

CULTURAL AND THEOLOGICAL FACTORS  
AFFECTING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN  
THE NEDERDUITSE-GEREFORMEERDE KERK  
AND  
THE ANGLICAN CHURCH (OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA)  
IN THE CAPE COLONY 1806 -1910

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at the University of Cape Town.

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Philip Le Feuvre.



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## INTRODUCTION

The structure of this study of inter-church relationships abounds with artificialities. First, there is the artificiality of its geographical setting. It is confined to the Cape Colony which, although permissible during the years when no other conventionally recognized political entity --- at least, to Western eyes --- existed in South Africa, and justifiable in terms of the jurisdiction of the N.G.K. Cape synod, becomes sheer artificiality so far as the Anglican Church is concerned. For the Church of the Province of South Africa never saw itself as limited by the frontiers of the Cape Colony. One of its earliest dioceses was that of Natal, and by 1910 it was at work throughout southern Africa south of the Zambezi. Despite its diocesan organization, the C.P.S.A. and its members were very aware of the total scope of Anglicanism at the bottom end of the African continent, and would have regarded a study confined to the Cape Colony as not truly representative of Anglican realities.

Secondly, there is the artificiality of the chronological periods into which I have divided the study. I have, in fact, used an Anglican yardstick: the episcopate of Robert Gray, and have divided the study into a pre-Gray (1806-1848), a Gray (1848-1872) and a post-Gray (1872-1910) period. This hardly fits the course of events in the N.G.K., for the coming and going of Gray disturbed the sequence of that body's life hardly at all. And yet, perhaps, the division has something to be said for it, for it was pre-episcopal Anglicanism that had to relate to the N.G.K. in its pre-Church Ordinance (1843) days; both laboured and toiled over much the same ground in the 60's; both were caught up in the quickening antagonisms of the latter years of

the century.

Thirdly, there is the artificiality inherent in describing the inter-relationship of two church bodies as manifested in a purely local setting. Clearly, in dealing with cultural and theological factors, mention will have to be made of the cultural and theological roots of the two denominations, but these will tend to be mere back-ground to their outworking in the Cape scene. It will have to be constantly borne in mind that Anglicans saw themselves within the total context of a Church that was spreading from native England to every continent, spreading as the Empire did, while the N.G.K., conversely, moved away from its traditional moorings in the Netherlands, while strongly maintaining the Reformation principles of its European origins.

Finally, there is the artificiality of the author of this thesis: a priest in the somewhat "high Church" Church of the Province, yet standing firmly in the conservative evangelical tradition of Anglicanism which makes him feel that very often he has more in common doctrinally with his N.G.K. colleagues than he does with fellow-priests of his own denomination. Thus, right at the beginning, I consciously expose my biases!

Right at the beginning, too, I want to expose my conclusions. Avoiding the principle of the "who-dunnit" detective story, I would like to state here, in eleven theses, what are the findings of my research. In the conclusion, I will again refer to them but this time in the light of all the evidence, which it is the aim of this thesis to investigate.

The theses are:

- 1) that cultural and theological factors kept Anglicans and the N.G.K. from ever entering into any meaningful relationships of co-operation or unity;
- 2) that such relations as there were were profoundly affected by political developments in the Colony;
- 3) that both denominations, concerned first with questions of their own identity and structure, and thereafter with their cultural and national allegiances in a polarizing political situation, tended to manifest a high degree of introversion;
- 4) that limited co-operation did occur where overlapping vested interests were threatened;
- 5) that rural and small-town society manifested a greater, though limited mutual awareness between the two denominations than was current in urban areas or in the corridors of ecclesiastical bureaucracy;
- 6) that, while both churches developed a definite missiology, the Anglican Church, as an institution, adopted a more dynamic and practical mission policy in the Colony after 1848 than the N.G.K.;
- 7) that differences of politico-historical background and ecclesiology led to Anglicans adopting a more liberal attitude to race relations than that of the N.G.K.;
- 8) that, as a result of the above two facts, membership of the

C.P.S.A. became increasingly heterogeneous, while that of the N.G.K. became, conversely, more homogeneous.

9) that, from the first days of episcopacy at the Cape, the Anglican Church leadership tended to adopt an attitude of criticism, aimed very often, though not exclusively, at the Dutch-speaking white population, with regard to the unjust treatment of black and brown racial groups;

10) that, in issues concerning race relations, the Anglican hierarchy after 1848 tended to adopt a policy at variance with the opinion of much of its white membership. Although this was initially also true of the N.G.K., it ceased to be so as the 19th century progressed;

11) that, although both denominations were intensely aware of the vital significance of education, that awareness often manifested itself in differing ways.

Finally, I have a number of people to thank. There is my wife, Charmian, who kept prodding me in the more discouraging days and who undertook the monumental task of typing this thesis --- twice! And to Dr. Pat Terry, who gave generously of his time in assisting her with the computer typewriter. Then there is Dr. John de Gruchy of the Religious Studies Department of the University of Cape Town, my supervisor, who guided the outworking of the thesis, tested the arguments and identified the weaknesses and omissions in earlier drafts. I would also like to mention the help I received from the Archivist of the C.P.S.A., Canon Dr. Cecil Wood, the former Archivist of the N.G.K., Ds. A.P. Smit, and the staff of the N.G.K. Archives in Cape Town. Copies of the thesis were bound by the skilful fingers

of the Archdeacon of Albany, the Ven. Duncan Buchanan, assisted by members of the St. Paul's College book-binding team in Grahamstown. My parents very kindly and generously offered to undertake part of the cost in preparing this in the required form. And then there are countless people who supplied me with local facts, put unpublished evidence in my hands, drew my attention to sources unknown to me, and generally encouraged me in every way. To them all, many thanks.

SOLI DEO GLORIA!

*Arthur Le Fèvre.*

11. 6. 80.

PART I: 1806-1848

FIRST CONTACTS

DURING THE EARLY YEARS OF

BRITISH RULE

## CHAPTER I

The relationship between the Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk (N.G.K.) and the Anglican Church in the early years (1806-1848) is typical of those between a large, recognized, well established body and a small and insignificant group that poses no real threat. The larger body is basically well disposed in a patronizing sort of way, despite occasional small irritants which it knows it can and which it does deal with quickly and effectively. This is not to say that the relationship was not motivated by the love of Christ --- indeed, there was sincere desire on the part of the dominees to facilitate the worship of God by English-speakers --- but it was very difficult for the N.G.K. to allow Anglicans use of their church buildings and other liberties without appearing condescending. They might allow Anglicans to use the Groote Kerk in Cape Town, even permit minor architectural changes and moving around of furniture to convenience them, but they could not allow the disruption of their own services and congregational life (1). A certain freedom of activity inevitably belonged to Anglican clergy in the Colony, but this very fact meant that the N.G.K. dominees had to be watchful to curtail any trespass by Anglicans into the affairs or prerogatives of what appeared to be the "established" Church. Consequently N.G.K.-Anglican relations in the early period, which tended to revolve around Anglican use of N.G.K. church buildings and the errant baptismal activities of certain Anglican clergy, were a mixture of benevolent co-operation and occasional mutual irritation.

From 1807 until the completion of St. George's Church in 1834, Anglicans in Cape Town had their services in the Groote Kerk. The degree to which they were inconvenienced was considerable: in 1813 they were permitted to use the side-room of the consistory as a baptistry (though no permanent font was to be installed), to ring the bell for the Anglican service and to have a door put into the building on the Nieuwestraat side where the slave-lodge was (2). The installation of a portable altar was refused, but when the request was renewed ten years later by the Rev. Mr. Hough it was granted --- on condition that its installation did no damage to pulpit or church fabric and that it should be set up only after the N.G.K. service and taken down before the next N.G.K. service. Actually, the shrewd Mr. Hough had had the altar installed after he had made request --- verbally! --- of the Kerkraad, but before they had given their answer (3). He received a rap over the knuckles, but nevertheless gained his point! It is no wonder that, in 1827, when the Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. S. James, visited the Cape --- the first Anglican Bishop to do so ---, he commended the Kerkraad on its generosity and reminded Anglicans of their obligations to the N.G.K.(4). In true episcopal fashion, however, he exhorted the Anglicans "to remain attached to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of their forefathers", and suggested that the time had come for them to build their own church.

Anglican-N.G.K. relations at this time were not always totally smooth, however, and the rebuke Mr. Hough received was neither the first nor the last delivered by the N.G.K. to an Anglican clergyman.

The main, but not the only area of friction appears to have been in the practice of baptism. The British Government, in establishing its rule at the Cape in 1795, and again in 1806, had undertaken to recognize the dominant and privileged position of the N.G.K. in the

Colony and not in any way to tamper with its activities, except insofar as it was the traditional and legal right of the Governor as "onzen geëerbiedigden Hofdegebieder", (5) so to do (6). This immediately gave to the tiny Anglican Church a legally inferior status --- the whole situation was slightly ironical when one considers that the N.G.K. "Hoofdegebieder" was invariably himself an Anglican! The Anglican clerical community, therefore, was made up of military chaplains for the soldiers and colonial chaplains for British settlers and members of the administration, and it was made quite clear that these clergy must not allow their pastoral zeal to take them beyond the borders of their respective flocks (7). Unfortunately their enthusiasm could not always be curtailed in the case of slaves, illegitimate children and others to whom the N.G.K. authorities had, for one reason or another, denied baptism (8). A number of complaints were delivered to the Governors in the very early years concerning the baptismal activities of Anglican chaplains; excuses and justifications usually resulted (e.g. that the N.G.K. refused baptism to people simply because they were illiterate [the Griffiths case in 1806]); but official ruling always acted in conformity with N.G.K. demands and Anglicans were instructed to look only to their own.

There were other areas of friction, and the cavalier casualness of the Rev. Mr. Hough appears to have been amongst them. Not only did he somewhat prematurely set up his altar in the Groote Kerk in 1823, but again in 1827 he advertized in the local press his presence in the Consistory-Room to interview all who might wish to be confirmed (9). When the Kerkraad objected that they had never been consulted, he apologized, explaining that he had dropped a note at Ds. von Manger's house and had assumed that the lack of reply indicated consent.

But all these were small disturbances characteristic of a small community. Abrasiveness and individualism of personality could cause annoyance. Supposed infringements of rights, whether deemed deliberate or not, resulted in immediate mounting of defences. Above all, the N.G.K. was conscious of being, in a sense, the church of the defeated, whereas Anglican chaplains could be very aware of their Britishness and their links with Government.

Nevertheless, despite all this, relations were basically friendly. 1830 saw a joint Anglican-N.G.K. service for the dedication of the new organ in the Groote Kerk(10). In 1842, a clerical fraternity for prayer was formed in Cape Town, and the local clergy gave it their full support despite the fact that there had been certain recent tensions(11). When, in 1846, the N.G.K. initiated a day of humiliation and fasting on the outbreak of the frontier war of that year, the Anglicans participated(12).

Relations were friendly in the Eastern Cape too. The vast bulk of the British settlers of 1820 were of Wesleyan loyalty, and it was a Wesleyan ethos that pervaded the region. Perhaps subconsciously, the N.G.K., far weaker in strength and organization than in the western districts, subsumed Anglicanism within the greater Wesleyan context, a context in which it was more likely to feel at home than in an episcopal and liturgical one. At all events, there are instances of N.G.K. members worshipping in or being lent Anglican churches. (In 1829, Bishop Turner observed that St. George's church, Grahamstown, was the only Anglican church in the Colony, the church at Simonstown having collapsed)(13), while there was even a scheme at Port Elizabeth in the 1820's for the raising money to build a joint Anglican-N.G.K. church(14).

A further factor which contributed to the reasonable amity that existed between the two bodies was the importation by Lord Charles Somerset of Scottish ministers to fill N.G.K. pulpits (15). Wide as the bridge may have been between Presbyterian and Anglican, Scot and Englishman in Great Britain, in the distant remoteness of a far-flung colony, cultural, national and historical factors would tend to give them a greater mutual sympathy, especially in the face of contrasting loyalties and a strange terrain. The somewhat frigid attitude of these new dominees to the Great Trek of 1836 indicates a greater loyalty to the Crown than to those they had come to minister to, and it was just such common loyalties that helped to create the spirit of co-operative friendliness that on the whole characterized Anglican-N.G.K. relations (16).

It was not until towards the end of the 1840's that the first shadows of antipathy began slowly to emerge. Part of this was due to a militant expression of conservatism within the N.G.K., manifesting itself in anti-Anglicization, anti-Wesleyan, anti-evangelism and anti-hymm tendency (17); part of it was due to new emphases within the Anglican Church --- as J. Edwin Orr has put it, Anglican-N.G.K. ecumenism "came to an end with the arrival of churchmen with a non-evangelical view of the Church."(18)

#### EDUCATION

The basic openness of the N.G.K., not to Anglicans only, but also towards other denominations, English-speaking and otherwise, was shown in the areas of education and mission. In education, this was perhaps surprising in view of Lord Charles Somerset's determined attempt to anglicize the whole educational system, an attempt militantly resisted by the N.G.K.(19).

During the early days of British rule in the Colony, education was almost officially recognized as being an ecclesiastical prerogative through its control by the Bible and School Commission on which representatives of four denominations, including Anglicans and N.G.K., served alongside appointed Government officials (20). Despite the semi-official nature of this ecumenical co-operation, it did reflect the actual attitudes of both Anglican and N.G.K. towards education and towards the involvement of each other in education. It was right that public education should have a predominantly Christian emphasis; it was, therefore, right that the churches should be involved, certainly the N.G.K., but also churches representing other groups, not least that denomination that represented the administration and the British settlers; it was right that the administration of a Christian nation should give financial support to Christian education and should have some, though not necessarily the predominant say in educational policy (21). In this sort of thinking, the N.G.K. and Anglicans were at one, and it is not surprising in these early years to find further examples of educational co-operation, especially in local projects such as the Genootschap van Christelijk Onderwys voor Wynberg en Rondebosch (22) or in the opening of a school at Green Point in 1846 (23) (used, incidentally, from time to time, by both denominations for services).

This openness of the N.G.K. to ecumenical endeavour in this field is also attributable to the very high emphasis which it placed on education (24). Early conflicts between Anglican and N.G.K. ministers over the prerequisites for baptism indicate the latter's attitudes towards the essential nature of literacy for full church membership (25). It is not surprising, therefore, to find the N.G.K. working with considerable diligence for the education of slaves and their children, both in Cape Town and in the surrounding

countryside (26).

In rural towns, dominees showed remarkable zeal in the establishment and maintenance of local schools. This is most noticeable in the prodigious efforts of the elder Andrew Murray at distant Graaff-Reinet (27). After all, education, apart from its religious aspects, was the only safeguard against total backwardness in remote and rough areas.

The only Anglican endeavour in this direction is that connected with the name of William Wright, a minister who set up a school for Coloureds in Wynberg in 1821 and a school for slave and free children in Cape Town in 1822 (28). These were run largely at his own expense, but when he left Cape Town in 1830 both ventures ceased. It must nevertheless be remembered that the Anglican Church was small, hardly rooted in the land and largely unrepresented in the rural areas.

It is interesting to notice that there was little colour discrimination in education in the Colony, even though there were a few voices who desired it.

#### MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

The turn of the century saw a new missionary spirit in both Holland and England in the formation of societies dedicated to the proclamation of the gospel to the heathen (29). This affected the Cape in two ways. First, it led to a local realization of missionary opportunity and the formation, under the inspiration of an N.G.K. predikant, M.C. Vos, of a local missionary society, Het Zuid-Afrikaansche Genootschap ter Bervordering van de Uitbreiding van Christus Koninkrijk. The Genootschap was mainly supported by members

of the N.G.K. and, therefore, clearly reflected N.G.K. thinking, but it was open to all Protestants(30).

The second effect that the overseas missionary awakening had on the Cape was the arrival of European missionary societies to undertake work in the Colony. These societies, of which the most important was the London Missionary Society, were interdenominational by constitution, though they manifested mainly a "non-conformist" character. The N.G.K., on the whole, welcomed these, though some uneasiness was reflected with regard to doctrine, attitudes to colour and cultural issues (31). It also led to an N.G.K. re-assessment of priorities and role: as the dominant Church of the Colony, playing the part almost of a state-church, was it to be primarily concerned with the Dutch-speaking population, or was it to have a greater missionary out-thrust to slaves, Hottentots, Muslims and blacks?

The pattern that developed during this period was that of the N.G.K. giving support to missionary societies and working through them, rather than that of undertaking the work directly itself. This did not always work happily. The abrasive characters of van der Kemp and John Philip soon alienated both the N.G.K. and the Z.A.Genootschap from the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.)(32). The Z.A.Genootschap itself fell foul of the N.G.K. authorities --- it tended to place missionaries often without reference to the N.G.K., and sometimes these missionaries held meetings for white burghers in areas where there was already an N.G.K. predikant or gemeente. In Wagenmakersvallei there were, at one stage, two opposing missionaries, while in Cape Town it was eventually decided that missionary societies should be prevented from holding services and that the N.G.K. itself should seek to evangelize slaves and Hottentots. In 1834, there was an N.G.K. attempt to draw the Z.A.Genootschap into the N.G.K.

fold (33), but this failed, and the pattern of working through societies continued, especially in the interior, where the N.G.K. supported French and Rhenish missionaries (34).

The accent was on caution. The first synod of 1824 required that missionary activity be subject to it and that it be within the bounds of N.G.K. practice (35). Emphasis was placed on the difference between the amp of a predikant and that of a zendeling-predikant. Nevertheless, a committee was set up to encourage missionary activity and a pastoral letter was issued calling on white employers to promote evangelism and education amongst their brown and black employees. In 1826, Leopold Marquard became the first predikant specifically ordained for missionary work, in his case in the Clanwilliam area (36). 1829 saw a ban passed by synod on any enforcement of colour discrimination in the reception of the Lord's Supper (37), while the synod of 1834 set up local zendelings-instituten and gemeenten der naturellen in various parts of the Colony, and also encouraged predikants to get involved in missionary work in their own localities (38). It was by means of these cautious advances that missionary work was forwarded in the N.G.K., and it was not until 1847 that a permanent commission was established to encourage, co-ordinate and control missionary activity (39).

It was not only caution that slowed up the N.G.K.'s missionary advance and that tempered official zeal. There was also a distinct lack of manpower (40) --- godsdiensonderwijzers were obtained from Holland --- as well as the control which the colonial government held over the decisions of synod. These had to be ratified by the governor, who would often send them to London for authentication. The whole thing was a slow and cumbersome procedure that hardly expedited

swift missionary advance.

But while there was slowness and caution at the official level, it is very clear that many individual predikants and gemeentes had been involving themselves in missionary activity with some enthusiasm in these localities for many years before the exhortation of the 1834 synod. At Stellenbosch and Paarl there was much activity, especially in the building of schools and mission churches. Enthusiastic evangelism amongst the heathen is recorded from as far afield as Richmond and Colesberg, while at Beaufort West the zealous Fraser (not the well-known predikant ) preached his heart out to coloured folk who "lacked interest in God". And these were not the only centres of enthusiastic local missionary interest (41)

And where were the Anglicans in all this? In 1821, the Rev. W. Wright referred to the "supineness" of the N.G.K. as far as missionary work was concerned, and criticized that body for its failure to prevent the spread of Islam (42). While giving credit to Wright's own very diligent and self-sacrificing missionary labours at Wynberg and in Cape Town, as an Anglican he was hardly in a position to criticize another church body. It is true that, at that time, the Anglican presence in the Colony was small in comparison with the dominant N.G.K., but what there was exhibited, by and large, a total indifference to the missionary challenge (43). There was the worthy Mr. Wright. There were the sponsors of an Anglican school at Noorder-Paarl (44). There were a few who formed a Cape of Good Hope Missionary Society to support the work, first of Gardiner, later of Owen in distant Zululand, but after 1839 it never met again (45), and there is no mention of missionary activity until the arrival of Bishop Gray. As far as the Z.A.Genootschap was concerned, there was minimal, if any Anglican participation, despite the fact that it held meetings

in English as well as Dutch (46). In 1836, the "South African Commercial Advertiser" lamented that not a single Anglican clergyman was present at the annual Cape Town meeting of the L.M.S., and that the Anglican Church had undertaken no missionary enterprise --- presumably of a local nature (47). This is backed up by Hewitt in his book, "Sketches in English History in South Africa" (p.100):

No attempt was made to gather into the Church's fold the multitude of heathen with whom the Colony abounded. While English, French and German societies of various denominations were sending out their missionaries, the Church of England was almost the only communion which was doing nothing for the conversion of the heathen within and around the Colony (48).

The fact of the matter was that, not only was the Anglican Church at the Cape small, but it simply did not see its function as that of a missionary church. The military chaplains were there to serve the garrison; the colonial chaplains were there to serve government, officials and settlers. Occasionally Hottentots and slaves were baptized, but the Anglican Church's view of itself at the time was that of a branch of the establishment rather than as a missionary body. The door was open for missionary co-operation with the N.G.K. --- the N.G.K. had made that clear during the 1824 synod (49) --- and with other bodies, but the Anglicans simply did not see that as their role. They seem to have been peculiarly blind to the vision inherent in the number of heathen surrounding them on every side.

If the picture of missionary activity in the Western Cape was one of official N.G.K. wariness in advance and of Anglican indifference, in the Eastern Cape the two denominations initially showed a far greater unanimity of spirit. It was a spirit of outright hostility and opposition! Jane Sales claims the double predestination

of a hyper-Calvinism to be partly responsible for this: if God had wanted blacks to be Christians, He would have made them that way!(50) However, it would seem that far less spiritual considerations were really formative of the prevailing hostility. The anti-colonist attitudes of van der Kemp, Philip and other L.M.S. missionaries, their political influence in high places, their effect on colonial policy, particularly concerning Hottentot rights and the frontier, and the deleterious influence of such mission stations as Bethelsdorp on the labour situation, made them and all they stood for thoroughly hated. This is reflected even within the N.G.K. hierarchy: in 1813, Ds. Thom launched an attack on Bethelsdorp (51). Crops were lazily planted; the place was dirty and untidy; the residents were poorly clothed; indolent people were protected and discouraged from doing an honest day's work; the standard of housing was poor; there was insufficient care for aged and infirm; the missionaries refused to co-operate with either government or colonists --- and one cannot help feeling that that was really where the sting lay!

It is very much later than this that we get the first articulate Anglican reactions to missionaries and their activities, but it is much the same reaction. In 1834, two Anglican ministers, M'Cleland and Heavyside, commented bitterly on "the injudicious interference of Dr. Philip" in the events leading up to the war of 1834. They showed scant sympathy for that gentleman's philanthropic and liberal leanings (52), and their attitude towards him tended to dictate their attitude towards missionary activity in general.

However, as the N.G.K. synod began to take up its missionary responsibilities, as local missionary enthusiasm spread amongst the gemeentes of the Western Cape and Karoo, so the N.G.K. in the Eastern Cape began itself to stir. In this, it was partially encouraged by

the quickening Methodist activities of the 20's and 30's, which did not leave it untouched (53). From 1829 onwards, the N.G.K. was heavily involved with the L.M.S. in the Kat River Scheme, a scheme which settled a large number of recently liberated Hottentots on their own farms. Both Hottentots and Bastards joined the N.G.K. in large numbers (54) --- indeed, it was in the Eastern Cape that the question of racially mixed congregations became most acute. For in the Eastern Cape, while at an official level, the N.G.K. had given itself to missionary enterprise, the ordinary white rank and file in the gemeentes were far from enchanted at the consequences of successful evangelism in terms of Sunday by Sunday worship! As for the Anglicans, when Bishop Armstrong arrived in Port Elizabeth in 1853 and suggested missionary work amongst the blacks, he was told very clearly that that was the responsibility of the Wesleyans!

#### RACE RELATIONS

J.S.Marais describes the attitude of the Dutch-speaking settlers at the Cape to the black and brown population at the turn of the century as having been conditioned by slave-ownership: by and large, they treated them kindly, were patient towards their "stupidities" and sought to understand them as well as possible (55). But never would the settlers admit the possibility of any equality between white and brown/black. Already a fairly definable attitude had been created in the relations between the two groups; it was one of master-servant, of superior to inferior. That this was so --- and was recognized quite uncritically to be so by the hierarchy of the N.G.K. --- is witnessed by that church's concern over possible attitudes to colour of missionaries coming to the Cape from Europe or Britain. There was desire that, in this area, the boat should not be rocked, that the

emerging political liberalism of the eighteenth century should not be applied, holus-bolus, equally to all sections of the local population (56). Yet a few years later, we find successive N.G.K. synods combatting what appears to be a rising desire for segregation in the church.

The synod of 1829 was merely the first to deplore any attempt to prevent brown or black worshippers from receiving the communion alongside whites at Nagmaal services (57). This insistence continued right into the 1850's. The synod of 1834 set up zendelingsinstituten and gemeenten der naturellen for the evangelism and instruction of brown and black heathen respectively. But, at the same time, it insisted that such people be allowed to attend ordinary services, especially where there were no instituten or gemeenten der naturellen. These were primarily aimed at the conversion of the heathen, and not for the purposes of excluding brown or black worshippers from ordinary gemeentes (58). Individual predikants such as the elder Andrew Murray at Graaff-Reinet, insisted on the attendance of slaves and servants at godstdiensten held in private homes and on farms during their huisbezoeken.

Indeed, it was the presence of such as Andrew Murray, the Scottish ministers of Somerset's importation, that made the difference. Without the background of a century and a half of contact with the coloured people, their attitudes were bound to be different from that of their Dutch-speaking white parishioners. The evangelical products of late eighteenth-century Britain, they would in no way compromise the unity of the body of Christ by the exclusion of brown or black Christians. And so a tension was set up, for the mere fact that successive N.G.K. synods were compelled to make statements on this subject indicates that there was a growing groundswell of opinion amongst the N.G.K. old-colonist rank-and-file members working in the

other direction. Just as there was an increasing desire for segregation in public education (59), so there was also pressure for segregation to be applied in gemeentes, most particularly at the Nagmaal. This became increasingly the case as one travelled east, where the situation was given greater visibility by larger numbers of totally unsophisticated blacks and by the complications of frontier uncertainties (60).

So, while the N.G.K. hierarchy, even after the influx of Scottish ministers, certainly was not keen on immigrant missionaries and workers bringing with them aggressive liberal views that provoked disruption in the area of colour attitudes, they, at the same time, stoutly resisted any attempts by their own constituents to introduce segregation into the life of the local gemeentes.

That immigrant missionaries did bring diverging and disruptive views is one of the best-attested facts of South African history. The names of van der Kemp, John Philip, James Read and others are still regarded as highly contentious in any attempt to assess the value of the missionary contribution to South African development --- so much so that very often these men are judged to have been politically more liberal than in fact they were. But do they fairly represent the point of view of the average English-speaking settler at the Cape, amongst whom were the Anglicans? The facts suggest not. Naturally, as with the N.G.K. Scottish ministers, the newer English-speaking settlers would not have quite the same attitudes as their Dutch-speaking fellows, but it is remarkable how quickly they adopted them. Once again, and for the same reasons, this was more marked in the east than in the west. In the Eastern Cape in the 1830's and 1840's, both amongst Anglicans and "Dissenters", there was a tendency

towards segregated worship, the whites pulling away and building their own churches. This was often rationalized on linguistic grounds, though "the smell of the Coloureds" also features as one of the reasons (61). The outbreak of the 1834 war occasioned an expression of anti-black antipathy on the part of two Port Elizabeth clergymen (62) which was probably pretty typical of English-speaking attitudes throughout.

Unlike the N.G.K., the Anglican Church had no "centre of government", be it bishop or council, which could officially counter any growing sense of racial arrogance or desire for segregation in the church. Prior to the arrival of Bishop Gray in 1848, the Anglican Church was virtually congregational in its administrative structure, and it was left to each minister to give such lead as he saw fit. The attitudes of M'Cleland and Heavyside at Port Elizabeth does not seem to have been any different from that of most of the settlers. Doubtless in the Western Cape more moderate views prevailed, but Anglican clergy do not seem to have regarded it as important to say anything on the subject. Wright and others laboured diligently amongst the coloured people and had a real concern for them, but it was exercised in the patronizing fashion of the period. Church finances were still augmented on the pew-rent system, a system which, Merriman was later to observe, tended to militate against coloured membership and to keep churches comfortably white and monocultural without the necessity of officially enforcing segregation (63).

#### THE QUESTION OF IDENTITY

But despite this record of friendliness and openness on the part of the N.G.K. towards the Anglicans in the Colony --- the use of the Groote Kerk in Cape Town and of other N.G.K. churches in outlying

towns, co-operation in educational matters and willingness to co-operate in mission ---, a certain apprehension and suspicion did show itself from time to time. After all, the Church of England was the established church of the British people; and the British people now ruled the Cape Colony. It was true that the terms of the British take-over had included a promise to recognize the privileged position of the N.G.K. and that where there had been differences, official arbitration had always favoured the N.G.K. against the Anglicans. But, nevertheless, acute N.G.K. observers thought that they could perceive a very unobtrusive, but real "thin end of the wedge" principle operating: in 1814, the calling of banns of marriage in Anglican services --- there were no churches --- was legalized (64); in 1815, the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, appointed an Anglican minister --- who other than that shrewd go-getter, Mr. Hough! --- as Rector of the Latin School in Cape Town in preference to the N.G.K.-nominated Ds. Berrange (65); in the years that followed, the Colony experienced Somerset's attempts at anglicization in church and state, and, although time would tell just how much the N.G.K. would benefit from that Governor's importation of Scottish ministers, on-the-spot ecclesiastical observers could be forgiven for feeling that the Anglican Church was bound to be favoured and strengthened by these tendencies. In 1843, the long-awaited Church Ordinance (No.7 of 1843) ostensibly freed the N.G.K. from Government dependence and made it a voluntary organization (66); but even then the Ordinance contained binding clauses, most notably Section 2, which stated that the Government had the right to withdraw the freedom of church government granted to the N.G.K. at any time, and that financial grants by the Government to the church were voluntary and could also be withdrawn (67). This, after all, was something new: both N.G.K. and Anglicans were traditionally accustomed to the church being financially dependent on the state authorities (68). Until the

acceptance of the voluntary principle by the Cape Parliament in 1875, financial support was never withdrawn, but at the time there were those who were uneasy as to the implications of this Section.

As a matter of fact, the allocation by the colonial government of financial support to the churches was itself an area that raised N.G.K. fears. Hinchliff maintains that grants of land for churches, glebe and money were proportionately more generous to the N.G.K. than to the Anglicans (69). This may on occasion have been true. Late during this early period, in 1841, Anglicans at Port Elizabeth claimed a share in the revenue of the Uitenhage salt-pan, which went, at the time, to the N.G.K.. They were denied their request (70). But, despite this and other local decisions in favour of the N.G.K., it could not be described as entirely characteristic. In 1830, the N.G.K., with nineteen ministers and eighteen stations, received a state grant for the payment of ministers of 4200 pounds (i.e. 221 pounds per minister; 223 pounds per station), while the Anglicans with six ministers and six stations received 1850 pounds (i.e. 308 pounds per minister/station) (71).

The final manifestation of N.G.K. suspicion concerning the Anglican Church during this early period came in 1847 when it was learnt that a certain dignitary was to be sent to the Cape from England, authorized by royal letters-patent, which described him as "the Chief Shepherd", and bearing the title "Bishop of Cape Town" (72). What did this mean? Did it imply that this person was to have some sort of overall ecclesiastical supervision in the Colony? Were the N.G.K. in future to be regarded in the same way as Dissenters were in England? Only time satisfactorily answered these questions.

These were the outward manifestations of un-ease. The underlying cause of this uncertainty on the part of the N.G.K. towards Anglicanism was the lack of security engendered by the need on the part of the N.G.K. itself to re-define its position in the Colony. Formerly a part of the Classis of Amsterdam, it could be so no longer, and yet it had no centre of autonomy within itself. Formerly subject to a Dutch administration, it was now dependent on Anglican "foreigners" (73). It was not until the summoning of the first synod in 1824 that its own internal autonomy began to take shape. The centre of dissatisfaction was over the rights of the colonial government to interfere in church affairs. In particular, there was objection to the right of the Governor to have foresight of, approve, veto or amend decisions of synod, the time which this procedure took, especially if the Governor decided to refer any matter to London, the right of the Governor to approve or veto ecclesiastical appointments, and the presence at synod of two officials, the Kommissarissen-Politici, appointed by the Governor. This dissatisfaction came to a head at the 1837 synod at which both the Kommissarissen-Politici and the Governor interfered directly, leading to a head-on confrontation between synod and government (74).

The new Governor, Sir George Napier, expressed the desire to get rid of secular interference in church affairs, or, at least, to pass jurisdiction regarding secular affairs discussed by the synods on to the courts. Work was begun, therefore, on the drawing up of new legislation, Ordinance No.7 of 1843. The ordinance gave the N.G.K. the freedom and authority to administer its own internal affairs as a voluntary association and protected it from civil court actions within the terms of its own internal regulations. State grants to the N.G.K. were not affected by the ordinance, which also contained a clause

stating that like all other legislation it was capable of future amendment or repeal by the government.

It was at the first synod of 1824 that a significant decision was taken: a decision against amalgamation with the English-speaking Presbyterians(75). The reason for this was expressed as a fear lest the N.G.K. should lose its own distinctive character. There lay the rub, and it was this sense of uncertainty and apprehension, and the church's concentration on establishing its authority and having it recognized that caused its attitude to Anglicans to cool somewhat in the later years of this early period.

#### LOCAL REPERCUSSIONS

But so much of the above would appear to lie at "official" level: what about the ordinary members of gemeentes and congregations? Naturally many of the attitudes already described would rub off on them, both the attitudes of openness and apprehension. It all depended where the gemeente or congregation was situated. All that has been said would apply without much further comment to people living in or around Cape Town. Further afield, such sentiments would be less obvious. Situations of church status would neither interest nor be relevant to people whose lives had hardly been touched in any practical way by the events of 1806. Certainly English-speakers became more evident in rural areas as the years went by, but initially the Anglicans amongst them did not go in for church-building. If they worshipped corporately at all, they did so either with Wesleyans or in the N.G.K. church building which was lent to them by a well disposed gemeente (76). Relations in most places appear to have been friendly without being intimate, so that, towards the end of this early period, when Anglican congregations did begin to build churches, there appears to have been no sense of being threatened on the part of the local

gemeentes. When the Anglicans of Graaff-Reinet began to raise money for a church under an S.P.G. scheme in 1843, financial assistance was given to them by members of the N.G.K. (77). The first Anglican Church at Wynberg was furnished with a pulpit lent to them by the local gemeente (78). The dedication of St. George's Church in Cape Town began with prayers in the Groote Kerk, where the Anglican congregation had worshipped for years, and many members of the gemeente took part (79). Despite the apprehensions of some of the more sensitive members of the hierarchy, any idea of an Anglican "take-over" seemed remote or unlikely to most ordinary members of the N.G.K., especially in the rural areas.

But, once again, things in the Eastern Cape were somewhat different from what they were in the west of the Colony. The arrival of the 1820 Settlers signified the introduction of a comparatively significant number of English-speaking colonists into an area sparsely populated by Dutch-speaking farmers. Most of the newcomers were Wesleyans, bringing with them a tradition of aggressive evangelism, backed by prayer-meetings and hymn-singing. The spiritual revival that broke out amongst these in the 1820's and early 1830's touched the N.G.K. also (80), setting in motion definite tensions between the more conservative elements and those who were stirred by the spiritual awakening (81).

The number of Anglicans in the Eastern Cape was very small compared to that of the Wesleyans, so that it would appear that the average member of the N.G.K. initially did not make much distinction. The newcomers' Englishness took priority in his eyes over their individual denominational affiliations. But it would seem that there was a measure of co-operation between the N.G.K. and the Anglican

presence: there was the attempt in Port Elizabeth in the 1820's to raise money for a church-building for mutual use(82), while in Grahamstown the gemeente worshipped in the Anglican building (this reversal of the normal role also took place for a few years in Simonstown) (83). It was only much later, in 1843, that friction is recorded in the Anglican attempt to get a share in the revenue which the N.G.K. traditionally was permitted from the Uitenhage saltpan (84).

Consequently, amongst ordinary members of the N.G.K., there was little denominationally conscious relationship between themselves and the Anglicans, except in such places where the situation dictated a certain measure of direct co-operation. Such tensions as there were sprang more from the overall doctrinal and evangelistic emphases of the British settlers as a whole, than from any overt threat of Anglican domination. In the Eastern Cape, such a suggestion during this period of Wesleyan dominance would have been laughable.

The Anglican-N.G.K. pattern in the rural areas is, therefore, hardly apparent at all. Language and cultural factors tended to keep English-speaking and Dutch-speaking folk apart in their worship --- there were rare instances of Anglicans joining N.G.K. gemeentes and of N.G.K. predikants ministering to the local English-speaking population ---, while, at the same time, causing no religious animosity or sense of competition.

#### CONCLUSION

The relationship between the N.G.K. and the Anglican Church in the Cape Colony during the years 1806-1848 can best be described as nebulous. It could hardly be otherwise.

In the first place, there was an immense disparity of situation. The N.G.K. was firmly rooted in the land; the Anglicans were newcomers. The N.G.K. was the volkskerk of a clearly defined settler population; the Anglicans offered an incidental service to soldiers, officials, British merchants and traders and, only latterly, to settlers. The N.G.K. was of Dutch origin standing fair and square in the Reformation tradition of that land; the Anglicans were thoroughly English, liturgical and with a Protestant, but doctrinally less clearly defined stance. The N.G.K. had a concept of centralized administration that soon manifested itself in a synodal form of government; the Anglicans, paradoxically enough, though technically episcopalians, were utterly congregational and individualistic in organization, spread, as they were, over a wide country and without the centralizing influence of either a resident bishop or a synod. The N.G.K. was comparatively large; the Anglicans were few, and limited to certain geographical areas.

Secondly, there was the necessity for each group to find its identity and role in a new situation. During these years, this was more evident to the N.G.K. than it was to the Anglicans. They were aware of their dislocation, cut off from their mother-country and the source of their ecclesiastical authority, and living under new and foreign rulers --- and yet still the dominant church with guaranteed privileges! Furthermore, tensions in the area of missions to the heathen aggravated the need for self-definition: how far was the N.G.K. to be a settler church and how far a missionary one? All this inevitably made the church inward-looking and only aware of other Christian bodies insofar as there was need for co-operation, as in the area of education, or grounds for irritation or concern. In other words, the N.G.K., while friendly enough to the Anglicans, was only

peripherally interested in their existence or activities. They posed little threat, though there was a modicum of concern at the possibilities that those in high places, being, by and large Anglicans themselves, might favour the Anglicans unduly. But that was all.

It was only with the arrival of Bishop Gray in 1848 that Anglicans, with any degree of self-consciousness, began to assess their identity and role in the life of the Colony. During this early period they were content to fulfil their ministry to the government, to their fellow-Britons and to the troops. There was a minimum of missionary interest and there was no desire for any form of corporate organization. They appear to have recognized the dominant status of the N.G.K. in a very patronizing sort of way --- after all, they were not a British body! ---, and to have been content to enjoy what facilities the N.G.K. kindly put at their disposal. Again, relations were friendly, but peripheral. The N.G.K. was somebody else's business; the Anglicans minded their own.

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(1) J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, (Struik, 1965) p.234.

A. Moorrees, Die Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika 1652-1873, (S.A.Bybelvereniging, 1937) chaps.14 & 15.

(2) A. Dreyer, Boustowwe vir die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerke in Suid Afrika - Deel III (Jaarboekkommissie, 1936) Afd.2 Sek.II.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Lewis & Edwards, Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, (S.P.C.K., 1934) pp.18-19.

(5) A. Moorrees, op.cit.,

(6) Ibid, chaps.13 & 14.

(7) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, (Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963) p.4.

(8) A. Moorrees, op.cit., pp.432-433.

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A. Dreyer, op.cit., Afd.2 Sek.3.

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- (9) A. Dreyer, op.cit., Afd.2 Sek.II.
- (10) The Church Chronicle, December 1884, pp.408-9.
- (11) C.S. Kotze, Die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika en die Ekumeniese Beweging tot 1910, (Unpubl. M.Th.Thesis, Univ. Stellenbosch, 1970) p.46.
- (12) The Church Chronicle, June 1885, pp.161-2.
- (13) Lewis & Edwards, op.cit., p.20.
- (14) The Church Chronicle, November 1884, p.359.
- (15) P.G.J. Meiring, Church and Nationalism in South Africa, (Raven Press, 1975), T. Sundermeier (ed.) p.57.
- (16) An interesting study of comparisons could be made of the relations between the Scots ministers and the Anglican clergy as it developed during the 19th century. Whereas Afrikanerdom showed an ability to absorb the Scots and the Scots a willingness to be absorbed, the Anglican clergy maintained their social and national identity over and against their new context. Whereas Presbyterianism had few complaints with a "congregational Anglicanism", the arrival of a vigorous episcopacy altered the entire situation. Theological factors were minimal at this time, but a tractarian Anglicanism, soon to arrive, produced a clergy that spoke a totally different theological language learnt from a totally different ecclesiological text-book. Whereas the schools of St. Andrew's and Amsterdam shaped the one, the other was to draw its manpower increasingly from Oxbridge and Cuddesdon --- and the appropriate social class. In the 1830's common loyalties and co-operative friendliness was possible --- the new breed of Anglican clergy had not yet arrived, the breed that was to become increasingly polarized from those in the N.G.K. who had originally come from the same islands.
- (17) C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet - A Cultural History, (Cape & Transvaal Publishers, 1975) p.100.  
The Church Chronicle, October 1886, pp.293-9.
- (18) J.E. Orr, Evangelical Awakenings in South Africa, (D.D.Thesis for UNISA, 1967) p.29.
- (19) G.M. van den Heever & P. de V. Pienaar, Kulturgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner - Deel II, (Nasionale Pers., 1947) p.193.
- (20) J. du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, (Marshall Bros., 1919) p.35.
- (21) S. Darby, The Voluntary Principle in South Africa, (Unpubl. M.A.Thesis, Queen's Univ. Ontario, 1970) pp.21-6; 61-2.
- (22) De Honigbij, September 1842.
- (23) Ibid, July 1846.
- (24) M. Horrell, The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1970) pp.8-10.

- (25) A. Dreyer, op.cit., p.164.
- (26) J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, (Wits., 1957) p.171.
- (27) C.G. Henning, op.cit., pp.93-4.
- (28) J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p.234.
- (29) Ibid, pp.91-2.  
M. Horrell, op.cit., p.8
- (30) J. du Plessis, op.cit., pp.93-8.
- (31) G.L. van Heerde, Twee Eeue van Sendingwerk, 1652-1857, (N.G.K.-Uitgewers, 1951) p.64.
- (32) Viz. W.M. MacMillan, Bantu Boer and Briton, (Faber & Gwyer, 1929) & H. Davies, Great South African Christians, (O.U.P., 1951).
- Philip described his name as having become "a hissing to the Colonists" (MacMillan, p.47), and certainly he and van der Kemp succeeded in thoroughly alienating white colonial opinion. The Main areas of Philip's criticisms were (i)the official and unofficial encroachment by whites onto black and Griqua lands (MacMillan, pp.20; 24-5; 42-5; 49; 75-80); (ii)the uncontrolled use of commandoes to retrieve stolen cattle (MacMillan, pp.78-81); and, (iii)the attitudes of white farmers towards their labourers and people of colour in general (Davies, p.17). Justifiable though these criticisms might be, they were interpreted by the colonists as unwarranted interference by missionaries in matters affecting the security and the labour resources of the Colony (Davies, p.13). Resentment was increased by the influence the missionaries were able to exercise in London, but also by the temperaments of Philip and van der Kemp. That Philip was motivated by a political common sense and a desire for fair play, few today would doubt, but there is also plenty of evidence to support Horton Davies' conclusion that he was a man who believed every story of oppression and wrote off every justification. Such was not likely to endear the cause of either missionary activity or of those in whose interests it was exercised to the goodwill of the white farmers and colonists.
- (33) Acta Synodi, 1834, pp.97,102.
- (34) N.J. Smith, Die Planting van Afsonderlike Kerke vir Nie-Blanke Bevolkingsgroepe deur die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid Afrika, (Annale Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1973) Vol.34, Ser B, No.2, pp.16; 29-30.
- (35) J. du Plessis, op.cit., p.254  
Acta Synodi, 1824, pp.7,10,13,15,16,18,19.
- (36) M. Horrell, op.cit., p.8.
- (37) Acta Synodi, 1829, pp.71,79.
- (38) Acta Synodi, 1834, pp.88,92,96,97,104,109.

- (39) Acta Synodi, 1834, p.269.
- (40) J. du Plessis, op.cit., p.253.
- (41) G.L. van Heerde, op.cit., Appendix on local missionary activity, Viz. pp.96-134.
- (42) A.G.S. Gibson, Sketches of Church Work and Life in the Diocese of Cape Town, (S.A.Electric Printing & Publishing, 1900) p.31.
- (43) J. du Plessis, op.cit., pp.235, 242.
- (44) G.L. van Heerde, Ibid, p.106. (45) J. du Plessis, op.cit., p.237.
- De Honigbij, June 1839, p.286.
- (46) De Honigbij, October 1841.
- (47) J. du Plessis, op.cit., p.235.
- (48) Ibid, p.242.
- (49) A. Moorrees, op.cit., p.570.
- (50) J. Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852, (A.A.Balkema, 1975) p.11.
- (51) Ibid, pp.69-71.
- (52) W.B. Boyce, Notes on South African Affairs, 1834-1838, (Aldum & Harvey, 1838) p.vi.
- (53) J.E. Orr, op.cit., chap.VII.
- (54) J. Sales, op.cit., pp.102-4.
- (55) J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, (Wits.,1975) p.5.
- (56) G.L. van Heerde, op.cit., p.64.
- (57) J.S. Marais, op.cit., p.170.  
G.L. van Heerde, op.cit., pp.79-80.  
Acta Synodi, 1829, pp.71,79.
- (58) G.L. van Heerde, op.cit., pp.80-82.  
N.J. Smith, op.cit., pp.30-1.  
Acta Synodi, 1834, pp.88, 92, 96, 97, 104, 109.
- (59) M. Horrell, op.cit., p.10.
- (60) N.J. Smith op.cit., pp.170-1.
- (61) J. Sales, op.cit., p.115.
- (62) W.B. Boyce, op.cit., p.vi.

(63) Merriman's Journals, quoted in Notes on Simonstown Parish, (kept in U.C.T.Library).

Viz. D.H. Varley & H.M. Matthew, The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, 1848-1855, (Van Riebeeck Society, 1975) pp.10,11.

(64).P. Hinchliff, op.cit., p.16.

(65).A. Moorees, op.cit., pp.494-5.

(66) Ibid, pp.662-9.

(67).S. Darby, op.cit., p.8.

(68).Lewis & Edwards, op.cit., p.7.

(69).P. Hinchliff, op.cit., pp.14-15.

(70).A.J. Wirgman & C.E. Mayo, The Collegiate Church and Parish of St.Mary, Port Elizabeth, (Longmans, Green & Co., 1925) pp.13-15.

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(72).A. Moorees, op.cit., pp.616-18.

(73) Ibid, pp.429-32.

(74) Acta Synodi, 1837, pp.125, 128, 131, 147.

(75).A. Moorees, op.cit., p.618.

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(78).K. Vos, The Church on the Hill, (Struik, 1972) p.127.

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(81).A. Moorees, op.cit., chaps.18, 21a & 22.

C.G. Henning, op.cit., p.100.

(82) The Church Chronicle, November 1884, p.359.

(83).Field's Record of the Cape Colony - C.T.1897-1905, Vol.IX, p.178.

(84).A.J. Wirgman & C.E. Mayo, op.cit., pp.13-15.

PART II, 1848 - 1872

THE ERA OF

ECCLESIASTICAL LITIGATION

## CHAPTER 2

### THE CONSTITUTIONAL TANGLE

If the 1820's, 30's and 40's were the period during which the N.G.K. was self-consciously seeking its identity and initially establishing its internal autonomy in the Cape Colony, the 1850's and 60's mark the decades during which the Anglican Church was struggling to cover the same ground. Not that the N.G.K. was home and dry by any means! The unedifying procedures of ecclesiastical litigation which dominated the 1860's in both denominations resulted from the unsatisfactory nature of constitutional definition for both bodies in the Colony.

What was the position of the Anglican Church? Since the Church of England was the "by law established" church of the mother-country, what was her position in the colonies? In particular, what was her position in a colony dominated by another ecclesiastical body whose rights the British Government had promised to protect? At first, these questions were purely theoretical, but the arrival of an Anglican Bishop, Robert Gray, with royal letters-patent constituting an episcopal jurisdiction, raised the whole issue in a very practical form. The N.G.K. was not slow to realise this; hence its questions in 1851 as to what the letters-patent and the title "Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan" actually signified. Was the Anglican Church to become --- was it by law already, even if unwittingly --- the established church of the Colony?

If the N.G.K. saw the possibility of constitutional problems arising through the presence of an officially organized Anglican

denomination in the Colony, Gray soon found himself in the midst of them! There were Anglican congregations and there was a bishop, but there was nothing to cement them all together. It was clear to Gray that some sort of representative synod must be summoned to give unity to the parts and to place his episcopal office and jurisdiction within the context of a whole. But when he tried to do this in 1856, he was met by opposition. It was pointed out that, in the Church of England, only the Crown could summon a synod, and that, therefore, the same must pertain in the Anglican Church in a British colony. Moreover, there was real fear that, by means of a synod, episcopal authority in the Colony would become too great, there being no law to check it. Furthermore, once the jurisdiction of such a synod were recognized, was it not possible for it to lead congregations out of the Church of England altogether?

It was this opposition to Gray that led to the first appeal to the courts of the Colony in a church cause. Gray was determined that the Anglican Church in South Africa would not be saddled with the burdens, complexities and, as he saw it, compromises of spiritual principle which characterized the establishment of the Church of England in England. He had no intention of establishing synods on the foundation of Crown permission or any other secular authority. The Church must be seen to be the Church in the sole exercise of her divinely-given powers without the necessity of the approval of the state. So it was that, when, first in 1857, and then in 1861, Gray summoned synods to meet, the Rector of Mowbray, William Long, refused to attend. Thus began the case, Long vs. the Bishop of Cape Town(1). The outcome of all this, after a hearing in the colonial courts and an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, was a ruling to the effect that Gray's letters-patent were invalid --- the Cape Colony

having achieved representative government, the Queen could not issue letters-patent applicable to that Colony --- and that, as an Anglican bishop, his authority held only over those who chose to recognise it. But by the time this confusing constitutional ruling was handed down in 1863, the "litigation era" was in full swing --- and the immediate cause was not constitutional, but doctrinal.

Theological liberalism had held sway in a number of European centres for some years, and it was inevitable that sooner or later it would affect the southern African churches. The N.G.K. seminary at Stellenbosch had only been opened in 1859, so that all its predikants prior to that date had been trained in Europe(2). The trio around whose unorthodox theological principles and teaching the storm was to rage was Kotze of Darling, Burgers of Richmond and Naude of Queenstown. In the Anglican Church, the local heresiarch --- local to begin with, but soon to become a household name throughout the Anglican world --- was none other than a bishop, John William Colenso, first Bishop of Natal.

#### THE CONFLICT IN N.G.K.

Although the theological unorthodoxies were not the fundamental issues at stake, it is instructive to see what they were. In so doing, the comparative theological stance of both denominations becomes more evident.

As most of the N.G.K. predikants had trained in Holland, there was a real fear in that Church of an outbreak at the Cape of the "orthodox versus liberal" conflict which was being waged in the Netherlands itself(3). There were both predikants and academically-oriented laymen of theologically liberal leanings in the

N.G.K., and after 1860 these began to express their views in religious publications (e.g. "De Onderzoeker", published monthly by Leopold Marquard). The outbreak of the Colenso controversy in the Anglican Church in 1862 led to the debate spilling over into the secular press, and thus involving both denominations.

The orthodox reaction in the N.G.K. to this liberalism was the founding in 1861 of De Christelijke Drukkers Vereeniging, which published "De Volksvriend", and the sending of Robertson to Holland and Scotland to try and recruit ministers of orthodox persuasion.

These, however, were merely the rumblings before the storm. The first real thunderclap was a motion laid before the parliamentary session of 1861 by de Roubaix calling for legislation to authorize gemeentes to elect their own predikants rather than having them appointed by synod. It was ruled that this was not within the competence of Parliament, but lay only with the N.G.K. synod, a synod that had been stigmatized as cold and loveless by the liberals.

The storm proper broke with the synod of 1862. A certain Ds. Naude brought a charge against Ds. Neethling for publicly commenting on certain theological remarks that Naude had made on relinquishing his post at Queenstown. Synod ruled that Neethling had erred, that Naude's remarks had had nothing to do with him --- but it then turned on Naude and asked him to clarify his remarks! He refused on the grounds that such a request was out of order(4).

Further heat was generated when it was decided by Synod to delay the legitimization of a newly-arrived predikant from Holland, van Warmelo, until new regulations, ascertaining a candidate's theological orthodoxy, had been drawn up. Surely the liberals contended, van Warmelo ought to be treated in terms of present regulations, and not

be made to wait until they had been "tightened up". Synod voted for delay amidst official protests(5).

The next storm was initiated by Synod's decision to set up a synodal commission to investigate all complaints of doctrinal unorthodoxy(6). Already some were outstanding, in particular against Ds. Burgers, Leibbrandt and Kotze. The areas of concern were the validity of the Scriptures, the doctrine of assurance and the question of perfectionism and sin in the heart of the regenerate. A pastoral letter warning members not to read theologically dubious books was attacked by Burgers as being inconsistent with Protestant principles of free enquiry.

In 1863, the synodal commission recommended Kotze's removal from status (amp) and office unless he withdrew his statement of views concerning the non-tenability of the church formulary on predestination. Not only was his erroneous theology criticized, but also his breach of promise, he having stated at his legitimization the conviction that the Church formularies were in accordance with Scripture. Synod acted in accordance with the recommendations, and Kotze appealed to the High Court(7).

The outcome of all this was: first, the founding of a Kerkverdedigingsgenootschap by the liberals to protect their position; secondly, the decision of the Darling gemeente to maintain their predikant, Kotze, in defiance of synod; and thirdly, the decision of the High Court in favour of Kotze on the grounds that Synod had not abided by its own regulations. (It was ruled that Synod had acted as a court in its own right, whereas it was in fact only a court of appeal from the circuits; also, that it had not drawn up a clear indictment against Kotze.)

The Synodal charge against Burgers was that he had denied the existence of the devil and that he had questioned Christ's sinlessness and the resurrection of the body. Burgers' refusal to answer the charges led to his suspension and to his appealing to the High Court. Again, the High Court ruled against synod on procedural grounds.

By now, there was much consternation in orthodox N.G.K. circles. As far as they were concerned, however much the courts might talk of procedural matters, the questions at issue were spiritual and doctrinal. The secular courts were infringing the spiritual authority of the Church. It was decided to take the matter to the Privy Council as an infringement of the spiritual authority guaranteed to the N.G.K. in Ordinance No.7 of 1843. Once again on procedural grounds, the Privy Council turned down this appeal. Synod then asked the Privy Council for a specific and definitive ruling on the spheres of competence of church bodies vis-a-vis the secular courts --- but a year later withdrew this request on the advice of English lawyers who saw the danger that such a ruling might inhibit the activities of Synod even further.

By 1868, most of the real strife was over. The theologically liberal predikants remained, but the teaching at the Stellenbosch Seminary was orthodox, while the re-phrased questions of legitimation made it virtually impossible for theologically liberal predikants to be legitimized in the future.

#### THE CONFLICT AMONGST THE ANGLICANS

Despite the 1867 appeal to the Privy Council, the conflict within the N.G.K. was local. The Church was an autonomous body within the Cape Colony --- an 1862 ruling from the secular courts had

debarred members from outside the Colony from sitting in a synod whose functions were defined by a piece of colonial legislation ---, and therefore, though there might be repercussions elsewhere, the tribulations and the decisions of its Synod were limited in scope to the Colony. The Anglican Church, however, was not covered by the 1843 Ordinance or by any other piece of colonial legislation. The conflict with liberalism caught it with still unformed governmental structures and still seeking its identity in the Colony. Moreover, it was part of a Christian confession that, springing from England, now was represented throughout the British Empire, the United States of America and beyond. Consequently, doctrinal conflict in the Anglican Church at the Cape was bound to affect its own internal formation and to have repercussions far beyond its borders - especially since the offender was a bishop of the Church, and recognized as such throughout the Anglican world.

From the moment William Colenso arrived in Natal as its first Bishop, he was a controversial figure. But the controversies were confined to his own diocese --- until 1861. In that year he published his commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans in which he questioned the traditional doctrines of the Atonement and championed the case for universalism. He was immediately charged with heresy before Bishop Gray, the Metropolitan, who placed the issue in the hands of Archbishop Longley of Canterbury --- and thus it became more than merely "colonial" at an early stage. Longley summoned a meeting of English, Irish and Colonial bishops, but, before they could meet, Colenso published his second book, "The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, Critically Examined" (1863). In this volume, he expressed grave doubts as to the historicity and veracity of some of the narratives contained in the Hexateuch, doubts which clearly touched on

the Church's traditional understanding of Scriptural inspiration.

Refusing to resign his see, Colenso was told that his views were unacceptable to his fellow-bishops, meeting in London, but that they did not see their way clear to delating for heresy one who belonged to so distant a jurisdiction. To Gray, this meant that he now had to do it, but by what law? In what courts? Under whose authority? The Eton College case of 1857 had resulted in a ruling that the Church of England "as by law established" could not exist outside England. Therefore, the Anglican Church in South Africa must have its own law-making and law-enforcement bodies --- a new Province ---, but, until it had, Gray must act on his own recognizances in terms of the letters-patent that had appointed him Metropolitan in the area.

In 1863, Gray summoned Colenso to appear before him in Cape Town. At almost the same time, the Privy Council ruled in the case of William Long, the rector of Mowbray, who had refused to recognize Gray's authority to summon a synod. The Privy Council ruled that, since representative government had been granted to the Cape Colony, Gray's letters-patent were invalid and that the grants of prerogative rights given to him by the Crown were now removed and cancelled. A bishop's authority at the Cape must now rest on the dynamics of a voluntary association.

On this ruling, Colenso rejected Gray's authority and refused to appear before an ecclesiastical court which, nevertheless, met and ordered him to retract or be deposed. Colenso appealed to the Privy Council. In 1865, the Privy Council ruled that the Crown could not create a Metropolitan in a colony and that it could not recognize the authority of one bishop over another.

Gray was determined, however, that secular courts should have no say in what he considered to be spiritual matters. In 1866, he formally excommunicated Colenso, who nevertheless was able legally to retain his title and control over church property in Natal. The Church of England, while drawing back from actually declaring Colenso excommunicate, stated itself to be behind Gray in the action he had taken and approved of the consecration of a new bishop to be known as Bishop of Maritzburg. The unedifying spectacle of two rival bishops in Natal continued until Colenso's death in 1883.

#### THE REAL ISSUE

Despite so many differences of ecclesiology and culture, the Anglicans and the N.G.K. had this in common: a zealous determination to keep themselves free from any theological heterodoxy. Both denominations stood very firmly for an orthodoxy that was based on the authority of scripture and both showed a determined activity in getting rid of what they considered to be serious error. But ultimately it was not the doctrinal issues that were important, but the constitutional --- in what respects did secular courts of law have the right to hand down decisions to the churches in matters which concerned belief and their own membership, and at what point ought the churches to challenge the spiritual validity of such rulings?

The courts claimed that they were not making spiritual rulings, nor were they empowered to do so. As long as a religious body did not contravene the law, the courts could not intervene to decide church regulations. But what the courts claimed they could do was to rule on whether, in a particular instance, a religious body had abided by its own regulations, or not. This the courts asserted very strongly in the Long vs. the Bishop of Cape Town case, and it was this principle

to which the colonial courts were to cling in justification of their rulings in the Kotze vs. Murray and Burgers vs. Murray cases(8). In both these latter cases, the courts ordered the re-instatement of the erring predikants on the grounds that they had been deprived in disregard of the N.G.K.'s own regulations. This might sound fair enough, but, in fact, it touched on the supreme authority of synod in the N.G.K.. By declaring that synod was not a primary church court, but only a court of appeal, the secular courts were saying that there were matters on which the highest authority in the N.G.K. could not pronounce. What was more, when those matters touched on the doctrinal orthodoxy of predikants, and hence on the spiritual welfare of their gemeentes, it was seen that in certain instances it was spiritual matters on which synod could not pronounce. To many, this seemed an intolerable invasion by the secular arm into the spiritual sphere(9).

Basically it was the same principle which was being fought for in the long-drawn-out Colenso case, but here the situation was made all the more complex by the totally undefined nature of Gray's position both as an Anglican bishop and as metropolitan in South Africa. Furthermore, whereas for the N.G.K. it was a totally domestic matter, not much entered into by other Reformed bodies elsewhere, for Gray and the Anglicans at the Cape it soon had to be debated within the context of the Anglican Church at large. Gray himself had frequent recourse to the body of bishops in England, and it was directly out of a Canadian concern over the Colenso issue that the first Lambeth Conference was summoned(10). In many ways, this worldwide support made it easier for Gray to go ahead, irrespective of the trend of Privy Council rulings, sometimes taking full advantage of them, to the consecration of Macrorie and to the ultimate inauguration of the Church of the Province of South Africa (C.P.S.A.) as an

autonomous and independent Anglican province in 1870.

Although the initial motivations, the underlying constitutional causes and the outward manifestations were the same in both the Anglican and the N.G.K. cases, it will be seen that the two churches were moving in their own ecclesio-cultural milieux. Both sought a total autonomy over spiritual matters for themselves in the Cape, but the Anglicans could not do this in isolation. Unlike the N.G.K., they were too aware of their Church of England connections and of the necessity of maintaining their relationships with the Anglican Communion throughout the world. To the N.G.K., it was a struggle on home ground, with occasional unfortunate recourse to a court in London. Gray, on the other hand, was moving regularly between Cape Town and London, and was in constant consultation with the English bishops, especially Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford. The N.G.K. saw the constitutional issue primarily as a means of safeguarding doctrinal purity; Gray saw it as that, but more: a means of establishing in South Africa a Christian Church which approximated as closely as possible, in his view, to that of the New Testament and the early Church fathers. It was probably for these reasons mainly that the two church bodies went through their respective constitutional struggles without very much reference to each other. The battle was the same, but the outlook and, therefore, aims of each was very differently defined.

But they did not ignore each other. It would have been difficult to do so. After 1860, the doctrinal conflict between conservatives and liberals was foremost in all religious publications and in the secular press. The N.G.K. was able to follow --- and did so with interest --- the complicated toils of the Colenso controversy, while Gray's correspondence shows a sound acquaintance with what was

going on in the N.G.K. camp. The publication of "De Volksvriend" as a journal of orthodox theology in 1861 reflected the doctrinal struggles on both fronts. Gray's 1865 address to synod on the authority of the state vis-a-vis the Church was published in full, in translation, in "De Kerkbode"(11), followed by a lengthy plea for a clear definition of the boundary between the authority of the Church and that of the State. When, in the same year the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled in Colenso's favour and declared that Gray's "letters-patent" created him "an ecclesiastical personage", but gave him no jurisdiction, "De Kerkbode" exploded:

En na bijkans 20 jaren als Bisschop van Kaapstad te zijn erkend te worden, is er nu de regterlijke verklaring, dat die "Opene Brieven", hoewel met het groote zegel des rijks versierd, van geene waarde zijn!!! Wat zullen wij zeggen?(12)

Perhaps another touch of difference, but sympathy, in the fight is rendered by "De Kerkbode's" statement that things would have gone more easily for the Anglican Church had it been a gospel-preaching church and not a ritualistic one --- the enemy is held in check more by the gospel than by claims of church authority(13).

Little had been done together, each working in his own way. Yet much notice had been taken of each other. Comments had been passed, mutual sympathy felt and expressed. It is perhaps no wonder that, despite vast differences in practice, culture and outlook, there were those who, in 1870, were considering the possibility of some sort of relationship between the N.G.K. and the Anglican Church.

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(1). Lewis & Edwards, op.cit., pp.74, 146-157.

(2). A. Moorees, op.cit., chap.23.

(3). Since the early years of the 19th century, the rationalistic liberalism of the Enlightenment, which had found a firm place in the established Church of the Netherlands, was being strongly challenged by a renewal of orthodox Reformed doctrine through the writings and sermons of such people as Groen van Prinsterer, Bilderdijk, da Costa de Cock and, later on Kuyper. This led to controversy and bitterness --- and even secession, in 1834 and again, after the period in hand, in 1886. Viz. J. Timmer, Dutch Calvinism(3): The Nineteenth Century, (The Reformed Journal, Vol.28, Issue 5, May 1978, pp.21-4).

(4) Acta Synodi, 1862, pp.28, 30.

(5) Ibid, pp.54, 56, 57, 72, 75.

(6) Acta Synodi, 1863, p.154.

(7) Ibid, pp.117-158.

(8). A. Moorees, op.cit., chap.24, esp. pp.944-74.

(9) De Kerkbode, February 4, 1865, pp.41-3.

(10) The Lambeth Conferences do not owe their origin solely to the Colenso controversy. Indeed, Gray himself, long before the controversy, expressed himself in favour of a "patriarchal" or "imperial" Anglican synod --- excluding the Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.. There were similar voices in other colonies. But it was primarily the Colenso controversy which was responsible for bringing these ideas to fruition. While Gray was eager to have his actions against Colenso ratified by the whole Anglican episcopate, the Canadian bishops, and especially Bishop Lewis of Ontario, were insistent on having an Anglican-wide assertion of the necessity of the acceptance of the Bible as the Word of God and of the doctrine of eternal punishment. It was the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council's seeming legitimization of departure from these two doctrinal positions in the Colenso affair, that stirred the Canadian bishops into demanding a council of some sort. Viz. A.M.G. Stephenson, Anglicanism and the Lambeth Conferences (S.P.C.K., 1978) pp.26-7. A.M.G. Stephenson, The first Lambeth Conference, 1867, (S.P.C.K., 1967) pp.120-76.

(11) De Kerkbode, February 4, 1865, pp.41-3, Gray's remarks to 1865 Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town.

"The Bishop said that the N.G.K., although differing greatly from the Church of England, was nevertheless the first to establish the Christian witness at the Cape. Yet she, too, was having to endure intolerable state interference through the rulings of the Supreme Court --- all the more intolerable in that her synod was truly representative. For a court to counter a synodal ruling concerning the definition of that church's basis of faith and to legalize a man to minister when synod had deprived him of that right because of his proven unorthodoxy, was intolerable.

"The Bishop asked who had the right to decide whether a religious teacher was or was not teaching what was consonant with the declared faith of his own denomination. The Privy Council had already

ruled that this was the function of the synodal courts, though it was up to the secular courts to give legal effect to their decisions. Such a ruling guaranteed religious freedom, but if the secular courts did not accept this or act accordingly, there was bound to be confrontation.

"The Bishop said that civil judges did not normally have theological training, and could, indeed, be Jews or Muslims! British justice achieved a high reputation because courts acted impartially within their recognized jurisdiction. The time had come to define that jurisdiction clearly in relation to the Church."

(12) De Kerkbode, January 5, 1867, p.16.

(13) Ibid.

## CHAPTER 3

### MISSIONARY ENDEAVOUR AND EDUCATION

#### MISSIONS

At first, the N.G.K. did not undertake its own missionary work, but its members channelled their missionary giving and interest through societies. Nevertheless, successive synods kept a close watch on the activities of missionaries(1). This was necessary, as most missionary work was not done on distant fields, but amongst the Hottentot, slave, ex-slave and coloured communities around the towns and on the farms, and eventually amongst the blacks as they infiltrated into the Colony from the east. Because this was so, it was very easy for missionary and local predikant to move across into each other's territory and to tread on each other's feet, and synods did their best to prevent this happening.

This was bound eventually to undermine the autonomy of independent missionary societies, and the synod of 1834 took the first official steps in this direction by giving responsibility to local gemeentes for the setting up of zendingeninstituten, by encouraging predikants to missionary endeavour where there was no instituut and by, for the first time, envisaging zending-genootschappen within the structures of the church itself(2). This found its fulfilment thirteen years later when, in 1847, a permanent commission was set up by the N.G.K. to control missionary endeavour(3).

"Control" seems to have been the correct word. Despite much exhortation and the introduction of an annual missionary collection in

1852 (4), the general complaint by the end of the 1850's was that N.G.K. missionary activity had been woefully inadequate. In an article in the journal "Elpis" in 1859, Faure gave his reasons for this. Some of his reasons seemed to refer to the situation before the formation of the permanent commission in 1847: the inhibiting control by the government of the N.G.K., the reliance on missionary societies which had led to a lack of any real interest permeating the N.G.K. gemeentes and the equally consequent result of those interested in mission work supporting the societies and not the N.G.K.'s own work(5). Doubtless there was still some justification in the 1850's for citing these latter two reasons --- the operations of various societies did not cease with the appointment of the permanent commission ---, but it seems that there were deeper issues than this.

Faure mentions the proximity of the gemeentes to their respective mission fields, namely the coloured and black populations around them. Lack of distance detracted from the lending of any enchantment to the view, and gemeentes could hardly cherish those romantic illusions which missionary well-wishers tend to entertain from afar! But this was skating over the surface. Certainly proximity to the mission field minimized the romantic aspect of "going into all the world", but it was also tied up with a fast-developing attitude amongst white members of the N.G.K. towards colour. It has already been noted that repeated emphases were made by successive synods in the 1820's and 30's insisting on the maintenance of non-discriminatory practice in worship, a fact which suggests that pressure was growing in the gemeentes to separate white from coloured and black. It was during the 1840's and 50's that this really emerged into the open. Despite a few occurrences to the contrary --- in 1857, the St. Stephens coloured N.G.K. gemeente in Cape Town was

incorporated into the Groote Kerk gemeente, while at Swellendam integrated worship and Sunday School were maintained(6) ---, the tendency was towards increased separation. Burghersdorp, which always had a tendency to be a law unto itself, separated itself early on into two discriminatory gemeentes, (7) but by the mid-50's, it had been joined in this by Beaufort West, Prince Albert, Riversdale and others(8). But the real pressure for separation came from the gemeentes of the Eastern Cape(9). It was at the synod of 1857 that the validity of coloureds worshipping in a separate building under kerkraad supervision was raised, and it was this synod that, while still paying lip-service to the biblical imperative of the recognition of oneness in Christ, passed the well-known "ten gevolge van de zwakheid van sommigen" proviso --- where integration caused offence, let there be separation!(10) Undoubtedly, this growing antipathy towards coloureds and blacks by whites contributed to the lack of interest, money and manpower for mission in the 1850's. And surely this is reflected in Andrew Murray's angry outburst that those who did not want blacks converted betrayed the fact that they knew not conversion themselves!(11)

Faure had a final reason for inadequate missionary achievement in the N.G.K.: dislike of some missionaries led to suspicion of missionary work as a whole. This was legacy of the days of Philanthropist control over the Colonial Office in London, of the powerfully anti-settler attitudes of John Philip and other missionaries, of the abortive Treaty System advocated by them on the Eastern Frontier. To many members of the N.G.K., "Missionary" was a dirty word, and as a result the whole enterprise suffered.

It was an amalgam of all these factors that led to a reluctance amongst N.G.K. gemeentes to support missionary endeavour financially on any scale wider than that of their own gemeente's limited activities --- and one suspects that even then there were those who supported the building of a school and a church for the coloured populace merely as a means of ridding themselves of any further responsibility. And just as there was financial shortage, so was there a chronic shortage of recruits and of manpower. So acutely was Andrew Murray aware of this that he persuaded Robertson, on his tour of Scotland and Holland in 1860, to seek out, not only men of theologically sound persuasion for the colonial ministry, but also men who were prepared to dedicate themselves for work on the mission field.

If the 1850's mark a low period in N.G.K. missionary interest and activity, the 1860's see an improvement. Robertson was able to persuade men from overseas, mainly from Scotland, to give themselves for specifically missionary service with the N.G.K. in South Africa. The missionary fervour of the younger Murray began, along with his influence as a whole, to have a marked effect in the Church. But, perhaps, what really triggered off an outburst of missionary activity was the spiritual awakening which swept over many of the Wesleyan congregations and N.G.K. gemeentes in the early 1860's. Singing, prayer-meetings, evangelism, manifestations of the Spirit became common occurrences. Orr comments:

An enthusiasm for missions among the non-European folk developed as auxiliary societies for missionary endeavour were established in many places. Within a decade, the Dutch Reformed Church had a dozen mission stations in and beyond the Cape Colony(12).

Orr also adds that the awakening of the 1860's, while deeply affecting

the Wesleyans and the N.G.K., had little influence on the Anglicans(13).

During the first forty years of British rule the Anglican Church slumbered on as far as missionary activity in the Cape Colony was concerned. But the arrival of Robert Gray in 1848, the year after the N.G.K. had set up its commission, led to an awakening. Although Gray believed that his first priority was the consolidation of the Anglican Church amongst the white settlers and officials(14) he had a deep spiritual yearning for the heathen, first for those he saw immediately around him in the Muslim and coloured population of Cape Town(15), and then for those on and over the Eastern Frontier.

Almost immediately on his arrival, Gray became aware of the large Islamic and heathen presence in Cape Town itself. He immediately sponsored evangelistic services in St. George's Cathedral, aimed specifically at the non-Christian coloured population(16), and began to look for a man who would be able to develop a continuous ministry amongst the Muslims. For a few years this was entrusted to the Rev. M.A. Camilleri --- it was during his ministry that certain Muslims complained to the Governor, Sir George Grey, concerning Christian proselytism in their midst(17) ---, but by the time he left the Cape, Gray was already involved in the multiplicity of problems that marked his episcopate (division of the Diocese, development of missions on the eastern frontier, the Colenso case), and was unable to give a great deal of attention to this lack. It was only towards the end of his life, in 1871, that he once again sought ministry for non-Christians in the capital, securing this time the help of a religious order, the Society of St. John the Evangelist(18).

Before his first year as bishop was out, Gray had visited the eastern frontier and had been overcome by a sense of shame that the Anglicans were the only denomination without missions in the area(19). But what grieved him even more was the strong antagonism of Anglicans in the eastern parts of the Colony to any concept of missionary work by their church(20). As with the members of the N.G.K., the abrasive nature, methods and influence of some of the earlier missionaries had left its mark on the English-speaking settlers as well. And, as has already been indicated, this was not true of the laity only: Archdeacon Merriman, on his first arrival in Port Elizabeth, was confronted by stout opposition on the part of the local clergy to any missionary initiatives to the blacks(21). Both he, and the first Bishop of Grahamstown, John Armstrong, after him, found themselves confronted by strong arguments that black mission work belonged to the Wesleyans and other Independents, and was not an Anglican responsibility(12). Whether this was a genuine expression of superiority uttered by those brought up in the "establishment" or just an opting out of evangelistic responsibility towards the unconverted, it is difficult to say. The chances are that it was a bit of both, but combined with the stronger forces of racial dislike which insensitive missionaries, successive frontier wars and inept government policies had generated on the eastern frontier in Anglican and N.G.K. alike. These were the same forces that stood in the way of N.G.K. missionary progress in the 1850's and forced the "ten gevolge van de zwakheid van sommigen" clause through the 1857 synod.

But Robert Gray had no intention of allowing local antagonisms and prejudices to impede Anglican mission. Before the end of 1848, he had met up with Umhalla, the Xhosa chief, and sought to persuade him to receive missionaries in his territories(23), and had established a

mission fund "for the Kafirs"(24). Gray's picture of this mission was an austere one, in sharp contrast to that of the N.G.K. and other denominations:

I trust we shall get men who will be content to live in Kafir huts upon 25 pounds a year. I am told that a missionary can live upon this. The Wesleyans average about 300 pounds a year, and grow rich upon it .... I am persuaded missionaries cost far too much, and live far too comfortably(25).

If it is imagined that this is the unrealistically stern view of a man living in distant Cape Town, then one must take note of the opinions of a man living with the situation. Until the arrival of Bishop Armstrong in 1853, Archdeacon Nathaniel Merriman was in charge of all developments in the eastern Cape, a man with burning missionary zeal who longed to give himself full-time to this work. The sort of missionary Merriman envisaged was a humble man who would not wish for publicity, who would be highly disciplined, who would maintain much of his livelihood and meet most of his physical needs by his own manual labour, and who had linguistic ability(26) --- a tall order, indeed!

Gray was well aware that the main support for missionary work, both as regards men and money, must initially --- possibly for some years to come --- come from England. In this, he was encouraged and supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) in London, to whom he made frequent appeals for money and who answered generously(27). But Gray was firm in the contention that missionary work must be the function of the Church itself, and not of missionary societies. The S.P.G. might give, but, unlike the societies which had in earlier years been the vehicles for the missionary zeal and generosity of those members of the N.G.K. who supported mission, it might not control or exercise power over the development and outworking of missionary effort. That was the responsibility of the

local church under its bishop(28).

This implanting of a typically Anglican structure on mission work is seen, too, in Gray's insistence on the use of liturgical forms in all missionary enterprise. During his visit to England in 1852-3, he made much of the necessity of having a "liturgy for the heathen"(29). A Dutch translation of the Book of Common Prayer had been issued in the late sixteenth century for Dutch congregations in England; a revised form of this was now introduced into the Cape Colony for use in missionary and church work amongst the coloured people(30). Bishop Henry Cotterill of Grahamstown also, in drawing up his principles of mission in 1857, insisted that services on mission stations in and across the eastern frontier be in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer, necessary adaptations and translations being made in consultation with the bishop. He did, however, differentiate between services for Christians and those aimed at the evangelization of the heathen(31).

For Anglicans, missionary progress was, in part, measured by success in duplicating in the mission field, the patterns, traditions and structures of the Church of England. It could be argued that this was also true of the N.G.K., but it can hardly be gainsaid that the structures of an episcopal and liturgical body are likely to be more idiosyncratic in a primitive culture than are those which allow of a greater freedom of order and worship(32).

In the establishment of the Ciskei and Transkei missions, the Anglican Church was entering a territory into which N.G.K. missionary activity had not yet penetrated. Moreover, it was following and, in part, creating a pattern of pioneer work which had not been part of N.G.K. tradition, and was not to be so until the activities of Andrew

Murray, Jr., later in the century.

But if there was no N.G.K. work in the area, there were plenty of Wesleyans and others, and this required the definition of some sort of policy. Bishop John Armstrong of Grahamstown set himself to this task and, shortly before his death in 1855, initiated a directive(33) which was articulated in a Grahamstown synod resolution of that year:

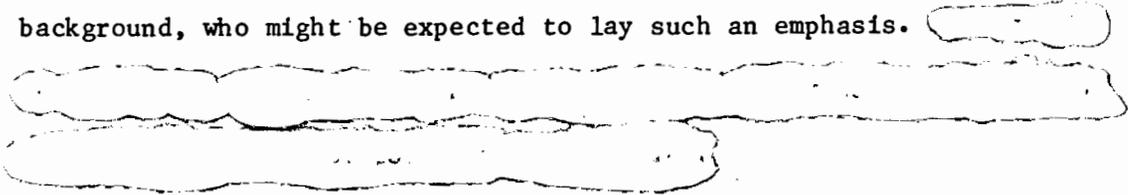
That the Church should choose those tribes and places where no other religious body was at work; to occupy vacant ground, and to leave the various Dissenting missionaries to work as best they might, without crossing their path, or clashing with them, whilst so many thousands were utterly without any Christian teaching whatever(34).

It is, incidentally, instructive to find that it was only the immensity of the missionary task that decided "the Church" not to tread on ground already occupied by "various Dissenting missionaries"! The attitudes of England were very present!

Indeed, the attitudes of England were present, too, in the very motivation of Anglican missionary enterprise. Not only was the missionary a forerunner of the Kingdom of God; he also had a responsibility to the kingdoms of this world --- that of Queen Victoria in particular! The sense of loyalty that sent Bishop Gray to a Government House ball during the season of Lent informed his attitude to mission as well. Both he, Armstrong and other bishops after them saw one of the more important by-products of the missionary endeavour to be the pacification of the eastern districts and the creation amongst the black people of a core who would be loyal to the British crown and its administration in the Colony(35). Bishop Gray's charge that the L.M.S. and N.G.K. missionaries in the Kat River settlement were partially responsible for the rebellion of 1851 (36) was, in fact, a charge of negligent incompetence in the missionary

imperative itself. They had spoken up for the rights of the people of the settlement instead of instilling in them a proper regard for lawful authority!

In 1857, Bishop Cotterill drew up a list of principles of mission(37) which give some idea of the emphases which Anglican leaders sought to give to the work. Apart from the use of the Book of Common Prayer, already commented on, Cotterill stressed the absolute necessity of all services and ministry being in Xhosa. Missionaries must learn the language and be able to dispense with interpreters. Furthermore, the main impact of missionary preaching must be the Gospel --- moral issues were to be regarded as secondary. One gets the impression that, as years went by, this was honoured more in theory than in reality. Cotterill, unlike most of the Anglican clergy at the Cape and on the mission field, was a man from an evangelical background, who might be expected to lay such an emphasis.



In the Colony proper, N.G.K. and Anglican missionary policy was not dissimilar. Work took place amongst the coloured and black populations of Cape Town and most of the rural towns in which there was an N.G.K. or Anglican presence. The nature, quality and depth of this work varied greatly from place to place, a lot being dependent on the missionary zeal of the local predikant or minister and the sense of spiritual responsibility of the local gemeente or congregation. While the activity of missionary-minded predikants led to a notable development of N.G.K. coloured work in places like Graaf-Reinet, Beaufort West and Swellendam, at Mossel Bay it was so half-hearted that, when the Anglicans arrived in 1857, most of the coloured populace went over to them; at Riversdale little work had been

undertaken by the N.G.K., a small block of seats being reserved for already converted coloureds in the moederkerk; at Victoria West, half-hearted work had eventually ground to a halt on the complaint that the coloureds preferred bars to churches(38)!

Anglican outreach to the coloured population in rural towns and areas was usually facilitated by the fact that there was a smaller number of white Anglicans than members of the N.G.K. and that Anglican congregations were not as firmly established as the N.G.K. gemeentes. These latter already had their own traditions, opinions and prejudices, too, but they were not institutionally entrenched to the same degree. An Anglican minister, coming to a rural town, was usually far freer to get on with mission work amongst the coloureds than was his N.G.K. counterpart. By the end of this middle period (1848-1872), many Anglican rural congregations were predominantly coloured, especially in the Zwartland and along the west coast.

Both Anglican and N.G.K. missionary policy placed great emphasis on education. Schools would be built and schoolmasters appointed. Catechists would be employed for evangelism and religious teaching, but usually under the supervision of the local minister or predikant. Gray, although an admirer of the Moravians, was not in favour of the establishment of coloured mission stations in the Colony, as he believed that these led to the keeping apart of white and coloured. He wanted to see a unified worshipping body, but he also believed that the coloureds needed to be taught special skills and abilities(39). Hence there was some inconsistency in his mission policy: while farms like Abbotsdale and Baliergot were bought as coloured settlements by the Anglican Church and while special mission churches were built in some areas, what Gray wanted was the

integration of all into a single congregation. It is, perhaps, significant that, as time went on, this emphasis ceased to be quite so pronounced in his thinking, but it never entirely disappeared.

### EDUCATION

If Anglican interest in education had been spasmodic, indifferent and "official" before the arrival of Bishop Gray, it certainly changed at a denominational level thereafter. As a parish priest in England, Gray had given great support to the cause of public education in both his parishes of Whitworth and Stockton-on-Tees. It was not surprising, therefore, that almost immediately this emphasis should become apparent in his episcopacy --- all the more so in that it had been absent in the Cape Anglican Church up till now. A school was started at Bishops court almost immediately, the forerunner of the present Diocesan College ("Bishops"), while the theological education of candidates for the ministry also took up part of the bishop's time(40). In 1854, Gray writes about a school for blacks at Bishops court, run by the family(41).

But it was not merely on a personal level that Gray fostered education. He saw it as essentially part of the work and mission of the Church in the colony. In a report in 1855, he stated clearly what he envisaged was necessary for the spiritual development of the Church: for English-speaking communities, a minister, a church-building and a school; for heathen-work and in areas where English-speaking people were scattered, deacon-schoolmasters; and in remote mission areas, a missionary, a church and such education as was appropriate to the area, training for a trade, industry or agriculture(42). From the start, such a policy was facilitated from amongst the coloured people by their desire that such education should

be provided(43) and by the grant of Teachers' salaries from the government(44). Money was also received from the S.P.G. in London. In the mission areas of the eastern frontier, the building of schools and boarding hostels was made possible by Sir George Grey, who saw this as part of his "civilizing" solution to the frontier problem(45). Money was forthcoming, and Armstrong did not hesitate to use it for the educational purposes for which it was intended. Remarkably rapidly, mission stations, mission settlements and Anglican work amongst coloureds in both urban and rural areas were characterized by the building of schools and the setting forward of educational ideals.

There is, however, one emphasis in the Anglican Church's outlook on education of which not much has been made: the tendency towards educational elitism. The leaders of the Anglican Church in the Cape Colony were not only men who had come from "public school Britain"; most of them were products of the "public schools". It is not entirely surprising, therefore, to discover attempts to reproduce at the Cape, under the aegis of the Anglican Church, this form of elitist education. Gray founded St. George's Grammar School, a copy of the English cathedral school, in 1848, and "Bishops" in 1849. In the Eastern Cape, Armstrong founded St. Andrew's College in Grahamstown. But perhaps the most imaginative venture of this kind was the founding by Gray of Zonnebloem in 1858.

Zonnebloem --- or "the Kafir College" --- owed its origin to the action of the Governor, Sir George Grey, who placed a number of chiefs' sons in the bishop's hands to be educated(46). Here was the chance for a black elitist education: the work began with an Industrial Institution at Bishopscourt itself and moved to Woodstock in 1860 (47). Both the model and the ultimate vision are vaguely

discernible in Gray's words, "They [the chiefs' sons] have been good lads and are far more like English lads than the European boys of the Colony."(48) But the British concept of elitist education comes out most clearly in "The Colonial Church Chronicle", which writes of Zonnebloem that:

It is not merely to make these sons of chiefs Christians, or expert workmen, or good English scholars, but to give them as deep and intelligent an insight, as the time will allow, into the blessings of civilization; to awaken within them a sympathy for its institutions; and so to influence their whole tone and manner as to qualify them, if possible, to become leaders along the same path(49).

Was there ever a clearer statement of the 19th century tendency to confuse western European culture and tradition with the essentials of the Christian faith? These black leaders of the future were required even to learn, in some detail, the history of England!(50) And how much further can elitism go --- or educational foresight, for that matter --- than for a college to open its doors to black girls, as Zonnebloem did, in order to train them to be adequate wives for the men it was training for leadership?(51)

It was doubtless inevitable that at a period during which the Anglican Church was self-consciously seeking its identity at the Cape and trying to find its feet in a new environment that it should lean towards an introverted interest in its own institutions. Although it was not totally uninterested in the realm of public education in the Colony, this was relegated to a very poor second place in comparison to the emphasis placed on the development of specifically Church education. All the emphasis in Anglican periodicals, reports and journals is on church schools, mission schools, parish schools --- a remarkable contrast to the situation which was to develop in the early years of the 20th century, when the Anglican Church took a lead in

expressing opinions on the subject of public education. The N.G.K., in the middle years of the 19th century, however, was already substantially established, both in terms of its 200 years of history at the Cape and of its finding its identity under new, British circumstances. Furthermore, it was a church far more securely and unambiguously rooted in the social history, culture, traditions and life of a clearly defined people. Far from being a purely pietistic body, the N.G.K. had a history of social involvement in the life of the Dutch-speaking colonists which gave it a far more developed socio-political consciousness, an awareness of "the public sector" and how it impinged on the experience of its members. Nowhere was this more true than in education, and, if Gray was the chief articulator of the Anglican viewpoint on education, Andrew Murray was his counterpart in the N.G.K.. If Gray envisaged the development of an educational system founded, administered and directed by the Anglian Church alongside the state system, Murray envisaged the actual capturing of the whole state system itself by the Christian Church. Certainly the N.G.K. established its own schools: mission schools amongst the coloured peoples and schools in the platteland towns where young people would otherwise grow up far from the civilizing and Christianizing influences of the bigger centres. Indeed, Murray had commented that education was "the only hope" in such situations!(52) But this being so, he saw it as incumbent on the Church to get thoroughly involved in the whole process of public education. There were three ways in which this could be done.

In 1865, an Education Act was passed in which the government undertook to support a pound-for-pound scheme for the building of schools in the remoter areas. Although these schools would be non-denominational, the N.G.K., under Murray's persuasion, encouraged

gemeentes to avail themselves of the offer, to raise half the money, to get such schools established, to develop the educational structure in the Colony.

Secondly, members of the N.G.K. were encouraged to get themselves elected to the school committees which would play an influential part in the administration of public education in each locality and, therefore, cumulatively, in the Colony as a whole(53).

The third aspect of public education to which Murray and the N.G.K. turned their attention was that of the training of teachers. Murray believed that this was the real secret of Christian education, and that to be able to direct a continuous stream of Christian teachers into the public system would turn every school into a "Church school". There was no real necessity for a second system of specifically Christian schools. It was with this vision in mind that Murray founded the Good Hope Seminary and the Normal College in Cape Town, as well as the Huguenot Seminary at Wellington; it was in following this lead that the N.G.K. initiated similar teacher-training schemes at Stellenbosch, Worcester, Graaff-Reinet and Paarl(54). The emphasis in all these colleges was on Christian character as the medium for communicating Christian truth in the context of public education(55).

Both the Anglicans and the N.G.K. were distinctly education-oriented during this period, but the Anglicans, still in a formative stage of their colonial experience, tended to be exclusive in their outlook, and to have little to do with other bodies. While, therefore, the N.G.K. turned their attention more and more to permeating the public system with Christian teachers and Christian administration, the Anglicans, at all levels, from the most elite to

that of the most remote mission station, were intent on setting up their own structure alongside that of the state. On the other hand, while Anglicans can be justly charged with a denominational exclusivism in education, the N.G.K. appear during this period to be moving towards a greater ethnic exclusivism. Murray and others continued to be zealous supporters for church education in mission situations, but in the N.G.K. as a whole there was an increasing concentration on the education of their own, white, Dutch-speaking children. Although the public system covered all racial groups in the Colony, segregation was already unofficially becoming the practice in most schools, and the focus of N.G.K. interest was in the maintenance in education of Afrikaner culture and tradition. Thus Anglicans and N.G.K. had little contact in the parts they played in the development of education in the Cape Colony.

#### RACE RELATIONS

Much has been said already about the increasing demand for segregation amongst the N.G.K. gemeentes, a demand that increased as the number of black and brown worshippers increased, which was most strongly expressed in the Eastern Cape, and which applied to the realm of education as well as to church attendance. The demand that coloureds and blacks should have separate church-buildings reached such proportions that eventually the synod of 1857 was compelled to go back on its earlier rulings: Scripture demanded the visible unity of all men in the Church, it decided, but the presence of "weaker brethren" might necessitate the different races meeting in different buildings(56).

It was very clear that some of the leaders at the synod were unhappy about this ruling and tended to emphasise the Scriptural

demand for visible unity at the expense of the concession to the weaker brethren --- it was this very synod that incorporated the St. Stephen's coloured congregation with that of the Groote Kerk in Cape Town(57) ---, but these leaders increasingly did not have the support of the gemeentes or of the bulk of their membership. Ds. Thomson might appeal from the Kat River settlement for greater coloured participation in the administration of the N.G.K.(58); Dr. Andrew Murray might lament the inadequacy of white attitudes towards blacks(59); but these were voices in the wilderness. The trend towards segregation throughout all the N.G.K. structures was strongly on its way in, to reach a climax in 1880 with the formation of the coloured N.G.Sendingkerk, a totally autonomous body(60).

Whatever criticism may be offered to the "ten gevolge van de zwakheid van sommigen" decision of the 1857 synod, whatever tensions between leadership and laity it may have involved temporarily, it can be said at least that it forced the leadership to acknowledge the stance of white lay opinion. In the area of inter-racial relationships, this was not to be the case with the Anglicans. Partly due to personality, partly to the comparatively less structured condition of colonial Anglicanism, partly to the greater degree of centralization which episcopacy encourages, the Anglican leaders were very often able to take lines which did not have the overwhelming support of the laity. Indeed, there was very often a dichotomy between the position taken by leadership on issues of colour and the views held by ordinary white parishioners, a dichotomy which has been with Anglicans in South Africa for over a century. Once again, it was Robert Gray who dictated and established the "official" view, a view which was formulated within the confines of the bishop's loyalty to the Crown, good government and civilization. "I told him [the Duke of

Wellington]," he wrote in 1852, "that I thought we were justified in adopting any measures that were necessary for our own protection." --- Interestingly militant thinking for a man in whose diocese the offending "Kafirs" resided!(61)

But, within the context of that loyalty, Gray was not prepared that the Anglican Church should abandon Scriptural positions or compromise Scriptural principles --- at least, as he saw them. And the first Scriptural principle which he found violated was not that of Church unity, but that of ordinary Christian compassion. His initial reaction to white attitudes as far as colour was concerned was one of sheer horror, especially in the Eastern Cape(62) and remoter rural districts(63). It was the beginning for Gray of almost 25 years of protest at injustice. As late as 1860, he writes:

The oppression of the black man is fearful. Judge Bell, who has just returned from a three months circuit, says that he has had many cases of sheep-stealing to try, where the farmers had engaged myriads of Kafirs who had come into this country to escape famine in their own, at a shilling a month and a pint of mealies per diem. Can we wonder that they hate us and .... repay us with future wars?(64)

And again in 1863:

The Boers [in the Victoria West area] ill-treat the coloured people, shoot them as they would ostriches, and the coloured people retaliate when they can by murder .... This state of things extends over hundreds of miles(65). (A reference to attempts to eradicate Bushmen?)

It is no wonder that Gray regarded the granting of self-government to the Colony with severe misgivings(66): did England really have the right to entrust governance over black and brown people to those who were showing so little compassion and humanity?

But it was not only an issue of compassion. Gray almost immediately found himself with the same problem facing the N.G.K. leadership: that of an increasing desire amongst white worshippers for segregated facilities. As with the N.G.K., this was stronger in the Eastern Cape than in the West, with its more sophisticated and settled coloured population. In his first visitation to Port Elizabeth in 1848, Gray found a strong antagonism amongst white Anglicans towards either integrated worship or missionary work(67). In some areas, whites had pulled away from the congregation to form their own separate groups(68). But, while the feeling was more intense in the east, it was not totally absent in and around Cape Town. At Simonstown, Merriman found that pew-renters at St. Francis Church were not keen on coloureds using their pews(69) --- indeed, the whole system militated against coloured attendance ---, while at Trinity Church, Cape Town, coloured people were actually turned away(70).

The official stance of the Anglican Church, as typified by Gray and others, was diametrically opposed to this. Gray's vision was one of working parishes throughout the Colony leading to the abandonment of missionary stations and the establishment of white, coloured and black co-operation in work and fellowship in worship(71). Although the exigencies of the missionary situation often made it impossible to integrate coloured groups with white --- both language and locality of residence could prevent this ---, this was always regarded as unfortunate. Armstrong rejoiced in being able to open the Colesberg congregation to all races(72), while Gray, on opening a fund for the building of an Anglican church at Burghersdorp, rejoiced that the first subscriber was a Hottentot who told him that he longed for a church he could go to without fear of being kicked out(73).

Yet, despite an unambiguously articulated policy, which seemed to vary so greatly from what was being established in N.G.K. procedure, little conflict between the two denominations is recorded.

The resistance in more conservative rural areas to the integration of all races in worship in the Anglican Church often made the Anglican Church and the N.G.K. look remarkably alike, and consequently little friction was likely to result. The fact that later two synods developed in the N.G.K. while all congregations were represented in a single diocesan or provincial synod in the Anglican Church hardly affected relations at the local level. Even where Anglican congregations were fully integrated, little damage was done to inter-church relations --- the N.G.K. merely regarded it as a matter of the other Church's policy, however misguided. The fact of the matter is that in many places the N.G.K. took no notice of the Anglican Church, anyway.

In one area only did the Anglican Church appear to maintain a consistent colour consciousness, and that was with regard to the ministrations of the clergy. Obviously white ministers were ministering to black and brown parishioners in both mission and technically non-mission situations. But instances of coloured or black priests ministering to white congregations is rare indeed, and it is only in recent years that stipends have been equalized.

So, while the N.G.K. moved towards the entrenchment of segregation in its worship and structures, the Anglicans presented an ambivalent front. Bishops, clergy and some laity, while certainly displaying the paternalism of the times to black and brown people(74), stood for the abolition of segregation in congregational worship and, to a lesser extent, in church government(75). The white rank-and-file

members of congregations, however, ranged in their attitudes from theoretical agreement with the "official" line, to a blatant ignoring of it and opposition to it. Language and geography often made integration impractical and impossible. Whereas leadership in the N.G.K. tended to adjust itself to the demands of the white gemeentes, in the Anglican Church the leadership stuck to its line, sweeping congregational opposition as prejudiced and unenlightened. It is paradoxical that, in issues of colour, the accommodating and democratic spirit of the N.G.K. leadership should result in deviation from Scriptural principle, while in Anglicanism truth should be maintained by force of episcopal and clerical authoritarianism.

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(1) G.L. van Heerde, Twee Eeue van Sendingwerk, 1652-1857, (N.G.-Uitgewers, 1951) Dele VIII en IX.

(2) Acta Synodi, 1834, pp.88, 92, 96, 97, 104, 109.

(3) Acta Synodi, 1847, p.269.

(4) G.L. van Heerde, op.cit., pp.85-6.

(5) Viz.N.J. Smith, Die Planting van Afsonderlike Kerke vir die Nie-Blanke Bevolkingsgroepe deur die N.G.K. in Suid-Afrika, (Annale Univ.Stellenbosch, 1973) Deel II, Hoofstuk IV.

(6) G.L. van Heerde, op.cit., pp.87, 113.

Acta Synodi, 1857, pp.6, 8, 21, 37, 41-3, 69, 72, 77, 81.

(7) J. du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, (Marshall Bros., 1918) pp.88-90.

(8) G.L. van Heerde, op.cit., pp.117-18, 127-30, 132.

(9) N.J. Smith, op.cit., pp.60-1.

(10) Acta Synodi, 1857, pp.59, 60, 89.

N.J. Smith, op.cit., p.172.

"Until the end of the 19th Century the D.R.C. gave little theological substantiation to separation between White and Non-White in church life. Only during the 20th Century, and especially since the establishment of the Council of D.R.Churches in 1907, did the church attempt to place this differentiation in a theological framework.

Perhaps the most plausible of these is that of N.J..Smith

who pleads that the decision of 1857 "be regarded positively from the point of view of catholicity rather than judged negatively from the point of view of church unity." He argues at some length that, in effecting separation, the N.G.K. was seeking to become catholic and effective amongst the different peoples within its ranks. (N.J..Smith, op.cit., pp.138-53.) While for some of the leadership at the 1857 synod, and thereafter, Ritner's comment that the separation was "evangelical rather than discriminatory" (S..Ritner, The Dutch Reformed Church and Apartheid, [Journal of Contemporary History, 1968, Vol.3, p.18, note 3]) might have been true, for most it appears to have been a thin rationale for an already well-formed racial prejudice, if not antagonism, that is reflected in the complaints that engendered the debate and similar ones in preceding synods.

Viz. also J..Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, 1800-1852, (A.A..Balkema, 1975) pp.11, 109, 115, 139.

(11) J. du Plessis, op.cit., p.203.

(12) J.E. Orr, Evangelical Awakenings in South Africa, (UNISA D.D.Thesis, 1967) p.114.

M.W. Retief, Herlewings in ons Geskiedenis (Cape Town, 1951) chap.vii.

(13) J.E. Orr, op.cit., p.127.

(14) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.35.

(15) C. Gray, The Life of Robert Gray, Vol.I, pp.170-1.

(16) Ibid, pp.227, 382.

(17) H.P. Barnett-Clarke, The Life and Times of T.F. Lightfoot, p.78.

(18) The Church Chronicle, August 1887, Vol.VIII, pp.250-8.

(19) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.303-4.

(20) Ibid, p.195.

(21) J. Sales, Mission Stations and the Coloured Communities of the Eastern Cape, p.139.

(22) T.T. Carter, A Memoir of John Armstrong, (Oxford, 1858) pp.273, 279.

(23) S. Green, The First Hundred Years, (Paul's Mission Press, 1974) pp.19-20.

(24) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.163.

(25) Ibid, Vol.I, p.215.

(26) Ibid, pp.266-8.

(27) J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Mission, p.353.  
The Church Chronicle, January 1887, Vol.VIII, pp.8-9.

J.K.H. Hodgson, A History of Zonnebloem College, (Unpubl.

M.A.Thesis, U.C.T., 1975) pp.363-4.

(28)C. Gray, op.cit., pp.266-8.

(29) Ibid, pp.365 ff.

(30) The Church Chronicle, July 1885, Vol. VI, pp.211-18.

(31) Ibid, October 1883, Vol.IV, pp.315-17.

Lewis & Edwards, Historical Records of the C.P.S.A., p.263.

(32)It is outside the scope of this work to give a detailed philosophy of mission, except insofar as it affects Anglican-N.G.K. mutual understandings and relationships. It is probably not inappropriate however, to note that the conventional 19th Century attitudes to mission, and to the peoples to whom mission was directed, adopted by Anglicans at the Cape and reflected above, did not go totally unchallenged. In Natal, William Colenso was busy seeking to create points of contact between Christianity and black African religion as a starting point for evangelism. This was in contrast to the dominant thinking, represented by Gray, Cotterill, Merriman and Callaway, which saw very little of value in black African religion. While these latter thought in terms of replacing black social custom with the customs of "Christian civilization", Colenso was calling for the recognition of what was of value in black customs with the intention of Christianizing black society from that point. In defining evangelism, too, there were differences. While Colenso thought corporately in terms of the Christianization of black society, traditional missiology, while acknowledging the corporate implications, continued to lay stress on individual conversions. In Cape Anglicanism, the traditional missiology remained dominant --- it would have been difficult to accept that one who had erred doctrinally could produce a sound missiology, particularly when that missiology itself veered so far from the traditional ---, and in this the Anglicans were in step with N.G.K. thinking. (P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, pp.66-7; also P. Hinchliff, John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal, (Nelson, 1964); G.W. Cox, The Life of John William Colenso, (W. Ridgeway, 1888).

(33) The Church Chronicle, December 1880, Vol.I, pp.262-3.

(34) Ibid, January 1881, Vol.II, p.5.

(35) Ibid, December 1880, Vol.I, pp.262-3.

(36)J. Sales, op.cit., p.159.

(37) The Church Chronicle, October, 1883, Vol.IV, pp.315-17.

(38)G.L. van Heerde, op.cit., Deel XI.

A.G.S. Gibson, Sketches of Church Work and Life in the Diocese of Cape Town, (S.A.Electric Printing and Publ. Co., 1900) pp.96-99.

(39)C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.195.

(40) Ibid, Vol.I, pp.263-4, 348.

(41) Ibid, Vol.I, p.375.  
J.K.H. Hodgson, op.cit., pp.176-7.

(42) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.394.

(43) Ibid, Vol.I, p.394; Vol.II, p.467.

(44) M. Horrell, The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, p.13.

(45) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.47.

(46) M.H.M. Wood, A Father in God: The Episcopate of William West Jones, (MacMillan, 1913) p.55, note.

J.K.H. Hodgson, op.cit., pp.177-9, 186-7.

Sir George Grey was merely following a policy he had successfully implemented with the sons of Maori and Polynesian chiefs in New Zealand. Cape Town was chosen as the site of the College by both men as "at a distance from the direct influence of heathendom" and "as the chief seat of our civilization in Africa".

(47) J.K.H. Hodgson, op.cit., p.256.

(48) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.451.

J.K.H. Hodgson, op.cit., p.256; Gray comments on their increased liveliness and energy in comparison with other lads in the Colony --- a question of diet, perhaps?

(49) Colonial Church Chronicle, 1859, pp.203-6.

Viz. J.K.H. Hodgson, op.cit., pp.362-3.

It can be seen how close the views of Governor and Bishop were by comparing this with Sir George Grey's statement that the object of Zonnebloem was "that England might exercise, through means of an institution which conferred great benefits on them, her due influence over the native chiefs around us, and at the same time give a high education to those who are likely to influence the destinies of the various tribes ..." (Viz. J.K.H. Hodgson, op.cit., p.178.

(50) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.II, p.57.

(51) Ibid, Vol.I, p.457,

J.K.H. Hodgson, op.cit., pp.463-9.

(52) J. du.Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, p.34.

(53) M. Horrell, op.cit., p.13.

(54) J. du.Plessis, op.cit., pp.395-8.

(55) Ibid, pp.399, 410-11.

(56) J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, (Wits., 1957) p.170.

G.L. van.Heerde, op.cit., pp.86-7.

N.J. Smith, op.cit., pp.35-6.

Viz. also footnote (10).

(57) G.L. van Heerde, op.cit., p.87.

(58) J. Sales, op.cit., p.109.

Ds.Thomson: "Our parish is recognized by the presbytery in the Colony; and it will be an astonishing sight to our white brethren, the colonial elders, to see a black or brown one sit down with them to consult on matters of religion. There will be a hard battle to gain in regard to this point as strong prejudices still exist, even in some who are otherwise good people."

(59) J. du Plessis, Life of Andrew Murray, p.203.

(60) J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p.292.

(61) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.361.

(62) Ibid, Vol.I, p.195.

(63) Ibid, Vol.I, p.204.

(64) Ibid, Vol.I, p.451.

(65) Ibid, Vol.II, p.67.

(66) Ibid, Vol.I, p. 363.

(67) Ibid, Vol.I, p.195.

(68) J. Sales, op.cit., p.115.

(69) D.H. Varley & H.M. Matthew, The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, 1848-1855, (The Van Riebeeck Society, 1957) p.11.

(70) Ibid, p.7.

(71) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.195.

(72) T.T. Carter, A Memoir of John Armstrong, p. 342.

(73) Lewis & Edwards, op.cit. p.60.

Also: Unpublished notes on the history of Burghersdorp Parish in the care of Mr.R. Alderwick, Jubilee Hotel, Burghersdorp.

(74) P. Hinchliff, "The English-speaking Churches in South Africa in the 19th Century", Journal of Theology for South Africa, Vol.IX, December 1974, pp.30-31.

(75) Ibid, p.36.

## CHAPTER 4

### ANGLICAN - N.G.K. MUTUAL ATTITUDES

The Dutch are very ignorant, prejudiced and indolent, and dislike the English. The two races, in fact, do not associate. The English look upon them with contempt, and they feel their inferiority and are jealous of those who are their superiors(1).

Thus wrote Robert Gray, first Bishop of Cape Town, in 1848, his first year in the Cape Colony, and perhaps one may sympathise with the Dutch dislike for a superiority that expressed itself in such terms! It is true that Gray, in this passage, was referring primarily to the Dutch farmers of the Eastern Frontier districts, and that his judgment on the Dutch colonists in other districts was somewhat kinder, but he was a true representative of his class to whom England was "home", the Church of England "the" Church, the English people a superior people and the Dutch a tiresome enigma who would not lift a finger to help the British forces to defend them themselves, in the Frontier War of 1851 (2). And what was true of the Bishop was true also of most of his priests and people.

Such an attitude --- and, of course, reactions to it --- was bound to spill over from the purely secular into church relations where one ecclesiastical body was the Dutch volkskerk and the other was seen to be associated, rightly or wrongly, with the British administration and establishment. Apart from the N.G.K.'s consternation over the exact implications of Gray's titles, the establishment of the Anglican episcopate in the Colony did not cause much stir. Indeed, first contacts looked very promising. A newspaper

attack on the new Bishop for statements he was alleged to have made in England was warmly refuted by Ds. Faure(3). On his first pastoral tour of his vast diocese, he found himself the guest of Ds. Robertson at Swellendam(4). He himself expressed a qualified approval of the N.G.K., and wrote to his brother: "I wish to be on kind terms with them, and to let it be understood that we help each other in any way we can without compromise of principle." [26.7.1849] (5) There had, indeed, already been some co-operation, a combined protest occasioned by the Colonial Secretary's instruction that Muslims and Jews be treated on the same footing as the churches in the Colony, as far as government financial grants were concerned(6).

But even as Gray communicated his desires to be on kind terms with the N.G.K., he could not refrain from giving expression to that superiority which he felt belonged to England and to her church: the N.G.K. were "respectable, but not lively"(7); the predikants were "lacking in drive"(7) --- "I think we shall beat them," he wrote to his brother! [2.5.1848] (8) ---; they were "slovenly"(8). To Mrs. Williamson he wrote that "the predikants were struck by the superiority of our services over their own" [9.8.1848] (9) and some years later he expressed the optimistic opinion to his brother that "many young Dutchmen are hankering after the Church" [9.7.1856] (10).

From all this, one might suppose that the N.G.K. and the Anglicans were running neck and neck, and yet nothing could be further from the truth. When Gray arrived in 1848, the N.G.K. was the dominant church in the colony; the church of the vast majority of white inhabitants and of many coloured people as well; a church which had organized itself internally during the course of seven synods and which had had a successful confrontation with the Government, resulting in the Church Ordinance No.7 of 1843. By contrast, the

Anglican Church was small and disorganized, made up of congregations scattered in and around Cape Town and the Eastern Frontier, its first church in the capital having been completed only fourteen years previously, and having no form of central authority at all. Indeed, Bishop Gray's complaint was that he alone represented legality, and even that was shown to be true only of those who chose to recognize that legality. Apart from Christian charity, the only factor that necessitated the N.G.K.'s taking any notice whatever of the Anglican Church was that it was the established church of the governing power and that its first bishop in the Colony came with the authorization of letters-patent issued in the name of the Queen(11).

Already the N.G.K. had been apprehensive about the link between the Anglican Church and the British Government, and its possible repercussions in the Colony. The arrival of Bishop Gray, his authorization and his title, "Bishop of Cape Town", did nothing to ease that apprehension. Nor did the facts that Gray, before he had left England, had had talks with the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, in London, that the two had struck up a friendship, and that the secretary to the colonial government in Cape Town, Montagu, was a staunch Anglican. It looked to the suspicious mind as though the whole thing was being carefully organized.

The fact that Gray, who very quickly sensed the air of un-ease in N.G.K. circles over Anglican-Government relations(12), did nothing to dispel this source of irritation leads one to the conclusion that, perhaps perfectly understandably, Gray regarded his contacts with Government as more important than those with the Colony's major Christian denomination. It was a dangerous choice, and not likely to endear him to the N.G.K.. Yet it was the obvious one: the Anglican Church had a lot of leeway to make up; it needed money, land and the influence to get both. Gray was a strong protagonist of the concept

of the independence of the Church from the State --- indeed, this was to become almost the dominant theme of his whole episcopate ---, but he was prepared to act inconsistently with this principle where he thought the Anglican Church would genuinely benefit. He was aware of the irritation that his pulling strings was causing in other denominations, but his only reaction to this was to complain to his correspondents in England of anti-Anglican jealousy, and to add, with remarkable candour, in a letter to his brother, "When there is representative government here, our game will be up."  
[11.4.1848] (13)!

In all fairness to Gray, however, it must be acknowledged that, though he did not scruple to use his contacts to advantage, his attitude to the colonial administration was also dictated by an obligation of loyalty. It had been remarked that he was representative of his class, and it would have appeared unpardonable to him for a colonial bishop of the Anglican Church, a Britisher of the Britishers, to have done or said anything which might have been construed as disloyalty to Her Majesty's representative or his administration. And what was true of the Bishop was true also for many of the wealthier and more influential Anglicans. Nowhere is this more clearly seen or its manifestations in ecclesiastical relationships more clearly discernible than in the anti-convict agitation of 1849. (14)

Nobody wanted convicts off-loaded at the Cape, neither Gray, nor the Anglican Church, nor anybody else. But whereas the N.G.K., its predikants and members, felt free to agitate publicly, even to the point of isolating the Governor, Gray found this an impossible stance to take. Quite deliberately he attended a ball at Government House when many others refused to do so --- indeed, he did so because they

refused to. And, what was more, as he emphatically pointed out, he did so even though it was the season of Lent! To the Bishop and to many other Anglicans, it was not so much an issue of "convicts or no convicts", but of loyalty to the Governor. But it was precisely this that made the Anglican Church appear to be a government church to Dutch-speaking citizens, quite apart from the opprobrium gained by not appearing to support a popular cause.

But let the secular authorities tamper with the rights of the Church, and a very different side of Gray's character came to the fore! N.G.K. members might suspect his liaison with the colonial government, but he was soon to show himself as a churchman first. In 1856, Bishop Armstrong of Grahamstown removed the licence of a Port Elizabeth clergyman, Copeman(15). Copeman appealed to the Legislative Assembly, who asked Gray to appear before it. Gray refused point-blank, informing the assembly that it was acting outside its jurisdiction and that it had no authority to countermand the Bishop of Grahamstown's decisions. Nor was he afraid of confronting even a Governor when he felt it to be necessary: Wodehouse's "declining to appoint" Hughes to the rectorship of Rondebosch in 1862 was met by powerful protest(16).

But despite this, it was difficult for the hierarchy of the N.G.K. altogether to divorce an Anglican bishop from the administrative structures of the Colony, and Gray's activities were not always calculated to make this easier. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Education Bill of 1857, which was suspected of being drawn up under Gray's influence, was swiftly rejected by a predominantly N.G.K. Parliament!(17) But everything that has been said thus far focuses on reactions surrounding public personalities and public events. It is the statement of more or less formal attitudes. Obviously some of these attitudes would communicate

themselves to ordinary members of gemeentes and congregations, especially when the Press had an axe to grind or when, as in the case of the convict agitation, a matter of public moment, affecting everyone, had been thrust upon the common attention. But was this also the attitude of the average N.G.K. family towards its Anglican counterpart?

It must be constantly borne in mind that, numerically, the Anglican Church was a tiny body compared to the N.G.K.(18) and that, whereas, perhaps, its official connections might make it a matter of concern to the N.G.K. hierarchy in and around the capital, it was of minimal importance to ordinary Dutch-speaking church-goers, especially in the rural areas. As Gray himself confessed, "The chief difficulty of our work consists in this, that the Dutch own the land, and that our English population is everywhere, but always in small numbers"(19). And the numbers became even smaller in the rural districts during the depression-ridden 1860's when many emigrated to New Zealand. ("Men seem to shrink from this as a doomed land, and certainly it is an afflicted one.")(20) So since the Anglican Church carried no threat, it was tolerated, and even befriended. In an interesting outburst to Mrs. Williamson, Bishop Gray wrote of the predikant at Robertson:

Then there is a young coxcomb of a Dutch predikant who is much set up by his high position (and no wonder, for they are the Dagon before whom the farmers prostrate themselves), and he preaches last Sunday upon the two orders of the ministry, and almost scolds his more educated flock into rebellion, because they venture occasionally to look in upon an English service, and himself holds an English service to catch all the stray English he can. This is very much a picture of half the villages in the Colony. [6.10.1860] (21)

Clearly this young man had succeeded in catching His Lordship on the raw, for the evidence would suggest that the worthy bishop is exaggerating. That there were instances of N.G.K. hostility towards

the Anglican Church is true; the gemeente at Burghersdorp refused to allow Gray to use their church(22); the Cradock gemeente was divided on the issue so that Gray chose not to(23); the predikant at Fraserberg was distinctly cool towards the bishop(24); and then there was, of course, the "young coxcomb" at Robertson! But these were exceptions rather than the rule. Not only has it been shown that the Anglican bishop could be guest at a local Pastorie --- not to mention innumerable Dutch-speaking farmhouses in his travels(25) ---, but very often he was invited to use and did use the local N.G. kerk for his services without a stir from the gemeente (26). Indeed, in many places the gemeentes were quite accustomed to the local English-speaking population using their church for services and even to their predikant taking the services --- to such an extent at George and Clanwilliam, it would seem, that many Anglicans had "tragically" joined the N.G.K.(27)! N.G.K. eeufesgedenkboeke from the various gemeentes quite often record the presence of Anglican clergy at bazaars, stone-laying ceremonies and other local functions, and these dignitaries were very frequently called upon to speak on these occasions(28). At Colesberg and Riversdale, the N.G.K. went so far as to give the Anglicans sites for their churches(29). Victoria West saw an Anglican rector buried in the N.G.K. cemetery(30), while, during the 1860's, the Anglicans and the N.G.K. jointly ran a dispensary for the sick poor in Cape Town(31).

Even the exceptions to this general attitude of co-operation, which have been mentioned, have interesting twists to them. The refusal of the Burghersdorp gemeente to allow the Anglicans to use their church was very probably the result of a hyper-conservatism which, until the break-away of the Doppers in 1859, plagued the authorities of the N.G.K. as well(32). It was resentful of all innovations, such as hymns, and particularly to any threat of

anglicization. This surely would have made the gemeente very wary of allowing Anglicans to use their church. It would seem, too, that there was distinct colour-discrimination in this gemeente, something not true in 1857 in Graaff-Reinet(33), as the first subscriber towards the erection of an Anglican church was an old Hottentot who said he longed for a church to which he could go without fear of being kicked out(34). At Cradock, the gemeente was merely divided: Gray had, in fact, used their church before, and his turning it down on the second occasion was to release the predikant, who had invited him to use it, from possible embarrassment and difficulties from the disaffected members. The coolness of the predikant at Fraserberg towards Gray won him heavy criticism from his people, while at Robertson Gray himself admits that some of the Dutch-speaking populace tended to "look in" on Anglican services. The fact of the matter seems to be that, generally speaking, the Anglican Church in the rural communities confined itself to binding together the small group of local English-speakers, who were not committed "dissenters"(35) already, and to launching out in missionary endeavour, usually using the Dutch language, towards the coloured and black inhabitants of the area(36). Where Dutch was used, a separate congregation often developed, but this was by no means always the case and most congregations were made up of white, coloured and black members. In these activities, Anglicans very seldom alienated the larger and locally far more influential N.G.K. gemeente, and relationships, increasingly more peripheral as Anglican churches were built, extended from the benevolently indifferent to the cordial.

Not that there were no cultural differences. Perhaps this is most amusingly illustrated in the case of Archdeacon Merriman, who, in his earlier years, covered the area of his archdeaconry (the Eastern Cape and the Orange Free State) on foot. This led to grave suspicions

on the part of Dutch farmers from whom he sought hospitality, frequently ending up in a barn or outhouse. "They cannot believe," he wrote, "that a predikant would walk, they never knew or heard of such a thing, and take him for an imposter --- a discharged soldier or a convict."(37) Nevertheless within the context of the friendly co-existence that prevailed, comment and discussion emerged, usually patronizing and occasionally suspicious on the part of the N.G.K.(38), usually defensive and occasionally censorious on the part of the Anglicans. "We appear ... as intruders"[31.8.1849], Robert Gray wrote to Dr. Williamson(39), and that, obviously, would be the first thing to strike the average Dutch-speaking farmer or dorpenaar. Accustomed to a homogeneous loyalty to and membership of the N.G.K., he would feel that the familiar ecclesiastical pattern was being disturbed. Not only this, but it was being disturbed by the intrusion of a denomination which was strongly associated with British rule and the colonial administration(40).

Suspicious were voiced that the Anglican Church sought to be the dominant church(41), and it was only its obvious numerical inferiority that rendered such suspicions lacking in wider influence. Nevertheless, the "territorial" nature of its organization seemed threatening: bishops carried titles suggesting spiritual authority over large slices of the Colony, while ordinary ministers were instituted, not to gemeentes, as were their N.G.K. counterparts, but to territorially defined parishes. This apparent focus on "land" rather than "people" was bound to cause questioning in the minds of people who knew what land-ownership was all about. And this was backed by the fact that most of the Anglican Church's finance came from overseas, from Britain.

There were, too, reminiscences of Reformation battles fought

long ago, dim, it is true, but not totally forgotten. To some, cassocks smacked of popery. So did the very word, "bishop", let alone the living object. And were not the religious orders the very epitome of idleness, vice, corruption and dissipation in the medieval Church?(42) And as the century proceeded, and the evidences of the Tractarian Movement in England became clearer in the Cape Colony, so doctrinal suspicion increased until it appeared with modest regularity in the pages of "De Kerkbode"(43). All this placed Anglicans on the defensive, and Gray's complaint that the predikants were "Dagons before whom the farmers prostrated themselves" was repeated in varying forms in many Anglican homes. In fact, the seeming authority of the predikants over their members, especially in financial matters, seems to have been the main theme of Anglican criticism.

There is no smoke without at least some fire. While relations, conducted usually at a distance, were basically friendly, it was true that the Anglican Church did sometimes reflect a sense of a superiority gained from being associated with a dominant British culture, and was moving in an Anglo-Catholic direction; it was true that the position of the N.G.K. predikant vis-à-vis his rather less educated flock did give him a greater influence and authoritarianism. Henning describes it well in writing about the ecclesiastical scene in Graaff-Reinet:

Like the Afrikaner, the immigrant also regarded his church as an important radiating point, but with essential differences. The immigrant, whose educational standard was relatively higher than the majority of the local inhabitants, was not dependent on his parson for intellectual stimulation, for he had access to an excellent library, which he supplemented by reading contemporary newspapers and periodicals from overseas. The immigrant demanded more from his parson than the D.R.C. members when it came to promoting secular and cultural interests.... The religious services, too, differed in that the immigrant, accustomed to a tradition of sacred choral music, made every effort to revive and stimulate these activities(44).

- (1) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.39.  
C. Gray, The Life of Robert Gray, Vol.I, p.195,
- (2) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.327, 334, et al.
- (3) Idem, Vol.I, p.164.
- (4) Idem, Vol.I, pp.192-3.
- (5) Idem, Vol.I, p.244.
- (6) Idem, Vol.I, pp.232-3, 240.
- (7) Idem, Vol.I, p.159.
- (8) Idem, Vol.I, pp.176-7.
- (9) Idem, Vol.I, p.186.
- (10) Idem, Vol.I, p.405.
- (11) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.34.  
P. Hinchliff, article in South African Journal of Theology,  
No.9, p.31.
- (12) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.172.
- (13) Idem, Vol.I, pp.171, 172, 183, 405.
- (14) Idem, Vol.I, pp.255-6.
- (15) Idem, Vol.I, pp.402, 404.
- (16) Idem, Vol.I, p.510.
- (17) Idem, Vol.I, pp.424-5.
- (18) Idem, Vol.I, p.464.
- (19) Idem, Vol.II, p.481.
- (20) Idem, Vol.II, p.173.
- (21) Idem, Vol.I, p.464.
- (22) Lewis & Edwards, Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, p.60.
- (23) Ibid.
- (24) Beaufort West Courier, May 3, 1872; October 4, 1872.
- (25) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.197, 205-6.
- (26) Idem, Vol.I, pp.192-3, 205.  
Lewis & Edwards, op.cit., pp.42-3.
- (27) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.236, 424-5.

(28) Viz. also C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet: A Cultural History, 1786-1886, p.106.

The eeufeesgedenkboeke, published on the centenary of the founding of certain gemeentes, are themselves an interesting reflection of N.G.K.- Anglican attitudes in the rural dorps. Mention of an Anglican presence, usually in the person of its minister, is almost always limited to official, formal events in the life of the N.G.K. gemeente, such as those suggested above. Apart from these, the gedenkboeke are, by and large, silent about the presence or activities, not only of the Anglicans, but of the other English-speaking denominations as well. The impression given is of rural ecclesiastical communities concerned almost totally with their own affairs and indifferent to what was going on in other local Christian congregations.

(29) Lewis & Edwards, op.cit., pp.43, 63.

(30) The Cape Church Monthly & Parish Record, March 1893 (Victoria West).

(31) H.P. Barnett-Clarke, The Life and Times of T. F. Lightfoot, p.119.

(32) C.G. Henning, op.cit., p.99.

This is supported by the fact that in 1862 the N.G.K. at Burghersdorp gave two erwen to the Anglican community for the building of a church, (Parish Archives in possession of Mr. R. Alderwick).

(33) C.G. Henning, op.cit., p.104.

(34) Lewis & Edwards, op.cit., p.60.

(35) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.138.

(36) De Kerkbode, June 14, 1873, p.184 (for example).

(37) C. Gray, op.cit., p.279.

(38) Idem, Vol.I, p.250.

(39) Idem, Vol.I, p.247-50.

(40). Many writers have emphasized the excessive "Britishness" of the Anglican Church as springing from the fact that it was dominated by a totally imported clergy. This, however, is too simple an explanation, especially in view of the high number of N.G.K. predikants who were also of British origin. Indeed, many of the influential names in the N.G.K. at this period were Scottish, and, even as late as 1860, an attempt was made by the N.G.K. to recruit men in Scotland. It would appear that the real difference lay, not so much in the importation of clergy, as in the attitudes and traditions of the men imported. Hence:

a) most of the Anglican clergy at the Cape at the beginning of this middle period were there by virtue of military appointments, thus giving them a close association with the British administration and also that sense of impermanence which is connected with the military; (viz. C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.128-9);

b) the vast bulk of the Anglican clergy were English, whereas the N.G.K. imports were Scots. This appears to have affected attitudes in two ways:

(i) Anglican clergy appear to have had a far higher estimate of things "English" than did the Scots(!), and consequently they shaped the Church according to this notion. Furthermore, they had a greater liberty to do so --- the Anglican Church they influenced was totally unstructured whereas their Scottish counterparts had to fit into an already established concern;

(ii) Anglican clergy were the products of an established and privileged Church and, even though Gray was determined that the Anglican Church in South Africa should be free from State interference, they brought with them the inevitable belief in the superiority of their own system.

c) The Scots saw their commitment to the Cape as a permanent one (viz. Ds.Thom's letter quoted in J. du Plessis, Life of Andrew Murray, p.15; and Murray's own reference to himself as a "Dutch minister" p.269); to the English, the word "home" was reserved for England --- they might spend their working lives in the colonies, but it was, by and large, their intention to retire and die amongst the familiar scenes in which they had been born and reared. Hence, despite the fact that Gray believed that the Anglican ministry would eventually have to be rooted in South Africa (viz. his Pastoral Letter of 1850 quoted in C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.218), there was not a single South African-born priest at the Provincial Synod which created the Church of the Province of South Africa in 1870. The belief that "locals" could lead the Church was not easy for Englishmen, who, while claiming the need for local clergy, were psychologically adapted to the continuing necessity of "men from home". Indeed, with one exception (Sidwell), it was only after 1957 that South African-born men began to find their way onto the episcopal bench, and only in 1974 that a South African-born Archbishop (Burnett) took his place in the succession of Robert Gray. (Viz. also Gray's statement that he did not regard South Africa as having any claim on his childrens' loyalty, even though they had grown up there. (C.Gray, op.cit., Vol.II, p.220.)

(41) Indeed, Gray appears to have cherished remarkably triumphalist aims at times! (C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.176-7; Vol.II, p.67.)

(42) Gray introduced sisterhoods from England to minister to prostitutes, to do mission work and to run schools. He also introduced the Cowley Fathers for Muslim and mission work. (C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.184, 448, 474.)

(43) e.g. De Kerkbode, January 5, 1867, p.16; January 29, 1870, p.46; August 9, 1873, pp.246-8.

(44) C.G. Henning, op.cit., p.115.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE

In the sphere of church finances, this middle period, 1848 to the mid-'70's, was dominated by the debate over the Voluntary Principle(1). The British regime at the Cape had taken over the responsibility from its Dutch predecessors of paying grants to the N.G.K. for ministers' stipends and the erection of churches. This continued even after the passing of the 1843 Church Ordinance, which stated that the government was not legally bound to make such payments, and could suspend them if it chose. Similar grants were paid to certain chaplaincies and for certain causes in the Anglican Church, and also to the Lutheran minister in Cape Town.

During the 50's, the payment of ecclesiastical grants was, for the first time, subjected to serious public attack. Not only was it claimed that there was unfairness in distribution, but it was maintained that the principle of church independence vis-a-vis the state must be reflected in the churches' securing their financial resources entirely by their own efforts.

The name most closely associated with the attack on public ecclesiastical grants is that of Saul Solomon. Solomon, a Cape Town publisher and bookseller, was by birth a Jew, but by religious persuasion a Congregationalist, having been deeply influenced in his younger days by the liberalism of Dr. John Philip of the L.M.S.. He proceeded to espouse this liberalism in every avenue of life, announcing as his political creed when in 1854 he was elected to the

Cape Legislative Assembly: "I shall consider it a sacred duty to give my decided opposition to all legislation tending to introduce distinctions either of class, colour or creed."(2)

To Solomon, as a Jew, a Congregationalist and a liberal, there was no doubt at all that the payment of state grants to certain religious denominations and not to others was a state of affairs that "tended to introduce a distinction of creed." Furthermore, the very concept of state grants violated that "non-conformist conscience" which he had taken to himself in Congregationalism. Robert Browne, the 17th century Congregational divine, had written that it was conscience, and not the power of man, that drives us to seek the Lord's Kingdom. For the state, in any way, to subsidize religion was a compromise to that important spiritual principle that "churches are to be formed in free obedience to the authority of Christ, and not by the power of the state" (as it was expressed, after Solomon's day, by R.W. Dale). Consequently, Solomon introduced a bill aimed at establishing the voluntary principle in the very first Cape Legislative Assembly in 1854.

The evidence suggests that the N.G.K. and the Anglican Church dealt with this issue very largely independently of each other, but, though there were differences in their viewpoints, they clearly regarded each other as allies. Both of them opposed the voluntary principle, the N.G.K. fairly consistently, the Anglicans with hesitations and reservations. The N.G.K. saw it as the duty of a Christian state to support a Christian Church, a duty, they maintained, from which the state itself would benefit. Furthermore, despite Article II of the 1843 Church Ordinance, they felt that the government was still bound by its promise to maintain the status quo of 1806. That the N.G.K. was having difficulty in making ends meet

during the depression years of the 1860's and that there were genuine reservations about the wisdom of making predikants dependent for their livelihoods on the goodwill of their gemeentes also had a great deal to do with that church's opposition to the voluntary principle.

The Anglican Church's view, as expressed by its bishops and its spokesmen in Parliament, was somewhat more complex. Gray, to whom the independence of the Church was almost a credal affirmation, and who, so to speak, was starting from scratch in the establishment of unified Anglican work in the Colony, was in desperate need of money and could not afford to be anything other than pragmatic. It was true that he was able to rely on grants and donations from the S.P.G. in London and from other donors in England(3), which the N.G.K. was not, but this was not enough for so vast a task. Added to this was the paucity of finance available from colonial church-goers, especially during the 1860's(4) --- they were very much fewer than those making up the N.G.K. gemeentes, and if the coloured members of the Anglican Church are included, they were, on the average, poorer, too. Thus Gray and his colleague, Cotterill of Grahamstown, expressed themselves as not in principle opposed to voluntaryism, but as fearing that its immediate implementation would do untold damage to the Church(5). Consequently Anglican M.P.'s tended to vote alongside William de Smidt and his N.G.K. party in opposing voluntaryism, though they were never carried away in the public fervour of the cause which the N.G.K. M.P.'s displayed! A sense of N.G.K.- Anglican unity on the issue was further cemented by the fact that it was the Anglican Church, rather than the far more determined N.G.K., which was attacked for its opposition to voluntaryism in the local press. Since the dominant voice in the local press was that of Congregationalist Saul Solomon, after his succeeding to the proprietorship of "The Cape Argus" in 1863, it is not surprising that it tended to represent English

non-conformist interests which felt themselves to be more threatened by the presence of the church of the British establishment than by a Dutch-speaking denomination, however massive. Indeed, there was an unsuccessful attempt to rally the N.G.K. against the Anglicans by asserting that the Colony was predominantly Presbyterian, and rejected liturgy and ecclesiastical hierarchy(6). "Voluntaryism in South Africa", Darby points out, "was not solely concerned with state grants, but was crusading against 'state churchism' and privilege."(7)

Despite a small group of dissidents in the N.G.K. and despite any official collaboration between the Churches --- other than between Anglican and N.G.K. M.P.'s ---, there was a sense of mutual support engendered by the whole controversy. But even before the 70's --- the voluntary principle reached the statute book in 1875 ---, it was becoming evident that voluntaryism must triumph. Gray's pragmatism was of a far-sighted nature as well as being based on principle: in 1859, he issued a pastoral letter appealing to the laity for money and stating the need of the church to break away from reliance on the state(8); in 1861, he expressed the view that only the church ought to maintain the clergy, and he introduced the system of parish assessments(9). Cotterill, his colleague in Grahamstown, followed the same lines for the Eastern Cape. In 1871, the Anglican M.P.'s, with N.G.K. support, put forward an originally Methodist idea, that state grants should not be paid to ministers, but to ecclesiastical bodies who would then capitalize them into endowment funds(10). This failed through bungling, but it did provide a spectacle of Anglican-N.G.K. co-operation.

When, in 1875, voluntaryism became a fact, the Anglicans had done much in creating the machinery to cope with the situation, and galvanized themselves into further action to meet financial needs --- under the leadership of the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly! "De

Kerkbode", looking on, described this as "een goed voorbeeld ... door geen tijd te verhezen in het daarstellen van een Begiftigings Fonds"(11), suggested that it was no good complaining that the Anglican Church received considerable help from overseas, and exhorted members of the N.G.K. to make similar efforts to find the men and the money that the church needed.

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(1) S. Darby, The Voluntary Principle in South Africa, (Unpubl. M. A. Thesis, Queen's Univ., Ontario, 1970) p.1.

Figures relating to the debate on the Voluntary Principle can be found in the tables at the end of Appendix A on pages 218ff.

(2) W.J. de Kock, (ed.) Dictionary of South African Biography, (Nasionale Boekhandel, 1968) Vol. I, p.760.

(3) C. Gray, The Life of Robert Gray, Vol. I, pp.347-8.  
The Church Chronicle, January 1887, Vol. VIII, pp.8-9.

(4) Ibid, Vol. II, pp.58-9.  
C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet: A Cultural History, p.109.

(5) Grahamstown Journal, June 30, 1869.

(6) Cape Argus, June 6, 1872.

(7) S. Darby, op.cit., p.83.

(8) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol. I, p.391.

(9) Cape Argus, January 19, 1861.

(10) Grahamstown Journal, June 1, 1869.

(11) De Kerkbode, July 10, 1875, pp.221-2; April 13, 1878, pp.119-20.

## CHAPTER 6

### AN ATTEMPT AT UNITY

It would seem, from what has been described, that, despite differences of language, culture and background, there was sufficient promise of goodwill in Anglican-N.G.K. relations by the end of this period (1848-mid-70's) to make a determined attempt at church unity at least worthwhile. Doubtless, most attempts to fulfil Christ's prayer "that they may be one" are worthwhile, but in this case it might have been supposed that there was some chance of success. On the local level, there was very little antipathy between the two denominations and usually some degree of recognition between predikants and ministers. On occasions of national importance or impending distress, such as drought, there was even mutual co-operation and joint services(1). In the area of missionary endeavour, there was very little treading on each other's toes. Though each denomination had schools, there was usually a common mind on educational policy, national as well as ecclesiastical. In the debates on the Voluntary Principle and in all the commotion of doctrinal and constitutional litigation, the two had expressed the warmest sympathy for each other with an understanding of the significance of the issues at stake. And yet when, in 1870, the first Provincial Synod of the newly-constituted Church of the Province of South Africa (C.P.S.A.) initiated discussions aimed at the uniting of the two bodies, it can hardly be said even to have got off the ground.

The reasons for this failure were, on the face of it, purely

doctrinal, but, even had this not been the case, it is highly doubtful whether the fathers of either church would have been able to bring it off. True, there was little antipathy between Anglicans and the N.G.K. on the local level, but it could be justifiably said that this was because there was very little depth of relationship between them at all. Bishop Gray had said of the English and the Dutch in the Eastern Cape, "The two races ... do not associate"(2), and except on the commercial level, this was, by and large, true for most places in the Colony. The mere fact of speaking different languages kept them apart in their own circles. There was, generally, a friendly spirit prevailing, but it was the friendliness of mere acquaintances rather than of intimates. The Anglicans tended to be very aware of their relationship with the Church of England, and of all that stood for within the historical tradition of Great Britain and her Empire. The N.G.K. might be the stronger church, but it was the church of "colonials" who were almost foreigners, with their own history, language and habits.

As far as the members of the N.G.K. gemeentes were concerned, the situation was almost reversed. There might be criticism of the English, but during this period it was not articulated as sharply as was to be the case in the last two decades of the century. Nevertheless, to the Afrikaner, the Englishman and his church was something of an intruder. The N.G.K. had been in the land for over two hundred years; it was the Church of the Colony, and even the administration had recognized it as such; it was well established and well organized; it was numerically predominant and its spire presided over the town and was an obvious landmark for miles around. The Anglicans --- the white ones, anyway --- were few in number and insignificant; their church was small, unimaginative and tucked away in some remote corner of the town; its tone and ethos were imported,

along with its stained-glass windows, its prayer-book, its bishops and its clergy. Certainly there was no antipathy between the two, but then neither was there any foundation of mutual relationship upon which to create an ecclesiastical unity. And this was true, too, at the level of church government: sympathies might be expressed --- and felt --- one towards another, messages of fraternal greeting might be exchanged, but N.G.K. moderator and synod had not much more to do with Anglican bishop and synod --- very largely they discussed different things in different ways, creating an ethos which was strange and foreign to the other(3).

This "differentness" followed each denomination into every sphere of its activity, not necessarily engendering hostility, but perpetuating in the minds of members that "they are not as we are". To the average N.G.K. member, the chain of Anglican missions in black lands, while doubtless bringing education, health and some vestige of civilization, was an object of suspicion: it seemed to proclaim ritual jugglery instead of the gospel and to give to the black man too high an estimate of his own station. This was repeated in such educational institutions as Zonnebloem. It was the Anglican Church, too, that sought to introduce to the Colony the elitist education of the British public school in such places as the Diocesan College, Rondebosch and St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown.

The fact of the matter was that a wide cultural abyss yawned between the attitudes and outlooks of a Dutch-speaking church, rooted in the soil of the Colony, the volkskerk of its people, and a church that, while seeking with some success to adapt itself to a new environment, still spoke of England as "home", looked to that country for its men and money, and rejoiced in the ecclesiastical traditions of its English past. On top of all this, there was a perplexing fluidity of attitude towards the question of colour: in the N.G.K. de

zwakheid van sommigen getting the upper hand in excluding coloureds and blacks from the moedergemeente and relegating them to a shadowy mission periphery; in the Anglican Church, a whole gamut of variations from total discrimination --- the "white" church and the "coloured" or "native" church --- to a paternalistic, but very genuine integration.

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But it was ostensibly on doctrinal grounds that the attempt at unity failed. Robert Gray, from his earliest days, had displayed a remarkably modern sense of the sin of disunity in the Church, and he never lost this concern for the restoration of unity(4). Writing to his son late in his episcopate [12.7.1866], he said, "I rather trust that God is raising up our Church to be His chief witness upon earth --- to be the centre around which others may gather; the instrument to be used for the restoration of unity."(5) A grandiose vision, not untouched, one feels, by the bishop's realization of the colonial predominance of Great Britain, but expressing a very worthy and spiritual sentiment, nevertheless, within that context.

His calling in South Africa was to establish and bring order to the Anglican Church in this land, and to that he set his hand with an untiring energy, vigour and diligence. It was his priority, and an enormous one at that. It was basically for this reason that he was not able to give that attention to relationships with other churches that the work of unity demands. Nevertheless, on arrival he made a point of meeting N.G.K. leaders, he expressed a qualified approval of the work of the N.G.K. and stated his intention of co-operating with it as far as possible(6). And this he did in the spheres of education, political issues, pastoral concerns, mission and both Churches' unfortunate preoccupation with the courts of law. On one occasion, when accused of "popery and priestcraft"(7), Gray defended

himself from the Heidelberg Catechism, showing that he had a considerable doctrinal grasp of it, and he was one of those who, in 1870, pressed that the Anglican Church in this land be known as the "Church of the PROVINCE of South Africa" lest a shorter title cause disquiet in the N.G.K.(8).

But while Gray regarded the cause of church unity as a major concern, he was not prepared to permit what he conceived to be any compromise of principle(9). As a young man, he had been strongly influenced by the thinking of the Oxford Movement, and when he came to the Cape as a bishop he was determined that the Anglican Church in South Africa would not mirror the doctrinal disarray and confusion which he believed he saw in England. He found it difficult to acknowledge non-episcopal bodies as branches of the true Church(10); he did not approve of deviations from the Prayer Book; he developed an increasing emphasis on the authority of the Church; he was a firm believer in baptismal regeneration(11); and he surrounded himself with men who taught and thought similarly. One of his first horrified comments on arrival in 1848 was that there were only two clergy in Cape Town, and both were evangelicals!(12)

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Anglican Church developed along Tractarian lines(13), and that these were to be the obstacles to the out-working of any real unity initiatives between the Anglicans and the N.G.K. For the theological emphases of the N.G.K. were very, very different. Stemming from the Calvinist Reformation tradition(14), it was staunchly presbyterian in government, non-liturgical in ethos and evangelical in doctrine. What was more, these emphases were heightened precisely by the events of the 1860's. In the first place, there was the conflict with theological liberalism. A superficial glance would give the impression that both N.G.K. and Anglicans were fighting the same battle in favour of

orthodox doctrine based on the Scriptures. But the underlying motivations were different. The battle against Colenso in the Anglican camp was, in fact, far more a battle for the spiritual independence and autonomy of the Church than that which was being waged in the N.G.K. camp. Certainly this element was also present in the N.G.K. conflict, but there was a far greater concern amongst the N.G.K. for sheer purity of Christian doctrine. This was the difference: doctrine, of course, mattered to Gray, --- it was, after all, what had started the whole thing off --- but it was not his priority at that moment of time. For the more established N.G.K., it was the priority. Hence the N.G.K.'s awareness of a "different theology" amongst Anglicans; hence, too, the statement in "De Kerkbode" that, while the N.G.K. sympathized with Anglican problems, it was of the conviction that the Anglican Church in the Colony would have stood on stronger ground had it been a "gospel-preaching Church"(15).

And "gospel-preaching" it was which constituted the second event of the 1860's which heightened the theological difference between Anglicans and the N.G.K. In 1858, revival had swept through Ulster and the United States(16). In 1859, it hit the Zulu mission field. In 1860, predikants and laity in various parts of the Colony began to meet together to pray for an outpouring of the Spirit, and in April of that year at a conference at Worcester the spiritual yearnings of these men was expressed. But it was only later in the year, also at Worcester, that, during the prayers of a coloured girl, the gathered company heard "a roaring noise ..., like a mighty rushing wind, coming closer and closer until it enveloped and shook the hall. The whole company burst into prayer."(17)

This outpouring of the Holy Spirit was but the beginning of a

decade and more of intense evangelism and mission in, amongst others, the N.G.K. --- but the Anglican Church was not amongst those others!(18) Such was the introspective concern of the Anglicans over their own position and problems that very little is said in their journals about the spiritual movement that was sweeping the country. The inference is that they regarded it as unduly emotional, enthusiastic and "protestant", certainly not becoming the dignity of Anglicanism! Thus, here too, the differing theological emphases between the two churches was bound to be heightened. Consequently, when, in 1869, Gray told the Cape Town diocesan synod that teaching from the Scriptures was given because it had the authority of the Church; when he told them that Tridentine eucharistic doctrine was acceptable; and when he then expressed his desire for the unity of the churches, "De Kerkbode" decided to offer "no comment"!(19) It is no wonder that, despite mutual sympathies, the N.G.K. did not offer to Anglicans the privilege of inter-communion offered to other denominations(20).

If it was Robert Gray who spoke for, indeed, who shaped the Anglican Church of this period, then it is Andrew Murray, Jr., who is most representative of N.G.K. doctrinal opinion, as has already been shown in his personal handling of the Kotze and Burgers cases. Murray and Gray met each other for the first time in Bloemfontein in 1849 in the early days of both men's ministries in South Africa. It is interesting and prophetic that, apart from the fellowship in the gospel in which the two men recognized each other, about the only thing known of their conversation together was a hope expressed by Murray that Gray would not introduce "Puseyism" to Bloemfontein!(21) Murray was not ignorant of the Anglo-Catholic emphases in the Church of England and he "deplored" them --- a word he used in addressing the Y.M.C.A. in 1867,(22) just three years before Gray's unity

initiatives. Murray did not believe that Tractarianism and ritualism necessarily led to Rome, but he did believe that it was a betrayal of Reformation truths for which the Church of England had so firmly stood. And he was saddened to see them introduced into South Africa.

Murray was not unfriendly towards Anglicanism --- he had had fellowship with a bishop in his shack in Bloemfontein; further, indeed, he had married an Anglican, Emma Rutherford(33) ---, but he was wary of too close a co-operation. In a conference address in 1860, he complained that the N.G.K. had not yet sufficiently found her identity to co-operate too closely profitably with other denominations(24). Doubtless the difficult years of litigation that followed were "this finding of identity", in which case the N.G.K. found it in the assertion of her autonomy and the purifying of her doctrine and her ministry. The encounter between such an identity and that which Gray was seeking to establish doctrinally in the Anglican Church was doomed to failure from the start.

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The Church of the Province of South Africa was established by the Provincial Synod meeting in Cape Town in 1870. In many ways it was the climax of Gray's episcopate --- he was to die two years later. Moreover, it was the culmination of his policy to establish an Anglican Province in Southern Africa free from any obligation to state authorities and claiming --- not being granted --- the right which he felt it inherently possessed in Christ to its own spiritual authority. It was the goal to which all the litigation in the Long and Colenso cases had led.

It was this same Synod that passed the resolution:

Convinced that in accordance with our Lord's prayer, only a united Church in South Africa will be effective in preaching and living out the faith of the Bible, creeds and undoubted

ecumenical councils, we feel the necessity for prayer and fasting, and of love for one another to further this aim of unity. Moreover, the bishops are empowered to contact leaders of other church bodies in order to find their feelings and to see what can be set on foot to bring about visible unity(25).

Gray immediately wrote to the Moderator of the N.G.K., Ds.P.E.\_Faure, expressed the view that he did not think that visible unity was an immediate possibility, but asked for the N.G.K.'s reactions. The N.G.K. Synod, which happened to be sitting at the same time, associated itself with the sentiments of the Anglican resolution, agreed with Gray's pessimism regarding immediate visible unity and appointed a three-man commission, Dss.P.E.\_Faure, A.\_Murray and W.\_Robertson, to negotiate with the Anglican bishops "on the basis of Scripture". There was also an interesting addition concerning a commitment on both sides not to speak or act in any way that might cause offence to members of the other church body. The N.G.K. Commission proceeded to await proposals for discussion from the bishops(26).

Gray's proposals were considerable. In an immensely long letter, he suggested that the two bodies discuss Scripture, the liturgical principle, Church order and discipline, and the formularies of the two churches as drawn up at the Reformation. He went on to exhort neither side to compromise on what it felt to be the truth, but, at the same time, to be sensitive to the other's difficulties. He then outlined the two issues on which Anglicans would be unable to compromise: episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer. It was well that Gray's letter did end with a prayer for God's grace!(27)

The N.G.K. Commission which addressed its letter, significantly, to "the Bishop of the Anglican Church" and not "the Bishop of Cape Town"(28), did not hedge. After a brief assertion of the sufficiency and supremacy of Scripture, it immediately tackled the

problem of episcopacy. A discussion, at great length, of the interchangeability of the words episkopos and presbuteros, and of the views of various reformers led them to conclude that Gray's view of episcopacy was solely of human origin, and that New Testament episkope resided only in a community of equal ministers within the context of the whole body of believers(29). The Commission suggested that the Anglican Church had itself never, since the Reformation, taught that bishops were essential to Church order(30), and that if Gray had approached the N.G.K. on more traditional Anglican lines, something more fruitful might have eventuated!(31) In worship, the N.G.K. felt that a recognized mixture of liturgy and extempore prayer would be acceptable.

In all, the Commission hinted, Gray's proposals looked rather like an attempt to incorporate the N.G.K. into the C.P.S.A.! Perhaps the way forward would be rather to recognize the existing spiritual unity of God's Church, and in a spirit of love and fellowship to co-operate together in various enterprises such as combined services and works of charity, so that understanding could grow and visible unity become a greater possibility.

And that was that! The doctrinal gap was, indeed, too big, as was eminently reflected in Gray's letter that concluded the whole exercise:

I am constrained to reply that whatever it is that keeps us apart and forbids our becoming one Communion, unfits us, in my estimation, to be at once safe and outspoken teachers of each other's people. There are few things, as it appears to me, which could do more to undermine men's belief in any positive creed, and lead them to think that the Church holds nothing as fixed and definite, than the laxity which the system you advocate might introduce as to preachers and the doctrines preached(32).

Perhaps the bishop's own biographer, his son, Charles, writing in

1876, only six years later, expresses in its most arrogant form the view of those Anglicans who made any approach to the N.G.K. impossible:

As to what is called "exchanging pulpits" --- priests of the Church lowering their office by preaching in dissenting places of worship, or inviting dissenters to speak to their people --- the Bishop did not consider that any advance towards real unity could ever be made by such unworthy compromises(33).

On September 7, 1872, "De Kerkbode" announced the death of Bishop Robert Gray and expressed its admiration for his spiritual qualities as a man and Christian leader(34). Two years later, on October 3, 1874, it announced the arrival in Cape Town of his successor, William West Jones, and told of a lunch given in his honour by clergy of all denominations(35). It was the last time the name of Bishop West Jones was to appear in the columns of "De Kerkbode", an augury, perhaps, of sadder days to come in the relationship between the two church bodies.

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(1) C. Gray, The Life of Robert Gray, Vol.II, p.233.

(2) Ibid, Vol.I, p.195.

(3) Perhaps symptomatic of Anglican-N.G.K. relationships at this time is the fact that over the thirteen years between 1857 and the Anglican-N.G.K. negotiations in 1870, "De Kerkbode" mentions the Anglican Church in South Africa only eight times: there are two articles in January 1857 relating to the Anglican synod of 1856; then a gap of five years before Bishop Mackenzie's death is noted and Bishop Colenso's position is criticized. Both of those were in 1862, and we wait another three years before, in 1865, we find the verbatim report of Gray's address to synod and "De Kerkbode's" surprise at the Privy Council's ruling in the Colenso case. In 1867, "De Kerkbode" bewails the fact that the Anglican Church is not a gospel-preaching church, and three years later, in 1870, just before the negotiations, it reports another Gray address to synod. One cannot but come to the conclusion that, as far as "De Kerkbode" was concerned at any rate, the Anglican Church was not really of great significance --- and it is suggested that this was probably the view of most members of the N.G.K.

(4) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.72.

- (5) Ibid, Vol.II, p.284.
- (6) Ibid, Vol.I, p.244.
- (7) Ibid, Vol.I, p.502.
- (8) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.29.
- (9) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.I, p.244.
- (10) Ibid, Vol.I, pp.69, 155.  
cf. Ibid, Vol.II, p.67, re planting "the Church" at Victoria West.
- (11) Ibid, Vol.I, pp.155, 323.
- (12) Ibid, Vol.I, p.158.
- (13) Ibid, Vol.II, pp.533-8.
- (14) For a healthy corrective to some of the over-stresses conveyed by the term "Calvinist", see I. Hexham, Dutch Calvinism and the Development of Afrikaner Nationalism (Unpubl. paper at Univ. of York, Centre for Southern African Studies). In his thesis, Totalitarian Calvinism - The Reformed (Dopper) Community in South Africa, 1902-1919, (Unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Univ., Bristol, 1975), Hexham postulates (in my opinion, successfully) that until the end of the 19th century, the N.G.K. was not Calvinist in fact, but was conservative evangelical, Arminian and Methodist (pp.37-42).
- (15) De Kerkbode, January 5, 1867, p.16.
- (16) J.E. Orr, Evangelical Awakenings in South Africa, chap.11.
- (17) Ibid, id p.106.
- (18) Ibid, p.127
- (19) De Kerkbode, January 29, 1870, p.46.
- (20) C. Steenkamp Kotze, Die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika en die Ekumeniese Beweging tot 1910, (Unpubl. M.A. thesis, Univ., Stellenbosch, 1970) p.60.
- (21) J. du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, p.113.
- (22) Ibid, p.254.
- (28) Ibid, p.169.
- (24) Ibid, p.185.
- (25) De Kerkbode, December 3, 1870, pp.396-8.
- (26) Acta Synodi, 1870, pp.29, 31, 68, 71, 78.
- (27) De Kerkbode, November 18, 1871, pp.362-8.
- (28) Ibid, January 13, 1872, pp.11-16.

(29) Ibid, March 23, 1872, pp.94-6.

(30) Ibid, April 6, 1872, pp.108-12.

(31) cf. De Kerkbode, February 22, 1900, pp.116-17, where Anglican Evangelicals as personified by Bishop J.C. Ryle are praised.

(32) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.545-6.

(33) Ibid, Vol.II, p.545.

(34) De Kerkbode, September 7, 1872, p.286.

(35) Ibid, October 3, 1874, pp.314-5.

PART III: 1872-1910

PERIOD OF THE RISE OF

AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

AND OF

BRITISH IMPERIALISM

## CHAPTER 7

### AREAS OF INCREASING POLITICO-DENOMINATIONAL TENSION

The 1870's can be said to be the high-water mark of Anglican-N.G.K. relationships in the Cape Colony between the establishment of the Anglican episcopate in South Africa in 1848 and the end of our period in 1910. After some years of mutual understanding and sympathy during the decade of ecclesiastical litigation, after the expression of a considerable degree of oneness in the fight against the voluntary principle, after the attempt, even if abortive, to set up some sort of machinery leading towards Church unity, it might have been hoped that the powers-that-be in both denominations would set about seeking ways to minimize the cultural differences at the local level and the administrative differences at the level of church government with a view to some distant rapprochement. Good relations, capitalized upon in the ecclesiastical world between an Afrikaans-speaking and a basically English-speaking denomination, might have been seen to have had a potential both for the Kingdom of God and for the future of the two white groups in the Colony --- not to mention the further effects in white-black relationships. But unfortunately this was not to be. Historical events overtook the churches, events which were to stir up such a tide of partisan emotion, patriotism, greed, anger and fear that the tentative and half-hearted attempts, both on occasional local levels and at the centre, to create a spirit of friendliness and co-operation between the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. were swept aside and almost completely nullified.

The period, therefore, between, roughly, the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 and the creation of Union in 1910, saw a drifting apart of the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. to the point where, by and large, they lived in completely different worlds and continued their own lives as though the other did not exist at all. For instance, "De Kerkbode" mentions the enthronement of Bishop William West Jones as Metropolitan in 1874,(1) and then never finds cause to mention him again in the whole length of his thirty-two-year-long episcopate. Copies of "De Kerkbode" show a complimentary attitude towards Anglicanism at the Cape during the 70's, but thereafter such mention as there is is usually hostile and polemic. Nor are the Anglicans guiltless: it was very easy during the period of British imperialism for those who had already shown a tendency towards national arrogance to become totally indifferent, if not blatantly unfriendly to and critical of their Afrikaans-speaking brethren in Christ. The spirit of national "top-dog-ism" is at times unpleasantly clear in Anglican church attitudes towards the N.G.K.

The areas in which tension was greatest were those of national loyalty, race and doctrine. The first is to be expected: the conflict between aggressive British imperialism in South Africa and the emergent Afrikaner awareness and national aspiration, which characterized the last years of the nineteenth century, was bound to spill over into ecclesiastical relations. This was doubly the case in a situation in which the N.G.K. was seen, and wished to be seen, as an Afrikaner volkskerk, totally identified with the ambitions and aspirations of the Afrikaner people, while the C.P.S.A. tended, of all the English-speaking churches, to be most closely associated with British tradition, the Union Jack, the Conservative Government in London and all that characterized the palpable might of British imperialism.

Emphasis has already been given to the divisive forces of racial separateness which were operative at different levels in both denominations. But the fact that the N.G.K. recognized this officially, allowed it to surface and made it a way of denominational life, culminating in the formation in 1881 of the N.G.-Sendingkerk, meant that the N.G.K. itself became increasingly homogeneous. It was, to all intents and purposes, a "whites only" church. More than that, it was increasingly a purely Dutch-speaking church. It had always been overwhelmingly such, but there had been instances of English-language services in areas where there was no English-speaking denomination(2). Now this was being questioned, not merely because English-speaking churches were establishing themselves throughout the Colony, but also on political, cultural and nationalistic grounds(3).

The latter years of the 19th century saw the emergence of the Taalbewegings. The unifying factor of this movement within Afrikanerdom can hardly be over-emphasized(4), and the participation of the N.G.K. in the bewegings bound it even more closely to the cultural heritage of the Afrikanervolk than it already was(5). As early as the 1870's, the N.G.K. had brought pressure to bear on the administration to permit Dutch-language education in state-schools. Although Synod never officially involved itself in the Taalbewegings, many predikants were heavily involved (S.J. du Toit, A. Moorees, A.A. Louw, P.J.G. de Vos, G. van der Wall, A. Murray, J.J. Kotze), and in 1890 Synod did pass a resolution calling upon church members to wake up to a greater consciousness of the Afrikaans language(6). It was not for nothing that P.G.J. Meiring is able to judge it "doubtful whether any single factor mentioned in our (the Afrikaners') history contributed more to our civilization and culture than the Dutch Reformed Church"(7).

The fact of the matter is that the N.G.K. had always been the volkskerk of the Dutch-speaking community, but this had not become noticeable until the arrival of a new, English-speaking community, which threw it into contrast. Now, with the increase of inter-group tensions, this "volkskerkheid" came into its own with a strength and emphasis unknown before. During the Anglo-Boer War, it was almost as though the Cape N.G.K. found its fellowship once again with its sister-churches in the Boer Republics. It experienced a definite upsurge of solidarity and sympathy with the armies of Kruger and Steyn, and to show it, many Cape predikants volunteered to minister to their compatriots from the north in British prisoner-of-war camps(8). Nor was this a surprise: in a letter from the Cape Moderature to the Governor, Sir Alfred Milner, in August 1899, the N.G.K. leaders had spelt out the nature of this pan-Afrikaner relationship and of what would happen to Cape Afrikanerdom in the event of a war(9).

Nor did the restoration of peace bring an end to this new solidarity --- Boer defeat tended to bind Afrikanerdom in the Cape and in the ex-Republics more firmly together, and this was reflected in the ethos of the church. It could hardly be otherwise. The N.G.K. set itself to the task of "restoring the Afrikaner volk" (10). It initiated the formation of groups of those young Afrikaners who flocked into the alien environment of the predominantly English-speaking cities after the war, encouraging them to press for the official recognition of their language and culture(11). It gained influence at teacher-training colleges and consolidated its position at Stellenbosch University, aligning itself with emergent Afrikaner nationalism in its drive to produce a new leadership and elite for kerk and volk (12). It is with this sort of emphasis and ethos in mind that Anglican opinion dubbed the N.G.K. "frankly national"(13), and added, "Whether ignorant or educated, every Dutchman does become a

member of his church, not only because he wishes to profess himself a Christian, but because he is a Dutchman(14). There may have been something in "The Cape Church Monthly's" assertion that, since the Afrikaner regarded his own church as a volkskerk, he tended to see every other denomination in the light of some or other nationalistic allegiance as well(15). The journal does not go on to examine its own national-denominational prejudices! It is true, however, that the N.G.K.'s concentration on its role as the church of a particular people did drive it, to all intents and purposes, into an ecumenical isolation(16). Consequently it is not astonishing that there was so little meaningful contact between the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A. during these years.

Bearing in mind the rising tide of Afrikaner nationalism during these years and the identification of the N.G.K. with it, the official attitude of the N.G.K. towards the colonial government was somewhat ambivalent --- almost admirably so! Queen Victoria was extolled by "De Kerkbode" as an example of Biblical Christianity(17); N.G.K. schoolchildren celebrated her golden jubilee(18); the Moderature reminded the membership of the N.G.K. of its loyalty to her, even in the dark days of the war(19); memorial services were held by the N.G.K. when she died(20); and the ill-health of her successor, King Edward VII, was the subject of prayer in many N.G.K. churches(21). Nearer to home, this ambivalence is clearly seen in the correspondence of the Moderature both with the Governor and with its membership during the fateful days of mid-1899.(22) In their letter to Milner, the members of the Moderature state themselves to be the Queen's loyal subjects and impress upon Milner the opportunities he has for being "God's agent for peace" in South Africa, but at the same time they do not hesitate to bring forcibly to his attention the belligerent attitude of British and English-speaking colonial public

opinion towards the Republics, with whom colonial Afrikanerdom had strong blood and religious ties. The Moderature's pastoral letter to all gemeentes on the outbreak of the war is even more remarkable: the fact of blood and religious ties between so many in the Colony and those in the Republics could lead to serious complications; the obligations of N.G.K. members as Christians, as subjects of the Queen of England (a significant association of the Crown with a distant and, perhaps, foreign land across the seas) and as fellow-citizens with those who held opposing points of view had to be honoured; nothing must be done or said which could be construed as disloyalty to the Queen; faith and trust in God, confession of sin and prayer were to be the order of the day.

Such was the official statement, full, doubtless, of genuine ideals, but was it even contemplated as possible? It may be argued that the decision of many Afrikaner colonials to go over and join the Boer forces was beyond the control of the Moderature, but could the same be said about its influence over leaders of the church who made no secret of their antipathy to British policy? Andrew Murray placed the blame for the war fair and square on the refusal of the British authorities to understand the Boers and on their desire to destroy the independence of the Transvaal. Consequently he openly justified the Boers in continuing the war until Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the Republics(23). Bitterness increased when, in N.G.K. opinion at least, the war was prosecuted by a British command that seemed to display distinct anti-N.G.K. attitudes in the requisitioning for military use of church buildings, the deporting of personnel and other instances of handling deemed unfair in comparison with that suffered by other denominations(24).

The agonizing dilemma of N.G.K. leadership during the war is illustrated in miniscule by the situation in the town of Prieska, by a

predikant seeking to act towards the British in the spirit of Christ's love, but surrounded by the anti-British bitterness of his gemeente.

Bishop Gibson writes from Prieska:

I was told that when some of our troops had been at the village a few weeks earlier, the Dutch Reformed minister had kindly held a service for them in English, and I was pleased to find that the unsettled state of affairs made no difference to the friendly relations which have always subsisted between the Dutch and myself(25).

Yet in the "Home Edition" accompanying this very selfsame copy of "The Cape Church Monthly", a C.P.S.A. priest, Mr. Hoare, writes:

The Hedleys, with whom I always stayed at Prieska, came, and have gone on to Port Elizabeth. They were driven out by the Boers and rebels. Mr. Hedley was imprisoned for twenty-four hours. They had nothing against him except that he was an Englishman.

Hedley was back in Prieska by August 1901,(26) but the little incident is indicative of varying attitudes and tensions of loyalty within the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A.

It is sad that these antagonisms continued long after the fighting was over. Mention has already been made of the nationalistic orientation of the N.G.K. after the war, and it is natural that the British victors should see something sinister in this. It is tragic that Anglicanism should have shared in this triumphalism, that a man like the Bishop of Southwell should have accused the N.G.K. predikants of instigating a spirit of rebellion amongst the Afrikaners and of teaching children to hate the British. There may have been some imbued with this bitterness, but the Bishop had said that it was "rife", and "De Kerkbode" was right in asking him for names --- none of which were ever forthcoming(27).

But, if the N.G.K. was a volkskerk, reflecting all the aspirations and prejudices of its people, could not the same charge be

laid at the door of the C.P.S.A.? A superficial glance would give the appearance of a denomination seeking to break its links with its English mother-church. The formation of an autonomous Anglican province in South Africa in 1870 was the climax of Gray's episcopacy, but it almost appeared as though Anglicans in South Africa had to be convinced of what had been done. There was the insistence that the consecration of a Metropolitan would contain no oath of canonical obedience to any other primate(28), and West Jones, at his consecration, made it clear that the Archbishop of Canterbury had no jurisdiction in South Africa(29). In 1880, Provincial Synod stated in a motion that the C.P.S.A. was not the Church of England(30), and this judgment was confirmed two years later by the Privy Council decision in the case, Merriman vs. Williams(31). Editorial comment in "The Cape Church Monthly" is sad that the elective assembly of the Diocese of Grahamstown had delegated the choice of a new bishop to English bishops and not to South African ones(32), and later expressed the hope that Bishop-elect Cornish would be consecrated in South Africa in order to demonstrate the C.P.S.A.'s independence from the Church of England(33). But all this was mere form and legality. The hearts of white Anglicans, clergy and laity, still found their spiritual home under the banner of St. George, flying over the cloisters of Barchester. Indeed, even the form and legality sometimes rendered homesick hearts nervous. A correspondent in "The Cape Church Monthly" expressed the fear that the autonomy of the colonial churches could be used to endanger the connection with the "Mother Church"(34). The bishops were quick to point out that clergy in South Africa would be granted the freedoms given by the Uniformity Amendment Act of 1872 in England(35), while West Jones felt it needful to concede that, insofar as "the laws of the established Church of England are, in the judgment of the Synod of this Province, applicable to our condition in

this land", they would be applied(36). And it was with much relief that the assurance of two successive Archbishops of Canterbury, Tait and Benson, was received to the effect that a clergyman or layman from the C.P.S.A. would be given "the full right of all church privileges" in the Church of England(37). Indeed, ecclesiastical independence was not so strong as to break traditional British loyalties and emotional attachments --- nor was it intended that it would be. The C.P.S.A. quite brazenly flaunted its British origins: while asserting the autonomy of the Province, West Jones emphasized the C.P.S.A.'s close union with the Church of England(38); his episcopate is characterized by frequent returns "home" (in 1878, 1882, 1888-9, 1893-4, 1897, 1901, 1903 and 1908, during which visit he died); references to "home" and "the old country" are frequent on the lips of Anglican bishops and clergy and in the pages of Anglican journals(39); Anglican journals tended to republish articles from Church of England periodicals and to carry far more news of what was going on in the Church of England and in the Anglican Communion than ever they did of either Christian denominations in South Africa(40); in the census of 1903, Anglicans were instructed to describe their religious affiliations as "the English Church", and, indeed, most white parishioners expected their church to be faithfully modelled on the English pattern --- like the church "at home"(41); missionaries were obtained from England in 1904(42); former Governor Sir Henry Barkly and commander of H.M. forces at the Cape, General Cameron told an English audience that they held the C.P.S.A. in high esteem as a body that strengthened the Colony's links with "the Mother-country"(43); and subscribers to the Cape Town Cathedral building programme were assured that their generosity was a sign of loyalty to the Empire(44). It is significant of the the C.P.S.A.'s stance that Professor Mason, in a sermon in London in 1897, could query the "British" orientation of the church and ask whether it ought not to be giving more time and emphasis to co-operation with

other denominations in South Africa rather than stressing perpetually its connections with Britain(45).

The Anglican Church at the Cape had indubitably a twofold nature(46); ministry to the colonists and mission to the heathen. But the latter could not prevent the insistent association by the leadership of the Church with its country of origin and its national traditions. And, with the rise of consciousness of an "Anglican Communion" throughout the world, this emphasis was to take on a sort of imperio-denominational perspective --- at the expense of relations with other groups at the Cape(47). "Church and Empire" became a catch-phrase. The royal family were admiringly appropriated as though they belonged to the Church as much as to the Empire --- "a gift from God" was West Jones' description of Queen Victoria(48). St.Cyprian's Church, Kimberley and Wynberg parish church had impressive memorial services for General Gordon of Khartoum(49). Prayers were sought for the success of the visit to the Colony of Joseph Chamberlain(50). Much approval is expressed in the Anglican press of Lord Selborne's strong assertion to the boys of the Diocesan College, Rondebosch: "If anyone tells you that...you cannot be a good South African and a good son of the Empire, too, put him straight. He does not know what he is talking about."(51) "The Cape Church Monthly" was convinced that it was God who had put South Africa into British hands(52), while Archbishop West Jones' statements concerning the rightness of Empire in the context of the Boer War brought expostulations even from an English-language Cape Town newspaper(53). St.George's Cathedral in Cape Town was probably the centre of this imperial cult. The very appeal for funds to build a new cathedral was couched in terms of "Church and Empire" --- to support the cathedral was to show loyalty to the Crown and to the Empire --- and this before the outbreak of the war and the concept of the cathedral's being a memorial to the

slain!(54) And when that decision was made, it was announced, not by bishop or dean, but by the British military commander, Lord Roberts(55). King Edward VII was to be patron(56) and the foundation-stone was laid by the heir apparent, the Duke of Cornwall and York. It was the foundation-stone of "a House of God worthy of the great Empire and the great Church which must work side by side."(57) No wonder that Archbishop West Jones had to answer a storm of criticism by assuring all and sundry that, in building the cathedral as a war memorial, the "English Church had not the least intention of arrogating to itself in South Africa any exclusive or dominating position."(58) People might have been pardoned for thinking otherwise.

They might have been pardoned for thinking otherwise, too, if they had come to this conclusion by analysing the Anglican relationship with executive authority in the Colony itself. It was totally consistent with the "Crown, Church and Empire" syndrome that the C.P.S.A. should regard itself as having special claims upon the representatives of that Crown and Empire at the Cape. The Archbishop's sister stayed at Government House(59); Sir Henry Barkly chaired Anglican meetings to raise money for higher clergy stipends and to meet the financial short-fall occasioned by the introduction of the voluntary principle(60); Sir Bartle Frere saw the Archbishop off on one of his periodic visits to England(61); Sir Henry Loch involved himself in the affairs of the Diocese of Cape Town and laid the cathedral chancel memorial stone(62); West Jones had ready access to Sir Alfred Milner and to Prime Ministers, Rhodes and Schreiner(63); and Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson was present at the Archbishop's memorial service(64). Nor was this just the activity of the Church seeking out the great and the powerful: the great and the powerful appear to have acknowledged the Anglican Church as legitimately

entitled to this recognition and privilege. Lord Roberts initiated conversations with the Archbishop and Lord Kitchener dragged a reluctant West Jones to Pretoria for a thanksgiving service after the fall of the Transvaal(65). Magistrates would ride out to meet the Archbishop on his approach to their towns(66). In the Transkei, the first magistrate was instructed to establish the centre of his magistracy at whatever spot Bishop Callaway chose for the centre of his new diocese(67). Thus was Umtata founded!

The term volkskerk has been applied widely to the N.G.K. because of its close historic links with a particular people in their political, social and cultural development. But the evidence marshalled above would seem to suggest that, at the turn of the century, the C.P.S.A. manifested just as powerfully all the traits of a volkskerk as the N.G.K. did. The stances were different --- one culture was that of an introverted and threatened nationalism, the other of a proudly imperialistic triumphalism ---, but both expressed themselves through the medium of that Christian denomination which was historically most closely associated with them. Both churches provided Christian sanction and respectability for the rallying-cries of their respective clientele. Both exhibited a powerful civil religion.

This was nowhere clearer, as far as the C.P.S.A. was concerned, than in its attitude to the Anglo-Boer War. Reading the editions of the "Cape Church Monthly" for 1899, one would hardly believe that a national crisis was looming. Apart from mention of a possible curtailment of the Archbishop's movements because of "the state of the nation" and "the political situation" in the September edition(68), there is no mention at all of a crisis. Parish life, as recorded in this and other editions, appears to have gone on undisturbed as though

nothing was amiss. If this was the only surviving historical evidence, no one would ever have guessed that there was a war in the offing. Concerned almost solely with its domestic affairs, the C.P.S.A. appears to have had an almost total confidence in the power of British might to deal with the situation without too much undue fuss.

Church leadership, however, did feel it necessary to say something. "The Cape Church Monthly", in an editorial entitled "The War in the Transvaal", magnanimously commented on the courage of people on both sides, expressed the hope for a speedy and "decisive" (meaning what? Surely not a Boer victory?) conclusion and warned the people of the Cape to get ready to receive refugees(69). The Archbishop set up a fund for all the wounded(70) and issued a pastoral letter pointing out the peculiarly painful nature of an internecine war, such as this, and calling on people to be courteous in expressing their own convictions and respectful in their judgment of others'(71). He then moved around the Colony repeating this irenic policy(72). The astonishing thing is that on no public occasion or in any official statement is any attempt made to analyse the dynamics, the rights and wrongs, of the situation. In striking contrast to Andrew Murray's letters to "De Kerkbode" on the same occasion(73), Anglican pronouncements appear never to have suffered from the slightest suspicion that British motives might be unworthy or that British actions might in any way have been culpably responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. Only from a distant shore, England itself, are any doubts expressed in Anglican circles: the Bishop of Rochester issued a pastoral letter in his diocese, bravely questioning British values and aims in the war and asking what example of love between Christian whites such a war was displaying to the heathen blacks(74).

Prayers for peace were continually being sought; the distresses of war were brought to the attention of the faithful(75); but as the conflict moved towards an inevitable British victory, however protracted the prelude, the C.P.S.A. exhibited more and more that identification with the ruling power that stamped it as a volkskerk. Early on, Bishop Key had labelled the struggle "a holy war"(76), suggesting, too, that it might have been God's judgment on Great Britain for handing over half a million blacks to the tender mercies of a far smaller number of Boers without making sure that they were fairly treated(77). The C.P.S.A.'s optimism was dependent on a British victory: "the success of British arms may not only bring about an increase of the influence of the Government of England, but of the Church of England's Queen."(78) Could there be a clearer identification of church with popular national consciousness? Possibly only in the utterances of Archbishop West Jones himself: "We believe the British cause to be that of justice and righteousness, and to be indissolubly bound up with the future well-being and the permanent prosperity of our land."(79) And again:

As to the justice of our cause, I have not the remotest doubt... others, who began by distrusting greatly its justice, have entirely changed their view. No reasonable man could live in South Africa and feel differently. It is only the most ignorant or the most bitter political partisans who talk about injustice(80).

Yet again: "The most sanguine spirits among our foes can scarcely now look for any other issue than defeat ... loyalty is better than rebellion"(81) No wonder that even the Cape secular press reacted against the evident and undiscerning bias of such views(82). But for even more moderate voices, the equation of Anglicanism with British interests was unquestioned. Bishop Webb of Grahamstown could plead for conciliation without renouncing at all his British sympathies in the war(83), while Lord Loch saw victory as an opportunity for

extending English moral influence in South Africa by the Anglican clergy befriending the farmers and the people of the N.G.K.(84). On the more local front, the C.P.S.A. identification with the British war effort was seen in the number of clergy who donned uniforms, opened up parish facilities to soldiers, ministered in military camps and held services of thanksgiving for the reliefs of Kimberley and Mafeking(85). One of them even wrote a book, full of patriotic and holy zeal with the pretentious title, "God and our Soldiers" (86).

There may have been many Anglicans who were not happy with this equation, but it was nevertheless made and the C.P.S.A. did not go out of its way to destroy the illusion --- if illusion it was! Indeed, it appears to have done a great deal to foster it. Not many clergy would have followed the example of Archdeacon Wirgman who delivered a thunderous condemnation of the Boer Republics and their leaders from the pulpit of St.Mary's, Port Elizabeth, even upsetting some in his own very British congregation, but most clergy would have reflected the same sort of attitude to their people, and their people would, by and large, have been patriotically receptive(87). All this merely strengthened the impression in Afrikaner minds that the Anglican Church was alien, partisan and even enemy.

Under the circumstances, it was well nigh impossible for any degree of warmth or intimacy to exist in relations at the official level between the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A. Indeed, even the most innocent and well-intentioned gestures by church leaders were liable to misinterpretation by those who chose to misinterpret them. Cape dominees who sought a ministry to prisoners of war in British camps were thought by some to be at least highly suspect, at most troublesome political agitators(88). Archbishop West Jones' reluctant appearance at a thanksgiving for peace in Pretoria immediately drew criticism from certain N.G.K. circles(89). Yet despite this, leaders

of both churches did seek to make joint appeals for peace, understanding and lack of bitterness, and on occasion they made considerable efforts to do this. Even in the early months of the war, Andrew Murray, who firmly believed that Great Britain was perpetrating a grave injustice against the Republics, took the initiative in obtaining the support of the C.P.S.A. and others for a manifesto calling for joint prayer and the maintenance of Christ's love between all Christians, irrespective of the side on which they were fighting(90). Archbishop West Jones records a conversation held late in the war in the early hours of the morning on the platform of De Aar station with a leader of the Afrikaner Bond:

At that early hour we had a talk about the political position, and about the danger of the Colony from another invasion; and he promised to confer with Dr. Andrew Murray and others as to a fresh manifesto to urge the Colonial Boers to submit and the Northern Boers not to invade the Colony again(91).

In fact, all things considered, it is quite astonishing that there were not more instances of direct antagonism on the non-theological level between the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. in the Cape Colony during this period. The recorded instances of such are remarkably few. They consist of isolated cases of interdenominational antipathy in small rural communities --- Fraserburg is repeatedly mentioned in this regard(92) ---, manifested by such acts as refusal to assist at one another's church bazaars, as had been the case in the past(93); ministers absenting themselves from special services held by the other denomination(94); taking back facilities given to the other denomination for the purposes of holding services(95). There were cases where the one body regarded the other as "a bad influence", especially as far as children were concerned(96). But perhaps the most obvious antipathy was the silent one: national and regional journals or papers, published by either denomination, could come out,

edition after edition, without giving the reader the slightest hint of even the existence of the other denomination. The C.P.S.A. "Church Chronicle" gives copious records of Anglican activities in the northern regions of the Diocese of Grahamstown without ever betraying the fact that this was an area in which the N.G.K. was dominant. As far as "The Griqualand West Church Magazine and Banner of Faith" was concerned, the N.G.K. might as well not have existed at all(97). But these little antagonisms were the exception. The amazing thing is that, bearing in mind the antagonistic national and imperial loyalties increasingly represented by these two church bodies, so many of their members did patronize the other's bazaars(98) --- at Victoria West, the N.G.K. actually "cheered" the Anglicans on!(99) ---; so many of their members did attend the special services of the other(100); so much co-operation did, in fact, take place. The co-operation concerning educational and missionary matters is dealt with in two other chapters, but, apart from that, facilities were placed at one another's disposal(101); pastoral work amongst the inmates on Robben Island was done jointly(102); joint fund-raising ventures were undertaken(103); and there were acts of personal co-operation and kindness towards one or other of the denominations by those in the other(104). At Kenhardt, N.G.K. members contributed liberally to the building of an Anglican church, one N.G.K. member donating eight sheep on the day of the peace of Vereeniging --- a gift which fetched eight pounds(105). At Tulbagh, such was the generosity of N.G.K. giving towards the buying of an harmonium for the Anglican church, that the Anglican rector, Mr. Johnson, felt disposed to offer half the proceeds raised back to the N.G.K. for its own charities. The gemeente gratefully declined, saying that the Anglicans really did need their harmonium. "Such is the kindness with which we are supported in Tulbagh by the Dutch Reformed predikant to whom we are most grateful," wrote Mr. Johnson(106). A free gift of land for the

building of the Anglican church was given to the Diocese of Grahamstown by the predikant and kerkraad of Dordrecht(107). "The Cape Church Monthly" praised the friendliness of the predikant at Piquetberg who had placed a hall at the C.P.S.A.'s convenience(108). Bishop Gibson gives an interesting little insight into relationships during a visit to the Hantam in 1905. He was received with kindness at Loeriesfontein where he conducted an N.G.K. service at the request of the local schoolmaster who normally conducted it, there being no predikant. At Williston he was equally warmly received by the gemeente, while at Vanwyksvlei he again found himself conducting an N.G.K. service at the request of the somewhat stolid inhabitants(109). There are instances of the mutual recognition of one another's birthdays and anniversaries across denominational lines, and is there any significance in the large number of "Farewell to clergy" gatherings attended by those of the other denominations in comparison to the small number of "Welcome" ceremonies recorded?(110) Where it was not possible to attend we find apologies(111). At the official level, not only were there joint N.G.K.-C.P.S.A. commissions on educational matters, but a similar joint commission was set up to approach the first Union Government on the issue of the marriage and divorce laws(112).

If, in the prevailing political climate, it is possible to be amazed at the amount of joint activity and co-operation that took place, mainly at the local level, between the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K., it becomes all the more astonishing to find frequent and genuine expressions of mutual respect. A.W. Robinson, in his book on the Anglican mission of help, which was published in 1906, maintained that the "respect for religion" that existed amongst all groups in South Africa was part of the Dutch heritage to the peoples of the country --- even if he did go on to describe it as a little "stern and

forbidding"(113). The nature of that heritage, as seen through Anglican eyes, was interestingly expressed by Bishop Cornish in a charge to the Grahamstown Diocesan Synod in 1902:

We should remember that we in this land owe not a little to the Dutch Reformed Church. They have set us an example in their reverence for the Lord's Day, the observance of the obligation of their quarterly Nachtmaal, their care that their children should be baptized and in due time confirmed, their strong belief in the power of prayer. We may not entirely agree with them in the way in which they give expression to their views on these subjects. In some respects they may seem to us hardly to enter into that spirit of liberty in which Christ has set us free. But we cannot refuse them the credit of being earnest and sincere in their religious convictions, and this sincerity and earnestness have left a mark on the religious life of the country(114).

On the Anglican side, no two leaders were more aware of the N.G.K. contribution to the work of the Kingdom than Bishop Alan Webb of Grahamstown --- perhaps because of his previous ministry in the Orange Free State --- and Bishop Gibson, the almost eternally itinerant Coadjutor Bishop of Cape Town. They continually, in word and in writing, commended the open generosity of N.G.K. gemeentes and predikants wherever they went and spoke of their spiritual influence amongst the people(115). Dean Barnett-Clarke of Cape Town, writing in the post-Boer War period, expressed his high appreciation of N.G.K. kindness to Anglicans in the past, and wrote, "It will never be forgotten by the adherents of the Anglican Church in this land"(116). (Sic sit!) Much was said also in the Cape Town Diocesan Synod of 1887 concerning the friendship that characterized relations(117).

These expressions of respect towards the N.G.K. by Anglicans were not based on fantasy. They were responses to N.G.K. initiatives of respect towards Anglicans which were shown even at times of heightened political tension; Bishop Webb was the guest of honour at a social gathering given for him by the dominee at Barkly East(118); the local dominee rode out of Uniondale to greet the approaching

Archbishop of Cape Town(119); dominee, N.G.K. magistrate and kerkraad assembled to welcome an Anglican curate to Malmesbury(120); Bishop Gibson was given an address of welcome by the gemeente at Ceres(121); in the same town some years later, the gemeente actually paid the Archbishop a call of respect(122); the dominee at Willowmore asked Bishop Cameron to address a men's meeting(123); a large number of Western Cape predikants, including Andrew Murray, presented Archdeacon Lightfoot with a printed address on his seventieth birthday(124); the mayor of Beaufort West, speaking on behalf of the local gemeente, praised the work of Mr. Gething, rector for thirty-seven years(125). And all this between two denominations representing two antagonistic cultures and allegiances, springing from different roots, national and theological, and at a time of tension and war.

What is the explanation? First of all, although the reports of antagonisms between the two denominations are limited, they are there, and they ought not to be ignored. They represent, very probably, deep-seated feelings which existed more widely than the records would seem to indicate. At this level, the editors of church periodicals and publications were not in the habit of seeking to highlight areas of interdenominational friction --- on theological issues it was different ---, whereas co-operation, especially around festive events in the churches' lives (bazaars, the comings and goings of clergy) would receive attention. Stress is placed on the positive, those who were present, rather than on the negative, those who were not. It may well be --- it almost certainly is --- that glowing reports of mutual activity and respect cover hidden individual and corporate sentiments of suspicion, distrust and alienation. Occasionally they burst to the surface. A good example is the already quoted letter from Bishop Gibson, praising the kindness of the N.G.K. gemeente at Prieska, followed in the same copy of "The Cape Church Monthly", by that of the

roving Anglican priest, Mr. Hoare, and speaking of the powerful anti-British sentiment in that town which had sent some Anglicans packing(126). Is it possible that this ambivalence was fairly widespread? Almost certainly.

A second point to be made is that practically all the records of mutual respect or co-operation come from the small, rural communities of the Colony, and that a high percentage of them involve local official dignitaries, such as the clergy or the kerkraad. In other words, they spring from communities in which everyone knew everyone else socially, and consequently mutual interaction, even in church matters, would be seen more on a social than an ecclesiastical level. The two denominations might represent cultural and political diversity, but this did not prevent Mev. Swanepoel from making fudge for her neighbour, Mrs. Smith's, church bazaar, and from patronizing that bazaar. Even where this social inter-denominational interaction was slight, the small community of the platteland dorp made it difficult for dominee entirely to ignore rector or for official functions of either body to pass unnoticed. Where this did occur, a strong argument for the conclusion that the one was "ignoring" the other could be made.

Furthermore, there was not much on the purely local scene that could foster antagonisms. Whereas the N.G.K. ministered to the Dutch or Afrikaans-speaking white inhabitants, the C.P.S.A. tended to draw together those of English origin. Both denominations might conceivably be found to be working amongst the coloured population, especially in the Western Cape or in the bigger towns of the platteland, but there are almost no records of antagonism caused by rivalry or "sheep-stealing". In the smaller towns, the "coloured work" was very largely in the hands of one or other denomination.

the Anglicans had almost a monopoly in the platteland towns(127). For these reasons, there was virtually no treading on each other's toes.

To conclude, the picture presented is a mixed one. At the official level, the two denominations, in their increasing identification with national and imperial aspirations, were drifting apart. The formally polite things they once wrote about one another in their official journals became fewer and fewer until limited to one or two magnanimous Anglican leaders in Anglican journals and almost total silence in "De Kerkbode". Top leadership in both denominations more and more ignored the other, articulating only their own cultural partisanship and political interests, and referring only to the other when it was felt that a common interest was being threatened. Such was the case in legislation dealing with education, the sale of alcohol and marriage and divorce. Otherwise, distrust and suspicion appears to have prevailed, broken only by an occasional joint-appeal to prayer in the war situation. That, after all, was harmless enough.

The larger towns were, on the whole, English-speaking. So was the Eastern Cape. It is not surprising, therefore, that in these areas the imperial Anglican view tended to prevail: an arrogant suspicion of the N.G.K. and its activities. On the rest of the platteland, the N.G.K. was predominant, and it is mainly from these areas that there come reports of co-operation and respect. Clearly the antagonisms of war and of emergent nationalism were not absent from these areas, as the evidence shows, but it would appear that in many places the "small town mentality" got the upper hand, enabling there to be a modus vivendi which was lacking in other places. But many though the reports be of platteland amity, they were limited in their influence, and the overall picture remains of two ecclesiastical institutions drifting into an indifference and eventually an enmity towards each other. They were two different worlds, swinging on their

own orbits, more and more at variance with one another.

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- (1) De Kerkbode, December 12, 1874, p.398.
- (2) The Church Chronicle, March 1882, Vol.III, p.92.
- (3) C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet: A Cultural History, (Cape & Transvaal Printers, 1975), pp.105, 106, 114-5.
- (4) T. Dunbar Moodie, The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid & The Afrikaner Civil Religion, (Univ. of California Press, 1975) pp.39 ff.
- (5) I. Hexham, Totalitarian Calvinism - The Reformed (Dopper) Community in South Africa, 1902-1919, (Unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Univ. Bristol, 1975) pp.53, 59.
- (6) C.M. van den Heever & P. de V. Pienaar, Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner, (Nasionale Pers, 1947) Deel II, pp.207-8.
- (7) P.G.J. Meiring, "Nationalism in the Dutch Reformed Churches", Church and Nationalism in South Africa, T. Sundermeier (ed.), (Raven Press, 1975) p.56.
- (8) Ibid, pp.57-8.  
C. Steenkamp Kotze, Die N.G.K. in Suid Afrika en die Ekumeniese Beweging tot 1910, (M.Th., Univ. of Stellenbosch, 1970) pp.73-8.
- (9) De Kerkbode, August 10, 1899, pp.495-6.
- (10) C. Steenkamp Kotze, op.cit., pp.48-9.
- (11) T. Dunbar Moodie, op.cit., pp.46-7.  
De Kerkbode, October 6, 1910, pp.214-5.  
It is interesting to note that in "De Kerkbode article, "Positie Onzer Kerk in de Steden", the cities are spoken of as "of English foundation". The article mentioned that the N.G.K. had managed to establish itself in them, but called strongly for men of dedication who would uphold the honour of the N.G.K. in them.
- (12) T. Dunbar Moodie, op.cit., p.48.
- (13) The Cape Church Monthly and Parish Record, August 1907, (Under notes).
- (14) Ibid, September 1903, ("Home Edition" dated October).
- (15) Idem.
- (16) Ibid, September 1907, ("Home Edition" dated October).  
T. Sundermeier, (ed.) op.cit., p.64.
- (17) De Kerkbode, July 29, 1897, p.471; July 20, 1899, p.460.
- (18) M.H.M. Wood, A Father in God: The Episcopate of William West Jones, (MacMillan, 1913) p.249.

- (19) De Kerkbode, October 19, 1899, pp.656-7; also viz. June 24, 1887, p.198.
- (20) Ibid, January 31, 1901, p.62.
- (21) C. Steenkamp Kotze, op.cit., p.72.
- (22) De Kerkbode, August 10, 1899, pp.495-6; October 19, 1899, pp.656-7.
- (23) Ibid, October 12, 1899, pp.648-9; November 30, 1899, p.755.  
J. du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, (Marshall Bros., 1919) pp.424-7.
- (24) C. Steenkamp Kotze, op.cit., p.89.
- (25) The Cape Church Monthly & Parish Record, March 1900, ("Home Edition" dated April).
- (26) Letter by Bishop Gibson to the Cape Church Monthly, August 1901.
- (27) De Kerkbode, March 2, 1905, p.100.
- (28) Ibid, March 22, 1873, p.92.
- (29) Ibid, June 27, 1874, p.204.
- (30) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.122-3.
- (31) Ibid, pp.148 ff.
- (32) The Cape Church Monthly & Parish Record, September 1898.
- (33) Ibid, May 1899.
- (34) Ibid, July 1895.
- (35) De Kerkbode, March 22, 1873, p.92. (36) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.122-3.
- (37) Ibid, pp.159-60, 205.
- (38) Ibid, p.147.
- (39) e.g. G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld - Bransby Lewis Key, (Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1911) pp.172-80.  
Cape Church Monthly & Parish Record, April 1896, and throughout the war period.
- (40) e.g. The Church Chronicle and The Cape Church Monthly.
- (41) Cape Church Monthly, October 1903.  
P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, pp.135-9.
- (42) A.W. Robinson, The Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa, (Longmans, Green & Co., 1906) pp.13-14.
- (43) The Cape Church Monthly, April 1896.

(44) Ibid, April 1897.

(45) Ibid, June 1897, ("Home Edition" dated July).

De Kerkbode, July 29, 1897, pp.465-6.

The content of Mason's sermon, preached to commemorate the 1300th anniversary of the landing in England of Augustine of Canterbury and the 50th anniversary of the landing of Gray at the Cape, is significant as the judgment of the perceptive mind of a Church of England academic who had visited South Africa. He commented on the N.G.K.'s history of adaptation to African conditions and its capacity for absorbing others --- the Huguenots of the 17th century and the Scots ministers of the 19th. The fact that the N.G.K. was adaptable was a good thing, as was the fact that attempts had been made to find some ground of unity between the two denominations. While acknowledging that any hopes of unity were slim, he emphasized that the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. could simply not go on working together in the same land as though the other did not exist.

Mason saw in South African Anglicanism a danger that English-speaking church folk might press their "English-ness" too far, especially in view of the then-prevailing tensions (1897), and he called upon his fellow-Anglicans to realize that they were Christians first and Englishmen second, and that in Christ there was neither Dutch nor English.

The sermon provides a telling commentary on the state of C.P.S.A.-N.G.K. relations at the period as seen by a reasonably objective outside observer.

(46) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.243.

(47) C. Steenkamp Kotze, op.cit., pp.34-5.

(48) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.250, 335, 354-5.

The Cape Church Monthly, April 1902; June 1901; July 1901.

(49) Griqualand West Church Magazine and Banner of Faith, April 1885.

(50) The Cape Church Monthly, "Intercessions", January 1903.

(51) Ibid, December 1908, ("Home Edition", January 1909).

(52) Ibid, "Editorial", February 1904.

(53) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.355.

(54) The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", April 1897.

(55) Ibid, November 1900.

(56) Ibid, June 1901.

(57) Ibid, July 1901.

(58) Ibid, September, 1901.

(59) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.90.

(60) Ibid, pp.90-1.

De Kerkbode, July 10, 1875, pp.221-2.

- (61) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.117.
- (62) Ibid, p.296.  
The Church Chronicle, February 1890, Vol.XI, p.63.
- (63) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.298, 316, 321.
- (64) Ibid, pp.436-7.
- (65) Ibid, p.318.  
P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.187.
- (66) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.242 et al.
- (67) G. Callaway, op.cit., p.102.
- (68) The Cape Church Monthly, "By Authority", September 1899.
- (69) Ibid, October 1899.
- (70) Ibid, December 1899.
- (71) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.317.
- (72) The Cape Church Monthly, "Worcester", August 1879; "Oudtshoorn", November 1900, et al.
- (73) De Kerkbode, October 12, 1899, pp.648-9; November 30, 1899, p.755.
- (74) The Cape Church Monthly, "Correspondence", January 1900.
- (75) Ibid, "Bishop Gibson's Letter", November 1899.
- (76) Ibid, "Editorial", January 1900.
- (77) Ibid, December 1899.
- (78) Ibid, "Editorial", September 1900.
- (79) Ibid, February 1900.
- (80) Ibid, April 1900.
- (81) Ibid, "Intercessions", January 1903.
- (82) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.355.
- (83) The Cape Church Monthly, February 1900, ("Home Edition" dated March).
- (84) Ibid, June 1900, ("Home Edition" dated July & August).
- (85) Ibid, January 1900; "St.Barnabas, Kloof Road, and Simonstown", March 1900; "Archbishop's Letter", June 1900; "Our Chaplains" et al July 1900.
- (86) Paul Bull,C.R., God and Our Soldiers, (A.A. Mowbray & Co.,1914).

This description of Anglican jingoism in South Africa

should not lead to the supposition that the C.P.S.A. was never critical of the imperial or colonial authorities. The chapter on education during this period (1872-1910) indicates real Anglican dissatisfactions and suspicions with some government trends, and these were quite publicly articulated. Other areas in which the C.P.S.A. adopted an openly critical attitude towards the government was in its treatment of coloured and black people, (P. Hinchliff, "The English-speaking Churches in South Africa in the 19th century", Journal of Theology for South Africa, No.9, December 1974, pp.33-4. & M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.341.) and on issues of legislation affecting the sale of alcohol. (The Church Chronicle, October 1887, pp.317-22.) Immediately before the outbreak of war in 1899, West Jones had conversations with both Milner and Schreiner in an attempt to modify excessive British demands, (M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.316.) while during the war itself a War Office Commission was set up to investigate the conditions in military hospitals as a result of direct and forceful public Anglican representations. (Ibid, pp.319-20.) However, these did not touch the crucial issues of national allegiance and solidarity with Queen and Empire which the C.P.S.A. so strongly espoused. Even "The Church Chronicle's" early stigmatizing of the English in South Africa as "self-seekers, whether under the garb of wealth, ease or pleasure" is more a criticism of those vices than of the British connection.

(87) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, pp.185-7.

(88) P.G.J. Meiring, "Nationalism in the Dutch Reformed Churches", Church and Nationalism in South Africa, T. Sundermeier (ed.), pp.57-8.

(89) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.358-9.

(90) J. du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, p.427.

(91) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.346.

(92) The Cape Church Monthly, "Bishop Gibson's Letter", July 1900.

(93) Ibid, "Stellenbosch", January 1901.

(94) Ibid, "Worcester", July 1908.

(95) A.G.S. Gibson, Sketches of Church Work and Life in the Diocese of Cape Town, pp.100-1.

(96) The Cape Church Monthly, "All Saints Home", November 1903, ("Home Edition dated December 1903).

(97) The sole exception is in the edition of September 1888, where it is recorded that the opening of an N.G.Sending-skool at Beaconsfield led to children being withdrawn from All Saints Anglican School.

(98) The Cape Church Monthly, "Knysna", August 1901; "Ceres", May 1902; "Worcester", June 1905; "Ceres", March 1906; "Malmesbury", June 1908; "Fraserburg", January 1909.

(99) Ibid, "Victoria West", November 1908.

- (100) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.86, 436-7.  
The Cape Church Monthly, "Oudtshoorn", September 1896; "Clanwilliam", October 1896; "Malmesbury", November 1897; "Ceres", December, 1897; "Riversdale", June 1898; "Stellenbosch", October 1898; "Graaff-Reinet", November 1899; "Oudtshoorn", December 1902; "Malmesbury", January 1903; "Hopefield", March 1906; "Beaufort West", October, 1907; "Swellendam", July 1908; "Kalk Bay", June 1910; "Clanwilliam", July 1910.  
A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., p.90.  
The Church Chronicle, February 1885, Vol.VI, pp.62-3; October 1886, Vol.VII, p.318; April 1888, Vol.IX, pp.117-20; April 1889, Vol.X, p.127.
- (101) The Cape Church Monthly, "Piquetberg", October 1904; "Cape Town", October 1904; "ECMS", April 1905; "Hopefield", September 1908.
- (102) A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., pp.53-4.
- (103) W.G.H. & S. Vivier, Hart van die Groot Karoo (W.G.H. Vivier, 1975) p.71.
- (104) The Cape Church Monthly, "Laingsburg", October 1907; "Fraserburg", August 1904.
- (105) Ibid, "The Church in Isolated Districts", February 1903.
- (106) Ibid, "Tulbagh", February 1904.
- (107) The Church Chronicle, November 1883, Vol.IV, p.384.
- (108) The Cape Church Monthly, "Piquetberg", October 1904.
- (109) Ibid, "Bishop Gibson's Letter", April 1905.
- (110) Ibid, "Clanwilliam", February 1898; "The Rev. W.O. Jenkins", November 1899; "Swellendam", November 1905; "Swellendam", September 1906; "Bredasdorp", August 1907; "Wellington", June 1909.
- (111) Ibid, "Swellendam", March 1898; "Mossel Bay", July 1908; (This is an interesting case in that the N.G.K. predikant apologizes for being unable to attend the memorial service for an Anglican Archbishop.)
- (112) Ibid, "Provincial Synod", November 1909.
- (113) A.W. Robinson, op.cit., p.17.
- (114) The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", August 1902.
- (115) Ibid, May 1898, ("Home Edition" dated June 1898); "Bishop Gibson's Letter", October 1898; "Bishop Gibson's Letter", February 1900, ("Home Edition" dated March 1900).
- (116) H.P. Barnett-Clarke, The Life and Times of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, B.D., (Darter Bros. & Co., 1908) p.64.
- (117) The Church Chronicle, January 1888, Vol.IX, pp.16-17.
- (118) The Church Chronicle, July 1887, Vol.VIII, p.225.

(119) The Cape Church Monthly, "Uniondale & Willowmore", October 1896.

(120) Ibid, "Malmesbury", November 1897.

(121) Ibid, "Bishop Gibson's Letter", December 1897.

(122) Ibid, "Archbishop's Letter", December 1906.

(123) Ibid, "Uniondale & Willowmore", November 1908.

(124) Ibid, "Presentations to the Archdeacon", May 1901.

(125) Ibid, "Beaufort West", September 1905.

(126) Ibid, "Bishop Gibson's Letter" & "Letter from Mr. Hoare", March 1900, ("Home Edition" dated April 1900).

(127) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, pp.135-40.

(128) The N.G.K. was not without its international connections. In 1877, the first meeting of the World Reformed Alliance took place in Edinburgh, and Andrew Murray was one of the speakers at this initial gathering. But with the N.G.K.'s increasing concern with its own domestic affairs in the context of political developments in South Africa, the World Reformed Alliance did not play the same part in its psychology as the Anglican Communion did in that of the C.P.S.A. (J.T. McNeill and J.H. Nichols, Ecumenical Testimony: The Concern for Christian Unity within the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches, [Westminster Press, 1974], pp.193-214).

## CHAPTER 8

### MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

C. Steenkamp Kotze, in his work on N.G.K. ecumenical involvement in the 19th century, comments that ecumenical initiative usually came from outside the N.G.K., except in missionary matters(1). Archbishop West Jones, writing to Bishop Bousfield in 1881, claimed that the N.G.K. was "in no way a missionary body"(2). How can these two statements be reconciled?

Basically, by the end of the 19th century, the phrase "missionary work" could connote one or more of three alternatives. Either it referred to pioneer evangelization and the establishment of Christian standards in "remote" places amongst the "pagan and uncivilized" blacks, or it referred to fairly traditional endeavours amongst the coloured peoples in towns, settlements or on the farms, or it was used to apply to literature work, especially the publishing and distribution of Bibles. An Anglican would almost invariably apply the term "missionary work" to those three activities in that order; the chances are that a member of the N.G.K. would not.

To most white Anglicans --- and the emphasis was quickly communicated to the coloured worshippers --- an African mission was a distant place where brave and dedicated men had set up a church, a school and possibly a hospital in a lonely situation amongst the heathen black. This was the picture presented to them in their parishes "back home" and for which their prayers and generous giving were sought. It was this sort of enterprise that Bishop Gray was

eager that more settled parishes in the Cape should initiate and support(3). It was this vision that was fulfilled in the Ciskei and the Transkei, and that was developed into a co-ordinated work in the Diocese of St. John's, Kaffraria, founded in 1873.

It was really the vision of the English churchman translated to South African shores in the form of the Anglican episcopal administrator, imported bishops such as Gray and West Jones. Indeed, Archbishop West Jones' view of mission is typical of an entire class of churchmen. It is closely linked with the Union Jack and the spread of Empire. It is characterized by a paternalistic authoritarianism. West Jones believed in a vigorous missionary outreach in Southern Africa and he did all he could to promote it, but it is significant that in his planning of it he laid great stress on the success of such secular enterprises as Rhodes' search for a concession from Lobengula in Matabeleland or the military campaign against the forces of Cetshwayo in Zululand(4).

This was the view of the administrators, but the view of Anglican missionary leaders on the field was not all that different. Emphasis in details might vary, but basically paternalism and the good of Empire predominated in their thinking too. Perhaps Bishop Bransby Lewis Key is the most articulate of Anglican missionary thinkers at this time, and it is from his addresses and writings that we get the extraordinary mix of the Anglican missionary mentality. It is the son of Empire who cannot divorce pioneer evangelism from the need to inculcate loyalty to the Queen(5). It is the 19th-century Anglican bishop who sees in Christian conversion the guarantee for peace and stability and progress in the Colony(6). It is the man proudly conscious of his British traditions who fears the introduction of democratic principles for blacks, and writes, "We should pause before

we take it for granted that institutions which have taken centuries to develop...will suit the Kaffirs."(7) It is the Christian administrative realist who says,

Those old heathen virtues are becoming things of the past, and melt away, like snow before the sun, when brought into contact with our civilization. What remains of heathen life will breed nothing but amoral corruption in our midst, unless it is reanimated...by a life which only Christ can give(8).

And yet, despite all this mixture of jingoism, paternalism and ethno-centricity, there is the fundamental loving heart of the Christian missionary:

To get to know these wild tribes who have grown up through so many years with a language and habits all their own; to watch their first suspicions die away; to win their confidences; to learn their strange forms of speech, and find the human soul that lies in their dark eyes, souls not so very different from our own. And, having learned this, not to pass on, but to watch, under God's grace, the soul growing in light, the sense of sin being evolved, and the love of truth and purity, the love of Christ slowly growing up(9).

Yet, despite all these mixed motives --- perhaps because of them --- the needs and call of the missionary task of the Church were laid with ever-increasing emphasis before the wealthier and more settled congregations of the Anglican Church in the Colony. The vast bulk of missionary finance still came from abroad --- the work in the Transkei was maintained financially by the Church of Scotland(10) ---, but more and more, attempts were being made to stir the colonial church to its responsibilities. It may well be the knowledge of seemingly endless support from Britain that made the local church so slow to respond. Certainly this was the case in the mission congregations when they, especially after the Clydesdale Conference of 1889, were exhorted to alms-giving on behalf of the conversion of those around them. No wonder that a "tax" was suggested as a healthy encouragement(11)!

There is no doubt that this period (1872-1910) was supremely the

period of Anglican missionary expansion in the Cape and in Southern Africa. The way missionary enterprise manifested itself was varied. The chief emphasis in most peoples' minds was still on the "in heathen lands afar" concept, and the pattern was, by and large, precisely that, centred around church and school. But the school could develop into an industrial school, such as that at Kieskama Hoek(12), while already hospitals were becoming fairly common pieces of missionary paraphernalia --- sometimes, as at Ntlaza, with priest-doctors(13). But missionary work "nearer home" was also developing. Bishop Gibson talks of mission chapels dotting the Cape Peninsula itself to serve black and brown(14) --- in his view, segregated locations for blacks were a good thing in that it facilitated the preaching of the gospel to the "heathen"(15) --- while "Kafir work" was not being neglected in the metropolitan area, at the docks, at the Uitvlugt camp, in the locations and through the medium of open-air preaching in Woodstock(16). The situation on the platteland differed from town to town. There was "Kafir work" at Beaufort West(17), but mostly the outreach was to the considerable coloured population. This was sometimes done through the parish church, sometimes through separate mission churches --- and in Dutch ---, and often through out-stations on farms and in lonely places. In towns in which there was little white Anglican presence, coloured mission was the predominant activity --- Bredasdorp was a case in point(18). There were also the coloured mission stations, like Abbotsdale, founded by Gray and based on Moravian lines. An interesting missionary situation pertained in the coloured community at Zuurbraak: although the land was actually owned by the Colonial Government, it was a missionary community served by both the C.P.S.A. and the the N.G.K.(19).

All in all, this is a fascinating record of missionary endeavour, made all the more amazing if the complaint of Mr. Batty,

the Rector of Adelaide, that very few clergy could speak Dutch or Xhosa, is true(20). He also makes the interesting observation that, although illiterate blacks in the missionary areas were receiving the serious attentions of the Anglican Church, the "semi-civilized natives in the towns" were being very largely neglected. It was in the towns that clerical linguistic inability was most evident, and, complained Mr. Batty, the Methodists and the N.G.K. benefitted accordingly!

But, by and laarge, all this sums up clerical and official ecclesiastical attitudes in the Anglican Church. Mention has already been made of attempts to awaken the colonial laity to their responsibilities in regard to missions, and certainly such attempts were necessary, especially in predominantly white congregations and especially in the Eastern Cape, the area closest to the black mission field. In the Eastern Cape, white lay attitudes varied from indifference to outright hostility(21). There were complaints that the clergy were more interested in "the natives" than in their own countrymen(22), while a certain Mr. Webb of Peddie claimed, in a letter to "The Church Chronicle" in 1880, that the missionaries had never done anything to improve the black people!(23) If this was the attitude in the 1880's, it does not seem to have changed all that significantly towards the end of this period. The English missionaries who arrived to conduct the Mission of Help in 1904, were warned by the local clergy to expect faithful white congregations who were fair-minded towards the blacks, but who saw no reason whatever for missions and who regarded the efforts to convert blacks as unnecessary(24). The fact of the matter was that white consciousness of superiority and of colour had, if anything, been accentuated by a church that would have longed to deny it. But a denomination which approached black people in a spirit of condescending paternalism, which linked evangelism with imperial loyalty, which sought missionary

support by characterizing those it aimed to convert in terms of ignorance and heathendom, whose bishops supported segregation --- for whatever motives --- and whose parishes built separate "mission" churches for the local coloured population(25) --- such a denomination could hardly be surprised if the bulk of its laity were lukewarm in their interest in the conversion and incorporation of black and coloured people in the Church.

Although there were many similarities in the N.G.K.'s response to the missionary challenge, their perspective, tempered by a different historical experience in the missionary context, was bound to be different(26). The first heathen they had encountered had not been the black Africans of the Bantu tribes, but the Khoi and San peoples of the western and south-western Cape. These, along with imported slaves --- possibly Muslim --- had become integrated into the living pattern of the Dutch colonists, so that such concept of "missionary work" as there might have been would have presented itself primarily, though not exclusively, in terms of an unconverted and non-Christian community living cheek by jowl with Christian believers. At first, such missionary work was regarded with grave suspicion as a threat to the availability of labour --- until the beginning of the 19th century, baptized slaves were required to be released, while mission settlements were at all times regarded as havens for the idle ---, but the eventual official encouragement and espousing of mission work in the 19th century by the N.G.K. envisaged it primarily in terms of work amongst coloured people in towns and on farms.

The real break-through came in the 60's: the personality of Andrew Murray, the decisions of the 1857 Synod, the spiritual awakening and the recruiting of missionaries from Scotland all helped to change the whole tone and dynamic of N.G.K. missionary activity. Consequently, the N.G.K., like the C.P.S.A., experienced an increasing

missionary momentum during this period (1872-1910), but, whereas the Anglican Church in the Cape Colony was able to work on more local fields amongst the black tribes - in the Ciskei and the Transkei ---, the N.G.K., aware of the presence of other evangelical bodies in these fields(27), went beyond the Colony, most notably to the northern Transvaal and Nyasaland(28).

In the Cape Colony itself, therefore, the main thrust of missionary activity for the N.G.K. remained with the local gemeentes and in the local communities, a practice so different from Anglican concepts of missionary work that it gave rise to the ignorant jibe that the N.G.K. was not a missionary church! Many gemeentes had their own local missionary bodies, not only for the purpose of keeping distant missions before the awareness of their members, but also of stirring up vision of what should be done locally. Most of the platteland dorps had their own sendingskerke, initiated and sponsored by the moederkerk (29), even if the white kleurlingpredikant was regarded as being slightly inferior to the man who occupied the moederkerk's pulpit!(30) Generally speaking, the response of a man whose sons wanted to be missionaries tended to be far more favourable in N.G.K. circles than it was in Anglican communities(31).

The N.G.K. attitude to missions during this period was very much dictated by the views of Andrew Murray, and especially through his book, "The Key to the Missionary Problem"(32). Here there is no talk about Queen and Empire, peace, stability and progress. The rationale is entirely theological: mission is the chief end of the Church; the purpose of the ordained ministry is to guide and fit the Church to fulfil that end; preaching is the means that must be used to train a congregation to take its rightful part in helping the Church to fulfil its task.

Murray did not hesitate in his labours to bring to reality the vision he had laid out on paper. In 1877, he founded a missionary training school at Wellington(33); in 1888, he initiated the Predikanten Zendingvereniging to stir up a proper sense of responsibility in the ordained ministry(34); the founding of the Nyasaland mission in 1888 was largely due to his efforts(35) --- and was generously staffed by his own sons! --- in 1903, he founded another missionary training institute at Worcester to meet the needs of prisoners-of-war returning from camps in which there had been spiritual renewal(36). There was also the Laymens' Missionary Union and numerous congresses around the country, all intended to focus the whole Church's attention on the missionary imperative(37). Nor were Murray and his many followers in the N.G.K. stinting in their support of missionary work outside their own denomination: in 1889, Murray supported the work of an English non-denominational mission, the Cape General Mission (later the S.A.G.M.)(38), while he was always calling for support for the British and Foreign Bible Society, branches of which were started with N.G.K. initiative in some country towns(39).

In all this, official ventures had a remarkably high degree of lay support, and in this there was a noticeable contrast with the C.P.S.A. This is all the more surprising in a body which appeared to have compromised on the anti-segregation principle. Yet, under all this activity, the concept of racial separation was strong. The Anglican Church, while officially espousing a non-segregationalist model, unwittingly encouraged separation in its institutions and by its attitudes. It could possibly claim --- only just possibly! --- that this was a language issue: its whites worshipped in English, its coloureds in Dutch and its blacks in Xhosa. The N.G.K. could make no such claim --- all its gemeentes worshipped in Dutch, though a little English was occasionally used. The claim could be --- and was ---

that differentiation was based on cultural grounds(40), but segregation became more and more both practice and policy. This reached its climax in 1880 when it was decided to give full autonomy to the "non-white" section of the N.G.K., and in 1881, the N.G.Sendingkerk held its first synod at Wellington and elected its first officers(41). This was seen as a great step forward, indicative of the great contrast in official attitudes between the N.G.K. and a church that was seeking to integrate all racial groups into a unitary system of church government.

Everything that has been said up to this point is by way of generalization within the context of that overall ecclesiastical activity which is usually subsumed under the heading of "missionary endeavour". But there were in the Cape also some rather more specific manifestations of missionary activity that cast some light on the factors operating in the sphere of N.G.K.-C.P.S.A. attitudes and relations. One of the more curious of these is concerned with the Order of Ethiopia. The Order is connected with the name of James Mata Dwane, who, although not strictly its founder, became its guiding spirit, leading it through other denominational allegiances until it found a not always easy home in a negotiated settlement with the C.P.S.A. The Order, which was eventually almost entirely confined to the Eastern Cape, was an early attempt by blacks to cast off white ecclesiastical control and to establish a Christian worship characterized by black cultural forms and symbols. The reaction of the C.P.S.A., normally so paternalistic in missionary matters, to approaches by the Order for incorporation is extraordinarily modern and enlightened! Bishop Cameron's view, expressed in 1909, retains an authentically paternalistic flavour: that Dwane's vindication of "various old native customs, which had been ignorantly stigmatized by European missionaries as heathenish or immoral" was interesting, but

too modern to receive universal approval(42). But the predominant view in this matter was that expressed in a pastoral letter from the bishops nine years earlier: "We are convinced that our Church would have failed in her duty if she proved incapable of welcoming and of comprehending such elements of native thought and devotion as have thus been working out their own development."(43) This is a remarkable view to have been expressed in 1900 and seems to go against the grain of much, but obviously not all, missionary thinking. The Order was accepted by the C.P.S.A., which provided for the training of its catechists at Queenstown and arranged episcopal visitations to its mission stations. Indeed, Archbishop West Jones' view was that the Order could be "a powerful instrument of blessing in the hands of Almighty God for the evangelization of the many thousands of heathen in South Africa."(44)

Thus a denomination, committed to non-racialism in its structures, took under its wing a manifestation of "blacks only" Christianity! One does not know whether to be surprised or not at the N.G.K. Cape Synod's decision --- it was the only synod in Southern Africa that made this decision --- to recognize the Order of Ethiopia as an authentically Christian body(45). Committed to a policy of separate synods itself, the N.G.K. would have no difficulty with the mere existence of the Order, but that it should have no difficulty in accepting the fact of the Order's movement towards the C.P.S.A. is a little surprising. And for a church committed to so strict an orthodoxy, its recognition of the Order as "authentically Christian", without much reference to the possible dangers of syncretism, is most surprising --- and enlightened! It would seem that under all the differing missionary activity of the two bodies, there were developing some advanced missiological insights which both bodies had embryonically in common.

These insights surface once again within the C.P.S.A. in relation to Muslim work. In August, 1887, the Rev. J.A. Hewitt submitted an article to "The Church Chronicle" in which he suggested that Muslim religious and cultural practices should be baptized into Christian practice, e.g. standing for prayer, removing all pictures and statues and worshipping in Arabic(46). The fact of the matter was that neither denomination had been able to follow missionary work amongst the Muslims through with any degree of sustained diligence. Individual parishes and gemeentes tried to evangelize, but with very little success. Between 1875 and 1881, Archbishop West Jones had stationed a Dr. J.M. Arnold in Cape Town to work amongst the Muslims(47), and after 1881, he asked the Society of St. John the Evangelist to undertake this. But the Society was soon so involved in other things that this priority lapsed(48).

A less conventional area of mission was that to convicts and lunatics on Robben Island, and here both the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A. worked in close harmony together. In 1868, Gray had appointed a resident minister to the island, and he was joined by an N.G.K. colleague in 1894.(49)

Something should also be said about so-called "missions", special campaigns of evangelism to nominally Christian areas. Throughout this period, such missions were fairly common within the N.G.K., Andrew Murray being regarded as chief sponsor and speaker. Not that they were always approved of --- one predikant, Ds. A.J. Steytler, in an address to Synod, referred to them as a danger to the Church. What was needed, he said, was regular preaching of the word and faithful ministry(50).

The fact that "The Cape Church Monthly", an Anglican journal, quotes this with approval indicates with accuracy that this was

precisely the Anglican view. The C.P.S.A. was not, by and large, given to evangelistic campaigns --- after all, it was a Tractarian body without that evangelical emphasis which predominated in the N.G.K., and especially in Murray-ite circles. Nevertheless, a mere two years before "The Cape Church Monthly" quoted Ds. Steytler with approval, the C.P.S.A. had had an extensive "mission" effort, the so-called "Mission of Help".

This "Mission" was a conscious post-Boer War effort in which a team of churchmen was brought from England to travel through the Anglican Church in South Africa. The emphasis lay rather on "moral and social questions"(51) and on strengthening links between "the home and colonial churches"(52). It was something totally different from N.G.K. "missions", reflecting all the ethos of the British liberal tradition in ecclesiastical garb rather than an ardent desire to save sinners.

One of the greatest emphases in N.G.K. missionary energy during this period lay in the training of missionaries. Murray's foundations at Wellington and Worcester are indicative of his --- and consequently the N.G.K.'s --- sense of missionary priority and of the need that missionaries be trained as such. There was no such emphasis in Anglican circles. Ordination was sufficient qualification for missionary work --- and sometimes not even that. A simply call to the mission field was sufficient. Once again, the theological emphases of the two denominations dictated the difference. For the N.G.K., the missionary was primarily a preacher of the Word who must himself be instructed in the Word and how to proclaim it most effectively. Anglican sacramentalism required in missionary areas the oversight of a bishop --- hence the creation of the Diocese of St. John's --- and the activities of ordained men, qualified to dispense the sacraments. Not that preaching was unimportant; it was recognized as essential by

the Anglicans, but only as instrumental in the creation of the sacramental community. It was to this end that the C.P.S.A., in its missionary outreach, made use of religious orders, which had sprung into being in England under the influence of the Oxford Movement. The Society of St. John the Evangelist (the Cowley Fathers), in particular, were used, first amongst Muslims and blacks in Cape Town, then at Tsolo in the Transkei, then throughout the Transkei. It was the S.S.J.E., too, that undertook the training of catechists for the Order of Ethiopia in Queenstown(53).

In view of what has been said with regard to variation in attitude to missionary work, and taking into consideration the political and doctrinal tensions which affected relations between the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A. during this period, it is not surprising that, apart from occasional missionary conferences, there was little contact between the two bodies at the level of pioneer evangelism amongst the black "heathen" in the Colony. Apart from anything else, the N.G.K. was totally absent from the Transkei where the bulk of Anglican missionary work in the Colony was concentrated(54).

But even at the level of missionary work in the dorps and rural areas of the Colony, work amongst the Coloured people, there was very little official contact. Again, theology played its part, but there was also that difference in ecclesiastical policy that led the N.G.K. to develop its rural mission work separately from the life of the moedergemeente, a separation that ultimately led to the foundation of the autonomous N.G.-Sendingkerk. Consequently, such contact as there might have been would have been between the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.-Sendingkerk rather than the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K.

But, while it was true that there was very little official contact, it was also true that there was remarkably little friction.

At this level, at any rate, the two denominations, while not belittling their differences, did appear to come closest to a recognition that they might be doing approximately the same thing. Indeed, there are wide and interesting records of N.G.K. sympathy and co-operation with C.P.S.A. missionary activities in rural areas. Ds. C.F. Leipoldt of Clanwilliam, a highly respected man and former missionary in Sumatra, attended a missionary meeting, to be addressed by Bishop Gibson at the local Anglican church(55); a former rector of Malmesbury, though recalling one instance of N.G.K. hostility to C.P.S.A. missionary efforts amongst Coloureds in the Zwartland, bore testimony to years of N.G.K. kindness and help in supporting such work(56); Andrew Murray and Archbishop West Jones shared the platform at a meeting to stimulate missionary interest at Oudtshoorn(57); a member of the N.G.K. gemeente at Mossel Bay encouraged Anglican work amongst his farm-labourers and gave the C.P.S.A. a building to use as a chapel(58). This last instance has an interesting sequel, related by Bishop Gibson in a passage that represents N.G.K.-C.P.S.A. attitudes in this area of mission:

But soon after, our good friend gave up his farm, and his Boer successor immediately turned us out on the very shortest notice --- the only instance I have ever known of direct and open hostility (italics mine). And against this must be set almost a life's experience of very much kindness, and sometimes even of assistance and encouragement, received from our farmers of Dutch descent(59).

It is appropriate, in recording N.G.K. friendliness towards C.P.S.A. rural missionary activity, to mention also that there were voices in the C.P.S.A. whose appreciation of missionary activity, whether amongst "the heathen" or in local communities, was wider than the purely denominational. Bishop Key articulates this:

We must allow the principle that wherever we see the fruits of the Spirit, we must refer them to the work of the Spirit, and acknowledge, not theoretically only, but practically, that

from Him, and from Him alone, proceed "all holy desires, all good counsels and all just works". On this principle we shall be able to rejoice at any good work done, though not done by ourselves, and outside our own Church, and it may be even in ways which we do not think desirable and of which we cannot approve(60).

The third area of missionary activity, namely that of Bible and literature distribution, saw a modicum of formal co-operation, especially in the Bible Society, but, as might have been expected, the N.G.K. had the cause more at heart than did the C.P.S.A. No-one could deny that the cause was a good one, however, and that it did aid the propagation of the gospel. Consequently it was not lacking episcopal commendation from the C.P.S.A. The initiative, however, invariably lay with the N.G.K.(61) --- as Steenkamp points out, the one area of ecumenical activity in which the N.G.K. was the prime mover.

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(1) C. Steenkamp Kotze, Die N.G.K. in Suid Afrika en die Ekumeniese Beweging tot 1910, (M.Th.thesis for Univ.Stellenbosch, 1970) p.115.

(2) M.H.M. Wood, A Father in God: The Episcopate of William West Jones, (MacMillan, 1913) p.130.

(3) C. Gray, The Life of Robert Gray, (Rivingtons, 1876) Vol.I, p.163. chl

(4) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.253, 255.

(5) The Church Chronicle, Vol.XI, January 1890, pp.2 ff.

(6) P. Hinchliff, "The English Speaking Churches in South Africa in the 19th Century", Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No.9, December 1974, p.32.

(7) G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld: Bransby Lewis Key, (Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1911) pp.160-1.

(8) Ibid, pp.1, 2.

(9) Ibid, pp.2, 3.

(10) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.400.

(11) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.176.

- (12) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.245.
- (13) G. Callaway, op.cit., p.181.
- (14) A.G.S. Gibson, Sketches of Church Work & Life in the Diocese of Cape Town, (S.A.Electric Printing & Publishing, 1900) p.6.
- (15) Ibid, p.14.
- (16) The Cape Church Monthly & Parish Record, July 1896.
- (17) A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., p.14.
- (18) The Net Cast in Many Waters, February 1893, p.32.
- (19) A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., pp.22-4.
- (20) The Church Chronicle, Vol.VIII, May 1887, pp.163-4.
- (21) General Goodenough, "Missions and Civilization", The Cape Church Monthly, January 1896.
- (22) The Church Chronicle, September 1880, Vol.I, p.132.
- (23) Ibid, August 1880, Vol.I, p.128.
- (24) A.W. Robinson, The Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa, (Longmans, Green & Co., 1906) pp.47-8.
- (25) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.82.
- (26) Viz. N.J. Smith, Die Planting van Afsonderlike Kerke vir Nie-Blanke Bevolkingsgroepe deur die N.G.K. in Suid-Afrika, (Annale Univ. Stellenbosch, 1973) Vol.34, Ser B, No.2, Deel I.
- (27) The Church Chronicle, September 1883, Vol.IV, p.298.
- (28) J. du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, (Marshall Bros., 1919) pp.374 ff.  
De Kerkbode, May 31, 1900, pp.333-4.
- (29) A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., p.9.
- (30) The Cape Church Monthly, ("Home Edition" dated March 1903).
- (31) Ibid, August 1904.
- (32) J. du Plessis, op.cit., p.389.
- (33) Ibid, pp.293, 374.
- (34) Ibid, p.375.
- (35) Ibid, pp.376-7.
- (36) Ibid, p.392.
- (37) Ibid, pp.380 ff.

- (38) Ibid, p.383.
- (39) e.g. C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet: A Cultural History, 1786-1886, (Cape & Transvaal Printers, 1975) p.105.
- (40) N.J. Smith, op.cit., pp.170-2.
- (41) J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, (C. Struik, 1965) p.292.
- (42) The Cape Church Monthly, March 1909.
- (43) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.326.
- (44) Ibid, p.332.
- (45) C. Steenkamp Kotze, op.cit., p.171.  
Acta Synodi, 1909, p.68.
- (46) The Church Chronicle, August 1887, Vol.VIII, pp.250-8.
- (47) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.32-3, 78.
- (48) Ibid, p.134.
- (49) A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., pp.53-4.
- (50) The Cape Church Monthly, November 1906.
- (51) A.W. Robinson, op.cit., p.9.
- (52) Ibid, pp.13-14.
- (53) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.134, 283, 326-7.
- (54) G. Callaway, op.cit., pp.111, 189.
- (55) The Cape Church Monthly, October 1896.
- (56) Ibid, July 1896.
- (57) Ibid, September 1904.
- (58) Ibid, March 1895.
- (59) A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., pp.100-101.
- (60) J. du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, p.357.
- (61) C. Steenkamp Kotze, op.cit., p.115.

## CHAPTER 9

### EDUCATION

As this was true of their missionary attitudes, so also the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A. saw education at different levels. There was the necessity for involvement in public education; there was mission education; and there was the denominational educational philosophy which dictated the policies of both bodies.

To those Anglicans who came straight from a British background, the divisions within education were stark. There were the "Public Schools" --- in the British sense --- and those run by the government --- sponsored schoolboards for the less opulent classes. These two categories soon emerged, both in reality, and in the thinking of Cape Anglicans, in the Colony. Elitist education was encouraged by such institutions as the Diocesan College, Rondebosch, St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown and Zonnebloem College for the sons of chiefs in Cape Town. Anglican opinion was soon interested in the curricula, especially the religious curricula, of the state schools. And to these had to be added, in the South African context, mission schools, whether amongst coloureds in the towns or amongst blacks on mission stations.

By and large, Anglicans regarded education as important, but not central to their church involvement. The elitist institutions were matters for pride; mission schools were matters for missionaries; and state education had to be carefully watched lest the interests of the true faith be subverted or ignored. And watched it certainly was. It

was watched from the financial point of view, Anglican opinion being firmly committed to the principle of government grants to all schools, private, public, mission, denominational and non-denominational. Education, whoever gave it, was a public responsibility(1). It was watched from the point of view of educational administration insofar as this affected religious education. Tremendous pressure was maintained in insisting on religious instruction in state schools and on the right of entry of accredited teachers of religion into those schools(2). Meetings were held; articles written; petitions drawn up. And in this area, the C.P.S.A. sought to bring every other ecclesiastical body into alliance with it to bring pressure to bear on the authorities. Non-conformist suspicions of Anglicanism, imported from England, did not always make this possible, but with the N.G.K. there was fruitful co-operation.

But while Anglicans saw educational issues as important issues of principle, to the N.G.K. they were central. Despite years of educational backwardness in Afrikaner tradition at the Cape, N.G.K. leadership was fully awake to the power and influence of education, not merely as a cultural addendum --- though that it was ---, but as a medium for evangelism and the establishment of a holy people in the land. Andrew Murray, who must be regarded as one of the strongest influences in moulding N.G.K. educational thinking, regarded it as being the Church's "only hope"(3). In the towns, Murray became aware of the anchor and advantage in a changing world that Christian-oriented education could be for the Afrikaner; in the rural areas, he saw such education as the answer to an increasing white degeneracy, the emergence of the "poor white" problem(4). To Murray, education was a Christian priority, and the key to education was the teacher(5). The establishment of elitist institutions, such as the Anglican church-schools, was not part of the N.G.K. heritage, anyway,

but, even if it had been, this was where Murray --- and, with him, enlightened N.G.K. thinking --- saw the crux. Heavily under the influence of the American educationalist, Mary Lyon, Murray soon caught a vision of every state school becoming a centre of Christian education through the correct training of its teachers(6). Thus in 1878, he was amongst those members of the N.G.K. who sponsored and saw to the establishment of a Normal College in Cape Town, aided by the state, for the training of teachers. In 1893, was founded the Huguenot Seminary at Wellington, and from it sprang similar teacher-training institutions: the Bloemhof Seminary at Stellenbosch, the Ladies' Seminary at Worcester and the Midlands Seminary at Graaff-Reinet. The aim of all these was to staff the schools of the Colony with men and women who had received sound educational training within the context of a Christian commitment. Here was the emphasis in N.G.K. educational thinking(7).

But while this was the main emphasis, it was not the only emphasis. The teachers were important, but so was the policy imposed on and enforced in the schools by the secular authority. Where that policy could be capitalized on in the interests of evangelism and the upbuilding of the Christian faith, there the N.G.K. seized its opportunities. Thus Andrew Murray stimulated church support for Langham Dale's scheme for circuit schools(8). Money was raised for the building of school hostels in which, under N.G.K. direction, a godly discipline could be maintained(9). Predikants made their way onto school boards, and encouraged their faithful laity to do likewise.

But despite this, the N.G.K., like the C.P.S.A., had, springing from its own differing experience, a profound distrust of the extent of the sense of spiritual responsibility felt by secular authorities.

In an era in which the two denominations were drifting apart and acting more and more as though the other either did not exist or else was a positively harmful influence, concern over religious education in state schools brought them together as allies. The early years of the 20th century saw Archbishop West Jones chairing a meeting of ministers from many denominations, including the N.G.K., to bring pressure to bear on Parliament to recognize the necessity of religious education in state-schools and to insist on prayers during the school day(10). By 1910, the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. had actually formed a joint commission which unanimously accepted the principle of religious education in state-schools, and which appointed a sub-committee to draw up a syllabus based on Scripture and a shortened form of the Heidelberg Catechism(11). "De Kerkbode", despite its antagonistic tendency towards C.P.S.A. trends, paused to comment favourably, warning that, unless churches did get together to come to a common mind on religious education, that minority that wanted religion excluded from state-schools would, as in other lands, prevail(12).

"De Kerkbode's" warning was not without substance. Quite apart from anti-Anglican suspicions amongst the other English-speaking denominations --- at one stage, the C.P.S.A.-N.G.K. joint educational commission attended and, after some discussion, were able to prevail upon the Methodist Conference to join them in pressing for religious education in state-schools(13) ---, the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. themselves had certain denominational and cultural vested interests. For the N.G.K. identity with Afrikanerdom during this period of imperialism and counter-nationalism was a very sensitive factor. Right at the beginning of the period, in 1873, when the Cape Government refused to permit moedertaalonderwys in state-schools, it was the church authorities that sponsored the publication of Dutch-Afrikaans books to be used by young people in the gemeentes(14).

It was predikants who founded the Zuid-Afrikaansche Taalbond in the 1880's(15). The antagonism represented by such actions became more intense, not least in the educational sphere, as the century drew to a close in war, and after the war, the Synod of 1903 spent much time debating the desirability of the N.G.K. establishing its own Afrikaans-medium schools, while at the same time pressing the government for state subsidies and religious education in state schools(16).

Non-conformist suspicion of Anglican denominationalism was not altogether unjustified, for this was indeed the C.P.S.A.'s "vested interest". Nor is it surprising. The attitudes of England were imported with the men from England, and in England both Anglicans and non-conformists were aware of the prestige and privileges of the established Church. The Anglican Church at the Cape might find a firm ally in the N.G.K. in many matters of educational controversy, but that did not mean in any way surrendering denominational interests --- or the truths that were identified with them. In 1905, in a petition submitted to Parliament, Archbishop West Jones expressed the hope that,

Udenominationalism shall not become an established and endowed religion of the Colony, and that all parents, seeing that they contribute towards the cost of public education, shall have the right to require that their children shall be brought up in their own religious beliefs(17).

The Archbishop, along with the N.G.K., was thankful that the Lord's Prayer and the reading of Scripture was obligatory in state-schools, but His Grace hankered very volubly after the introduction of denominational teaching(18). Archbishops usually employ the language of diplomacy; their underlings may not. Much the same point of denominational view was commonly expressed throughout the C.P.S.A., as at Queenstown where the local rector pleaded for the revival of the

church school, saying that non-denominational teaching was simply no substitute for "Church" (sic) teaching(19), or, as in "The Cape Church Monthly", which, exercising press freedom with an imperialistic fervour which almost exceeded the nationalistic emphasis of its N.G.K. counterpart, contained the following editorial:

It would be interesting to learn how many pupils of state-aided, undenominational schools have reinforced the ranks of sedition and rebellion in the Colony, or even crossed the border to join the ranks of the Queen's enemies. In this respect, undenominationalism has been on its trial, and proved a dismal failure(20).

But, while "De Kerkbode" might find itself on the side of the Anglicans in certain areas affecting basically white education, it certainly did not when it came to the subject of black education. Coloured education had, strangely, never given rise to much acrimony between the two denominations, despite the increasing segregation which took place during the 19th century. The fact was that this was largely accepted by people in both churches. By 1861, Coloured children were virtually out of all government schools and were confined to mission schools(21). Hence the issue was not large in the consciousness of most people, involving only those who were concerned with missionary endeavour. To meet the needs of the mission schools, which normally offered only primary education, coloured teachers for C.P.S.A. schools were trained at Zonnebloem while the N.G.-Sendingkerk founded Battswood Training College in 1891.(22)

But with black education it was different. Only on the principle that the Government had a responsibility to give financial assistance to black and coloured, as well as white, education was there unanimity, and on this issue their combined voices very largely prevailed(23). But on practically every other issue, there were deep and serious differences. Not to begin with: black mission schools were even more remote from ordinary members of congregations and

gemeentes than coloured schools. But by the turn of the century the vast numerical preponderance of the black peoples was already causing questions to be asked. On the Anglican side, many people such as Bishop Key, having assessed the significance of black education, were beginning to stress its importance for the future of the country. But so were many Afrikaners, and the conclusions they came to were very different from those springing out of an English liberal tradition. An article in "De Kerkbode" of September 15, 1910, highlights the differences between the Anglican and the N.G.K. approaches, and, in so doing, focusses on the fears felt within Afrikanerdom, even then(24). While strongly asserting the right of the black child to education, the article went on to warn that, unless the N.G.K. took this education in hand, others would do it, others who questioned the right of the white man to rule, others who had no sympathy for the Afrikaner way of life. And who would these others be? Those who "door hoog-kerkelijk gezin de Engelschen, die den kaffer als "Mr. So-and-so" begroeten, hem aan tafel nooden, en met hem als allesgins huns gelijke omgaan."

That "De Kerkbode" had diagnosed the situation with some accuracy is clear from the evidence. While praising N.G.K. missionary endeavours, "The Cape Church Monthly", not entirely justly, accused the N.G.K. of having little interest in black education, and went on: "No doubt all this results from the unhappy prejudice which is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Dutch landowners against the descendants of their former slaves"(25) --- a totally facile, but rather typical judgment. Bishop Key's observations on the subject also reflect a somewhat jingoistic bias, but do at least touch on deeper issues as a veteran missionary would see them. He posed the question, "Are these natives of South Africa to be looked upon as beasts of burden or human beings?", and in answer asserted that only a

British victory in the Anglo-Boer War could guarantee true education for the blacks --- "and the acceptance of our religion comes in along with education."(26) In issue after issue, "The Cape Church Monthly" waxed eloquent on the issue of a public that regarded "education" solely in terms of white education(27); of an administration that acted in education primarily in white interests; of an inspectorate that could produce a report critical of those whites who were satisfied that their children should be educated alongside "characterless native children". "No one," the journal expostulated, "in the corridors of power seems to care a hoot for the education of the toiling classes."(28)

By 1910, it was clear that a vast chasm yawned between the aims of those in the C.P.S.A. who took black education seriously and those in the N.G.K. who were beginning to articulate on the subject. Within the N.G.K. there were those of the "old school" --- Andrew Murray, the older generation of missionaries, those less affected by some of the implications of Kuyperian theology or of post-war Afrikaner nationalism --- who held that views such as those expressed in "De Kerkbode" were harsh and difficult to justify. On the other hand, within the Anglican fold, the traditional white lay indifference to mission tended to spill over into the sphere of education as well. The visions of Bishop Key and his colleagues in Transkei or Ciskei for the future of the black people were judged to be unrealistic, full of improbable ideals and, possibly, dangerous.

"De Kerkbode" saw the aim of black education to be that of giving elementary education in the mother-tongue, followed by some sort of industrial training --- higher education only for the clever "who would know how to use it"! Key saw the breakdown of tribal authorities and institutions and, while not wishing to foist white

patterns on blacks at breakneck speed, realized the necessity of education for blacks to prosper and play their part, even an authoritative part, in the society of the future(29). Even more necessary to Key in this process was the existence of an educated black ministry. The basic difference in educational thinking really lay in this: that amongst N.G.K. thinkers there was arising a school of thought that saw black education as a process whereby the black peoples must be trained to play a constructive part in a white-dominated society, whereas amongst Anglicans there was emerging the ideal of a society in which blacks would one day be accepted by whites to work alongside them as equals. In a word, by 1910, colour had become a contentious issue. Callaway, an Anglican, writing about the objections to placing a black theological college in a predominantly white town, observed:

More than half the difficulties of our work in this diocese (St. John's, Transkei) are probably due to the racial question arising out of the joint occupation of the country by Europeans and natives. It is better that native clergy be faced with and made aware of these problems. Even in Umtata, the attitude of the Europeans as a whole towards the natives is far from ideal; and the students, who learn the teaching of our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount and the teaching of St. Paul about the Body of Christ in which there are to be no divisions, are brought face to face with daily contradictions(30).

Compare that statement with the article of September 1910, in "De Kerkbode", and it becomes obvious why Anglicans and members of the N.G.K. had so little to say to each other on the subject of black education.

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(1) "Sound Common Sense", (Editorial), The Cape Church Monthly, September 1895.

(2) Ibid, "Editorial", February 1899.

(3) J. du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, p.394.

(4) Ibid, pp.405-6.

(5) Ibid, pp.401-2.

(6) Ibid, pp.395-8.

(7) This is not to say that the Anglicans totally ignored the training of teachers. A training college was opened at Grahamstown in 1896, while Zonnebloem, in Cape Town, was used for training coloured teachers. (M. Horrell, The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, 1652-1970, (S.A.Institute of Race Relations, 1970) p.17) There was also a black teacher training college at St.Matthew's Mission, Kieskama Hoek. But for most Anglicans, the training of teachers was merely a necessity for the maintenance of an efficient educational system. It was never motivated, as was Murray, by a vision of the capture of secular education in the name of the Lord through the agency of suitably prepared teachers. Indeed, Archbishop West Jones' comment is more that of a secular administrator than that of a Christian visionary:

The incomes of school-masters in the Diocese are miserably small, and parents are therefore unwilling to allow their boys to take up that occupation. Something ought to be done to give more encouragement to education ...

(M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.55-6.)

(8) J. du Plessis, op.cit., p.404.

(9) C.M. van den Heever & P. de V. Pienaar, Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner, Deel II, p.194.

(10) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.380-1

(11) C. Steenkamp Kotze, Die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika en die Ekumeniese Beweging tot 1910, (M.A.thesis, Univ.Stellenbosch, 1970) p.181.

A.J. Wirgman & C.E. Mayo, The Collegiate Church & Parish of St.Mary, Port Elizabeth, pp.90-1.

(12) De Kerkbode, March 3, 1910, pp.101-2.

(13) A.J. Wirgman & C.E. Mayo, op.cit., pp.90-1.

(14) P.G.J. Meiring, "Nationalism in the Dutch Reformed Churches," Church & Nationalism in South Africa, T. Sundermeier (ed.), (Raven Press, 1975) p.60.

(15) Idem.

(16) The Cape Church Monthly, November 1903, ("Home Edition" dated December 1903).

While Murray and others were seeking to capitalize on every opportunity offered by the state system, there were those who believed that a system of education should be developed totally separate from the state. These men, influenced by the thought of Abraham Kuyper and

the Dutch Society for Higher Education on the Basis of Reformed Principles, believed that purely church schools should be erected, dedicated to combatting the increasing de-Christianization of national life and culture at every level by constructing a system of education which, in structure and content, would conform to a Reformed interpretation of the Scriptures. (Constitution of the Society for Higher Education on the Basis of Reformed Principles, 1879; A. Kuyper, Lectures on Calvinism, (W.B. Eerdmans, 1976) Lecture I; J. Timmer, Dutch Calvinism (3): The Nineteenth Century, (The Reformed Journal, Vol.28, Issue 5, May 1978, p.23).

Acta Synodi, 1903, pp.56, 58, 59, 67, 68, 70.

- (17) The Cape Church Monthly, May 1905.
- (18) Ibid, July 1905.
- (19) The Church Chronicle, June 1880, Vol.I, p.60.
- (20) The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", August 1900.
- (21) J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, (Wits.Univ.Press, 1957) pp.269-70.  
M. Horrell, op.cit., p.14.
- (22) M. Horrell, op.cit., p.17.
- (23) The Cape Church Monthly, February 1899; March 1899; July 1905; September 1906.
- (24) De Kerkbode, September 15, 1910, pp.163-4.
- (25) The Cape Church Monthly, February 1903, ("Home Edition" dated March 1903).

A complete study has yet to be done on the emotive connotations of the concept of slavery in the thinking of those brought up in 19th century England and living, as Englishmen abroad, in 19th century Africa. The century had begun with slave emancipation, and those brought up on a Whig interpretation of British history must have seen Wilberforce and his colleagues within that hagiographical context. Slavery was an evil that beggared description, a total anathema, a blasphemy --- hence the heroic proportions in which men like Livingstone were seen by their own generation. Cape Anglicanism was imbued in its leadership and in much of the white rank and file with such an emotional outlook, and this undoubtedly contributed to the very negative reaction they exhibited towards the racial attitudes of the white Dutch-speaking populace, especially the farmers. That the N.G.K. apparently could not see things this way was almost beyond Christian comprehension.

(26) G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld: Bransby Lewis Key, pp.204-5.

- (27) The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", January 1896.
- (28) Ibid, July 1896.
- (29) G. Callaway, op.cit., pp.134, 140, 160, 161.
- (30) Ibid, p.152.

## CHAPTER 10

### RACE RELATIONS

From the very beginning of their interaction at the Cape, the N.G.K. and the Anglican Church lived in cultural worlds of their own. During this period (1872-1910), however, these were accentuated by the national awarenesses inevitably emphasized by the events surrounding the Anglo-Boer War. The dominant spirit was one of alienation, in which only the feeblest contacts on the official level and the least compromising co-operation and statements of mutual respect on the local level were achieved. For the Afrikaner, and hence for the N.G.K., the issue was one of national identity, and the war was manifestly the struggle for the establishment of that identity(1). But beneath the turmoil of the Anglo-Boer War, the groundswell of a bigger threat was imperceptibly beginning to make itself felt, a threat the issues of which were to affect relations between the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. far more profoundly and for a far longer period of time --- well outside the period under survey.

Writing just after the outbreak of hostilities in 1899, the Bishop of St. John's, Bransby Lewis Key, thought he could discern a deeper issue in the conflict than the exercise of mere imperialistic greed:

I would impress upon our friends at home that the real cause of the situation, the one great difference which separates us from our Dutch fellow-countrymen, is the native question. ...Many as our sins and shortcomings may be, it is a war resting on the broad question, "Are these natives of South Africa to be looked upon as beasts of burden or human beings?" [13.10.1899] (2)

It is dubious whether either of the main protagonists in the Anglo-Boer War would have seen the racial issue as one of its main underlying causes, except perhaps as a factor giving justification to questionable British military motives. But Bishop Key was not out to justify imperialism. He was a missionary with a very real concern for the future of the black people in South Africa, particularly as far as their spiritual development was concerned(3). He stood in the stream of British Christian liberalism at its best, and regarded the Afrikaner attitude to people of colour with deep suspicion, if not active dislike. Moreover, it grieved him that the Dutch churches in the Republics, and elsewhere, seemed to have so little to say on the subject.

That they had so little of challenge to say is not surprising. The N.G.K. was primarily a white, Dutch-speaking volkskerk, the centre of whose socio-cultural emphasis did not lie in this area. Besides, the volk's historical relationships with people of colour in the Cape had been confined mainly to a master-servant co-operation or else to a dramatic confrontation along the Eastern frontier and elsewhere. Certainly the N.G.K. was aware of the missionary imperative, but this did not mean to them the espousing of any movement to establish secular equality or to question the propriety of an eternal white supremacy. The concept of white supremacy was already alive in the politics of the early years of the nineteenth century --- witness the anger occasioned by the promulgation of Ordinance 50 in 1828 and the objections articulated in Retief's Manifesto. However, its most outspoken exponents left the Colony in the Great Trek, and the combined efforts of a more liberal British attitude in government and a more tolerant ecclesiastical attitude in the N.G.K. in the Cape helped to prevent any immediate extremes in racial attitudes.

an equality, in church, state or society, was regarded as illogical, mischievous, dangerous and, possibly, even ungodly.

But was not this also the unquestioned conclusion of most of the English-speaking population, not least the Anglican laity? Undoubtedly it was --- and not of the laity only. But, whereas amongst the members of the N.G.K. and in its ecclesiastical policy, this conclusion amounted to a conviction that solidified itself into official church policy, in the C.P.S.A. there was a high degree of ambivalence. The structures, while paternalistic and white-dominated, technically permitted black participation on an increasingly equal footing. White Anglicans varied in their response to "the native problem" from a patronizing liberalism, such as that of Bishop Key, to an outright rejection of any suggestion of political or social equality between the races(9). To seek, therefore, to outline the Anglican attitude to colour is to involve oneself in a mishmash of complex and conflicting views, emotions and sentiments which defy any final definition as simple as that which can be concluded for the N.G.K.

A few examples will have to suffice. One of the main goals of the first two bishops of St. John's, Henry Callaway and Bransby Lewis Key, was the firm establishment of a black, indigenous ministry in the Transkei(10). To this end, St. John's College and St. Bede's Theological College were established(11). The vision was encouraged of black priests ministering, not only to their own people, but also to white congregations. And this vision was, in part, fulfilled. Peter Masiza, the first black man in South Africa to be ordained to the Anglican priesthood, not only was accepted by white congregations, but even prepared white children for confirmation(12). Bishop Webb described the ministry to whites of a Fingo priest in the Diocese of

Grahamstown(13). Yet, despite all this, the white hierarchy of the Diocese of St. John's made sure that black clergy, though entitled to speak in synod, should not be entitled to vote. Furthermore, they were paid smaller stipends and were made to understand that they could never expect a white priest to work in subordination to them(14). White laity, while in most cases showing a readiness to accept black ministrations, expressed the fear that the too speedy creation of a black ministry would result in authority going to black priests' heads, with all sorts of concomitant abuses(15). Such failures as there were were usually of a moral nature, but even these tended to encourage a "we-told-you-so" response amongst white Anglicans(16).  
G. Callaway --- not the bishop --- wrote some years later:

More than half the difficulties of our work in this Diocese (St. John's) are probably due to the racial question ... Even in Umtata, the attitude of the Europeans as a whole towards the natives is far from ideal, and the students, who learn the teaching of our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount and the teaching of St. Paul about the Body of Christ in which there are to be no divisions, are brought face to face with daily contradictions.(17)

The contradictions were made even more confusing in this welter of liberalism, restrictions, fears, conservatism and vision by the extraordinary readiness which the bishops of the C.P.S.A. showed in their acceptance of "Ethiopian" contribution to the overall work of the Church, for not only was this a matter of culture ; it was also a protest against ecclesiastical hegemony by whites(18). One wonders whether they realized this?

In the educational sphere, Anglican ambivalence is again to the fore. Editorials in official Anglican journals opposed segregation in schools(19), scoffing at whites who would allow their children to play with coloured children but who wanted them to be educated separately(20), and appealing to the authorities not to follow a policy of enforced educational segregation(20). Yet, in the selfsame

editorial, the writer admits that the question is a fair one for debate, while a later edition carries a report from an Anglican children's institution stating that white children brought up amongst coloured children "have something to unlearn, and much to learn."(22)

Perhaps it is to be expected that it was in the political context that Anglican double-mindedness was most obvious. After all, it was in this context that principles, if put into practice, would require the greatest personal re-orientations, especially for whites, would have the profoundest impact for the nation and would pose the possibility of the most unforeseeable repercussions. And all this was more peculiarly the case as South Africans grappled with issues involved in the formation of a new, united constitution and state.

On the one hand, Bishop Key could give cautious approval to the Glen Grey Act, especially insofar as it granted local government rights to blacks. He was convinced that the Xhosa could be won to "a proper way of government" and contribute much of their own genius and characteristics to it for the benefit of all(23). "The Church Chronicle" was consistently critical of "the dealings of white men with the hapless coloured races of South Africa,"(24) emphasizing particularly white occupation of former black lands(25). "The Cape Church Monthly" expressed high approval for the words of a certain James Bryce who had criticized whites at the Cape for imagining that blacks existed solely for their benefit and who had scolded that, if only whites would mend their manners in dealing with blacks, much would be improved(26). "The Cape Church Monthly" commented, even before the Anglo-Boer War, in response to a politically conservative stance taken up by the "Cape Times", on the place of blacks in a future unified state:

The South African nation, whenever it comes into existence, will not be composed of only white people ... notwithstanding the assumption of a section of the inhabitants who speak of themselves and of the land as "our land", "our people", "our language", as if only one section of mankind had the shadow of a right to exist, much less have a say in the making of the laws and the direction of the government under which they live. Whatever may be said to the contrary, we shall have to reckon in the future with the vast numbers of the labouring classes, the coloured people and the natives as we may roughly class them.(27)

During the Anglo-Boer War, the same journal quoted with approval the words of the Rev. J.S. Moffatt:

The war now going on between white men is being watched by the natives with intense concern. As one of them put it to me the other day, "If the English win, then we black men can breathe and live; if the Boers win, then we may as well die, for we shall be no more looked upon as men, but as cattle; so we shall go home and pray to God to make the arms of the English strong!" And this is really the question of the day in South Africa: "Are we to have all men --- Briton, Boer and aboriginal --- dwelling together with equal rights as men under the British flag, or are we to have the domination of a Boer oligarchy over British and blacks alike?"(28)

After the Anglo-Boer War, many Anglicans opposed the granting of self-government to the former Boer Republics on the grounds that they feared that blacks would be ill-treated(29), while at the time of the National Convention, Anglican clergy in the Cape Colony were almost unanimous in their demand that colour be excluded as a definitive factor in the granting of electoral rights in the proposed Union(30).

That was one side, the liberal side, to the Anglican response to the "native question" in the political context. But there was another side. "The Cape Church Monthly" could express sympathy at the feelings of resentment expressed by certain coloured leaders at the lack of equality in the political processes of the Colony; but, at the same time, and in the same breath, it could, in excessively condescending and paternalistic tones, justify certain areas of discrimination, concluding with the words, "King Ethelbert and the men of Kent belonged to a higher race than the African."(31) And again:

"They (the Coloureds) are not more numerous than the Europeans, and man for man they are physically as well as mentally inferior. Every idea they have is imitated from the European, and had it not been for him they would not exist as a race."(32) One presumes that the last remark was not intended as a reference to early miscegenation!

The same attitude was reflected from many quarters. "The Church Chronicle" could publish an article on ways to help "the Poor" which indicated quite clearly that that term referred to whites only(33). Somehow black poverty was not poverty in the understanding of the writer --- or was so to be expected that it did not count! The Dean of Grahamstown regarded it as "stupid" to treat "a Kafir, even though he be a Christian convert" with any degree of equality ---" as if he had behind him the traditions of centuries of civilization."(34) A writer on missions shared the view that "there is no question of giving him (the black man) a vote, but simply of kindness."(35) Archdeacon Theodore Wirgman of Port Elizabeth, in his usual incisive style, impressed on overseas supporters of the Anglican Church in the Colony that Asiatics "must be got rid of" because they helped to create a poor white problem. He did, in fairness, also suggest that they posed a threat to black livelihoods(36).

This was the other side of the Anglican attitude to colour in the political perspective. It was almost as though there were an "official" view --- that of the hierarchy and of formal pronouncements, liberal and progressive --- and a "popular" view --- that of many of the white parish clergy and most of the white laity, conservative and cautious. And, even then, it was not as simple as that, for there was much overlapping, the "official" very frequently seeming to smack of the "popular". As Peter Hinchliff has observed, the paternalism which the British "Mother Church" tended to employ

towards its colonial offspring rubbed off in the colonial churches in the paternalism that expatriate clergy showed towards the aboriginals(37).

It is not surprising, therefore, to find this liberal-conservative polarization within the structures and daily practice of the Anglican Church itself, albeit that that Church was proudly multiracial in terms of its constitution. On his arrival in Cape Town, William West Jones commented on the work being done by an orphanage, an institution for unmarried mothers, (euphemistically known as "penitents") and a home for destitute children, all three run by the C.P.S.A. and in none of which was there any semblance of racial discrimination(38). At Zonnebloem, whites and blacks were being educated together(39). Bishop Gibson wrote of black and white worshipping together in the Cape Peninsula(40). An attempt by Bishop Cameron at the Cape Town Diocesan Synod of 1906 to get that Synod to forward to Provincial Synod a suggestion that dioceses should be organized racially and not territorially was overwhelmingly defeated. The Synod made it clear that, apart from the fact that the territorial diocese was the ancient and traditional unit, such a suggestion would undermine the unity that all Christians have in Christ and the responsibility of the Church to show that forth in visible and concrete terms(41).

That, indeed, was the "official" stance of the C.P.S.A., and no synod would have thought of acting contrary to it, but the mere fact that it could be suggested is evidence of the other tendency in the Church. Bishop Gibson might talk of multiracial worship in the Peninsula, but elsewhere it was very different. William West Jones very quickly discovered that worship was segregated at Ceres, Malmesbury, Kimberley, Swellendam and elsewhere --- and not always for purely linguistic reasons, either(42). At Ceres, white Anglicans and

coloured Anglicans were buried in separate sections of the Anglican cemetery(43). Separate services were frequently recorded, usually, though not always, for linguistic reasons(44), while at the opening of the industrial school at Kieskama Hoek, lunch was eaten in segregated fashion(45). At Queenstown, when a multiracial, English and Xhosa confirmation took place in 1881, the Rector significantly wrote:

Perhaps if such a plan were more frequently adopted, it would help a little to allay that most unchurchlike feeling of prejudice which too often exists on the part of the colonists against the native(46)

Alas, in the years that followed no such allaying was evident, but only increased segregation in rural congregations, reservation of seats and deferment to white worshippers(47).

Perhaps Anglican ambivalence over the issue of colour is no more clearly seen or stated than in the one person of the ubiquitous Bishop Alan Gibson. A man who firmly supported the principle of residential separation(48), he also had "no hesitation in saying that I believe that the partial separation between white and coloured congregations which obtains generally (italics mine) is, at the present, for the highest good of both"(49). He asserted that, although he regarded the evangelization of the blacks as imperative, this in no way could mean social or political equality(50). Nevertheless, the same man could write: "If no coloured people were allowed in parish churches, and no white people in mission chapels, then a Catholic principle would be infringed, and the very constitution of the Church would be violated."(51) And again, prophetically:

A huge black democracy will some day assert itself, as all democracies are eventually bound to do; and if it has been neglected or unfairly treated, it will assert itself in a way terrible to think of, and then the black terror will be to our children what the red terror has been in France. There is only one preventive...it is to christianize the natives(52).

Thus, while the N.G.K. attitude to colour was relatively straightforward, in the C.P.S.A. it was not. But, whereas the "popular" attitude in the C.P.S.A. manifested itself very largely in practice, it was the "official" attitude that was most clearly and vocally articulated. It was therefore this "official" voice that the N.G.K. heard, and it was from it that they, quite justifiably, drew their conclusions with regard to Anglican tendencies in matters of colour. As has been shown, the rise of Afrikaner nationalism was concerned primarily with national identity. But it was not long before the accent fell on national survival(53). Once the Anglo-Boer War was over and the battle for Afrikaner survival against the British was moving towards success --- for with the advent of the Campbell-Bannerman Government in Britain in 1905, it was moving towards success ---, an increasing awareness of the immediacy of the black threat began to take hold of Afrikaner nationalism. This was clearly articulated in the sessions of the National Convention in 1908 and 1909. But it was inevitably also manifested in relationships between the Afrikaner volkskerk and a religious body that was seen to be moving, officially at any rate, towards a degree of racial tolerance that was judged to be threatening and dangerous. In the year of Union, 1910, "De Kerkbode" published a series of articles under the general title, "Het Naturellen Vraagstuk"(54). Very properly, evangelism and missionary activity were praised and encouraged, and white prejudice towards blacks was deplored. Blacks must be taught to develop in every way. But, when the writer comes to discuss "de rechten waarop de naturel aanspraak heeft", the Afrikaner sense of fear regarding survival clearly surfaces. It is the N.G.K. that must undertake black education lest those who, "door hoog-kerklik gezin de Engelschen," teach him a false liberalism should undermine and threaten the Afrikaner way of life(55). It is, however, not just a question of the Afrikaner way of life, but of

God's providence for South Africa as a whole: "Naast dit komt de gewichtige overweging dat het de blanken zijn die geroepen worden Zuid-Afrika te regeeren. De zwarte rassen ..... roeien elkaar uit."(56)

These fundamental differences regarding the black and coloured races, especially in the context of all-pervasive post-war tensions, did not help to foster promising relations between the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. Instead the C.P.S.A., at least at the official level, tended towards an attitude of criticism of the N.G.K. in racial affairs, while the N.G.K. responded with an aggressive defensiveness. Despite the fact that in practice, possibly also in theory, many white Anglican clergy and laity conformed more to N.G.K. thinking than to the "official" view of their own denomination, a pattern was being set which was to dominate inter-church relationships for more than seventy years.

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(1) P.G.J. Meiring, "Nationalism in the Dutch Reformed Churches, Church and Nationalism in South Africa", T. Sundermeier, (ed.) (Raven Press, 1975) pp.60 ff.

(2) G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld: Bransby Lewis Key, (Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1911) pp.204-5.

(3) Ibid, pp.1, 2, 160-8.

(4) The Cape Church Monthly, February 1903, ("Home Edition" dated March 1903).

(5) M. Horrell, The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, (S.A.I.R.R., 1970) p.14.

J.S. Marais, The Cape Coloured People, 1652-1937, (Wits.University Press, 1957) p.270.

(6) C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet: A Cultural History, 1786-1886, (Cape & Transvaal Printers Ltd.,1975) p.106.

(7) Gereformeerde Maandblad, April 1900, pp.180-1.

C. Steenkamp Kotze, Die N.G.Kerk in Suid-Afrika en die Ekumeniese Beweging tot 1910, (M.Th.thesis, Univ.Stellenbosch, 1970) p.67.

- (8) J du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, (Struik, Facsimile Reprint, 1965) p.406.
- (9) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, (Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963) pp.194-5.
- (10) G. Callaway, op.cit., pp.103, 134.
- (11) Ibid, pp.103, 147-8.
- (12) Ibid, pp.102, 135-6.
- (13) The Cape Church Monthly, May 1898, ("Home Edition" dated June 1898).
- (14) P. Hinchliff, "The English-speaking Churches in South Africa in the 19th century," Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No.9, December 1974, p.36.
- (15) G. Callaway, op.cit., p.137.
- (16) Ibid, pp.155-6.
- (17) Ibid, p.152.
- (18) Ibid, p.175.  
M.H.M. Wood, A Father in God: The Episcopate of William West Jones, (MacMillan, 1913) p.326.  
J.W. de Gruchy, The Church Struggle in South Africa, (John Philip, 1979) pp.46-47.
- (19) The Cape Church Monthly, January 1896, "Editorial".
- (20) Ibid, August 1893, "Editorial"; July 1896, "Editorial".
- (21) Ibid, October 1901, "Editorial".
- (22) Ibid, November 1903, "All Saints Home".
- (23) G. Callaway, op.cit., pp.164 ff.
- (24) The Church Chronicle, January 1882, Vol.III, p.15.
- (25) Ibid, November 1881, Vol.II, p.347.
- (26) The Cape Church Monthly, January 1898, "Words of Wisdom".
- (27) Ibid, December 1897, "Editorial".
- (28) Ibid, March 1900, "Editorial".
- (29) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.186.
- (30) Ibid, pp.195-7.  
The Cape Church Monthly, March 1909, "Editorial".
- (31) Ibid, January 1906, ("Home Edition" dated February 1906).
- (32) Ibid, January 1907, ("Home Edition" dated February 1907).

- (33) The Church Chronicle, September 1880, Vol.I, p.143.
- (34) The Cape Church Monthly, February 1902, "Editorial".
- (35) Ibid, August 1904, "Editorial".
- (36) Ibid, March 1908, ("Home Edition" dated April 1908).
- (37) P. Hinchliff, "The English-speaking Churches in South Africa in the 19th Century", pp.30-1.
- (38) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.47.
- (39) Ibid, p.67.
- (40) A.G.S. Gibson, Sketches of Church Work and Life in the Diocese of Cape Town, (S.A.Electric Printing & Publ., 1900) p.7.
- (41) The Cape Church Monthly, November 1906 ("Home Edition" dated December 1906), "The Diocesan Synod, 1907", (sic).
- (42) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.59, 61, 62, 82, 109, 110 et al.  
De Kerkbode, June 5, 1873, p.184.
- (43) The Cape Church Monthly, "Ceres", December 1895.
- (44) Ibid, "Knysna", June 1899.  
The Church Chronicle, April 1881, Vol.II, p.127; January 1882, Vol.III, pp.17 ff. et al.
- (45) Ibid, March 1882, Vol. III, p.88.
- (46) Ibid, April 1881, Vol.II, p.127.
- (47) Ibid, April 1888, Vol.IX, pp.117-120.  
M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.243, 342, et al.
- (48) A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., p.14.
- (49) Ibid, p.12.
- (50) The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", February 1903.
- (51) A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., p.12.
- (52) Ibid, p.67.
- (53) T. Dunbar Moodie, The Rise of Afrikanerdom, Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion, (Univ.of California Press, 1975) pp.39-49.
- (54) De Kerkbode, August 25, 1910, pp.115-6; October 1, 1910, pp.130-1; October 8, 1910, pp.146-7; October 15, 1910, pp.163-4; October 22, 1910, pp.179-80.
- (55) Ibid, October 15, 1910, pp.163-4.
- (56) Ibid, October 22, 1910, pp.179-80.

## CHAPTER 11

### THEOLOGICAL TENSIONS

The N.G.K. was a church body which was very aware of its Reformation roots. As the theological spokesman in the cruel battle for Dutch independence against the might of Roman Catholic Spain in the 16th century, it had consolidated its Protestant, Calvinist stance in a powerful antipathy towards Rome, its doctrines and everything it stood for. Although this abated somewhat under the Enlightenment influence of the 18th century, neither the wars of Louis XIV nor the presence of Roman Catholic powers were so distant as to make the Dutch Church forgetful of the dangers.

The N.G.K. at the Cape mirrored the situation in the Netherlands. Roman Catholicism was all but proscribed, and the dominant church body made certain that ecclesiastical life at the Cape was stamped with a Protestant, Reformed and Presbyterian character.

Initial contact with Anglicanism at the Cape presented no theological problems. Not only was the Anglican presence negligible in size and limited in activity, but it was also basically either evangelical or "broad church"(1). What was more, it presented more of a congregational than an episcopal aspect, there being no bishop resident in the Colony.

But in England itself, Anglicanism was to experience new tensions which were to have a profound effect on its development at the Cape. Keble's assize sermon on "National Apostasy", preached in

1833, set in motion that development and expression of theological and ecclesiological thought known as the Tractarian Movement. This development was clearly in a "high church" direction, culminating in the publication of Tract XC, in which its author, John Henry Newman, tried to show that the 39 Articles of the Church of England were not basically inconsistent with the teachings of the Church of Rome.

The Tractarian Movement was largely an academic phenomenon, influencing clergy rather than the masses of the laity, but it was precisely clergy who were influenced by it who accompanied and followed Robert Gray, himself a man who had espoused a tractarian theology, to the Cape. What was more, Gray was determined that this theology should become entrenched in the Anglican Church at the Cape, which should not reflect the doctrinal ambivalence of the Church in England. He sought his clergy accordingly.

But, if the Tractarian movement was not a popular phenomenon, what followed it showed greater signs of being so. The Tractarians were primarily concerned with doctrine, and took little interest in outward trappings. But the Anglo-Catholicism which developed out of the Tractarian doctrine sought to give outward expression to that doctrine in the revival of colourful, pre-Reformation ritual and ceremonial. And if it was a Tractarian tradition that established episcopacy at the Cape in 1848, it was Anglo-Catholicism that followed it up and established itself in a blaze of vestments, ceremony and incense.

It is not difficult to understand the contrast that began to present itself as the Anglican Church established itself in the Colony. What formerly had been insignificant began to grow. What formerly had been limited in its activity began to spread and establish itself throughout the Colony. What formerly had been

basically Protestant, and, therefore, inoffensive to N.G.K. susceptibilities, was now manifesting itself increasingly in the vesture and vocabulary of an offensive Romanism. And this was the Church of the colonial establishment, of the ruling power!

As the Anglo-Boer political situation deteriorated during this period (1872-1910), and as the Afrikaner people reacted more and more defensively to what appeared to them to be increasing threats to their identity and survival, so it became inevitable that the Afrikaner ecclesiastical manifestation, the N.G.K., should take up the obvious stick with which if felt it could quite legitimately and justifiably beat its imperial counterpart. If Reformed Protestantism had been the religious symbol of Dutch independence over against the Catholicism of an oppressive empire, could it not be that the cudgels must be taken up afresh against a new, but equally dangerous catholicism linked to a different, but potentially equally oppressive imperial power?

Prior to the 1870's, very little had been said by authoritative N.G.K. sources concerning this. Certainly people at the local level were aware of differences in practice, but mutual sympathy over problems raised by litigation and the voluntary principle led to a playing down of doctrinal discrepancies. But, with the new tensions created by nationalism, imperialism, war and race, and with the deterioration in C.P.S.A.-N.G.K. relations, doctrinal and ecclesiological issues were brought out into the open.

Comments concerning Anglican high-churchmanship before 1880 were oblique. Steenkamp Kotze makes the point that, since 1857, the N.G.K. had had a policy of recognizing a communion with certain other denominations, but not with Anglicanism(2). In 1867, Andrew Murray, who as early as the 1840's had stated the hope to Gray that the bishop would bring only evangelical clergy out to the Colony(3), deplored, in

an address to the Y.M.C.A., the increase of tractarianism and ritualism in Anglicanism, but confined his remarks to its effect on the Church in England(4).

The first rumblings of the coming storm in the pages of "De Kerkbode" were heard in 1878, and the initial approach was again oblique. An article appeared under the heading "Het ritualisme op het Zendingsveld" in which it was pointed out that a large number of Anglicans in the Diocese of Bombay had joined the Church of Rome(5). Innocent enough, except that two successive Bishops of Bombay, Douglas and Milne, had both come from the Diocese of Cape Town. "De Kerkbode" left its readers to infer what this meant with regard to the Anglican Church in South Africa, contenting itself by muttering ominously that one reaped what one sowed!

Two years later, "De Christen" --- "De Kerkbode" was replaced by a journal of this name between 1880 and 1883 --- brought the battle a little closer to home. The editions of May, 1880 contained four articles by Professor Murray of the N.G.K. Kweekskool at Stellenbosch under the general heading, "Wat is Gereformeerd?"(6) The articles were primarily doctrinal and didactic, dealing with "Roomsche of Protestantsch", "Presbyeriaan of Episkopaal", "Het Ritualisme" and "Het Arminianisme". But these were followed up by another article, from a different pen, entitled "Het Romanisme in de Engelsche Kerk"(7). This described the increase of tractarian emphases and Anglo-Catholic practices in the Church of England, and then ended by warning members of the N.G.K. to have a firm grasp of Reformation doctrine, to be vigilant in excluding other forms of doctrine from churches and schools, and to beware of those who had "not yet joined the Church of Rome"! Since, in these closing remarks, it was N.G.K. members who were addressed, it did not take a great deal of ingenuity to guess who these subverters of Reformation order were. Although the

article dealt specifically with the Church of England --- and similar articles appeared in 1881(8) ---, it was clearly its South African counterpart, the C.P.S.A., which was under suspicion.

But it was not until the middle of 1881 that "De Christen" abandoned the oblique approach and launched its first direct attack on its brother-church in the Cape Colony. And a direct attack it was! The article, written by F.M. and entitled "Voortgang en Vrucht van de Hoogkerkelijke Partij in the Episkopale Kerk", began by taking to task a catechism for children compiled by a certain Fr.Gace. This taught baptismal regeneration, the essential nature of episcopacy and the arrogance of the reformed doctrine of assurance of salvation. Then the attack was truly launched:

Zullen de oogen van de Gereformeerden in dit land nog niet open gaan? Hebben wij hier ook niet een hoogkerkelijke bisschop en leeraren van derzelfde richting in overvloed door ons land verspreid? Nemen die niet derzelfde houding, hoewel nog wat voorzichtiger, en wel om goede redenen ten opzichte van ons aan? Trachten zij ook niet met al hunne macht menschen van andere kerkgenootschappen tot proselieten der Engelsche kerk te maken? Was het niet het streven van Bischoep Gray geweest om de Gereformeerde Kerk "te verslaan"? En zulke beginselen die door ons verafschuwd worden, worden aan ons kinderen heimelijk op de scholen ingeprent. Wat zal de oogst voor de Gereformeerde Kerk hiervan zijn?(9)

It was as though, suddenly, wrangling frustrations, which had long been deep under the surface, had at last been openly expressed: the increasing proclamation of unscriptural and unreformed doctrine, especially to children in the public schools and proselytism by Anglicans, an attitude thought to be articulated, presumably, by Gray's opinion expressed in a letter to his brother, Charles, shortly after his arrival at the Cape: "I think we shall beat them"(10). But once on the surface, these frustrations were freely given expression to in terms of comment, criticism, and appeal to reformed and scriptural doctrine. Increasing ritualism and theological liberalism

in the Church of England was brought to the attention of members of the N.G.K., and they were warned that Cape Anglicanism was following the same pattern. It was clear to those who expressed such opinions in press and pulpit that the very foundation of Protestantism was being undermined, and that the proselytising Anglican Church was moving speedily towards Rome. Hence the highlighting in "De Kerkbode" of a tract put out by the Anglican "Sisters of Mercy" in which it was stated that the Bible belonged exclusively to "the Holy Catholic Church" and that only its bishops and priests were gifted with the right interpretation of Scripture(11); hence "De Kerkbode's" comment on a statement by Cardinal Vaughan that the church of England would soon be back in the Roman fold: "Zoo spreekt een Roomsche Bischoep over de verbasterde Engelsche Kerk, en in ons land kunnen wij het ook zien, hoe de Kerk nog maar weinige schreden heeft te doen om geheel Roomsch te zijn"(12); hence the prognostication that, should Pope Leo XIII recognize Anglican orders, a huge barrier in the way of the Anglican ritualists' detente with Rome would be removed(13).

As in the areas of nationalism and race, N.G.K. fears regarding the C.P.S.A.'s stance on and development of theological doctrine and practice were not groundless or unjustified. Nor was it only members of the N.G.K. who were concerned. Even within Anglicanism at the Cape itself, despite and because of the Anglo-Catholic predominance, there were voices of dissension. The Cape Town parishes of Mowbray, Wynberg and Holy Trinity, Harrington Street kept their distance --- and their evangelical, "low-church" traditions. An attempt by the Synod in 1905 to draw them closer failed. The subsequent excising of Plumstead from the parish of Wynberg and the establishment there of a new "high-church" parish did nothing to allay suspicions(14). Hinchliff suggests that further Anglican opposition to prevailing C.P.S.A. trends came from new settlers who expected the Anglican

Church to reflect the same traditions they were accustomed to "at home"(15). But these counter-stands prevailed little: the C.P.S.A., continually fed by clergy from England who were firmly on the "catholic side of the Gorham line"(16), was well on its way to becoming "the fairest jewel of the Anglo-Catholic movement". The theological attitude of the C.P.S.A. to the N.G.K. was clear. The opinion that had been expressed by Gray in 1871, that "whatever it is that keeps us apart and forbids our becoming one Communion, unfits us...to be at once safe and outspoken teachers of each other's people,"(17) had hardened slightly more than a decade later in to the expression of a rigid theological dogma. Hence Archdeacon Wirgman of Port Elizabeth, in his book, "The English Reformation and the Book of Common Prayer", made a laboured point of the view that Anglicanism had little in common with "the Protestantism of the Synod of Dort", the definitive council in the Dutch Reformed tradition(18). An article, defining the word "Catholic" in "The Cape Church Monthly" of October, 1897, linked it with the maintenance of the apostolic succession of bishops, and went on to state categorically that all other denominations --- which included the N.G.K.--- were merely "organizations of man's device."(19)

Indeed, the issue of the apostolic episcopal succession was key to the C.P.S.A.'s view of orthodoxy. Gray had made that plain in his unity correspondence with the leaders of the N.G.K. in 1871(20). It could be said that this was the chief obstacle over which the negotiations foundered(21). "The Church Chronicle" picked up the theme again in 1881:

The Church of England cannot receive as lawful bishops, priests and deacons those who have never received episcopal ordination without breaking her fundamental principles of Church government, and therefore is not in communion with those bodies which have rejected episcopacy or lost the episcopal order. It is the duty of a church to refuse communion to those who deny the essential doctrines of the faith(22) (italics mine).

In December, 1901, a preacher at St. Barnabas' Church, Kloof Nek Road in Cape Town asked, "If Presbyterianism (the form of church government of the N.G.K.) had been the original and proper form of the ministry, how could episcopacy have crept in without notable clatter?" The speaker's conclusion was that episcopacy had flowed down from unassailable apostolic origins(23). Key's biographer, G. Callaway, states that it was this doctrine of the essential nature of the apostolically-founded episcopal ministry more than anything else that motivated the C.P.S.A. to the setting up of the Diocese of St. John's in 1873, (24) while the Rector of Queenstown, Julius Gordon, brought the Order of Ethiopia into the Anglican orbit by informing James Mata Dwane that his ordination at the hands of the American Methodist Episcopal Church was invalid because it had not come through "the apostolic ministry". "Upon this grace the Church depends for its very existence," said Gordon(25). It was this sort of theology which, on the one hand, "un-churched" the N.G.K., and, on the other, led the N.G.K. to dismiss as unorthodox a body which based "its very existence" on doctrines which had no support in Scripture whatever.

In other words, the doctrine of the apostolic episcopal succession raised the whole issue of ecclesiology. Nowhere was this more plainly stated than in a paper delivered by Bishop Merriman of Grahamstown on the subject of the relationship of the C.P.S.A. with other denominations in the Colony. Having dealt with the local legal status quo, Merriman expressed the opinion that fellowship with people of denominations outside the apostolic succession was "a matter of private consideration, taste and conviction"! Because members of these bodies were baptized, they could not be denied the title "Christian", but certainly the bodies themselves were not "Church". The unity of Christendom could only be achieved under the "lawful

pastors" of the apostolic succession. "It must be sought amongst those where this exists. Any other ministry engenders or maintains confusion...and, even though unintentionally, produces bitterness and division rather than peace."(26)

This type of ecclesiology was absolutely embedded in the local pastoral life of the C.P.S.A. At its most superficial, there was the constant use of the phrase "the Church" --- with a capital "C" --- to mean the Anglican Church. Hence, the Rector of Swellendam could write to "The Cape Church Monthly" about a former member of the N.G.K. "who had come forward entirely of his own accord to be received into communion with the Church of God."(27) The Rector of Queenstown was of the opinion that undenominational teaching was no substitute for the teaching of "the Church"(28), and was later to plead for more effective teaching "if people are to be saved to the Church, such is the influence of Wesleyanism and other bodies."(29)

But this ecclesiology had other repercussions as well. For one thing, it militated against that congregationalism which lay at the centre of N.G.K. ethos and government. Archbishop West Jones praised the constitution of the C.P.S.A. for eliminating the tendency towards congregationalism which the remoteness of some rural parishes and the prevailing religious practices in the Colony might encourage(30). Later writers were to take up the same theme, some for theological reasons, others for more pragmatic diocesan purposes(31).

A further factor influencing this ecclesiology is, as C. Steenkamp Kotze points out, the formation, during the latter half of the the 19th century, of a world-wide --- or, at least, Empire-wide --- Anglican Communion. The psychological impact of such a confessional union, linked with the Anglo-Catholic view of apostolic succession and episcopacy which it had retained, clearly affected the

expression of Anglican thinking at the Cape(32). There was always the necessity of assuring Anglicans of their continued contact and communion with the Church of England, from which they had sprung and to which many would return(33), but there was more to it than this. Empire and episcopacy created for the C.P.S.A. a confident ecclesiological ethos which appeared to the N.G.K. to be unacceptable both in its apparent arrogance and in the lack of scriptural foundation upon which it was based.

In 1911, the N.G.K. Church historian, J. du Plessis, felt compelled to refer rather critically to "Anglican sacerdotalism" in South Africa(34). The fact is that many Anglicans would have taken that epithet up and worn it proudly! In 1899, Canon Espin, in a sermon, had said: "No ministry which is not sacerdotal can represent Him who is the High Priest after the order of Melchisedec."(35) The term "sacerdotal" did not apply merely to what might be called "clericalism" --- that epithet could have been applied just as easily to the N.G.K. It was more than that. It involved a particular sacramental doctrine of the ministry, giving a specific content to ordination and involving a doctrine of the Eucharist which was totally foreign to the tradition that the N.G.K. had inherited from Dort. It gave to the officiating priest the authority to declare bread and wine to be the Body and Blood of Christ, and, although Anglicans would have denied that this was technically transubstantiation, members of the N.G.K. might be forgiven for feeling that the C.P.S.A. was merely playing with words. The drift was clearly Rome-ward.

There can be no doubt that these theological emphases surrounding ministry and sacraments gave to the C.P.S.A. an ethos utterly at variance with that of the N.G.K. The rather sombre, preaching-centred N.G.K. tradition differed both pastorally and

liturgically from a practice that was increasingly sacramentally-oriented, often enlivened by colourful ceremonial, bells, incense and vestments. Bishop Gray, while of a "high-Church" theology, maintained the outward forms of Reformation Anglicanism: he celebrated from the north side of the Lord's Table and wore neither mitre nor eucharistic vestments. But, by as early as 1881, Bishop Merriman of Grahamstown was constantly wearing such vestments --- "for no one ever expects now to see the Bishop exercising his office in the Church without a mitre and pastoral staff."(36) "The Griqualand West Church Magazine" issued a series of articles strongly justifying the necessity of ceremonial and the importance of the use of eucharistic vestments(37).

If this "Rome-ward" drift in the C.P.S.A. was the tendency, it is only fair to ask whether there were not also "tendencies" in the N.G.K. For its theology was by no means static, nor was it a totally monolithic structure undisturbed by internal tensions.

The N.G.K. has traditionally been associated with Calvinism, not only by outsiders, Anglican and otherwise, but also by its own adherents. But this is a view capable of challenge(38). That it had its origins in the Reformed Church of the Netherlands is beyond dispute, but whether, during the first seventy years of the 19th century, the N.G.K. in South Africa could be strictly referred to as "Calvinist" is open to serious question. The Synod of Dort and the Heidelberg Catechism may have figured in the debates of the 60's, but the debates were not between Arminians and Calvinists, but between theological liberals and conservative evangelicals, the latter far closer to the Arminianism of Wesley than to the Calvinism of Dort(39). Indeed, in 1871, Kotze of Darling actually accused Andrew Murray of departing from the doctrines of Dort by preaching free grace(40).

But, just as theological liberalism had seeped into the N.G.K. through men trained in the Netherlands, so it was to be expected that the neo-Calvinism of Prinsterer, Bilderdijk, da Costa and, above all, Abraham Kuyper, men so influential in the Dutch Church(41), would also reach South African shores. The resistance to this was almost as strong as the resistance to liberalism, but it created tensions nonetheless. Kotze's charge that Murray had departed from the doctrines of Dort might have been the defensive reaction of a beleaguered man, but another N.G.K. predikant, who was certainly no liberal, agreed heartily with him. S.J. du Toit was probably the chief exponent of Dutch neo-Calvinism, but his failure to make any headway for this position in the N.G.K., and his ultimate secession from it to form "De Gereformeerde Kerk onder het Kruis in Zuid-Afrika" (cf. this with the similar secession of Kuyper and his followers in the Netherlands in 1886), indicate just how un-Calvinist the N.G.K., in fact, was(42).

Yet these differences and tensions within the N.G.K. disappeared in expressing unanimous disapproval and condemnation of the sort of theology and practice which characterized the C.P.S.A. But while the N.G.K. had plenty to say about developments in Anglicanism, Anglicanism had nothing whatever to say about tensions within the N.G.K. The chances are that Anglicans were totally unaware of these seemingly esoteric wrangles within an almost incomprehensibly deviant body. Nor, frankly, were they interested. While "De Kerkbode" might flagellate the C.P.S.A. for its unsound and unscriptural stance, Anglican periodicals were totally silent concerning theological developments in the N.G.K.

The truth is that Anglicans were interested only in their own affairs, which involved basically the establishment of the "catholic" faith in South Africa. The N.G.K. had broader concerns, which

touched on the whole question of their identity in a British-ruled South Africa. For it is difficult to deny that non-theological factors affected their attitude to theology. Under the tense political circumstances of the period, it is not surprising that a church that remained sternly within its Reformation principles, as the N.G.K. did, should have felt that its Reformation sister was in danger of becoming "geheel Roomsch" and of constituting a dire spiritual danger, through proselytism and influence over public education, to its own members and to the establishing of their proper identity in society. "Wat zal de oogst voor de Gereformeerde Kerk hiervan zijn?"(43) The common Anglican attitude to all this was basically to ignore it. The Anglican clergy were confident in the God-given nature of their tradition, convinced that the Protestant errors of the N.G.K. separated it from what could truly be called "the Catholic Church", saw it as little more than an Afrikaner sect --- and who read "De Kerkbode" anyway? But even where some charitable notice was taken of a religious body that far out-numbered the Anglicans in the Colony, it was to bewail their misguided theology and to hope that they might be led into more "orthodox" paths. Perhaps Bishop Hicks of Bloemfontein is the clearest spokesman for this point of view:

It lay very near the heart of Bishop Gray to enter into closer relations with that body (the N.G.K.), and at one time he entered into negotiations with the heads of that body to see whether he could not bring them back within the fold of the Catholic Church (italics mine). Though nothing came of these negotiations, yet it was one important work of the Church in this province, wherever there was a large Dutch population, to set forth the Catholic Church in its fulness and in all faithfulness, but still with gentleness and meekness, that these people might eventually be drawn into the one flock under the one Shepherd(44).

It was that assumption, that Anglicans were part of that flock while the N.G.K. were not, that made any theological rapprochement, the

Hickses of this world notwithstanding, virtually impossible. Not only did the C.P.S.A. represent those who were a national threat to the Afrikaner volk on the political front, it had adopted a theology totally alien to its Reformation roots, roots that it shared with the N.G.K., and had become a spiritual threat as well. In every way, the two bodies saw each other as increasingly foreign, and the motivation towards some sort of meaningful relationship waned into virtual nothingness.

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(1) Viz. P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, (Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963): Debate between Religious Society and Hough on fasting, and between Lamb and Hough on regeneration, p.17.

(2) C. Steenkamp Kotze, Die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika en die Ekumeniese Beweging tot 1910, (Unpubl. M.A. thesis, Univ.Stellenbosch, 1970) pp.66-7.

(3) J du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, (Marshall Bros., 1919) p.113.

(4) Ibid, p.254.

(5) De Kerkbode, August 3, 1878, p.242.

(6) De Christen, May 7, 1880, pp.171-2; May 14, 1880, pp.179-82; May 21, 1880, pp.191-2; May 28, 1880, p.200.

(7) Ibid, September 3, 1880, pp.340-1.

(8) Ibid, March 11, 1881, p.118; April 15, 1881, pp.177-8.

(9) Ibid, June 17, 1881, p.282.

(10) C. Gray, Life of Robert Gray, (Rivingtons, 1876) Vol.I, pp.176-7. (As this life of Gray was published in 1876, it would have been available to the writer of the article in "De Christen".)

(11) De Kerkbode, February 12, 1892, pp.51-2.

(12) Ibid, March 2, 1894, p.483.

(13) Ibid, July 16, 1896, p.458.

(14) M.H.M. Wood, A Father in God: The Episcopate of William West Jones, (MacMillan, 1913) pp.415 ff.

(15) P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.137.

(16) G. Callaway, in his book on the life of Bishop Bransby Lewis Key, A Shepherd of the Veld --- a book which, incidentally, breathes the tractarian theology of the period (1911) --- quotes Key's

(41) J. Timmer, "Dutch Calvinism(3): The 19th Century", The Reformed Journal, Vol.28, Issue 5, May 1978, pp.21-4.

(42) I. Hexham, Totalitarian Calvinism, p.37.

du Toit's founding of the Afrikaner Bond was an attempt to create an Anti-Revolutionary Party as Kuyper had done in Holland, but it never really became this. It shows how far, however, Kuyperian Calvinism was espoused by du Toit and his followers. (I. Hexham, p.59)

The main tenets of Kuyperian neo-Calvinism are best summed up in the 1898 Stone Lectures, republished in 1976: A. Kuyper, Lectures on Calvinism, (W.B. Eerdmans, 1976). They were more than merely an opposition to theological liberalism, but sought to apply a Reformed interpretation of Scripture to every aspect of national life. To Kuyper, Calvinism was a way of life which conformed with the mind of God. To every sphere of life, God had given its own sovereignty, and obedience involved discerning that sovereignty and seeking to bring that sphere of life into submission to it. Hence the emphasis that Kuyper placed on education --- the shaping of a nation's mind --- and on politics --- the outworking of a nation's philosophy. Every aspect of life is to be made subject to God's overall sovereignty. To such a creed, any form of relativism was the compromise of a liberalism that was ultimately God-denying in its practice.

(43) De Christen, June 17, 1881, p.282.

(44) The Cape Church Monthly, "Bishop Hicks in London", August 1892.

## CHAPTER 12

### PATTERNS OF MINISTRY

Discussion of ecclesiology, especially in the context of episcopacy and apostolic succession, calls attention to the whole issue of ministry, and particularly the ordained ministry. Nor can this discussion be confined to theology. The body of ordained clergy in any religious organization is bound to be supremely significant in the development of that organization's ethos and traditions, in the defining of its shape and direction, and in the articulation of its opinion and doctrine. Consequently, in discussing the relationship between the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A., due consideration must be given to the men who occupied their pastories and rectories. Where did they come from? What was the shape of their pastoral ministry? How did they regard their liturgical functions?

One of the most noticeable differences during this period (1872-1910) was in the origin of the clergy. In previous decades, the N.G.K. had had regular infusions into its ministry from overseas, most notably from Scotland and Holland. The most significant of these had been Lord Charles Somerset's importation of Scottish clergy in the 1820's --- at one stage the Scottish clergy had been in the majority in the ranks of the N.G.K. ordained ministry ---, but there had also been arrivals at other times, particularly during the awakening of the 1860's. But thereafter significant infusions from outside ceased. Andrew Murray actually expressed a preference for the home-grown product(1), and these were now available, sometimes in greater and

sometimes in less degree, through the seminary that had been established at Stellenbosch in 1859. What was more, the imported clergy of earlier days had identified themselves in every way with the Afrikanervolk, to the extent that only their surnames betrayed their origins. The Scottish N.G.K. predikants who had viewed the anti-British sentiments of the Trekkers with suspicion had given way to a generation to whom justice was clearly on the Boer side in the war of 1899-1902. Andrew Murray repeatedly referred to himself as "a Dutch minister"(2).

There were times when the N.G.K. appeared to suffer from a shortage of clergy, especially in the late 1870's(3), but by the turn of the century "The Cape Church Monthly" was chiding the C.P.S.A. for not being able to produce "the large number" of Colonial-born clergy which the N.G.K. was currently producing(4). The spiritual awakening in the prison camps during the Boer War also resulted in an increase of local candidates for the N.G.K. ministry after the war(5).

By contrast, the vast majority of the clergy of the C.P.S.A. were imports from England, and this continued to be so throughout this period. What was more, despite the fact that many of them made ministry in South Africa their life's work, psychologically England remained "home" and the cause of "Queen and Empire" remained paramount in their thinking. Indeed, as early as 1881, "The Port Elizabeth Telegraph" appealed to Anglican clergy in an editorial to decide to remain permanently in South Africa, and to identify themselves with the country rather than constantly to look over their shoulders to promotion-posts in England(6).

Not that the C.P.S.A. itself was totally satisfied with this state of affairs. It has already been shown that the Anglican press regarded the small number of Colonial-born clergy in C.P.S.A. ranks

as shameful when compared with the N.G.K.(7), but after the war this emphasis increased noticeably. Archbishop West Jones appealed in 1902 for Colonial-born candidates for the ministry(8), and this appeal was repeated from time to time by authoritative sources(9). It was to this end that Bishop Cornish of Grahamstown, in 1902, "established a residential theological college for the training of European candidates for the sacred ministry"(10) --- St.Paul's College, Grahamstown ---, but by the end of the period under review it had produced less than thirty clergy.

Another area in which the C.P.S.A. differed from the N.G.K. was in the development of a black ministry(11). The formation of a separate Sendingkerk for coloureds and the fact that most N.G.K. missionary activity amongst blacks took place outside the Colony meant that N.G.K. gemeentes in the Cape were white, and, consequently, so were the predikants. Naturally the black ministry in the C.P.S.A. developed first in the so-called "mission areas." Henry Callaway, the first Bishop of St.John's, pledged himself, in 1879, to the raising up of a "native ministry", and to this end founded St.John's College, Umtata(12). The needs of the new diocese dictated, however, that this should eventually become a teacher-training college, and thus St.Bede's College, Umtata, became the training institution for black clergy(13). Callaway's successor, Bransby Lewis Key, continued and encouraged this policy despite the expression of white fears in the Transkei that blacks would abuse their priestly office and would prove unsuitable(14). One of the advantages Key saw in the British victory in 1902 was that, in the consequent greater opportunities for black education and in the further dismembering of the authority of the chiefs, the establishment of a black ministry would be more firmly founded(15). Nor did black clergy minister only to their own people. The first black man, Peter Masiza, was ordained to the priesthood in

1877, and others followed. They ministered to white communities in the Transkei and Eastern Cape and prepared white children for confirmation, though the main thrust of their ministry was evangelism and the growth of congregations amongst the Xhosa people(16).

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While the N.G.K. observer saw the chief characteristic of the Anglican ministry to be sacerdotalism, the C.P.S.A. observer also had an image of the N.G.K. ordained ministry: "very earnest, very evangelical, not very highly educated...with much facility in preaching, and with a strong and often exaggerated sentiment of nationalism"(17). And while the average C.P.S.A. priest would have acknowledged the accuracy of the sacerdotal image with some satisfaction, the N.G.K. predikant would equally have been proud to acknowledge the accuracy of the labels given to him --- except, of course, that of "not being very highly educated", an epithet, doubtless, originating from a body of clergy largely educated at Oxford or Cambridge. "Earnest", "evangelical", "facility in preaching", "strong sentiment of nationalism" --- these were characteristics that the men of Stellenbosch believed it right to foster in the candidates they were training for the N.G.K. ministry.

But while the two epithets, "sacerdotal" and "evangelical", might appear to be miles apart --- and, indeed, were ---, it was the content of their difference that presents the first thing they had in common: a concern for what each considered to be sound doctrine. Since the litigation of the 1860's, the issue of sound doctrine had been of first importance to both denominations. It had started with the doctrine of Scriptural truth --- Colenso amongst the Anglicans and the Kotze-Burgers-Naude triumvirate in the N.G.K. ---, and had ended, thanks to the intervention of the secular courts, in a battle for a

sound doctrine of the Church. But institutional concern for doctrinal truth does not guarantee that that truth will change the hearts of men and women in the pews unless there are those committed to its propagation. And, by and large, the N.G.K. predikants were. It was at this point that "facility in preaching" won over sacerdotalism. The N.G.K. assured itself of purity of doctrine by the introduction of a quite unambiguous and scripturally-based colloquium doctum for the legitimation of new ministers, and made sure that the products of the seminary at Stellenbosch knew their doctrine (so much for the Anglican quip about lack of education!) and knew how to teach it(18). To help maintain a scriptural foundation in the practical life of the ministry, Andrew Murray founded the "Bijbel-en-Bidvereeniging" in 1883, a society which committed predikants to daily prayer and study of the Scriptures, if possible in small groups. The society flourished and was effective(19). The result was that sound practical doctrine was handed down from the pulpits of the N.G.K.: emphasis on the sabbath, attitude to authority, family life, the insidious nature of worldly entertainments, based on a thorough exegesis of biblical truths: the sovereignty of God, the security of His people, the sense of purpose He gives to life(20). This teaching was backed up by regular and methodical huisbesoek, by occasional evangelization and teaching weeks, by "exhortations, long prayers and addresses" at the quarterly nagmaals (21), by the imposition of discipline in the gemeentes, and by the encouragement of family prayers in the homes --- one source speaks of the popularity of Spurgeon's sermons, translated into Dutch, for the purposes of family prayers(22).

The result of all this activity was a laity in the N.G.K. that knew its Bible and had a fair grasp of Scriptural doctrine. In stark contrast, the Anglican missionaries who came to the Cape in 1904 to mount the Mission of Help to the C.P.S.A. were warned that they would

find a laity characterized by ignorance, lack of interest, lack of real spiritual life, and formalism(23). A survey of pastoral practice in the C.P.S.A. during these years renders this assessment not surprising. The C.P.S.A. does not appear to have possessed either the sense of pastoral strategy or the routine diligence of the N.G.K. Nor did it possess the leadership. Having in the 1860's been over much the same battleground as the N.G.K., instead of giving itself to the establishment of taught congregations, well versed in practical doctrine, it turned its first attentions to structural arrangements, mistaking for the establishment of sound doctrine the occasional utterances of its leaders and the shape of its formal institutions. Hence, West Jones, taking up the reins of leadership, summed up his initial experience of the C.P.S.A. --- and from it can be deduced the sort of leadership he was bound to give --- as the discovery of dedication, enthusiasm and earnestness, but not sufficient emphasis on the Eucharist! The rest of his survey is a discussion of church and school buildings, and the shortage of clergy(24). As late as 1894, a tentative measure came before the Cape Town Diocesan synod to introduce a compulsory huisbesoek by clergy in view of the great influence exercised by the N.G.K. through this pastoral pattern(25). That the move came to nothing could be attributed equally to the opposition of the clergy that such an imposition should be placed upon them and to the fear of the laity precisely that the influence of the church should thus be extended over them. Parish missions were customary from time to time, but the complaint was that they tended merely to beat up temporary enthusiasm --- a view, incidentally, not unheard in N.G.K. circles(26). Occasionally, Anglican clergy are recorded as having imposed some sort of discipline on recalcitrant white parishioners, but normally the imposition of discipline was confined to black and coloured congregations(27).

The issue of colour has already been dealt with at greater length, but clearly the differing policies of the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. in this regard were bound to affect their concepts of the function of the ordained ministry. The predikant of the N.G.K. saw his prime responsibility as ministering to white Afrikanerdom. Where there was a kleurlingpredikant --- almost certainly a white minister --- within the structures of the gemeente, it was understood that his role was an inferior and dependent one(28). But, in fact, especially after the establishment of the Sendingkerk, the N.G.K. showed little interest in local coloured or black work(29). Not so the rector of the C.P.S.A. parish, especially in the rural areas. Indeed, in the rural areas the C.P.S.A. ministered primarily to coloureds. It is true that the racial integrity of white congregations was often preserved by the establishment of a separate "mission church" for "the coloured work", but equally often this was not the case --- and there were even recorded instances of "the coloured work" taking place in the parish church while the whites met in a separate building(30). Whatever the case, and whatever his own racial predilections, the Anglican minister could hardly do other than regard work amongst coloureds and blacks as central to his parochial responsibilities(31). There were even places in which the white parishioners complained that overmuch attention was being given by their rector to "the coloured work"(32).

One reason given --- usually quite genuinely --- for separation was that of language. Whereas white C.P.S.A. congregations would be ministered to in English, coloured work was very largely done in Dutch. Time and again, C.P.S.A. clergy were exhorted by bishops and journals to become fluent in Dutch, and liturgical material was available. The Dutch edition of the Book of Common Prayer, revised in 1838, had been in use since 1853 in the Colony. In 1876, "Gezangen

ten gebruike bij den Godsdienst der Kerk," arranged on the same pattern as "Hymns, Ancient and Modern," but with some hymns borrowed from N.G.K. sources, was issued. This was followed in 1886 by a "Handboek van Gebeden"(33). How many C.P.S.A. clergy could actually use Dutch it is difficult to determine; although the British expatriate of the imperial era is proverbial in his refusal to speak anything but English, the records of parish activities suggest that quite a few could and did use Dutch(34). In contrast, practically all N.G.K. predikants spoke English --- it was after all the official language of the Colony ---, but English-language services in N.G.K. churches were on the decline during this period. Consequently, the number of predikants who were required to use English liturgically was small. Originally English had been introduced into the N.G.K. to meet the needs of English-speaking people in remote areas where they had no place of worship(35), but by the end of the 19th century such situations were becoming increasingly rare.

The demands, linguistic and pastoral, made upon the ministers of the two denominations did much to shape the self-image of each, and consequently created factors affecting their relationship to each other. So did the relative strengths, particularly as made up of the more influential white population, of the congregations in various parts of the Colony. In the rural towns and on the farms, the great majority of whites were members of the N.G.K. As a result, the N.G.K., its spire dominating the dorp, tended to be "the" church of the area, and the social influence of the predikant was accordingly greater. The C.P.S.A. was peripheral: it would have a small, new, neo-Gothic church in a side-street and a mud-built mission church out in the location. Its minister would be respected, but not regarded as having a great deal of social influence in the white community. It was a situation open to the dangers of exclusivism, pride and

condescension on the one side and a sense of inferiority and jealous censoriousness on the other.

But in the cities and in parts of the Eastern Cape it was quite different. In Cape Town itself, the position of the N.G.K. was accepted, but the Peninsula was clearly C.P.S.A. territory(36). Nor did the N.G.K. feel at home in the new urban areas that were springing up; culturally, they were British and reflected an ethos which felt dangerously alien to many predikants, brought up, as they had been, in quieter, more traditional and more rural environments. This became so obviously the case that, in 1910, "De Kerkbode" appealed to its ordained men to pluck up the courage to move into the cities and to establish work in the more English-speaking areas(37). Here again, relationships on the local level would be affected by the image men had of themselves and of those ministering in the other denomination. Thus, in the cities, it was the C.P.S.A. clergy who appeared to communicate an arrogant confidence while the N.G.K. were conversely diffident and ill-at-ease.

There was one final contrast between the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. affecting the self-image of the clergy and their concepts of ministry. Shortly after his arrival, West Jones commented with horror that he had found clergy dying "through sheer poverty"(38). While Robert Gray had initiated the tradition in the C.P.S.A. of clergy living on austerity stipends --- his financial resources had left him little option in encouraging this ideal ---, the N.G.K. believed that clergy ought to be remunerated according to their status of leadership in the community. If poverty does lead to a sense of self-depreciation in contrast to the more affluent, then this may well contribute to accounting for the superior position that the N.G.K. dominee held in most people's eyes over his Anglican counterpart. As early as 1884, Judge Smith, speaking at a meeting of the Cape Town

Diocesan Association, "contrasted the difference in position between the Dutch and English clergymen, observing that the former lived in affluence, while the latter had scarcely enough to support his wife and family decently"(39). Twenty years later, the situation appeared unaltered, "The Cape Church Monthly" pointing out that an N.G.K. dominee received twice a C.P.S.A. minister's stipend(40).

How did these attitudes work themselves out, in town and country? Very largely, again, by leaving each other alone. Formal recognition on formal occasions was the polite convention, but otherwise each man got on with his own ministry in his own way without much regard for the other. The concept and content of their ministries --- ironically, of the one Gospel in the one Lord --- so differed as to give them little relevance to each other and, therefore, to demand little contact with each other.

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But there were also special ministries. Both denominations developed ministries to the needy and destitute, but, again, very much each in his own camp without much consultation or co-operation with the other. Such extra-parochial institutions as were set up reflected the differing ethos of each body, the Anglicans very often staffing such institutions with members of religious communities which were, themselves, products of the Anglo-Catholic movement in England(41). One area of co-operation which did develop towards the end of the century was that of ministry to lepers, lunatics and convicts on Robben Island(42), but the very nature of such a ministry did not encourage the principle of such co-operation in other areas.

One of the things that most ordained ministers in the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A. had in common was that they had a permanent home-base, a pastorie or rectory situated in some town or city. From

here they travelled to minister to their flock, resident in the town or countryside around them. But the sparsity of Anglicans spread over wide areas in certain parts of the Colony led to the development in the C.P.S.A. of different types of itinerant ministry. The Railway Mission was one of these. It began with West Jones' visit to the Wellington railway workshops in 1876. He was shocked at the appalling facilities provided for railway-workmen and at the consequent moral degeneracy. "What I need," he wrote, "is a clergyman who will give himself up specially to this work..., moving on, as the line advances, so as to exercise a wholesome control over the various gangs of men employed." (43) What West Jones had in mind was a sort of chaplain to the workers, of all races, who were building the line to the north. What emerged was the Railway Mission, initiated by two clergymen, the Ellison brothers, from a centre at Noupoort (Naauwpoort). Obtaining a coach from the Cape Government Railways, these two would have it hitched onto a train and then unhitched in any lonely siding where there were men and women to whom to minister. There they would stay until another train passed, taking them to new fields of ministry. Thus railway-workers, their families and others living in remote areas along the line received Christian ministry, a work which, though conceived in 1876 and lovingly executed over succeeding years, only finally received official recognition by the C.P.S.A. in 1904. (44)

One part of the Colony in which there were neither railways nor large pockets of Anglicans was the north-west. And yet there were sufficient Anglicans to demand attention. They were ministered to through the prodigious travelling feats of Bishop Gray and then, again, after 1894, Bishop Alan Gibson. But not even a suffragan-bishop could devote sufficient time to this, and consequently an "itinerant priest", Mr. A.R. Hoare, was appointed quite specifically to travel from little community of Anglicans to

little community, ministering as he went(45). Thus the C.P.S.A. was required to develop types of ministry which the more widespread and numerous nature of N.G.K. gemeentes rendered unnecessary. Clearly, too, it meant that local predikants were less likely to develop any form of meaningful relationship in the ministry with such hit-and-run practitioners.

Another variation in ministry on the part of the C.P.S.A. --- and one which was not likely to win approval from the N.G.K. --- was the use of religious communities. These communities were a neo-monastic manifestation of the Anglo-Catholic movement, made up of men and women who, having taken traditional vows of poverty, obedience and celibacy, entered an order or "society". From some mother-house, usually in England, they offered themselves for service to the Anglican Church at large. Hence, in 1883, men of the Society of St. John, the Evangelist (the Cowley Fathers) arrived in Cape Town, from Oxford, at West Jones' invitation, to take up mission work amongst Muslims, coloureds and blacks in the Peninsula(46). Their involvement in other ministries followed, so that within a few years they were found in missionary work as far afield as Tsolo in the Transkei(47). A slightly different pattern is to be found in the development of the work of the All Saints Sisters. Bishop Gray had founded a refuge for "penitents" --- a theologically optimistic title for unmarried mothers-to-be --- and a home for destitute children. To run these, he had obtained the services of a group of ladies from England, under the leadership of Miss Fair(48). These good ladies West Jones found at their tasks on his arrival, and he suggested that they should allow themselves to be incorporated into an English order of nuns, the All Saints Sisterhood. This was done in 1876, some of the ladies returning temporarily to Britain to go through the novitiate(49). For many years, work in Cape Town amongst orphans,

children and the destitute was the responsibility of the Sisterhood, who also staffed the rather more elite St.Cyprian's School for Girls(50).

But the Anglican Church at the Cape was to produce a religious community of its own. In 1883, Bishop Webb of Grahamstown, who had previously founded a women's community in Bloemfontein, approached Miss Cecile Isherwood to begin an order in Grahamstown. Thus was founded the Community of the Resurrection of Our Lord, which involved itself in schools, missions, orphanages and teacher-training(51).

It was inevitable that the N.G.K. should look upon these developments as all part-and-parcel of the Anglican Church's betrayal of her Reformation principles. Members of the religious communities, clothed in their distinctive habits, represented a type of ministry in the C.P.S.A. which to the N.G.K. was alien and offensive.

During the Boer War of 1899-1902, the Anglo-Afrikaner tensions which had been mounting, and which had been shared by both denominations --- some would say fanned by them ---, inevitably drove clergy into opposite camps: C.P.S.A. clergy donned uniform and marched into battle with the British armies, while N.G.K. predikants ministered to Boer prisoners-of-war in camps in the Cape and in other parts of the Empire(52). But one of the fascinating features of the period was the frequent call, very often from people in England, to the clergy of the C.P.S.A. to consider their responsibilities in their relationships with their N.G.K. counterparts and their gemeentes (53). Perhaps this was best expressed by a former Governor of the Cape, Lord Loch, at a meeting in London:

The extension of moral influence throughout South Africa may be done by increasing the number of educated clergy, not by getting into disputes on political or other matters with the members of the Dutch Church, but by the exercise of a friendly

influence over the farmers and people(54).

Despite this call, little rapprochement was achieved. The specialized ministries in which the C.P.S.A. involved itself rendered them ever more "different" from the N.G.K. concept of ordained ministry. There was little motivation to break out of a mono-denominational orbit, little that either side had that commended itself to the other, and the application with which the N.G.K. turned to the restoration of the spiritual morale of the Afrikaner people after the defeat of 1902 left it little time or inclination to engage in exercises of toenadering or ecumenical endeavour.

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In 1895, the Rev. J. Taylor wrote an article on "Church Attendance."(55) He identified three reasons for non-attendance: indifference, fear of ridicule and drink. In so doing, he was unwittingly passing judgement on the pastoral ministry of the C.P.S.A. over the previous decades. Drink certainly was a problem, especially amongst the coloured people, most of whom were paid on Saturdays. This lessened the chance of their being in Church the next day. Pages and pages in Anglican journals are given over to "Temperance notes", and the N.G.K. was not slow to make the same emphasis, especially where its ministry did touch the coloured people. But this decreased as the Sendingkerk established itself in more and more centres.

But indifference and fear of ridicule clearly affected the C.P.S.A. far more than it did the N.G.K. This was certainly partly due to cultural factors, to the fact that secular forces had not had the same influence on rural Afrikanerdom as they had on the more urban-oriented English-speaking population, particularly the large percentage of them who were actually settlers, temporary or permanent, directly from England. Furthermore, Afrikanerdom had an attachment of

national sentiment to the N.G.K. that made fear of ridicule a highly unlikely reason for staying away. But while the cultural factors might account for part of the difference, pastoral practice was also a contributory element. The pastoral practice of the N.G.K. was rigorous --- as "earnest" and as "evangelical" as the men who exercised it ---, not allowing much room for either indifference or fear of ridicule. Indeed, fear of discipline was probably a more formidable reality. But, with the possible exception of mission or coloured work, such rigour and discipline were rarely characteristics of C.P.S.A. ministry. To the C.P.S.A., N.G.K. predikants appeared stern, forbidding, lacking the liberty of the Gospel; to the N.G.K., the C.P.S.A. clergy seemed to be caught up in theological error and ritualism, and to be superior and exclusivist. These attitudes, the one to the other, do not constitute a promising foundation for close co-operation and harmony.

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- (1) J. du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, (Marshall Bros., 1919) p.308.
- (2) Ibid, p.269.
- (3) De Kerkbode, April 13, 1878, pp.119-20.
- (4) The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", January 1897.
- (5) J.E. Orr, Evangelical Awakenings in South Africa, (UNISA, 1967) chap.17.
- (6) The Port Elizabeth Telegraph & Eastern Province Standard, September 6, 1881.
- (7) The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", January 1897.
- (8) Ibid, October 1902.
- (9) Ibid, June, 1906; "Synod", November 1906.
- (10) Constitutions and Canons of C.P.S.A., (E.L.D. Looseleaf Edition, 1979) p.185.
- (11) The necessity for the development of a black ministry of some sort had been recognized from the moment that Bishop Gray initiated serious missionary outreach in the Colony. This had been one of the visions he had had in the founding of the "Kafir College" at Zonnebloem. (Viz. J.K.H. Hodgson, A History of Zonnebloem College, 1858-1870, (Unpubl.M.A.thesis, U.C.T., 1975) pp.362-3.
- (12) G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld - Bransby Lewis Key, (Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1911) pp.103, 142-3.
- (13) M.H.M. Wood, A Father in God - The Episcopate of William West Jones, (MacMillan, 1913) p.401.
- (14) Church Chronicle, February 1887, Vol. VIII, p.63.  
G. Callaway, op.cit., p.137.
- (15) Ibid, pp.205-6.
- (16) S. Green, The First Hundred Years, (Diocese of St.John's, 1974) pp.29-33.
- (17) The Cape Church Monthly, "Notes", October 1906.
- (18) J. du Plessis, The Life of Andrew Murray, pp.230-1.
- (19) Ibid, p.359.
- (20) C.M. van den Heever & P. de V. Pienaar, Kultugeskiedenis van die Afrikaner, (Nasionale Pers, 1947) Deel II, pp.219-22.
- (21) The Cape Church Monthly, "Albertina", May 1903, ("Home Edition dated June 1903 [sic]).
- (22) Idem.

- (23) A.W. Robinson, The Mission of Help to the Church in South Africa, (Longmans, Green & Co., 1906) pp.40-1.
- (24) De Kerkbode, April 13, 1878, pp.119-20.
- (25) The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", October 1894.
- (26) Ibid, "Editorial", April 1896; "Editorial", November 1906.
- (27) The Church Chronicle, May 1881, Vol.II, pp.135 ff.
- (28) The Cape Church Monthly, "Provincial Missionary Conference", November 1906, ("Home Edition" dated December 1906).
- (29) Ibid, "Albertina", May 1903, ("Home Edition dated June 1903).
- (30) A.G.S. Gibson, Sketches of Church Work and Life in the Diocese of Cape Town, (S.A. Electric Printing & Publ., 1900) pp.10-11.
- (31) Ibid, p.14.  
The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", May 1896; "St. Philip's", July 1896.
- (32) Church Chronicle, September 1880, Vol.I, p.132.
- (33) Ibid, July 1885, Vol.VI, pp.24-8; November 1885, Vol.VI, p.360; December 1886, Vol.VII, pp.363-4.
- (34) The Cape Church Monthly, "Bishop Gibson's Letter", (Ceres), April 1905.
- (35) Church Chronicle, March 1882, Vol.III, p.92.  
C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet: A Cultural History, (Cape & Transvaal Publ., 1975) p.105.
- (36) A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., p.6.
- (37) De Kerkbode, October 6, 1910, pp.214-5.
- (38) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.90-1.
- (39) Church Chronicle, March 1884, Vol.V, p.89.
- (40) The Cape Church Monthly, "Notes", October 1906.
- (41) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.131-2.
- (42) Ibid, pp.52-3.  
A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., pp.53-4.
- (43) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.60.
- (44) Ibid, p.371.
- (45) The Cape Church Monthly, November 1899, ("Home Edition" dated December 1899).  
A.G.S. Gibson, op.cit., p.90.
- (46) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.134.

- (47) Ibid, p.283.
- (48) Ibid, p.147.
- (49) Ibid, p.56.
- (50) Ibid, pp.256, 288-9.
- (51) Ibid, p.394.  
P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, pp.227-8, 245.
- (52) Ibid, p.184.  
C. Steenkamp Kotze, Die Nederduits-Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika en die Ekumeniese Beweging tot 1910, (Unpubl.M.A.thesis, Univ.Stellenbosch, 1970) p.87.  
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P.B. Bull, God and Our Soldiers, (A.R. Mowbray & Co., 1914).
- (53) The Cape Church Monthly, April 1900 ("Home Edition" dated May 1900); "Archbishop's Letter", April 1900; "Canon Gore", May 1900, ("Home Edition" dated June 1900); "Editorial", August 1902.
- (54) Ibid, June 1900, ("Home Edition" dated July & August 1900).
- (55) Ibid, "Church Attendance", June 1895.

## APPENDICES

However useful it may have been to have chosen, somewhat arbitrarily, the dates 1848 and 1872 as points at which to divide the period 1806-1910, there are certain aspects in the lives of communities which, unlike people and events, flow onwards with little attention to dates. It is true that people and events may initiate, modify, re-direct or even terminate these aspects, but, while they last, they exhibit an independence of time which makes them difficult to categorize into neatly-labelled pigeon-holes of historical period. What follows attempts to deal with just two of these aspects as they affected relationships between the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A. The first is finance; the second is what can only loosely be called "culture".

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APPENDIX A

FINANCE

(Relevant tables are included at the end of Appendix A).

Prior to the British occupation of 1795, the N.G.K., as part of the Classis of Amsterdam, was the established church in the Colony. Consequently, according to the custom of the day, it received the bulk of its revenues from the state. It was accepted that a Christian state should maintain the church within its borders. Although, with the arrival of the British, the N.G.K. ceased officially to be the established church, it continued to receive government monies for the payment of stipends and the building of churches and schools.

On the same principle, the Church of England, as a state church, received financial aid from the government, and this system was transplanted without undue question to the colonies. Indeed, the first Anglican clergy at the Cape were regarded as little more than either military or civil state employees. But money was forthcoming for buildings as well(1).

Consequently, both denominations were accustomed to being dependent rather on the largesse of the state than on the generosity of their own members, a state of affairs that lasted three-quarters of the way through the 19th century and did little to provide incentive to private giving(2). The system came to an end, except in the field of education, with the introduction of the Voluntary Principle in 1879.(3)

Other sources of income are recorded. In the Eastern Cape, the N.G.K. was entitled to the revenues derived from a saltpan at

Uitenhage. Attempts in 1841 by the Anglicans in Port Elizabeth to muscle in on this failed(4). With the quickening of mining and commercial ventures later in the century, certain sections of the N.G.K. did not hesitate to exploit the share market in the interests of church revenues(5).

To Anglicans, another source of income was available, a source which was quite often subject to comments from N.G.K. quarters betraying, perhaps, a little jealousy. To many people in England, the Anglican Church at the Cape was a missionary church, and, as such, they felt it to be entitled to their generosity. Hence Anglican leaders at the Cape felt free to appeal to the English church for financial support, and a considerable amount was forth-coming, particularly for more specifically missionary projects in the Eastern Cape and the Transkei (Transkei work was largely supported by the Episcopal Church of Scotland)(6). Above all, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), a high-church Anglican missionary body, based in London, was responsible for a very considerable amount of the financial backing that was required to establish the Anglican Church in the Colony.

The chief weakness in this structure of financing the two church bodies lay in its undermining of the responsibility of the ordinary churchman in the Colony to give. This resulted in a dangerous dependence on uncertain sources. Prophets of doom in both camps saw the introduction of the Voluntary Principle as a major disaster for the churches --- this was more so amongst the N.G.K., which had no overseas support, than in the C.P.S.A.(7). But the decision of the S.P.G. in the 1830's to cut its grants to the C.P.S.A. raised in its turn, for them the spectre of closed missions and dismissed clergy(8).

Not that there was no emphasis on local giving. Perhaps the appeal was more urgent amongst the Anglicans, whose leaders, despite government grants and overseas aid, were very short-funded for the immense amount of building and setting up of structures which they had to do in establishing the Anglican Church at the Cape. Right from the beginning, Gray made a point of reminding Anglicans of their non-state-church status at the Cape, and recommended tithing(9). Leaders also emphasized that the missionary outreach in the Colony could not be left to the generosity of those "at home", but that local congregations also had a financial responsibility in that respect. Nor was it solely a white responsibility. Key appealed to black Christians in the Transkei to give cattle to support mission and ministry, as they had formerly done to the ancestral spirits(10).

But local giving was stressed in the N.G.K., too. To start with, it was not as strident as amongst the Anglicans --- after all, the N.G.K. was far more firmly established. But as, in the mid-century, it became more and more clear that the introduction of the Voluntary Principle was only a matter of time, the appeals to N.G.K. members to give became more insistent. Indeed, the C.P.S.A. was even quoted as having set "een goed voorbeeld...door geen tijd te verliezen in het daarstellen van een Begiftigings Fonds."(11)

Records seem to indicate that, by and large, despite expectations of support from the state, N.G.K. members were ready to give for local projects and, particularly in the latter half of the period, for missionary outreach(12). But thinking was very congregational, and appeals for money by the Synod for such centralized schemes as the setting up of the Stellenbosch seminary or the establishing of a Begiftigingsfonds were regarded with some suspicion(13).

Anglicans, on the other hand, appear initially to have been positively stingy. Part of this was no doubt due to their English heritage of expecting the church to be carried by the state. But this involved also the fact that there had been no tradition of teaching the concept of systematic giving and self-support(14). Gray and his clergy tried hard to change this, and West Jones, on his first visitation in 1875, commented on the money he had been able to collect in the parishes for churches, priests and schools(15). Towards the end of the century, a clerical correspondent to "The Cape Church Monthly" could comment that English-speaking colonists were reasonably generous, whereas new immigrants, who knew little of the local needs and were still accustomed to a state-supported church in England were hard to convince(16).

Yet, despite this generosity, throughout the period Anglicans seem to have nursed almost a complex about the overwhelming financial superiority of the N.G.K. This was particularly the case in the rural areas where the N.G.K. presence was so obviously the stronger, resented by a vast church building that dominated the entire dorp(17). "Anglicans in South Africa," wrote Archdeacon Lightfoot, "especially in the little parishes, often feel humbled in comparison to the great Dutch Reformed Churches and their wealthy congregations(18).

But it was not only buildings that made the C.P.S.A. look a poor cousin. Comparative clergy stipends were also a source of irritation. West Jones talked of clergy dying of starvation(19). It was not unheard of that country rectors should take up secular employment to augment their stipends, causing scandal and embarrassment, especially before their N.G.K. colleagues(20). A meeting in London was told of the affluence of the predikants alongside Anglican clergy who could scarcely support wife and

children(21). And the "The Cape Church Monthly" bewailed the fact that post-Boer War emigration and agricultural improvement would financially be of benefit more to the N.G.K. than to the C.P.S.A.(22).

In matters financial, the two bodies acted independently, as was to be expected. The ways in which they obtained or handled their finances had little effect on their mutual relationships. And yet, from time to time, throughout the period, it is possible to detect what one might call a "sour grapes" attitude in financial comparisons. If the C.P.S.A. were not bewailing their poverty in comparison with the "shocking affluence" of the N.G.K., then the N.G.K. were pointing out rather bitterly that they could not, like the C.P.S.A. rely on fresh infusions of capital from some overseas "Mother Country". Comparisons merely worked as irritants --- very minor in contrast to the bigger issues which affected relations between the two churches after 1880, but, within the context of those bigger issues, providing just another little stimulus to bitterness and disharmony.

#### TABLES

Figures during this period have not proved easy to obtain. Furthermore, there is often conflicting evidence, not least in the Colonial Blue Books themselves. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the financial figures are accurate. Others must be regarded as approximate.

I have managed to compile a set of co-inciding figures relating to Anglican and N.G.K. grants from the Colonial Government for five of the years falling within this period. 1830 reflects a pre-Gray, pre-Ordinance situation; 1854 and 1866 fall within the middle period, during which the Voluntary Principle debate was being

waged (1866 is a depression year); 1873 and 1875 mark the end of the era of Government grants to the churches.

Table One:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Denom.</u>	<u>Grant</u>	<u>Approx. membership</u>	<u>Grant/member</u>	<u>Approx. no. clergy</u>	<u>Grant/clergy</u>	<u>Members/clergy</u>
1830	Angl.	£1850	?	?	6	£308,33	?
(23)	N.G.K.	£4200	?	?	19	£221,10	?
1854	Angl.	£4702	17073	£0,28	40	£117,55	426,83
(24)	N.G.K.	£8862	91524	£0,10	43	£206,10	2128,47
1866	Angl.	£4702	32024	£0,15	73	£ 64,41	438,68
(25)	N.G.K.	£8912	156514	£0,06	72	£123,78	2173,81
1873	Angl.	?	39966	?	75	?	532,88
(26)	N.G.K.	£8862	150361	£0,06	74	£119,76	2031,91
1875	Angl.	£4309	41229	£0,10	82	£ 52,55	502,79
(27)	N.G.K.	£8714	149524	£0,06	76	£114,66	1967,42

Some interesting facts:

(a) the size of the grants remained remarkably steady over a period of more than twenty years.

(b) in terms of money-per-member, Anglicans did better than the N.G.K. But it is money-per-clergyman which is the important ratio, since most of the grant was spent on stipends (though also on buildings). Except for the 1830 figures, these favour the N.G.K., though in a decreasing proportion. Although this is not primarily what Solomon and his supporters had in mind when complaining about unfairness, it added grist to their mill.

(c) despite the enormous numerical preponderance of the N.G.K. (although it appears to have been slowly declining in the Colony), the number of clergy in each of the two denominations after 1850 was almost equal.

During the years of debate on the Voluntary Principle, Saul Solomon made great play with the amount of money the N.G.K. had been able to raise from its own members. The N.G.K. leadership, on the other hand, was concerned that it could not raise sufficient, whereas Anglican leaders used pastoral letters and all other available means to generate giving amongst Anglican members. Table Two records N.G.K. giving during five unrelated years, and Table Three Anglican giving in the Diocese of Cape Town in the late fifties and early sixties, during which time figures are fairly well recorded. It must be borne in mind that the sixties were depression years.

Table Two:(28) N.G.K. Revenue raised from membership

<u>Year</u>	<u>Pounds</u>
1844	6507
1855	12989
1860	26295
1863	36789
1864	45767

Table Three:(29) Anglican revenue raised in the Diocese of Cape Town from membership

<u>Year</u>	<u>Pounds</u>
1856	1909
1857	1653
1858	1183
1859	1096
1860	1789
1861	1398
1862	810
1863	414
1868	466

Some interesting facts:

(a) Whereas there was a steady increase in N.G.K. giving, the opposite seems to be true of the Anglicans. The depression of the sixties seems to have been offset in the N.G.K. by the spiritual renewal that affected the Church during that period. No such renewal touched Anglicanism. There is a steady decrease from 1856 to 1859, Gray's pastoral letter of that year seems to have had some effect in the 1860 figure, but from then on giving tailed away abysmally.

(b) Using the membership figures for 1854 and 1866 (in the case of the Anglicans, the Diocese of Cape Town only) alongside the "revenue raised" figures of 1855(N.G.K.)-1856(Angl.) and 1864(N.G.K.)-1868(Angl.) respectively will give us an approximate estimation and comparison of per capita giving. Thus:

Table Four:

	<u>Denom.</u>	<u>Revenue Raised</u>	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Per Capita Giving</u>
Mid 1850's	Angl.	£ 1909 (1856)	12395(CT only)	£ 0,15 p.a.
	N.G.K.	£ 12989 (1855)	91524	£ 0,14 p.a.
Mid 1860's	Angl.	£ 466 (1868)	19465(CT only)	£ 0,02 p.a.
	N.G.K.	£ 45767 (1864)	156514	£ 0,29 p.a.

The concern expressed in the mid-fifties in the N.G.K. is well on its way to being met in the mid-sixties, whereas Anglican giving degenerated to such an extent that it warrants being stigmatized as "Positively stingy"(p.217). Anglican finances were, however, bolstered by S.P.G. grants from Britain up to 1870. These wavered and varied in their size, were never as great as state grants, but

often far exceeded the amount raised by the church in the Colony itself.

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Table Five : (30) S.P.G. Grants to the Anglican Church

<u>Year</u>	<u>Pounds</u>
1859	3466
1860	1275
1861	1157
1862	1450
1863	1033
1864	824
1865	851
1866	1112
1867	1208
1868	1294
1869	934
1870	---- ceased

(c) Both the size of State grants and the revenue raised within the churches themselves explain the sense of financial inferiority felt by Anglicans over against the N.G.K.

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(2) C. Gray, Life of Robert Gray, Vol. I, p.216.  
P. Hinchliff, The Anglican Church in South Africa, p.40.  
Church Chronicle, April 1887, Vol. VIII, pp.127-30.

(3) Viz. Chapter on Voluntary Principle.

(4) A.J. Wirgman & C.E. Mayo, The Collegiate Church & Parish of St. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, (Longman's, Green & Co., 1925) pp.13-15.  
Church Chronicle, September 1889, Vol. X, p.276.

(5) The Net Cast in Many Waters, May 1889, pp.76-7.

(6) The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", May 1896.

C. Gray, op.cit., Vol. I, pp.347-8.

Church Chronicle, January 1887, pp.8-9.

M.H.M. Wood, A Father in God - The Episcopate of William West Jones, (Macmillan, 1913) p.400.

(7) De Kerkbode, July 10, 1875, pp.221-2.

(8) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.248-9.

(9) C. Gray, op.cit., Vol. I, p.391.

(10) G. Callaway, A Shepherd of the Veld - Bransby Lewis Key, (Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1911) pp.154-5.

Church Chronicle, January, 1887, Vol. VIII, p.27.

(11) De Kerkbode, July 10, 1875, pp.221-2.

(12) Church Chronicle, November 1884, Vol. V, p.359.

- (13) C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet: A Cultural History, (Cape & Transvaal Publ., 1975) p.103.
- (14) G. Callaway, op.cit., p.153.
- (15) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., p.86.
- (16) The Cape Church Monthly, "Letter from the Rev. D.E. Young", April 1896.
- (17) Ibid, September 1903, ("Home Edition" dated October 1903).
- (18) Ibid, January 1897, ("Home Edition" dated February 1897); "Albertina" (sic) May 1903, ("Home Edition" dated June 1903).  
H.P. Barnett-Clarke, The Life & Times of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, (Darter Bros. & Co., 1908, p.239.
- (19) M.H.M. Wood, op.cit., pp.90-1.
- (20) C.G. Henning, op.cit., pp.109, 171-2.
- (21) Church Chronicle, March 1884, Vol. V, p.89.
- (22) The Cape Church Monthly, May 1907, ("Home Edition" dated June 1907).
- (23) Lewis & Edwards, op.cit., p.20.
- (24) W.G.A. Mears, Government Contributions to the Salaries of Clergymen at the Cape, 1806-1875, (Private Circulation, 1966) pp.16-17.  
Colonial Blue Book, 1854 - Ecclesiastical Returns.
- (25) Cape Argus, 6 October, 1866 (Solomon's Speech).  
Colonial Blue Book, 1866 - Ecclesiastical Returns.
- (26) S. Darby, The Voluntary Principle in South Africa, (M.A. Thesis, Queen's Univ., Ontario 1970) p.27.  
Colonial Blue Book, 1873 - Ecclesiastical Returns.
- (27) W.G.A. Mears, op.cit., pp.18-19.  
Colonial Blue Book, 1875 - Ecclesiastical Returns.
- (28) S. Darby, op.cit., p.31.
- (29) Ibid, pp.64-5.
- (30) Ibid, p.68.

## APPENDIX B

### ARCHITECTURE, MUSIC AND OTHER RELATED CULTURAL MATTERS

The contrast is very striking between the great square Dutch church, like a Wesleyan chapel of fifty years ago, and the small Gothic building, little larger than a cemetery chapel, which may often be found within a few paces of it, serving for the English congregation(1).

This description of the first visible contrast between the two denominations was common to almost any small country town in the Colony in which both bodies were present. The N.G.K. church-building dominated by virtue of its sheer size, often accentuated by a steeple that towered over the town. It was clearly "die" kerk. In the classical tradition of the Reformation, it was square, sometimes with a gallery, the pulpit the central feature. It was a building designed to facilitate the proclamation of the Word of God. Imported originally from Holland in concept and design, it had absorbed, over the course of time, local variations and adaptations. By the 19th century, it could be said to have become "indigenized".

When Gray arrived at the Cape in 1848, there were half a dozen Anglican church buildings in the entire Colony. It was clear that church-building would have to be one of his main concerns. But church-building requires two things: an architect and money. It could be said that God, in His foreseeing wisdom, had provided the Bishop-to-be with the former when, some years earlier, he had married Sophie Middleton. Sophie Gray undertook the work of designing church after church throughout the Colony, and, as the architect was straight from England, so were the designs. The ecclesiastical architecture of

Victorian England had entered upon a neo-Gothic stage, a nostalgic attempt to recapture the perpendicular glories of the 13th and 14th centuries. This attempt was now transplanted to distant shores, and neo-Gothic, with accompanying stained-glass, became the tell-tale evidence of the presence of an Anglican Church in any town or community. As one writer put it, it was "very English"(2).

But, while he may have had a convenient architect to hand, the Bishop had little money. Such neo-Gothic as could be erected throughout the Colony had to be on a modest scale and simple. And so it was. The little Gothic church, tucked away in a side street, may have represented England, but it also represented the more restricted economic circumstances of the local Anglican community. Brandy enabled 12 thousand pounds to be spent on an N.G.K. church at Robertson; ostriches and tobacco contributed 40 thousand pounds to a new one at Oudtshoorn. "Our little rural churches...stand in strange contrast to those of the Dutch. We are what the Episcopalians would be in Scotland if they had no landowners to support them(3)".

In the Peninsula and in the Eastern Cape, things were slightly different in that the N.G.K. was not as dominant. But Anglican churches remained, by and large, small and, inevitably, neo-Gothic. However, the desire to establish Barchester Towers at the Cape increased with greater affluence and political influence towards the end of the century. Bit by bit, Grahamstown Cathedral was pulled down, and rebuilt in grand, new style to resemble the great churches of the "Home Country". The new cathedral in Cape Town was to be the counterpart to Canterbury, and Sir Herbert Baker abandoned his Cape Classical style for grand Gothic, even though it toned so badly with all the surrounding central-city architecture.

Not that any of this played any part in hindering or helping C.P.S.A.-N.G.K. relations. It is just another illustration of what has been so often asserted, that both bodies moved in worlds of their own, worlds characterized in stone and mortar by buildings that reflected differing emphases, situations, concepts and cultural backgrounds.

The church building was the first visible symbol of these differences, but the activities which it enclosed and which surrounded it made these differences even more evident. Some of these activities appeared similar: church bazaars were high moments in the lives of both bodies and there was much mutual assistance and patronage; there were increasing tendencies towards racial segregation in both denominations as the century proceeded; certain aspects of worship, such as the singing of hymns, were similar, though in this area the N.G.K. were not without their problems from the Doppergemeentes in the mid-century; both, too, were accustomed to sermons, though of differing intensity(4). But beneath the appearances lay differences. To many members of the N.G.K., who were totally unaccustomed to any form of set liturgical worship, the services of the C.P.S.A. smacked uncommonly of popery: services were read from a book; cassocks, surplices and, later in the century, eucharistic vestments were worn; bishops appeared, with much pomp and ceremony, from time to time(5). These were features which were all alien to the N.G.K. and its traditions.

Even some of the similarities were deceptive. The singing of hymns and the whole area of church music stirred different emotions and concerns in the breasts of worshippers. To some extent, the dominance given to the singing of hymns in the two denominations sprang from the same source, but through different channels. The Methodist movement and the Evangelical Revival brought the singing of

hymns in worship into prominence in England; this, in a short time, became standard practice in the Anglican Church, and from the Church of England it came, with so much else, into the worship of Cape Anglicanism. It was accepted as though it had always been. It was also from the Methodists that the N.G.K. received their tradition of hymn-singing, but this time in the Colony, and not without friction. To many members of the N.G.K., brought up on the metrical Psalms, the singing of non-Scriptural material in churches was unbecoming. Not only was it non-Scriptural; it was theologically doubtful, springing as it did, from the Arminian tradition of the Methodists(6). Nevertheless, with the exception of the Doppergemeentes, who broke right away from the N.G.K., hymn-singing was standard practice in the N.G.K., too, by the middle of the century.

This conservatism with regard to church music in the N.G.K. created a marked cultural difference between the C.P.S.A. and the N.G.K. The church choir was part of the English ecclesiastical tradition, and, in the C.P.S.A., press and clergy were emphatic --- and successfully so --- on its retention. The importance of church music was frequently stressed, and excerpts from the oratorios, recitatives and anthems were produced on any and every occasion of note(7). It was the lack of this that made the N.G.K. appear in the eyes of many Anglicans dour, dreary and unappreciating of the classical arts. For five years the N.G.K. church in Graaff-Reinet had a choir, but it was solely for the English-language services, and, even then, conservatism demanded its abandonment in the end(8).

Talks and lantern shows were also part-and-parcel of Anglican parish life in a way that was not true of the N.G.K. As Henning puts it: "The immigrant demanded more from his parson than the D.R.C. members when it came to promoting secular and cultural interests."(9)

Talks would vary from heavy theology, such as the in's and out's of church government --- fair grist for an N.G.K. sermon, but not a C.P.S.A. one ---, to secular, cultural subjects, such as someone's visit to Greece or the Holy Land(10).

Both denominations expressed great concern over the problem of alcohol in the Colony, especially as it affected the coloured and black people. But to Anglicans it appeared almost an obsession. The C.P.S.A. gave full support to legislative measures to curtail the sale of alcohol to such people(11). Column after column in Anglican journals is taken up with the minutes of the Church Temperance Society or with "Temperance Notes"(12). Even in the great Mission of Help, temperance was seen to be one of the issues that required special attention(13). The reason for the C.P.S.A.'s emphasis in this area as compared with that of the N.G.K. is almost certainly to do with the people they were dealing with: whereas the gemeentes were mainly white, the C.P.S.A.'s congregations were very often overwhelmingly coloured. And there is no doubt that drunkenness was a major moral issue in the coloured community. Furthermore, most of the wine and brandy producers were members of the N.G.K. All that the N.G.K. saw as needful was the upholding of public moral standards and order without unnecessarily treading on the toes of its members.

One of the most noticeable features, almost from the very beginning of Anglican activity at the Cape, is the strange link between the Anglican Church and Freemasonry. All the clergy at the laying of the foundation-stone of St. George's Church in Cape Town in 1830 were Freemasons, and the ceremony took place with masonic honours(14). Sixty years later, when the Governor, Sir Henry Loch, laid the chancel memorial stone of the new cathedral, again masonic honours were observed(15). At function after function, Freemasons were actively involved, and a large number of the country clergy were

chaplains to the local lodges. In fact, one gets the impression that in some of the smaller communities "Anglican" and "Freemason" were interchangeable terms. Certainly one C.P.S.A. journal dedicated its editorial to singing the praises of Freemasonry and all it was doing(16). Whether individual members of the N.G.K. were secret or open masons, the N.G.K. itself had no dealings or contacts with this body.

These are some of the elements of cultural variation which separated the two denominations. They take no notice of the elements of language or of popular loyalties, which have been mentioned elsewhere. These clearly exaggerated all differentiations in the pervasive effect they were bound to have in giving a clearly defined identification to either group. There are innumerable subtleties of detail in this business of defining oneself, of creating one's self-image, and the purpose of this section has been to touch on just some of these. The sadness is that it is so much a record of differentiation between two Christian bodies who saw little reason why they should even attempt to seek unity of mind or practice in anything but peripherals.

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(1) The Cape Church Monthly, "Albertina" (sic) May 1903, ("Home Edition" dated June 1903).

(2) C.G. Henning, Graaff-Reinet: A Cultural History, p.108.  
M.H.M. Wood, A Father in God - The Episcopate of William West Jones, p.404.

Viz. also T. Gutsche, The Bishop's Lady, (Howard Timmins, 1970).

(3) The Cape Church Monthly, September 1903, ("Home Edition" dated October 1903).

(4) C.G. Henning, op.cit., pp.106, 114-115.

C.M. van den Heever & P. de V. Pienaar, Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner, (Nasionale Pers, 1947) Deel II, pp.219-22.

(5) C. Gray, Life of Robert Gray, Vol.I, pp.247-50.

- (6) C.G. Henning, op.cit., pp.99-100.  
A. Moorrees, Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Suid-Afrika, 1652-1873, Hoofstuk 22.
- (7) C.G. Henning, op.cit., p.115.  
The Cape Church Monthly, "Editorial", August 1896; "Malmesbury", "St.James, Sea Point", "Woodstock", May 1902; "O'okiep", August 1902; "Kalk Bay", March 1903; "Oudtshoorn", May 1903.
- (8) C.G. Henning, op.cit., p.105.
- (9) Ibid, p.115.
- (10) The Cape Church Monthly, "St.Barnabas", December 1901.
- (11) Church Chronicle, January 1886, Vol.VII, pp.23-5.
- (12) Every edition of The Cape Church Monthly, from January 1901 to April 1905 --- and in other editions.
- (13) Ibid, "Mission of Help, October 1904.
- (14) H.P. Barnett-Clarke, The Life and Times of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, p.59.
- (15) Church Chronicle, February 1890, Vol.XI, p.63.
- (16) Griqualand West Church Magazine September 1885.  
C.G. Henning, op.cit., p.108.  
The Cape Church Monthly, "Salt River", March 1899; "Knysna", "St.Mary's, Port Elizabeth", September 1901.  
Church Chronicle, May 1881, Vol.II, pp.176-7; September 1880, Vol.I, p.143.

## IN CONCLUSION

The time has now come to recall the eleven theses enumerated in the Introduction to this work, and to see how they are substantiated by the accumulated evidence.

- 1) Cultural and theological factors kept Anglicans and the N.G.K. from ever entering into any meaningful relationships of co-operation or unity.

There were areas and moments of co-operation and mutual interest between the two denominations, but they were either peripheral or superficial. There were the issues of public education, of legislation concerning the sale of alcohol or the status of marriage, of the use of one another's buildings, of state grants, of theological liberalism. But none of these led the two church bodies into any form of permanent relationship that could be called meaningful. Even the feeble attempts in 1870 at some sort of unity petered out into nothing.

Although both denominations sprang from Reformation roots and shared the experience of being "state churches", their histories were utterly different. The Anglicanism that came to the shores of the Cape Colony was one which was linked with English property-ownership, with 18th century Parliamentary procedure and with a polite, highly academic apologetic in the face of the Enlightenment. The N.G.K. by 1806 had already been established in the rough remoteness of the Cape for 150 years, and that in itself had begun to shape it in a way different even from that of the mother-church in the Netherlands. Planted by Dutch mercantilism, it had had a second-hand Enlightenment

experience in and around Cape Town only, and had very quickly reflected the somewhat sophisticated and gentlemanly feudalism of its environment. Outside the influence of the capital, it had had a more or less perfunctory ministry in a rough terrain to a rugged people. It is true that, by the time Gray arrived in 1848 --- and institutional Anglicanism with him ---, some of this gap had been made up, but never sufficiently to make either party feel that it had too much in common, culturally or historically, with the other.

Language itself was a very obvious and palpable difference. The fact that Anglicans used English --- developing Dutch only in their mission work amongst the coloured population ---, while the N.G.K. used Dutch --- permitting, until the close of the century, just a little bit of English for the benefit of Englishmen cut off from their own churches ---, was itself a manifest barrier to completely fetter-free relationships. But this became even more the case with Dutch resistance to attempts to anglicize them, such as occurred during Somerset's governorship (1814-1827), and with the identification of language with national identity, as occurred in the attempt to obtain moedertaalonderwys and in the taalbewegings in the latter half of the century.

The cultural and historical association of the N.G.K. with the Afrikaner volk, so highly emphasized in the crises of the 80's and 90's, itself militated against meaningful relationships with Anglicans, but this was made worse by Anglican identification with the ruling British power. Although somewhat on the defensive in early years, Anglicans so fostered their traditional relationship with authority, that they were soon seen to be, if not "the established Church", at least the church of the establishment. This inevitably, as the century drew to its close, made them, in N.G.K. eyes, the

church of a threatening imperialism. The C.P.S.A. was proud to be so!

The C.P.S.A. was also proud of its place in the increasingly world-wide family of the Anglican Communion. This meant that it showed more concern with what was happening in Anglican churches across the seas, especially the Church of England, than it did in those denominations working alongside it in South Africa. Furthermore, the Colenso controversy triggered reactions far beyond the two colonies. The emergence, after 1877, of the World Reformed Alliance did not affect the N.G.K. in the same way, taken up, as it was, by its own purely domestic concerns.

Much has been made of the importation into the N.G.K. of an influential Scottish presence in the 20's. Yet this was not sufficient to bridge the cultural and theological gap between the N.G.K. and the Anglicans. Quite apart from the differences involved in the theology and the ecclesiology of evangelical presbyterians and tractarian episcopalians --- not to mention age-old Scottish-English tensions ---, the Scots so adapted themselves to the context in which they had come to minister that Anglicanism, once firmly established, could hardly be said to be dealing with a "British" influence in the other body. Already, Andrew Murray Jr. was calling himself "a Dutch minister". Conversely, Anglican clergy, imported throughout the period from England, never abandoned their English ties, but saw "home" as the place to which they would, for the most part, return. The fact that many of them, in the event, did not do so did nothing to lessen their awareness of their cultural matrix.

A factor that further strengthened Anglican ties with "an alien culture" was the dependence of the Anglican Church on financial support from England. This involved constant contact, whether by

correspondence or personal visit, with the result that Cape Anglicanism appeared to the N.G.K. to be firmly tied to that of Britain. What is more, N.G.K. sources betray from time to time a certain irritation at the Anglican Church's access to finances denied to it.

One of the characteristics of life that had developed very firmly at the Cape prior to the arrival of the British was the nature of the relationship between whites on the one hand and so-called "people of colour" on the other. Although the N.G.K. initially sought to exclude discrimination within the context of worship, it accepted the existence of the master-servant relationship within the structures of colonial society. There are those who would argue that in doing so it made inevitable the decision of 1857 which introduced racial discrimination formally into the structures of the Church. Anglicanism, at least at the official level, arrived with a very different philosophy. Fresh from the triumphs of abolishing the blasphemous institution of slavery, and with a determination to fulfil the missionary imperative, it showed a remarkable sensitivity to what it felt to be racial injustice. Clearly this was a cultural difference which for many people, especially in the N.G.K., was threatening, whether in terms of procuring labour, maintaining personal security, protecting national identity --- or just keeping inviolate the safe familiarities of a way of life.

But, if these were some of the divisions which differing cultures set between the two denominations, what of the more apparently central issue of theology? It has been shown that, despite similarities in their attitudes to theological liberalism, the sacramental and tractarian emphases of an Anglo-Catholic Anglicanism set it on a path of theological confrontation with a church body that was profoundly protestant and evangelical in its formularies and

practice --- and which sought all the more to be so after the theological conflicts of the 60's and in the face of Kuyperian neo-Calvinism.

All these factors combined together to give both denominations the nature of a volkskerk. From the superiority of the British imperial connection, Anglicans hardly felt their Dutch colleagues worth worrying about, despite their greater numbers, until the Anglo-Boer War made the N.G.K. a suspect institution in "loyal" Anglican eyes. Enjoying choral music, colourful ceremonial and cultural interests in the safety of familiar neo-Gothic churches, they tended to their own affairs. The N.G.K., on the other hand, the volkskerk of the Afrikaner people, saw Anglicanism as culturally alien, theologically in error and, from the national point of view, hopelessly identified with those who were threatening the survival and identity of Afrikanerdom.

2) Such relations as there were were profoundly affected by political developments in the Colony.

In the first years of the British occupation, N.G.K.-Anglican relations were characterized by a friendly indifference on the part of the former towards the latter. By 1910, the relationship was one of an almost arrogant indifference by the Anglicans and of hostility by the N.G.K. Although this development cannot be explained solely in terms of political factors, political factors did play a large part in bringing this about. Bearing in mind, on the one hand, close relationship between the N.G.K. and the Afrikaner people, and, on the other, the identification of the Anglican Church with England and with her government in the Colony, this was inevitable. Even in the early years, there had been murmurings in N.G.K. quarters about the relationships between Anglican ecclesiastical personages and those in

positions of power, but it was only towards the end of the century, when political tempers quickened, that relations between the two churches really deteriorated. It has been shown that N.G.K. attacks on Anglican doctrine became more frequent and bitter as political tensions in South Africa increased. During the Anglo-Boer War, although there were instances of isolated friendlinesses, Anglicans regarded the loyalty of the N.G.K. with grave suspicion, while the N.G.K. regarded the C.P.S.A. as totally identified with those who were waging an unjust war against the Afrikaner volk. Even after the War, this acrimony continued: Anglicans, comfortable in their victory, regarding N.G.K. activity in the reconstruction of the volk as unpatriotic, even treacherous; the N.G.K., expressing their political sensitivities in continued objection to Anglican theology, and particularly to its increasingly threatening implications in terms of race relations.

3) Both denominations, concerned first with questions of their own identity and structure, and thereafter with their cultural and national allegiances in a polarizing political situation, tended to manifest a high degree of introversion.

The establishment of the Cape as a British colony after 1806 confronted the N.G.K. with the problem of its identity as the dominant religious body in a territory whose new rulers had their own state church. Furthermore, its enforced dissociation with the Classis of Amsterdam raised the question of what structural forms would be needed in the future. The arrival of Bishop Gray in 1848 faced the Anglican Church with similar issues: the consolidation of a church which was the church of the government, the established church of the "home country", but which was very much a minority body without any special privileges at the Cape. Moreover, it had a bishop and it had congregations, but no real structures.

The attempts by the two churches to come to grips with these issues led, perhaps inevitably, to their being very inward-looking. For the N.G.K., indeed, most of the formative years were those before institutionalized Anglicanism had even arrived. The first synod, introducing synodal government, took place in 1824, while the struggle to eliminate secular interference in the government of the church reached its triumph in the promulgation of the Church Ordinance in 1843. Gray arrived five years later, so that these battles were fought during a period in which Anglicanism was represented at the Cape only by an irrelevant congregationalism. At any rate, concern for identity and structure by definition tend to introversion.

In a sense, the Anglican Church's attempt to find its feet was more intense, complicated as it was by litigation right from the beginning. And both the intensity and the litigation concentrated Anglicans on their own problems rather than on the affairs of others. Right from the start, Gray's right to summon a synod at all was challenged, and soon the unhappy bishop found himself in the coils of the Colenso controversy in which his letters-patent authority was set aside and his position as metropolitan put in question. The question of the rights of secular courts to pronounce in ecclesiastical matters was, from the churches' point of view, part and parcel of the whole "identity-and-structure" crisis, and if the two denominations did show some interest in each other's affairs at this juncture, it was merely that they might settle the situation the more satisfactorily in their own camps.

The eventual emergence of the Church of the Province of South Africa in 1870 with its own constitution and government, and the stabilization of things in the N.G.K. might have led to both bodies beginning to look around a bit more, had it not been for the increasingly polarized political situation which developed in the

final years of the century. Instead, political pressures raised once again the question of identity, but this time in terms of cultural and national allegiance. While Anglicans began to express themselves more and more as identified with British power, the N.G.K., which saw itself at one with a people threatened by the imperial intentions of that power, began to involve itself more and more in matters that pertained intimately to the culture and expression of Afrikanerdom. Language, post-war reconstruction, educational issues, the threat of a racial liberalism --- these, and other matters, drove the N.G.K. into a concentrated concern for the spiritual, political and social welfare of the Afrikaner people that cut it off from any deep contact with other religious bodies. Anglicanism, on the other hand, smug in the triumph of British arms and assured in the correctness of its "catholic" theology, saw neither point nor value in giving time or attention to other than its own affairs. Both denominations had developed a highly introverted ethos.

4) Limited co-operation did occur where over-lapping vested interests were threatened.

The emphasis lies on the word "limited". It is astonishing that, while both churches were locked in combat with the secular courts over the question of the rights of those courts in ecclesiastical matters, only a sympathetic interest is shown in the development of the other's case. In all the years during which the voluntary principle was debated, the only record of direct co-operation is to be found in the temporary political alliance of N.G.K. and Anglican M.P.'s.

Yet there were a few occasions on which the two bodies got together. The issue most central to these was education. Right at the beginning, both the N.G.K. and Anglicans protected their interests by

mutual membership of the Bible and School Commission, but it was towards the end of the period under review that co-operation was most clearly established. Fear of the secularization of education led both denominations to put pressure together on the government for the establishment of religious education in public schools. What was more, together they sought the aid of other denominations for their cause. The government's revision of marriage laws again brought them together, and there is also record of co-operation in expressing a common view with regard to liquor legislation. Yet in all these cases one detects, to a certain extent, a marriage of convenience. Issues of principle may have been involved --- may, indeed, have been primary ---, but also involved were factors which touched the individual interests of the two churches themselves.

5) Rural and small-town society manifested a greater, though limited mutual awareness between the two denominations than was current in urban areas or in the corridors of ecclesiastical bureaucracy.

It has been shown that both denominations manifested a high degree of introversion during this period. Nowhere was this more the case than in the corridors of ecclesiastical bureaucracy --- as was to be expected. These were the men for whom denominational identity, structure and allegiance were important. Working amongst their own and for their own, they showed little deep awareness of anything outside that might impinge on the ecclesiastical life of others, and not on themselves.

In the new urbanization that took place in the Colony following the discoveries of diamonds and gold, it was the C.P.S.A. that took root and grew, especially in its black membership. Not only was there the new city of Kimberley, but development in the port-cities also took place. The diggers at Kimberley were predominantly from overseas, the vast majority being from Britain or her colonies. A

fair number of the blacks who came to Kimberley had had contact with missions. In the port-cities, whites and blacks, drawn by increasing development, reflected the same individual origins. The C.P.S.A. was not slow to develop work in these areas and to find new strength in the cities. Not so the N.G.K. Some Afrikaners did move to the cities, but, by and large, they remained a platteland people, and the N.G.K. remained a platteland church. Consequently, in the complexity and impersonality of the cities, there was little mutual N.G.K.-C.P.S.A. awareness.

In the rural areas, however, and in the dorps, it was otherwise. Life was simple and more personal. To begin with, Anglicans had worshipped in N.G.K. buildings, their services even occasionally led by N.G.K. predikants. They all lived together in a small community in which the social functions of each were big enough events to be registered by the entire community. Hence, even in the dark days of the Anglo-Boer War, there are copious records in the journals of the period of members of the N.G.K. and Anglicans attending one another's bazaars, stone-laying ceremonies, farewell functions, funerals, meetings of welcome, and the like. Basically, these were social, and the relationship between the two denominations was social rather than religious, but it was a far higher degree of mutual awareness than was to be found in the cities or amongst ecclesiastical officialdom.

6) While both churches developed a definite missiology, the Anglican Church, as an institution, adopted a more dynamic and practical mission policy in the Colony after 1848, than the N.G.K.

Both denominations, in their search for identity, had to answer the question as to whether their primary responsibility was to the white settler population or to the unevangelized black and brown peoples. Were they missionary churches or settler churches?

Traditionally, the N.G.K. had opted for the latter, and, although it had its mission enthusiasts and some work had been done amongst the immediately reachable brown peoples, its attitude to missions was cautious. Initially, it would not commit itself further than support for certain missionary societies, and, even when it did begin to undertake direct missionary enterprise, synodal discussion suggests that this was motivated as much by a desire to have control over missionary ventures as by evangelistic fervour. Moreover, N.G.K. missionary policy was affected to a certain extent by a laity that was suspicious of missionaries and uneasy at the presence of increasing numbers of black and brown people at services.

Although Anglican laity reflected similar prejudices and fears, central leadership in the Anglican Church was far clearer in its goals and more determined after Gray's arrival in 1848. Prior to that, the Anglican Church had been almost exclusively a settler church, but Gray had a militant missionary vision which he shared with those who came out with him. Merriman, Armstrong and Cotterill backed him to the hilt, to be followed, later in the century, by such leaders as Callaway and Key. Their motives were never purely theological --- law, order and civilization ranked in the forefront of their stated reasons for mission work ---, but cynics might maintain that that was why they tackled their task with such vigour. They built churches, schools and hospitals; they infiltrated the black populations of the new cities; they promoted black and brown leadership in the church; they sought to employ unusual agencies such as the Order of Ethiopia, the Railway Mission or religious communities. They pressed for a racially integrated church. The N.G.K. certainly did build schools and churches amongst the brown people on the farms and in the towns, and they did seek to promote leadership, but it was not until Andrew Murray really began to emphasize the need for mission in the 60's that

the N.G.K. began to show a like concern.

The establishment of the autonomous N.G.-Sendingkerk in 1881 must be seen primarily as a missionary rather than a racial venture --- indeed, an interesting experiment in catholicity and early indigenization. But most of the N.G.K.'s missionary energy was directed outside the Colony, in the Northern Transvaal, Nyasaland and elsewhere. One important contribution the N.G.K. did make to missiology in the Cape was that of training --- for Anglicans, ordination was sufficient (and, sometimes, not even that), whereas Murray, in setting up missionary training institutes, had probably a deeper vision. But there can be little doubt that, within the Cape Colony, the Anglican record of missionary outreach by the year 1910 was more impressive in its achievements than that of the N.G.K.

7) Differences of politico-historical background and ecclesiology led to Anglicans adopting a more liberal attitude to race relations than that of the N.G.K.

As had been seen, the N.G.K. was primarily a settler church which accepted the prevailing settler attitude to colour, based on the master-servant relationship which had developed at the Cape. The Anglicanism introduced by Robert Gray stood in the stream of developing British democratic liberalism, which had to its recent credit the triumph of slave abolition and the dominance of Philanthropist influence in the exercising of imperial responsibility towards indigenous peoples. It is true that the difference in racial attitudes between the white rank and file members of the two churches was not all that large, but, whereas the N.G.K. hierarchy, which had previously resisted attempts at racial discrimination in worship, eventually gave way, Anglican leadership stood firmly for the continuing integration of blacks into ecclesiastical structures. Despite white Anglican prejudices, which showed themselves in

requiring blacks to sit at the back of the church and to receive the sacrament after the whites had done so, there never was any serious attempt in Anglicanism to enforce congregational separation. And certainly Anglican church government became multiracial as soon as there were black and brown people capable of participating in it.

A differing ecclesiology is apparent here. To the N.G.K., catholicity was seen to be operative in giving people of other races the opportunity to develop themselves within their own ecclesiastical structures; to Anglicans, catholicity involved the integration of all races into a single, worshipping body.

But underneath all arguments is to be perceived that national insecurity felt by the Afrikaner volk in the post-Anglo-Boer War years, and which surfaced in a series of articles in "De Kerkbode" in 1910, entitled "Het Naturellen Vraagstuk." As far as the N.G.K. was concerned, the racial liberalism that threatened Afrikanerdom was very largely the work of "high-church" Anglicanism, and there is little doubt that the official attitudes and record of the C.P.S.A. would substantiate that charge.

8) As a result of the above two facts, membership of the C.P.S.A. became increasingly heterogeneous, while that of the N.G.K. became, conversely, more homogeneous.

The racially more liberal philosophy of the Anglicans, coupled with the dynamic of their missionary activity, meant that the C.P.S.A. was becoming increasingly heterogeneous. While irritatingly aware of its imperial connection, it was not exclusively British, it was not exclusively English-speaking, it was not exclusively white. It was true that the episcopate was unanimously British, English-speaking and white, and that, by and large, the leadership was, too. But there were those, like Key, who not only foresaw, but regarded as an ideal, a departure from this state of affairs. The path was already set: the

Anglican liturgy was chanted in Dutch and in Xhosa as well as in English; congregations were often individually homogeneous in make-up, especially in the black missions, but equally often they were not; Britishers there were, but there were also English-speaking white colonials, anglicized Afrikaners, brown people conversant with one or both European languages, and blacks, both Xhosa and Sotho.

In contrast was the increasing homogeneity of the N.G.K. With the closing of Afrikaner ranks in the face of British imperialism, with the virtual exclusion of the brown people from the N.G.K. after the calling of the first synod of the Sendingkerk in 1881, and with a missionary thrust very largely beyond the boundaries of the Colony, the N.G.K. in the Cape was becoming, during this period, a largely closed, Afrikaans or Dutch speaking, nationally motivated, all white body.

9) From the first days of episcopacy at the Cape, the Anglican Church leadership tended to adopt an attitude of criticism, aimed very often, though not exclusively, at the Dutch-speaking white population, with regard to the unjust treatment of black and brown racial groups.

The tradition of criticism of the Dutch-speaking colonists over matters of race had begun before Gray's day. It was most closely associated with the name of Dr. John Philip and with the L.M.S. Their opinions had been given wide circulation in England, and it was with a knowledge of these opinions that Anglican leadership came to the Cape. Much that had been written and said, they found justified, and consequently it was not difficult for them to step into this tradition. Gray and Merriman had plenty to say in criticism of Dutch racial attitudes; articles and letters in Anglican journals pick up the theme; many Anglicans would have agreed with Bishop Key that one of the fundamental issues of the Anglo-Boer War was the liberation of blacks from Boer domination. Certainly English-speaking white

attitudes were also condemned, but the weight of alleged guilt falls on Afrikanerdom, another feature that was hardly likely to lead to successful ecumenical relations.

10) In issues concerning race relations, the Anglican hierarchy after 1848 tended to adopt a policy at variance with the opinion of much of its white membership. Although this was initially also true of the N.G.K., it ceased to be so as the 19th century progressed.

It has been shown that the frequency with which early N.G.K. synods insisted on racially integrated worship before 1857 indicated that there was already a demand for separation. This was even more clearly indicated by correspondence and articles of the period, especially those emanating from the Eastern Cape. In 1857 the demand was eventually acceded to, and leadership was forced to come into line with lay opinion.

Within Anglicanism, the same gap existed, though it was not normally so militantly expressed as in the N.G.K. While the leadership sought to move towards the elimination of prejudice and the total integration of all races, the laity were more hesitant. Discriminatory practices did take place in Anglican churches (seating, reception of the sacrament, etc.), and fear was expressed at the speed with which the episcopacy seemed to be pushing the creation of a black ministry. Not that the hierarchy was egalitarian --- Bishop Gibson believed that certain social restrictions on blacks were necessary, while the Diocese of St. John's for many years denied the right of black priests to vote in synod ---, but Bishop Cameron's plea for a "black diocese" was quickly squashed. Discrimination in church matters was discouraged and attempts were made to eliminate it, though not without fears expressed by the laity. Unlike the N.G.K. leadership, the Anglican leaders persisted in the direction they sought to go, hoping to drag the reluctant white laity with them.

11) Although both denominations were intensely aware of the vital significance of education, that awareness often manifested itself in differing ways.

It has been shown that both denominations involved themselves quite heavily in educational enterprises of one sort or another. Both were aware of the importance of education in giving religious content to the minds of the young. In fact it was this common awareness that led to their co-operating in the early years of the 20th century in bringing pressure to bear on the authorities with regard to religious education in state schools. But, despite their common interest in educational matters, that was about the limit of their co-operation. For Anglicans, educational involvement meant primarily the reproduction of the elitist system of England, including the interesting experiment of such a school for the sons of chiefs at Zonnebloem, plus what was necessary to fulfil the missionary task of the church. In this regard, industrial schools also had their place.

For the N.G.K., educational involvement was closely associated with its role as a volkskerk. Hence the demand for moedertaalonderwys; hence statements that education was necessary to maintain the position of whites over blacks; hence the move for Afrikaners, following the Kuyperian example, to found their own schools. But the major practical thrust by the N.G.K. into the educational sphere was the attempt to work within the state system through the training of teachers. It was deemed more strategic to infiltrate the system with teachers trained in N.G.K. training colleges, and to establish hostels in which they could give a consistent religious education to the young, than to set up their own denominational schools. Anglicans, too, trained teachers, but on a far smaller scale and certainly not with the same strategic intent.

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In the new polarizations of today's South Africa (1980), is there anything that our history has taught us? As white South Africa finds itself confronted by the demands of a black majority and the challenges of international socialism, voices are heard calling for greater co-operation and unity of purpose between English-speaking South Africans and Afrikaners. It is suggested that the churches which represent these groups could contribute greatly to this necessary unity by finding one another and speaking with a common voice.

Frankly, I am pessimistic. It would seem to me --- and the subject is open for further research --- that the dynamics which operated in the relationships between the Anglican Church and the N.G.K. during the 19th century are, with slight modifications, with us still. Two world wars have given Anglicanism all the scope needed to continue playing the imperial theme, while the rise to power of Afrikanerdom has done nothing but strengthen the identification of the N.G.K. with the Afrikaner volk. In all this, the differences in the cultural and theological traditions of the two denominations have received emphasis, usually in a negative context, which has encouraged a mutual suspicion, contempt and hostility. The involvement of the N.G.K. in the restoration of Afrikaner power has led to a continuation of that introversion which characterized it in earlier days, while Anglicanism continued, at least until the end of the 1940's, to rest secure in a strange cultural complacency.

But it is the emergence of racial tensions in the South African society that has given a new perspective to relations between the two denominations. It is probably true that the gap between Anglican leadership and Anglican white laity is bigger today on issues of race than it has been before --- but this is because Anglican leadership is having to take seriously the demands of the black laity. In other

words, the C.P.S.A. is today having to face the implications of its mission policy in terms of the old question, "settler church or mission church?" cast in new terms, terms of colour. And if Anglican leadership is to be consistent with its traditional ecclesiology, with its concept of catholicity, it is going to have to pay more heed to the fact that today the C.P.S.A. is predominantly a black church.

In contrast, the N.G.K. has maintained its white, Afrikaner homogeneity, a fact made more evident by its increasing tensions with its own mission offspring, the so-called "daughter churches".

What does this mean? It means that the cultural gap between the N.G.K. and the C.P.S.A. has widened, and not narrowed. It means that the political differences between an Afrikaner volkskerk and a church which is becoming the mouthpiece of black interests have become greater, and not less. It means that theological variations between a church that clings to a Kuyperian concept of sphere sovereignty, especially as far as ethnicity, nation and culture are concerned, and one that is thinking more in terms of a political theology of liberation, black or otherwise, are magnified, and not reduced.

I am pessimistic. The gap seems very great. But my pessimism has two other sources. The first refers to the degree of influence that the churches exercise today. Anglicanism is no longer the denomination of government, of power and of empire. I have already mentioned the gap existing between leadership and white laity, but, added to that, there are also the ravages of secularist indifference. Even if it were possible to pull off what failed in 1870, I doubt whether that would contribute to any great extent to a white rapprochement in South Africa.

But, secondly, I doubt whether that corresponds to the real

issue in South Africa today. In other words, I am basically questioning the relevance of N.G.K. and C.P.S.A. relationships in the gathering whirlwind. This thesis, in a sense, has been wistful, looking at the "what could have been." It has had its interests, but I believe that, from the political perspective, the time has passed. And, perhaps, that is God's judgment. My own feelings, at the end of all my research, are of a sadness, a sadness at repeated manifestations of national pride and of arrogance, of moral complacency, of mutual distrust and contempt, of back-biting, bitterness and censoriousness --- and all this in the Church of God! The hour in which C.P.S.A.-N.G.K. unity might have made a difference is passed, but the hour of repentance is still with us. God may judge us, but He has not abandoned us. The Spirit of God still dwells with the people of God --- in this land.

Lord, have mercy!

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ADDRESS OF N.G.K. ARCHIVES:

Sinodesaalgebou,  
Queen Victoria Street,  
CAPE TOWN  
8001

ADDRESS OF C.P.S.A. ARCHIVES:

C/O Mrs. A. Kotze, 145 Kloof Street  
Oranjezicht,  
CAPE TOWN  
8001