J. Merriman, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-06-22, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1882-01-13, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Thorne, 1881-07-01, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Temple reverted to his usual unreliability. He wrote to the Bishop telling him that he was unable to proceed to Zeerust as he had accepted a post in Aliwal in the diocese of Grahamstown. Bousfield wrote to Merriman asking him to prevent Temple taking up this post and refusing to sign any testimonials for Temple.²⁷⁷ Bousfield then had the task of telling the congregation at Zeerust that Temple would not be coming.²⁷⁸

- 4.7.8.4 G. Swinney had been chaplain to W.W. Jones: During the Episcopal Synod of December 1880 Swinney had been lent to Bousfield for six months after which he was to join the staff of the diocese of Zululand.²⁷⁹ At the outbreak of war in the Transvaal Jones was concerned for the whereabouts of Bousfield and Swinney.²⁸⁰ Douglas McKenzie wrote to Jones: "Swinney could do nothing of course for Pretoria. He could not even hear from the Bishop & was stuck at Estcourt. So I resumed possession of him & instructed him to make his way to Isandhlwana. I was the more glad as I found Ransom bent on going home at once - and by this time Swinney is fully in charge."²⁸¹ McKenzie was pleased that he had not had to wait the six months for Swinney as he was needed in the diocese of Zululand.²⁸²

²⁷⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to N.J. Merriman, 1881-12-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.T. Fountain, 1881-12-17, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁷⁹D. McKenzie, Letter to S.P.G., 1880-12-25, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

²⁸⁰W.W. Jones, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1881-01-18, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁸¹D. McKenzie, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-01-20, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁸²D. McKenzie, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-02-16, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Bousfield on the other hand was not pleased that Swinney had gone straight to Zululand instead of via the diocese of Pretoria. Bishop McKenzie ruefully wrote to Jones: "Have I aggravated the malady by running away with Swinney?"²⁸³ Because of the war Bousfield had lost the services of Swinney and this aggravated his staffing problems.

4.7.8.5 During 1881

The staffing situation was bad in the diocese of Pretoria. As the Bishop told Macrorie: "... I have now two Churches, & 4¹/₂ posts vacated. 2¹/₂ by sheer cowardice & want of right sense of duty by the Clergy."²⁸⁴

Adams at Middelburg, Sadler at Wakkerstroom and J.P. Richardson at Rustenburg had remained at their posts in spite of the dangers. William Richardson was too old to consider fleeing from Potchefstroom. The war had made the Bishop's staffing problems even more difficult and the uncertainty which followed had caused clergy engaged in Britain e.g. A. Law, T. Bailey²⁸⁵ and R.T. Kempthorne²⁸⁶ to cancel their appointments. Soon afterwards both C. Lange, missionary at Pretoria, and W. Richardson died so Bousfield's staffing problems worsened. Lange had been ailing from the time of the war.²⁸⁷ In April 1881 the Bishop instructed Lange to go to Potchefstroom to help William Richardson in any way he could but if he could not he was to go on to Zeerust.²⁸⁸

²⁸³D. McKenzie, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-05-17, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁸⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.K. Macrorie, 1881-04-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁸⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1881-04-07, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁸⁶R.T. Kempthorne, Letter to S.P.G., 1881-06-14, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

²⁸⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C.R. Lange, 1881-07-02, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁸⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W. Richardson, 1881-04-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

In October 1881²⁸⁹ he was injured while on his way to his son's farm by mule wagon and died soon after at Bloemhof.²⁹⁰ William Richardson had been helped from the beginning of 1882 by C. Page-Wood. He died on 1882-03-25.²⁹¹ After his death the Bishop wrote to Edward Bousfield: "Old Mr Richardson of Potchefstroom is dead, & so we are free from his pension."²⁹²

After the confusion of the war had cleared the clerical staff of the diocese of Pretoria consisted of:

H.B. Bousfield	Bishop	Pretoria
A. Roberts	priest	Pretoria
C.R. Lange (died 1881-10)	priest	Western Transvaal
W. Richardson (died 1882-03)	priest	Potchefstroom
C.M. Spratt (died 1881-12)	priest	Potchefstroom
J.P. Richardson	priest	Rustenburg
H. Adams	deacon	Middelburg
H. Sadler	priest	Wakkerstroom

4.7.9 Military cemeteries

The Bishop was concerned about the unconsecrated graveyards where British military dead had been buried.

On 1881-08-10 the Bishop journeyed on horseback to the Bronkhorstspruit battlefield accompanied by a small party. The next day, dressed in his full ecclesiastical robes, he went from grave to grave reading a psalm over each and then blessing the grave. The officers' graves were visited first. A party of the 94th had already been sent to Bronk-

²⁸⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.J. Smith, 1881-10-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁹⁰A. Roberts, "The foundation of the Native Mission in Pretoria," TS, p.2, Alfred Roberts Papers, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁹¹C. Page-Wood, "Potchefstroom," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 4, 1882-12, p.7.

²⁹²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.H. Bousfield, 1882-04-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

horstspruit so the graves had been tidied up and headstones erected. A mass grave containing sixty bodies was also blessed. Further down the road were three other mass graves.²⁹³ The Bishop blessed rather than consecrated²⁹⁴ these graves in the presence of the officers and men of the 94th.²⁹⁵ Major F. Campbell, 2nd Battalion Connaught Rangers (late 94th), published a letter in The Times to the families and friends of those who fell at Bronkhorstspruit. Part of this letter read: "A party of 2nd Connaught Rangers (late 94th Regiment) have been there and headstones have been erected on each grave, solid walls to protect the graves have been built, trees and flowers have been planted, and the Bishop of Pretoria went out and consecrated [sic] each grave."²⁹⁶

On an unexpected visit to Potchefstroom in September 1881 the Bishop was able to visit the graves outside the little ruined fort. At 5 p.m. he read the burial service and "adding the prayer put forth sometime since by his Lordship for the benediction of graves²⁹⁷ in our common and unconsecrated cemeteries and another for the land."²⁹⁸ As well as blessing the graves outside the fort the Bishop also said prayers over two others some distance away and over that of a child buried in the garden of the hotel.²⁹⁹

The Bishop was asked by the family of Captain Elliot, 94th Regiment, who was buried in the military section of the Pretoria Cemetery³⁰⁰, to erect a tombstone

²⁹³"Bronkhurst Spruit", Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.59-60.

²⁹⁴An area of ground is consecrated for use as a cemetery. If graves are not in consecrated ground (or ground that can be set apart as a cemetery) then the individual graves are blessed.

²⁹⁵H.B. Bousfield, "The Bishop's return," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.11.

²⁹⁶F. Campbell, Letter, The Times, 1881-09-21, reprinted "Bronkhurst spruit," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.59.

²⁹⁷In 1895 the diocese of Pretoria issued a pamphlet entitled, "The order for the benediction of a cemetery in the Diocese of Pretoria."

²⁹⁸"South Africa," Guardian, 1881-11-02, p.1544.

²⁹⁹H.B. Bousfield, "The Bishop's report," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.12.

³⁰⁰"The death of Captain Elliott [sic]," News of the Camp, number 36, 1881-03-26, p.2-3.

over the grave. The Bishop arranged for a stone cross to be made³⁰¹ and erected. The inscription on the base of the cross read: "Until He come. In loving memory of John Mitchell Elliot aged 37. Capt and Paymaster 94th Regiment who was killed for Queen and country while crossing the river Vaal on the night of 29th December 1880. Deeply deplored by his brother officers and all who knew him. Fear not for I have redeemed thee Thou art mine. When Thou passest through the waters I will be with thee."³⁰² The Bishop wrote to both Capt Jones³⁰³ and Capt Hutton³⁰⁴ friends of the late Capt Elliot, to tell of the erection of the tombstone. At the request of Captain Jones a set of twelve photographs of the cross was sent to Elliot's sister, Mrs Edleman.³⁰⁵

4.8 The Adelaide scheme

In Britain there was concern for Henry Bousfield and the continuation of the Anglican diocese in the Transvaal. Edward Holroyd Bousfield was particularly concerned about his brother³⁰⁶ and S.P.G. about the work being abandoned which they felt was unwise.³⁰⁷

Edward Bousfield was so distressed over his brother's situation that he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury about translating his brother to Adelaide, Australia.³⁰⁸ Appendix 1 contains the four extant letters of this correspondence. E.H. Bousfield probably raised the matter of the bishopric of Adelaide (which

³⁰¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J. Smith (stonemasons), 1882-04-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁰²Inscription taken from the actual tombstone in the Old Cemetery, Pretoria.

³⁰³H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Captain Jones, 1882-04-09, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁰⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Capt Hutton, 1882-04-09, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁰⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Mrs Edelman, 1882-04-08, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁰⁶E.H. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³⁰⁷H. Tucker, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³⁰⁸E.H. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

was soon to fall vacant) with S.P.G. before writing to Tait asking for an interview to discuss the proposed translation. By the end of July 1881 when E.H. Bousfield again wrote to Tait, he [Edward Bousfield] had sent the Bousfield letters to Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and had also had an interview with Tucker of S.P.G.³⁰⁹

In October 1881, Dr Short, Bishop of Adelaide resigned because of ill health and frailty.³¹⁰ The Anglican Synod of South Australia decided to waive its right to elect the new Bishop.

Tucker wrote privately to Davidson about his interview with E.H. Bousfield. Tucker knew that the abandonment of Anglican work in the Transvaal would be a personal failure for H.B. Bousfield and would damage the Anglican Church in South Africa. He felt that Bousfield's translation to Adelaide would solve the problem.³¹¹

Tait wrote to the Colonial Office about the election of H.B. Bousfield³¹² to the Adelaide diocese but did not feel he had much influence as he had no direct say in the election of the bishop. Davidson, Tait's secretary, bluntly reminded E.H. Bousfield that the choice for Adelaide would be the best man.³¹³

From the surviving correspondence, it seems unlikely that H.B. Bousfield knew of these efforts to get him translated to Adelaide. The South Australian Advertiser of 1882-03-08 noted that the Anglican Synod had waived its canonical right to elect its bishop and had asked the Archbishop of Canterbury to appoint someone, with the help of the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, Truro and Bedford.³¹⁴ In July 1882 Tait asked G.W. Kennion of

³⁰⁹E.H. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³¹⁰South Australia letters, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³¹¹H. Tucker, Private letter to A. Davidson, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³¹²Note at top of letter E.H. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³¹³A. Davidson, Letter to E.H. Bousfield, 1881-07-29, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³¹⁴"Synod," South Australian Advertiser, 1882-03-08, p.6 and 10.

Bradford to accept the post³¹⁵ which he did the following month.³¹⁶ At no time in the correspondence for a new bishop of Adelaide was H.B. Bousfield's name mentioned.

This attempt to remove H.B. Bousfield with honour failed and he was left as bishop of Pretoria.

4.9 The Royal Commission

The Royal Commission was appointed in 1881³¹⁷ to conduct peace negotiations with the Boers. Just after the lifting of the siege of Pretoria the Bishop presented Sir Evelyn Wood with a memorandum of the Church's projected losses in the Transvaal as well as his likely personal losses³¹⁸ and asked whether he could bring these subjects before the Commission.³¹⁹ The memorandum, dated 1881-04-07, was "as to the loss of the Church in his Diocese, and to himself, thro' the proposed arrangements for the settlement of the Trnasvaal."³²⁰ Under the Church's losses he listed pecuniary losses, impoverishment of the congregations which were attaining self-sufficiency and clergy who had been engaged and would not come out for reasons of safety. The Bishop estimated that the loss to the Church would be between £5 000 and £10 000.³²¹ The Bishop personally would also suffer pecuniary loss.³²²

4.9.1 The Colonial Office inquiry

Fred Chalmers, joint Treasurer with E.H. Bousfield, of the Pretoria Diocesan Fund, contacted A.H. Brown, M.P. concerning H.B. Bousfield's position in the Transvaal and Anglican Church property. "The Committee [of the P.D.F.] are very desirous and the Treasurers especially feel that they are in honour bound to do all in their powers to see that the church property

³¹⁵A.C. Tait, Letter to Kennion, 1882-07, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³¹⁶Kennion, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1882-08, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³¹⁷vide p.249.

³¹⁸see Appendix 2.

³¹⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir E. Wood, 1881-04-07, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³²⁰H.B. Bousfield, "Memorandum as to the loss of the Church in his Diocese, and to himself, thro' the proposed arrangements for the settlement of the Transvaal," D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³²¹Ibid.

³²²Ibid.

acquired by purchase with the money raised by contributions from the public in this country shall be cared for in the resettlement of the Transvaal, and they have deputed me to ascertain what can be done to further this end. About £7 500 has been invested in church buildings, land, schools etc which was all given in England for this purpose. The legal ownership of this property would be according to English law vested in the Bishop for the time being ex officio, and may be so under the resettlement, if it be provided from the outset. ... but we suppose that so far as his private affairs are concerned he must take his chance with other British subjects in the Transvaal, unless the Government, in consideration that he is less free to move away than others, can see their way to stipulate for his protection ... [Does] Lord Kimberley think that the mission should be abandoned and the Bishop should resign his office and come home? ... If you [Brown] would kindly ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies ... what in his opinion the Committee [of the P.D.F.] and the Bishop ought to do."³²³ Brown agreed to place H.B. Bousfield's case before Lord Kimberley and send the letter he had received from Chalmers to the Colonial Office.³²⁴ The Colonial office duly investigated.³²⁵

Chalmers felt that the Church property held by Bousfield as Bishop of Pretoria was subject to British Law. The Colonial Office ruled this as incorrect as the property was held under Transvaal Law which the Royal Commission would not alter.³²⁶ As to the position of Bishop Bousfield and his future conduct the Colonial Office wrote in a memorandum initialled E. F[airfield] June 1[1881]: "We had really nothing to do with creating

³²³F. Chalmers, Letter to A.H. Brown, 1881-05-28, C.O.9900, ff.249-250, Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, C.O.291/14, Public Record Office, Kew, London, Britain.

³²⁴Ibid.

³²⁵Transvaal C.O.9900, The Bishop of Pretoria, 1881-05-30, ff.246-253, Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, C0291/14, Public Record Office, Kew, London, Britain.

³²⁶Memo, C.O.9900, ff.247-248, Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, C.O.291/14, Public Record Office, Kew, London, Britain.

the Bishopric, and are in no way responsible for the Bishop."³²⁷ A footnote to the memorandum, signed K (presumably Lord Kimberley) stated: "I think Mr Brown should have an answer that I cannot undertake to advise the Bishop as to his future conduct but that I have written to the Commissioners in terms of this draft. (The Bishop seems to think the Boers will ill treat his wife and children!) K. June 1/81"³²⁸

A letter about the Bishop and the lands held by him was promptly sent to Sir Hercules Robinson. The Royal Commission was asked to obtain assurances from the Boer leaders that these properties would be respected and that the Bishop should "not be interfered with in the peaceful exercise of his functions should he remain in the Transvaal."³²⁹ A letter of reassurance was sent to A.H. Brown.³³⁰ The second Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria made this out to be a great victory: "It is most gratifying to know that Her Majesty's Government does not recommend the retirement of the Bishop from the Transvaal, and that his person and the Church's little property will be respected."³³¹

Bishop Jones spoke to Sir Hercules Robinson who recommended that Bousfield should retire from the Transvaal as so many English families had left: "... his estimate of the B[isho]p tallies with the B[isho]p's estimate in this respect that he is utterly unsuited for Mission work. It is a most awkward complication out of wh[ich] I can see no satisfactory outlet."³³²

³²⁷Memo, C.O.9900, f.248, Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, C.O.291/14, Public Record Office, Kew, London, Britain.

³²⁸Memo, C.O.9900, f.248, Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, C.O.291/14, Public Record Office, Kew, London, Britain.

³²⁹Colonial Office, Letter to Sir H. Robinson, 1881-06-02, C.O.9900, ff.251-252, Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, C.O.291/14, Public Record Office, Kew, London, Britain.

³³⁰Colonial Office, Letter to A.H. Brown, 1881-06-02, C.O.9900, ff.252-253, Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, C.O.291/14, Public Record Office, Kew, London, Britain.

³³¹R.H. Meade, "Letter to [A.H.] Brown," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 2, 1881-09, p.43.

³³²W.W. Jones, Letter to A.B. Webb, 1881-10-31, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

In September 1881 Bousfield wrote to Jennings about the Royal Commission: "Some instructions touching Church affairs were received by the Commission here, and mentioned to me by Sir Hercules Robinson, though no one else seems to have known anything of them. All my claims for compensation were put aside as 'indirect' I have no fear of avowed or open opposition, but every secret hindrance will certainly be offered."³³³

A group in the Transvaal calling themselves the "Loyal Inhabitants" and led by C.K. White petitioned the British Prime Minister, Gladstone, for compensation for losses incurred in the war. "Mr Gladstone's reply ... spoke of compensation for direct losses incurred during the war, but specifically excluded 'any general claim for compensation in respect of depreciation of property arising from the change of policy involved in the new arrangement.'³³⁴" ³³⁵

4.10 Summary

Ellen Lamb looking back with hindsight on the years she had spent in the Transvaal wrote in 1883: "So for the first two years, I think I may say that everything connected with our mission was doing well, - well, I mean, when one considers the tremendous difficulties to be overcome - want of money, want of schools, want of clergy; ... The Bishop was indefatigable in itinerating and holding services in far distant parts of the diocese, ... And now comes the dark side of the story, so dark, so sad, that I hardly like to speak about it. ... I want you to understand the almost utter ruin [the retrocession] has brought, not only on the Church, not only on the mission, but on the length and breadth of the land, on trade, on agriculture, on private individuals, on everything and everybody. ... And now, you will say, in what position has this left our Church and our Mission? Shall I tell you they are utterly ruined - God forbid! but the difficulties with which the Bishop has to contend are sevenfold more than they were before: ... I only

³³³H.B. Bousfield, "Letter to H.E. Jennings, 1881-09-31," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.42.

³³⁴Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, C-2950 No. 57, p.171-172: C.K. White's petition to Gladstone constitutes No.1 in No.49, p.152-153 (quoted Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.303, footnote 32).

³³⁵Davey, "The siege of Pretoria...", p.302-303.

tell you of the dark cloud to make you understand how greatly the Bishop needs your [financial] help to tide him over his present difficulties, which no one could have foreseen, and no power of his could avert."³³⁶

The honeymoon period was over. The Bishop, coming to a country ruled by the British, had in the beginning magnified his problems. After the war, however, when the country was ruled by the Boers, his problems before the war seemed minor by comparison. He had to turn his abilities to running his diocese with reduced congregations, less money and persistent staffing problems. Once Bousfield had decided to remain in the Transvaal he settled down to his task.

³³⁶E. Lamb, "The Church in the Transvaal," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 5, 1883-01, p.30-34.

CHAPTER FIVE

AN ASSESSMENT OF BOUSFIELD AS
BISHOP OF PRETORIA

In attempting to assess Bousfield's success or failure as Bishop of Pretoria two questions need to be asked.

- 5.1 Was Bousfield the right person for the task in the first place?
- 5.5 Would it have been better, both for himself and for the diocese, if Bousfield had resigned after the War of Independence?
- 5.1 Was Bousfield the right person for the task in the first place?

5.1.1 The Bishop's home life

The Bishop had a difficult home life. He had accepted the post as bishop of a new diocese on an inadequate salary,¹ with a delicate wife and eight children, six of whom were daughters so would need to be supported until marriage. In fact the eldest daughter, Frances Rebekah, did not marry until 1886. Tucker of S.P.G. said to Tait of Bousfield: "He ought never have gone to Pretoria with 8 Children but he was determined to be a Bishop & this weakness was generally known."² Mrs Bousfield was delicate. Sir Garnet Wolseley said of her: "She gave me the jumps,...: I believe she goes off her head at times."³ Her psychological problem had probably started in Britain for in a letter to Mrs Macrorie, wife of Bishop Macrorie, Bousfield wrote: "... and my poor wife has fulfilled the said fear I breathed to your husband once, ..." ⁴ Since the only time Bousfield had been with Macrorie

¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.T. Bullock, 1877-06-06, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²H. Tucker, Private letter to R. Davidson, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³A. Preston, ed., The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley, Cape Town: Balkema, 1973, p.265.

⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Mrs Macrorie, 1880-10-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

was on the voyage out to South Africa and at Pietermaritzburg on the journey to Pretoria he must have told him then.

In his book Six years in the Transvaal he said that he had not married until foreign mission work seemed unlikely and before marriage he stipulated that his wife should be prepared to go with him if he became a clergyman of a Colonial Diocese if necessary.⁵ However after years of marriage he should have accepted the fact that his wife was not strong enough for life outside of Britain and so not have accepted the post.

5.1.2 Temperament and inability to get on with people

This long anecdote, written by Father J.N. Meyer, O.M.I. shows Bousfield as others saw him. During the siege of Pretoria Meyer had a room in the hospital. One day whilst he was studying privately he was interrupted by the Bishop who was sick-visiting. "His eyes travelled from one volume to another, from one sheet of paper to another until they finally rested on my own. 'May I make so bold,' said he, 'to inquire what you are working at.' I was but too delighted to oblige his Lordship. He had been pleased on several occasions, particularly on one, to run down the Catholic clergy whom he styled as rich clergy, particularly behind the times and fairly ignorant. This assertion which he had made before Sir Garnet Wolseley had earned him a biting rebuke from the part of the General who, being an Irishman himself though not a Catholic, had had many opportunities of seeing the Irish clergy. He affirmed that not only did he find them up to the times, but rather in advance of them, and that a greedy clergyman of another denomination could take a leaf out of the Irish clergyman's book for their own personal improvement. Sir Garnet knew his man; he was aware that he had made an impression. I showed him my papers which were written mostly in Latin. There was also a good spattering of German, French and even Greek according to the commentators

⁵H.B. Bousfield, Six years in the Transvaal, London: SPCK, [1886], p.6.

I had consulted ... I explained him the plan of the work, the progress I had made with it up to this present, and what I intended doing with it later on, 'So it is not for publication,' he said in sheer astonishment! 'Why then do you go to such trouble if you do not intend publishing it?' I made him to understand that we Catholic priests do not care much for public applause; that we are not in the habit of cackling for every trifle that we may do, but that we study the Scriptures with the best commentators, weighing their reasons and so forming our own opinions, for our own congregation. He was astonished, and told me so. There was no need however for him to tell me, as I could read it plainly on his face. Dr. Bousfield had swallowed wholesale all the slanders which ever were printed by a bigoted press against the Church of Rome and her priests, without ever going to the trouble of challenging such slanders. ... There was a splendid opportunity for His Lordship to let off all his crackers. He did not miss it. He wanted to know why we Catholic priests do not get married. ... But, said he, St. Paul commands the bishops to marry and as I showed great astonishment and said, 'Ah,' he trotted the famous text to Timothy: "The Bishop must be the husband of one wife. etc". How he flourished that text, explaining it in all its bearings and grinding me against the wall. I let him talk to his heart's content, and when he was done, asked him if St. Paul was a bishop - to be sure he was - why then, I pressed on, did not he give good example and marry? This was a damper which settled his must for St. Paul expressly confesses that he was single and extols virginity in clear and lofty expressions above matrimony. I had my innings and made use of them. Picking up some papers which were on the floor I soon found the text in question. The Douay Version, I told him, does not use the word must for very good reasons, the first of which is the one already mentioned. It says, 'it behoveth a Bishop to be blameless, the husband of one wife, etc.' which gives the meaning of St. Paul more accurately. This now is not my interpretation, but the interpretation of all the doctors and

commentators for the last 1 800 yrs. ... He confessed that his Greek was rather rusty. ... I therefore tried Carriere, but he did not understand French, and so I had to fall back on Allioh? whose German commentaries I had in front of me. He had never studied German/ I was about to ask him if he had ever studied anything at all, but remembered that he was my visitor. And this is the man, I thought within myself, who reviled the Catholic clergy and taxes us with ignorance! ... "The only remaining meaning possible is this, that no Bishop or priest should be chosen from among those who had been married twice or who still lives in that second wedlock as this would give him a suspicion of lasciviousness which cannot be tolerated in the priesthood" [Allioli]. ... Dr. Bousfield found the atmosphere of the room rather close, and rose to depart. I accompanied him to the door, where, after the last bow, I retired to my room sat down and had a good hearty laugh. I trust His Lordship will be a little more careful in future when he talks about the Romish clergy and their ignorance in Scripture. I did not do him the slightest good and did not expect it. His Lordship was his own commentator and his way of interpreting was the way. His Doxy was orthodoxy and everyone else's Doxy was necessarily heterodoxy. He took in my explanations so nicely that when Mrs Bousfield No.1 died, he took himself Miss Lamb, a former teacher in his school, and made her Mrs Bousfield No.2."⁶

In the following montage of how others perceived the Bishop most references have already been used in the text.

"... [Bousfield] is a man of untiring zeal - ... he is perhaps a little too egotistical."⁷ [Owen]

"... but he was determined to be a Bishop & this weakness was generally known"⁸ [Tucker]

⁶J.N. Meyer, "Reminiscences of thirty years missionary work in South Africa," TS, p.34-38, [R.C.] Archdiocesan Archives, Durban, South Africa.

⁷Owen, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1876-04-24, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

⁸H. Tucker, Private letter to R. Davidson, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

"... under the stress of these cares he rather exaggerates his difficulties."⁹ [Tucker]

"The Bishop, who was always somewhat hasty, was never noted for tact even among whites..."¹⁰ [Roberts]

"... for I liked the Bishop, because of the human side of him. ... [The Bishop was] rather autocratic in his method of administering the affairs of his diocese, and at times somewhat overbearing towards his clergy. He lacked the tact that is born of common sense."¹¹ [Judge Kotze]

"... this inflated wind-bag of a Bishop...¹² [The Bishop] is full of bumptiousness & ready to argue on any subject, no matter what it may be, and although it may be one regarding which he has no means of knowing anything."¹³ [Sir Garnet Wolseley]

"I think [the Bishop's] liver would be out of order for the rest of the day"¹⁴ [O. Watkins]

"The B[isho]p was very thoughtless of us [his young clergymen]. ... I know I worked far harder than he did ... [with] very little appreciation from him.¹⁵ ... Don't leave me out. I worked my best, made harder by the B[isho]p, who chiefly did the talking.¹⁶ ... I never forgave the B[isho]p for this, and blame him for poor Spratt's death."¹⁷ [Alfred Roberts]

"... for those three weeks, I found myself in the constant presence of one of the most methodical,

⁹H. Tucker, Confidential letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-18, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

¹⁰A. Roberts, "The foundation of the Native Mission in Pretoria," TS, p.4, Alfred Roberts Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹¹J. Kotze, Biographical memoirs and reminiscences, Cape Town: Maskew Miller, [s.a.], p.555.

¹²Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.254.

¹³Ibid., p.193

¹⁴O. Watkins, Diary of his journey to the Transvaal, 1880-10-29, quoted in W.A. Venter, Die geskiedenis en invloed van die Wesleyaanse sending in die Transvaal gedurende die negentiende eeu, Ph.D thesis, University of the Orange Free State, 1961, p.385.

¹⁵A. Roberts, annotated copy of Bousfield, Six years..., p.27.

¹⁶Ibid., p.49

¹⁷Ibid., p.60

the least time-wasting, the least exacting, and the most unselfish of men."¹⁸ [Sadler]

"... some [of the Bishop's ecclesiastical difficulties], it is only fair to say I know are owing to the Bishop's own way of dealing with his clergy & people."¹⁹ [Webb]

"... a man of honor [sic] and spirit."²⁰ [E.H. Bousfield]

"His manner is certainly unfortunate & his conversation painfully egotistical, but with all his faults, he is a brave man, unflinching in the assertion of principle & determined to carry out his work & to deliver his message. And brave determined men are never more wanted than they are now."²¹ [Jones]

"... his Lordship should have understood that no good comes out of stuffing a reluctant defenceless patient with whole chapters of St. John. Syrup is all right when thinly spread a slice of bread, but taken in jarfuls it is too much of a good thing.²² ... I accompanied [the Bishop] to the door, where, after the last bow, I retired to my room, sat down and had a good hearty laugh."²³ [Meyer]

The Bishop is portrayed as hard working, tactless, pompous and egotistical whose behaviour sometimes provoked laughter.

Most of the above references are from people who had met the Bishop in the Transvaal and yet age does not change a personality but reinforces it.

5.1.3 Salary

In the first letters which Bishop Jones wrote to his co-delegates about choosing a bishop for the Transvaal he mentioned finance. To Bishop Cotterill of Edinburgh he wrote that the man chosen would have to have some

¹⁸"Itinerant work in the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1881-03-01, p.124.

¹⁹A.B. Webb, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-09-21, Collection AB867, Ab5.2, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁰E.H. Bousfield, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-03, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

²¹W.W. Jones, Private letter to H. Tucker, 1880-12-13, Collection of the Letterbook of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²²Meyer, "Reminiscences...", TS, p.26.

²³Ibid., p.37.

private means and that this would exclude a number of suitable men.²⁴ To Bullock of S.P.G. he wrote that the salary offered for the bishop was inadequate considering the cost of living in the Transvaal, as well as the cost of travelling over its vast distances. In addition he said: "Of one thing I am certain, that £600 a year will be the least that a Bishop will be able to do with, so that it is necessary either to find a man who will be equal for the work & willing to accept it who has private means, or some additional funds must be raised for his support."²⁵

The man they found, H.B. Bousfield, was married with a large family. In Andover his salary was £700 p.a. and he was offered by S.P.G. £600 p.a. and a house.²⁶ This drop in salary would necessitate a lowering of his family's standard of living. When Bishop Webb of Bloemfontein heard that Bousfield had accepted the post he wrote to Jones: "I do not think we could have a better man for the Transvaal than Mr Bousfield. ... I did not think that there was much chance of his being able to accept the post through want of private means and the burden of a large family."²⁷

When Bousfield arrived in the Transvaal he found that because of the exorbitant cost of living his salary was totally inadequate for the needs of his family and for his travelling expenses.

5.1.4 Organising ability and energy

When Jones wrote to Cotterill asking him to be a delegate in a committee of three to choose the new bishop of the Transvaal he listed the qualities the man needed. This man should be hardworking, active

²⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Cotterill, 1876-03-13, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to W. Bullock of S.P.G., 1876-02-23, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁶Bousfield, Six years..., p.7.

²⁷A.B. Webb, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1877-03-22, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

and a good Churchman.²⁸ In Bousfield they found such a man.

Bousfield was a talented organiser. In 1876 when Owen wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury mentioning Bousfield for the vacant diocese of Melbourne he wrote: "[Bousfield] is a man of untiring zeal - a perfect marvel for work and system - as clearheaded as a man can well be - ... he is perhaps a little too egotistical."²⁹

In the two years before the war he had organised the diocese according to his master plan.³⁰ With the war much of this organisation had been destroyed and he was faced with the task of building it up from the foundations again, but the foundations were there this time. S.P.G. felt that after the English speaking people had left the Transvaal that the Bishop should concentrate on mission work.³¹ Tucker appreciated the gifts Bousfield had of organisation and of delivering speeches and felt that these could be utilized elsewhere.³² Bishop Webb realised that Bousfield was unsuited to be a missionary bishop but could not see a way out of this problem.³³ After the war the Bishop again tried to implement the plan. Congregations were re-organised, e.g. J.P. Richardson was moved from Rustenburg to Zeerust which had a larger congregation and a school.³⁴ As soon as possible after the war the Bishop began his travels to all the Church centres in the Transvaal. These journeys were spaced over nine months.³⁵ The schools were kept open where possible. The Bishop saw the mission

²⁸W.W. Jones, Letter to H. Cotterill, 1876-03-13, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

²⁹Owen, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1876-04-24, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³⁰vide p.117.

³¹H. Tucker, Confidential letter to R. Davidson, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

³²Ibid.

³³W.W. Jones, Letter to A.B. Webb, 1881-10-31, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁴Diocese of Pretoria, Diocesan Calendar 1883, p.5-6.

³⁵E. Lamb, "The Church in the Transvaal," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 5, 1883-01, p.31.

work among the Deel Kraal Africans under Jacob Tabane as "... a real opening for our struggling Church among the heathen, and God's blessing shall be the more assured to her if she is thus missionary in her days of weakness."³⁶ The Bishop still had his plans for opening a hospital. Just after the war he wrote to Lagden: "You bid me put on paper the plans I mentioned to you for starting a small hospital here. I will try to make them clear."³⁷

After the war he was once more complaining bitterly³⁸ about his inadequate salary, large family, lack of money for church work, ungrateful clergy, and the difficulty of getting suitable staff.

5.1.5 Bousfield's plans for the diocese³⁹

Were these plans practical or were they too elaborate for a newly founded Colonial Diocese? As an aim towards which the diocese could progress they were practical but Bousfield wished to implement them as soon as possible. This was one of the reasons for his financial difficulties. In a letter to the Bishop just before the War of Independence S.P.G. advised him not to attempt too much.⁴⁰ In a letter to Tait's secretary, Tucker of S.P.G. expressed his true feelings: "Mr [E.H.] Bousfield, as an Auctioneer, is accustomed to deal with things on a larger scale & knows nothing of the way in wh[ich] Colonial Churches creep up from small beginnings. The brother - the Bishop - has rather a large idea of things and from the first he has gone on in a way few Colonial Bishops affect."⁴¹

³⁶H.B. Bousfield, "The Bishop's report, 1881-12-09," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.13.

³⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to G.Y. Lagden, 1881-06-07, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

³⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to S.P.G., 1881-12-03, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

³⁹vide p.117.

⁴⁰S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-10-21, CLS Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴¹H. Tucker, Private letter to R. Davidson, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

Bousfield seemed to wish to create a centuries old English diocese in the Transvaal as soon as possible. His plans for the diocese should thus be seen as impractical and the cause of some of the conflict he had within the diocese and outside of it.

5.1.6

Conclusion

Was Bousfield the right person for the task in the first place?

Tucker of S.P.G. felt that he should never have accepted the post with such a large family.⁴² For financial reasons he should have realised that the post should have gone to a wealthier clergyman.

To remove his delicate unstable wife from the familiarity of Britain and to subject her to the stress of the Transvaal was cruel. In 1886 he excused this action by saying that before they married in 1861 she had agreed "... to go to the earth's end if [he was] called."⁴³ From Sir Garnet Wolseley's remark: "I believe she goes off her head at times,"⁴⁴ it would appear that she had become the object of thoughtless gossip. In placing his job before the welfare of his wife and so accepting a Colonial Bishopric I feel that he was at fault. This is the main reason he should not have considered leaving England.

Once Bousfield was in the Transvaal his gifts of organisation were soon apparent. On reading the reports of his work one is amazed at the amount of work he got through. However he was periodically threatening to resign so it seems that he was not satisfied with his task in the Transvaal. The bout of depression he had in October 1880⁴⁵ was a bad sign for him.

Bousfield was a talented man and it was inevitable that he should have been approached about a Colonial

⁴²H. Tucker, Private letter to R. Davidson, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

⁴³Bousfield, Six years..., p.6.

⁴⁴Preston, The South African journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley..., p.265.

⁴⁵vide p.207.

Bishopric. When Tucker broached Archbishop Tait of Canterbury about having Bousfield translated to Adelaide he listed them as his exceptional ability at organization and his power of speech. These talents should be used by the Church.⁴⁶

In conclusion after weighing up the evidence I feel that Bousfield in spite of his talents of organisation should not have accepted the post. He had an unrealistic concept of a Colonial Bishopric. He had an unfortunate manner in dealing with people which caused conflict situations to arise. His lack of private means meant that his salary had to be adequate to support his family and it was not. The main reason however was his wife's health which should have come first. In spite of this he did accept the post and he went to the Transvaal as the first bishop of Pretoria.

5.2 Would it have been better, both for himself and for the diocese, if Bousfield had resigned after the War of Independence?

After the war new difficulties faced the diocese.

5.2.1 Political changes

The Transvaal was no longer under British control and the Anglican Church was no longer the denomination of the rulers, a status it had enjoyed under the British.

When he was asked in 1876 to accept the proposed diocese in the Transvaal he had refused because the Transvaal was not under British rule. It was only the following year after the annexation that he did accept to be nominated as bishop.⁴⁷

Under the British Administration Bousfield occupied a privileged position. Soon after he arrived in the Transvaal he was able to ask Sir Owen Lanyon for a personal grant of land. He wrote to Lanyon: "Having placed my case before you, I leave it in your hands, & will be content with whatever your kindly wisdom may think best: but I confess I should have been glad

⁴⁶H. Tucker, Private letter to R. Davidson, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

⁴⁷Bousfield, Six years..., p.6-7.

if the question of my own grant could have been decided by you alone, as being so much of a peep into my private affairs, I would rather have you, & Sir Bartle Frere, than let a whole body of men consider them. There is one point you have not mentioned, which I hope your not doing so does not mean is permanently settled against the Church, viz. the Heidelberg site. If this reaches you before you pass thro' Heidelberg on your return journey, I would ask you to look at the site with your own eyes, & see whether it be not too good for a jail, and just the thing for a Church."⁴⁸ The Bishop could only have written a letter of this sort to a Governor he knew personally.

On another occasion when he wrote to Lanyon he said: "I hope this [prayer] will meet with your Excellency's approval, and shall be glad in this, and all other matters, so to know your wishes that the Church may in all ways possible comply with them."⁵¹

In May 1880 Lanyon sent the Bishop a copy of the Education Bill with which the Bishop agreed on all points except that of Article 2: "Does it singling [?] out for report the case of Clergymen, or preachers acting as schoolmasters, imply the desire to avoid as much as possible their employment? I do not wish to discuss the question as I think I understand its pro's for the Church, and con's for the state: tho' perhaps in the present state of both the plan might act for a few years well. My object is to know your mind that I may conform my early plans to it."⁵⁰ Bousfield wished to use deacon-schoolmasters in the smaller towns whose salaries could be supplemented by the school fees e.g. Adams at Middelburg.⁵¹

The Bishop asked Lanyon for a copy of the Bill of Native Law before the Assembly had seen it: "...

⁴⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Owen Lanyon, 1879-05-21, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁴⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Owen Lanyon, 1880-03-15, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Owen Lanyon, 1880-05-12, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵¹Ibid.

as this may touch [and] impinge on my province, I should like to know its provisions."⁵²

In August 1880 the Administration granted an erf in Wakkerstroom to the diocese of Pretoria. The Bishop could select the site which would be transferred to the diocese after the start of building.⁵³

When the Boers took over the Transvaal these good relations had to cease. In 1883 the Bishop wrote to the President of the Z.A.R.: "For I can assure Your Honour, no man in this State desires more Sincerely its true and lasting prosperity."⁵⁴ This letter would have been unnecessary under the British Administration.

5.2.2 Problems caused by the departure of the British

5.2.2.1 Congregations decrease

Many English speaking people left the Transvaal which became depopulated. This meant that much of the painstaking work of establishing congregations was set back. Sir Hercules Robinson, a member of the Royal Commission, who had first hand experience of the situation in the Transvaal after the war recommended that the Bishop retire "as he [Sir H. Robinson] does not believe 20 English families will remain in the country."⁵⁵

The congregation at Rustenburg was so reduced that it was not sufficient to support a clergyman. The Bishop explained why he was forced to remove J.P. Richardson: "There still was hope [after the war], and I encouraged Mr Richardson to hold up on his way and stick to his post, in hope that we might ride out the storm. But soon came other news: of the little flock one and another family was forced to leave, the school was dwind-

⁵²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Sir Owen Lanyon, 1880-05-13, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵³G. Hudson, Colonial Secretary, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1880-08-23, Collection AB419, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to P. Kruger, 1883-05-17, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁵W.W. Jones, Letter to A.B. Webb, 1881-10-31, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

ling, the congregation dying out, and Zeerust needing much a priest, ... much against my will, I was forced to consent to the shepherd leaving the deserted fold and the remnant of his little flock."⁵⁶ A year after the war the Bishop asked Henry Gosling if he would "take a service in now deserted Rustenburg?"⁵⁷

This diminution of Anglican congregations occurred throughout the Transvaal.

5.2.2.2 Education

The schools lost many pupils as a result of the English exodus from the Transvaal. The schools in Pretoria continued. Both Miss Dowling and Miss Lamb were voluntary teachers so did not receive salaries. Miss Dowling in particular was frugal. The Bishop complimented her on this to Durnford: "But my young men are all too wanting in self denial & sense, & wanting too much, the Ladies beat them hollow. Miss Dowling's share of Board & Lodgings costs £40 a year only."⁵⁸ Maybe they had learnt this from their Bishop?

St Etheldreda's continued. In July 1881 the Bishop asked Durnford to find replacements for Miss Lorentz and Miss Lamb.⁵⁹ Roberts still ran St Birinus. In June 1881 Godfrey Lagden examined the boys in history, geography and Euclid.⁶⁰ Roberts in his report at the end of 1881 said that the school had an average enrolment of 21 or 22 but that fees were irregularly paid: "Besides this the Government no longer renders us any assistance, and there seems very little

⁵⁶H.B. Bousfield, "Rustenburg as it was and is," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 5, 1883-01, p.41.

⁵⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Gosling, 1882-03-04, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-01-02, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁵⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E. Durnford, 1881-06-30, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁶⁰G.Y. Lagden, Diary 1881, 1881-06-28, MSS, Lagden Papers, MSS Af.s 145, Rhodes House Library, Oxford, Britain.

prospect of their doing so, at least to us. They indeed promise great help to education, but one of their chief provisos is that all subjects must be taught in the Dutch language, which is impossible with us, for all our pupils are English and speak English better than Dutch."⁶¹ St Alban's Elementary School was also able to remain open.⁶² After the war it can be deduced that English speaking schools lost their Government grants for education.

5.2.3 Finance

5.2.3.1 Parishes

The Bishop had financial problems. He had been aiming at making the congregations self-supporting by appointing deacon-schoolmasters to the towns⁶³ and having an itinerating priest visiting the congregations for communion.⁶⁴ The Bishop himself travelled extensively to confirm and also to celebrate the Communion.⁶⁵ The Bishop knew that a clergyman would find living off the school fees and offertories difficult so he guaranteed stipends i.e. to raise a salary to a level on which the man could live.⁶⁶ When J.P. Richardson of Rustenburg who disliked teaching asked permission to give up his school to concentrate on mission the Bishop refused. The fees generated by the school were needed. He wrote: "...and as Bishop in the present low state of Diocesan funds I cannot offer to set you free from the school work."⁶⁷

It was only in 1882 that a parish did become financially self-sufficient. This was Pilgrim's

⁶¹A. Roberts, "Report to the Bishop on S. Birinus' Boys' School, 1881-12-05," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.50.

⁶²H.B. Bousfield, "The Bishop's report, 1881-12-09," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 3, 1882-02, p.26.

⁶³H.B. Bousfield, First year's report..., p.7.

⁶⁴Bousfield, Six years..., p.46-47.

⁶⁵vide p.117.

⁶⁶"In the Transvaal," Mission Field, 1879-12-01, p.546.

⁶⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to J.P. Richardson, 1880-01-09, Bousfield Collection, CPISA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Rest, which being a mining area, had a larger congregation⁶⁸ as people had employment there. The Bishop wrote to F. Dowling of Pilgrim's Rest: "It seems you will be in the happy position of being supported by your people, & your own efforts as a Teacher. Your offertories, one especially, are very good."⁶⁹ The deacon-schoolmaster system could not function with small congregations. This is the reason the Bishop was forced to remove J.P. Richardson from Rustenburg.⁷⁰

After the war there was an economic depression⁷¹ so money was difficult to find. The Pretoria Diocesan Fund started a special fund to aid the diocese in its financial crisis. The P.D.F. issued a fund-raising pamphlet at the end of 1881. Part of it read: "Diocese of Pretoria - The Committee [of the P.D.F.] is desirous of promptly raising £1 000 to tide the Bishop over the pressing difficulties occasioned by the recent troubles in the Transvaal, and to enable him to deal with the emergencies consequent upon the cession of the country to the Boers in any way he may find necessary. Recent letters show him to be still struggling against the most adverse circumstances, and endeavouring to hold his own in the vast Diocese committed to his charge - for this great work funds are much needed from home, as the diocese is so impoverished that but little aid can come from within."⁷²

In October 1881 F. Chalmers published an appeal through the Standard explaining the need for an

⁶⁸H.B. Bousfield, Letter to F. Dowling, 1882-03-22, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁶⁹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to F. Dowling, 1882-04-14, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁷⁰H.B. Bousfield, "Rustenburg as it was and is," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 5, 1883-01, p.41.

⁷¹E. Lamb, "The Church in the Transvaal," Occasional paper of the diocese of Pretoria, number 5, 1883-01, p.32.

⁷²"Diocese of Pretoria," copy enclosed R.L. Giveen, Letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-12-26, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

additional fund: "The Bishop's relatives and some of his private friends have known the hardships and troubles which have attended him ever since he entered upon the thankless and well-nigh hopeless task of founding a Church in the Transvaal. They have done, and are doing, all that lies in their power to help him; ... it is proposed to appeal to [the public] to raise a sum of £1 000 (apart from contributions to the Diocesan Fund) to tide him over the pressing difficulties of the moment (occasioned, unfortunately, by the action of the powers that be), ..."⁷³

The Archbishop of Canterbury was asked to lend his name to this special fund but he refused to do so as he felt that the P.D.F. and Bousfield's Commissaries were raising funds for the diocese of Pretoria as was S.P.G. A third fund would unnecessarily complicate matters.⁷⁴

S.P.G. felt that Bousfield had exaggerated his problems and that he should not be in the financial straits that he said he was in. In a confidential letter to Tait Tucker wrote: "The Bishop of Pretoria has been exposed to very great anxieties & I am afraid that under the stress of these cares he rather exaggerates his difficulties; in this opinion I am confirmed by letters from other correspondents in Africa. He ought not to be in any great pecuniary strait. The Society has guaranteed that his income shall not fall below £700 p.a.: he has also a good house free: a special Organisation, which has been working for him in England, has sent him, as I am informed by the Secretary, about £700 during the last few months, which would be absolutely at his disposal, although I do not suppose that he would spend much of it on himself. ... I very much fear that

⁷³F. Chalmers, Letter 1881-10-26, Standard, published date unknown.

⁷⁴R.T. Davidson [for A.C. Tait], Letter to E.H. Bousfield, 1881-12-09, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

the Bishop's real difficulties are not such as a Society can help for I understand that he has invested his own small fortune, together with other monies given [?] to him for the benefit of his work, in lands & houses in the Transvaal & when the Country ceased to be a Colony and became again a Dutch Republic, the value of these investments fell very low indeed."⁷⁵

Thus it can be seen that some of the financial problems of the diocese were caused by the diminution of the English speaking population whose offertories had helped it. External help had to be increased to make up for the internal financial loss.

5.2.3.2 Endowment

The Bishop had invested part of the Endowment at the Cape. In January 1881 the Standing Committee of S.P.G. agreed to recommend the whole of the Pretoria Clergy Endowment Fund be invested on first mortgages in the Cape Colony. Bousfield had requested that part of this be invested in the Transvaal but this request was referred to the Colonial Bishops' Council.⁷⁶ Both W.W. Jones⁷⁷ and Bousfield⁷⁸ were informed of the investment in the Cape Banks. This was duly done.⁷⁹ ⁸⁰

The Bishop wrote to Jones about the payment of the dividends on the Clergy Endowment: "Can you kindly find out for me whether the Capital withdrawn from England on a[ccoun]t of Clergy Endow-

⁷⁵H. Tucker, Confidential letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-18, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

⁷⁶Standing Committee of S.P.G., 1881-01-13, p.70-71, SC Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁷⁷S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-01-22, SC Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁷⁸S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1881-01-22, SC Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁷⁹S.P.G., Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1881-05-25, SC Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁸⁰Standing Committee of S.P.G., 1881-06-16, p.180, SC Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

ment Fund has been invested? and if so when will a dividend be payable? The supplies from England have failed, and none from Capetown, as yet, taken their place."⁸¹ In October 1881 the Bishop requested from Jones a statement of the amount invested and the actual income to be derived from the Clergy Endowment and he wanted to know whether the Bishopric Endowment had been transferred from Britain.⁸²

When S.P.G. sold the investments in Britain of the Clergy Endowment Fund of the diocese of Pretoria a profit of £289 9s 2d was realised. This was sent to Bishop Jones to invest for the diocese of Pretoria.⁸³ Jones told S.P.G. in December that he had been unable to invest the Pretoria Bishopric Endowment. This is why Bousfield had received no interest on the endowment.⁸⁴ From this it can be deduced that the diocese of Pretoria, which was going through a financial crisis as a result of the war, had not received the dividends it should have from the Endowment Funds.

5.2.3.3 Personal

The Bishop had a small private income which he had invested in the property in the Transvaal. With the retrocession the value of property had fallen sharply.⁸⁵ An attempt had been made to get Bousfield's private property made a special case for the Royal Commission to discuss with the Boers but this had been rejected.⁸⁶

⁸¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-08-08, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸²H.B. Bousfield, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-10-14, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸³S.P.G., Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-11-02, SC Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

⁸⁴W.W. Jones, Letter to S.P.G., 1881-12-05, Collection of the Letterbooks of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸⁵H. Tucker, Confidential letter to A.C. Tait, 1881-10-18, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

⁸⁶Transvaal C.O.9900, The Bishop of Pretoria, 1881-05-30, ff.246-253, Colonial Office Collection, Transvaal Papers, CO291/14, Public Record Office, Kew, London, Britain.

5.2.4 Staffing

A number of clergymen who had been employed for the diocese refused to come to the diocese after the war.⁸⁷

Bousfield was tactless in his handling of some of his staff⁸⁸ for example his vindictive behaviour towards Spratt whose death might have been avoided if he had not been so harshly treated and been forced to move to Potchefstroom.⁸⁹

5.2.5 Personal problems

5.2.5.1 Effects of the retrocession on the Bishop

The Bishop had been depressed in October 1880.⁹⁰ To Mrs Macrorie he had said that this had been brought about by an inadequate staff, insufficient money as well as other episcopal cares and the overwork caused by acting as priest to the Pretoria parish.⁹¹

Hinchliff feels that the retrocession caused Bousfield to be pessimistic about the future of his diocese.⁹² Farmer, a missionary in the diocese, in his obituary of the Bishop wrote of the retrocession: "He had set out full of hope, with a wife and large family, thinking he was coming to a rising British colony. The result of the Boer War was utter depression, a diminishing British population, and the sadness of reaction after promise."⁹³

After the retrocession the Bishop magnified his problems. An example of the many pessimistic letters he wrote after the war is the one to C. Watkins⁹⁴ which was subsequently published in

⁸⁷vide p.278.

⁸⁸A.B. Webb, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1881-09-21, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁸⁹vide p.270-273.

⁹⁰vide p.207-208.

⁹¹H.B. Bousfield, Letter to Mrs Macrorie, 1880-10-19, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁹²P.B. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963, p.155.

⁹³E. F[armer], "Bishop Bousfield," Anglican, volume 1, number 4, 1904-02, p.81.

⁹⁴H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C. Watkins, 1881-09-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

the Daily Telegraph and the Guardian.⁹⁵ It starts: "As cold water to a thirsty soul so your kind letter is to mine; many thanks for your efforts. The case is pressing. Will England cast off those whom the nation has ruined to a more lasting ruin in the days to come? I will try to stick to my post, but how can I hold up my head against debts justly incurred which suddenly, thro' this revolution press for payment because the securities are worth nothing."⁹⁶ The letter continued in this vein. When Watkins published the letter the Bishop rebuked him for making known his problems.⁹⁷

Was the Bishop justified in his pessimism after the war? He lost people and clergy yet no buildings were destroyed and the diocese was able to function once the routine of life had been re-established.

5.2.5.2 Ellen Lamb

Ellen Lamb was a close family friend and godmother to the youngest Bousfield daughter, Esther Beatrice.⁹⁸ In 1884 the gossip about the relationship between the Bishop and Miss Lamb was such that they were accused of adultery. Clulee, the missionary of the diocese, wrote to Bishop Jones: "As to the charge of Adultery. Graham, the keeper of the hotel at Heidelberg, a respectable & educated man, told him [Dr. Bodley] that he saw the Bishop go into Miss L[amb]'s bedroom at night, & come out the next morning, with his upper clothes over his arm. ... Graham might be reluctant to write openly on a matter which might imply that he was in the habit of watching his guests."⁹⁹ Ellen Lamb left the Transvaal in

⁹⁵Guardian, 1881-10-19, p.1467.

⁹⁶H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C. Watkins, 1881-09-03, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁹⁷H.B. Bousfield, Letter to C. Watkins, 1881-12-01, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

⁹⁸Bousfield family Bible, kept by the family.

⁹⁹C. Clulee, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1884-12-03, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

July 1882¹⁰⁰ and was escorted to Durban by the Bishop. The date of the above incident is obscure. From which period the gossip about the Bishop and Miss Lamb started is also not clear but in a conversation to C. Clulee in November 1883 Bousfield said that he had been accused of murder, lying, fraud, drunkenness and adultery,¹⁰¹ so it was in the open by the end of 1883 and had probably started before she left the Transvaal.

The Bishop's close friendship with Ellen Lamb was cause for gossip. Whether or not this friendship was adulterous is immaterial; if the people believed it to be¹⁰² it was destructive to his episcopacy.

A delicate, unstable wife, a probable mistress and eight children in a small gossip ridden town did make the Bishop's home circumstances difficult.

5.2.6 Conclusion

Did Bousfield have the strength of character to rise to these new challenges? Tucker of S.P.G. felt "... a man with fewer children & not soured by disappointment would do better."¹⁰³ The translation to Adelaide as Tucker realised would have solved the problem of how to remove Bousfield.

If Bousfield had left a more missionary orientated bishop could have been found¹⁰⁴ but Bousfield was not translated. If Bousfield had obtained the advice from someone in authority whether it be Tait, S.P.G. or Lord Kimberley to be recalled he could have left

¹⁰⁰H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Robins, 1882-07-31, Bousfield Collection, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁰¹C. Clulee, Letter to H.B. Bousfield, 1883-12-26, D Collection, USPG Archives, London, Britain.

¹⁰²C. Clulee, Letter to W.W. Jones, 1884-12-03, Collection of the Archbishops of Cape Town, CPSA Archives, Wits, Johannesburg, South Africa.

¹⁰³H. Tucker, Private letter to R. Davidson, 1881-07-25, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

¹⁰⁴Ibid.

without losing face. However these people refused to be manipulated and left the decision to him. His hatred "... to see my name at the bottom of the list of retired Bishops,"¹⁰⁵ made him remain in his diocese.

It is more difficult to come to a decision on this question. To find men willing to be Colonial Bishops was difficult. For example when in 1883 A.B. Webb was translated to Grahamstown it was two years before G.W.H. Knight-Bruce accepted the post. Wilkinson resigned as bishop of Zululand and the CPSA bishops refused to nominate him as bishop of the new Transvaal diocese as he had shown instability of purpose and might do the same in the Transvaal when the going was tough.¹⁰⁶ If Bousfield could have resigned knowing that a more missionary orientated man would have replaced him he should have done so. However there was never any suggestion that such a man existed. In that case it might have been years before his post was filled and he would have laid himself open to accusations of having deserted his post. In remaining he put the future of the diocese first and settled down to work.

5.3 The Future?

One will only be able to decide if Bousfield's decision to stay was a case of pride coming before a fall or was the correct one after research has been done into the rest of his long episcopacy¹⁰⁷ which ended with his death during the Boer War in 1902.

¹⁰⁵H.B. Bousfield, Letter to E.H. Bousfield, 1882-04-15, Tait Collection, Lambeth Palace Library, London, Britain.

¹⁰⁶vide p.44-53.

¹⁰⁷C. Lewis and G.E. Edwards, Historical records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, London: SPCK, 1934, p.580-594.

APPENDICES

Abbreviations

- LPL : Lambeth Palace Library, London.
USPG : United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Library,
London.
Wits : Church of the Province of Southern Africa Archives,
University of the Witwatersrand Library, Johannesburg.

As near as possible, letters in the Appendices are direct copies of the originals.

APPENDIX 1 : Adelaide letters

1.1 E.H. Bousfield to Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1881-07-01
(LPL, Tait, vol. 279, ff. 181-182.)

The Bishop of Pretoria's Special Fund FOR AIDING CHURCH WORK IN
THE TRANSVAAL, SOUTH AFRICA.

My Lord ArchBishop

If may I ask your Grace to be good enough to peruse the enclosed letters from the Bishop of Pretoria: they are those only received by the ____ last mails: the former ones (since the part was repeated) are much more melancholy.

For the sake of the church at home, and for the ____t of the Colonial Church, something should be done for this influence.

The Bishop of Adelaide is about to resign:- Dr. Bousfield would be the man for that Diocese, an immense gain to the Church there, and a fit sphere for his great talents and power ____.

Will your Grace grant me an interview? - I should, more for the Church's sake, than my brother's, like to see what can be done for him - something must.

I have the honour to be My Lord ArchBishop

Your Grace's most obed[ient] servant

E.H. Bousfield

99 Gresham Street EC

July 16, 1881

The Right Revd His Grace

The ArchBishop of Canterbury.

1.2 E.H. Bousfield to Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1881-07-25
(LPL, Tait, vol. 279, ff. 183-184.)

July 25th 1881

To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury

etc _____ etc _____

My Lord Archbishop

I have the honour to report to your Grace that I only handed to Mr Herbert today the Bishop of Pretoria's letters upon which he promised to confer with Lord Kimberley, and write me if anything could be done. He quite thought it expedient for the Bishop to get away from Pretoria, and did not consider there would be any Episcopal work in the Transvaal and therefore suggested that the Bishop should be removed elsewhere, a point which I told him I had already brought under the notice of your Grace. I subsequently saw Mr Tucker, of the S.P.G., and he remarked spontaneously that the solution of the difficulty would be to translate the Bishop to Adelaide. It would be a great gain to the Church and some recognition of the Bishop's sufferings and self-sacrifice if this were accomplished.

I have the honour to be

My Lord ArchBishop

Your Grace's obedient Servant

E.H. Bousfield

99 Gresham Street EC

I have the honour to be My Lord ArchBishop

Your Grace's most obed[ient] servant

E.H. Bousfield

99 Gresham Street EC

July 16, 1881

The Right Revd His Grace

The ArchBishop of Canterbury.

1.2 E.H. Bousfield to Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1881-07-25
(LPL, Tait, vol. 279, ff. 183-184.)

July 25th 1881

To His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury

etc _____ etc _____

My Lord Archbishop

I have the honour to report to your Grace that I only handed to Mr Herbert today the Bishop of Pretoria's letters upon which he promised to confer with Lord Kimberley, and write me if anything could be done. He quite thought it expedient for the Bishop to get away from Pretoria, and did not consider there would be any Episcopal work in the Transvaal and therefore suggested that the Bishop should be removed elsewhere, a point which I told him I had already brought under the notice of your Grace. I subsequently saw Mr Tucker, of the S.P.G., and he remarked spontaneously that the solution of the difficulty would be to translate the Bishop to Adelaide. It would be a great gain to the Church and some recognition of the Bishop's sufferings and self-sacrifice if this were accomplished.

I have the honour to be

My Lord ArchBishop

Your Grace's obedient Servant

E.H. Bousfield

99 Gresham Street EC

1.3 Tucker (SPG) to Davidson, private secretary to Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury (LPL, Tait, vol. 279, f. 185.)

25th July, 1881

Private

My dear Davidson

I have been a little concerned this morning in a long interview with Mr Bousfield to find that he is bent on bringing his brother home from Pretoria.

_____ you ultimately but in the first instance to raise money. The latter he certainly will not do if it be known that the former is among his plans. Mr Bousfield, as an Auctioneer, is accustomed to deal with things on a larger scale & knows nothing of the way in wh[ich] Colonial Churches creep up from small beginnings. The brother - the Bishop - has rather a large idea of things and from the first he has gone on in a way few Colonial Bishops affect. He ought never to have gone to Pretoria with 8 children, but he was determined to be a Bishop & this weakness was generally known. His return will be _____ & disgrace to himself & put damage on the cause. The fact of the Transvaal not being a Colony is nothing to the point. There are half a million Native heathen in the Diocese - but I think a man with fewer children & not soured by disappointment would do better. Meanwhile he has great gifts of organisation - of power of speech - of sympathy & of influence and so I venture to impart to you what has occurred to myself some weeks ago that if he could be translated to Adelaide it would be a good thing all round. Forgive my suggesting this to you & believe me always.

Y[ou]rs

H. Tucker

1.4 E.H. Bousfield to Davidson, private secretary to Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1881-07-29 (LPL, Tait, vol. 279, ff. 188-189.)

RD¹

wait for Col[onial] Office reply.²

Ar[ch]b[isho]p no reasons to suppose he will be consulted about Adelaide.

THE BISHOP OF PRETORIA'S SPECIAL FUND FOR AIDING CHURCH WORK IN THE TRANSVAAL, SOUTH AFRICA

The Revd Davidson

etc,

Lambeth Palace

Revd & Dear Sir

Will you do me the favour to report to his Grace, the Archbishop, that I have seen Canon Farrer, & Canon Fleming, but have not heard anything further from Canon Wilkinson.

Canon Farrer can do nothing at St Margaret's but will beg & get something done at the Abbey. -

Canon Fleming can do nothing with his congregation, - because they are dispersed, - but will try & do something at York whither he goes into residence next week. -

From the Colonial office, I have not yet heard. -

I scraped up £90 last week & sent it to the bishop - "a drop in the bucket" ! -

¹R. Davidson, private secretary to Archbishop Tait.

²Public Record Office, Kew, London, holds the Colonial Office records. Since this question is to do with the Bishop of Pretoria, the letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury should be under the Transvaal papers but it is not there. (Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, Transvaal, 00291/14.)

Mean while what can be done? do devise something for his relief if any idea can come to mind. -

And may I beg you to remind his Grace of what I am sure he will hear on all hands, the suitability of the man for Adelaide and Adelaide for the man. -

The present relief of the bishop should be accomplished, and for the Church's sake, his future provided for -

With best respects

I am

Revd & Dear Sirs

Y{ou]rs faithfully

E.H. Bousfield

99 Gresham Street EC

July 29, 1881

APPENDIX 2 : Memoranda from the Bishop of Pretoria

2.1 H.B. Bousfield, Memorandum on the income of the see of Pretoria, 1880-01-21 (LPL, Tait, vol.266, ff.206-208) and (Wits, AB867, Abl.1)

Diocese of Pretoria

Memorandum on Income of the See

- I It is with much regret that I am compelled so early to call attention to the Income of my See, and to urge the Council of the Colonial Bishopricks' Fund, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to consider it and take some steps for its augmentation, but the absolute necessity of increasing it, or of my immediate resignation, compels me to do so. I cannot see my wife and children sicken from want of proper food, and I cannot and will not get into debt, one of these I must do unless the income is increased, from the year 1881.
- II The income is now £600 per annum, made up of the sums (1) £218,14,0, - the interest on £5468,11,4 (at my last account) capital in the hands of the Trustees of the Colonial Bishopricks Fund, and (2) £381,6,0 a grant from the S.P.G.
- III This income was fixed, and I was induced to accept it as sufficient, upon the following grounds.
1. The income of the Clergy was, where possible, made up to £300, & therefore double was considered proper for the Bishop. (1 Tim. V.17.)
 2. The salaries of some of the higher officials of Government such as the state secretaries etc were the then existing government from £600 to £800 per annum, & therefore it was concluded sufficient for the Bishop.

3. The reported prices of provisions in Pretoria led to the belief that living would not prove expensive.

IV But experience has utterly upset these foundations.

1. The clergy increase their incomes by keeping school and acting as Chaplains to the troops, and then can scarcely manage, or else live in most painful and degrading poverty and disorder. I am now offering £500 for a Clergyman for Pretoria.

2. The stipends of all Government, & Public officers have been increased, within the last year, from necessity, to meet the cost of living, and this yet leaves them in straits to find competent men.

3. The price of articles formerly quoted, has doubled and trebled within the last few years, and must continue so, not only through the present political state of the Country, but permanently until railway communication is opened, which must be a work of years.

Pretoria is 400 miles from Durban, the port of Natal, 700 from Port Elizabeth, and 1000 from Cape Town both in the Cape Colony. In every case the difficulties of transport are great, and the rates have been 70/- per cwt, that is 8^d per lb. They are now very low but still 25/- per cwt or 3^d per lb, and during the winter half of the year will be double this at least. This cost of transport has to be added to customs, & freight from England or elsewhere, making important articles enormous: while the lack of supply, and political troubles make home grown articles almost equally so.

Take as specimens. Bread is 6^d per lb, best flour 1/- per lb, sugar 1/- for the coarsest brown, salt 1/- soda 1/-. Milk is 1/- a pint, in winter 2/-. Butter 5/- to 9/- a lb. Beef & mutton 8^d, while many things accounted necessaries in England are not to be had.

The outside value of £1 is 13/4^d, which makes £600 = £400 at the most.

- V Twelve months experience has shown me that £1000 a year is the very least on which a Bishop can live here and do his work. Others say £1500, and to the judgment of many of these I am the more inclined to bow because they have proved right, when other advisers were wrong on this very subject.
- VI I know well the claims on the Church at home, made by her Colonial children, and those on the Colonial Bishopricks Fund, but it would be a pity for me to resign. (1) because of the evil precedent and public general reasons which I need not enter on (2) because though overwhelmed with difficulties I am not daunted yet, and the task will I fear daunt others especially if I were to resign (3) because so far as I can judge of and for myself I am "the right man in the right place" and (4) if I resigned, it would be impossible to get any decently qualified man to come here if he knew what coming meant (5) it would be a great disaster if the Bishopric remained vacant. There is much most trying work to be done and none but a Bishop can do it.
- VII I must therefore urge upon the Council of the fund to make a fresh grant for raising the endowment of the Bishopric, and therefore the Income, and the Society for Propagation of the Gospel to increase their grant until the endowment can be made sufficient.
- VIII The income might be greatly increased by investing one half of the Capital in the Colony. The diocese is not yet ripe for a Synod, and cannot be for some years, so scattered are the people, so hard their struggle for a living, & so careless are they about religion, but I have taken counsel with competent men, on this subject, and now enclose a certificate of four of the most competent and worthy, shewing that part of the Capital might be safely invested in the Colony at 10 pcent. This could be done in the name of the Bishop and his successors or of the Provincial Trustees (though this last is open to practical difficulties) until a Synod could otherwise arrange.

IX To put my proposals into a brief and definite form, I would ask.

1. That if possible the Capital be raised to £6000.
2. That one half of the amount is invested in the Colony. This would produce an income, thus:-

£3000 invested at 10 pcent (in Colony)	£300
£3000 at (say 3 ¹ / ₂ pcent (at Home)	£115
	£415

3. That S.P.G. increase their grant by £100, if required, so as to make £900 for the next seven years, when, if God continue my life and usefulness, I will hope to see England once more for a year at least and would make work to raise sufficient endowment.

X I am aware this may seem very selfish, and a narrow view of other claims, but only to be superficial. It is not selfish to strive to put the main spring in order tho' that main spring may affect oneself, and in all the Colonial Church, which I know fairly well, I know no parallel to my own task & condition, a task from which I do not shrink if only the condition be made tolerable for those dearer far than the life I gladly give to the Church's call and work.

All this I submit to the consideration of the Council and Society in the earnest hope that they may be able so effectually to aid, as to allow of my continuing at my post, and in my work for the next six years at least, without returning home, & to beg.

H.B. Pretoria

January 21, 1880

2.2 J. Turton, R.W.J. Johnston, R.C. Green, H.W. Struben, Certificate on the memorandum on the income of the see of Pretoria, 1881-01-20, (Wits, AB867, Abl.1)

Copy

We the undersigned, having been consulted by the Bishop of Pretoria as to the Investment in the Colony of certain endowments of the Bishop & clergy of this diocese certify with perfect confidence to the Trustees of the several Funds.

1. That money is ordinarily invested in this Colony at 10% which is the Bank rate of Discount.
2. That as much as 20% can be readily & safely made by investment in land & buildings.
3. That we could invest a sum of from £6000 to £10,000 at this time on first mortgages of valuable land at ten per cent per annum & that without the smallest risk, and this last is the method of investment that we would recommend.

(Signed) John Turton

General Manager

Transvaal Branches of the

Cape Commercial Bank.

R.W.J. Johnston.

Manager

Standard Bank of British

South Africa. Limited.

Rob^t C. Green.

H.W. Struben.

Pretoria

Transvaal.

20 Jan[uary] 1880

2.3 H.B. Bousfield, Memorandum by the Bishop of Pretoria as to the loss to the Church of his diocese, and to himself, thro' the proposed arrangements for the settlement of the Transvaal (USPG, D57, 1881, Africa, unnumbered but between H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Tucker, 1881-04-07, and H.B. Bousfield, Letter to H. Tucker, 1881-04-25)

I The Church's loss -

Since my consecration (Feb 2nd 1878) nearly £1500, of Church money has been spent in the outfits & passages of those who have come out to this diocese in her service, most, perhaps all of these, may now be compelled to abandon their posts, whereby this outlay will be thrown away.

2. The property of the Church at the time of annexation improved in value, & under improved prospects justified and demanded considerable outlay - Within the three years of my episcopate about £7500 has been spent on these improvements and on Churches, Schools, & houses of residence for the Clergy - The Churches will now be left with greatly diminished, and in some cases, no congregations, the Schools without pupils and the houses without residents and the property be valueless in the market -

3. The disturbance and impoverishment of the people, who have hitherto done well in supporting the Church & Clergy will involve the latter in more or less distress, and may compel them to abandon their posts -

4. Arrangements have been made with at least one Clergyman who has resigned, I fear, a living in England, in order to come to Pretoria, on a guaranteed income of £400 a year, with house rent up to £100. This gentleman[']s loss I cannot fully estimate, and it may be my own, if I be held responsible for it -

5. Arrangements have also been entered into and pecuniary engagements made, for which the Church property under my own control, would have stood if necessary, a sufficient guarantee, while every ground existed for expecting to fulfil them from extraneous assistance - This aid cannot now be expected, and the property would not sell for sufficient to meet the claims if pressed, (which the necessities of the claimants may compel them

to do) - So that the Church may lose much of what she still holds, and a balance against her remain for which I should be personally and immediately responsible -

6. The change in the condition of Pretoria, as to safety, security and convenience may compel a change of Diocesan Head Quarters, Cathedral, & Bishop[']s abode, ect [sic] involving very heavy loss -

7. The Church's dead loss cannot be set at less than £5000, and may more probably reach £10,000, or even more.

II My private risks and losses, through this revolution, can only I think be expressed by one word, utter ruin -

1. Immediate, through the responsibility referred to in sections 4 & 5 above -

2. Prospective, thro' (1) depreciation of my little private property in the Transvaal & (2) of all that I hold officially in lieu of the much better which I gave up in England - (3) the loss of all spent in the change of position, (4) the irreparable injury to my wife & children by the serious changes which will be made in Pretoria (5) possibly the removal to a more safe & convenient place of residence - My private loss cannot be reckoned at less than £2500 besides much which no money can repay -

H.B. Pretoria

April 7-1881 -

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1. PRIMARY SOURCES

1.1 Manuscript and typescript material

This material is arranged according to the Archives researched at

- 1.1.1 Church of the Province of Southern Africa Archives, University of the Witwatersrand Library, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The majority of manuscript material on this topic is to be found here.

AB 383 Bousfield Papers 1861 - 1902.

included within this collection is

- Bousfield, H.B. Acta Book 1878 - 1899. MSS.
- Bousfield correspondence etc. MSS.
- Letterbooks 1861 - 1887, 9 vols. MSS.

AB 867 Selected records of the Archbishops of Cape Town.

- Aa2 Diocese of Pretoria 1876 - 1905. (Aa2.1; Aa2.2)
- Aa5 Diocese of Zululand 1875 - 1889
- Aa6 Diocese of Bloemfontein 1860-1945 (Aa6.1; Aa6.2; Aa6.3)
- Ab1 Diocese of Pretoria 1876 - 1888. (Ab1.1; Ab1.2)
- Ab3 Diocese of Zululand 1869 - 1890. (Ab3.1; Ab3.4; Ab3.5; Ab3.8)
- Ab5 Diocese of Bloemfontein 1863 - 1890. (Ab5.5)

AB 890 Bousfield Collection : Photograph Albums and Scrapbook 1869 - 1907.

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Lagden, G.Y. Diaries 1878 - 1881. MSS. Lagden Papers, Afr s 143-145; Afr s 148.

1.1.11 Hove Public Library, Hove, Britain.

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----- Wolseley MSS, SA2, South Africa 1879 - 1880 Military Private Letterbook.

----- Wolseley MSS, W/P, letters between Lord and Lady Wolseley.

1.1.12 R. Keel, Horsham, Surrey, Britain.

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