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ANGLICAN MISSIONARY POLICY IN THE DIOCESE OF GRAHAMSTOWN  
UNDER THE FIRST TWO BISHOPS, 1853-1871.

A Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts

by

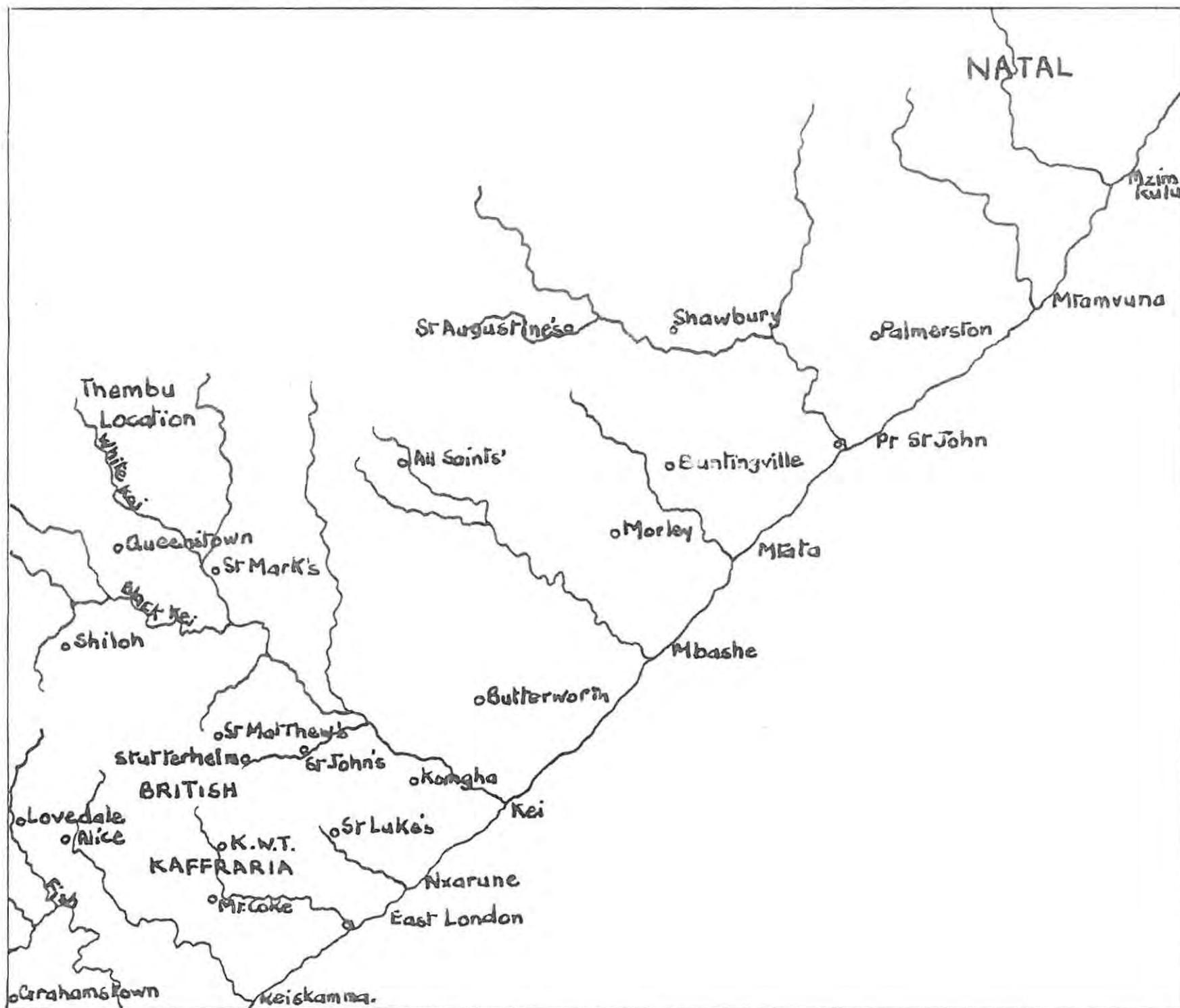
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Sites of Mission Stations

## PREFACE

I am grateful to the many people who have helped to make the completion of this research and the writing of this thesis such a worthwhile experience, but would like especially to thank Mr Mike Berning, Mrs Sandy Fold and Mrs Melanie Webb of the Cory Library for their thorough and patient assistance; Miss Margaret Cartwright of the South African Library for a very fruitful correspondence; Mrs Anna Cunningham and Miss Marcelle Jacobson of the University of the Witwatersrand Library, and Father Carl Garner, for pointing out valuable material to me; Mr Tim Fairhead and Miss Barbara McGahey of the Grahamstown diocesan office for allowing generous access to manuscripts; and my supervisor, Professor Calvin Cook.

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Abbreviations used in the footnotes.

- BB : Blue Book of the Cape.
- Carter : A Memoir of John Armstrong, D.D. by T.T.Carter.
- C.C. : Church Chronicle.
- C.M.B. : Conference Minute Book.
- du Toit : The Cape Frontier: A Study of Native Policy, 1846-1866 by A.E. du Toit.
- GDA : Grahamstown Diocesan Archives.
- Instructions : "Instructions for the Guidance of those engaged in the Mission Work in the Diocese of Grahamstown."
- M.F. : Mission Field.
- SPG : United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel - African Archives.

INTRODUCTION

In 1843 a committee of the Colonial Bishproprics Fund appointed to investigate the state of the Church of England at the Cape of Good Hope, recommended the formation of a bishopric, and suggested that the bishop settle in the eastern districts of the colony, with an arch-deacon in Cape Town. The report continued:

... (the bishop) would be enabled to visit Cape Town, and its district on the one hand; and on the other hand would be near enough to regulate ... the exertions of those who are labouring to spread the Gospel among the heathen tribes who adjoin the Cape Colony; whilst he would himself reside in the midst of an English population.<sup>1</sup>

Three significant principles had been enunciated: the church was to grow under a bishop, the church would have a dual mission to blacks and whites, and the colony's eastern frontier, long a political and military headache, was seen as the focus of a new and spiritual battle.

Contact between Nguni tribesmen and the eastward-moving European trekboer began in the region of the Fish River during the rule of the Dutch East India Company. Cattle and land were the main ingredients of the frontier conflict. From the point of view of the white settler, the growing cattle trade meant an increased need for pasture, but although the motive for expansion was economic, frontiersmen had come to regard large lands as their birthright. The semi-nomadic pastoral economy of the Nguni also required abundance of land, which was vested in the tribe. To the tribesmen, their cattle had a political, social and religious significance which transcended the economic. Cattle were sacrificed to the ancestors to propitiate the shades of the departed and to secure the prosperity of the tribe. The years of conflict, the constant threat to their herds and their land, undermined the basis of Nguni society, without providing it with a new foundation.

The first frontier war broke out in 1770, and the next eighty years were marked by attempts, first by the Dutch, and after 1806,

/by...

by the British, to define a frontier and maintain peace along it. The line of the Fish River was declared the border in 1778; in 1819 the area between the Fish and the Keiskamma was proclaimed neutral territory, and by 1834 there was an attempt to drive the Xhosa beyond the Kei, but this policy did not meet with the approval of the imperial government and was reversed. Instead, a system of treaties with the chiefs was introduced, and government agents were stationed beyond British territory, but this scheme was ended by the 1846 War of the Axe, seventh of the border wars. Besides using military force and diplomacy, the government attempted to secure peace for the frontier by encouraging intensive agricultural settlement along it. If frontiersmen grew vegetables, there could be no cattle-raiding, and if they lived close together, more men would be available for border defence in the event of war. Such was the reasoning behind the settlement of 1820 and of Khoikhoi in the Kat River Valley.

There was recognition, at the same time, that enforcement of rigid separation along the frontier was impossible. Contact therefore had to be controlled. An ordinance of 1828 decreed that Nguni work-seekers in the colony had to have passes issued by a white official at a frontier post<sup>2</sup>, and in 1817 a twice-yearly fair was instituted in Grahamstown. By 1824 this had grown to a thrice-weekly market held at a fort on the Keiskamma.<sup>3</sup> In 1835 Mfengu<sup>4</sup> were allowed to settle inside the colony near Peddie.

In 1848 the energetic Sir Harry Smith<sup>5</sup> annexed to the Cape the land up to the Keiskamma River. The land between the Keiskamma and the Kei was declared British Kaffraria, and though inhabited solely by blacks, was to be governed by a white administration. Smith's dictatorial policy towards the tribes culminated in the Mlanjeni<sup>6</sup> War, which lasted three years, and cost an imperial government as concerned with economy as with humanitarianism, two million pounds.<sup>7</sup> Sir George Cathcart's governship intervened and was marked by confiscation of yet more tribal land, but Harry Smith's policy had prepared both the Colony and the British government for a new governor with a fresh policy. The scene was set for the arrival of Sir George Grey.

Government officials stationed beyond the frontier, movements of Nguni into the colony to seek employment or to trade, the expeditions of hunters, traders and adventures into tribal territory, the coming and going of Khoikhoi who acted as interpreters and intermediaries<sup>8</sup>

/between...

between Nguni and European, and also the work of Christian missionaries within and beyond the borders of the colony, contributed towards making the frontier an area of interaction,<sup>9</sup> rather than a line of separation broken only by raid and counter-raid.

The Christian missionaries, much criticized and often caricatured by later generations as crude apostles of western imperialism,<sup>10</sup> were accused by contemporaries of hindering proper relations between master and potential servant.<sup>11</sup> The knowledge they gained of African life through their work was often invaluable to government, and their aid was enlisted as government agents,<sup>12</sup> but the reason for their coming, though mixed with a variety of purely human motives, was primarily a response to Christ's command to preach the gospel to men everywhere. Missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society had been at work since 1819,<sup>13</sup> and the first Wesleyan station opened in 1823,<sup>14</sup> but here, as elsewhere, the Anglicans were conspicuous only by their absence.

The status of the Church of England in southern Africa before 1848 was undefined, and the life of the church was at a low ebb. Services were held by permission of the governor,<sup>15</sup> and in 1848 there were only fourteen clergy serving the Anglicans scattered throughout the vast area.<sup>16</sup> A bishop had called at the Cape in 1835 and again in 1843:<sup>17</sup> in the intervals, no candidates could be confirmed, no clergy ordained and no churches consecrated. There was no parochial structure, and no awareness of the church as a corporate body. Funds for such work as there were were provided by the governing establishment and the S.P.G. Three isolated attempts at mission work, at Wynberg,<sup>18</sup> at Port Natal,<sup>19</sup> and at Dingaan's kraal<sup>20</sup> had petered out.

The first bishop of this amorphous province, Robert Gray,<sup>21</sup> was consecrated, perhaps prophetically, on St. Peter's day, 1847. Gray was determined that the church in South Africa should govern itself without interference from secular government by synods, and that it should become self supporting in men and money. His own mission, and that of the church, was to be two-fold; not to white colonists only, but to blacks within and beyond the borders of the Cape.

In practice, this task was almost ludicrous in its immensity. Gray undertook two visitations of his enormous diocese. In 1848 he spent four months on tour, travelling from Cape Town to the Kei, and in 1850 he travelled to Natal and back. On each journey, he held services

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wherever possible, confirmed hundreds of colonists, and arranged for the building of churches.

As to mission work among blacks, in King William's Town on the 7th October, 1848, Robert Gray was introduced to the assembled Xhosa chiefs, Sarili<sup>22</sup> of the Gcaleka, Mhala<sup>23</sup> of the Ndlambe, and the Ngqika Sandile,<sup>24</sup> by Sir Harry Smith, who told them

... that the great Father of the Christians, the Lord Bishop, the chief Minister in this land of all the Church and religion of our Queen, who was appointed to teach him and all in this land the way to Heaven ... had come to ask them how he could do them good, and especially to see if he could establish schools amongst them, or send missionaries to them.<sup>25</sup>

Of this encounter, Gray wrote;

In all probability I should never have had such another opportunity of being introduced, under favourable circumstances, to these chiefs. Now I trust the way is paved for future missions ... should we be able to enter upon the work.<sup>26</sup>

It was thus a military governor and representative of the imperial government who introduced the spiritual head of the British possessions in southern Africa to the gathered chiefs for the first time.

Gray's experience and observations during his early years as Bishop of Cape Town led to the tentative formulation of an African mission policy, and a recognition of areas of difficulty, although little was achieved in practice. Gray saw no objection to government support and aid for mission work<sup>27</sup> although he had spoken to the chiefs and was aware of their suspicion of the new faith as a threat to their power.<sup>28</sup> He was also aware of their interest in missionaries as harbingers of a store rather than of spiritual benefits, and held the conventional but misinformed opinion that Africa had no religion.<sup>29</sup> Where possible, Gray visited mission stations of other denominations, and especially admired the Moravian pattern,<sup>30</sup> although he frowned on their countenance of polygamy. Mission clergy should learn to speak the vernacular,<sup>31</sup> and should also receive small salaries. The education given in mission schools should suit the social status and expectations of the pupils.<sup>32</sup>

The first Anglican move to establish a mission among the Nguni came in 1850. On the invitation of the Governor, Gray decided to open a station at Mhala's kraal,<sup>33</sup> a region unoccupied by other missions. He planned to send a priest, a deacon and an interpreter to the chief's

/kraal....

kraal, where they were to erect the most simple buildings. Clergy in Grahamstown had promised to raise £100 a year towards the support of the mission, but Gray hoped the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in England would provide both money and staff for the enterprise, although Gray intended to ensure that the mission remained under episcopal supervision. Nathaniel Merriman actually visited Mhala in March, 1850,<sup>34</sup> and was welcomed by the chief, but no missionaries arrived to staff the mission, and by the end of the year, war had come to the troubled frontier. Missionary work began on a modest scale at Southwell, under Henry Tempest Waters,<sup>35</sup> who, in 1850 opened a school for the black children in his parish,<sup>36</sup> and the Archdeacon of Grahamstown, in the course of his numerous walking tours through his archdeaconry, preached to whatever African congregation he could find.<sup>37</sup>

Robert Gray realized that while he remained the only bishop in southern Africa, the church's mission work could never become effective. In February, 1852, Gray went to England with three clear aims: to obtain freedom of government for the colonial church; to appeal for men and money; to secure the subdivision of his diocese. His visit ended in December 1853 on a note of triumph:

The great object of my mission to England has been accomplished, and the Diocese is subdivided, able and devoted men appointed to the new Sees,... The Church will now, I think, fix her roots deep in South Africa. Had the Diocese remained undivided, our work must have languished and at length died out. Now there are three centres of unity; three central springs and sources of vigorous action; three Bishops to bring before the Church the claims of the perishing heathen of these vast and interesting countries.<sup>38</sup>

Gray's vision was glorious; the reality the new bishops of Grahamstown and Natal would face was less so. No English experience could prepare them for the enormous distances, the great expanses of flat, empty land or the dangerous mountain passes, the dirt tracks and primitive methods of transport, for the flaming heat of the African sun, the many flies and few inns, for occasions when there would be only muddy water to drink, or for rivers which could be raging torrents or parched beds. They would meet the men of the frontier, many of whom spoke a strange rough tongue, and would find, even among English colonists, total ignorance of the words of the Prayer Book. Also new would be the African tribes, men of a different culture and colour, whose language of clicks would sound totally new to European ears, a people pre-literate, polygamous, unaccustomed to Victorian propriety in dress, who lived in round houses, who knew only a barter economy, and seemingly had no

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religion. In the south eastern corner of the subcontinent, there was no diocesan structure, and there were no parish boundaries. The colony of Natal had only been annexed in 1843, the newly promoted cathedral city of Grahamstown was a frontier town less than fifty years old, and its cathedral church a squat and ugly building.

One of the men who responded to Gray's call and came to serve God and found the church in Africa, was John William Colenso,<sup>39</sup> who was to go to Natal: the other was John Armstrong.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. E.Hawkins, ed., Documents relative to the Erection and Endowment of Additional Bishopricks in the Colonies 1841-1855, p.26
2. T.R.H.Davenport, South Africa: a Modern History, p.37
3. M.Wilson and L.Thompson, eds., The Oxford History of South Africa, Vol. I, p.241.
4. Ibid., p.249
5. Henry George Wakelyn Smith (1787-1860), served in the Peninsular campaign and fought at Waterloo. From 1828 to 1840 he was quarter-master-general at the Cape. He went to India in 1840, and was knighted in 1843. He returned to the Cape in 1847, at the end of Seventh Frontier War. He annexed the land between the Orange and the Vaal, had to deal with the anti-convict legislation, and precipitation of the Mlanjeni War led to his recall in 1852.
6. Mlanjeni (c.1830-1853), Xhosa prophet of the Ciskei, who gained influence in the years after the Seventh Frontier War, which had left the Xhosa demoralized. Like Mahanna before him, and Mhlahaza after, he appealed to traditional religious values.
7. du Toit, p.68
8. M.Wilson and L.Thompson, eds. op.cit, p.246.
9. Ibid., chapter VI.
10. See N.Majeke, The role of the missionaries in conquest, perhaps the most well-known exponent of this view.
11. N,J.Merriman, Are the missionaries mischief-workers? attempts to answer this charge.

12. P.B.Hinchliff, The Church in South Africa, p.85
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p.33
15. P.B.Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.11
16. C.N.Gray, Life of Robert Gray, vol.I, p.17
17. C.Lewis and G.E.Edwards, Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, p.27
18. P.B.Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.19
19. Ibid., p.21
20. Ibid., p.22
21. Robert Gray (1809-1872), first Anglican bishop of Cape Town, and metropolitan, he was the son of a Bishop of Bristol. He had a degree from University College, Oxford, and while vicar of Whitworth, W.Durham, became a local secretary of the S.P.G. He came, with his remarkable wife Sophie, whom he had married in 1834, to Cape Town in 1847, and his history from that point becomes part of that of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa.
22. Sarili (Kreli), succeeded Hintsa as Xhosa paramount and Gcaleka chief in 1835. He entered into a formal treaty of friendship with the British in 1844. He took a leading rôle in the cattle killing and in 1858 was driven over the Mbashe, but returned to his former territory in 1864. William Fynn was appointed British resident with the tribe in 1864. Sarili died in 1892.
23. Mhala (1800-1875), Ndlambe chief. In 1837 he was settled between the Kei and Nxarune, and though involved in the seventh frontier war, kept his land. He maintained a token neutrality in 1850, and took a leading rôle in the cattle killing, in which he lost a large portion of his people. His land was confiscated, and he was imprisoned on Robben Island, but released in 1864.
24. Sandile (1820-1878), son of Ngqika, and heir to his chieftainship. When his father died, his mother acted as regent, with his half-brothers, until Sandile was of age. Because of his involvement in the war, he was deprived of land in 1847, and after the Mlanjeni war. He could not always control his subjects and his tribe was divided over the cattle killing.

25. R.Gray, A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony in 1848, p.42.
26. Ibid., p.47
27. C.N.Gray, Life of Robert Gray, vol.I, p.245.
28. R.Gray, A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony in 1850, p.102.
29. R.Gray, A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony in 1848, p.45.
30. R.Gray, A Journal of the Bishop's Visitation Tour through the Cape Colony in 1850, p.155
31. Ibid., p.203.
32. Ibid., p.211
33. C.N.Gray, Life of Robert Gray, vol.I, p.272.
34. D.H.Varley and H.M.Matthew, The Cape Journals of N.J.Merriman 1848-1855, pp.100f.
35. Henry Tempest Waters was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1819. He was ordained deacon by Robert Gray in 1850, when working at Southwell, where he remained until 1855, the year he was ordained priest. He went to found St. Mark's mission in 1855 and remained there until his death in 1883.
36. D.H.Varley and H.M.Matthew, The Cape Journals of N.J.Merriman 1848-1855, p.114
37. Ibid., p.53.
38. C.N.Gray, Life of Robert Gray, vol.I, p.372.
39. John William Colenso (1814-1883), had little regular schooling, but his career at Cambridge was brilliant: he was second wrangler in 1836. He spent 1838 to 1842 as mathematics tutor at Harrow. He was influenced by F.D.Maurice. Although a busy parish priest, he edited journals for the S.P.G. and in 1853 accepted the offer of the new bishopric of Natal. He established a diocesan centre at Bishopstowe, six miles from Pietermaritzburg, with the mission station, Ekukanyeni, nearby. He was involved in colonial politics as a champion of the Zulu people, but controversy centred round his willingness to regard polygamy as compatible with Christianity.

He was an outstanding Zulu linguist and translator, but his biblical criticism (and aggressive manner) led to his trial for heresy, and subsequent deposition, in 1863. The controversy with the Crown which ensued contributed much to the hammering out of a constitution for what became the Church of the Province of South Africa.

CHAPTER 1

BISHOP ARMSTRONG

When he was consecrated Bishop of the new see of Grahamstown on the 30th November 1853, second bishop of the fledgling Church of the Province of South Africa, John Armstrong had never seen his diocese, defined by Letters Patent as

... the Eastern Districts of the Cape of Good Hope, comprising the divisions of Albany, Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Fort Beaufort, Victoria, Somerset, Graaf Reinet, Cradock, Colesburg, and Queenstown, and all portions of the colony of the Cape not comprised in these divisions lying South of the Orange and East of the Orange River and the territories known as British Kaffraria.<sup>1</sup>

Armstrong arrived in September 1854, to begin the work of organizing the church among the colonists and of planting it among the heathen.

In December of the same year, a new governor arrived at the Cape, the first civil governor since the Earl of Caledon<sup>2</sup>, with a fresh plan for solving the problem of the eastern frontier, the area covered by Armstrong's diocese. Instead of trying, as his predecessors had done, to prevent or regiment contact between the races, Sir George Grey<sup>3</sup> made integration the basis of his policy:

The plan I propose to pursue... is to attempt to gain an influence over all the tribes included between the present... boundary of this Colony and Natal by employing them upon public works which will tend to open up their country; by establishing institutions for the education of their children and the relief of their sick; by introducing among them institutions of a civil character suited to their present condition; and by these and other means to attempt gradually to win them to civilization and Christianity, and thus to change by degrees our present unconquered and apparently irreclaimable foes into friends who may have common interests with ourselves.<sup>4</sup>

Grey's policy would challenge tribal society in the linked spheres of authority, law and land. He had had great success with a similar policy in New Zealand (where conditions were very different, a factor Grey seems to have ignored<sup>5</sup>) and the imperial parliament was willing to grant £40,000 a year for three years<sup>6</sup>, as Grey requested, to support a scheme designed to put an end to war. The Governor also had at his disposal £5000 reserved for the Border Department under Schedule D of the 1853 Constitution Ordinance.<sup>7</sup>

In March 1855, he unfolded his plans to the Cape Parliament. This body, although not paying for Grey's plans, had a stake in them: if they succeeded, not only would there be peace on the frontier, but a plentiful supply of labour and land. Grey announced his intention of employing tribesmen to build roads through their home lands, teaching habits of industry and creating a network of roads which would facilitate control in peace and war. Grey's plans to settle white farmers among the tribesmen were not immediately carried out, but by the end of 1855 he had induced the chiefs to accept white magistrates, and although African law would be applied in Kaffraria, it received no formal recognition.<sup>8</sup> Grey's scheme presented an immediate challenge to Armstrong. Much of the work done by missionaries had been destroyed by the Mlanjeni war, and Grey's offer would help them begin again.<sup>9</sup> The Anglican Church, shamefully Armstrong felt,<sup>10</sup> had done nothing, and he was eager to make use of the opportunity provided by the Governor to begin mission work at once, especially as the resources at his own disposal were slender. His annual stipend was £800,<sup>11</sup> and he had been given £700 towards his passage and outfit.<sup>12</sup> The only other funds at his disposal were the fruits of his own begging between his appointment to the see and his departure from England on the 22nd July, 1854. The problems which could possibly arise in the minds of tribesmen from an alliance between church and state do not seem to have occurred to Armstrong. It was in fact the Bishop who approached Sir George Grey first: on the 5th July, 1854, while both were still in England, he wrote to the Governor from 7 Queen's Terrace, Bayswater, and requested

... the benefit of a talk... about the scene of my future missionary labours...<sup>13</sup>

There is no evidence that this meeting ever took place, and certainly no hint that the Bishop had any advance information on the policy Grey intended to follow when he took up his new charge.

John Armstrong was born in 1813; from Charterhouse he went to Lincoln College, Oxford, from where he graduated in 1836, having been moved to stricter observance of the rubric, a deeper religious experience, and a greater affection for the Church of England, by the "Tracts for the Times". He was not an entirely obscure figure, having established the Church Penitentiary Association,<sup>14</sup> but the author of a memoir wrote that "Mr Armstrong was not a systematic man"<sup>15</sup> He was, however, a man of vision:

/Africa...

Africa lies before us as a great field for spiritual enterprise, and the day I trust will come when native ministers, taught by us, will again teach the tribes beyond them, and so go on widening and widening the blessed empire of our Lord Saviour, till the light reaches from north to south, and from east to west.<sup>16</sup>

This determination to take the Anglican Church beyond the English Colonial population was combined with a practical ignorance of the religion of the people he was hoping to convert:

They are without a God, true or false. They have no worship whatever. They have no word in their language which represents any idea, however imperfect or however mistaken, of any Supreme Being, that has love and goodness as His attributes.<sup>17</sup>

In about July 1854, independently of both Governor and Bishop, the first Anglican mission to the frontier tribes was established near the kraal of the Ndlambe chief, Mhala, by Edward Clayton,<sup>18</sup> priest, and William Garde, catechist, with a carpenter and a stone mason, and on the 18th October, 1854, St. Luke's Day, the foundation stone of the church was laid,<sup>19</sup> a week after Armstrong sailed into Algoa Bay, and set eyes on his diocese for the first time. The Anglicans had made a small beginning: Armstrong had not formulated a mission policy, but was to find that the Governor's plans thrust one upon him.

In December 1854, Armstrong wrote to Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of the

... great and golden opportunity for missionary work, on a great and noble scale... presented by God's mercy to the Church of England in South Africa, through the plans of the new Governor, Sir George Grey.<sup>20</sup>

The Bishop added:

I had intended before this great news of Sir George Grey's plan had arrived, to have addressed a very urgent appeal to the Society for increased aid in mission work; but now I must learn to enlarge my own views.<sup>21</sup>

He requested the Society to send clergy and catechists to Grahamstown, and asked for a grant of £4000 a year for five years from the Society.

On the 2nd January, 1855, Armstrong set out on his first visitation of his diocese: he was particularly anxious to visit Keiskamma Hoek, established as military centre in 1853, because the Mfengu living there had no missionary nearby. The area had belonged to the Ngqika until the Mlanjeni war, when they were expelled, their lands declared a Crown Reserve, and the government's Mfengu allies granted holdings there.<sup>22</sup>

The Bishop's wife described the scene which took place on the 11th January, 1855:

They had an interesting interview, the old chief was in the centre surrounded by his wives and counsellors, and the four Englishmen on horseback before them. When the Bp. said he wished to teach them his religion and also to plough and dig and till their land, they caught eagerly at the industrial part of the instruction... It is to be feared that the Fingo character is not a noble one and that the only development it is capable of is in the line of money getting.<sup>23</sup>

Her husband's view was more sanguine:

... we might well be thankful if any interest we took in their temporal welfare were the means of inspiring that confidence which might afterwards incline them the more to listen to the very Word of Life.<sup>24</sup>

On this occasion, the Bishop did not go as a suppliant: the chief agreed to allow the formation of a mission, but the land grant would come from the Governor.

On the 15th January, Armstrong came to Mhala's kraal, with St. Luke's mission nearby. There was an informal meeting with the chief, after which tobacco was distributed.<sup>25</sup> The next day, at a more formal meeting in the chapel, with the chief in a front seat, the Bishop in his robes

... told Umhalla that we were to teach him the truth in God's Name, that I put the missionaries under his charge and protection as chief, and that I hoped both he himself would listen to the good words which they would teach, and also urge his people to give heed to this teaching.<sup>26</sup>

Outside the chapel Armstrong assured Mhala that he had no wish to interfere with the authority of a chief, but to respect it,<sup>27</sup> and Mhala responded by promising to grant more land to the mission.<sup>28</sup>

Anxious to be in Grahamstown when the Governor arrived there to meet the heads of religious bodies, Armstrong set off on his return journey on the 17th January.<sup>29</sup> The Governor arrived in the city on the 24th January. This interview was crucial. Armstrong was afraid that if he failed to commit the Anglican Church, the opportunity of receiving government aid would be lost. He could not be sure his measures would be approved or supported by the Church in England, but he held a synod of local clergy. After Communion, he and twelve of his clergy met and discussed mission work:

It was resolved that we should at once boldly venture to commit the Church of England to a considerable work in the way of Missions among the Kafirs, and it was resolved that we should choose those tribes or places where no other religious body was at work.<sup>30</sup>

Spheres of operation settled on at the meeting were the tribes of Mhala and Sandile, and the Mfengu at Keiskamma Hoek, with a school and mission in Grahamstown. The fifth site chosen had implications for both church and state:

... we also fixed on the Chief Kreli's country which as regards peace and war is completely interwoven with the rest of Kafirland though it lies beyond the legal Boundary of my Diocese and is not under British rule.<sup>31</sup>

Armstrong accepted that the Church had a peace-keeping rôle on the frontier: he was also clear that the real mission of the Church of England could not be restricted to the legal limits of British territory. Ironically, the Bishop's conviction that the Church of England could not be bound by imperial frontiers echoed Grey's own determination to extend the bounds of British possessions from the Cape to Natal, a determination not shared at this point by the imperial government.<sup>32</sup>

On the 10th February, 1855, Armstrong wrote to the S.P.G. giving details of George Grey's generosity, and outlining his own plans. In 1855, the governor would give the Bishop £4000 to spend on mission buildings, with another sum to complete them the following year. Armstrong asked the Society for £1,500 for 1855, a sum which he hoped would rise to an annual total of £4,000 and then gradually decrease as the farms which were to be attached to each mission became productive.<sup>33</sup> Merriman was to have his wish and to begin missionary work as first Archdeacon of Kaffraria, based at St. Luke's but itinerating and superintending the other missions.<sup>34</sup>

Armstrong's next step was to visit the chiefs Sarili and Sandile<sup>35</sup> to ask their permission to establish missions among their people. He set out on this second visitation on the 8th March, 1855. The two meetings were entirely successful in the Bishop's eyes: Sandile "breath(ed) words of peace and welcome",<sup>36</sup> and agreed to allow the missionaries to choose their own site near his kraal. The encounter with Sarili across the Kei was equally favourable.<sup>37</sup>

Merriman's hope was not to be fulfilled: his wife could not bear the isolation of mission life, but the Archdeacon, before returning to Grahamstown, visited Sarili, chose a site for the new mission and ordered the building of some huts.<sup>38</sup> He continued to take an interest in mission work but the rôle he was intended to fill was taken over by John Hardie,<sup>39</sup>

/After...

After his visitation, Armstrong was able to send a detailed estimate of the cost of the spiritual work to the S.P.G., in the expectation that the government would pay for the industrial. On the 23rd March, 1855,<sup>40</sup> he wrote and asked the Society for £1,500 to spend on the station near Mhala's kraal, on the new establishment at Sarili's, and on the mission for Grahamstown, which had not yet been commenced. For 1856, £3000 would be needed, and for 1857, £4,000. Not only money was needed: he asked that four clergymen and two catechists be sent out at once. He apparently received a favourable reply, for on the 18th July, 1855, he wrote a jubilant letter to Hawkins, thanking him for the grant of £1,500 and promising to use the amount frugally, "so as not to press the Society for one farthing more than is absolutely necessary."<sup>41</sup> He was also looking forward to more aid from George Grey, for buildings and agricultural work. He proposed to pay married clergy £200 a year, and single men £150.<sup>42</sup>

It is quite clear that the Bishop had no head for business. This was unfortunate as all the financial dealings of the Church passed through his hands, including the accounts for both industrial and spiritual work at the various missions, and the stipends and travel expenses of his clergy. His biographer claims that the accounts of his dealings with the S.P.G. were kept with great accuracy,<sup>43</sup> but while one may accept the claim that Armstrong neither wasted money nor exceeded his grant nor indulged in any form of corruption, it is apparent that his records were by no means methodical. His more systematic successor wrote to the Society on the 13th June, 1857, complaining that the diocesan accounts of past years were in a mess, and proposing a definite scheme to be followed in financial relations between his diocese and the S.P.G. headquarters in London.<sup>44</sup> It had never occurred to Armstrong that such a system could be established and that it would ease his own hated task of paymaster. Armstrong, although eager to use Grey's offers of financial help, was anxious that concern for receipts and accounts should not draw his attention away from his spiritual rôle.<sup>45</sup>

There was no formal contract between Grey and Armstrong, but rather a loose form of co-operation in which the Governor, recognizing the fact that Christian missions could assist him in his plans to create community of interests on the eastern frontier, would aid them in industrial operations and mission buildings. Missionaries were not the only agents of change at work: traders, magistrates and government officials were introduced into British Kaffraria. Nor was there always absolute agreement between Bishop and Governor on certain issues. Of African custom as he had observed it, Armstrong wrote:

Their laws seem, on the whole, equitable and good;<sup>46</sup>

Grey saw tribal law and custom as a bar to civilization, and was determined to replace them with a European system.

On the subject of religion, both Armstrong and the Governor were convinced that they knew the more excellent way, which did not mean that they had no differences of opinion on that subject. Armstrong's aim was the evangelization of tribesmen: he expected no rapid progress, but rather believed

... it to be a work that will need patience, that will try... steadfastness, that will make a strain upon hope;"<sup>47</sup>

Grey on the other hand was impatient to see results, expecting a visible return on expenditure. Armstrong had in fact warned Grey as early as January 1855:

You must remember that we Clergy do not pretend to be agriculturalists or men of business and all we promise is, to do our best in making use of the sums allotted to us.<sup>48</sup>

Grey expected the missions to become self-supporting and to civilize and subdue the tribesmen. Armstrong differed:

Nor are we very sanguine about the return for money spent in agriculture... that is, we are not sanguine that the crops will pay themselves. But we are sanguine in a high degree as to the influence of regular agricultural labour in the native character...<sup>49</sup>

In dealing with the Governor, the Bishop had not attempted to drive a hard bargain:

... we are quite prepared to take what you give whether it reaches the sum mentioned or falls below it. The thing I am most anxious about is, to have it settled. It is bad for the Missionaries, inexperienced as they are in such work, to go on without a fixed sum and I myself have been very anxious about money matters.<sup>50</sup>

It seems that Grey, despite Armstrong's warnings, gave vent to his dissatisfaction at the want of progress on Anglican mission stations, for in his report on the state of Anglican schools and missions dated the 14th April, 1856 and addressed to Rawson W. Rawson,<sup>51</sup> Armstrong adopted a very defensive tone, saying that he felt it was his duty to state that the task of the missionary among the fiercely independent Xhosa was more difficult than among the more docile Mfengu, who had been longer acquainted with European ways. The Bishop's report went on:

All this has affected, and must for some time, affect, our work; and it would be unreasonable to expect the same regular attendance at school, the same division of hours throughout the day, the same number of scholars gathered under one roof, the same willingness to

be bound as apprentices, in short, the same systematic work that can be carried on among those dwelling in the neighbourhood, or in the midst of a European population. All our proceedings must be somewhat desultory, unsystematic and irregular; and yet, though from this circumstance we shall not be able to make any great show upon paper, the work itself is most momentous, requires a large share of public aid, and, when further developed, likely to exercise no slight influence in creating peaceful tendencies among the Kafirs.<sup>52</sup>

In this general survey of Anglican mission work, Armstrong was able to report that at all stations, building and farming operations had begun, and and only at St. John's on the Kubusi, near Sandile's kraal, was there not yet a school. If educational work had barely begun, the other part of the Governor's scheme was proving successful: Africans were willing to work on farms or at building and the availability of labour exceeded the demand. The Bishop ended his report with a summary of the amounts spent: on native labour £693.9.6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; on agricultural operations £1,288.10.9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; and on buildings £2,054.19.10, out of a total expenditure for 1855 of £5,127.10.0.<sup>53</sup> To Armstrong it was worthwhile:

If our Mission Stations become the nurseries of labour in addition to their being the sources of Christianity, the chief end of their establishment, we shall be doing, by God's blessing, a double work, - changing the heathen into the Christian, and the warlike Kaffir into the peaceful industrial friend of the colonist.<sup>54</sup>

Armstrong's 1856 report was the Bishop's attempt to show his missionaries and their work in the most favourable light to Sir George Grey who provided funds for the work. Armstrong, harassed by a strained relationship with the governor and by details of financial management, also found, as did his missionaries, that the chiefs through whom they made their initial approach to the tribesmen by no means easy to deal with. The situation was often complicated by conflict with missionaries of other denominations, and by natural conditions.

The showpiece of Anglican mission work, the station which caused Armstrong the least anxiety and produced the most attractive results was, as his report suggests, the mission to the Mfengu near the military post at Keiskamma Hoek. Sir George Grey had made a grant of land near the upper reaches of the Keiskamma River. On Armstrong's first visit there, he had also conducted a confirmation among the soldiers, and had found George Dacre, the military chaplain, an eager promoter of his own and George Grey's plans.<sup>55</sup>

/This...

This mission in the Amathole mountains was initially called Double Drift Mission Station, and was at first run by Dacre, engineer and priest, who engaged both soldiers and Mfengu to construct a pass through the mountains, to begin the buildings of what was to be St. Matthew's mission, and to clear the land so that it would be suitable for farming. He kept a careful account of the money he spent. Expenditure was divided into four main sections:

				56
Sundries and Materials	£365	16	8½	
Agriculturalist and Wagon	£184	4	11½	
Military labour	£220	10	7¼	
Fingo labour	£438	15	7	

Dacre also paid the Rev. H.B.Smith<sup>57</sup> £12.10, and the total amount spent was £1,223.13.3¼. A man called Cousins was employed as an agriculturalist, with James Gray engaged as a farm manager, but also employed as a mason at eight shillings a day. Mfengu worked for wages as servants on the farm, but the accounts suggest that they also received rations as part payment. The accounts also show that the oxen were used in the erection of buildings, except between the 22nd September and the 15th November and for the whole of December when the main work on the station was agricultural. Perhaps for this reason, no soldiers were employed after the 15th September, except for one day. These soldiers were men of the 6th Regiment, many of whom were altogether illiterate; the sergeant in charge was paid two shillings a day, and privates' pay ranged from 1/8 to 10d.

Mfengu were employed from the 24th April, to the 29th December, 1955. They came from three separate kraals, and a detailed weekly register was kept of their names and attendance. In June, as many as ninety men were at work, but during September, October and November, few were employed (only three for the whole of October), because funds were low. After the 12th May, the Mfengu were employed at task work at a shilling a day, with an extra shilling for satisfactory work: it was possible to earn up to three shillings a day, and Dacre wrote that thirty of the men he engaged on the 5th May, "proved themselves capable of doing as much work as any European."<sup>58</sup> One of Dacre's most important operations was the cutting of a watercourse.

H.B.Smith was the first missionary at St. Matthew's; his first task was to open a school, and as early as January 1856, the Mfengu were asking him to receive their children as boarders. George Grey was willing to help build dormitories, and plans and estimates were drawn up at once.<sup>59</sup>

The missions further from European settlement, where the law of the tribe and the authority of the chief were still strong, were slower in getting started, and the fruits of the work less obvious. After the Bishop had made the initial approach to the chief, a missionary was sent out. J.T.W.Allen<sup>60</sup> went to Sandile's in July 1855, to found St. John's. By this time, the mission to Mhala, St. Luke's, was nearly a year old. Stationed there was William Greenstock.<sup>61</sup> Even when missionaries had consent from the chiefs and money from the governor, and were ready to go ahead, the cattle sickness delayed work: at the beginning of June 1855, Hardie reported to Armstrong that he saw

... no prospect of rearing permanent buildings at once - The cattle - sickness is still so extremely bad that... he cannot get anything conveyed except it be carried on men's shoulders. All our own oxen at Umhallas have died and the rain has stopped all brick-making ... Sandill will not let an ox waggon come near him.<sup>62</sup>

The third mission to the Xhosa was under H.T.Waters, who had been at Southwell, and who went to establish a mission with the Xhosa paramount east of the Kei.

Choice of site for a mission to Sarili was fraught with difficulty. The first obstacle was opposition from the Wesleyans. Sarili had readily acceded to Armstrong's wish to send him a missionary, but wanted the Anglicans to go to Butterworth, formerly a Wesleyan site, while the Bishop would have preferred a situation nearer the chief. Sarili assured Armstrong that there had been no undertaking to reserve the Butterworth site for the Wesleyans, and Armstrong told Grey:

When Mr Shaw gave you his memorandum, he made no mention of Kreli: nor had they thought of resuming work there. But as I determined to go where no one else was, the moment this determination is known... as regards Kreli, their agent privately set out to get the start of me...<sup>63</sup>

In words which smacked of competitiveness rather than charity, Armstrong turned to the Governor for support:

I can only hope that you will be able conscientiously to back me up in the case of Kreli, otherwise I fear the cause of missions will be really retarded by the domineering and excluding spirit of a body which has after all seen its prime. I am sorry, very sorry to write in this strain. I have not been in a mood to dwell upon our unhappy divisions but with a profound conviction that the Church of England has a great work to do in this land in winning souls, I cannot let her be ousted from her work when she was herself minded to behave generously, Christianly and openly with others.<sup>64</sup>

/Despite...

Despite its destruction in three consecutive wars, the Wesleyans had continued, whatever Armstrong's protestations, to regard Butterworth as a Wesleyan site, although "vacant at present."<sup>65</sup> The Wesleyans were sensitive about what appeared to them an act of Anglican aggression: John Armstrong's decision to open a mission in Grahamstown, where they were already at work.<sup>66</sup> It was recorded at the annual meeting of the Albany and Kaffraria District, that

... we have reason to believe a very determined effort will be made to lead our native congregation from Wesley Chapel.<sup>67</sup>

On the 31st March, 1855, without waiting for a reply to his letter, the Bishop informed Grey that he had authorized the agriculturalist to choose a site ten miles from Butterworth. At the same time, Armstrong informed Grey that he retained "the very strongest opinion of the unhandsome and clandestine proceedings"<sup>68</sup> of Mr. Shaw.<sup>69</sup> The Wesleyans did eventually return to Butterworth, and Armstrong seems to have regretted his early ungenerous reaction. On the 16th August, 1855, he wrote:

We laid the foundation-stone of our College yesterday and had, thank God, a good day in all respects. Mr. Shaw was present which was a friendly act.<sup>70</sup>

Sarili was an independent chief living beyond British territory, and Waters found that the "horrible suspicion"<sup>71</sup> that he was a government agent, "annoyed him at every step."<sup>72</sup> Waters hoped that once Sarili had accepted a missionary, the lesser Xhosa chieftains would follow. But the chief of the Gcalekas admitted to Waters that his own rule was circumscribed, that, in effect, he ruled by consent:

Kreli told me if he had not wished me to come, he would have prevented me coming, but he could not tell the hearts of his people.<sup>73</sup>

On the 13th September, 1855, Waters arrived with his family and other missionaries in his party at the site appointed for the mission when he visited Sarili in August 1855,<sup>74</sup> to find that there were neither huts nor land for him.<sup>75</sup> Disregarding this, the missionaries settled on the ground chosen by Waters until a message arrived from the chief to say that they had "come too near him, and must fall back."<sup>76</sup> An attempt to see the chief failed, and the missionaries did go back.

On the 17th September, Sarili came to meet the missionaries, clad in trousers and a kaross, and accompanied by fifty councillors:

/The...

The Council lasted at least three hours, everything was conducted as if nothing had been done before. I was asked where I came from. Why the Bishop sent me. What would I teach them. What made the Bishop care for them etc. etc. Finally I got a much better place in every respect excepting for water.<sup>77</sup>

The chief visited the mission, and took a great interest in what Waters taught.<sup>78</sup> On St. Stephen's day, Waters preached at Sarili's kraal to the chief and sixty men.<sup>79</sup> Interested though the Xhosa paramount might have been in the activity of all in his dominions, he was also cautious, and would not at first commit himself in any way:

He declined having a Schoolmaster at his kraal at present as he intends to move it on account of the lung-sickness.<sup>80</sup>

Sarili did yield a little, and by March 1856, had agreed to have a school once a week at his kraal.<sup>81</sup>

Waters was always short of man-power, and an attempt to use native agents was not always successful: men brought up in the colony found it difficult to readjust to tribal life:

The tame Kafirs in the Colony are rather afraid of our wild fellows here. At Kreli's kraal the manners are really dreadful sometimes and the native teacher whom I wished to send was afraid to go, even if Kreli had been willing to let him.<sup>82</sup>

Waters' travels in and beyond British Kaffraria indicated the vast field open to mission work: he did consider expansion east towards Natal,<sup>83</sup> but first concentrated on establishing outstations of the central mission to Sarili and on forming missions to two groups of Thembu on the colonial side of the Kei among Qwesha's<sup>84</sup> and Mapasa's<sup>85</sup> people, each of which presented a different problem.

On the 16th January, 1856, Waters had an interview with Qwesha, who was settled on the Bolotwa in a densely populated area. The discussion took on a familiar pattern:

He asked a great many questions of course, and told me he would call his Captains together and let me know their decision in a few days.<sup>86</sup>

At the end of January, Waters was without an interpreter, and negotiations were delayed, but at the end of March he was able to tell Qwesha that there would be a school at his kraal, twenty-four miles from Waters' base, twice a week.<sup>87</sup>

The matter was not yet cut and dried: it was not Qwesha, but his

eldest son Ndarala, who wanted a missionary. Qwasha, jealous of the threat a mission could pose to his own authority told Waters that "... schools were small at first, but soon grew large..."<sup>88</sup> Ndarala had no such qualms, and Waters wrote that

The Station... should it be taken up will require a cleyer man to reside there as Darallah is a little advanced in Civilization and very anxious to increase his power,<sup>89</sup>

Not only did there appear to be a leadership tussle, but there was a danger that Ndarala would attempt to use the missionaries as a political tool. Waters also found that because the Thembu were within the Colony, he had a government agent to deal with as well, and Qwasha insisted on acting through him. Waters therefore went to see Warner,<sup>90</sup> and later reported that he

Professed to be glad that your Lordship wished to occupy the Bolotta, would lend every assistance in his power. Told me of a good position for a Mission.<sup>91</sup>

On the 23rd June, 1856, after Armstrong's death on the 16th May, Robert Mullins<sup>92</sup> left for Ndarala's to begin what at first was called St. Peter's, but later became at Mullins' wish, the station of St. John the Baptist.

Founding a mission to the Thembu under 'Queen' Yeliswa posed problems of another kind. On the 18th March, 1856, Waters reported to Armstrong that she wanted a missionary.<sup>93</sup> There was no-one to send, but Waters felt the site was important: the population was dense and the Queen willing to have the missionary near her kraal.<sup>94</sup> No wagon could get near the site, but Waters, in an attempt to secure the field, promised to go and preach there once a month. It then emerged that Yeliswa had applied through the government agent for a Moravian missionary.<sup>95</sup> This conflicted with an Anglican principle not to interfere with others' mission work. Consultation with Warner followed,<sup>96</sup> and as no Moravian missionary arrived, the mission to Yeliswa under Mullins began in July 1857,<sup>97</sup> and was called St. Peter's but from June 1856,<sup>98</sup> Mullins visited her kraal from his station of St. John on the Bolotwa.

Waters also ministered to a group of outlaws living beyond the bounds of the colony and its justice. These were the Hottentots who had been settled at Kat River to provide a buffer for the colony and to act as its allies in war, and who, in 1850, goaded by accumulated grievances, had joined the Xhosa in the Mlanjeni war.<sup>99</sup> These people, exposed to Christian and European influence for a longer period than the Xhosa, formed a regular part of Waters' congregation, and while he complained that some were thieves,<sup>100</sup>

he also wrote and asked Armstrong for a consignment of thirty or forty Dutch Prayer Books, adding that he could get "at least one half their value from the Hottentots" at St. Mark's.<sup>101</sup> Waters also recorded the baptism of four children of Christian Hottentots.<sup>102</sup> But he was more than a spiritual father to these people: they looked to him for temporal advice and aid and he told Armstrong:

The Hottentots are continually asking me when they are to be pardoned. I have told them that everything I do must go through the Bishop, and I think they are "making a plan" to be laid before me and forwarded to your Lordship. I am not sure about this but I hope your Lordship will lend your influence to have them pardoned, as they are injuring the Kaffirs, are a hindrance to our Mission and under no discipline. They are in a bad way altogether and their children are running wild. They would be useful men in the Colony, and more likely to become good men than here.<sup>103</sup>

Waters was clearly not altogether happy about being asked to intercede with government, but the Hottentots' own welfare and that of his mission were at stake, and he seemed to regard this as sufficient reason for entanglement in secular affairs. At the same time, he did not presume to act on his own authority, but left the decision and possible action to the Bishop. It is not likely that Armstrong ever received this letter. Four days after it was written, he was dead.

To carry out their primary task of evangelism, the missionaries had to formulate a practical policy. A mission party usually consisted of a clergyman, an interpreter, some lay missionaries, a farmer, an artisan, and their wives. Waters' account of the early days of St. Marks' reflects the basic pattern: the first task was to choose a good site (or have it chosen for them), in the centre of a dense population, well watered, and suitable for agriculture. Here Waters was lucky, but the land on which St. John's was situated, was very poor.<sup>104</sup> The first work was to erect a home for the missionaries, and then a chapel. This meant that bricks had to be made, and for this, local labour was employed. Waters reported

Two Kafirs have learnt to make, and carry off bricks, to the astonishment of their countrymen.<sup>105</sup>

An early morning service was held so that workmen could attend. These men were paid sixpence a day. Money was being introduced into a simple pastoral economy. There were men who demanded a shilling for a day's work, but on the whole the people among whom Waters worked seem to have preferred payment in kind.<sup>106</sup> It was hoped that missions would become self-supporting:

/agriculture...

agriculture was therefore an important operation. To provide irrigation, watercourses were cut, which benefitted not only the mission, but kraals nearby. In May 1856, Waters recorded that fifteen acres of land had been ploughed:<sup>107</sup> this meant that oxen were needed, and for permission to keep stock, Waters went to the chief.

Needlework was taught at St. Mark's from an early date. As early as September 1855, the schoolmistress was cutting out dresses,<sup>108</sup> and by the 6th November, girls were able to sew shirts.<sup>109</sup> And it became customary to give items of clothing as a reward for behaviour pleasing to the missionary.

Armstrong favoured the establishment of schools at some distance from the central station: these were placed under the care of baptized natives.<sup>110</sup> On the 12th October, Waters reported:

I have set one man to work as a teacher about 20 miles from here, at my own expense, and if he succeeds, I will ask for his salary from your Lordship's fund.<sup>111</sup>

The missionaries were eager to open boarding schools, and Armstrong was able to report to the Colonial Secretary that two girls had actually been offered as boarders at St. Luke's.<sup>112</sup> On the whole, the missionaries did not find it easy to keep the children at school. The novelty of slates and pencils and the learning of words by heart could not compete with the sterner subject of the crops.<sup>113</sup> Seasons still regulated Nguni life, children were needed to work in the fields and to herd oxen and goats, and then the school was bare. The missionaries did not despair. In February 1856, a stone schoolroom with an iron roof was begun at St. Mark's.<sup>114</sup>

When rain was needed, Waters came under suspicion:

... the Kafirs knowing that I wish to keep the bricks from the rain, imagine that I am keeping off the rain.<sup>115</sup>

Waters did have other gifts which were welcome:

My name as a Doctor seems to be spreading, judging from the number of sore eyes and dyspeptic cases which come every morning.<sup>116</sup>

Some not only trusted their own ailments to the missionary, but those of their cattle too. When lung-sickness struck the beasts at a kraal near St. Mark's, men came to Waters for help, and the agriculturalist went to inoculate the cattle.<sup>117</sup> Sarili, whose herds were affected, did not make a similar appeal.

/Armstrong....

Armstrong felt a deep affection for the Church of England, and was convinced of its power as a missionary force:

I have a strong conviction ... that there is something in what I may call the genius of the Church, her tone, her spirit, her order and discipline, which is specially suited to the Kafir character.<sup>118</sup>

The initial need was for Christian colonists who could preach the gospel in the native language. Armstrong wrote:

I made it known that I was anxious to train the sons of colonists who knew the Kafir tongue, for Holy Orders as missionaries among the Kafirs...<sup>119</sup>

While resolving that the gospel should be preached in the vernacular, Armstrong was determined to adhere strictly to The Book of Common Prayer, not translated into Xhosa. The Bishop gave much thought to the form of services to be used, but did not encourage a translation of the offices of Matins or Vespers into the vernacular.<sup>120</sup> It was customary on Anglican mission stations during Armstrong's episcopate, at a time when many of the missionaries understood little of the native's tongue, to say Morning and Evening Prayer in English. Thereafter, or at any time, if a group of natives could be gathered together, the General Thanksgiving from the Prayer Book, and an ancient mission prayer, both translated into the vernacular by C.R.Lange,<sup>121</sup> were repeated.<sup>122</sup> Children in schools were taught to repeat the Lord's Prayer. Ordained clergy preached extempore,<sup>123</sup> in the open if necessary. Until the missionary had mastered the native tongue, his message was conveyed through an interpreter. Music was an important part of all services from the first. On the Bishop's first visit to Mhalás, Mrs. Armstrong played an harmonium. Armstrong reported that her hearers were

entranced... showing that sacred music might become a powerful instrument in influencing and softening them...<sup>124</sup>

The missionaries used visual aids to supplement their sermons, and much time was spent answering questions. Waters described a situation which must have been repeated many times:

He called here a few weeks ago, his visit was interesting. The picture of the Crucifixion took his attention at once. He enquired minutely into the history of Our Lord, which I gave him through the Interpreter and a large Pictorial Bible.<sup>125</sup>

By the time John Armstrong died on the 16th May 1856, he had

created a solid foundation for the organization of his diocese, and formulated a clear pattern for missionary work. The work itself consisted of only a few tiny stations in a vast heathen world, with no Christian converts. Armstrong himself, had remained at the head of spiritual, and to his own regret of financial affairs, but direct oversight of missions was handled by an itinerating Superintendent of Missions, who provided a link between mission stations. The missionary strategy adopted was perhaps the only possible one: a missionary, preferably a priest, was sent to establish himself at, or near, a chief's kraal, to obtain a grant of land, to cut a watercourse, erect a mission house and chapel using local labour, perhaps to begin a farm, and as soon as possible to open a school. An ability to speak the vernacular was required, and the missionary itinerated, the various points he visited gradually becoming outposts of the central station, with a schoolmaster permanently stationed at each.

Finance for the enterprise came from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in England, and also from a governor who favoured mission work. The bishop saw civilization as an aid to Christianization, the Governor Christianity as an aid to civilization. Grey's aim was the extension of British authority and the success of his new scheme which he hoped would bring peace to the frontier and praise to himself. Armstrong never lost sight of his task of gathering all nations into the Church of Christ, using whatever means presented themselves for the task, believing that things temporal could be used to serve things spiritual. The result was that the Bishop's missionary policy, followed by his own choice and by force of circumstance, worked obviously to achieve Grey's ends. The missionaries became employers of labour, and because construction and excavation involved hard manual work, the whole pattern of labour division in Nguni society was changed as men went to work. Reading, writing and arithmetic were taught at mission schools, a totally different concept and content of education from that provided by the tribe.

The fundamental problem had appeared: had John Armstrong, by the course he followed, by accepting Grey's aid and falling into line with his plans, not only compromised the gospel he preached, but damaged its chances of gaining a foothold in Africa, or had he chosen the only way open to him? The moral and financial support of the British Governor was a valuable aid, and it is by no means certain that the chiefs, wary though they were of British power, would have accepted a missionary if they had not thought he would assist them in their relations with colonial power, enhance their

own status and also increase the wealth and prosperity of their people by the gifts they would bring and by the improved agricultural methods they taught.

Long before Grey and Armstrong arrived, a train of change through interaction had begun among the Nguni, change which could not be controlled but was deliberately accelerated by Grey's policy in which Armstrong participated. Christianity, commerce and European government were having their complex effect on tribal society.

Armstrong's death marks the end of a chapter, not only for the church, but for George Grey's policy. The new bishop would have to formulate a policy for an entirely different political situation. The voice of a prophet was heard across the Kei.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. E.Hawkins, ed., Documents relative to the Erection and Endowment of Endowment of Additional Bishoprics in the Colonies 1841-1855, p.58
2. Governor of the Cape, 1807 to 1811.
3. Sir George Grey (1812-1898). He received training at Sandhurst, and had been Governor of New Zealand before coming to the Cape. Experience in Ireland gave him a horror of violence; he implemented a new policy for the Cape frontier. His extravagance, and support for federation led to his recall in 1859, but he was reinstated, and returned in 1860. In 1861 he left to return to New Zealand.
4. E.H.Brookes, The History of Native Policy in South Africa, pp.91f.
5. J.Rutherford, Sir George Grey: A Study in Colonial Government, p.328
6. du Toit, p.89
7. Ibid. p.240
8. Ibid. p.98
9. Ibid. p.91
10. Carter, p.264.
11. Hawkins, op.cit. p.48
12. Ibid. p.68

13. Armstrong to Grey, 5-7-54, SAL
14. Carter, p.241
15. Ibid., p.141.
16. Ibid., p.266
17. Ibid., p.265.
18. Edward Clayton, an Oxford graduate, was ordained priest in 1842. He seems to have had large private means, and only spent a year as a missionary in Grahamstown, before returning to England. He died in 1895 at the age of 78.
19. C.C., October 1880, p.166.
20. Carter, p.309.
21. Ibid., p.310.
22. du Toit, p.78
23. H.M.Matthew, Grahamstown Diocese Historical Records, Vol.I, p.74.
24. Carter, p.294.
25. Ibid., p.298.
26. Ibid., p.300.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., p.314.
29. H.M.Matthew, op.cit. p.84.
30. J.Armstrong, Notes from South Africa, GDA
31. J.Armstrong, op.cit.
32. du Toit, p.131.
33. Carter, p.316.
34. Ibid., p.315.
35. Carter, p.314.
36. Ibid., p.325.
37. Ibid., p.331.
38. D.H.Varley and H.M.Matthew, eds., The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J.Merriman 1848-1855, p.214.

39. B.A. of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, Hardie was ordained priest in 1846. While visiting South Africa for his health, he was persuaded to take over supervision of St. Luke's from Clayton, and to act as Superintendent of Missions. He was acting Archdeacon of Kaffraria for two years, but left Grahamstown in 1857, and did not return. He died in England in 1894, aged 86.
40. Armstrong to Hawkins, 23-3-55, SPG ms D7
41. Armstrong to Hawkins, 18-7-55, SPG Ms D7
42. Ibid.
43. Carter, p.411.
44. Cotterill to Hawkins, 13-6-57, SPG msD7.
45. Carter, p.411.
46. Ibid., p.307.
47. Ibid., p.308.
48. Armstrong to Grey, 9-1-55, SAL.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Rawson William Rawson (1812-1899) was born in London and educated at Eton. He arrived at Cape Town in 1854, succeeding John Montagu as Colonial Secretary. He supported responsible government for the Cape, and also favoured the annexation of British Kaffraria. His administrative responsibilities extended from public works and transport to native affairs and education.
52. Colonial Church Chronicle, December 1856, p.214.
53. Ibid., p.216.
54. Ibid.
55. du Toit, p.254.
56. Summary of Expenditure, GDA.
57. Horatio Bolton Smith had a licentiate in theology from Durham University, and was ordained deacon in 1854 and priest in 1857. He worked first at St. Matthew's, and then at St. John's, and returned to England in 1859.

58. Summary of Expenditure, GDA
59. Carter, p.388.
60. John Thomas Walford Allen, born in 1830, was a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was ordained deacon in 1854 and priest the following year. From the time of his arrival in Grahamstown in 1855, he worked at St. John's, Kubusi, where his wife died. He returned to England in 1857.
61. William Greenstock, made deacon in 1854 and ordained priest in 1855, worked first at St. Luke's and then at St. Matthew's. He married Cotterill's daughter in 1861. In 1870, he left St. Matthew's and opened a mission in Port Elizabeth. He spent 1875-7 as a travelling missionary, and 1879-86 at Springvale in Natal and was Canon of Maritzburg 1882-6. He died in Siam in 1912 at the age of 80.
62. Armstrong to Grey, 1-6-55, SAL.
63. Armstrong to Grey, 15-3-55, SAL.
64. Ibid.
65. Minutes of the 31st Annual Meeting of the Albany and Kaffraria District, 22-11-54.
66. Armstrong's projected mission was for Africans in Grahamstown not catered for by the Wesleyan mission to the Mfengu.
67. Minutes of the 31st Annual Meeting of the Albany and Kaffraria District, 22-11-54.
68. Armstrong to Grey, 31-3-55, SAL;
69. William Shaw (1798-1872) sailed as a minister with the 1820 Settlers, and served members of all denominations. He began a chain of missions into the interior, and in 1837 was appointed General Superintendent of Wesleyan missions in south east Africa. Like Armstrong, he co-operated with George Grey. He returned to England in 1856, and in 1865 was elected President of Conference.
70. Armstrong to Grey, 16-8-55, SAL
71. Waters to Armstrong, 7-4-56, SPG ms C/AFS
72. Ibid.
73. Waters to Armstrong, 17-9-55, SPG ms C/AFS.
74. Armstrong to Grey, 16-8-55, SAL;

75. Waters to Armstrong, 14-9-55, SPG ms C/AFS
76. Waters to Armstrong, 17-9-55, SPG ms C/AFS
77. Ibid.
78. Waters to Armstrong, 1-1-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Waters to Armstrong, 21-4-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
82. Waters to Armstrong 21-1-56.
83. Waters to Armstrong, 7-4-56.
84. Qwasha, chief of the Ndungwana branch of the Thembu. His eldest son, and heir to the chieftainship was Ndarala, known to the missionaries as Darallah.
85. Mapasa was chief of the Tsatshu tribe of the Thembu across the Kei. He entered into treaties with Stockenstrom, Napier and Maitland, was involved in raiding 1846-7, and became a British subject 1848. He aided Sarili in the Mlanjeni war, and died in battle in 1851. His followers were allowed to settle west of the Kei. The Anglican mission seems to have been with a widow of Mapassa, Yeliswa.
86. Waters to Armstrong, 21-1-56, SPG ms C/AFS
87. Waters to Armstrong, 31-3-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
88. Waters to Armstrong, 21-4-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
89. Waters to Armstrong, 7-4-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
90. Joseph Cox Warner (1806-1871), son of 1820 settlers, was ordained in 1845. He gained considerable influence with the Thembu as a Wesleyan missionary, and worked as government agent with the tribe from 1852 to 1864. He advocated and applied tribal custom, and contributed to Maclean's compendium. In 1865 he was appointed British resident at Idutywa, and retired to Glen Grey in 1869.
91. Waters to Armstrong, 21-4-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
92. Robert John Mullins was born in 1838, and arrived in Grahamstown with Armstrong in 1854. He attended St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, before being ordained deacon in 1863 and priest in 1864. He was at St. John the Baptist's until 1863, when he became Principal of the Kafir Institute, an office he held until 1892. He was also diocesan secretary. He died in 1913.

93. Waters to Armstrong, 18-3-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
94. Waters to Armstrong, 31-4-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
95. Waters to Armstrong, 7-4-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
96. Waters to Armstrong, 21-4-56.
97. Robert Mullins' diary, 29-7-57.
98. Waters to ? Hardie, 24-6-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
99. J.S.Marais, The Cape Coloured People, pp.216f.
100. Waters to Armstrong, 12-5-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
101. Waters to Armstrong, 6-11-55, SPG ms C/AFS.
102. Waters to Armstrong, 12-5-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
103. Ibid.
104. R.Gray, Journal of a Visitation of the Diocese of Graham'sTown, in  
in July and August, 1856, p.42.
105. Waters to Armstrong, 6-11-55, SPG ms C/AFS.
106. Waters to Armstrong, 15-10-55, SPG ms C/AFS.
107. Waters to Armstrong, 12-5-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
108. Waters to Armstrong, 30-9-55, SPG ms C/AFS.
109. Waters to Armstrong, 6-11-55, SPG ms C/AFS.
110. Waters to Armstrong, 12-10-55, SPG ms C/AFS.
111. Ibid.
112. Colonial Church Chronicle, December 1856, p.214.
113. Waters to Armstrong, 1-1-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
114. Waters to Armstrong, 18-3-56, SPG ms C/AFS.
115. Waters to Armstrong, 6-11-55, SPG ms C/AFS.
116. Ibid.
117. Waters to Armstrong, 15-11-55, SPG ms C/AFS.
118. Carter, p.310.
119. Carter, p.311.
120. Hardie to Hawkins, 14-7-58, SPG ms D7.

121. Charles Robert Lange had been a Lutheran missionary and was ordained by Armstrong in 1854. He worked first as a convict chaplain at Howison's Poort, and then at St. Luke's, Newlands, until 1863.
122. Hardie to Hawkins, 14-7-58, SPG ms D7.
123. Waters to Armstrong, 1-1-56, SPG ms D7.
124. Carter, p.301.
125. Waters to Armstrong, 1-1-56, SPG ms C/AFS.

CHAPTER 2

THE CATTLE KILLING

The year 1857 brought about the breakthrough into Nguni society for which Sir George Grey had been hoping. Suddenly, the power of the chiefs seemed broken as a society fell apart: tribesmen flooded into the towns, and willingly accepted the new faith offered by Christian missionaries working among them.

African society was, by the middle of the nineteenth century, under stress. In all wars with European colonists since 1770, the Xhosa had been defeated, and gradually deprived of hunting and herding grounds, the land of their fathers. The loss was all the more serious as the population was expanding. This society, pride wounded and territory stripped away, was also under cultural pressure from European traders, government agents and missionaries, all of whom threatened the traditional social pattern; its economics, authority, religion, and even basic family life.<sup>1</sup> This confrontation had been going on for decades, but George Grey's policy increased the pressure, and the situation was exacerbated by high prevalence of lung-sickness among Xhosa cattle.<sup>2</sup> The tribal reaction to pressure was, as in 1819 and 1850, to resort to traditional religion and to seek the assistance of the shades, although at the time white officials and missionaries were convinced that the episode was a deep plot laid by Sarili and the even more wily Moshoeshe<sup>3</sup> to attack the colony.<sup>4</sup> Mhlakaza,<sup>5</sup> heir to Makanna and Mlanjeni, exhorted the tribesmen to destroy all their corn and to slaughter their cattle. Performance of this sacrifice would be rewarded: on a given day, Europeans would be driven into the sea, dead heroes would rise, cornpits would be filled, and cattle would be restored. Not all the Xhosa obeyed at once, and there was tension between believers and non-believers whose refusal to carry out the commands of the prophet was blamed for the delayed fulfilment of promises.<sup>6</sup> The date for the arrival of the millenium, originally set for October 1856, was postponed and postponed in an atmosphere of increasing destruction and despair. White officials and missionaries did their best to prevent what they saw as folly.<sup>7</sup> The missionaries had to re-examine their former policy and formulate a new one, to meet immediate needs and to provide foundations for the future development not only of a secular society, but of the Church.

Armstrong died in May 1856 and his successor, Henry Cotterill, only arrived in May 1857. With rumours of war spreading through the colony, and the Xhosa population seized with pagan superstition, the infant

/diocese...

diocese, and especially the newly-planted missions, needed the advice of a bishop. Robert Gray arrived in Port Elizabeth on the 14th July, 1856. The account he wrote of this visitation provides a record of the state of Anglican missions on the eve of the cattle killing. Conditions on the frontier were so uncertain that on the 3rd August, Gray recorded that he had

... requested Mr. Hardie to write to all the Missionaries, authorizing them, if they see fit, to move into King William's Town.<sup>8</sup>

He himself went forward, visiting St. Matthew's mission on the 8th August. The Mfengu were not involved in the cattle killing; three of their chiefs and forty followers arrived for an interview with Gray, asking him to prevent the introduction of individual tenure and to persuade the Governor to allow more of their people to settle in the Amathole mountains.<sup>9</sup> Gray found twenty Mfengu ploughing, and said he hoped the station would be self-supporting in a year. There was a school house, and a daily school: two more schools were planned. In addition to the mission house, there were houses for the industrial teacher and the matron. The water-course had been cut, but a planned mill was not begun.<sup>10</sup>

Gray then travelled to St. Luke's, a mile from Mhala's great place, which he reached on the 13th August, 1856.<sup>11</sup> There were three missionaries here: Greenstock, already fluent in Xhosa, Mr. Birt the agriculturalist, and Mrs. Sedgeley. Up to a hundred people, most of whom were hearers, attended services. Sunday was observed as a day of rest, and Gray said hopefully that some were "really anxious to learn about God."<sup>12</sup> There was no school at the mission, but a farm had been started; a chapel, a kitchen with adjoining matron's quarters, a giant hut for a dining room and smaller huts for bedrooms had been built.<sup>13</sup> St. Luke's had an outstation near King William's Town, where a catechist had opened a school in the middle of a densely populated area.<sup>14</sup>

On the 14th August, Gray went to call on the chief Mhala, and spoke to him of the folly of the prophecies.<sup>15</sup> Mhala said that he agreed with the Bishop. He also told Gray that he had been too sick to go to church, and suggested that a stick of tobacco be the reward for attendance. Gray still placed great reliance on the power of the chief, hoping that if Mhala went to church, his people would follow. The Bishop could not impose his will on this "finished diplomatist"<sup>16</sup> who, although he would not commit himself to speak in favour of the mission to his people, told Gray

... that on no account was the Mission to be broken up; that when he was driven out of his country, they might go too, but not before.<sup>17</sup>

He also promised that if there was war, he would protect the missionaries.

The Bishop travelled the twenty-five miles to Sandile's kraal and arrived at the nearby St. John's on the 14th August. Two houses had been built, one for the missionary, Mr. Allen, and one for the agriculturalist, and a chapel was nearly finished, but the soil was poor, and the only advantage of the site was its proximity to the chief's kraal.<sup>18</sup>

There had been friction between the Ngqikachief and Allen:<sup>19</sup> apparently, Sandile had been trying to extract rent for the land he had granted to the mission. Gray had received a letter from Hardie, who stated Armstrong's policy:

The Bishop never gave, and certainly never intended to give to any of the chiefs more than one annual blanket and that not as rent in any sense but as a simple recognition of their chieftainship.<sup>20</sup>

While Hardie was prepared to seek government aid for Allen against Sandile, he recognized that the problem was essentially a missionary one:

Regarding the matter as one simply between ourselves as Missionaries and the Kafirs, to whom we are sent, I feel that in paying rent we allow the ground to be cut from under our feet, since we thereby admit that we derive a direct gain from occupation, and give a quid pro quo. The fact being that, on the contrary, we make sacrifices for their good and for the sake of Christ, whose Gospel we declare to them.<sup>21</sup>

To placate Sandile, and because cattle had been killed near the mission, Gray felt bound to call upon the chief. As had been the case with Mhala, presents were exchanged, but Gray found Sandile, though not openly hostile, cautious and reserved. He nevertheless obtained a promise that in the event of war, the likelihood of which Sandile denied, he would protect the missionaries.<sup>22</sup>

Both Mhala and Sandile were involved in the cattle killing, though Sandile held out against it as long as possible, and his followers were divided on the issue.<sup>23</sup> The third Anglican mission was across the Kei, near Sarili's kraal; the Gcaleka paramount claimed to have seen visions of resurrected warriors and pressed all who admitted his paramountcy to kill as he did.<sup>24</sup> Gray was not able to visit St. Mark's mission, and was in some fear for Water's life, but the missionary and a catechist, confident that their lives, if not their property, would be spared, resolved to remain on the station.<sup>25</sup> St. Mark's was situated in a densely populated area, on flat ground, crossed by permanent streams. A watercourse had been cut, there was plenty of timber and firewood, and grazing for all kinds of stock.<sup>26</sup> The school at Sarili's kraal was held weekly, and the /school...

school at the central station was held six days a week, with a school at night as well.<sup>27</sup> Waters reported that other chiefs were also eager for a missionary, and also suggested the formation of a boarding school, where trades could be taught. Adults as well as children attended the schools, which were held behind the kraal, or under a tree. Waters had begun to use African agents, if on a somewhat primitive scale:

At each of the kraals there is a school captain, whose duty it is to collect the children so soon as the 'Umfundisi' arrives. At Kreli's kraal, Lindingume, Kreli's chief brother, is school captain. A present of a shirt or trousers is considered good pay by these captains.<sup>28</sup>

Waters was also responsible for a mission on the colonial side of the Kei, run by Robert Mullins, who held schools at five different kraals, and had 147 children on the books.<sup>29</sup>

Waters' staff consisted of himself, Mullins, Miss Gray,<sup>30</sup> and five African teachers. He told Gray that he needed two more clergymen, five catechists and more African teachers. He also suggested that an annual grant of £6 be made to each school to cover the expense of clothing the children.<sup>31</sup>

The Bishop promised "to bring the case of his people... before Sir George Grey,"<sup>32</sup> which he presumably did when he met the Governor in Grahamstown on the 23rd August, and

had much conversation on the Mission affairs of the Dioceses of Natal and Graham's Town, and other anxious and important matters.<sup>33</sup>

Gray found the Governor willing to give generously to Waters and St. Mark's:

He is to have his five assistant schoolmasters, and £20 a year each for six natives to help in his numerous schools, and small sums for clothing those Kafirs who aid him most in his work.<sup>34</sup>

Grey was also looking ahead to the rôle the missionaries could play in his plans for coping with the starving Xhosa who had killed their cattle:

The Governor... has expressed a wish that (Waters) should cultivate largely, that there may be food for these poor creatures when their delusion shall have passed away...<sup>35</sup>

Anglican mission stations had been deliberately placed near a chief's kraal in a densely populated area; the mission staff witnessed the destruction and were as active as possible in assistance. Greenstock at St. Luke's summed up the change in a report to the S.P.G., but the picture was repeated at Anglican missions in British Kaffraria and beyond:

Umhala's power is but the shadow of what it was - his followers are a very few infirm and old men. He says he obeyed the prophetess and killed his cattle, and neglected to plant, because he believed that he should be restored to youth, and see the resurrection of his father and all his dead relations. He despised the advice of his teachers, but now he sees his folly and his confession is

"I have fallen."<sup>36</sup>

During the early months of 1857, before the arrival of the new bishop, Waters wrote to Robert Gray in Cape Town, giving details of the particular problems he was experiencing across the Kei. Although attendance at schools did not drop, and sometimes increased, the overall picture was a depressing one, with people still clinging to the relics of their delusion, while suffering the consequences of their misplaced faith:

The Kafirs are all hungry - digging roots and begging food all over - Still the thing is not done, very few dare to work, none dare eat new corn openly...<sup>37</sup>

Nevertheless, the people were turning to the missionary for help:

... one woman brought her children to me at a distant kraal and asked me to take and feed them. I have promised to do so...<sup>38</sup>

In this promise lay one of the seeds of future work: the woman's request was a great breakthrough, the Xhosa previously having been reluctant to give up their children.

Water's contact with Sarili continued. Early in January 1857, he had a conversation with the chief;

... he was unusually gloomy - but ( ... ) kind. He said there were no news - people were mad for believing Umhlakaza - he knew nothing of war. I told (him) that the present waste of cattle and corn and idleness would make his people very poor - famine would come, (and) that my heart was sore and bid me speak (to) him. He asked why my heart should (be) sore - I would not be hungry.<sup>39</sup>

The final date for the wonderful resurrection of men and beasts had not arrived and Sarili retained his independence: when asked to give up his daughter he refused emphatically.<sup>40</sup> As late as the 11th March, 1857, Waters reported to Gray:

Krili is very kind but he has not been regular in his attendance lately owing to the deep political game which he imagines himself to be playing.<sup>41</sup>

A month later the situation had changed a little: Sarili had given his people leave to work and eat new food; Waters employed ninety men

at sixpence a day and a quart of mealies, and women were employed to cut and carry thatch.<sup>42</sup> The paramount chief was himself hungry and went to Waters to beg:

I spoke seriously to Krili about his people but he is very restless and every time I attacked him he directed his chief councillor Botman to reply.<sup>43</sup>

Waters' policy at St. Mark's was not to dole out food in large quantities to all who came to beg, but rather one of "no work no pay",<sup>44</sup> to teach independence and responsibility. This policy fitted in well with George Grey's schemes, and Waters looked to the Governor for assistance. He also took

... every opportunity of impressing upon the Natives and Krili that the Governor is a good man and wishes well to them (and) that the number of troops is to keep peace not to make war.<sup>45</sup>

Waters advised Sarili to apply to Grey for work for his tribe on his own or the Colonial side of the Kei.<sup>46</sup> Waters clearly expected government and missionary to work together: on the 10th April, 1857, Waters suggested to Gray that he might "think it worthwhile to talk over my letter with the Governor."<sup>47</sup> In the same letter, Waters expressed the hope that Grey would provide money so that the number of men employed at St. Mark's could be increased. He went on:

I think it would be well if I were allowed to set the people to work on the drifts and roads leading to the mountain where the timber is cut.<sup>48</sup>

Waters' aim was to give practical help as well as spiritual instruction to the people affected by the cattle killing. At the same time, if he hoped for financial help from the governor, he had to offer some concrete return which would incline Grey to accede to his proposal:

I should say an extra grant of two thousand pounds for Krili's country alone to be expended during the next twelve months through this mission would do much to protect the neighbouring border from thieves and facilitate the means of obtaining building timber from Queenstown.<sup>49</sup>

The second bishop of Grahamstown, Henry Cotterill, was brought up in a strictly Evangelical Norfolk parsonage. He had been Senior Wrangler at Cambridge, and had experience as chaplain of the East India Company in Madras.<sup>50</sup> He was consecrated on the 23rd November, 1856, and arrived in his new diocese on the 7th May, 1857, with a large party of clergy,

/He...

He was installed in Grahamstown on the 24th May, 1857, and left for his first visit to the missions of his diocese on the 19th June.<sup>51</sup>

Cotterill visited all the main Anglican mission stations and spoke to some of the chiefs and headmen, before arriving in King William's Town on the 10th July, 1857. As a result of the cattle killing, the mission stations were no longer surrounded by a dense population and Cotterill wrote:

My own feeling is that there has already been too much of a fixed character in our Kafir work. I mean in the way of building especially...<sup>52</sup>

The land around St. Luke's, particularly, was denuded of population.<sup>53</sup> St. John's, though on an awkward site inaccessible by road, retained the advantage of being near the chief's kraal,<sup>54</sup> but with Sandile Cotterill was not impressed. He had an interview with Mhala, who was willing to acknowledge his error but still wanted a reward for attending services. He sent a message to Grey, via the Bishop, asking for help.<sup>55</sup> Sarili made a similar request.<sup>56</sup> Of this interview Cotterill wrote:

... on the whole, I never saw a man whose manner was more dignified. It was somewhat painful to see a great chief so fallen; and his frank confession of his folly in listening to the prophet made me feel a sympathy with him in his troubles, although there can be little doubt that he encouraged the imposition to gain his own purposes, and that even now he is not to be trusted.<sup>57</sup>

Cotterill felt he had two alternatives: the missions could be abandoned and the missionaries go into the interior, or they could remain and adopt different principles.<sup>58</sup> The Bishop decided that the missions should remain centres of influence, and that a population should be encouraged to settle near them. This seemed logical: the people themselves had turned to the missionaries for assistance, and had been willing to leave their children with them as boarders. To abandon the missions would be to desert these children.<sup>59</sup>

The Bishop's scheme was originally designed for St. Mark's mission. About fifty families were to be encouraged to settle on the mission farm; they were to do agricultural work, build huts, place themselves under Christian instruction, send their children to school and abstain from heathen practices.<sup>60</sup> The Bishop decided to retain St. John's, but contemplated moving St. Luke's to a new site.<sup>61</sup>

/Cotterill's...

Cotterill's plans needed financial backing: he hoped the mission stations would eventually become self-supporting,<sup>62</sup> but in the interim, looked for aid from the S.P.G. in England,<sup>63</sup> and from Sir George Grey. The Bishop did not feel he could rely on government grants to support his work. The Governor had complained that at St. Luke's and St. John's time was spent on English work, and schools were not properly taught.<sup>64</sup> Relations between the Governor and the Anglican Church were strained even before Cotterill arrived at the Cape. On the 6th March, 1857, Merriman told Hawkins:

I should scarcely like you at S.P.G. to hear our Governor's view of our Kafir Missions. He has said nothing to me but from the Dean and others I learn that it is not only unfavourable but I think uncandid and unfair. He contrasts them with.. Healdtown and..Loyedale and these all have been at work for many years and therefore have grown rapidly and fallen into an appearance of settled organization under fostering liberality of the Government purse. We have had to begin de novo and must creep before we run.<sup>65</sup>

Cotterill told the S.P.G. on the 9th June, 1857, of his own impression of Grey's attitude:

... In the first place.. our feeble support of his plans in our Missions, & the diversion of so many from Miss. work to the colony has much disappointed and annoyed him & he does not seem disposed to give us more aid than he can help... He complains, especially, of the want of industrial schools.<sup>66</sup>

Nevertheless, Cotterill clearly had George Grey in mind when formulating his mission policy to deal with the new situation, for he described it as

... the only mode of carrying out Sir George Grey's plan of Christianizing and civilizing our border population,<sup>67</sup>

It was February 1858 before Grey finally approved Cotterill's policy, and assured him that grants to support the Anglican scheme would be forthcoming.<sup>68</sup>

Besides Grey's general dissatisfaction with Anglican mission work, there were two specific areas of difference between Cotterill and the Governor. Grey saw the cattle killing as a glorious opportunity for drawing the Xhosa into the colony as labourers, and for settling white colonists on their empty lands. No quarrel erupted on this particular issue, but Cotterill did not see that intermingling would lead to either Christianity or civilization:

Those who are now going by thousands into the colony, will be dispersed in parties seldom exceeding thirty on the different farms;

/and...

and it will be quite impossible to reach them for the purpose of Christian instruction, even if their masters were desirous of promoting this, which certainly, in the case of Dutch farmers generally, will not be the case. They will, therefore, return to the country in a few years; for it cannot be doubted that they will return, with little of civilization, but its attending vices,<sup>69</sup>

Tension did arise over measures taken to relieve those affected by the cattle killing. Cotterill told Bullock that of a party of 255 sent from King William's Town into the colony to look for work, only three survived the trek to Grahamstown,<sup>70</sup> implying criticism of Government policy.

When Cotterill arrived in King William's Town on the 10th July, he found the inhabitants eager to help the starving Xhosa. A committee was formed, with the magistrate as Vice-President,<sup>71</sup> and the principles on which it would act, were drawn up and published. It was made quite clear that the committee would do nothing to interfere with Government policy:

In furtherance of the policy which seeks to induce indigent Kafirs to procure employment in the Colony, the Government has wisely and humanely provided for the distribution of rations to them on their line of march. But there is a class whom no Government assistance, however active and energetic, can reach, and whom it seems rightfully the province of private benevolence to succour;...<sup>72</sup>

These were men, women and children "in the last state of emaciation,"<sup>73</sup> Relief was to be in kind, and would not be given to the able-bodied:

... the primary object of the Committee will be to supplement the action of the Government, by placing within the sphere of Government assistance a class of people, who might otherwise never live to come within its reach;<sup>74</sup>

In doing this, the committee would be able to "... relieve a vast quantity of misery and distress, but also to strengthen the hands of the Government..."<sup>75</sup>

Despite the committee's avowals that it wanted to support government policy, there was an implicit reproof in its very existence: it exposed the fact that the government would give aid only to those of any use as labourers, leaving the weak, old and infirm to perish.

An address appealing for subscriptions was issued, and the Bishop asked Grey to give his official sanction to this address by authorizing its publication in the Government Gazette. The Governor refused because the address did not fully state the measures government had taken for the relief of distress, and it ignored the dangers to the peace and safety of

/the...

the colony inherent in the plot he saw behind the cattle killing. Grey's refusal took the form of a despatch<sup>76</sup> from the Colonial Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, a copy of which was to be sent to the Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, John Maclean.<sup>77</sup>

Grey did not, however, withhold government aid for Anglican missions. Whatever his difficulties with the Governor, Cotterill did not see government aid in itself as a bad thing, but with some pride wrote:

... there is not another diocese in the world, I suppose, in which the Government gives the indirect encouragement to Missionary operations which is given here.<sup>78</sup>

Cotterill was keen to lay down a uniform missionary policy to be followed by all clergy under his authority, so that Anglican missions were part of one church and firmly under the control of the diocesan. Cotterill planned to hold a conference of missionaries, but in the meanwhile issued a circular,<sup>79</sup> laying down, firstly, that no missionary would be granted a licence to perform his spiritual functions until he could speak Xhosa, although he would be permitted to teach while learning it. Henry Kitton's<sup>80</sup> account of his first attempt at preaching shows the kind of confusion and inefficiency Cotterill was determined to prevent:

... I proceeded to speak, ... Philip acting as my mouthpiece and interpreter; and here I made a very great mistake, and made a lame affair of it at best - for which the novelty of my position and my inexperience may perhaps be accepted as some excuse, I did not, as I afterwards found out, set about it in the right way. Instead of framing my own address and putting the actual words into the mouth of the interpreter, and leaving him the work of translation only to attend to, which I afterwards learned to do, I simply gave him topics and ideas; told him to say this and that, and left it with him to express all in his own words and his own way; and what he really did say to the people of course I did not know. I had not thought about the matter previously; and having had no previous instruction as to the best method of procedure - indeed, at the time I started for my walk, I had very little idea of what I was going to do, save this, I was going to preach Christ's Gospel to a people of whose language I was utterly ignorant; and with whom I could only communicate through the medium of a third person, who might not be able to enter into and understand my own feelings,<sup>81</sup> motives and desires - no wonder I made a lame affair of it all.

English services could be held only if there were any on the mission who could not understand the vernacular, and required the express permission of the Bishop.<sup>82</sup>

The second point stressed by Cotterill was that the chief aim of mission was

.../to...

... to teach the natives by all means within your power the truths of the Gospel of Christ, that is both the great facts of the Life and death of the Son of God, and the way of salvation by faith in Him.<sup>83</sup>

Cotterill advised his missionaries to preach and to read and expound Holy Scripture at all times, publicly, from house to house, and in schools. Cotterill especially recommended catechizing.<sup>84</sup> Cotterill went on:

It is doubtless also necessary to expound and enforce the moral law of God, but unless at the same time you lead them to Christ as the end of the law, your warnings and exhortations will produce no satisfactory result, nor have you any right to expect a blessing on your labours.<sup>85</sup>

Cotterill allowed each missionary to organize services to suit the needs of his own mission, but laid down that teaching should be their main aim, based on the Bible, and made by the missionary "as intelligible as possible to the native mind."<sup>86</sup> Nor were the missionaries to deviate in any way from the Book of Common Prayer. Some services should be suitable for Christians, and use of the forms of Morning and Evening Prayer and the Liturgy, as well as the Communion service were advocated. Music was recommended for all services. For services intended for the heathen, frequent repetition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments was ordered. These three were to be taught to children at school and to adults under Christian instruction. The Bishop suggested that congregations at church be divided into the baptized, the candidates for baptism, and the heathen, each group sitting separately.<sup>87</sup>

Cotterill's new policy of surrounding each mission with an African population, the nucleus of what he hoped would become a Christian community, meant that the missionary in charge would have to exercise a new kind of authority. Previously, he had been an itinerant preacher, teacher and adviser, and a somewhat erratic employer and supervisor of labour: now he became the head of a Christian community-in-embryo, responsible for teaching the Christian way of life and maintaining its discipline, which meant the eradication of some African customs. All under his care were to receive Christian instruction and to work so that the community could become self-supporting.<sup>88</sup>

The second half of 1857 saw the growth of a new kind of community on each mission. Cotterill remarked in December 1857, that

... experience has shown that it is on the people, and not (as a general rule) through the chiefs, that our Mission work will tell; and the present state of the natives makes the chief's influence of less importance than ever.<sup>89</sup>

Mission work was centralized, but the missionaries found, to their

/regret...

regret, that they were unable to help all who came to them. The poverty of the Xhosa was not quickly ended; the entry in Waters' journal for the 4th September, 1857, read:

Much distressed today by seeing so many poor people whom I was unable to relieve.<sup>90</sup>

Waters also regretted that his own lack of funds obliged him to participate in the Governor's scheme for drawing the Xhosa into the colony as labourers:

August 24th: Sent off about one hundred poor people to the Colony - I rode to the drift and took leave of them very sorrowfully, as many of them had been long in our neighbourhood.<sup>91</sup>

Waters added that he

... was pleased at them asking very strongly to take care of their children whom they had left with me.<sup>92</sup>

Although the chief's importance had declined, Waters continued to meet and talk to Sarili, but on the 9th September, the missionary received a severe disappointment:

... At Krili's kraal - found all the huts empty - nothing but a few dying dogs to be seen. Off-saddled and told Busach to fire an old hut as a call to anyone who might be near - but no one came or called.

How changed the kraal - the dancing and shouting, the cattle and crowds of people - all gone. My noble school of Captains and Councillors - the work over which I have toiled in sickness and in health - but always in hope.

"May my prayers return unto mine own bosom."<sup>93</sup>  
On my way home saw vultures eating a dead man.

In July 1857, two new men, Richard Goode Hutt,<sup>94</sup> and William Homan Turpin,<sup>95</sup> arrived at St. Mark's. A new kind of organization was needed on the mission. The missionaries met to arrange services,<sup>96</sup> and the inhabitants of the station were divided into two companies, living on opposite sides of the river which flowed through the station, each under its own captain.<sup>97</sup> The people were engaged in agricultural operations, and life on the station began to settle into a regular routine.<sup>98</sup>

In his report for the quarter ending 30th September, 1857, Waters wrote:

Every soul capable of receiving instruction on the station is under it - the younger portion in the day schools - the adults in the evening schools.

Several boys have made progress and read Kafir. All can repeat several Psalms and hymns - and begin to sing tolerably. The most

of them know the creed, the Lord's Prayer & the Ten Commandments.<sup>99</sup>

To the missionaries Christianity and idleness were incompatible, and they began to see a way in which their mission work could develop, with industry and religion growing together, along the lines envisaged by Sir George Grey. Cotterill wrote in December 1857, that

... as far as labourers in the Mission-field are concerned, we need none so much now, as pious mechanics, especially carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, or wheelwrights; ...<sup>100</sup>

Schools were well attended, and often the chapel was full. The 30th September, 1857, was a momentous day at St. Mark's: Waters had his first class of candidates for baptism.<sup>101</sup> To these four men, Waters explained the first commandment and heard them say the Lord's Prayer. By the end of the year, four classes for catechumens had been formed, one for men, another for women, another for teenagers, and a fourth for boys and girls: eighty attended altogether.<sup>102</sup> Christian discipline was stressed:

Told them I should keep a sharp eye on their conduct previous to their being baptized. That God asked for their hearts and not their words.<sup>103</sup>

The entry in Waters' journal for the 21st October, 1857, reads:

Catechumens surprized at the Christian practice of restitution of stolen property in connexion with VIII Command.<sup>104</sup>

Waters had to reprove those he was instructing:

... Two catechumens rude to me today. Spoke to them privately, when they both expressed great sorrow for having spoken 'when their hearts were sore.'<sup>105</sup>

A boy named Golonga was the first to receive Christian baptism: Waters baptized him just before he died, and his body was given Christian burial.<sup>106</sup> By the end of 1857, the first adults were ready for baptism:

I should have had a Baptismal service on Xmas day, but hoping to have the Bishop to hold this the first Adult Kafir Baptism I put it off till the Epiphany.<sup>107</sup>

Waters at St. Mark's was building a community: at St. John's most of the missionary's time was spent looking after the children entrusted to his care. Before the cattle killing, the situation at St. John's was bleak:

... hardly a single Kafir attended divine service.. or expressed a wish for instruction of any kind, either for himself or his children,...<sup>108</sup>

After the tragedy

... they then readily gave up their children for instruction, a few for short periods (in no case less than two years) the majority of them altogether. Such numbers applied that we could find neither food nor accommodation for them all. We had to content ourselves with as many as could be crowded into the buildings we possessed. The number at one time exceeded 148 - altogether we received 177 of which 24 died and five returned to their parents.

Many of the children when brought in, were in the last stage of famine - this circumstance will account for the number of deaths. In addition to these, we buried 9 adults.<sup>109</sup>

Because buildings were inadequate, services were held in the open air. The missionary looked forward to being able to report progress in the catechumenate, if not a baptism.

There were also changes at St. Luke's as a result of the cattle killing. Most of the work was transferred from the original site of the mission to Newlands on the Nxarune, where a large number of people had settled.<sup>110</sup> This area was suitable for farming and it was hoped to build up a community there similar to that in the making at St. Mark's. Initially, Cotterill planned to abandon the old station near Fort Waterloo and to send the missionary to East London to work among the people who had gone there from the mission in search of work. Greenstock went from St. Luke's in September 1857, and arranged a site in East London for the new mission. The people there clearly saw it as a centre around which a new society could be built, for they told Greenstock that

... they were living in great ignorance, and it was good that they should have a Missionary, that they might not be altogether outcasts (from society),<sup>111</sup>

Ultimately, Cotterill decided not to abandon old St. Luke's altogether, in the belief that the original population would return. Greenstock was to stay on for the time being, and was given a task particularly suited to his linguistic talents. On the 28th November, 1857, he recorded in his journal that he had begun to translate the Catechism.<sup>112</sup> Up till then, the Anglican missionaries had been using a shorter version of the catechism translated by the Wesleyans.<sup>113</sup>

Greenstock's missionary work at the original St. Luke's did not altogether cease. He was wary of interfering with family or tribal relationships. A child related to Mhala was dying and Greenstock recorded in his journal:

/We....

We prayed for her, and that was all we could do, for I did not feel justified in baptizing her without the consent of her natural guardians - and yet this was a most painful course to take, for the child evidently had received religious impressions, and when I spoke to her about faith in Christ, she said earnestly, "I believe..."<sup>114</sup>

The child died before consent could be obtained, but Greenstock was not hopeful. On a previous occasion the chief showed

... greatest opposition to the baptism of a dying child, and had he been present now it would I am afraid have been the same...<sup>115</sup>

The missionary was determined to assert a new set of values, in spite of the chief. When Mhala wanted Greenstock to lend him a messenger,

I told him that I did not like the idea of lending about a man as one would a horse. But he said, these people are our dogs, and they call themselves so. I protested strongly against his thinking so meanly of a human being, even tho' one of the common people.<sup>116</sup>

The cattle killing and missionary influence brought changes; tribal burial customs were breaking down, or being overlaid by Christian practice. Greenstock wrote:

All four men on the Station assisted very willingly at the burial - this is a good sign, showing that they are overcoming ancient prejudices.<sup>117</sup>

In July 1857, a new station was opened at Emncotshe, about twelve miles from Newlands, under Peter Joseph Syre.<sup>118</sup> Its foundation was the result of a discussion between Smith, Mhala's son, and Cotterill. Smith had not slaughtered his beasts during the cattle killing, and he, with a large body of followers and cattle, had been settled in a government location on the east bank of the Buffalo River.<sup>119</sup>

The message of Mhlahaza had not been for the Mfengu at St. Matthew's, but the cattle killing left its mark on the work of this station. In Cotterill's eyes they were by no means favourable: the Mfengu had grown wealthy through the sale of corn to the starving Xhosa, and had been able to buy up horses and cattle cheaply. The soil was very fertile and large tracts were under cultivation, so that the prosperous Mfengu were in a state "not...the most favourable for Missionary operations."<sup>120</sup> About thirty children attended school, though somewhat erratically, and three schools at outstations were in various stages of completion.<sup>121</sup> A teacher went out from the central station daily. Cotterill regarded it as a promising sign that the people were willing to help erect school buildings,

/but...

but there were no candidates for baptism, and the overall picture seems to have been one of apathy and adherence to African custom. Cotterill warned the assembled Mfengu leaders

... that as the Kafirs were now suffering under God's judgements for their sins, so the Fingoes, if they did not receive the word of God in this time of their prosperity, would bring upon themselves His displeasure...<sup>122</sup>

It seemed that at St. Matthew's, even if Sir George Grey's policy had produced agriculturalists participating in a money economy, Christianity had advanced very little.

Whatever their rôle in precipitating the cattle killing, the missionaries did their best to help the people rebuild their lives. Aid was designed specifically to create a new kind of society and structure in Kaffraria, with mission station replacing chief's kraal as the centre of population and focus of religion, economy and way of life. The old way which had failed to meet and overcome the crisis of confrontation with another culture had received a blow, but former loyalties were not dead, and would rise. The Anglican missionaries would have to face this as they sought to build the church, pursuing a policy, the roots of which lay in their response to the cattle killing of 1857.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. M.Wilson and L.Thompson, eds., op.cit., p.241
2. du Toit, p.100.
3. Moshoeshoe, founder and first paramount chief of the Basuto, established himself at Thaba Bosigo in 1824. He offered protection to weak and scattered groups, and in 1833 encouraged the settlement of French missionaries at Morija. The second half of his life was marked by struggles over land; his kingdom was annexed by Britain in 1868. He died in 1870.
4. M.Wilson and L.Thompson, eds., op.cit., p.259.
5. Mhlahaza was born in the Transkei, and died in the Kentani district in 1857. He was a prophet, the instigator of the cattle killing, a respected seer of Sarili. The medium through whom he interpreted messages from the ancestral spirits was Nongquase, his niece. The

/date...

date of the resurrection he foretold, originally 18th February, 1851, was postponed until June. Convinced of the truth of his prophecies, he and most of his household died of starvation.

6. du Toit, p.101.
7. M.Wilson and L.Thompson, eds., op.cit., p.258.
8. R.Gray, Journal of a Visitation of the Diocese of Graham's Town, in July and August, 1856, p.14.
9. Ibid., p.24.
10. Ibid., p.23.
11. Ibid., p.34.
12. Ibid., p.36.
13. Ibid., pp.35f.
14. Ibid., p.34.
15. Ibid., p.39.
16. Ibid., p.41.
17. Ibid., p.40.
18. H.Cotterill, Journal of a Visitation of the Diocese of Grahamstown, p.28.
19. R.Gray, op.cit., p.42.
20. Hardie to Gray, 2-6-56, S.A.L.
21. Ibid.
22. R.Gray, op.cit., p.43.
23. M.Wilson and L.Thompson, eds., op.cit., p.258.
24. Ibid.
25. R.Gray, op.cit., p.14
26. Ibid., p.47.
27. Ibid., p.48.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. There was no female participation in the conference of missionaries, but from the first, women were active on Anglican mission stations. Some are little more than names: Mrs. Sedgeley and Mrs. Mitchell were hostel matrons, Miss von Ende and Miss Castle school teachers.

/Hannah...

Hannah Harding is a more outstanding figure. She was at Loyedale from 1845 to 1855, but then moved into Anglican work. She is described as "hightempered" and a "Separatist who did not conform" (Woodrooffe's journal, 1858, p.19.) She left St. John's mission and the Anglicans after about five years, but ended her life in 1885 running a private mission school. There was an "indefatigable Miss Bond" running St. Peter's Gwatyu in 1864 (S.P.G. Annual Report, 1865, p.89.) Some women, in due course continued the work they had begun as matrons and teachers, as missionaries' wives. Miss Lundell who taught at St. John's, became Mrs. John Aldred, Hannah Radcliffe Bond, (sister of the indefatigable), married Albert Maggs, and Miss Gray married John Gordon. Greenstock's marriage to Cotterill's eldest daughter, and later, the marriage of Bransby Key to Waters' daughter Georgina, brought new women as labourers into the mission field.

31. R.Gray, op.cit., p.48.
32. Ibid., p.46.
33. Ibid., p.54.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. Quarterly report from Greenstock, 2-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
37. Waters to Gray, 10-3-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
38. Ibid.
39. Waters to Gray, 10-1-57, SPG ms E2.
40. Ibid.
41. Waters to Gray, 10-3-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
42. Waters to Gray, 10-4-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Waters to Gray, 10-1-57, SPG ms E2.
46. Waters to Gray, 10-4-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. C.Lewis and G.Edwards, Historical records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, p.260.

51. C.C., January 1883, p.11.
52. Ibid., p.10.
53. H.Cotterill, op.cit., p.30.
54. Ibid., p.28.
55. Ibid., p.35.
56. Ibid., p.24.
57. Ibid., p.20.
58. Cotterill to Bullock, 7-8-57, SPG ms D7.
59. Ibid.
60. H.Cotterill, op.cit., p.18.
61. Quarterly report from Greenstock, 2-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
62. H.Cotterill, op.cit., p.18.
63. Cotterill to Bullock, 9-6-57, SPG ms D7.
64. Cotterill to Bullock, 7-8-57, SPG ms D7.
65. Merriman to Hawkins, 6-3-57, SPG ms D7.
66. Cotterill to Bullock, 9-6-57, SPG ms D7.
67. H.Cotterill, op.cit., p.18.
68. Cotterill to Hawkins, 12-2-58, SPG ms D7.
69. H.Cotterill, op.cit., pp.18f.
70. Cotterill to Bullock, 7-8-57, SPG ms D7.
71. H.Cotterill, op.cit., p.39.
72. Ibid., p.40.
73. Ibid.,
74. Ibid., p.41.
75. Ibid., p.42.
76. Published in the Graham's Town Journal, 8-9-57.
77. John Maclean (1810-1874) arrived at the Cape in 1835 and served in the 6th frontier war. In 1845 he succeeded Theophilus Shepstone as diplomatic agent with the Mfengu at Peddie. In 1847 he was appointed Native Commissioner with the Ndlambe. In 1852 he became Chief Commissioner for British Kaffraria, and Lieutenant-Governor in 1860. He compiled a Compendium of Native Laws and Customs in 1858. He retired from office in 1864 when his health broke.

78. Cotterill to Hawkins, 12-2-58, SPG ms D7.
79. Circular, Cotterill to all missionaries, 22-7-57, SPG ms D7.
80. Henry Kitton (1819-91) was ordained priest in 1846. He arrived in Grahamstown in 1857, and was Rector of Holy Trinity and Archdeacon of British Kaffraria from 1861. He died in King William's Town.
81. C.C., April 1885, p.122.
82. Circular, Cotterill to all missionaries, 22-7-57, SPG ms D7.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. H.Cotterill, op.cit., p.18.
89. M.F., March 1858, p.65.
90. Waters' journal, 4-9-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
91. Waters' journal, 24-8-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
92. Ibid.
93. Waters' journal, 9-9-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
94. Born in 1831, Richarde Goode Hutt arrived with Cotterill's party in 1857. He was ordained priest in 1858, and worked at St. John the Baptist's until 1862, when he took over the principalship of the Kafir Institute for a year. He was an acting Colonial Chaplain in Grahamstown from 1863 to 1866, when he returned to England.
95. William Homan Turpin offered himself to the S.P.G. as a missionary at the age of 21. He was ordained deacon by Cotterill in 1859, and priest in 1864. He worked first at St. Mark's and then at St. Peter's, and in 1860 opened the mission in Grahamstown which became St. Philip's. He died in 1920.
96. Waters' journal, 24-8-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
97. Waters' journal, 25-12-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
98. Waters' journal, 12-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
99. Quarterly report from Waters, 30-9-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
100. M.F., March 1858, p.63.
101. Waters' journal, 30-9-57, SPG ms C/AFS.

102. Quarterly report from Waters, 31-12-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
103. Ibid.
104. Waters' journal, 21-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
105. Waters' journal, 5-12-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
106. Waters' journal, 12-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
107. Waters' journal, 31-12-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
108. Quarterly report from Smith, 31-12-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
109. Ibid.
110. Quarterly report from Greenstock, 2-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
111. Greenstock's journal, 27-9-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
112. Greenstock's journal, 28-11-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
113. M.F., March 1858, p.62.
114. Greenstock's journal, 5-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
115. Ibid.
116. Greenstock's journal, 19-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
117. Greenstock's journal, 17-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS;
118. Peter Joseph Syr ee had attended the University of Bonn, and travelled with Cotterill to Grahamstown. Ordained priest in 1858, he worked at Port Alfred until 1865, when he returned to England, He assisted in the translation of the Book of Common Prayer.
119. H.Cotterill, op.cit., p.36.
120. M.F., March 1858, p.60.
121. Ibid., p.61.
122. Ibid., p.60.

CHAPTER 3

DIOCESAN ORGANIZATION

Of the many practical problems facing Bishop Cotterill, the most apparent and pressing was finance. His diocesan mission yoked two very different tasks: that to European colonists was similar to parochial work in England, but the mission to heathen and work among newly converted Africans required different qualifications for its clergy and a different overall organization. To make the first self-supporting was not easy, but to do the same for the second arduous in the extreme. The major contribution to funds for mission work came from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which backed the work from the start. Government grants were the second source of funds open to Cotterill for mission work, while local contributions constituted the smallest element in mission finances: donations from colonists for missions were meagre and uncertain, but as mission work grew, African converts were encouraged to give what they could to the support of the church. Realising that it was impossible for administration of funds and day-to-day organization to rest with himself, Cotterill's policy from the first was to build up a stable and sound organization for the Church as a whole and for the missions under his direction: synod and missionary conference were the organs through which he worked and to which he delegated responsibility.

The relationship between the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had its headquarters in London, and the Bishop was not based on a formal contract. Founded in 1701 under Royal Charter, the Society's purpose was that of the Bishop of Grahamstown writ large: it provided ministers of the Church of England for members of that church in the colonies of the Empire, and secondly to preach Christ's Gospel to the heathen of these regions. Many bishops were active members of the Society, and the Archbishop of Canterbury acted as President at its monthly meetings. The S.P.G. tended to attract and reflect High Church views, unlike its counterpart, the Church Missionary Society, which had a consistently Evangelical theology. The S.P.G. regarded itself as an organ of the Church of England and was willing to place its missionaries under the authority of a bishop.<sup>1</sup> By the mid-1850s it was the Society's Secretary, rather than its president, who had the most responsible post. From 1843 to 1864 the office was held by Ernest Hawkins, and he was succeeded by William Thomas Bullock, who had been his assistant since 1850. Until 1832 the Society received a parliamentary grant,<sup>2</sup> and also raised funds

by means of Royal Letters, the last of which was issued in 1853. Parochial Associations and District Committees of the Society were first established in 1819, and this network was extended after the withdrawal of State aid.<sup>3</sup> Both Gray and Colenso had been local secretaries of the S.P.G. before coming to south Africa, which first became an S.P.G. field of concern in 1819 when the society provided two chaplains for the 1820 Settlers. In 1820 William Wright came out as a missionary to the heathen and established a school at Wynberg.<sup>4</sup> Between 1836 and 1846, seven clergymen were sent out by the S.P.G. Though the Colonial Bishops Fund had endowed the sees of Cape Town, Grahamstown and Natal, the S.P.G. contributed £500 a year<sup>5</sup> to the support of the first, and £5,000 when Grahamstown and Natal were formed.<sup>6</sup> Among the founder members of the Colonial Bishops Fund were Ernest Hawkins and others from the S.P.G. and the two organizations shared a secretary.

For unravelling the confusion left by his predecessor<sup>7</sup> and establishing a sound system for the administration of their grant, Cotterill was provided with some guidelines by the Society. At a general meeting of that body, held on the 20th March, 1857, conditions and rules governing the Society's grants were made: all instructions were to be carried out by the Bishop, "or his Representative."<sup>8</sup> Firstly, the Society's grant was to be kept separate from any other diocesan funds. The bishop, once the expenditure of the grant was arranged, but before any bills had been drawn on the Society, was to send a list of these bills to London. It was also the duty of the bishop (or his representative) to apply to the Society for the salary of clergymen in his diocese, and, if they were to be paid by the S.P.G., to inform the Society of any vacancies for clergy or schoolmasters in his diocese. Other instructions dealt with the payment of salaries to individual ministers: clergy were to draw their salaries direct from the Treasurers of the S.P.G. but only after the Society had received a letter of advice signed by each clergyman. The bishop was to distribute forms to be filled in periodically by each missionary, outlining their activities. These instructions applied to all S.P.G. missionaries, a term used by the Society to describe those engaged in colonial work as well as those working among a heathen population. Resolution No. Five at the meeting dealt specifically with missions to the heathen: the senior missionary at each institution was to draw on the Society's Treasurer for a sum, previously specified by the bishop, to pay catechists, teachers and the incidental expenses of his mission, but only after a letter of advice, giving a detailed account of expenditure, had been forwarded to London.<sup>9</sup>

/Cotterill...

Cotterill arrived in his new diocese on the 7th May, 1857. By the 12th June, he had drawn up a circular<sup>10</sup> to be sent to his clergy outlining his proposal for distributing the S.P.G. grant, which because of local requirements deviated from S.P.G. instructions. He asked each missionary to fill in an application schedule without stating a specific amount but indicating as a guide to the Bishop the amount previously drawn. Cotterill also asked that their quarterly reports be sent through him and proposed that bills be negotiated in Grahamstown by the diocesan Treasurer. While each missionary was to draw for the salaries of those on his station, the Bishop himself would draw the incidental expenses for the whole diocese: this was a major departure from the S.P.G. scheme.<sup>11</sup>

In a letter to Ernest Hawkins dated the following day, he gave his reasons for this: general expenditure varied greatly from mission to mission, and it was unfair to enter the heavy cost of travel between missions in the estimates of a particular mission.<sup>12</sup> Apparently the S.P.G. questioned both Cotterill's wish to draw funds half-yearly in advance, and to centralize incidental expenses, for on the 30th September, 1857,<sup>13</sup> he wrote to the Society defending both proposals. Half-yearly payments saved both trouble and expense and meant ready money would be available. He was adamant that incidental expenses needed to be centralized so that they could be checked and controlled, and so that the missionaries would not have a large sum settled on them to spend as they pleased. Cotterill proposed to the S.P.G. that this central body should consist of himself and a committee.

It had been S.P.G. policy, and Cotterill's plan from the first, to include others in the administration of the S.P.G. grant and in the raising of funds locally for church work, but on the 13th June, 1857 he reported to Ernest Hawkins that responsibility would continue to rest with him alone:

... as I have not yet had time to organize the Diocesan Association of the S.P.G. to raise in the country the funds necessary to meet the contingencies, which I fear must be a work of time...<sup>14</sup>

On the 15th September he reported that he found it very difficult to get laymen to serve on a committee of the S.P.G: the military were not allowed to do so, and business men and government servants were too busy. This projected body would have two functions; firstly it was to raise locally subscriptions towards the payment of incidental expenses, and secondly, to supervise the spending of the S.P.G. grant for that purpose.<sup>15</sup>

Cotterill's first scheme was not satisfactory, and on the 13th April, 1858, he told Hawkins that at a conference of clergy and laity an attempt

/would....

would be made to establish a more effective system.<sup>16</sup> On the 18th and 19th August, 1858, the first conference of Anglican missionaries met at St. John's mission station. The agenda for this conference laid the pattern for the future, for chief among the issues discussed were "native agency", translation, and polygamy, but significant for the financial organization of the missions was the fact that the Bishop and the seven assembled missionaries agreed on the allocation of funds to the various mission stations.<sup>17</sup>

By the beginning of 1859, the Bishop, alarmed by the uncertainty of the government grants for missions, had decided to go to England to raise money for this branch of the work, although he hoped that the missions would be self-supporting when the farms became productive. He also hoped that European settlers, now giving generously to the support of their own clergy, would "also learn the privilege of giving more to the Mission work,"<sup>18</sup>

In September, 1858, the Bishop's secretary returned to England; this would have left Cotterill directly responsible for all the minor details arising from mission work.<sup>19</sup> He therefore appointed as his commissaries Waters and Kitton. The mission field was divided into two regions, the northern district encompassing missions across the Kei, and the southern including St. Matthew's, St. John's, St. Luke's and East London, with Waters responsible for the former, and Kitton for the latter. When the Bishop went to England, these two men supervised the missions supported by the S.P.G., and ensured continuity and sound financial administration. Before he left, Cotterill issued a circular giving "Instructions for the management of the Southern Kaffrarian Missions..." which were summed up by the first sentence:

In the Missions in the Southern district all the accounts will pass through the Commissary's hands, who will draw the funds necessary for the Missions and supply them to the several Stations in accordance with the scale, and on the principles, which which have been already decided on.<sup>20</sup>

The Commissaries were to allocate funds in accordance with the decisions of the conference in August, but the missionaries would draw their own salaries as usual, and although the commissary would visit each station at intervals and send reports to the Bishop, missionaries would retain the management of their own stations and were free to communicate with Cotterill about them. The responsibilities of the commissaries were varied but both great and small; missionaries were far from centres of business, and it was Kitton who paid their bills at trading stores in King William's Town,<sup>21</sup> who provided them with change<sup>22</sup> and ordered and forwarded school books,<sup>23</sup>

/who..

who recruited artisans to work at St. Mark's,<sup>24</sup> and who, remembering their isolation, sent them copies of the Illustrated London News.<sup>25</sup>

When Cotterill left for England early in 1859, a system for the administration of missions and for handling finances had already been established: the Bishop was not troubled with the minutiae of running the missions, but retained overall supervision and spiritual direction. Although he had delegated responsibility within his diocese, it was Cotterill himself who continued to be the chief channel of communication with the S.P.G.

The second missionary conference was held on the 28th and 29th March 1860 in King William's Town: Kitton acted as secretary.<sup>26</sup> As at the previous conference, the assembled missionaries, under the chairmanship of the Bishop, allocated among the Church's missions the funds available for the purpose from the S.P.G. and government. A more important event in 1860 was the diocesan Synod, held in June, at which a committee was appointed to discuss the formation of a Board of Missions. Synod decided against this: the Bishop himself asked that the existing mission organization be recognized by Synod, and it was resolved that

In the opinion of the Synod, the present mode of management of Mission Affairs by the body of the Missionary Clergy, under the Bishop of the Diocese and such Ecclesiastical authorities as he may appoint, is the best, under existing circumstances,<sup>27</sup>

Synod saw the missions as an integral, though administratively distinct, part of the diocese, and also decided that

With a view of awakening a deeper interest in Missions to the Heathen,... one or more Mission Sermons should be preached in every Church, yearly; and that the Mission Clergy should be invited to communicate with the Colonial Clergy from time to time, to supply information on the subject,<sup>28</sup>

By the third conference, which took place on the 20th and 21st February, 1861, the missionaries had become accustomed to dealing with finance and began to demand greater efficiency and co-ordination: it was arranged on the 21st February

That tabulated statements of Mission statistics on one uniform plan should be annually presented to the Conference.<sup>29</sup>

At the fourth conference, which took place on the 8th and 9th January, 1862, in King William's Town, seat of Kaffrarian government, the bishop proposed a new arrangement for the relationship between the missions and

/the,.....

the S.P.G., and for the management of finances.<sup>30</sup> He had suggested to the Society that the Society's colonial and mission work be kept separate, with the latter directed by the conference. He had also suggested that the Society recognize Kitton as their Secretary for Missions in Grahamstown and give him a salary. As yet no reply had been received about these suggestions from the S.P.G.<sup>31</sup> At the same time, a letter from Ernest Hawkins, dated the 5th August, 1861, stated that

... whenever the Synod of the Diocese should appoint a board to superintend the Mission expenditure, he had no doubt the Society would readily consent to place their grants at the disposal of such board...<sup>32</sup>

Conference had already received the sanction of the Synod, and therefore resolved

1. That the Society be informed that by an Act of the Synod, with reference to Missions, this Conference of Missionaries, meeting under the Bishop, is recognized as the board for management of Mission affairs, as contemplated in the letter.
2. That the Society be requested to place their grants at the disposal of this board,...<sup>33</sup>

The grants available for mission work in 1862 were £3,450 from the S.P.G. and £2,000 from government sources. The conference decided how these funds should be allocated,<sup>34</sup> and in a confident expression of its new status and relationship with the S.P.G. resolved

That the attention of the Society be called to the accompanying estimates for the present year, as showing the impossibility of extending the present operations of the Missions in this Diocese, without largely increased grants from the Society.<sup>35</sup>

The response from 79 Pall Mall, S.P.G. headquarters in London, was not altogether favourable. The Society's standing committee saw

... some objections to placing a large money grant under the control and administration of the body amongst whom it is to be divided - but as it appears that no other board can be constituted - they will sanction the proposal to place the grant for heathen missions at the disposal of that board, provided that every resolution affecting financial arrangements has your (i.e., Cotterill's) express sanction and approval.<sup>36</sup>

No reply to Cotterill's application to the S.P.G. on behalf of the missions for an increased grant had been received<sup>37</sup> when the fifth conference met as usual in King William's Town from the 22nd to 26th January 1863,<sup>38</sup> and so estimates for that year had to be based on existing grants. While thanking the Society for placing their grants at their

/disposal...

disposal, the missionaries also resolved

That to meet the views of the S.P.G. as far as possible, a Finance Committee be appointed, to consist of four persons besides the local Secretary to the S.P.G. Missions in this diocese, only two of whom shall be missionaries, whose duty it shall be to enquire into, and with the sanction of the Bishop to allow such alterations in the financial arrangements now agreed upon as may be required during the present year, and to prepare estimates of probable expenditure for the consideration of the Conference from year to year,<sup>39</sup>

The first members of this committee were Thomas Henschman,<sup>40</sup> H.T. Waters, Henry Reade Woodrooffe,<sup>41</sup> with Kitton as secretary, and the Bishop as ex officio President. The missionaries were to obtain the permission of the committee for any alteration in the arrangements of Conference for expenditure on their stations, and were required to send to the secretary at the start of every quarter a clear statement of the expenditure and debts of his mission for the preceding three months.

Within six years Cotterill had created an efficient organization to run the missionary work of his diocese, consisting of the annual conference and a finance committee. The Bishop was very committed to working through this system, and reluctant to act alone:

But our Missionary Conferences & the pledge I am under to the S.P.G... to manage all the Mission affairs through that, would be a mere farce if a new mission... were now to be opened by me without consulting the whole body of missionaries on the subject.<sup>42</sup>

Somewhat against his will, but at the wish of the S.P.G., Cotterill retained some administrative responsibility as chairman of conference and president of committee, although the burden of work was largely borne by Kitton. Cotterill was the main link between the missions and the S.P.G., and the Society was keen that he continue to be responsible for mission work.

A society with a world-wide mission was not always aware of or responsive to the trials and anxieties of the colonial bishop of a distant frontier diocese, and in the years 1862-3, relations between Grahamstown and 79 Pall Mall became very strained. The chief cause of tension was money, but related to it was the question of mission organization, the running of S.P.G. affairs in the diocese, the extent of the need for a Bishop's involvement in the undoubtedly important temporal affairs of missions, and the right of the S.P.G. to force its policy on an unwilling bishop.

On several occasions, Cotterill expressed his opinion on the nature of his relationship with the S.P.G. and on the organization of missions in

the diocese. In August, 1861, he outlined his views in a letter to Hawkins:

It is a mere accident, not certainly essential, nor in my opinion altogether desirable, that the Bishop acts here in your behalf in the management of the temporal & financial affairs of the Mission. They might be managed by any person or body of persons whom you shd. appoint to represent you, of course in communication with the Bishop & consulting him, & leaving him the spiritual direction superintendance of the work.<sup>43</sup>

Cotterill was prepared to work through the annual conference of missionaries, but thought that the S.P.G. should have a local secretary.

The government grants to missions were cut in 1862, and would cease in 1863: this increased the Bishop's anxieties, and early in 1862 he wrote more urgently to the S.P.G.:

I have said before & shall never cease saying, - the Missions are yours not mine, as regards the responsibility of supporting them...<sup>44</sup>

By 1863 the situation was even more pressing and Cotterill warned Hawkins that unless the Society could increase its grant, mission work in his diocese would have to be cut back: he asked for a reply as soon as possible, as important decisions about whether and where cuts should be made depended on the answer. The extent of his anxiety is clear from a letter to Bullock:

... we have been led on by the Govt. Grants to a work quite beyond the S.P.G. grants. The reduction of 900£ last year crippled us much, now the loss of another 1500£ lays us prostrate.<sup>45</sup>

By April 1863, Cotterill had received no reply from the S.P.G. about the grants, and so wrote privately and very indignantly to Bullock:

... for a year we have been remaining in suspense, not knowing whether to reduce or not - & that when your Committee was well aware that from the large & sudden reduction of the Govt. grants we were really at our wits' end...<sup>46</sup>

It was in this letter that Cotterill also raised the matter of his other grievances. He had just received a letter from a Mr Kemp, Assistant Secretary to the S.P.G. objecting to a grant of twenty-five pounds to Kitton for his work as Secretary to the missions. Kemp had written that

... the Archdeacon has never received an appointment from the Society entitling him to such annual salary.<sup>47</sup>

Cotterill drew attention to the S.P.G. report for 1862, p.114, which he

/quoted....

quoted as stating that

... the Society had, on his Lordship's recommendation, nominated him its Secretary of Missions in the Diocese of Grahamstown.<sup>48</sup>

The incident strengthened the Bishop's opinion that he should leave the S.P.G. to manage the missions:

I have done my best since I came to this Diocese to meet the views of your Committee on the management of the Missions. For some time, I was treated with that confidence, without which it is impossible for a Bishop to carry on the work of the Society with satisfaction at a distance - ...

But of late there has been from some cause, which I do not understand, a complete change.<sup>49</sup>

Instead of a response to his questions about their grant, Cotterill had received Kemp's letter about Kitton, and one from Ernest Hawkins telling him that he had overdrawn.<sup>50</sup> The cases of Charles Frederick Patten<sup>51</sup> and of the Mission to Independent Kaffraria aggravated further the Bishop's sense of being wronged.

The missionaries in Cotterill's diocese consisted of two groups: those who had been selected and sent out by the S.P.G.,<sup>52</sup> and those who had been placed on the S.P.G. list by the Bishop. Both drew their salaries from the Society. Laymen who applied to the Society for employment in a colonial diocese, were asked not only their name, address, age, marital status, educational qualifications and state of health, but were required to give details about their baptism, confirmation and how frequently they took Communion. Two pertinent questions were "Are you in debt or under any pecuniary embarrassment", and "What considerations have led you to offer yourself for Missionary employment?"<sup>53</sup> The applicant was also asked to provide the names of clergymen and others to whom he was well known. The applicant, if his answers and testimonials were satisfactory, was required to write an examination set by a board of examiners instituted in 1845 by the S.P.G., the members of which were appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London.<sup>54</sup>

One of the men the S.P.G. sent out to the diocese of Grahamstown was C.F.Patten: he arrived towards the end of 1861, or early in 1862, for on the 13th January 1862, Cotterill told Bullock that he did not think Patten would make a missionary and was not willing to send him to St. Mark's,<sup>55</sup> In March Patten was assisting Kitton at King William's Town.<sup>56</sup>

/On...

On the 4th April, 1862, Hawkins wrote to Cotterill: the Society was grieved to find that Patten was not at St. Mark's but involved in "English work".<sup>57</sup> In fact, this was a direct breach of contract, as Patten had signed an agreement with the Society, which Hawkins quoted:

Mr Patten is to proceed without delay to the Diocese of Grahams-town and to place his services at the Bishop's disposal with a view to his employment in the Kafir Missions in connection with the Society...<sup>58</sup>

Cotterill replied to this letter on the 15th May, 1862.<sup>59</sup> He pointed out that to be able to employ Patten on a mission he would have to withdraw from mission work a man more suited to it than Patten. Already as many were employed on the missions as the S.P.G. grant would allow: £2825 of the S.P.G. grant of £3250 was spent on missionary salaries. The Bishop, while accepting the Society's fiat on Patten, warned that he would register his objection to the man's unsuitability "by exercising his discretion as to receiving... candidates for ordination."<sup>60</sup> In July, 1862, Cotterill reported that Patten had gone to St. Mark's,<sup>61</sup> and by November 1862 he admitted that he and his wife were "... doing better than expected"<sup>62</sup> with Waters. Nevertheless, the Bishop was angered by S.P.G. interference in the affair, which he certainly did not regard as closed.

In a letter to Hawkins written on the 12th March, 1863,<sup>63</sup> he gave as one of his reasons for overdrawing on his account with the S.P.G. the transfer of Patten from colonial work where he was no burden on the Society's funds to mission work, where he was. The second reason for the overdraft was error and confusion. If the Society would not make a special grant to cover the deficit, Cotterill would accept it as a personal debt and pay it off in instalments. The Bishop was tired of the worry brought on him by constant concern with mission finances, and wrote firmly:

I must now request to be relieved of all responsibility with regard to them (the missions) except as regards the spiritual superintendence which belongs to my office... correspondence with your society as to the temporal management of the Missions can be conducted with equal efficiency, and with more satisfaction to myself, by others. You will consider my countersignature of the bills simply as certifying that the person signing it is the Treasurer, or Secretary, of the Missions... It will probably be unnecessary,... when the relation of the Secretary... to your Society is fully established, that my name should appear on the bills.<sup>64</sup>

The month after writing this Cotterill received the letter from Kemp

/about....

about Kitton's salary, which provoked him into pointing out all his grievances. Most of the issues centred round money and mission organization: the question of increased grants, Kitton's salary, where Patten was to work, and how he was to be paid.

Cotterill was also angry that he had received no reply to his numerous questions about the status of the proposed S.P.G. Mission to Independent Kaffraria, and the effect this would have on the existing Anglican missions across the Kei, St. Mark's and All Saints'. The first move in England towards the establishment of a mission beyond British territory occurred in October 1856, when the Society appointed a Rev. G.V.Reed to lead the party, but he never came out to south Africa.<sup>65</sup> In April 1859, the S.P.G. made a grant of four hundred pounds for a mission to Independent Kaffraria, and in July allocated two hundred pounds of this to the diocese of Grahamstown for the new station of All Saints near the Mbashe.<sup>66</sup> When Mackenzie was consecrated in 1860, the assembled bishops of Cape Town, Natal, St. Helena and Grahamstown met and agreed

... while fully aware of the difficulties of the case,... to represent earnestly to the Venerable Society the importance of founding, without further loss of time, a Mission in Kaffraria proper, for which,... a grant... was made in the year 1859.<sup>67</sup>

In June 1861, Francis Flemyng<sup>68</sup> was appointed to head the S.P.G. Mission to Independent Kaffraria,<sup>69</sup> but failed the medical examination, and the project fell through.<sup>70</sup>

The Bishop of Grahamstown was pleased to hear of the proposed mission,<sup>71</sup> but even when it had fallen through, he wrote and asked that the S.P.G. consider the relationship between the new mission and himself.<sup>72</sup> He recommended a chain of missions extending into the interior from St. Mark's,<sup>73</sup> He received no reply and in April 1862,<sup>74</sup> again asked for clarification on the relationship between himself and the proposed mission: he claimed no episcopal jurisdiction, but warned of the danger of sending out inexperienced men. By 1863, the S.P.G. had planned another mission to the area beyond Cotterill's diocese under a man called Griffiths, but had not given Cotterill a satisfactory answer about the status of the mission,<sup>75</sup> although it was the Bishop's opinion that the new mission and the existing missions of his diocese should be administered by a joint conference and work on the same principles.<sup>76</sup> Griffiths did not come out, but when missions were extended eastward, this policy was eventually adopted.

The tension between Bishop and Society was more or less relieved by a letter Cotterill received from Hawkins, for on the 14th May 1863,<sup>77</sup> the Bishop wrote to Bullock saying that although Hawkins had informed him that the grants would not be increased, he was satisfied with the "tone and spirit"<sup>78</sup> of the communication.

At about the same time, the case of Charles Robert Lange was causing Cotterill some anxiety, and there was some alteration in the arrangements for the administration of missions in the diocese.

Grahamstown's mission clergy, who had no social position to keep up, were paid enough to provide them with a living.<sup>79</sup> On the whole, the clergy proved faithful stewards of the funds at their disposal, but the exceptions caused Cotterill a great deal of trouble, not least because he simply did not have the money with which to meet any deficiency. On one occasion Waters overdrew because of confusion at the method of administration<sup>80</sup> and Richard Goode Hutt caused some anxiety and had to be placed where he had no financial responsibilities,<sup>81</sup> but the most notorious big spender was C.R.Lange. On the 1st January, 1858, he was appointed missionary-in-charge of St. Luke's, Newlands.<sup>82</sup> He had a large family, and his annual income was therefore £250.<sup>84</sup> First he overspent on farming operations and a large house, but Cotterill was inclined to be lenient, and to regard him as reckless rather than dishonest.<sup>85</sup> Nevertheless, the Bishop was prompted to insert a notice in the King William's Town Gazette in 1859 to protect himself in future:

The undersigned has been directed by the L. Bishop of G.T. to give public notice that from this date no claims against the Mission Stations in B. Kaffraria will be recognized by his Lordship as debts from the Missions except they have been incurred on the authority of a written order, signed by the Rev. Henry Kitton...<sup>86</sup>

Lange seems to have objected to this arrangement, and to Kitton's appointment as the Bishop's commissary for the southern mission district: the copy of Instructions for the Management of Missions, when sent to Lange, was accompanied by a letter from Cotterill which ended:

Mr Kitton... has no authority over you in the management of your Mission but is required to report to me for my information as to its state,

As to your very improper and unjust remarks on Mr Kitton personally, I shall simply leave you to discover how much you are mistaken...<sup>87</sup>

/Lange's.....

Lange's conduct did not improve, and by 1863 had taken on a more serious complexion. The Bishop had received letters from Umvalo, one of the men at St. Luke's accusing Lange of refusing to pay the salaries of those who worked on the mission and of neglecting the women and children, and although the Bishop tended to believe the charges, he doubted that an on the spot enquiry would provide conclusive evidence.<sup>88</sup> It was decided at the conference in January 1863, to replace Lange at Newlands.<sup>89</sup> Then more serious evidence came to light: Kitton found proof that Lange had sold a house and trading and grazing rights at St. Luke's in October 1861,<sup>90</sup> while previous mission conferences had forbidden the settlement of Europeans on mission stations.<sup>91</sup> At the 1863 Synod the Bishop formed a court of enquiry which recommended that Lange resign at once and receive his salary to the end of September, or that he stand trial at King William's Town.<sup>92</sup> Lange resigned. The Bishop wrote to the S.P.G. offering some excuse for Lange and asking the Society to pay his salary beyond September: Cotterill could not afford to pay him out of the grants for the diocese.<sup>93</sup>

The 1863 Synod also discussed the administrative functioning of the diocese and resolved:

... that a Diocesan Secretary should be appointed who should act for all Diocesan Boards & Committees that might require his aid.<sup>94</sup>

The Board of Finance had decided that one hundred pounds of his salary would come from colonial sources and fifty pounds from mission funds.<sup>95</sup> Little<sup>96</sup> was appointed to the post. This meant that one man would be responsible for all diocesan finances. This arrangement occurred at a convenient time, for Kitton went to England on long leave half-way through the year, and Little was able to take over his work. Before Synod, the Bishop and Kitton had discussed a suitable substitute for the latter, and Cotterill had suggested his own brother for the office,<sup>97</sup> although Joseph was unwilling to move to King William's Town. It is not clear what occurred, but it seems that Little's tenure of office was very short, for on the 13th July, 1864, Richard Pavitt as Diocesan Secretary informed the S.P.G. that the Treasurer had been instructed to draw on the Society for the stipends of the colonial clergy.<sup>98</sup> There is no indication of who was handling the mission funds until the 12th April, 1865, when J. Cotterill, as Secretary to Missions, drew on the S.P.G. for

/their...

their grants to Grahamstown and to what was referred to as Independent Kaffraria.<sup>99</sup> Robert Mullins drew on the S.P.G. at about the same time as Diocesan Secretary, so it would appear that the Synod resolution could not, for some reason, be carried out. It was to become a reality later: in July, 1868, Mullins was acting mission secretary as well as Diocesan Secretary,<sup>100</sup> but by September of that year, he took on both rôles officially<sup>101</sup> and permanently. Although Mullins continued to occupy the position, there was a further development when, on the 29th July, 1870, a meeting of the Mission Board of Finance resolved

That in future the Principal of the Kafir Institution receive £50 per annum above the salary he can claim as a missionary, but that the Mission Secretaryship be attached to this office.<sup>102</sup>

After 1863, administration of mission funds went on smoothly. In 1867, Cotterill assured Bullock that mission expenditure was simply the execution of the scheme laid down at the conferences, with any alterations requiring permission from the Mission Finance Board.<sup>103</sup>

A constant theme of Cotterill's letters to the S.P.G. was the shortage of money, and he repeatedly requested that even if there could be no increase, there be no reduction. Towards the end of 1868 there was a move to streamline financial arrangements for the missions "with a view to the strictest economy."<sup>104</sup> A memorandum on which comments were invited, was circulated to all missionaries, and the memorandum was discussed at a meeting of the Mission Finance Board in December 1868.<sup>105</sup> The results of the discussion were embodied in a circular to all missionaries dated the 5th January, 1869, which explained exactly how funds were to be spent.<sup>106</sup> It had been decided to pay insurance premiums on mission buildings and travelling expenses incurred on mission business from a central fund, while the cost of school materials, post, and medicines were included in the incidental expenses of each mission. A dilapidation account for each mission was opened to create a reserve fund for building repairs, the sum deposited to be calculated at a rate of 2½% on the value of the buildings. For a grant from this fund, the missionary applied through the Mission Secretary to the Bishop. On the 30th August, 1870, Cotterill reported that this system was working well.<sup>107</sup>

In March 1869, the S.P.G. issued its own list of instructions:<sup>108</sup> a balance sheet showing the amount of bills drawn on the S.P.G. and the actual expenditure of the Society's grant was to be submitted annually, Salaries could be drawn at the end of each quarter by the Secretary, instructed by

/the...

the local committee. The S.P.G. grant was to be kept separate from other funds. A letter of the 10th January, 1870,<sup>109</sup> indicates that Mullins was not a model book-keeper: on the instructions of the mission conference, all income to the diocese of Grahamstown missions had been paid into one fund; but the balance sheets he submitted in January 1871, were both more detailed and more accurate than those of a year earlier.<sup>110</sup>

Grants from the S.P.G. to the Diocese of Grahamstown may be divided into four categories: grants to colonial clergy, and grants given for a particular purpose (for example, to build a mission house on a new station.<sup>111</sup>) There were also grants for what were called colonial missions (those west of the Kei and St. Mark's) and for the missions to Independent Kaffraria, or the Transkeian missions. Until 1864 the grant to Transkeian missions was £200 per annum, but in November of that year two S.P.G. missionaries came to extend the work, and the annual grant went up to £750. On the 12th April 1865, J.M.Cotterill as Mission Secretary drew £187 as the first quarter's grant to Independent Kaffrarian Missions.<sup>112</sup> From about 1861 to 1871 the grant to the colonial missions was £812.10 a quarter, or £3250 per annum. In 1870, expenditure on missions beyond the colony (other than St. Mark's) exceeded the grants by £136.10.0:<sup>113</sup> this shortfall was met by a subsidy from the colonial mission fund, but from the 1st January, 1871 the Society made an additional yearly grant of £100 for the transkeian missions.<sup>114</sup>

Cotterill had found it difficult to persuade laymen to serve on a local committee of the S.P.G. to raise funds in the diocese. He also found it difficult to persuade the laity to contribute to mission funds explaining that "... prejudices in the Colonial mind on the Frontier against Missions are very strong."<sup>115</sup> He therefore argued that money raised for missions locally should be spent locally, rather than sent to S.P.G. headquarters. For example, £100 had been raised in Grahamstown and spent on the mission there, and the Bishop was hopeful that when the buildings had been completed, continued contributions would pay the missionary's salary.<sup>116</sup> Hopeful Cotterill may have been, but he was not over-optimistic. In November 1868, he told Bullock that the missions could not depend on colonial support to cover their incidental expenses, as contributions were small and the supply was unreliable.<sup>117</sup> This did not mean that the Bishop gave up trying. In February 1869, he issued a circular to all clergy on the subject of missions, not on his own initiative, but at the instigation of the Synod of the diocese.<sup>118</sup> The duty of colonial clergy was two-fold, but firstly

/... to.....

... to remove prejudices, which, especially amongst our colonists, are natural and plausible, to which the Church has been witness in opposition to all unchristian opinions and feelings current in the world...<sup>119</sup>

This was not enough: support of Missions was a "fundamental Christian duty,"<sup>120</sup> and the Bishop expected the clergyman, as "a small part"<sup>121</sup> of his duty to collect funds for missions in the diocese as a whole:

As a general rule, it is no doubt both expedient and right that each parish should aid in promoting some Mission work in its immediate neighbourhood, ... The heathen at our door certainly have the first claim on our sympathies. But if this is not practicable, it must be remembered that our missions elsewhere are affecting... the whole native population of the colony.<sup>122</sup>

Cotterill was not content with mere exhortation:

I shall be obliged by your informing me what aid may be expected from your parish towards the missions of our Church, and whether there is any special part of the work to which your parishioners would prefer to contribute.<sup>123</sup>

Appended to the letter was a list of the missions under the Bishop of Grahamstown, giving the names of the clergy from whom further information could be obtained, and the numbers of paid African teachers on each station. There were examples of spontaneous generosity: a mission in Queenstown was opened after a donation of £100 from "a Churchman of that town."<sup>124</sup>

Whatever its complexities, the basic reasons for the existence of contact between the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Diocese of Grahamstown were men and money, and there was an insufficient supply of both. Although funds also came in varying amounts from government, and were raised locally to an increasing extent, by 1871, the diocese was still financially dependent on the S.P.G., especially in the sphere of mission work, with most of the Society's grant being spent on paying the stipends of European missionaries. John Armstrong had laid the foundation of missions in the diocese: Cotterill's rôle, of necessity, but also in compliance with the requirements of the S.P.G., was to build an administrative system for running their affairs, financial and otherwise, so that while mission work was subject to the Bishop's regulation and spiritual supervision, the actual management rested with a conference of missionaries. There was

/never...

never enough money, and the missionaries spent all that they were sent, but Cotterill's great contribution was that the system, though it had the Bishop as its focus, did not rely on one man. He was able to go to England in 1859, 1865 and 1868, while the diocesan mission organization functioned efficiently, as it continued to do when Cotterill left in 1871 to become Bishop of Edinburgh, leaving Merriman as Vicar General of the diocese.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. H.P.Thompson, Into All Lands, pp.18-43.
2. C.F.Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., p.825.
3. Ibid., p.826.
4. H.P.Thompson, op.cit., p.198.
5. Ibid., p.199.
6. E.Hawkins, ed., op.cit., p.52.
7. Cotterill to Hawkins, 13-6-57, SPG ms D7.
8. Conditions and Rules governing grants, 20-3-57, SPG ms D7.
9. Ibid.
10. Circular, Cotterill to all clergy, 12-6-57, SPG ms D7.
11. Ibid.
12. Cotterill to Hawkins, 13-6-57, SPG ms D7.
13. Cotterill to Bullock, 30-9-57, SPG ms D7.
14. Cotterill to Hawkins, 13-6-57, SPG ms D7.
15. Cotterill to Bullock, 15-9-57, SPG ms D7.
16. Cotterill to Hawkins, 13-4-58, SPG ms D7.
17. C.M.B., 18-8-58.
18. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-2-59, SPG ms D7.
19. Circular, Cotterill to clergy, 22-9-58, GDA.
20. C.C., January 1887, p.5.
21. Greenstock to Kitton, 4-4-60, GDA.

22. Aldred to Kitton, 30-5-61, GDA.
23. Waters to Kitton, 22-10-59, GDA.
24. Turpin to Kitton, 21-11-59, GDA.
25. Greenstock to Kitton, 3-6-62, GDA.
26. C.C., August 1887, p.230
27. "Acts and Resolutions of the first Synod of the Diocese of Grahamstown", p.7.
28. Ibid.
29. C.M.B., 21-2-61.
30. C.C., November, 1890, p.337.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid. p.342.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid. p.341.
35. Ibid. p.342.
36. Hawkins to Cotterill, 4-4-62, GDA.
37. C.M.B., 23-1-63.
38. C.M.B., 22-1-63.
39. C.M.B., 24-1-63.
40. Thomas Henchman was rector of Fort Beaufort from 1852 to 1877.
41. Henry Reade Woodrooffe, B.A. Christ Church, Oxford, sailed with Cotterill, and was ordained deacon in 1857 and priest in 1858. He had an important rôle in the translation of the Book of Common Prayer. He returned to England in 1865, and until 1868 was rector of a parish in Durham. Between 1868 and 1880 he was rector of Somerset East, and from 1880 to 1886 rural dean of Graaff Reinet. He acted as H.M. Inspector of schools, and died in 1913.
42. Cotterill to Waters, November 1862, GDA.
43. Cotterill to Hawkins, 29-8-61, SPG ms D24.
44. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-2-62, SPG ms D24.
45. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-2-63, SPG ms D24.

46. Cotterill to Bullock, 15-4-63, SPG ms D24.
47. Cotterill to Kemp, 15-4-63, SPG ms D24.
48. Ibid.
49. Cotterill to Bullock, 15-4-63, SPG ms D24.
50. Ibid.
51. Charles Frederick Patten arrived in 1862, and was ordained deacon in 1864 and priest in 1867. Most of his mission work was done at St. John the Baptist's Bolotwa, where he remained from 1862-1887.
52. H.P.Thompson, op.cit., p.237.
53. Application form, Daniel Smith to S.P.G., 17-6-54, SPG ms C/AFS.
54. H.P.Thompson, op.cit., p.113.
55. Cotterill to Bullock, 13-1-62, SPG ms D24.
56. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-3-62, SPG ms D24.
57. Hawkins to Cotterill, 4-4-62, GDA.
58. Ibid.
59. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-5-62, GDA.
60. Ibid.
61. Cotterill to Hawkins, 17-7-62, GDA.
62. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-11-62, GDA.
63. Cotterill to Hawkins, 12-3-63, GDA.
64. Ibid.
65. C.C., December 1890, p.371.
66. C.C., June 1887, p.168.
67. C.C. December,1890, p.372.
68. Francis Patrick Fleming obtained an M.A. from Oxford in 1852, and was awarded a doctorate in 1867. He became a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1852, and wrote Kaffraria and its Inhabitants and South Africa. He was ordained priest in 1847, and spent some time as a military chaplain in King William's Town.
69. C.C., December 1890, p.372.
70. Ibid., p.373.

71. Cotterill to Hawkins, 29-8-61, SPG ms D24.
72. Cotterill to Hawkins, 17-12-61, SPG ms D24.
73. Ibid.
74. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-4-62, SPG ms D24.
75. Cotterill to Bullock, 15-4-63, SPG ms D24.
76. Ibid.
77. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-5-63, SPG ms D24.
78. Ibid.
79. Cotterill to Hawkins, 14-8-62, GDA.
80. Cotterill to Hawkins, 12-3-63, GDA.
81. Cotterill to Kitton, 17-2-62, GDA.
82. Lange to Kitton, 23-11-58, GDA.
83. Cotterill to Hawkins, 14-8-62, GDA.
84. Ibid.
85. Cotterill to Kitton, 18-1-59, GDA.
86. Cotterill to Kitton, 18-1-59, GDA.
87. Kitton's diary, 1-3-59.
88. Cotterill to Kitton, 19-3-62? GDA.
89. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-8-63, GDA.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid.
94. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-9-63, GDA.
95. Ibid.
96. E.D.Little, B.A. of St. John's, Cambridge, was a master at St. Andrew's College from 1859 to 1863. He also taught at King William's Town, but eventually returned to England.
97. Cotterill to Kitton, 11-4-63, GDA.
98. Minutes of a meeting of the Mission Board of Finance, 13-7-64, SPG ms D24.
99. J.Cotterill to S.P.G., 12-4-65, SPG ms D24.

100. Mullins to S.P.G., 9-7-68, SPG ms D37.
101. Mullins to S.P.G., 29-9-68, SPG ms D37.
102. C.M.B., 29-7-70.
103. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-2-67, SPG ms D24.
104. Memorandum, Cotterill to mission clergy, 14-11-68, SPG ms D37.
105. Ibid.
106. Circular, Mullins to mission clergy, 1-5-69, SPG ms D37.
107. Cotterill to Bullock, 30-8-70, SPG ms D37.
108. S.P.G. Instructions and General Regulations, March 1869, SPG ms D37.
109. Mullins to the S.P.G., 10-1-70, SPG ms D37.
110. Mullins to the S.P.G., 14-1-71, SPG ms D37.
111. Cotterill to Bullock, 28-3-67, SPG ms D24.
112. J.Cotterill to S.P.G., 12-4-65, SPG ms D24.
113. Cotterill to Bullock, 13-1-71, SPG ms D37.
114. Cotterill to Bullock, 30-8-70, SPG ms D37.
115. Cotterill to Hawkins, 29-8-61, SPG ms D24.
116. Cotterill to Bullock, 15-5-62, GDA.
117. Cotterill to Bullock, 28-11-68, SPG D37.
118. Cotterill to Steabler, 24-2-69, GDA.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid.
123. Ibid.
124. M.F., 1 November 1863, p.257.

CHAPTER 4

GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

Sir George Grey saw Christian missionaries as an integral part of his frontier policy. It was on the basis of his generous offers of aid that Bishop Armstrong had launched into large-scale missionary work, and money was, throughout his governorship, to be a recurring theme in the relationship between Grey and the Bishop of Grahamstown.

Grey, as Governor of the Cape, and British High Commissioner in South Africa, had financial difficulties of his own. To finance his policy in British Kaffraria, the imperial government set aside £40,000 a year for 1855-57; £20,000 for 1858; £40,000 for 1859-60; and £27,000 for the year ending 31st March, 1861<sup>1</sup> Fluctuations in the imperial grant affected the amount Grey had to distribute among the missionaries. In the first three years, Grey exceeded the grant by £37,000,<sup>2</sup> and his consistent overspending was one of the causes of his recall in June 1859.<sup>3</sup> Also at Grey's disposal for the furtherance of his frontier policy was the amount appropriated annually for the Border Department under Schedule D, a sum of about £6,000.<sup>4</sup> If the British government found Grey a somewhat extravagant steward of the sums entrusted to him, Cotterill, whose relationship with the Governor had no formal contractual basis, also found him unreliable in regard to money matters.

On the 12th February, 1858,<sup>5</sup> a relieved Cotterill who had been in suspense about the government grants since the previous September,<sup>6</sup> informed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that Sir George Grey had at last visited the frontier. Not only had he promised the Bishop £1,000 for the schools under H.T.Waters, with £500 for agriculture at his station of St. Mark, and £300 each for St. Matthew's, St. Luke's and St. John's, but he had expressed approval of Cotterill's policy of opening boarding schools for children and, in contrast to his former dissatisfaction, had commented favourably on progress on Anglican missions.<sup>7</sup>

At the end of 1858, Cotterill was again apprehensive about the government grants, and on the 23rd December, wrote to Grey:

As the year is now drawing to a close, I begin to feel anxious as to the question of the renewal of the Government grants for our schools and missions.

If your grant is not continued, - I fear I must add even if it is not increased, - I am afraid it will be absolutely necessary for me to go to England to raise funds...<sup>8</sup>

/Cotterill...

Cotterill warned Grey that shortage of money would not merely retard Anglican missionary work, but the success of the Governor's plans:

... Experience... has enabled us to adopt plans by means of which these children may be fed and clothed for 10£ a year for their efficient training, especially in trades, much more is necessary.<sup>9</sup>

Grey met Cotterill, and must have reassured him somewhat by telling him that the amount of £2,400 was on the estimates for British Kaffraria, and although there could be no certainty, the Governor urged the Bishop to proceed on the basis that they would be passed. Cotterill told Hawkins on the 13th January, 1859, that he would, trusting in "... the good providence of God."<sup>10</sup>

The Bishop seems, however, to have had second thoughts. On the 15th February he told Hawkins that he was going to England to raise money for mission work: the government grants for 1859 were still uncertain, and he expected the situation in 1860 to be worse.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, while the Bishop had not given up all hope of government money, he informed Grey somewhat curtly in a letter dated the 3rd March, 1859, that he would be in Cape Town later that month:

... and though you will of course at that time be much occupied, you will I trust be able to spare some time for conversation with me.<sup>12</sup>

The aim of this visit was specifically to inquire about government grants,<sup>13</sup> and the outcome was apparently successful. On the 22nd March, 1859, Cotterill informed Kitton, his commissary for the southern mission region, that the Governor had undertaken to direct Colonel Maclean to pay £600 for the first quarter's expenditure at Anglican missions in the diocese.<sup>14</sup> The grant would be repeated at three monthly intervals for that year. The £600 was to be distributed in the following way:

£250 : St. Mark's schools.  
£ 75 : agriculture at St. Mark's.  
£225 : Schools in southern mission region.  
£ 50 : Newlands farm.<sup>15</sup>

Grey was, however, extremely dilatory in forwarding instructions to Maclean. Kitton called to collect the money on the 13th April,<sup>16</sup> 27th April<sup>17</sup> and the 11th May<sup>18</sup>, but the funds were not available. On the 2nd May,

/Kitton....

Kitton wrote to Grey, enquiring about the promised grant.<sup>19</sup> Finally, Kitton noted in his diary on the 18th May that he had received a letter from the Chief Commissioner stating that a sum of £475, the grant for the first quarter, would be at the Treasury Office within a few days.<sup>20</sup> Kitton's troubles were not over. On the 31st May,<sup>21</sup> when Kitton called the money had not arrived, but he finally collected the £475 on the 1st June, 1859.<sup>22</sup> This sum did not include the £125 which was the quarter's grant for agriculture, given in 1858 and promised for 1859,<sup>23</sup> but the error was corrected, for when Kitton collected the second quarter's grant on the 1st August, 1859, it amounted to £725.<sup>24</sup>

The order to pay the grant to the Anglican mission came just in time. In June 1859, George Grey was recalled and left the Cape. His policy had proved too expensive and his personality too high-handed for one British government, although he was reinstated by the next. While Cotterill both praised and participated in the governor's frontier policy, he had always found that the governor's facile verbal undertakings could not be trusted, and that his financial promises were only to be relied on when "...in black & white."<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, when it seemed, at the beginning of 1860, that Grey would not return to the Cape, Cotterill was somewhat gloomy:

Sir George Grey not coming back does not look favourably for Government grants.<sup>26</sup>

Grey did return, however, in June 1860, with £40,000 at his disposal for that year,<sup>27</sup> but perhaps his most important step during his second period at the Cape was his promulgation of Letters Patent which constituted British Kaffraria a separate Crown Colony under a Lieutenant Governor. While Grey remained at the Cape, government grants to Anglican missionaries were continued at their former level, but because relations between Anglican missionaries and the government depended on Grey's personality and policy and on the relationship between Cotterill, they lacked a formal contractual basis. Hence, when Grey left for New Zealand in July 1861, the future of government aid again hung in the balance. On the 16th August 1861, Cotterill wrote a worried letter to the S.P.G.: - there were no written promises on which the missionaries could rely, and the continuance of the grants depended on the goodwill of Grey's successor.<sup>28</sup>

While Cotterill accepted government aid, and was willing to co-operate with Sir George Grey's schemes to educate and employ African tribesmen on

/mission,...

mission stations along the Cape eastern frontier, the Bishop was more cautious about the Governor's scheme to encourage the settlement of Europeans in British Kaffraria.<sup>29</sup>

The first group of settlers, members of the Anglo-German legion, consisting of 2362 men with 361 women and 155 children, landed at East London in 1857. They received land grants along the borders of British Kaffraria, but many of the men left to fight in the Indian Mutiny, and the settlement failed to have the desired stabilizing effect.<sup>30</sup> Grey's second scheme involved a contract with a Hamburg firm, Godeffroy, to send out about four thousand peasants. The Colonial Office disapproved of the contract, and it was cancelled, but only after about half the settlers had arrived.<sup>31</sup>

Although there was no overt opposition from Anglicans to Grey's attempt to implement his policy of integration, Cotterill feared the multiplication of situations such as one described by a missionary;

(Sunday) I found today an Englishman at work close to the Kafir Location, and spoke to him about it. No wonder the natives go <sup>32</sup> astray when they have such an example set them by Europeans...

It was impossible to predict or control the consequences of two different cultures being placed side by side. Cotterill had to combine his genuine care for the spiritual welfare of the German settlers with that expressed in the missions for the African population. These factors prompted the Bishop to provide clergy for the German settlers. Although two ministers had come out with the legionaries, and Lutheran missionaries were already <sup>33</sup> at work on the frontier, no clergy were sent out with the German peasants. Work focussed on three main centres: Keiskamma Hoek, Stutterheim and Panmure, East London. The German settlers arrived at Keiskamma Hoek in 1858 and 1859, and Greenstock, the missionary at St. Matthew's, held services for them. By 1864, they had built their own chapel, and Cotterill licensed a catechist to conduct services, but by 1868, few German services were held.<sup>34</sup> Rudolph von Hube, a German-speaking Pole in Anglican orders ministered to the congregation at Panmure.<sup>35</sup> On the whole, it was against Anglican missionary policy for a clergyman to minister to both European and African congregations, but after 1858, when farms in British Kaffraria were offered not only to Germans but to colonists from the Cape,<sup>36</sup> some provision had to be made, and the question was discussed at the conference of missionaries held in King William's Town, March 1860;

... the question of supplying English services for the grantees now settling in Kaffraria came before the Conference - Newlands

/being...

being in a central position with farms around it, and St. John's also sufficiently near to be able to reach some of them. No special provision, however, could be made for such services; but the idea was encouraged, and the Missionaries were to do what they could, without neglecting their proper work, to meet the necessities of the case.<sup>37</sup>

Providing clergy for German settlers and employing German artisans as industrial teachers on Anglican mission stations were Cotterill's twin responses to the potential clash of cultures in British Kaffraria. This attempt to manufacture common interests between the new settlers and the longer established inhabitants of British Kaffraria fitted in with George Grey's plans for bringing peace to the frontier, and with the Anglican mission policy of teaching useful skills and habits of industry on their stations.

Most of the Germans employed by Anglican missionaries worked at St. Mark's, probably because Waters' station received the largest grants from the government. In April 1859, Waters told Kitton he had asked Colonel Maclean about some Germans,<sup>38</sup> and in September, Waters wrote and asked Kitton to enquire among the German settlers in King William's Town for a carpenter, a tailor, a wheelwright and a blacksmith; he would pay for their transport to St. Mark's, provide them with huts and land and pay £50 without rations and offered a year's contract on those terms.<sup>39</sup>

When asking Kitton to engage artisans in King William's Town, Waters does not seem to have had any particular scheme in mind for the content of industrial instruction on his station. In fact, his instructions to Kitton were somewhat haphazard, although the availability of funds was an important governing factor in all his plans.

At the end of September, because of the uncertainty of government grants for the following year, he cut down his original request and decided to employ only a carpenter and tailor for six months.<sup>40</sup> On the 7th October, 1859, he spoke of engaging a shoemaker as well, and of paying each £70 p.a.<sup>41</sup> These three artisans arrived at St. Mark's at the end of October,<sup>42</sup> and on the 12th November, a blacksmith was expected at St. Mark's.<sup>43</sup> Later the same month, Waters wanted Kitton to find him a farmer,<sup>44</sup> and by December had expanded his designs to include a tinsmith, a builder and a German seamstress.<sup>45</sup>

Waters soon found the employment of these men fraught with complications. There were misunderstandings about contracts,<sup>46</sup> and Waters

/found...

found it inconvenient to employ men to work fixed hours.<sup>47</sup> The character of artisans was not always of the highest order: in a letter of the 3rd December, 1859, Waters remarked to Kitton that the farmer looked rough:<sup>48</sup> the real problem was that he was not a farmer but a miner<sup>49</sup> and was consequently discharged, when the proper farmer arrived.<sup>50</sup> Waters found that he did not suit, and paid him off together with a mason who was lazy and careless.<sup>51</sup>

Some were capable workmen and assets to the station. Schmidt the carpenter, was a skilled as well as a fine man,<sup>52</sup> and the tailor, according to Mullins, at whose station he worked, was a "capital fellow."<sup>53</sup>

Altogether, the scheme for industrial work at St. Mark's seems to have been something of a shambles, and did not last long. The last reference in Waters' correspondence to the German artisans at St. Mark's is a letter written on the 8th January, 1861: the carpenter Schmidt, could not get enough work, and another tradesman was not satisfied with a wage of £70 a year, and had returned to King William's Town.<sup>54</sup> One of the men had been replaced, and Waters reported that the "other Germans"<sup>55</sup> were doing well.

Employment of Germans at St. Matthew's and St. John's was on a much smaller scale: on the 1st July, 1861, Greenstock reported to the S.P.G.

We have engaged a German carpenter to give instruction in carpentering two days in the week.<sup>56</sup>

John Aldred,<sup>57</sup> missionary at St. John's Kubusi, asked Kitton on the 21st March 1861, to engage a German tailor to teach for five hours a day.<sup>58</sup> The man arrived at St. John's in April 1861;<sup>59</sup> he was paid £80 a year. On the 23rd May Aldred told Kitton that the boys were making good progress under the tailor, Frederichs, and had made several pairs of trousers.<sup>60</sup> On the 27th February, 1862, Aldred suggested to Kitton that the terms on which Frederichs was employed be revised;<sup>61</sup> the station did not have much money to spare, but he could employ the tailor to work afternoons only at £40 a year, and allow him to keep a shop. The scheme of employing Germans at St. John's ended later that year, when on the 10th June, 1862, Aldred told Kitton that Frederichs had decided to leave.<sup>62</sup>

It was on the basis of Sir George Grey's generous aid that Anglican missionaries were able to employ German artisans. Government grants to Anglican missions were reduced to £1,500 in 1862. Cotterill, commenting on this reduction, said it would affect the industrial training, but not

the Anglican's spiritual and educational work, and therefore he did not regret it.<sup>63</sup> This sentiment had been anticipated by Waters in a letter to Kitton early in 1860:

I am quite weary of this industrial work as it takes up so much of my ministerial time.<sup>64</sup>

While the reduction of government grants meant that the Anglicans were no longer employers of German artisans, it was not the end of co-operation between missionaries and tradesmen, nor of the influence of European skills and work habits on the African population of the stations. Asked by a member of the 1865 Native Affairs Commission whether there were European artisans employed on Anglican mission stations, Cotterill replied:

When we had Government grants we had a good many employed. Many of these men are still on the stations, but they are there on<sup>65</sup> their own responsibility, and employ natives to work for them.

From the first, independent British Kaffraria suffered a shortage of funds. This lack suggested its annexation to the Cape, first attempted in 1862 by Sir Philip Wodehouse,<sup>66</sup> and finally achieved in 1866. The imperial grant shrank from £27,000 in 1860/61 to £15,000 for the following year and was thereafter reduced by £5,000 a year, until in 1864 it fell away altogether.<sup>67</sup>

The Anglican Church had three major mission centres in British Kaffraria; St. Matthew's, St. Luke's and St. John's, with St. Mark's across the Kei, and St. Peter's and St. John the Baptist in the Thembu Location which was administered as part of the Cape Colony. The stations founded by Armstrong and named after the four evangelists were most affected by the withdrawal of the imperial grant to British Kaffraria. The Lieutenant-governor warned the acting governor<sup>68</sup> of the Cape that the reduction of the imperial grant

... would place me in a difficulty, from which the only means of extricating myself would... be by the total cessation of all Public Works, and of Industrial and Educational establishments which have done so much to promote the welfare of the Aboriginal Tribes, for whom Her Majesty's Government have ever expressed so deep an interest and which the more they are extended promise the more to promote the prosperity and advancement of Her Majesty's Native and European Subjects in these Territories.<sup>69</sup>

This seemed a deathknell for Grey's policy. Sir Philip Wodehouse's attempt to incorporate British Kaffraria into the Cape was thrown out by its Parliament in 1862, the year in which government grants to the Anglicans were reduced to £1,500.<sup>70</sup> The bishop expressed some regret:

The failure of the Governor's political scheme of annexing British Kaffraria to the colony is, I fear, fatal to our hopes of receiving Government aid next year for our schools...<sup>71</sup>

In 1863, the government grants were withdrawn completely; Cotterill was filled with gloom,<sup>72</sup> but had already begun to see that an alternative policy was not only possible, but desirable:

... I have felt that the time is come for reviewing the whole system, now that the Government grants are melting away, considering whether the Providence of God is not calling us to labour in a somewhat different direction from that in which circumstances rather than my own judgement called us in 1857.<sup>73</sup>

Cotterill saw the first phase of Anglican work - that of educating children in boarding schools - as important for the next stage, in which Anglican missionary energy should be devoted to building up a self-propagating African church.<sup>74</sup>

While it had been important to Cotterill to build up a working relationship with the government of an independent Kaffraria, until 1863 the tactful Kitton had been his representative in King William's Town. When he left,<sup>75</sup> a replacement had to be found. One candidate was rejected, because, as Cotterill told Kitton:

... he is not the man to deal with the Kaffrarian government and all relating to it...<sup>76</sup>

The sympathetic Sir George Grey had left in 1861, and Cotterill and his missionaries had not found the Lieutenant-Governor, the soldier turned native administrator, John Maclean, easy to deal with:

The departure of Sir George Grey is in many respects a serious blow to our Missions. Col. Maclean... is not a friend to Missions generally, and to ours in particular, especially to Mr Waters at St. Mark's he is hostile.<sup>77</sup>

The specific cause of trouble was that Maclean had offered the inhabitants of St. Mark's land near a magistrate, acceptance of which would have broken up the mission.<sup>78</sup> Cotterill himself did not object to the stationing of a magistrate at St. Mark's;<sup>79</sup> he saw Maclean's motive as

merely an attempt to assert his own power over the missionaries. Nevertheless, Maclean's intervention could have had an adverse effect:

I think it is not improbable if Maclean interferes much with S. Mark's that Waters will wish to leave it and go over the Bashee - for I doubt whether he can adapt himself to a change of regime there. However, I shall advise him not to do so unless it is necessary - but if Maclean does that which is likely to lower his influence with the natives, I see no help for it. But I shall throw the whole responsibility for this<sup>80</sup> on Maclean - < I shall protest against it to the Acting Governor.

Government assistance could be accompanied by government interference in attempts to introduce civilizing agents as well as a civil administration in the area in which missionaries were working. Cotterill's diplomacy seems to have healed the breach on this occasion, for on the 14th November, 1861, he told Bullock that the danger to St. Mark's had passed as he had written to Maclean assuring him that the Anglicans "... wish(ed) heartily to act with the Government..."<sup>81</sup>

The Bishop's views on the relation of the church to civil government are illustrated by several other episodes.

An Anglican clergyman, Joseph Willson, was murdered on the 28th February, 1858, at a time when British Kaffraria was still under martial law: the agents were found, and although no satisfactory confession was obtained, they were condemned to death. Before they could be executed, William Greenstock visited them in prison, and baptized them. On the 6th October, 1858, Cotterill wrote to Kitton, expressing his opinion on the subject, and basing his remarks on the presumption that the men were guilty:

... they ought to have made such reparation as they were able by a full confession of their crime, & to prove their penitence thereby as it was the duty of Mr Greenstock to have pointed out to them, To administer... the Sacrament without this evidence of their repentance, was in my opinion to profane it, & to confirm the men in their impenitence... Greenstock is a very nice fellow, but his judgement is not to be trusted especially in any question between Kafirs and Goyt. - in which he is sure to take the Kafir side however wrong. His High Church views would also no doubt much affect this question.

I trust we may not hear of it from govt.<sup>82</sup>

The Bishop's hopes were not fulfilled. On the 26th October, Colonel Maclean wrote to Greenstock, from Fort Murray;

I shall be obliged by your informing me, if you feel yourself at liberty to do so, whether from their own statements, or any other circumstances arising from your interview with them, you are led to believe in their guilt, and that they are themselves convinced of the justice of their sentence.<sup>83</sup>

This was not Greenstock's first brush with the Kaffrarian government: as early as the 12th March, 1858, Cotterill had mentioned to Bullock

Mr. Greenstock... has unfortunately been placed several times in unpleasant relations towards the B. Kaffrarian authorities...<sup>84</sup>

Greenstock's reply to Maclean's request was a very polite refusal:

As I informed the men that my visits to them were made on purely spiritual grounds, and that my coming had no connection with the Civil Authorities, I do not feel at liberty to give the information you desire...

I am anxious to assure you that it is with great regret I find myself unable to meet your wishes.<sup>85</sup>

On the 1st November, Maclean wrote to Cotterill, summarizing the content of the correspondence between himself and Greenstock, and concluding:

I may add that Mr. Greenstock obtained permission from none of the Civil Officers to visit the prison, and that I have before had reason to be dissatisfied with the manner in which he ignores the Authority of the Civil Government.<sup>86</sup>

On the 3rd November, Cotterill discussed the situation in a letter to Henry Kitton. There were two problems: Greenstock's involvement in politics and whether or not he had committed a breach of ecclesiastical discipline. In his Bishop's eyes, the latter was clearly the more serious offence:

... Greenstock, as Col. Maclean indicates.. has been implicated in political matters, ... and I strongly suspect if all were to come out he would be found to have committed a serious political offence. I have not liked to ask questions, but I have enough to convince me of his indiscretion...

If the criminals made a secret confession to him, in my opinion it makes the case almost worse because... he thus sanctioned their speaking the truth to him and not to them to whom above all they were bound to acknowledge it... In fact, if he had consulted me, as by the rubric he was bound to do (although it is not necessary to inform the Bishop, yet in difficult cases it clearly ought to be done) I should not have sanctioned the baptism until confession had been made.

I doubt very much whether a clergyman has a right to receive secret confession of crimes for which a man is under trial or sentence - I do not consider the 113th Canon refers to such a case. At all events to administer a sacrament under such circumstances is quite wrong in my judgement.<sup>87</sup>

On the 6th November 1858, the Bishop wrote to the Chief Commissioner stating he considered that Greenstock had been guilty of "a very serious error of judgement,"<sup>88</sup> for the reasons given to Kitton, and ending

I regret that you should have any reason to complain... of a missionary of the Church of England ignoring the rightful authority of the Civil Government. I should consider any Clergyman, who should habitually & wilfully disregard that Authority, unfitted, whatever might be his other qualifications, for the office of a missionary.<sup>89</sup>

Cotterill wrote to Kitton in November explaining the reason for his firm condemnation of Greenstock in his letter to Maclean, despite his reservations about the application of martial law in British Kaffraria:

... their plan of first sentencing & then waiting for a confession... is contrary to our English notions... At all events, this question does not concern us. It is of the utmost consequence to our Missions, when the past history of Kafir wars and Hottentot rebellions is borne in mind, that it should be made very plain... that our Church does not sanction in her clergy what Col. Maclean calls "ignoring the civil authorities. "Two of our missionaries... have shown a tendency ... to set up the Church against the State - which considering that the Govt. has been giving many thousands towards our Schools etc, is exceedingly unbecoming besides being in my opinion a dereliction of the duty a Xn owes to the govt of his country. This will account to you for my writing to Col. Maclean in reply to his letter in stronger terms than I should otherwise have thought it right to use, with respect to one of my clergy. If we do not convince the government that we can be good subjects, as well as good Christians, they will naturally throw their influence into the scale of the Wesleyans.<sup>90</sup>

This incident clarified the Bishop's attitude and he does not seem to have deviated from it, although in two other instances where clergy became entangled in political causes, he showed great sympathy in dealing with the offenders.

In 1862, a man called Broedelet came out as a missionary and was sent to St. Mark's to minister to the Hottentots on the station. He evidently behaved unwisely, for on the 13th August, 1862,<sup>91</sup> Cotterill remarked to the S.P.G. that there was danger of repetition of the Kat River episode, and on the 15th November, 1862,<sup>92</sup> he told Bullock that Broedelet lacked judgement and was a positive danger with the Hottentots.

/Broedelet,...

Broedelet left Anglican mission work, and in November 1862,<sup>93</sup> Cotterill wrote to him, promising to find him other employment and saying kindly:

I quite feel that your case is a trying one, & you maybe assured that it will meet with full consideration from me.<sup>94</sup>

His chances of government employment were slim, despite his suitability for the post of convict chaplain:

... I fear that the Governor himself and others in authority have such strong opinions as your want of judgement in dealing with the Hottentots (which were doubtless in great measure from your not knowing fully the character & history of these people.)<sup>95</sup>

However sympathetic he may have felt, Cotterill was quite clear that he considered it detrimental to mission work to attract the unfavourable attention of civil government, and improper in a missionary to arouse the dissatisfaction of any group with its political condition:

... It was most unfortunate, both for you and for the Mission, that from whatever cause, you should have excited the apprehension of the Goyt. authorities.<sup>96</sup>

Even the Venerable Kitton was involved in political activity against the government, although not involving relations with Africans, but dealing with the important issue of annexation, and Cotterill found it necessary to apologize and explain to the Governor on his behalf, and to affirm Anglican policy:

... what Archd. Kitton says to me by way of explanation & excuse for his taking part in the anti-annexation movement at King William's Town, viz. that it was Col. Maclean's strong objections to annexation, & a conversation which he had with him on the subject, which induced him more than anything else to come forward, as he did not suppose he could be considered as a political agitator, which certainly is not his character; when he was acting in accordance with the views of one who represented the Government.

However, of course, private feelings & conversations cannot be considered in such a matter, & I trust that he will not be carried away into political questions in future.<sup>97</sup>

Sir George Grey was succeeded as Governor and High Commissioner by Sir Philip Wodehouse, who presided over a period of economic hardship and constitutional deadlock at the Cape.<sup>98</sup> It was he who saw the need for the annexation of British Kaffraria because of its poverty, and who carried it through. Cotterill found him friendly, but able to do

little for Anglican missionaries in British Kaffraria because funds were too low.<sup>99</sup> Also, Wodehouse had neither George Grey's extrayagant and irresponsible personality nor the attachment felt by Grey for the frontier policy which was his own brainchild. During Wodehouse's governorship, relations between the missions of the Anglican church in the Diocese of Grahamstown and the government at the Cape, especially in the field of education, were placed on a more formal and bureaucratic basis. The whole policy of the government was about to be reviewed and changed. On the 1st August, 1861, the House of Assembly resolved:

That a respectful address be presented to His Excellency the Governor, requesting that he will be pleased to appoint a commission to inquire into the present system of education, and to cause the result of such inquiry to be laid before Parliament at the commencement of the next session.<sup>100</sup>

and a week later, the Legislative Council resolved;

That... it is desirable that from and after the close of the present year, all grants for educational purposes should undergo revision, and that His Excellency the Governor's attention should be directed thereto.<sup>101</sup>

As a result, the Watermeyer Commission was appointed: it published its report in 1863, and the changes in the educational system in the Cape Colony were incorporated and systematized in the Education Act of 1865.

At the time the Commission met, education at the Cape fell under two authorities, and was financed from two main official sources. Firstly, the Superintendent-General of Education was responsible for schools supported by funds allocated for education each year by the Cape Parliament: these schools were divided into three groups. Division A schools were managed by the government, and completely supported from the Colonial Treasury, while Division B schools, also public schools, were partly supported from local sources.<sup>102</sup> Under Division C, which included all aided mission schools, there were three categories: schools belonging to Division C order I had three departments, infants, juveniles and industrial, and received up to £75 p.a. from government. In schools belonging to Division C order 2, there was only one department, and the government grant was £30 p.a. Outstations where native teachers worked, were classified as Division C order 3, and received an annual grant of £15. In all schools, the government had the right of inspection; religious instruction was confined to the Scriptures.<sup>103</sup>

/In...

In 1864, three Anglican mission schools for Africans in the eastern districts were receiving aid under this system. W.H.Turpin ran a school in Grahamstown belonging to Division C order I, and received £50 from the government. In Graaff-Reinet, Steabler's<sup>104</sup> Mission school, which was opened on the 1st November, 1862,<sup>105</sup> belonged to Division C, order 2, and received £30 in government aid,<sup>106</sup> as did a school in Queenstown<sup>107</sup> run by A.J.Newton,<sup>108</sup> which was opened on the 1st June, 1863.<sup>109</sup> In 1863 the total expenditure on education in the Cape was £13,511.17.4<sup>110</sup> Of this amount, £5,425.11.8 was spent on Division C mission schools throughout the colony.<sup>111</sup> Education was an important facet of Anglican policy, and the church, with government aid, ran many schools in the Cape for both Europeans and Africans, but the schools in Graaff-Reinet, Grahamstown and Queenstown were an integral part of the mission to Africans on the eastern frontier.

The Watermeyer Commission recommended that schools under the Superintendent-General of Education should continue to receive government aid. In the case of mission schools, only those fulfilling certain conditions would receive such aid, and although mission schools would continue to be run by religious bodies, they would be subject to government inspection and reading, writing and simple arithmetic should be taught.<sup>112</sup>

The second category dealt with those educational institutions directed by the British High Commissioner and supported under the reserved schedule D, in the "Ordinance regulating in certain respects the Appropriation of the Revenues of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope by the Parliament thereof."<sup>113</sup> In terms of this regulation, an annual sum of about £6,000 was at the disposal of the High Commissioner for grants to industrial schools on the Cape eastern frontier, Commissioned to consider

... the state of the institutions supported or aided under the reserved schedule D... with a view to their being included in the system of public education,<sup>114</sup>

the members of the Watermeyer Commission recommended that

The Inspector-General shall be the visitor of all these schools and institutions on behalf of the Government; regular returns shall be furnished to him at stated intervals, and from these as well as from his own personal inspection and the reports of his deputies, he shall prepare from time to time a special report to the Governor of their progress, condition, and usefulness.<sup>115</sup>

The report was dated the 23rd February, 1863. On the 3rd March, 1863, the Governor asked Sir Langham Dale,<sup>116</sup> the Superintendent-General

of Education, to conduct an investigation of the stations receiving aid under Schedule D,<sup>117</sup> Dale submitted his report on the 17th June, 1863;<sup>118</sup> he had visited the institutions at Shiloh, Grahamstown, Healdtown, Fort Peddie, Alice, Lesseyton and Goshen, and had received information on others from the Rev. W. Goyan of Lovedale, from the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions, and from the Bishop of Grahamstown.

Since 1859, the Anglican missions had received £500 a year under Schedule D.<sup>119</sup> Dale found that

This annual grant is not appropriated to any particular sphere of mission labour or locality.<sup>120</sup>

It seems that the money had been spent on three stations; the Kafir Institution in Grahamstown; St. John the Baptist's and St. Peter's, both in the Thembu Location in the Queenstown division of the Cape Colony. Dale found that no instruction in trades was given, but that industrial training was provided. At both St. Peter's and St. John's, there was a daily school and provision for a few boarders. Promising pupils were sent to the institution in Grahamstown with a view to training them as teachers.<sup>121</sup>

Dale's proposed new scheme, while based on the expectation that the basic system would continue, was designed not only to increase efficiency, but to save money<sup>122</sup> up to £3,000 - by basing the grants to each institution on the number of pupils and on what was actually being taught. Enforcement of this policy would mean stricter government control of institutions receiving money under Schedule D, all of which were run by religious bodies. On the 26th September, 1863, Rawson W. Rawson, the Colonial Secretary, informed Dale that he had been

... instructed by his Excellency the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of your report, ... on the industrial institutions and schools receiving money from the fund reserved under Schedule D; and to inform you that His Excellency approves of the recommendations therein contained, and has decided to give them effect from 1st January, 1864.<sup>123</sup>

Cotterill, together with Goyan<sup>124</sup> of Lovedale, William Impey<sup>125</sup> and the Rev. S. Gysin<sup>126</sup>, was informed of the proposed changes in a letter written on the 26th September, 1863.<sup>127</sup> In terms of the new arrangements, the Grahamstown Kafir Institution would receive £100 towards the salary of a teacher, and £12 each for fifteen boarders, a total of £280, while St. John the Baptist's and St. Peter's were awarded £50 each towards a teacher's salary, and an allowance of £10 for ten boarders, a total of

£580,<sup>128</sup> which meant that the Anglicans were better off than they had been under the old system of block grants. Acceptance of this aid meant compliance with government instructions, and Cotterill was informed that

As soon as practicable after the 1st January next, it will be necessary for your Lordship to furnish the names of the institutions and schools referred to in the foregoing allocation, and the names of the native boarders at each. A supply of forms of return for this purpose will be duly sent to you, and the Superintendent-General will inform you as to the mode and time of payment; the intention being to place these schools on the same footing as others under his superintendance.

... henceforward all these schools, so long as they receive pecuniary aid from the public treasury, will be liable to the inspection of the Superintendent-General of Education, or other officer to be appointed by the Government... His Excellency does not pledge himself to the continuance of the grants now proposed to be made, beyond such period as he shall be satisfied, ... that the institutions are satisfactorily conducted, and are fulfilling the purposes for which these grants are made.<sup>129</sup>

The relationship between church and government thus came to rest on a formal contractual basis: the church would receive aid if it fulfilled certain conditions, and the acceptance of that aid involved it in certain further obligations. At the same time, the government acknowledged that the church had a rôle to play in education.

These modifications were incorporated in Act 13 of 1865, known as the Education Act. All education fell under the control and inspection of the department of education, with money administered by the Governor through the Superintendent-General of Education.<sup>130</sup> According to a schedule attached to this act, schools were divided into three orders. Order A consisted of all undenominational public schools, while mission schools fell under Order B. Conditions under which aid was given to Order B schools were that government grants, which ranged from £15 to £75 were to be spent only on the salaries of teachers; that a government inspector could visit during the minimum of four school hours there were to be daily, that religious instruction was not compulsory; that education should as far as possible be in English; that suitable buildings be provided, and that returns be furnished as required.<sup>131</sup>

Several Anglican mission schools in Cotterill's diocese required aid under this scheme. In 1866, there were four Order B, Class 2 Anglican schools: that at Alexandria received a grant of £50 a year, while those at Graaff-Reinet, Queenstown and Fort Beaufort were granted £30 each.<sup>132</sup>

The school at Fort Beaufort was opened by Charles Taberer<sup>133</sup> and first received government aid in 1865.<sup>134</sup> In 1866, St. Philip's Kafir Mission School in Grahamstown with Turpin in charge, received a grant of £75 from government.<sup>135</sup> By 1870, the school at Alexandria had closed, but another Anglican school had opened at Southwell, while the schools at Graaff-Reinet, Queenstown and Fort Beaufort, run by African teachers, were granted £20, £25 and £30 respectively. These were all Order B, Class 2 schools. The grant for the school in Grahamstown was increased, although after 1864 it retained its classification, as an Order B Class I school: in 1865 the amount was raised from £50 to £75.<sup>136</sup>

To Order C belonged institutions formerly under the High Commission, supported under Schedule D. The Act provided

... that none of the payments authorized by that part of the said school regulations headed "Order C - Border Department, Aborigines," shall be made except from and out of the sum reserved by the Schedule marked D to the Appropriation Ordinance annexed to the Order in Council of the 11th of March, 1853.<sup>137</sup>

At the same time, although they were funded from a different source, the Act laid down that

All institutions or schools supported or aided by or from the moneys reserved under Schedule D.. shall be subject to inspection by the Superintendent-General of Education or his deputy... and also to such rules and regulations in regard to such institutions or schools as may... be contained in the rules and regulations... touching public education...<sup>138</sup>

The schedule attached to the Education Act laid down "Conditions on which aid is granted by Government to the Native Industrial Institutions, and to the Native Schools in connection with them." The business of these industrial schools was to be regulated as never before.

The annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape Colony in 1866 meant an increase in government aid to Anglican missions. On the 1st January, 1867, the schools at St. Matthew's, St. Luke's and St. John's with their outstations, were incorporated into the colony's system of education and received aid as schools falling under Order C, on the same basis as the institutions in Grahamstown, at St. Peter's Gwatyu, and St. John the Baptist, Bolotwa.<sup>139</sup> The three newly incorporated institutions each received £180 p.a. towards the salaries of teachers, and an allowance for boarders.<sup>140</sup> In 1867 the total of government aid to Anglican schools in the diocese of Grahamstown belonging to Order C, and funded from Schedule D, was £1,282,<sup>141</sup>

/whereas...

whereas in 1864, the grant had been £580. The amount of the grant depended on numbers in the schools, a factor which the missionaries could not control.<sup>142</sup>

The system set down in the Education Act, and the instructions sent to Cotterill seem to have worked well. The missionaries co-operated by sending in the annual returns, the only exception being the missionary at St. Matthew's in 1869,<sup>143</sup> and C.F.Patten at the Bolotwa, who sent in no returns between 1866 and 1871;<sup>144</sup> government aid was not withdrawn as a result of this.

It was impossible for Langham Dale to visit annually all schools receiving government aid. His annual reports constantly emphasize the importance of adequate inspection, while lamenting his inability to carry it out.<sup>145</sup>

This did not mean that Anglican schools were left entirely unsupervised. Henry Kitton was responsible for inspecting missions on behalf of the church, and it was resolved on the 7th November, 1866, during the conference of missionaries

That 15£ be allowed to the Venble Archdeacon Kitton for expenses of visiting missions unless an allowance can be obtained from the Government for the inspection of schools in British Kaffraria.<sup>146</sup>

While there is no evidence that this allowance from government was ever forthcoming, the request shows that the missionaries thought in terms of co-operation with government in the sphere of education.

During March, April, May and June of 1869, Langham Dale himself conducted a large-scale inspection of schools of all orders in the eastern districts of the Cape, and submitted a report on the 19th July, 1869.<sup>147</sup> As a result of this tour, Dale proposed a change in the system as it affected Anglican schools belonging to Order C. He was "able to speak in the highest terms"<sup>148</sup> of the Kafir Institution in Grahamstown and the school at St. Matthew's, together with work at Lovedale and Healdtown, but the schools at St. John's and St. Luke's were not fulfilling their purpose which was

... that the maintenance of a small native boarding school at each station, with an efficient staff of teachers, would form a regular and elevating element in the day school attached to the head station, and that a considerable civilized community, consisting of a missionary, a staff of teachers, and their families,

/as...

as well as a body of native boarders, being thus resident in the midst of a heathen population would have an influence which no day school instruction under the direction of an individual teacher could be expected to exercise.<sup>149</sup>

Dale suggested to Cotterill the closure of the day school at St. John's Komgha, which would mean the loss to the Anglicans of the £100 it received from the government. He also proposed the enlargement of the boarding establishment at St. Luke's: this station was surrounded by a large population, which gave scope for the growth of a day-school. Dale hoped that St. Luke's would eventually accommodate twenty boys, and St. Matthew's ten girls, but this scheme necessitated alterations to St. Luke's which would cost £350. When the new scheme had been carried out, government grants for boarders at St. Peter's and St. John the Baptist's in the Thembu Location would be withdrawn.<sup>150</sup> Dale's suggestions also revealed a new aspect of government policy:

... This reduction of the numbers of boarders would enable me to extend the Government aid to more teachers at kraals, and thus to diffuse school instruction more widely;... <sup>151</sup>

Dale proposed that native teachers, each receiving £40 a year, should be stationed wherever there were enough children to form a school.

Cotterill's reply, written on the 18th July, 1869, indicated acceptance of Dale's proposals;

Your letter on the subject of Native Mission Schools has been fully considered at our Mission Conference. In the general principles which you lay down we entirely concur, and shall be prepared to carry them into effect in the course of time,<sup>152</sup>

At the same time, the Bishop's letter showed that the church's system, and policy and that of the government, though running along similar lines, were not exactly in step. The church was not prepared to do exactly as Dale wished. Cotterill suggested that the boarding establishment at St. John the Baptist's be closed at once, together with that at St. John's, Komgha, but that the hostel at St. Peter's remain open.<sup>155</sup> These modifications put forward by Cotterill were acted upon: the boarding grants to the two St. John's were stopped at the end of September 1869,<sup>154</sup> while in 1871 St. Peter's was still receiving £100 for boarders.<sup>155</sup> Dale's proposal that St. Luke's be for boys and St. Matthew's for girls only does not appear to have been carried out.

/Cotterill.....

Cotterill supported Dale's policy of extending kraal schools run by African teachers. The Anglicans already had a number of these schools and their experience led Cotterill to propose that the government fall into line with Anglican policy by introducing the graded salary scale ranging from £18 to £60 for African teachers, which was in operation on Anglican mission stations,<sup>156</sup> although there is no evidence that Dale accepted this proposal.

Offers of generous government aid and the circumstances of the cattle killing had led to the adoption of the policy of establishing permanent stations with schools and a boarding establishment on each. By 1863, the Anglicans were moving away from this policy, partly because government aid was evaporating,<sup>157</sup> and because there was a growing conviction that the policy of isolating Christian converts from their heathen fellows was wrong.<sup>158</sup>

In 1864, the government introduced its new scheme for aiding mission schools, and Anglican missionaries, who were always able to spend as much as they were offered, agreed to co-operate in it. While it would be wrong to say that this changed government educational policy deflected the whole course of Anglican mission work, it meant much of the old work could be retained because funds were available, while the missionaries continued to pursue the policy of employing African agents (later adopted by Dale) and to lay emphasis on building up an African church able to meet the challenges of heathenism, rather than on gathering their converts on to a mission station.<sup>159</sup>

Education was an important part of the Anglican's broader aim of spreading the gospel, and they were willing to use government aid to support their schools. Missionaries, in official eyes, were the only available agents for carrying out the government's educational policy, especially for the African population. Of the policy initiated by George Grey, Dale wrote

... That a great and permanent effect is being produced, tending to the general amelioration of the mode of life, and to the introduction of the habits of civilization, among the native population... by this educational and industrial training... is undeniable.<sup>160</sup>

It was for this reason that he recommended continued aid to schools aided under Schedule D. The specific aim of these "Native Industrial Institutions ... and Native Schools in connection with them" was

/To...

To place the means of getting instruction in the ordinary branches of elementary knowledge within the reach of the native youth, at... stations approved by the Governor, and to promote the suitable industrial training, both of male and female scholars...<sup>161</sup>

The list of conditions on which aid was granted to these Order C schools by the government also stated that

The number of those who can be received as apprentices being limited, it is desirable to bring others of the native youth under the influences of the missionary's home,... by enabling them to reside in the institution, for the purposes of being educated. For this object an allowance.. will be made towards the maintenance of boarders actually resident within the institution, and having, besides the ordinary school-work, some industrial occupation, such as field or garden labour, or special training for pupil teachers,<sup>162</sup>

Langham Dale, like Grey, saw the Cape's education policy, especially where it dealt with border schools, in a broader political context. In 1870 he wrote:

The spread of civilization by school-instruction and the encouragement of industrial habits among the Natives in the Border districts, are of importance to the political security and social progress of the Colony. The results of the system of aid... are becoming year by year more satisfactory. The main Stations are provided with Day-schools for the instruction of the children...and dotted over the country are Kraal-Schools...<sup>163</sup>

The introduction of European education, work patterns and civil institutions was part of George Grey's broad aim of establishing civilization and Christianity and of thus ending conflict on the eastern frontier. Aid to missionaries who were agents in this design was an important factor in Grey's policy. While Sir Philip Wodehouse did not have the same interest in this policy, he did not reverse it, but rather contributed to its systemalization. Langham Dale saw aid to missionary schools from a different point of view, that of streamlining the education system at the Cape. Although on the whole he approved of Grey's policy, reached a working relationship with the missionaries, and made the whole scheme more efficient, he had reservations:

The denominational agency of the various churches which go hand-in-hand with the Government in helping to maintain the mission schools is certainly not the best for diffusing practical instruction, adapted to the requirements of daily life among the mass of the people; but it is the only <sup>164</sup> co-operative agency which the Government can secure...

The Christian missionaries were welcome, no longer because Christian, but because they were the only available agents of education.

FOOTNOTES

1. du Toit, p.147
2. Ibid. p.125.
3. J.Rutherford, op.cit., p.423.
4. Commission of Inquiry into the Government Educational System, Minutes of Evidence, p.28.
5. Cotterill to Hawkins, 12-2-58, SPG ms D7.
6. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-9-57, SPG ms D7.
7. Cotterill to Hawkins, 12-2-58, SPG ms D7.
8. Cotterill to Grey, 23-12-58, SAL.
9. Ibid.
10. Cotterill to Hawkins, 13-1-59, SPG ms D7.
11. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-2-59, SPG ms D7.
12. Cotterill to Grey, 3-3-59, SAL.
13. Cotterill to Hawkins, 11-3-59, SPG ms D7.
14. Kitton's diary, 29-3-59.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.,13-4-59.
17. Ibid.,27-4-59
18. Ibid., 11-5-59.
19. Ibid., 2-5-59.
20. Ibid., 18-5-59.
21. Ibid., 31-5-59.
22. Ibid., 1-6-59.
23. Ibid., 20-5-59.
24. Ibid., 1-8-59.

25. Cotterill to Kitton, n.d., GDA.
26. Cotterill to Kitton, 10-3-60, GDA.
27. du Toit, p.147.
28. Cotterill to Bullock, 16-8-61, SPG ms D24.
29. Cotterill to Hawkins, 12-2-58, SPG ms D7.
30. E.L.G. Schnell, For Men must work, pp.72-149.
31. Ibid., pp.157-213.
32. Greenstock's journal, 4-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
33. H.M.Matthew to J.E.Pinnington, 30-8-1962, Wits.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
36. du Toit, p.20.
37. C.C., August 1887, p.233.
38. Waters to Kitton, 7-4-59, GDA,
39. Waters to Kitton, 14-9-59, GDA,
40. Waters to Kitton, 24-9-59, GDA,
41. Waters to Kitton, 7-10-59, GDA,
42. Turpin to Kitton, 31-10-59, GDA,
43. Waters to Kitton, 12-11-59, GDA,
44. Turpin to Kitton, 21-11-59, GDA,
45. Waters to Kitton, 21-12-59, GDA,
46. Waters to Kitton, 31-1-60, GDA,
47. Turpin to Kitton, 21-11-59, GDA,
48. Waters to Kitton, 3-12-59, GDA,
49. Waters to Kitton, 21-12-59, GDA,
50. Waters to Kitton, 17-1-60, GDA,
51. Waters to Kitton, 31-1-60, GDA,
52. Waters to Kitton, 17-1-60, GDA,
53. Ibid.
54. Waters to Kitton, 8-1-61, GDA,

55. Ibid.
56. M.F., 1 November 1861, p.262.
57. John Aldred (1830-1917), was ordained deacon in 1859 and priest in 1864. He worked at St. John's, Kubusi, until 1867, then left the mission field and worked in Adelaide until 1882 when he went to East London, where he remained until 1903.
58. Aldred to Kitton, 21-3-61, GDA.
59. Aldred to Kitton, April, 1861, GDA.
60. Aldred to Kitton, 23-5-61, GDA.
61. Aldred to Kitton, 27-2-62, GDA.
62. Aldred to Kitton, 10-6-62, GDA.
63. Cotterill to Bullock, 10-9-61 SPG, ms D24.
64. Waters to Kitton, 31-1-60, GDA.
65. Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.11.
66. Sir Philip Wodehouse (1811-1887) served in India and Ceylon, from 1828-43. In 1854 he became Governor of British Guiana, and in October 1861 was appointed Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner. Separatism was at its height and economic retrenchment had hit the colony. He was the main instigator of the annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape in 1866. He was knighted in 1862, and left the Cape in 1870.
67. du Toit, p.147.
68. Robert Henry Wynyard (1802-1864), fought in the Maori war, 1845-47, and after four years in Australia was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of a province of New Zealand under George Grey. From 1859 to 1863, he was Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape, and Acting Governor during George Grey's absence in England.
69. Maclean to Wynyard, 9-9-61, SAL.
70. Cotterill to Bullock, 10-9-61, SPG ms D24.
71. Cotterill to Bullock, 13-8-62, SPG ms D24.
72. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-2-63, SPG ms D24.
73. Cotterill to Hawkins, 14-1-62, SPG ms D24.
74. Ibid.
75. Cotterill to Hawkins, 12-3-63, GDA.

76. Cotterill to Kitton, 11-4-63, GDA.
77. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-10-61, SPG ms D24.
78. Ibid.
79. Cotterill to Kitton, September 1861, GDA.
80. Ibid.
81. Cotterill to Bullock , 14-11-61, SPG ms D24.
82. Cotterill to Kitton, 6-10-58, GDA.
83. Maclean to Greenstock, 26-10-58, GDA.
84. Cotterill to Bullock, 12-3-58, SPG ms D7.
85. Greenstock to Maclean, 30-10-58, GDA.
86. Maclean to Cotterill, 1-11-58, GDA.
87. Cotterill to Kitton, 3-11-58, GDA.
88. Cotterill to Maclean, 6-11-58, GDA.
89. Ibid.
90. Cotterill to Kitton, November 1858, GDA.
91. Cotterill to Bullock, 13-8-62, SPG ms D24.
92. Cotterill to Bullock, 15-11-62, GDA.
93. Cotterill to Broedelet, November 1862, GDA,
94. Ibid,
95. Ibid,
96. Ibid.
97. Cotterill to Wodehouse, 24-10-65, GDA.
98. M.Wilson and L.Thompson, eds., op.cit., p.328.
99. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-2-62, SPG ms D24,
100. Commission of Inquiry into the Government Educational System, p.V.
101. Ibid.
102. BB 1862.
103. Ibid.
104. William Anderson Steabler, ordained deacon by Robert Gray, and priest by John Armstrong, was military chaplain in Bloemfontein 1850-2, before going to be rector of St. James', Graaff-Reinet,

105. BB 1862.
106. BB 1864.
107. Ibid.
108. Alfred James Newton arrived in Grahamstown from England in 1860. He was made deacon in 1867 and priest two years later. He served at St. Peter's Gwatyu 1869-78, and St. Peter's, Indwe, 1879-96.
109. BB 1863.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Commission of Inquiry into the Government Educational System, Report, pp.lxxvif.
113. Ibid., p.v.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid., p.lxxix.
116. Langham Dale (1826-1898) succeeded Rose-Innes as Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape in 1859. He had been educated at Christ's Hospital and Queen's College, Oxford, and had reorganized the South African College. He was knighted in 1889.
117. G.1-'64, p.1
118. Ibid.
119. Commission of Inquiry into the Government Educational System, Appendix VI, p.15.
120. G.1-'64, p.11
121. Ibid., p.12.
122. Ibid., p.16.
123. G.29-'64.
124. William Goyan (1804-1875), first principal of Loyedale, arrived from Scotland in 1841. He believed in educating an African elite; at the suggestion of George Grey he introduced industrial training into Loyedale. He retired in 1870, and was succeeded as Principal by James Stewart.

125. William Impey (1818-1896), Wesleyan minister, was ordained in 1838, and next day sailed for South Africa. He married William Shaw's second daughter and in 1856 succeeded Shaw as General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions. He was President of the 1865 Commission on Native Affairs. In 1878 he resigned as a Wesleyan minister, and was ordained deacon in 1878, and priest in 1879 by Bishop Merriman.
126. Rev. S. Gysin represented the Moravian brethren.
127. G.29-'64, p.1
128. Ibid., p.17.
129. Ibid.
130. Act 13 of 1865.
131. Ibid.
132. BB 1866.
133. Charles Taberer was born in Nuneaton and came out to Grahamstown as a catechist. He was made deacon in 1867 and ordained priest in 1869. He worked at Fort Beaufort from 1864 to 1869, and then was missionary at St. Matthew's, 1870-1900.
134. BB 1865.
135. BB 1866.
136. BB 1865.
137. Act 13 of 1865.
138. Ibid.
139. G1-68, p.109.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid.
142. Cotterill to Bullock, 31-8-68, SPG ms D37.
143. G.20-'70, p.105.
144. G.1-'71, p.106.
145. Ibid., p.5.
146. C.M.B., 7-11-66.
147. G.31-69, p.1.
148. Ibid., p.4.

149. Ibid., p.29.
150. Ibid.
151. Ibid.
152. Cotterill to Dale, 18-7-69, GDA.
153. Ibid.
154. G.20-'70, pp.104f.
155. G.1-'71, p.107.
156. Cotterill to Dale, 18-7-69, GDA.
157. Cotterill to Hawkins, 14-1-62, SPG ms D24.
158. Ibid.
159. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.9.
160. G.1-'64, p.13.
161. G.1-'64, p.14.
162. G.1-'64, p.15.
163. G.1-'71, p.7.
164. G.4-'69, p.7.

CHAPTER 5

AFRICAN CUSTOM

The aim of imperial rule was justice, order and peace; along the eastern border of the Cape Colony, where communities were regulated by a number of self-contradictory codes and norms, it had been conspicuously unsuccessful. In India, interference with Hindu marriage and inheritance customs had contributed to the outbreak of the mutiny,<sup>1</sup> and at the Cape it was felt that while the introduction of the rule of European law among the indigenous population should be the goal, there had to be, for the sake of peace, recognition of African law. How this could be applied by British officials was not clear: there was no written code, but a body of custom, applied within the tribe by the chief and his councillors. There was a complicating factor on the frontier in the form of missionaries, whose gospel set out a very different concept of society from those of both the British government and the Nguni. The missionaries claimed the aid of the government in establishing a Christian community beyond the frontier, at the same time attacking circumcision, lobola and polygamy, emotional subjects at the heart of tribal structure. No government, however much it deplored these customs, could interfere with them, without threatening the stability it sought to maintain.

Sir Benjamin D'Urban<sup>2</sup> was responsible for the first attempt at British control and codification of customary law: he annexed the land between the Keiskamma and the Kei, and decreed that its inhabitants would be governed under colonial law, but minor offences and civil suits could be determined according to tribal law. D'Urban seems to have favoured the formulation of a simple code, but his policy was reversed by the imperial government and under the treaty system which was implemented instead, the chiefs governed according to custom.<sup>3</sup> In 1847 Sir Harry Smith annexed the land between the Keiskamma and the Kei, and in this province known as British Kaffraria, chiefs were permitted to exercise authority, but decisions were subject to the review of British officials. This policy was modified by George Cathcart in 1853. Political agents were stationed with the chiefs, but had none of the magisterial authority granted in 1847.<sup>4</sup> There was a major change in British Kaffraria in 1855. George Grey's ultimate aim was that, with gradual modification, African law should merge into that of the colony.

Chiefs and councillors were paid a stipend and all fines they imposed went to the Crown. Chiefs were assisted in their decisions by European magistrates,<sup>5</sup> To assist and guide these magistrates, a compendium of African law compiled by Maclean, Warner, H.H.Dugmore,<sup>6</sup> Charles Brownlee<sup>7</sup> and John Ayliff,<sup>8</sup> was drawn up in 1856. In 1860, British Kaffraria became a separate colony: the laws and customs of the Ngumi inhabitants were preserved, and the right to amend these laws was reserved to the Crown. The annexation of British Kaffraria to the Cape in 1866 meant that the territory was brought within the pale of colonial law, but this did not become effective. The Barry Commission found that the African inhabitants of the area were still actually governed by traditional law, administered by European magistrates without statute authority.<sup>9</sup>

Although their views did not always coincide, the civil government was not unsympathetic to missionaries. The 1836 treaties had exempted Christian ministers and teachers from the provisions of African law, and after 1840 governor Sir Peregrine Maitland<sup>10</sup> secured permission from the chiefs for Christian converts to settle on mission stations and to abstain from African customs, including polygamy and circumcision, without molestation. Harry Smith wanted to promote civilization and Christianity, although his measures were not of the wisest. Sir George Grey was a great friend to missionaries, but Philip Wodehouse was more determined to uphold the right of all to protection before the law, than to use that law to halt African custom.<sup>11</sup>

The Anglicans were only one of the missionary groups on the frontier. Like men of other denominations who had been there longer, they found that cross-cultural preaching of the gospel compounded an already arduous task. Anglican missionaries were faced with the difficulty before the Church of the Province was established. Indeed, the debate concerning the missionaries' attitude to African custom which Colenso sparked off, contributed to Gray's determination to found an independent church.

The missionaries brought a gospel, acceptance of which meant conformity with Christian moral standards, as part of a new life in Christ. In practice, they tended to regard European civilization as a hallmark of Christianity; this approach had the result of dismissing the culture of their converts as of little or no value. The Anglican attitude was summed up by Cotterill in 1861:

/...the..

... the morality of the heathen Kafirs (I speak of the frontier tribes) is lower than it is possible for those to conceive who have been brought up in the midst of Christian civilization; and it is indeed a shame even to speak of those things that are done by them in secret,<sup>12</sup>

In 1865, giving evidence before the Commission on Native Affairs, the Bishop expressed his opinion that the continued practice of lobola, polygamy and circumcision among the Nguni constituted a bar to the establishment of a Christian church.<sup>13</sup> The missionaries chiefly objected to these three customs, the significance of which they did not understand. Nevertheless, they had to work among prospective converts in a society in which these customs prevailed, and to cope with lapses by converts unable to adjust to the total change demanded of them.

Entrance into manhood among the Nguni with whom Anglican missionaries came into contact was marked by the rite of circumcision. Girls also underwent initiation, in the form of a custom called intonjani.<sup>14</sup> These practices marking the attainment of adulthood by successive generations, contributed to the cohesiveness of the tribe. The Anglican missionaries resolved unanimously at their 1860 conference

That the open performance of circumcision, and all ceremonies and dances of a heathen and immoral character, be absolutely prohibited on the Mission lands; and that the secret performance even of the rite of circumcision be discouraged, with a view to the abolition of the custom.<sup>15</sup>

In April 1860, Greenstock, the missionary among the Mfengu, recorded an instance where he had intervened, and later called in the aid of government officials to halt the celebrations which were part of the rite of circumcision:

... In Ulani's and Tontela's districts, where I opposed the circumcision dances last year, they have not been continued, but three huts have been erected in Socitshe's tribe, and one of them very close to this Mission.

... I laid the matter before our Commissioner, and he gave an order that believers were not to be annoyed in any way. Still a dance was commenced close to us. However, the magistrate promptly suppressed it by inflicting a fine, and since then all has been quiet.<sup>16</sup>

At the 1861 conference, Waters, Greenstock and Woodrooffe were commissioned to draw up a memorial, which was signed by all present, and read:

/...your...

... your memorialists being brought by their Missionary duties into continued intercourse with the natives of this colony, and having opportunities of forming a judgement as to their habits and character, beg... to represent...their strong conviction that the demoralization of both sexes which is the result of certain customs of the Native Tribes, especially of that called the "intonjani," is the chief impediment to their civilization.

And they would further respectfully state that they are assured from the respect paid by these tribes to authority, that it is in the power of the Government without active or direct interference, by discouraging these debasing customs to cause them to be gradually abandoned.<sup>17</sup>

On the 25th February, 1861, Cotterill sent copies to the Lieutenant-Governor of British Kaffraria and to Sir George Grey.<sup>18</sup> The latter received a copy because some Anglican missions were within the Cape, and, as Cotterill informed Maclean:

... my belief is that their practices are carried on quite as injuriously among e.g. the Fingoes within this colony as in Kaffraria itself.<sup>19</sup>

No reply was received from Sir George Grey, but on the 8th March, 1861, a circular was issued from Maclean's office to all magistrates, repeating instructions already given:

... take an early opportunity of acquainting the paid men in the district under your charge, that the Government is convinced that much wickedness and immorality are attendant on the Circumcision and Intonjani Dances, and that it therefore expects the paidmen to use their best endeavours to put a stop to these customs.

The Lt. Governor further desires that you will acquaint them that the Headman of any Kraal allowing these dances to take place within sight of the Public Roads, or of any European Village, or allowing the circumcised boys to appear in their particular costume in, or within sight of, a public road or of an European village, will be punished by stoppage of his pay.<sup>20</sup>

Colonel Maclean also wrote privately to the Bishop explaining his refusal to take direct action:

... I am... persuaded that any positive attempt on the part of the Government to put a stop to the National Customs of the Natives would produce a degree of irritation among them which would more impede their civilization than the customs complained of.

I consider that...the moral influence of the Missionaries should precede any action on the part of the Government. I would rejoice to see all the natives of these Territories really Christianized and Civilized, but I am not prepared to

/bring...

bring about such a result by measures of the Government.<sup>21</sup>

Cotterill replied to this letter on the 11th March, explaining that he was satisfied with the circular Maclean had issued:

... what we ask for is not "direct and active interference"... by fines and penalties... but "discouragement."

The order to which you refer, of the existence of which I was not aware, is of that nature...<sup>22</sup>

Cotterill revealed his real objections to the initiation rites:

... on my last journey to K.W.Town with my wife and daughters there were the most disgusting scenes, in that country of which I spoke to you, close to the road, where a circumcision hut was placed.

I also think that English law ought to afford protection to female virtue where it is desecrated and taught. Of course where there is consent vice cannot be checked by law but at events it can encourage and help virtue.<sup>23</sup>

It was more than a matter of Victorian prudery:

It is with us a very practical question. As the girls whom we have in our schools grow up... there is the greatest difficulty to preserve them from being carried away against their will by heathen friends & ruined for life by the pollution of the "intonjane" especially.<sup>24</sup>

Besides seeking the support of European governors, the missionaries tried to enlist traditional authority in their efforts to stop circumcision. On one occasion Waters attempted to persuade Sarili to forbid the custom.

He seemed very much struck with one thing which I advanced, as to his power, and that was, that old Gaika having ordered another heathen custom to cease, and being obeyed; so he himself, being a chief of highest standing, could also alter a national custom.<sup>25</sup>

Waters argued that circumcision among the Jews had been superseded by Christian baptism, and that circumcision rites were not only brutish and lascivious, but kept young men from their work, angering their masters. Continuance of the custom offered a dangerous temptation to Christian youths and Sarili, by suppressing it, would please God. The chief continued long in discussion but in the end told Waters

... that circumcision was an ancient custom of the Amaxosa, and that he did not see any harm in it.<sup>26</sup>

The Anglicans' first step had been unequivocal prohibition of initiation rites, which continued nevertheless. Asked by one of the members of the 1865 Commission on Native Affairs whether young men were in favour of circumcision, Cotterill replied that he felt there was "a very strong temptation to observe the practice."<sup>27</sup> When a commissioner inquired whether church members favoured the custom, the Bishop replied:

No, I should say not; their feeling in the matter is the result of pressure on the part of their heathen relatives.<sup>28</sup>

Whatever the cause, lapses did occur, and the missionaries reinstated the discipline of the early church to deal with these cases. Greenstock wrote in 1861:

One of the boys, Eleazar, left the school in February, and circumcised himself. This was a great trouble to us, but you will rejoice to hear that he has been reclaimed, thanks to God's mercy, and is prepared to confess his fault before the Church. That done, he will be restored to his former Christian standing.<sup>29</sup>

This was not an isolated incident and the missionaries learnt moderation through experience.<sup>30</sup> Cotterill wrote later:

... injudicious meddling in family matters, and the turning off of whole families, ... from Mission lands and from Church privileges, on account of some member going to be circumcised, is among the many causes why the progress of Christianity has been retarded in this country.<sup>31</sup>

In 1863 the revised instructions formulated for those living on mission stations laid down

That they abstain from all heathenish practices and customs inconsistent with Christianity, and clothe themselves decently.

(Experience has shown that it is wiser to include circumcision under the general head of heathenish practices, than to lay down a rule, as has been done heretofore, which must continually be found inapplicable fully to deal with the many difficult cases which arise.)<sup>32</sup>

While maintaining the high standard they had originally demanded, the

/missionaries...

missionaries were inclined to charity in practice. By 1865 the Anglicans had a regular form of procedure to deal with lapses. Cotterill told the Native Affairs Commission in 1865:

Any one who took part in the ceremonies of circumcision, would be put out of communion altogether. We have had cases, however, where young men have been led away by temptation, and, without taking part in any ceremonies, have circumcised themselves simply to avoid the reproach of being called boys, and we have had them afterwards penitent for the offence. Cases in which the act is performed by the convert are looked upon with some leniency, but where any part has been taken in heathenish ceremonies, the offence is considered almost an act of apostasy.<sup>33</sup>

Like the Church of Scotland missionaries in Kenya,<sup>34</sup> when a universal ban on initiation failed, the Anglicans clung to the ideal that their teachers should be free from its stain; At the 1866 Conference they resolved:

... that as a general rule none be admitted to the Institution (in Grahamstown) who have undergone the rite of circumcision.<sup>35</sup>

The policy followed by Anglican missionaries in dealing with circumcision was formalized at the 1871 conference when it was resolved

That all circumcision with any of the Kafir rites of any kind should not merely be discouraged, but should render all who take part in it liable to censure, or exclusion from the Communion of the Church, but Circumcision strictly private should not be treated in itself as an immoral or un-Christian act.<sup>36</sup>

Marriage customs were the focus of yet another three-way conflict between tribe, church and government over the related issues of lobola, polygamy and laws of inheritance. Only when cattle were handed over by the groom to his wife's father, did marriage among the Nguni become legal and children born of the union pass under the authority of their father's lineage.<sup>37</sup> This was a solemn institution: cattle had religious significance and were linked with the welfare of a lineage. Polygamy was a stabilizing factor: in a subsistence economy it ensured that there were enough women to work the fields,<sup>38</sup> precluded a large number of single women and guaranteed a supply of children. The government was inclined to interfere as little as possible, but missionaries, not understanding the importance of these customs, condemned them, not only because they were opposed to Christian teaching or a breach of English law, but after observing them in practice.

To the missionaries, lobola was simply a buying of wives and akin to slavery, rather than a means devised by a primitive society to secure stability and harmony. The Anglican missionaries in the diocese of Grahamstown condemned lobola in theory, but the practice constituted a real problem, as Cotterill explained to the S.P.G. in 1862, commenting on a visit to St. John the Baptist's, Bolotwa, where there was a girls' boarding school:

Poor girls! ... They have been for some time very anxious as to their own future condition in life, and the intention of their heathen parents respecting them; for they are all the children of heathens. Being now of marriageable age, their parents wish to marry them out, and, in several cases, to make gain of them by selling them to heathen husbands... The Kafir customs of parents requiring cattle from those to whom they give their daughters in marriage, may be defended in theory... in practice, it is the source of fearful evils, as it makes it the interest of every Kafir father to dispose of his girls to any old polygamist who can offer many cattle for a new concubine.<sup>39</sup>

The Bishop hoped for government aid in suppressing the custom:

I cannot believe that the British Government would permit any of its officers to give its sanction to this demoralizing and degrading trade in women, if the true character and practical results of this native custom were generally understood.<sup>40</sup>

In June, 1862, Col. Maclean received a memorial signed by William Govan and other missionaries.<sup>41</sup> As they requested, he issued a circular directing magistrates in British Kaffraria to refuse to hear cases arising from the payment of cattle in marriage.<sup>42</sup> This contravened the Royal Instructions of 1860, which specifically recognized African law and custom, and Sir Philip Wodehouse objected on two grounds:

I am not... prepared to admit that the custom is in itself so essentially vicious as to render it our duty to incur the risk of disturbance for the sake of suppressing it.<sup>43</sup>

Not only was tribal marriage not as black as the missionaries had painted it, but Maclean had no right to lay down to the magistrates in the colony what class of complaints they could hear.<sup>44</sup> Wodehouse clarified the legal status and right to protection under law of the African inhabitants of British Kaffraria, but Cotterill supported Maclean:

I cannot regard the system of paying cattle for wives as anything else than a form of slave-trade...

I cannot see with what consistency the British Government can interfere... to check the slave trade anywhere if they allow their officers to recognize this custom.

There are indeed three objections to positive interference on the part of the Government in order to break up the custom being as it is part of the native law of marriage. I am quite aware that it is necessary to deal cautiously with marriage laws. But the course which Col. Maclean had adopted, seems to me one of which the Home Government cannot fail to approve, and I earnestly hope he means to refer the question home, if Mr Wodehouse persists in requiring him to withdraw his circular.<sup>45</sup>

The Governor's view prevailed, and the circular was withdrawn. Lobola remained legal in Kaffraria in the eyes of the Crown.

As the government declined to intervene, the missionaries had to make and enforce their regulations on lobola without official support. The question was raised at the first annual conference of Anglican missionaries in August 1858, when it was asked

Whether the Kafir custom of purchasing wives should be at once interfered with and utterly discountenanced at the Mi. Stations?<sup>46</sup>

It was resolved that

Since the above query appears to open up so large a question, involving many points both theoretical and practical, it was determined expedient to postpone a discussion upon the Kaffir marriage question to some future period:- yet in the meanwhile calmly discountenancing this heathen custom at all our Missionary Schools and Stations.<sup>47</sup>

A resolution made at the 1863 conference denounced the custom in strong terms:

... the practice of buying and selling of wives, called by the Kaffirs "Ukulobola", is not only a custom inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, but one which, as leading to other great social evils, ought to be in every way discouraged by a Christian Missionary, and should receive no sanction from him, directly or indirectly, even when existing among heathen.<sup>48</sup>

Some of the difficulties the missionaries and their converts were experiencing were reflected in a resolution passed at the 1864 conference:

... as the practice of Ukulobola is likely to affect most seriously the welfare of females educated in the mission schools, every available means be used to maintain the right of native girls to the same personal liberty and security, as is afforded by the law to other subjects of Her Majesty, and particularly to protection against being sold into unions not recognized as marriage by the laws of Christian nations.<sup>49</sup>

/Although...

Although reluctant to make rigid rules for exercising church discipline, and always judging cases on their own merits, Cotterill regarded the payment and receipt of cattle a ground for censure. When asked if he would

... cut off from communion a Christian father for selling his daughter to a man, in a case where no lawful marriage takes place...<sup>50</sup>

his response was an emphatic "Most certainly."<sup>51</sup>

Old customs and controls devised by the tribe to prevent immorality were outlawed by the new Christian ethic, and new sanctions had to be devised. The following prohibition was drawn up at St. Matthew's in March 1865:

It pleased the meeting of (Native) Agents at the Emtwaku..., together with the Missionary to establish a law and a prohibition, viz., It is not good that a young man when he wishes to marry a girl should begin by speaking with her, let him speak to her father first, and let it be her father who speaks to his daughter about the young man who seeks her... It is manifest that young men have found a device for deceiving and seducing even good girls, and on account of beer-drinkings young men have learnt all wickedness and not to fear lying and breach of promise. Therefore let people warn their children who are girls that they do not speak... about anything of marrying each other without their fathers; also warn those that are young men that they fear to speak lies before the God of heaven.

Therefore let children submit to this law, as it is written, 'Honour thy father and mother, and obey those that are thy teachers.'<sup>52</sup>

Cotterill and the Anglican missionaries in his diocese found themselves fighting polygamy on four fronts: there was the theological debate with Colenso, sharpened because the issues discussed not only seemed linked with the very constitution of the church but confronted the missionaries in their daily work. Anglican missionaries under Cotterill insisted that polygamy constituted a bar to Xtian baptism: in practice it seemed inconsistent with the charity the missionaries preached to demand that a polygamist cast off his extra wives. Thirdly, instant monogamy in a society where economic needs and social norms pointed to polygamy was not easily achieved and the missionaries had to pay the price of abjuration of the Colenso time-scale by evolving a machinery of church discipline to cope with the lapsed within the church.

/Finally...

Finally, there was among Anglican missionaries an undercurrent of resentment towards the government which not only refused to recognize Christian marriage among their converts in Kaffraria, but also passed legislation which in missionary eyes implicitly recognized polygamy.

The Colonial Church Chronicle for August 1861 recorded that

At the conference of bishops of this province, lately held in Capetown, on the occasion of the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie, (1/1/61) one of the subjects discussed was that of polygamy among candidates for baptism, which it was resolved to recommend to the consideration of Convocation; but three of the bishops present intended to express their sentiments in a 'minute' on the subject.<sup>53</sup>

Cotterill's minute, written in March 1861, stated that while he was willing for the subject to be aired, he had no doubt that polygamy contravened the character of marriage as set down by Christ and St. Paul, and the principles of moral law, also that such a union was invalid as well as a cause of unhappiness. He was quite unequivocal in his disapproval:

I should regard the allowance of this state among native converts as the admission of an evil of no ordinary magnitude in the christian church.<sup>54</sup>

While admitting that there were difficulties, Cotterill stated that these could not be "overcome by lowering the standard of christian duty."<sup>55</sup> The Bishop of Grahamstown ended his minute with a plea for further research:

In conclusion I would observe, that whilst the absence of positive legislation on this subject does not affect the present question, since by Roman law a man had only one wife at a time, and polygamy was condemned by the natural conscience of the gentile world; yet a history of the question from primitive times would be of great value, and might afford guidance in some cases of difficulty.<sup>56</sup>

Cotterill found himself having to defend his position on polygamy to the S.P.G. On the 14th June, 1861, in a letter to Bullock, he agreed that Colenso's teaching on polygamy was plausible, but suggested that perhaps the case on the frontier was clearer than it was for Colenso with the Zulu,<sup>57</sup> but by July he was taking a stronger line. His missionaries were unanimous in their policy on polygamy, but Cotterill wanted uniformity in all Anglican missions: the S.P.G. should not give grants to those who as Cotterill put it, "depart from the law of the Church."<sup>58</sup> In August 1861, Cotterill wrote to Hawkins, expressing his

hope that the Society would not sanction polygamy.<sup>59</sup> The response cannot have been to Cotterill's satisfaction, for once more, in November, he wrote to Bullock,<sup>60</sup> declaring that there was no alternative to his policy on polygamy: it could under no circumstances be countenanced in candidates for baptism.

Colenso, like Cotterill, had submitted in a minute setting forth his views on polygamy, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. To refute this, and because no-one else had responded to his call for a learned dissertation on Christian marriage, in August 1861 Cotterill wrote a treatise on polygamy among candidates for baptism. He specifically restricted his subject:

... the question is not, whether there should be any interference with the Kafir marriage customs amongst heathens, but simply whether any one can be received to Christian Baptism, without professing obedience to the Christian Law.<sup>61</sup>

At the same time, he made it plain that he regarded it as a practical question:

... It is certainly time, now that Missions of the Church of England are being extended throughout Southern and Central Africa, that it should be decided, whether a departure from her accepted laws, as to a Divine ordinance which lies at the very foundations of human society, ought to be permitted in her Missions.<sup>62</sup>

In this pamphlet, Cotterill examined "the testimony of Holy Scripture, which is the ultimate authority in all matters of doctrine or practice,"<sup>63</sup> then investigated the teaching and practice of the early Church, concluding

... from Holy Scripture that to allow converts to be admitted to holy baptism without renouncing such connexions would be a serious breach of our duty in the use of the sacraments and in the discipline of Christ's Church.<sup>64</sup>

He added

... it seems hardly consistent, even with our duty to the Church of England, to allow so grave a departure from her laws, as a formal sanction of the state of polygamy amongst any whom we receive into her communion.<sup>65</sup>

Cotterill then described tribal marriage customs as set out in Maclean's Compendium, and set out the three courses open to missionaries:

/...First...

... First to allow amongst converts from heathenism the continuance of the Kafir Marriage Law as a whole. Secondly, to allow it with some modifications. Thirdly, to insist on the Marriage Law of the New Testament, as enforced by the laws of the English Church,...

<sup>66</sup>

To Cotterill, the last was the only acceptable course, but refusal to countenance polygamy in a candidate for baptism posed real problems, which Cotterill did not ignore, although he could not provide a really satisfactory answer. One of the arguments put forward by his opponents was that

... although the other parts of the Kafir Marriage Law are utterly inconsistent with Christianity, yet the marriage tie being already formed, although with many wives, ought not to be dissolved except for sins on the part of a wife; it is an injustice to the innocent women and children to dismiss them.

<sup>67</sup>

Cotterill argued that African marriage was not marriage in the Christian sense, and that fear of injuring others "must not deter a man from walking according to the Gospel of Christ."<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, it was a polygamist's duty, if he became a Christian, to teach his wives obedience to the Christian law of marriage. He went on:

... It is idle to speak of a Christian man fulfilling his duty to those, whom his former relations to them have tended to degrade, if he continues those relations, after the light of the Gospel has exhibited them in their true character. The dissolution of an un-christian connexion... need not hinder a man from performing any of his true duties, either to the women or the children. As to the latter, how are they ever to learn the true law of God, with the example of their own parents, allowed by their missionary, before them?

<sup>69</sup>

Cotterill also recorded that some objected that

... by declaring those who are living faithfully, according to their light, to be living in sin, and so destroying their self-respect, serious injury is done to the morality of the community.

<sup>70</sup>

to which Cotterill's answer was

... if to set before men and women a higher standard than that of heathenism, and to require them to profess obedience to it, before admission to the privileges of the Christian Church, destroys self respect, and undermines morality, then is all the preaching of the Gospel pernicious.

<sup>71</sup>

Cotterill's treatise dealt also with the application of this policy. Missionaries must

... hold up before the Kafirs the standard of the true law of marriage...; remind them that they owe duties as Christians to all related to them; and leave it to them to decide in what method these difficulties can best be solved.<sup>72</sup>

Cotterill recognized the need for flexibility and charity:

... it is not part of our system to deal harshly or hastily with those whom we find in ignorance of God's law. Whether these women had been married legally according to heathen customs, or had been living as concubines..., it can make no difference in the claims they have on the sympathy and consideration of a Christian... How this may be best shown, and how the disentangle-ment of the difficulties... may be effected most in accordance with the Gospel, it requires much wisdom and experience to decide. I am far from asserting that the cause we adopt is free from objections, or that it should be followed under all circumstances, or that experience may not suggest one that is better.<sup>73</sup>

Cotterill had been faced with the issue of polygamy on his first visitation in 1857 in the aftermath of the cattle killing: his response to the disaster and the dispersal of population that went with it was to encourage settlement on mission lands, and he wrote at the time:

... The question had to be considered whether a man with more than one wife can be allowed to settle; and I had no hesitation in deciding that, under present circumstances, this ought not to prevent us from receiving them on the Station, although all regulations should tend to discourage polygamy; and no one would be received for baptism who could not follow the Christian rule.<sup>74</sup>

These ideas were embodied in resolutions passed at the February 1861 Conference:

... it is the unanimous and decided conviction of the Missionaries of this Diocese, that no person living with more than one wife ought to be admitted to Christian Baptism.<sup>75</sup>

The missionaries also affirmed

That whilst they fully admit that such cases require Christian wisdom, delicacy, and consideration especially in regard to the women concerned, yet they are satisfied from experience, that there are no difficulties which do not soon disappear before a faithful adherence to the Christian law of marriage.<sup>76</sup>

/These....

These resolutions were embodied in the list of instructions drawn up at the 1863 conference; these instructions also laid down that:

In the exercise of discipline among the Native Christians, the Missionary will always consult with the lay members of his congregation,...<sup>77</sup>

This gave official place in Anglican missionary practice to an opinion Cotterill had expressed in 1858:

... I think also it is far better to lay down the general principles and leave the natives themselves when well instructed, to overcome the difficulties, than to enter into the details of the question ourselves. They know their own customs and laws of marriage much better than English Missionary: and with their natural intelligence... they will both discover and remove the practical difficulties.. if only their consciences are instructed and enlightened by the Word of God.<sup>78</sup>

This instruction to consult African Christians was carried out, especially at St. Matthew's and St. Mark's.

As with circumcision and lobola, lapses into polygamy necessitated the creation of a procedure for carrying out church discipline. Of one occasion, Waters wrote:

During the past few weeks we have been very disturbed by one of our Christians falling away, or rather nearly doing so, by intending to marry a professed Christian girl, while his own wife is living... after several vain attempts, and while I thought the man had returned to heathenism, he quite unexpectedly appeared at church... to inform me that he had seen the error of his ways, and that both the girl and himself were under great dread of being cut off from the Church of Christ.<sup>79</sup>

A regular procedure to be followed by the missionaries in all such cases was laid down at the 1863 conference:

In this exercise (of discipline) he will be guided by the Rubric before the Communion service in all cases to which it is applicable, and other cases he will refer to the Bishop.

At the time of the annual Visitation of the Bishop, the Missionary, aided when it may be practicable by the lay members of his congregation, will present to him the names of such professing Christians as may require to be presented, either on account of the irregularity of their lives, or their neglect of Divine worship.

In every case the Missionary will apply for instructions to the Bishop, as to any formal act which may be necessary, either to exclude an offending member, or receive him again on repentance.<sup>80</sup>

As spiritual teachers in a society in which both chiefs and British government were concerned with the present and material, subjects of the empire but often living on land granted to them by a chief, with British law to support them as they sought to bring the African population into a new community, thus removing them from traditional authorities, the missionaries' position was very delicate. The 1860 conference issued the warning that missionaries "... must take great care not to assume in any way, nor in any way interfere with, the authority of the chiefs, nor the prerogatives of the civil powers."<sup>81</sup>

In 1863 missionaries were instructed that

... they will in no case assume any prerogatives of the civil power.<sup>82</sup>

The missionaries on the whole, refused to discuss the activities of European officials, but the idea that they were connected with the government persisted. When Waters met Sarili in 1863, he found that

... The banished chief is much the same as I knew him six years ago, ... everything we spoke of ended in a political allusion to himself; he asked 'What have I done to offend the Government?' ... I made him distinctly understand that I was not sent by any one, but came of my own free will, and for my own purposes as a teacher of God's law.<sup>83</sup>

If political affairs were discussed, there was a presumption in favour of imperial government as more nearly approximating than that of the tribe to the Christian ideal, and missionaries usually advocated obedience to white authority. Waters in 1863 recorded that Sarili

... expressed a strong desire to see Sir Philip Wodehouse, and trusted that he would not be harshly dealt with. I told him that politics were things to be avoided by myself, but that he would do well to go wherever the Governor told him, ...<sup>84</sup>

Cotterill severely reprimanded those missionaries who incurred the displeasure of British officialdom, but when a chief frowned on a missionary's activity, the Bishop took a different line. On one occasion, the Thembu chieftainess Yeliswa, took exception to the activity of Albert Maggs,<sup>85</sup> and Cotterill wrote:

... I consider the removal of a missionary from a station because he displeases a heathen chief, to be a very serious step < very much to compromise the character of the Mission, unless his character

/has...

has been really reprehensible... Magg's manner is not pleasant but unless he has given just and very serious cause for offence I think that if Yeliswa insists on his going, she should have no Miss<sup>y</sup> at all, that I confess is what I incline to do. Much better that we should have no missionary there than merely one who will please the heathen.<sup>86</sup>

The missionaries regarded western civilization as superior to the culture of the society they sought to convert, and the application of English law as preferable to African custom, especially in matters relating to marriage. At the 1861 conference, the missionaries discussed

A proposal to memorialize the Governor on the expediency of bringing the Kafir tribes more directly under the control and influence of English law...<sup>87</sup>

The debate was "not persevered in, as not altogether relevant to the design of the meeting",<sup>88</sup> but in 1865 Cotterill told the Native Affairs Commission:

You have here, ... to deal with a barbarous race - a race with many customs and traditions ... that are perfectly savage, and often very gross. The only way of raising these people is to make them... adopt the habits of English life; and, at the very least, the decencies of our civilization.<sup>89</sup>

The missionaries did not equate Christian teaching with English law, but regarded the latter as infinitely preferable to customary law: the Instructions drawn up in 1863 stated that

... marriage by a civil magistrate, according to Colonial law, provides a secure legal contract which the Missionaries ought to encourage, even when both are heathen, instead of any union according to Kafir law.<sup>90</sup>

It was difficult for the Anglicans to accept that a European government not only refused to apply English law, but actually upheld the right of Africans to be governed by customary law, albeit applied by European magistrates. This decision seemed to imply that the missionaries' insistence on English law was simply fanatical. Cotterill wrote indignantly in 1870:

... Why the Colonial law should punish Europeans for bigamy while it more than allows the practice among natives, is a question well worth serious consideration. Surely the efforts of Christian Missionaries to carry out English civilization ought to be supported by English law.<sup>91</sup>

/This..

This being Cotterill's opinion, the Cape Native Successions Act<sup>92</sup> was bound to be a basis for controversy. In 1864, an "Ordinance to provide for the Administration and Distribution of the Property of Kafirs, Fingoes, and Tambookies belonging to and dying within these Territories" was passed for Kaffraria. This recognized customary marriage, but made provision for Africans wishing to marry by colonial law. Of the ordinance, Cotterill said in 1865:

We had the question before us in our last Conference, and we passed a resolution to the effect that the Kaffrarian Ordinance... appeared to us very satisfactory.<sup>93</sup>

Of the Cape Act, the Bishop could not approve. According to the situation before the law was passed, if an African with several wives died in the colony, he had no heirs. The law attempted to remedy this by laying down that property acquired by descent according to African law should pass according to African law. Obliquely, this gave official recognition to polygamy. Cotterill told the 1865 Native Affairs Commission of his objections:

... it in effect legalizes some of the worst customs of the natives, especially that of polygamy, by giving the natives the advantages of civilized life, without the restraints that are necessary for civilization.<sup>94</sup>

When British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape in 1866, the ordinance fell away, and a new Native Successions Act, on the same lines as the old Cape Act was passed: So strongly did the Anglicans object to its provisions that they sent a petition, signed by Cotterill and Waters as well as six other missionaries, in which they pointed out that in their opinion

... the principles of the proposed Act are such as no Christian or enlightened Government ought to sanction.<sup>95</sup>

The act would, they were convinced, retard the progress of civilization among the Africans. The petitioners also stated that they were

... humbly of opinion that in respect to administration of property of native subjects of the Queen, or marriages contracted within Colonial limits, there should be no distinction of colour or class, but that all should be placed under the same law....<sup>96</sup>

The missionaries acknowledged the government's problems:

/..your...

... your petitioners are not unaware that the question of native succession is encumbered with some difficulties; but they consider that these... might be easily met, ... by giving facilities to native heathen in the Colony, first to declare before a magistrate the wife whose children would be his heirs according to the Kafir usage, and then to make provision for the children of other houses in a manner consistent with the same usages.<sup>97</sup>

The petition was not successful: the government legislated to deal with the practical problems which faced it where societies with different customs met and mingled, rather than in accordance with the wishes of the missionaries.

The end of all Christian missionary work is the establishment of the church, a community in which loyalty to Christ precedes all other ties. The missionaries came, not in theory as apostles of western civilization, or destroyers of the tribal ethic, but to preach their faith, a gospel of salvation by grace for all men. In practice, Cotterill and his missionaries sought the aid of a reluctant imperial power which they hoped would impose conformity to English law, which they regarded as the minimum requirement for Christianity, on the whole African population. They were not wrong to expect adoption of a new life by their converts, but by denying that traditional ways had any value, and by attempting to enforce the required behaviour on believer and unbeliever alike, they suggested that the New Testament was a legal code, and the gospel an alternative set of customs, instead of allowing their converts to live, as they themselves had come, constrained by the love of Christ.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.A.Smith, The Oxford History of India, p.665.
2. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, governor of the Cape, 1834 to 1837.
3. 1883 Commission on Native Laws and Customs, Report, p.3.
4. Ibid., p.16.
5. Ibid., p.17.
6. Henry Hare Dugmore (1810-1897); his family came out with the 1820 settlers. Converted in 1831, he became a Wesleyan minister in 1834, and did mission work at Butterworth, D'Urban, Mt.Coke and Wesleyville, as well as holding colonial appointments. He translated several

books of the first edition of the Xhosa New Testament, as well as writing hymns.

7. Charles Pacalt Brownlee (1821-1890), the son of a missionary, grew up among the Xhosa. He was made Gaika Commissioner in 1849, and negotiated with the chiefs in 1853 to secure peace. From 1872-1878 he served with the first colonial ministry as Secretary for Native Affairs. He was a member of the 1883 Barry Commission. He retired in 1885 as Commissioner for Native Affairs.
8. John Ayliff (1797-1862), 1820 settler. He was ordained a Wesleyan minister in 1827, and went to Butterworth in 1830. In 1835, he escorted the Mfengu out of the transkei to land near Peddie. In 1843 he completed a Vocabulary of the Kafir Language.
9. 1883 Commission on Native Laws and Customs, Report, p.19.
10. Sir Peregrine Maitland, governor of the Cape, 1844 to 1847.
11. du Toit, p.166.
12. H.Cotterill, Polygamy, p.49.
13. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.10.
14. Defined by A. Kropf, A Kafir-English Dictionary, as a "heathen custom of a very lascivious character, in which public rejoicings and indecent dances take place in celebration of a girl's having arrived at the age of puberty."
15. C.C., August 1887, p.235.
16. M.F., 1 June, 1860, p.130.
17. C.C., October 1890, p.291.
18. Ibid., p.292.
19. Cotterill to Maclean, 11-3-61, GDA.
20. Circular no.1, March 1861
21. Maclean to Cotterill, 7-3-61, GDA.
22. Cotterill to Maclean, 11-3-61, GDA.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. M.F., April 1864, p.77.
26. Ibid.

27. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.11
28. Ibid.
29. M.F., 1 June, 1860, p.130.
30. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.10.
31. M.F., 1 July, 1870, p.204.
32. Instructions, part IV.
33. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.10.
34. F.Majdalaney, State of Emergency, p.40.
35. C.M.B., 3-11-66.
36. C.M.B., 27-1-71.
37. M.Wilson and L.Thompson, eds., op.cit., p.125.
38. see J.B.Webster, 'Attitudes and Policies of the Yoruba African Churches towards Polygamy', in C.G.Baëta, ed., Christianity in Tropical Africa, p.231.
39. M.F., 1 February, 1863, p.31
40. Ibid.
41. du Toit, p.164.
42. Circular no.4 of July, 1862.
43. du Toit, p.164.
44. Ibid., p.165.
45. Cotterill to Kitton, 20-8-62, GDA.
46. C.M.B., 19-8-58.
47. Ibid.
48. C.M.B., 22-1-63.
49. C.M.B., 26-1-64.
50. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.10.
51. Ibid.
52. News from the Missions, May 1865, p.20.
53. Colonial Church Chronicle, August 1861, pp.304f.

54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-6-61, SPG ms D24.
58. Cotterill to Bullock, 15-7-61, SPG ms D24.
59. Cotterill to Hawkins, 29-8-61, SPG ms D24.
60. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-11-61, SPG ms D24.
61. H.Cotterill, Polygamy, Preface.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., p.1.
64. Ibid., p.23.
65. Ibid., p.39.
66. Ibid., p.44
67. Ibid., p.45.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., p.46.
70. Ibid., p.45.
71. Ibid., pp.46f.
72. Ibid., p.48.
73. Ibid., pp50f.
74. H.Cotterill, op.cit., p.19.
75. C.C., October 1890, p.290.
76. Ibid.
77. Instructions, Part I.
78. Cotterill to Hawkins, 21-1-58, SPG ms D7.
79. M.F., 1 January, 1868, p.7.
80. Instructions, Part I.
81. C.C., August 1887, p.235.
82. Instructions, Part I.
83. M.F., April 1864, p.76.

84. Ibid., p.77.
85. Albert Maggs was born in 1840. At first connected with the Wesleyans, he offered himself to Cotterill and came to Grahamstown in 1860. First at St. Mark's, then at St. Luke's, he went to St. Peter's Gwatyu in 1862, was at St. John's 1864-6, and at Komgha 1867-8, and again at St. Luke's 1869 to 1882. He committed suicide, in 1882, apparently while of unsound mind,
86. Cotterill to Waters, November 1862, GDA.
87. C.M.B. 20-2-61.
88. Ibid.
89. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Eyidence, p,13.
90. Instructions, Part I.
91. M.F., 1 July, 1870, p.204.
92. Act 18 of 1864.
93. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Eyidence, p.12.
94. Ibid.
95. C.5-'68.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.

CHAPTER 6

AN AFRICAN CHURCH ?

Robert Gray's vision was of a church with her roots planted deep in southern Africa: he saw the creation of the bishopric in Grahamstown as a way of bringing this about. The bishop was a focus of unity and source of vigorous action, with a dual mission to build a church in which Christians could grow, and into which converts could be brought.<sup>1</sup> John Armstrong shared this vision and his work during his short episcopate began to make it a practical reality. Armstrong bequeathed two tasks to Cotterill: first to define the goal for which the missionaries should be striving, and second, to guide the clergy and people of the church towards achieving that goal.

During Cotterill's episcopate, the number of Anglican mission establishments grew. Of the four stations founded by Armstrong, St. Mark's by 1857 had three outstations; St. Peter's and St. John the Baptist's within the Cape Colony, and St. Barnabas' across the Kei. Development after 1857 was on two main lines. The first was the growth of town missions, and the second a chain of missions planned to extend from St. Mark's to Natal.

The influx of tribesmen into the towns as a result of the cattle killing made the need for town missions more pressing, but as early as 1855 Armstrong had recognized the need for a mission in Grahamstown to the Xhosa in the location.<sup>2</sup> Robert Gray in 1856 had again drawn attention to the need for such a mission in Grahamstown,<sup>3</sup> and in 1858, the Rev. W.A. Lees opened the mission, but when he left Grahamstown the same year, it closed.<sup>4</sup>

There were also, before 1860, moves towards founding a mission in East London. Cotterill had intended to send Greenstock from St. Luke's to the town, where the original mission population had gone in search of work. Greenstock wrote at the time:

... I shall probably take charge of the Kafirs at East London where there are near a thousand, totally uncared for.<sup>5</sup>

/Although....

Although he paid several visits to East London, when Greenstock wrote to the S.P.G. at the beginning of January 1858, he was still at St. Luke's.<sup>6</sup> There is evidence, however, that Greenstock had opened a mission in East London by October 1858,<sup>7</sup> and was at work there until the end of February 1859, when he went to St. Matthew's.<sup>8</sup>

Waters remarked to Kitton in September 1859, that

It is very sad to think that when our people go from the Missions to the Towns, they have no Church to go to,...

A concerted Anglican move towards the formation of town missions came after the 1860 Synod, which recommended

... that Missions to the Heathen should be established at the earliest possible period at Grahamstown and the other principal towns in the Diocese, and that persons experienced in the conduct of Missions should, if possible, be appointed to such places.<sup>10</sup>

In July 1860, W.H.Turpin came from St. Mark's to Grahamstown to establish what became St. Philip's Mission.<sup>11</sup> The work in Grahamstown followed a pattern which was taken up by other town missions: Turpin not only gathered a church congregation, but established a school. By 1864, the clergyman at Graaff-Reinet, Steabler, was supervising a mission school and holding one service a month for Africans, while at Queenstown, A.J.Newton, a catechist ran a chapel and school<sup>12</sup> under the guidance of the parochial clergyman.<sup>13</sup> Another catechist, Charles Taberer, had started a mission school at Fort Beaufort<sup>14</sup> also under the guidance of the local priest.<sup>15</sup> By 1866 this had developed into Trinity Mission and Taberer had a congregation of 120.<sup>16</sup>

In May 1868, Cotterill told Bullock that he hoped to open a mission in Port Elizabeth.<sup>17</sup> On the 12th July, 1869, Waters was commissioned by the conference of missionaries to visit Port Elizabeth and to investigate the possibility of opening a mission there.<sup>18</sup> By the 28th April, 1870, Cotterill was able to tell Bullock that Greenstock had gone to superintend the formation of the Port Elizabeth mission,<sup>19</sup> and at the conference in January 1871 the situation was formalized when it was resolved, firstly,

That it is desirable to establish a general mission at Port Elizabeth in charge of a European Missionary...<sup>20</sup>

/and...

and secondly,

That the Rev. W. Greenstock be requested to take charge if possible of the proposed Port Elizabeth Mission.<sup>21</sup>

The other direction in which Anglican missionary work grew was eastwards in the territory across the Kei. As early as 1857 Merriman had written:

And now in conclusion I urge again... what I never shall cease to proclaim to all who will listen to me - that our great requirement for the success of the Kaffir missions is a Bishop devoted to that exclusive work. It never can be duly superintended by a Bishop whose seat is at Grahamstown. who has this large colony to look after.<sup>22</sup>

In 1862 Waters saw the creation of a bishopric as the best hope of extending Anglican missionary work in the territory across the Kei:

The "Kaffraria proper" mission must be encouraged by all means, as we cannot go there with our present funds, and a "mitre" may lead some first class man to endure hardships & expend money as well as encourage others to follow him.<sup>23</sup>

Cotterill himself was inclined to be more cautious at first, and in 1863, when the planned S.P.G. Mission to Independent Kaffraria fell through, he suggested that the missions there be an extension of those in his diocese, and offered to organize them.<sup>24</sup> By 1865, Cotterill had come to the conclusion that there was a need for a bishop on the spot to organize all missions across the Kei, and he was glad that the establishment of a new see was being considered.<sup>25</sup> Cotterill, when he left South Africa in 1871, was a prime mover in establishing the Diocese of St. John's<sup>26</sup> but while he remained Bishop of Grahamstown, the direction of Anglican missions and their growth eastward remained his responsibility, and despite shortage of funds and tension with government, growth there was.

In 1859, the new station of All Saints was founded under John Gordon, near the Mbashe River.<sup>27</sup> Five years later, in November 1864,<sup>28</sup> two missionaries from England, Bransby Key<sup>29</sup> and Douglas Dodd,<sup>30</sup> arrived in Grahamstown. Cotterill told Hawkins that they would be sent to All Saints to learn the language and to familiarize themselves with the country and the nature of the work,<sup>31</sup> and this plan was confirmed

/at....

at the conference of missionaries in December 1864, at which time both men were ordained deacon.<sup>32</sup> After about three months at All Saints, Key and Dodd travelled beyond the Mtata to the kraal of Mditshwa,<sup>33</sup> an Mpondomisé chief, where they wished to establish a mission.<sup>34</sup> Later in 1865 the mission of St. Augustine's was formed, but although the missionaries had the favour of the chief,<sup>35</sup> three years elapsed before the first convert was baptized.<sup>36</sup>

The conference of missionaries held in July 1867<sup>37</sup> decided that after another three months at St. Augustine's with Key, Dodd should form a mission on his own. In consequence, St. Alban's,<sup>35</sup> was opened in 1868 on land granted by the Thembu paramount Ngangeliswe,<sup>39</sup> but as Dodd observed as a result of his travels to find a site:

There are many other places where men are much required; but let it suffice to say that in Kafirland Proper, which is about the size of half England, there are but four Missionaries of the Church to spread the Gospel among a thick population of heathen.<sup>40</sup>

The Anglican strategy when selecting sites for the missions founded between 1859 and 1869 was, as it had been from the start, to get a well-watered site in the midst of a dense population from a chief of some importance.<sup>41</sup>

Growth of Anglican missionary work across the Kei, besides being a response to the needs of the tribesmen already living there, was governed by population shifts across the river. While British Kaffraria was still a separate colony, Cotterill told Bullock that some Thembu from St. John the Baptist's had crossed the Kei, but that the missionaries could not follow them because they would lose the government grants.<sup>42</sup> The Anglicans did make some provision for them, for the S.P.G. Annual Report for 1865 quoted extracts from Waters' journal:

July 19th - The chief Daralla gave the site of Kreli's old kraal, on the Hocta river, for the new mission among the Tambookies beyond the Kei...<sup>43</sup>

On the 12th August, Waters wrote:

I may mention that Mr Liefeldt, with praise-worthy zeal, has taken up the Hocta Mission with the sum of 10£ in his pocket, ...and out of this small sum he will have to build his huts, and in fact set up his mission...<sup>44</sup>

The population around St. Matthew's diminished when, in 1866, Mfengu from the overcrowded Crown Reserve were moved into the land across the Kei<sup>45</sup>. At the same time, Waters at St. Mark's reported that the Gcaleka were leaving the station, and being replaced by Thembu and Mfengu, of whom he wrote:

The large, rich & intelligent tribe of Fingoes, which has now come into this country, will require looking after. Many of them are true Christians and highly civilized, anxious for teachers & willing to help them. But until the Bishop's return, little or nothing can be done practically, in sending out teachers among these people. At present the Wesleyan Missions... together with an Independent Mission... keep religion alive, but there are numbers who have no guide or counsellor. A large population of Tambookies are now gathering round... St. Marks... What can be done in such a case? - at and around St. Marks, twelve thousand Tambookies - a little beyond twenty thousand Fingoes!<sup>46</sup>

Up until this time, the growth of Anglican mission work had been determined by the number of European agents available. Waters' answer to the situation which faced him at St. Mark's, though still governed by the principle that Europeans should be in charge, also recognized the need for the use of African agency on a much larger scale than hitherto:

My own idea is, that our present number of Europeans is almost large enough, but our staff of native teachers must be increased ten fold and arranged under the European Missionaries.<sup>47</sup>

It was originally intended that Dodd should open a mission for the Mfengu,<sup>48</sup> and although he did not, some provision was made, for in 1870 Cotterill told Bullock that work among Mfengu across the Kei cost £300 a year.<sup>49</sup>

Cotterill's first instructions to the European missionaries of his diocese, issued in July 1857, made no mention of the necessity for employment of African agents: at that stage, the Anglicans had no converts and any Africans they employed were trained by others. The question of African agency was briefly dealt with at the first conference of missionaries in 1858, when it was resolved

That £40 per an. be considered sufficient for Native Teachers employed at school work for the space of six hours per diem: and extra work on the station to be paid for according to time and labour.<sup>50</sup>

At the 1860 conference, the bishop delivered a paper entitled The importance of training all converts from heathenism to aid in the work of evangelizing their unbelieving brethren: developing also a plan for rendering every native Church a self-supporting and self-expanding one,<sup>51</sup> and the missionaries resolved

That native converts be encouraged under the direction of the Missionaries, to labour for the conversion of their heathen countrymen, both by private and public exhortations, and by reading the Word of God among them; and that a sphere of labour for such converts as should be, in the opinion of the Missionary, qualified for such work be marked out and assigned to them by the Missionary.<sup>52</sup>

At the conference in 1862, Cotterill warned the assembled missionaries

.. that their work was not to be pastors of Native converts and Churches; for if so, how could England possibly provide pastors for all the Native Churches in the world? Such a thought could not be entertained. It was their work to sow the seed, - to plant Churches having seed in themselves, which should afterwards flourish of themselves.<sup>53</sup>

While independence of the African church was his goal, Cotterill did not envisage a situation where episcopal supervision would be redundant, nor indeed a situation where that supervision would come from an African and not a European. Nevertheless, his policy meant that some tentative steps were taken in that direction. He told the missionaries that the building up of an African church

... could only be done by the aid of native teachers and a native ministry... Native agents... might be of two kinds - paid and unpaid.<sup>54</sup>

The latter was to be preferred, but where these were not available,

Paid agents must be employed... Paid agents, again, might be of two classes. They might be taken from the older converts; or they might be young men specially trained for the work.<sup>55</sup>

In Cotterill's opinion, there was work for both, but older converts needed to be fully tested, while

... all success for the future must depend upon the training of the younger men. The firm establishment of the native church could thus only effectually be accomplished. Yet there was a danger here also. The danger of denationalizing these young people too far; of Anglicizing them too much; of making them too much of foreigners amongst their own people.

The national character of converts from heathen tribes should not be destroyed, but elevated.<sup>56</sup>

He summarized this address when writing to Bullock later in January, saying that his experience had made him

... feel very strongly the importance of aiming from the first at a native ministry to native Christians.<sup>57</sup>

He told Hawkins at the same time that his aim was a self-propagating African church.<sup>58</sup>

Although while Cotterill remained bishop, control of missions lay in his hands, and in those of a conference of European missionaries, he envisaged a situation where African Christians would have a say in the running of the missions. He told Hawkins in February 1862, that

In my opinion the additional element (on a board of missions) which would be of value and which I should wish to introduce as soon as practicable, is that of Native Christians, either in their own persons, or by some representation. But we are not ready for this yet.<sup>59</sup>

Cotterill's charge at the 1863 conference included a clear statement of his view of the mission of the church, and how it was to be achieved. He stated emphatically that the work must grow, and reiterated that it should be self-extending:

To say we cannot do this without increased grants seems to me a very sad admission; it indicates how very different our missionary operations must be from those of Apostolic times...<sup>60</sup>

He went on:

... If your missionary labours are really in the power of the Holy Ghost, who is promised to accompany the Gospel fully and faithfully preached, - the effect will be that the sheep of Christ which are scattered abroad will hear his voice, and be gathered into his fold; a Church, - however small it may be at first, - of real living members of Christ will be formed; and this must be from the first so organized that, with superintendence and occasional instruction from yourselves, it may be gradually accustomed to stand alone, and not be kept too long in a state of pupillage.<sup>61</sup>

Cotterill envisaged a number of new missions founded by English clergymen, with the aid of African Christians who would hold the old ground. He recognized the dangers of too long an apprenticeship without coming to grips with the problems of transfer of power. The list of

/instructions...

instructions issued as a result of this conference laid down the following rules affecting native agents:

1. Such Native converts as, in the judgement of the Missionary, are qualified, should be encouraged to labour under his direction for the spiritual goal of their fellow countrymen,...
2. All services rendered by those Native Christians who are not engaged as Catechists or Schoolmasters, should be voluntary and unpaid.
3. All Native agents, paid or unpaid, should receive personal spiritual instruction... from the Missionary.<sup>62</sup>

The Instructions also laid down that

In the absence of the Missionary, Native Christians should be entrusted, as far as practicable in his judgement, with the services necessary for their Christian fellow countrymen, and they should be gradually prepared for such duties by reading the lessons and other suitable parts of the service in his presence.<sup>63</sup>

Cotterill reported to Hawkins in December 1864 that the number of African agents had increased.<sup>64</sup> At the mission conference held that month, a salary scale for African teachers was laid down. There were three classes: teachers educated in England were to receive £60 a year, those educated at a training institution and with a first class certificate would be paid £30 a year if single, and £40 if married. Those in the third class, with a second class certificate, would be paid £18 a year if single, and £24 if married. It was also decided that promotion would only be granted after satisfactory completion of an examination.<sup>65</sup> At the 1866 conference, salaries were raised, so that a first class teacher could earn more than £60, those in the second class from £30 to £40 if single, and up to £50 a year if married, and teachers of the third group £24 if single and £30 if they had a wife.<sup>66</sup>

Cotterill's next move was to give African agents some official status. At the conference in December 1864,

His Lordship called attention to the establishing a Native Ministry as a matter to be kept steadily in view. He expressed his willingness to receive native candidates for Ordination, and he requested the Missionaries to bring the subject before their people and teach them that ordination is attainable, and not necessarily confined to such natives as may have received education in England.<sup>67</sup>

The first African deacon was ordained in 1870, but in the meanwhile,

at the 1866 conference, there was a more definite move to give African agents some place in the Church hierarchy when the bishop informed the missionaries that he would like to give recognition to the office of Reader, and they resolved

That this Conference rejoices to learn that the Bishops of the Church of England have thought it well to sanction the office of Reader, and to set apart persons to such office by a special service & a licence revocable at any time at the pleasure of the Bishop granting the same; and that this Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived for the application of these principles to the case of duly qualified native agents, not only of those whose services are perfectly voluntary, but also of those who are paid, provided that, as a general rule, such persons receive a portion of their salary, or support from the people amongst whom they labour.<sup>68</sup>

Cotterill planned to put this resolution into practice almost at once: he told Bullock in a letter written in February 1867, that he intended to admit Africans as Readers at an ordination in King William's Town on the second Sunday in Lent,<sup>69</sup> but in March he reported that this had not been done because the candidates' reading in the vernacular had not reached the required standard.<sup>70</sup>

At the 1860 conference, a survey was conducted of the use of native agency, especially unpaid, on Anglican missions, and

It was reported that at several of the stations native converts were voluntarily engaged, in divers ways in promoting the spiritual welfare of their countrymen - visiting kraals for services on Sundays, acting as readers in the Churches, conducting prayer meetings in the huts, visiting the sick... That ... native converts were carrying on the usual services in the absence of the Missionaries... That they were also very ready to attend and assist the Missionaries in their preaching tours, in some cases supplying horses for their use.<sup>71</sup>

African agents were employed on Anglican missions from an early date: the accounts for 1859<sup>72</sup> show that there were paid agents at St. Matthew's, and at St. Mark's and its branches of St. John the Baptist's and St. Peter's. By 1861,<sup>73</sup> there was provision for nine African teachers on Anglican missions, and as the number of town missions increased, so did the number of African agents employed. In 1865, Turpin had one male and one female teacher<sup>74</sup> at St. Philip's<sup>75</sup> and by 1871 native agents were running schools at Southwell, Fort Beaufort and at Graaff-Reinet.<sup>76</sup> There were also two African agents employed at St. Luke's, and three at St. John's Kubusi, but the largest numbers<sup>77</sup> worked at St. Mark's and its branches, and at St. Matthew's, under the guidance of Waters and Greenstock.

As early as August 1857, Waters not only had African agents at work, but involved them in decision-making about work on the station; Mullins recorded that on Sunday, the 23rd August,<sup>78</sup> a meeting in the chapel at St. Mark's, attended by himself, Waters, Hutt, Gordon, Turpin, Miss Grey, and two African agents arranged services, until the next meeting, planned for Michelmas. Even after informal meetings became more difficult due to the growth of work, they seem to have continued. Ten years later, Waters recorded in his journal:

Several teachers and people from outstations arrived tonight, some in wagons, other on horseback, for the Annual Meeting. On the 3d there was a meeting of native teachers.<sup>79</sup>

Waters was firmly in favour of the use of African agents, echoing Cotterill's words by writing

A vast work lies before us on every side, and it can only be by a very great extension of native agency that the knowledge<sup>80</sup> of Christ can be carried to the mass of heathenism around us.

He was prepared to experiment:

One thing, however, which I have just commenced promises to do a great work among the women, and that is, the appointment of certain good women to look over the female portion of our population.<sup>81</sup>

An entry in Waters' journal for the 8th February, 1865, shows how the system worked:

After morning prayer met the native deaconesses in the vestry. Lucy Ganassi reports having had prayers with several women, that certain women are sick, and that she will visit Tyingesmi's kraal, to see why the women do not come to chapel. Elizabeth Tute reports praying with certain women, will look after three old women, and see that certain girls come to school. Her report is very cheering. Mary and Isabella report having had prayers and religious conversation with several women. The work of these poor women has already done good, so far as attendance on the services is concerned, and I have no doubt will tend to much permanent good hereafter.<sup>82</sup>

Waters' journal also shows the pressures to which African agents were subject:

... St. Peter's is now superintended by the indefatigable Miss Bond, assisted by native teachers, one of whom is the son of the late famous chief Mapassa. This young man has been heartily engaged for some time in propagating the Gospel among his tribe, ... every means has been used to draw Peter Mapassa back to heathenism; but he has kept firm hold of the Cross, and triumphed over his tempters.<sup>83</sup>

Of another man, Cobus, Waters wrote

The teacher is not a very hopeful man, but he is doing well compared to some. At first, poor Cobus used to send me very doleful letters of the people laughing at him, and telling him that they did not want God... The letters are now more cheerful and Cobus seems to have taken heart. Few can imagine what it is to live daily among wild, bad men, to hear the continual evil communication, the scoffings at religion, and the praise of their own dark ways.<sup>84</sup>

Among the teachers at St. Matthew's mission in 1858 when the Rev. H.B. Smith was the missionary there, were two brothers, Peter and Paul Masiza, who had been trained by the Moravians. During August and September 1858, Cotterill corresponded with one of the Moravian brethren about the Masizas. Apparently Paul had not only been 'cheeky' but had demanded excessive payment for his work, and Peter's conduct had been equally unsatisfactory. A letter written from Genadendal on the 3rd September 1858 was very apologetic about their conduct:

... (Paul) has indeed been somewhat impudent against Mr Smith, for which he was to blame. We are however very happy, your Lordship is yet willing to keep him at any place you may choose; hope he will not dare again behaving himself in such a way towards his minister.

But we are very sorry, such a gross mistake has happened.. concerning their Salary... We are sorry your Lordship did pay them so much already.

That your Lordship do not find in them any desire to exert themselves towards the conversion of their countrymen, I can easily understand from knowing their character by experience.<sup>85</sup>

The letter ended:

We hope and pray most earnestly Your Lordship will yet come to have some joy at these young men, and some assistance in the great and important work which Your Lordship is doing so faithfully and successfully.<sup>86</sup>

When Greenstock went to St. Matthew's in 1859, Peter and Paul Masiza were still there: each ran a kraal school, and Peter taught tailoring at St. Matthew's itself.<sup>87</sup> In March 1859, Peter was dismissed for refusing to teach industrial work.<sup>88</sup> In 1864, Paul was still teaching at St. Matthew's,<sup>89</sup> but in 1865, by which time the original Gcaleka population had been replaced by Mfengu, the Masizas were employed as teachers at St. Mark's.<sup>90</sup>

/Paul...

Paul Masiza was made deacon on Trinity Sunday in 1870,<sup>91</sup> and went to Fort Beaufort to take charge of Trinity Mission there, but died in 1871.<sup>92</sup> His brother Peter continued to work at an outstation of St. Mark's,<sup>93</sup> was ordained deacon in 1873, and became the first African priest of the Church of the Province in 1877.

Greenstock's accounts of the employment of African agents in St. Matthew's show that this aspect of his work closely resembled that of H.T. Waters at St. Mark's. Greenstock was keen to employ African Christians, offering, if the diocese could not afford it, to pay them himself.<sup>94</sup> Work at St. Matthew's was also characterized by the use of unpaid African agency from an early date. Cotterill remarked during his 1860 visitation that

The most remarkable and encouraging feature in this Mission is the voluntary and unpaid native agency which is at work, in accordance with the principles which we recognized at our Conference in 1860. There are five native Christians who are thus labouring without any remuneration... All of them.. hold a service at the kraals where they live, when the Missionary does not attend.<sup>95</sup>

By 1862, Greenstock was holding regular monthly meetings with these unpaid agents.<sup>96</sup> These meetings opened with singing, prayer and readings from Scripture:<sup>97</sup> the agents then reported on their activities of the previous weeks, or gave an account of their sermon on the preceding Sunday, and Greenstock on one occasion recorded that:

Daniel had used the parable of the Vine, to show the people the necessity of being united with Christ.

Klass had failed to obtain a congregation of adults,...

Jonas, who cannot read, had told the people that he brought his book in his heart, and in exhorting to the observance of Sunday, said that God has given us six sheep, the seventh He claims as His own; 'what a sin to kill the sheep belonging to God!'<sup>98</sup>

Those assembled then discussed the organization of services, and matters of church discipline could be raised.<sup>99</sup> In 1864, meetings were attended by both paid and unpaid agents, and Greenstock wrote

I make a point of doing nothing of importance without consulting these men; and all subjects receive a free and thorough ventilation at our meetings.<sup>100</sup>

By 1864, Greenstock had appointed deaconesses to visit the sick and report on their needs.<sup>101</sup> There were, in May 1865, two paid African catechists and two paid teachers, with ten unpaid agents and five deaconesses.<sup>102</sup> In 1869, Greenstock's last year at St. Matthew's, there were six paid African school teachers.<sup>103</sup>

African education was the focus of one of the great debates of the 1860s. William Govan, Principal of Lovedale until 1870, argued that the elevation of a pre-literate people could best be achieved by advanced education for the few, while his opponent and successor, James Stewart, backed by Alexander Duff and the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, advocated elementary education reaching as many as possible.<sup>104</sup> At the time, Stewart's view prevailed, although it was ultimately seen that both policies were necessary.

Like the Anglicans and Wesleyans, the Free Church of Scotland received government aid to finance its schools, and Langham Dale's stance in the debate is clear:

I am inclined to discourage the special preparation of a few native lads.. at a great expense, and to assist only in the training of a sufficient number of native teachers to occupy the various school-stations at the kraals... To the educated Kafir there is no opening; he may be qualified to fill the post of a clerk in a public office or in a mercantile house, but either there is no demand for such persons, or prejudice operates against persons of colour being so employed. To give a high education to Kafir boys, and then to leave them isolated from their own people in thoughts and habits, and to some extent in language, and without any prospect of useful and settled occupation in another sphere of labour, is only to increase the existing temptations of the so-called school Kafir to fall into the vices of the low Europeans... We require a steady supply of Native teachers, trained to teach and to work, and in constant and free intercourse with their own people, without that over-refinement which elevates the individual too much above his fellows.

Of the provision made for carrying out these views, Dale wrote:

The arrangements now in operation in the Church of England Native Institutions on the Frontier, in the Wesleyan Training School... and ... Lovedale, are based on these views.<sup>106</sup>

In 1871 he expressed open approval of Stewart's policy:

The Rev. Dr. Stewart is desirous to enlarge the sphere of training both of the lads and young women. All cannot become teachers; many have no aptitude either for that occupation or for trades. Agricultural labour offers to Native boys a wider field, and one very necessary.<sup>107</sup>

/Although...

Although Anglican schools fell into line with government requirements, their prime aim was not that of the government: as Cotterill informed the Watermeyer Commission:

The mission schools are part of our spiritual work for the Christian instruction of the heathen and others ignorant of the gospel.<sup>108</sup>

Of the standard of education given at mission schools, Cotterill said:

... I am looking at the case of a scattered population who are taught principally with a view to their spiritual instruction, and my own view would be that it would be better for them to have the amount of information they do have, and which is at the best limited, imparted to them in Kafir rather than in English; because, while I don't think that the majority of them would learn enough to master the English, they could all learn to master their own language sufficiently to understand the Scriptures.<sup>109</sup>

Teaching was an important part of evangelism, but a subsidiary aim of the elementary education offered on Anglican missions was to prepare scholars for life in their own environment, rather than in an area under European control, where English was the passport to effective participation. For these reasons, Cotterill expressed the opinion that African teachers did not need a European education:

... the native schoolmaster who knows nothing more than his own language may, by teaching the native children to read and write in their own language, and by instructing them in the simpler truths of Scripture, confer great benefits on those people. I don't mean to say that he would do so much good as if he had received a higher education; but he might be a satisfactory teacher, to a certain extent, without knowing a single word of English.<sup>110</sup>

In 1870, most African children in Anglican schools were being taught to read the vernacular, with smaller numbers learning to read English and to write and do simple arithmetic. Music was a popular subject for all pupils, while a few of the more advanced learnt English grammar and geography.<sup>111</sup>

Anglican missionaries also recognized the need for some institution of higher education. Before 1860, two institutions open to Africans supplied such an education: Zonnebloem College, Cape Town, and St. Augustine's, Canterbury.

The institution which eventually became Zonnebloem College opened in 1858, and moved to Zonnebloem estate in 1860.<sup>112</sup> Sir George Grey

bought the property and the Bishop of Cape Town held it in trust

... as an endowment for the erection or maintenance of an industrial school or schools for the inhabitants of Africa and their descendants of pure or mixed race, and for the education of destitute European children, so long as an education in the English language shall be given.<sup>113</sup>

Despite a generous endowment, and aid from the S.P.G., the College was dogged with financial problems. One of the aims of the college was to provide an education for the sons of chiefs, and pupils came not only from the eastern frontier, but from the Free State.<sup>114</sup> There was an attempt in 1864 to provide theological training at Zonnebloem with a view to an African ministry,<sup>115</sup> but most of the college's former pupils were employed as teachers.<sup>116</sup> In 1869, six men and one woman went from Zonnebloem to work in the diocese of Grahamstown.<sup>117</sup> By that year, the College was no longer full,<sup>118</sup> and Pascoe remarks that it was gradually replaced by the Institution which was founded in Grahamstown.<sup>119</sup> The College was not regarded in an altogether favourable light by the missionaries in Cotterill's diocese, who resolved in 1866

That in the opinion of this Conference the Institution at Zonnebloem can only become useful to the Missions of the Diocese by such an education being given therein as is required by young men in training for the Pastorate or higher branches of Mission work.<sup>120</sup>

Robert Mullins, Bransby Key and Douglas Dodd attended St. Augustine's College where the curriculum included Scripture History, Reason, lectures on the Prayer Book and Articles, and Greek, as well as manual work and some elementary medicine.<sup>121</sup> Possible African candidates for ordination were sent there, but the expense was great, the education not altogether what Cotterill regarded as necessary for an African ministry, and the effects were often unsatisfactory. The Bishop said in 1865 of three youths who had recently returned:

... they most decidedly observe European habits, so much so that we found at first that they would not stay with their friends.<sup>122</sup>

The foundation of the Kafir Institution in Grahamstown in 1860 made the diocese largely independent of these other two institutions. After the bishop had stressed the importance of the use of African agency at the 1860 conference,

The establishment of a superior school for the more advanced children, which should be in its turn a feeder of a yet higher institution for the training of catechists and schoolmasters, was also mooted, ... It was reported to the Conference that some twenty or more children at the various stations were already fit for admission to such a higher school.<sup>123</sup>

George Grey's scheme involved the placing of schools on the frontier; Anglican missionaries in 1860 made a contrary suggestion for the situation of their higher school:

It seemed to be the feeling of all present... that such a school should be away from Kafirland (in Grahamstown, for example), where the influence of the parents and friends of the children would be less likely to interrupt their progress and to mar the work.<sup>124</sup>

Such a school opened in Grahamstown in August 1860, with six boys from St. John the Baptist's and St. Matthew's. Greenstock was for a time in charge, but in February 1861, when there were twelve boys, H.R. Woodrooffe came to be principal. In 1862, his duties were taken over by Hutt, who remained until September 1863, when Woodrooffe returned. After 1864, Mullins was the school's principal. In that year, the institution was moved from Fort England, where it had been situated for two years, to its original site near St. Andrew's College.<sup>125</sup> By this time there were fifteen pupils, and the school remained at that number throughout Cotterill's episcopate.

The missionaries at the 1866 conference resolved

That as the Kafir Institute at Grahamstown is acknowledged by this Conference to be of the utmost importance to mission work, it is the duty of every missionary to use all efforts in his power to keep up a supply of duly qualified youths.<sup>126</sup>

Although the prime reason for the existence of this college was to train African teachers, the missionaries saw no reason why its students should not have a wider choice of employment open to them and resolved:

That in the opinion of this Conference it would make the Institution more popular among the natives, and more effective for its great object of raising up a body of Native Teachers... if the youths passing through the College should feel that they have other callings in life open to them besides that of Teachers; That the Government could afford considerable assistance in this matter by throwing open the offices in which natives are employed by Government to the competition of youths who have passed through such Institutions;<sup>127</sup>

The situation did not improve, and in 1869 Mullins wrote:

We find it very hard to obtain employment for the youths, when they leave the institution, but that of native teachers. There is a great prejudice among the white population against employing what they call 'educated blacks'.<sup>128</sup>

The Institute had a higher standard than the schools which fed it, and the Anglicans were determined to maintain the standard, resolving

That this Conference recognized fully the importance of maintaining as a Standard of qualifications for admission to the Grahamstown Institution that the Candidates be baptized and be able to read both in Kafir & in English, and be ordinarily not less than 15 years of age, but at the same time feels it to be essential that some provision be made for the teaching of boys of a less advanced class by the establishment of a lower School in this town...<sup>129</sup>

Of the course of instruction and the standard attained, Dale wrote in 1869:

The general course of instruction includes English and Kafir, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, history; 1 learns geometry and Latin; 7 learn algebra; 6 learn carpentry; the rest have general industrial training.

Read English history with tolerable fluency, 15; write to dictation without mistake, 4; write copy, well, 5; work vulgar fractions, simple and compound rules, 8; examined in grammatical definitions, history of the English language, and in geography; work, good; 6 worked elementary exercises in algebra; 1 understands the definitions of Euclid and some of the propositions of Book 1, of the original exercises in English composition, several were well done.<sup>130</sup>

Of the degree of success achieved by the Institution Mullins wrote in 1869:

Of the 30 who have left school, 22 have... been employed as native teachers at our various Missions; three, after a short trial, were sent home for inaptitude; two have returned to heathenism; one has been sent to St. Augustine's, Canterbury...; one died at home; one is unemployed, but left the Institution with a good character and second-class certificate.

Of the 22 who have been employed in Mission work, one, unhappily, fell away and died shortly afterwards; fifteen are still employed in Mission work; and the remaining six have, from various causes, been dismissed, but, it may be trusted, are not wholly lost to the Church, although they are exposed to severe temptations, under which two have fallen away.<sup>131</sup>

/The...

The Anglican attitude to education was not simply one of compliance with government wishes in order to obtain government aid. Education was one of the means of evangelization used by Anglican missionaries to build up the church, and as the use of African agency was extended, and the need for an African ministry was recognized, there was recognition of the need to provide a higher education than the elementary and industrial training provided on their scattered stations: it was not the fault of the missionaries that the only avenue of employment was largely restricted to their own missions.

Encouragement of African agency was only one aspect of planting an African church. Cotterill wrote in 1866:

... I object myself to maintaining a large body of native teachers supported only by an English missionary Society... I am jealous of a system growing up in our missions which shall merely substitute native for European labour, without calling out the resources of the native Christians themselves.<sup>132</sup>

European colonists were encouraged to contribute to mission work, and African Christians were made aware of their responsibility to make the church self-supporting. At the conference in 1861 it was resolved

... that the attention of the natives on the Missions should be called especially to the duty of contributing to the support of Mission work; and that the amounts raised for such purpose on each station should be annually reported to the Conference.<sup>133</sup>

A year later, the assembled missionaries resolved

That with reference to the settlement of natives on Mission Stations, it be a recognized principle, not only that such natives should be no pecuniary burden on the Missions, but that their occupation of the lands should be a means of aiding in the support of teachers among them, with a view to an ultimate provision for the maintenance of a native Ministry.<sup>134</sup>

In September 1861, Cotterill reported that contributions from St. Matthew's were being sent to Mackenzie's mission in Central Africa,<sup>135</sup> but throughout the period, contributions from the missions were devoted on the whole, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and to the payment of school fees. Amounts sent to the S.P.G. were usually small: in February, 1863 Cotterill told Hawkins that £38.17.2½ had been collected on missions for the society;<sup>136</sup> In 1864, the Easter offerings amounted to £60,<sup>137</sup> which was sent to the S.P.G.<sup>138</sup> It was decided at the 1869 Conference that all African contributions to the

S.P.G. would be paid into the diocesan mission fund, and the Society credited with the amount collected.<sup>139</sup>

In July 1861, Greenstock reported that of the nine Mfengu boys boarding at St. Matthew's, six paid school fees of some kind, ranging from five pounds to three pounds.<sup>140</sup> The 1863 Instructions laid down that

In all except special cases the parents of children boarded in the Mission schools will be required to contribute for their support at least a sufficient supply of proper food, and to provide clothing for them also when they are able.<sup>141</sup>

At the Conference in July 1869, it was resolved

That it is desirable that an effort be made to obtain from the parents of children sent to the Grahamstown Institution some contribution towards their support.<sup>142</sup>

In September 1870, Mullins reported that

Hitherto none of the boys have been enabled to contribute towards their maintenance: the father of one has, however, promised 10/- per annum towards the support of his son.<sup>143</sup>

Cotterill informed the Native Affairs Commission in 1865 that

The Fingoes, I suppose as being more wealthy, have contributed more generally and more freely than the Kafirs. The contributions of the Kafirs are sometimes considerable, but I have found that the Fingoes are, generally speaking, far more liberal.<sup>144</sup>

The missionaries, by looking for money contributions from their African converts, implied that adherence to the new faith meant adoption of new economic standards and participation in a money economy. Their prime concern however, was not with cash, but with the building up of the church, and contributions in kind were also welcome, as a sign of awareness and acceptance of responsibility. John Gordon's description of the erection of a new church at All Saints' is a tribute to the generosity and faith of the Christians of one Anglican mission station:

... I called a meeting of all the native Christians residing on the station, and notwithstanding much doubting in my own mind regarding the success of the plan I intended to lay before them, I proposed that an attempt should be made among ourselves to build a school-chapel of a ... humble description... Some of the men at once said... that as the proposed chapel was for their benefit, they felt it their duty to assist as far as possible... One after another the men stood up. Two said, 'We will give all the strong poles to put in the ground'; another, 'I will give the laths';

/another...

another, 'I the wall plates'; another, 'I the sawn beams.' Four men said, 'We will thatch the whole of the building', two others said, 'We will plaster the chapel inside and outside'; another a lame man, 'I will raise the floor.' A native waggon maker engaged to make all the window frames, and the English trader to put up the framework and roof of the building, I myself giving the nails. Every man present had his name put down for some part of the work. The women spoke next. Eight women said, 'We will cut all the thatch'; two others, 'We will floor the building'; one, 'I will give the front door and, frame'; another, 'I the vestry door and frame', whilst the very old women offered to plait the thatch cord.. Every one immediately set to work willingly and cheerfully, and on Sunday, the 20th of November, it was my pleasant and cheering duty to conduct the opening services, ... it is really most neat and church-like in appearance, with its plain wood cross at the east end. Had the materials and labour thus voluntarily given been paid for, the cost would have been above 80£. All fulfilled their promises most handsomely, and at the opening service, the offertory, which was applied to defray a few little necessary expenses incurred, amounted to 2 .11s.0d.<sup>145</sup>.

The Anglican missionaries were land holders. Cotterill told the 1865 Native Affairs Commission:

In Keiskamma Hoek we have a farm of 500 acres which was granted to us as an endowment. The other mission lands have been obtained in various ways - sometimes a chief has given them.<sup>146</sup>

Cotterill's response to the chaos of the cattle killing was to gather the remnants of the population on mission land and by preaching the gospel and encouraging settlement and cultivation of land, to build up a little Christian community, which would provide a nucleus for future work. At the 1860 conference, when regulations were laid down for the running of life on the stations, it was affirmed

That natives be permitted to settle on the Mission lands, and have gardens allotted to them, and be encouraged in the cultivation of such gardens so far as means would permit,...<sup>147</sup>

African customs were prohibited, attendance at school was made compulsory, and the missionaries also decided to permit the settlement of Europeans on the missions as "tenants at will", dismissable at any time by the Bishop.<sup>148</sup> Cotterill originally hoped that mission lands would become productive, but the idea seems to have been abandoned early on.

/At...

At the conference in January 1862, Cotterill told the missionaries that the loss of government grants would mean the abandonment of boarding schools and industrial training, and a return to the first principles of mission work.<sup>149</sup> Cotterill decided that the time had come to reverse the policy of gathering black Christians on to mission lands, which the dislocation and instability in tribal society had made necessary in 1857.<sup>150</sup> This meant a reversal of the Moravian pattern. The Bishop told the 1865 Native Affairs Commission:

I would far rather let the Gospel be preached far and wide among the heathen natives. I would rather let those... who become Christians, live among their own people, contending with the temptations and difficulties to which they are exposed, and living in dark places as lights of the world, than that they should be shut up in mission stations. I am convinced that ... the principle of stations is a wrong principle..<sup>151</sup>

This did not mean that Cotterill opposed the existence of central stations:

The missionary must have a house to live in, but let him go amongst the people in their kraals... What I object to is the gathering out of the people from the kraals, and placing them in the hot bed,... of a mission station.<sup>152</sup>

When, in 1863, regulations affecting the settlement of Africans on mission land were drawn up, the instructions reflected a new mood in Anglican missionary thinking. The missions were not places of shelter from the world: occupation of the land was to be productive, inhabitants were not only to abandon heathen practices and to send their children to school, but to receive Christian instruction themselves, and to contribute towards the education of their children and the support of an indigenous ministry.<sup>153</sup>

At the same time, it would be inaccurate to speak of a sudden change in the Anglican attitude towards settlement on the land in about 1862 or 1863. As early as 1861, Cotterill wrote of St. Matthew's (which had been little affected by the cattle-killing):

The work here is very satisfactory and very interesting. In one respect it differs very much from that of other Missions. There the chief part of the Christian population is on the station, under the continual, almost hourly influence of the Missionary. Here, although there are five Christian families, and two Christian widows on the Mission ground,... yet the majority of the converts are scattered about within a radius of five miles from the station, living among their heathen relations and countrymen...<sup>154</sup>

At St. Mark's, on the other hand, the old pattern survived, and in 1865 the station was what Waters called

... an English village, in the centre of a large population. The village consists of eight substantial buildings... This village is surrounded by a number of native ones, forming a circle of about three miles. The residents in this circle are chiefly Christians.<sup>155</sup>

There were several more villages and kraals beyond this, making up what Waters called "St. Mark's proper,"<sup>156</sup> and he wrote of his task: "to visit this property is alone far beyond anyone's ability..."<sup>157</sup>

While the church continued to hold large tracts of land, the 1863 Instructions indicated a new departure in policy towards these holdings. The missionaries were told that

It is desirable, when practicable, to let the Mission farms to Natives in small allotments, but... no long lease must be granted to a heathen.<sup>158</sup>

In January 1864, the conference of missionaries decided that this principle, already in operation at St. Matthew's and St. John the Baptist's, should be applied at St. Mark's and St. Luke's.<sup>159</sup> The missionaries received a letter from the Kaffrarian government on the subject, and in December 1864, resolved

That the principle of granting separate titles... is a good one.<sup>160</sup>

and also

That in lands granted to natives it would be advisable that quitrent should be substituted for a hut-tax.<sup>161</sup>

In 1865, Cotterill told the Native Affairs Commission:

We have found great benefits result from letting land to natives. At Keiskamma Hoek we have had £1 an acre paid as rent for land that would be sold by Government for that amount; and we frequently get ten shillings a man an acre.<sup>162</sup>

Mission land was being used for mission purposes, mission work was deriving an income from the working of the soil, and tenants were at the same time being familiarized with the responsibilities of individual European tenure.

African nakedness seems to have perturbed the missionaries, who saw it as promoting immorality. Cotterill, in 1865, described

/traditional...

traditional dress in India, as "decorous and comparatively civilized"<sup>163</sup> and went on to say

There was no necessity in their case for a change to European clothing; but with the Kafir, in the first instance, it is necessary to get rid of the blanket.<sup>164</sup>

Disapproval was also implicit in the fact that needlework and tailoring were among the industrial skills taught on Anglican missions, although the habits of order and industry these skills taught, and the prospect of future employment they promised were more important.

Although the missionaries regarded adoption of European dress with approval, which could cause confusion in the minds of converts, Christianity was never caricatured to the extent where adoption of Victorian fashions was seen as synonymous with loyalty to the Gospel. Greenstock on one occasion reported

... the persistent refusal of a man to receive the Holy Communion on account of his shabby clothes... He was willing... to attend service as a worshipper, but till he could be better dressed his conscience would not permit him to partake of the Sacrament.<sup>165</sup>

One of the reasons for the missionaries' anxiety over the attire of the Africans was the climate. Dodd wrote in September 1868;

It is quite surprising how these people are overcome by the cold; ... I think this may be attributed in a great measure to the want of clothing; the blanket which they wear is not sufficient to keep in the heat of the body. It would be a very great assistance to me if I could get some clothing for the natives about here - both men and women - ready made. Old left off clothes would be the most acceptable, as then there would be no tailoring required;<sup>166</sup>

A little earlier Waters had written:

... although I have the highest regard for European civilization, I cannot see why Christianity should not be found under a 'tiger-skin cloak', as well as true piety was found in one who was clothed in a 'camel's skin'. There can be little doubt that the dress of the Kafir is similar.. to that worn by the patriarchs. The full dress of a wild Kafir woman is elegant and chaste to the highest degree, and their undress is not by any means objectionable. The decency of the dress of the men depends upon the wearer. At all events, as one of the most learned and most civilized of the Kafirs has told me, the dress ought not to interfere with our receiving people to baptism.<sup>167</sup>

If his task was to build up an African church, Cotterill also

/regarded...

regarded it as important that it should be an Anglican church, with the Book of Common Prayer as the basis of its public worship. At the sametime, the Bishop never deviated from his original policy, laid down in July 1857, that all missionaries should learn the African language, and that all services should be in the vernacular.

Until a translation of the Book of Common Prayer was completed, it was decided that Anglican missionaries would use the Wesleyan prayer book, with their version of the Lord's Prayer, the Berlin translation of the Creed, and Mr Rein's version of the Nicene Creed.<sup>168</sup> In 1861, Waters, Lange, Greenstock and Woodrooffe were appointed to a Translation Committee. Their chief task was the translation of the Prayer Book into the vernacular.<sup>169</sup> By January 1862, it was hoped that Woodrooffe would be able to go to England that year to supervise the printing of the translated prayer book,<sup>170</sup> but by January 1863, although the translation was more or less complete, there were still matters of dispute between Woodrooffe and Greenstock which had to be settled.<sup>171</sup>

The conference decided after discussion, that copies of the Committee's translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments, ought to be printed at the St. Matthew's press,<sup>172</sup> which had arrived at the station in July 1860.<sup>173</sup> This press never achieved the significance of those at Mount Coke or Lovedale, and the copies of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and Commandments had not been rolled off by the St. Matthew's press by the time the conference met in 1864.<sup>174</sup>

Cotterill said in 1865:

It is hardly correct to say that we have a printing office at the station. The press, which is managed by the missionary, prints little more than fly leaves, and small papers.<sup>175</sup>

A list of publications sent out from St. Matthew's shows that Cotterill's modesty was justified:

Kafir Tracts 1861  
Kafir Almanac 1862  
Kafir Spelling Book 1865  
Conversations (Kafir and English) 1865  
Letter Book (Kafir and English) 1865

176

/Greenstock...

Greenstock also printed a newspaper News from the Missions, in 1865, but it seems to have run to only three editions.

It was never suggested that the Prayer Book itself should be printed at St. Matthew's. In May 1865, Woodrooffe was on his way to England to supervise the printing<sup>177</sup> by the S.P.C.K.,<sup>178</sup> and in November 1866, Cotterill thanked the Society's secretary for the 500 copies already sent out, and asked for 250 more.<sup>179</sup> At the same time he drew attention to several printing errors, and at the 1866 Conference it was decided that Mullins, Gordon and Liefeldt<sup>180</sup> should revise the translation.<sup>181</sup> The same conference decided that while the existing translation of the Bible was not satisfactory, there would not be a new one for some time.<sup>182</sup> At the July 1869 conference, it was announced that Woodrooffe had translated thirteen chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, and most of St. Mark.<sup>183</sup> Anglican missionaries had become aware of the need for a hymn book, and resolved at this conference that one should be compiled by missionaries of all denominations, with the addition of an Anglican appendix if necessary.<sup>184</sup> At the 1871 conference, the missionaries resolved on a motion put forward by Greenstock,

That in the opinion of the Conference it would be desirable to collect & publish a volume of short Kafir sermons or homilies suitable for the Mission congregations, & that the mover be entrusted with the work.<sup>185</sup>

Cotterill never enforced rigid uniformity on services at the various missions. This did not mean that he favoured innovation: on one occasion he sent a note with one of Greenstock's journals to the S.P.G., saying

I should be obliged if you would not print that part of it that refers to the offering of first fruits in the church. I told him that I thought it not right for a presbyter to introduce new rites into the church, & that though I quite felt that for those who are in the condition of our native converts, such visible representations of faith & duty are more necessary than for civilized people, yet much caution was required - & at all events he should have consulted me.<sup>186</sup>

There was at times a need for innovation, such as the introduction of the office of Reader, but that was in line with English practice.<sup>187</sup> There was also a special form of service for the admission of catechists,<sup>188</sup> and, because the church had a mission to convert large numbers of heathen, it was decided in 1871

/That...

That it is desirable that some form, appointed by the Bishop, of public recognition of the Catechumens should invariably be adopted in all the Missions; ...<sup>189</sup>

At the 1860 Conference Cotterill laid down his policy for the ordering of services on the stations: each missionary could arrange his own work according to local conditions, and while prayers at public services should be from the Prayer Book, at private meetings the missionary could act according to his own inclination.<sup>190</sup> It was Greenstock's practice to

... read the Pilgrim's Progress to the boys, ... I have an English copy, and translate it as I read into Kafir. Some are deeply affected by it; ...<sup>191</sup>

Cotterill's 1860 instructions were reaffirmed in the 1863 Instructions, in which the missionaries were also reminded that services among the heathen should consist of instruction and be based on the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments.<sup>192</sup>

This policy was again reiterated in 1869 when it was resolved

That it is advisable that in arranging the details of the Daily Service each Missionary be left to his own judgement, provided he follow the order & arrangement of the Prayer Book, conform as far as possible to the usages of the other Missions of the Diocese & keep the Bishop informed of the arrangements made for his station.<sup>193</sup>

It was also resolved

That the Bishop be requested to point out to the Missionaries the nature of the abbreviations of which he would approve.<sup>194</sup>

The matter was again discussed at a meeting at St. Mark's in December of that year; the former resolutions were re-stated, but there was a new resolution which Cotterill thought important because suited to hearers:

... for the Daily Mission Service it is desirable that there should be short Lessons from Scripture, and that these Lessons should be continuous, and present, at least during the year, a complete Scripture history.<sup>195</sup>

Music was an important part of all services, but the music seems to have been of the sort sung in English parish churches, rather than indigenous African. It was, for example, decided at the January 1871 conference that Mullins and Greenstock should superintend the publication of a "... Kafir Psalter pointed for chanting, with black staves for

/chants...

chants in the Tonic Sol Fa Notations.<sup>196</sup> The regulation of services was also very English, as was, as far as possible, the design of mission church buildings. In May 1859, Waters wrote with no sense of incongruity, that he had put ten choir boys into surplices<sup>197</sup> The form of a festival service in 1865

... was precisely that of the Prayer-book. The Venite, Te Deum, etc. sounded remarkably sweet in Kafir, chanted to Gregorian tones. The hymns were "Jerusalem the Golden" translated into Kafir... with the same music; also the well-known Kafir hymn, "Dumisani bantu nonke", to the tune 'Savoy'. The Commandment responses were sung to 'Hayes' single chant. The sermon was preached in Kafir...<sup>198</sup>

Waters' description of a service in 1869 shows recognition of a need for adaptation in church worship:

... Chanting is evidently the best kind of music for the Kafirs at present. The hymns now in use are the composition of Europeans, and are stilty and inexpressive. It is to be hoped that from among the numerous native teachers some poet may come out, and clothe the holy thoughts of the saints of old in the simple but figurative language of the Amaxosa. The Psalms are fully appreciated... The greater part of our Prayer-book is also well understood... The spontaneous prayers of the Christian Kafirs are wonderfully similar to many of the Psalms,... the bewailing of sins and sorrows is really touching.<sup>199</sup>

Cotterill's attitude shows flexibility and willingness to admit that changes were necessary. He wrote in 1869

... until we have native Christians sufficiently educated to aid us in further adaptations of our Services to the Kafir mind, we are necessarily, and must be content to remain, in a state of transition, and much must be left to the personal judgement of each Missionary.<sup>200</sup>

Cotterill saw clearly the need for the church in Africa to draw its financial support from local sources, and he saw as clearly that it was imperative that ministers to serve the African church be drawn from the ranks of African converts to Christianity. The Bishop and the European missionaries of the diocese made a genuine attempt to promote this policy, and their solid achievement, especially in the field of education, should be recognized, but there were few missionaries like John Gordon willing to challenge and trust the faith and enterprise of their converts. By the end of Cotterill's episcopate, maintenance and growth of mission work still depended on a regular supply of money from England and despite employment of African agents, power still lay with European missionaries. While this continued, the African church could be no more than a shadow and an imitation of the European.

FOOTNOTES

1. C.N.Gray, op.cit., p.372.
2. Carter, p.314.
3. R.Gray, op.cit., p.10.
4. C.C., August 1887, p.233
5. Quarterly report from Greenstock, 2-10-57, SPG ms C/AFS.
6. Quarterly report from Greenstock, 1-9-58, SPG ms C/AFS.
7. M.F., 1 March 1859, p.67.
8. Greenstock to Kitton, 3-3-59, GDA.
9. Waters to Kitton, 7-9-59, GDA.
10. "Acts and Resolutions of the First Synod of the Diocese of Grahamstown", p.7.
11. C.C., August 1887, p.234.
12. BB 1864.
13. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.1.
14. BB 1864.
15. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.1.
16. BB 1866
17. Cotterill to Bullock, 15-5-68, SPG ms D37.
18. C.M.B., 12-7-69.
19. Cotterill to Bullock, 28-4-70, SPG ms D37.
20. C.M.B., 27-1-71.
21. Ibid.
22. Merriman to Hawkins, 7-1-57, SPG ms D7.
23. Waters to Kitton, 2-4-62, GDA.
24. Cotterill to Bullock, 15-10-63, SPG ms D24.
25. Cotterill to Bullock, 10-11-65, SPG ms D24.
26. P.B.Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.163.

27. Waters to Kitton, 12-11-59, GDA.
28. Cotterill to Bullock, 1-11-64, SPG ms D24.
29. Bransby Lewis Key, born in 1838, had some experience as an engineer, and was trained at St. Augustine's College before leaving England with Dodd in 1864. They were ordained deacon together the same year, and Key was priested in 1866; from 1865 to 1882, Key worked at St. Augustine's mission. He went on to become second bishop of the Diocese of St. John's and died in 1900.
30. William Douglas Dodd was born in 1841, and received his missionary training at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. He worked at St. Augustine's mission with Key until 1867, when he founded St. Alban's. He was ordained priest in 1870, and resigned from mission work because of ill-health in 1874.
31. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-11-64, GDA.
32. Cotterill to Hawkins, 16-12-64, SPG ms D24.
33. Mditshwa, chief of the western section of the Mpondomise, who were settled in the Tsolo district.
34. M.F., 1 August 1865, p.142.
35. Ibid., p144
36. M.F. 2 August 1869, p.230.
37. C.M.B., 2-7-67.
38. M.F., 1 March 1869, p.74.
39. Ngangelizwe, paramount chief of the Thembu, a man of considerable brutality. He married Sarili's daughter.
40. M.F., 1 March 1869, p.75.
41. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-7-68, SPG ms D37.
42. Cotterill to Bullock, 10-11-65, SPG ms D24.
43. S.P.G. Annual Report, 1865, p.89.
44. Ibid.
45. E.Walker, A History of Southern Africa, p.315.
46. Waters to Bullock, 6-3-66, SPG ms D24.
47. Ibid.

48. C.M.B., 2-7-67.
49. Cotterill to Bullock, 30-8-70, SPG ms D37.
50. C.M.B., 18-8-58.
51. C.C., August 1887, p.235.
52. Ibid.
53. C.C., November 1890, p.332.
54. Ibid., p.337.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Cotterill to Bullock, 13-1-62, SPG ms D24.
58. Cotterill to Hawkins, 14-1-62, SPG ms D24,
59. Cotterill to Hawkins, 15-2-62, SPG ms D24.
60. C.M.B., 22-1-63.
61. Ibid.
62. Instructions, Part II.
63. Instructions Part III.
64. Cotterill to Hawkins, 16-12-64, SPG ms D24.
65. C.M.B., 15-12-64.
66. C.M.B., 2-11-66.
67. News from the Missions, January 1865, p.4.
68. C.M.B., 2-11-66.
69. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-2-67, SPG ms D24.
70. Cotterill to Bullock, 28-3-67, SPG ms D24.
71. C.C., November 1890, p.339.
72. Together with Cotterill to Hawkins, 14-3-60, SPG ms D24.
73. C.M.B., 21-2-61.
74. This was Emma, daughter of the Ngqika chief, Sandile. She had attended Zonnebloem College, and came to teach in Grahamstown, after refusing to marry Ngangelizwe according to the tribal rite.

75. M.F., September 1865, p.177
76. BB 1871
77. Ibid.
78. Mullins' diary, 23-8-57.
79. M.F., 1 March 1869, p.72.
80. S.P.G. Annual Report, 1865, p.85.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid., p.88.
83. Ibid., p.89.
84. Ibid., p.86.
85. B.Marx to Cotterill, 3-9-58, GDA.
86. Ibid.
87. Greenstock to Kitton, 5-3-59, GDA.
88. Greenstock to Kitton, 30-3-59, GDA.
89. News from the Missions, May 1865, p.19.
90. Cotterill to Bullock, 28-7-70, SPG ms D37.
91. Ibid.
92. Cotterill to Bullock, 13-1-71, SPG ms D37.
93. M.F., 1 March 1870, p.71.
94. Greenstock to Kitton, 30-4-59, GDA.
95. M.F., 1 December 1861, p.273.
96. M.F., 1 October 1862, p.225.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid.
100. M.F., June 1864, p.113.
101. Ibid., p.114.
102. News from the Missions, May 1865, p.19.
103. BB 1869.
104. R.H.W.Shepherd, Loyedale South Africa, 1841-1941, pp.152f,

105. G31-69, p.5.
106. Ibid.
107. G1-71, p.7.
108. Commission of Inquiry into the Government Educational System, Appendix 1, p.17.
109. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.8.
110. Ibid.
111. G1-71, pp.104f.
112. C.F.Pascoe, op.cit., p.784.
113. M.F., 1 March 1870, p.73.
114. Ibid.
115. C.F.Pascoe, op.cit., p.784.
116. M.F., 1 March 1870, p.75.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. C.F.Pascoe, op.cit., p.784.
120. C.M.B., 2-11-66.
121. Mullins' diary, 1860-61.
122. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.5.
123. C.C., August 1887, p.233.
124. C.C., June 1890, p.162.
125. Ibid., pp.163f.
126. C.M.B., 5-11-66.
127. Ibid.
128. M.F., 1 February 1870, p.46.
129. C.M.B., 3-11-66.
130. G31-69, p.35.
131. S.P.G. Annual Report, 1869, p.65.
132. Cotterill to Bullock, 23-5-66, SPG ms D24.
133. C.C., October 1890, p.291.

134. C.C., November 1890, p.338.
135. Cotterill to Bullock, 10-9-61, SPG ms D24.
136. Cotterill to Hawkins, 12-2-63, SPG ms D24.
137. Cotterill to Hawkins, 16-12-64, SPG ms D24.
138. News from the Missions, January 1865, p.4.
139. C.M.B., 12-7-69.
140. M.F., 1 November 1861, p.261.
141. Instructions, Part IV.
142. C.M.B., 12-7-69.
143. M.F., 1 February 1870, p.47.
144. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, pp.2f.
145. S.P.G. Annual Report, 1865, p.90.
146. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.16.
147. C.C., August 1887, p.234.
148. Ibid.
149. C.C., November 1890, p.335.
150. Ibid., p.334.
151. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.9.
152. Ibid., p.10.
153. Instructions, Part IV.
154. M.F., 1 December 1861, p.273.
155. S.P.G. Annual Report, 1865, pp.86f.
156. Ibid., p.87.
157. Ibid.
158. Instructions, Part IV.
159. C.M.B., 25-1-64.
160. News from the Missions, January 1865, p.2.
161. Ibid.
162. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.16.

163. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.5.
164. Ibid.
165. M.F., 1 July 1868, p.188.
166. M.F., 1 March 1869, p.76.
167. M.F., 1 January, 1868, p.7.
168. C.M.B., 18-8-58.
169. C.C., October 1890, p.291.
170. C.C., November 1890, p.340.
171. C.M.B., 23-1-63.
172. Ibid.
173. Greenstock to Kitton, 28-7-60, GDA.
174. C.M.B., 25-1-64.
175. 1865 Commission on Native Affairs, Minutes of Evidence, p.7.
176. C.F.Pascoe, op.cit., p.803.
177. Cotterill to S.P.C.K. Secretary, 18-5-64, GDA.
178. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded in 1698 to encourage and assist in the building of schools in England and Wales and to distribute Bibles and religious tracts in England and abroad. The Society also provided funds for the erection of mission churches in the diocese of Grahamstown.
179. Cotterill to Secretary, S.P.C.K., 15-11-66; GDA.
180. Theophilus Liefeldt was the son of a missionary of the Berlin Society. A fluent Xhosa-speaker, he offered himself to John Armstrong as a missionary, and worked first at St. Matthew's and then at St. Mark's, but was never ordained.
181. C.M.B., 2-11-66.
182. Ibid.
183. C.M.B., 9-7-69.
184. Ibid.
185. C.M.B., 26-1-71.
186. Cotterill to Bullock, 12-6-64, SPG ms D24.
187. C.M.B., 2-11-66.

188. C.M.B., 26-1-71.
189. Ibid.
190. C.C., August 1887, p.237.
191. M.F., 1 January 1861, p.6. Tiyo Soga's translation of the Pilgrim's Progress was begun in the late 1850's and published in 1867.
192. Instructions, Part III.
193. C.M.B., 9-7-69.
194. Ibid.
195. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-12-69, SPG ms D37.
196. C.M.B., 26-1-71.
197. Waters to Kitton, 7-5-59, GDA.
198. Colonial Church Chronicle, March 1865, p.116.
199. S.P.G. Annual Report, 1869, p.71.
200. Cotterill to Bullock, 14-12-69, SPG ms D37.

## CONCLUSION

Missionaries have been accused of imposing European habits on Nguni society, instead of using institutions in that society to communicate the gospel. It is also assumed that the traffic is one way: the missionaries set the requirements and expected passive obedience. What is less obvious are the changes mission brought to the traditional patterns and practice of the churches themselves.

There was no doubt that Africans were capable of receiving the gospel, but while Gray, Armstrong and Cotterill believed that the best means of communicating that gospel was as it found expression in the Church of England, the liberal rationalist in Colenso saw the need for modification of not only Christianity but Anglicanism. Whereas Colenso in Natal wanted to Christianize Zulu society and culture, policy in the diocese of Grahamstown was directed at individual conversion, and there was a tendency, assisted perhaps by the fact that Armstrong and Cotterill had to deal with George Grey rather than Shepstone, to hold up the ideal of European law and custom as one to which the Nguni should aspire.

Architect though he was of the Church of the Province of South Africa as an autonomous province within the Anglican communion, and enthusiastically though he spoke of the C.P.S.A. as rooted in African soil, Gray also clung to its essential Englishness; the 1870 constitution laid down that the Book of Common Prayer in English was the basis of worship of the new province. His essentially conservative view of the church, shared by Cotterill, meant that Christians who although baptized, confirmed and worshipping within the Anglican Church, had no English, were excluded from participating in vital parts of church life. Into this group fell most of the Nguni Christian converts in the diocese of Grahamstown. Qualifications for the priesthood depended not only on proficiency in English, but on a knowledge of Greek; in the early years this virtually precluded Africans from ordination. It also meant that Gray, while insisting that the spiritual authority of the church did not derive from political or secular authority, was setting up an educational and linguistic qualification as the standard of entry into the counsels of the church. Inevitably, a church so constituted, divided on

racial lines. It nevertheless continued to grow at a grass roots level, the African Christian lay workers the missionaries trained and employed proving adept at converting their fellow-tribesmen.

The belief that the Church of England could include Africans did not provide an answer to the question how this was to be done. Work among white settlers resembled parochial work in England, but that among the Nguni was vastly different. It was impossible to blend the two, difficult for a bishop to supervise both, and the trend early in the history of the Anglican church in southern Africa was towards the formation of exclusively mission dioceses, for example Central Africa, Zululand and St. John's, where the bishop was left to wrestle exclusively with the growth of the church among blacks until the advent of European settlers in these areas once more complicated the bishop's task. By 1871, power in mission congregations in the diocese of Grahamstown still lay in the hands of white missionaries, which Cotterill regarded as a great weakness. Gray had not sought autonomy for his province because he disapproved of the Church of England's unwillingness to adapt its liturgy or its refusal to allow comprehension or compromise with non-formists. Rather, Gray shared these ideals, and his endorsement of the views of the mother church on this issue is reflected in his rejection of Colenso, who recognized the need of much more drastic change to meet African circumstances. To Gray, preservation of continuity with the Church of England was obligatory; to maintain this, and yet seek some continuity with the rest of Nguni society was the problem facing his auxiliaries in the dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal, and one to which they found opposite answers.

Although the initial intention was that the black church would in every way resemble the white, and although much within the church among the Nguni in the diocese of Grahamstown was an echo and imitation of the European, Africa did impose change on the Church of the Province. There was no suggestion, despite the constitution, that sacraments were invalid if performed in the vernacular. In the diocese of Grahamstown, Cotterill and his missionaries recognized the need for more adaptation of the liturgy, to be carried out by the Nguni themselves. Even where translations were made by white missionaries with episcopal sanction, the message received by the hearers was not always what was intended, but took on all kinds of African significances. The Anglican

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missionaries, also found common ground and shared problems with missionaries of other denominations, where Gray had aimed to define Anglicanism against other groups. The Anglicans nevertheless imparted to their converts a strong awareness of the differences which identified them as Anglicans. At the same time, those Nguni who took the great leap which made them sharers in the religion which had been the genius of European civilization still retained their Africanness, demonstrated not only by their skin colour, but by their persistence in many customs frowned on by the missionaries. Cotterill's policy of dispersal from mission lands, however, encouraged the retention of an African identity.

The Church of the Province of South Africa, unlike the Church of England, was not established. At the same time, its alliance with the colonial government, though on a par with other Christian bodies, was important, especially in the sphere of mission work. Funds for their educational work, perhaps their most notable achievement, came from government. This kind of contact provides the background to charges that missionaries were imperial agents, but the entente between church and government was not always cordial, nor were their aims identical. The debate on recognition of African custom makes this clear, but the fact that the request for suppression of certain practices came from Anglican missionaries, suggests not only the failure of ecclesiastical sanctions, but their difficulty in adjusting to disestablishment.

The story of the frontier is one of fruitful interaction and rich variety, not simply of endless conflict. The legacy of the work of John Armstrong and Henry Cotterill was not the creation of a single Christian community embracing all races, all conforming to a rigid and preconceived Anglican mould. The creation of a parish structure with regular dispensing of word and sacraments constituted one part of their work but they also presided over the formation of a black Christian community on the frontier, at once High Anglican, and yet, often in spite of the missionaries, unmistakably African, important not only as the fruits of mission work in the diocese of Grahamstown, but significant for the province as a whole. The Church of the Province was rooted in Africa, though not in quite the way Gray might have envisaged. If the problem in the last quarter of the twentieth century is not to obliterate the past, but to seek freedom from its prejudices and a basis of unity out of its diversity, then at least it can be said that these pioneers laid foundations that are consistent with such a development.

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