

commenced the Seventh Kafir War, known as "the War of the Axe." Our forces took the field in April 1846, and the Kafirs attacked the baggage-train near Burns Hill, capturing some fifty wagons, containing the baggage of the 7th Dragoon Guards, and after inflicting loss upon our troops, compelled them to fall back upon the post at Block Drift. This check to our arms caused wavering tribes to join the enemy, and laid bare large districts of the colony to their attacks. Martial law was proclaimed, and large bodies of colonists took up arms under the command of the former Lieutenant-Governor, who proved more successful in the field than in the Council-board. On June 8 the Battle of the Guanga was fought—our first success—when a large body of the enemy were attacked by the Cape Mounted Rifles, and the 7th Dragoon Guards under Sir Harry Darrel. The Kafirs were scattered to the winds before the shock of a charge of British cavalry, and, though they were somewhat demoralized, they fought on as fiercely as ever in a harassing guerilla warfare. The affair at the Guanga taught the Kafirs to avoid British cavalry in the open, but it did not by any means end the war. The Colonial Forces, under Sir Andries Stockenstrom, joined with the military in an expedition into Sandilli's stronghold, the Amatola Mountains, which, with a demonstration against the Paramount Chief Kveli, proved very successful, and eventually brought the Kafirs to terms. As Sir Peregrine Maitland was concluding the terms of peace, and hoping to place matters on a somewhat securer footing, he was some-

what abruptly recalled, to be replaced by Sir Henry Pottinger.<sup>1</sup> This hurried proceeding was calculated to weaken our prestige with the Kafirs, who, not unnaturally, supposed that the sudden displacement of a successful general was an indication that the Home Government did not mean to press their victory. Sir H. Pottinger, however, proved an able administrator, and his powers were amplified by a patent as "High Commissioner," which gave him authority to deal, as an Imperial officer, with all questions arising in territories bordering the British possessions in South Africa which affected British interests. Sir H. Young, his Lieutenant-Governor, was very popular in the Eastern Province, and carried out to the satisfaction of colonists the investigations needful for the information of Mr. Gladstone at the Colonial Office with regard to the vexed question of a separate Government on the frontier. Public meetings were convened, and the opinions of eminent colonists were put on official record, and all concurred in recommending a separate Government for the Eastern Province, or, as an alternative, a removal of the seat of Government from Cape Town to a more central position. Sir H. Young recommended the latter course, but the central and commanding position of Cape Town will always secure its claim to be the natural capital of the country, especially since it has been linked with Kimberley,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Pottinger eventually left South Africa with an evil reputation. He was an elderly man, but his open immoralities were discreditable alike to himself and to those responsible for his selection.

Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Bloemfontein, as well as with the frontier districts, by the South African system of railways.

The Kafirs gave the new authorities much trouble. The so-called peace of 1846 was an armed truce, and active operations had to be resumed against Sandilli, Kreli, and Pato, which resulted in Sandilli's surrender to the authorities. Shortly afterwards Sir H. Pottinger accepted another appointment, and in 1847 Sir Harry Smith, the former brave colleague of Sir B. D'Urban, was appointed Governor. He promptly proceeded to the frontier, and did all that lay in his power to undo past blunders and ensure future peace. The Province of Adelaide, restored to the Kafirs by Lord Glenelg, was once more annexed to the Crown of England under the title of British Kaffraria, and outward peace was restored by his firm and just policy. The opening period of his rule affords a fit resting-place in our history, whence we may contemplate the South Africa of 1847, and consider its social, moral, and religious conditions, especially with regard to the planting and founding of our Church in this land.

## CHAPTER III.

THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND RELIGIOUS CONDITION  
OF SOUTH AFRICA IN 1847, BEING THE YEAR IN  
WHICH ROBERT GRAY WAS CONSECRATED FIRST  
BISHOP OF CAPE TOWN.

Social Life in Cape Town—Emancipation of the Slaves, and Emigration of the Farmers in 1836—The Massacre of Retief and his Party by Dingaan—Victory of the Boers and Establishment of the Natal Republic, which becomes a Crown Colony in 1843—Condition of the Dutch Reformed Church, the Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and Wesleyans in 1847—Annals of the English Church before 1847—Statistics of the English Church in 1836—Petitions from South Africa praying for the Establishment of a Bishopric.

WE have now come to a pause in our history where we can fitly review the condition of the country at the time when, all too tardily, the English Church in South Africa received the blessings of Apostolic order and organization by the consecration of its first Bishop on S. Peter's day, 1847.

The social condition of the country was necessarily affected by the development of its civilization.

Cape Town possessed the advantages of the social life radiating from Government House as its centre. The large garrison and the naval station at Simonstown

contributed a strong military and naval element to the society of the capital. The fact that the Cape had become a sanatorium for Indian civilians and officers, on account of these being allowed to reside on full pay furlough in South Africa, made the Cape Peninsula a favourite residence for Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian element was either irreligious or strongly tinged with militant Puritanism, as Bishop Gray subsequently found to his cost.

There were many wealthy citizens both of Dutch and English extraction, and there was then, and always since has been, a certain old world tone about Cape Town,<sup>1</sup> very different from the tone of new Australian and American cities that have sprung rapidly into a feverish and hurried existence. The rest of European South Africa in 1847 was a series of town and village communities, parted from one another by rivers as yet unbridged, mountain ranges over which few roads had been made, and vast expanses of trackless plains across which travellers found their way as best they could. There was no steam communication with Europe. Tardy sailing vessels brought the monthly mails. Railways were undreamt of. The difficulties of communication caused each isolated town and village to fight for its own hand. There was very little community of interest, and very little national feeling.

<sup>1</sup> In the early thirties the Cape Town ladies still used sedan-chairs when they went out in the evening; and the city, with its ancient Dutch buildings and private houses, was of the eighteenth century rather than the nineteenth in its manners and appearance.

It is not too much to say that the present very complete network of South African railways has been a most potent factor in fostering the patriotism of South African nationality by bringing the people together.

The political condition of the country was a strange chaos. There was no Representative Government at all. The Governor and Executive Council administered a virtual despotism in the Cape Colony. The Slachter's Nek tragedy; the confiscation of the bulk of their property, through inadequate compensation, when the slaves were emancipated on December 1, 1834;<sup>1</sup> the despair caused by the Glenelg policy, caused thousands of substantial farmers of the frontier districts to emigrate from the colony in 1836. The seed was sown by the Graaff Reinet Republic and by the subsequent maladministration of the British authorities. These men might have become loyal citizens and

<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners appointed by Government to value the slaves appraised the sum due by Government to their owners at £3,041,290. It cost England twenty millions sterling to abolish slavery, but of this sum only £1,247,401 was awarded to the Cape. Besides thus confiscating two millions worth of property, much of which was held on mortgage bonds, and much of which was the sole subsistence of widows and orphans, the Imperial Government decided to pay no compensation money to slaveholders *unless their claims were proved in London*. Unscrupulous agents fleeced the farmers right and left by bringing up their claims. The colonists by this means received only about one-sixth of the appraised value of their slaves.

Slavery was *bad*, even in its mild South African form. Slavery *had to go*, but it ought to have been abolished in a spirit of common honesty.

subjects if they had been fairly dealt with, but they left their homes and moved off into the interior to found the Transvaal and Free State Republics.

The manifesto of Mr. Pieter Retief, the ablest leader of the emigrants, was published in Grahamstown on January 22, 1837. The following extracts tell their own tale—

“We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the name of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; we quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future. We are now leaving the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are about to enter a strange and dangerous territory, but we go with a firm reliance on an All-seeing, Just, and Merciful God, Whom we shall always fear and humbly endeavour to obey.”

The quiet dignity of these words, and their firmness of purpose, will be a revelation to persons who do not understand the Boer temperament.

A party of the emigrants went northwards into the Transvaal region, which was left almost empty of its native inhabitants by the desolating native wars

already recorded, and by the more recent devastations of the Matabele. Moselikatse, the Matabele King, and founder of their power, was a Zulu general who, in 1817, lost the favour of the Zulu King Tshaka, who founded the Zulu military system.<sup>1</sup> Moselikatse and the division of the Zulu army he commanded, fled from the wrath of Tshaka, and determined to found a new empire in the North. They slew every male, except the little boys whom they made slaves. They slew the old women, and kept the girls as slave wives. They settled in the northern Transvaal, and their power extended over the southern parts of the Free State. The Matabele soon came in contact with the emigrant farmers. They murdered a small advance party, and the main body, under Commandant Potgieter, formed a "laager," or defensive enclosure, of fifty wagons, drawn up in a circle, at Vechtkop, near the Rhenoster river in the Transvaal. There were forty farmers within the laager, with their wives and children, and 5000 Matabele ranged outside. The women loaded the men's clumsy muzzle-loading guns, amidst the whizzing of assegais and the yells of the charging Matabele. Two farmers were killed by assegais, and

<sup>1</sup> The Zulu military system was modelled on what Dingiswayo (Chief of the Abatetwa tribe) saw of General Vandeleur's disciplined troops in the Thurd Kafir War of 1799. Tshaka was his general, and at his death became Paramount Chief of the Zulus, and organized that terrible and pitiless military despotism which threatened South Africa till it was crushed in the Zulu War of 1879. The British defeat at Isandlwana testifies to the efficiency of the Zulu army.

twelve wounded. The Matabele drew off, and the farmers mounted their horses in pursuit to recover their cattle. They failed in their effort, but some time after they surprised the Matabele camp, and recaptured their cattle and the wagons of their murdered comrades.

The emigrants in 1837 established a Republican Government at Winburg (now in the Orange Free State), and Mr. Pieter Retief became Governor and Commandant-General. A Parliament or "Volksraad" was established, and a Landdrost appointed to administer justice.

A third expedition against the Matabele resulted in complete success on the part of the emigrants. Moselikatse was driven out of the Transvaal, and the country he had laid waste was formally taken possession of by the farmers.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Peter Retief and a large party of emigrants determined to colonize Natal. At Durban a handful of English traders had put up some huts and stores, but it was not a British possession. The few English acted as chiefs to a horde of native refugees from the rule of Dingaan, who had succeeded Tshaka as King of the Zulus, after murdering him. The handful of English welcomed the emigrant farmers, and Mr. Retief entered into negotiations with Dingaan for land to settle upon. A thousand emigrant wagons crossed into Natal, and matters seemed on the eve of peaceable arrangement.

<sup>1</sup> Moselikatse fled to Matabeleland, as we now know it. The Matabele power ended with the defeat and death of Lo Bengula, the last Matabele King, in 1894.

A little before this date, Mr. Owen, the first missionary of the English Church to the Zulu nation, came to Natal. He was a clergyman attached to the Church Missionary Society, and he arrived under the auspices of Captain Allan Gardiner, who afterwards lost his life when conducting missionary work in Patagonia. Dingaan allowed Mr. Owen to settle at his capital and residence.

Mr. Retief and a party of the farmers went to negotiate with Dingaan, and the Zulu monarch showed them every civility. He requested Mr. Owen to draw up a document, ceding a tract of country to the farmers, which was drafted in English and duly signed. Mr. Retief and his companions were unarmed, and sitting in friendly converse with the Zulus on February 6, 1838. Suddenly the Zulu King said, "Seize them!" The Zulu soldiers rushed upon the defenceless farmers, who were bound with thongs and dragged off to the place of execution, where their skulls were smashed with clubs. Mr. Retief was forced to witness the murder of his sixty-five comrades. He was then murdered, and his heart and liver cut out, and buried in the road between Natal and the Zulu capital. Mr. Owen, with his wife and sister and English servant, remained terror-stricken in their hut during this awful massacre, but Dingaan allowed them to leave for Durban unharmed. On the same day an army of 10,000 Zulus marched into Natal to destroy the remaining Europeans.

They fell upon the farmers' encampment near the village of Weenin or "Weeping," which obtained its

name from the pitiless massacre of men, women, and children which took place there. Forty-one of the emigrant farmers were cut off without warning, and with them perished fifty-six white women, 185 white children, and about 250 of their coloured servants.

Some of the farmers had time to form "laagers" with their wagons, and they had a three-pounder field-piece. The Zulus hurled themselves again and again against the "laagers," and were defeated with great loss. The women loaded their husbands' and brothers' guns, and were as brave as the men.

The leaders of the emigrants lost heart, and had thoughts of abandoning the country. But the women determined to prosecute the war.

The spirit of their brave Dutch and Huguenot forefathers never shone forth more brightly than in this hour of peril. The farmers boldly marched to attack Dingaan, although they could only muster 347 fighting men.

Part of them were drawn into a Zulu ambushade. Commandant Uys fell mortally wounded. His son, a lad of fifteen, was well mounted and could easily have escaped. But he rode back, and perished defending the body of his dying father.

The handful of English in Durban led a native force to aid their Boer allies. After a strenuous resistance the Zulus were victorious. About 1000 native allies were killed and thirteen Englishmen. Only four Englishmen and 500 native allies escaped, but the victory cost the Zulus about 3000 of their best warriors. The victorious Zulus took possession of

Durban, and the few inhabitants escaped to a small sailing vessel that happened to be in the bay.

But the emigrants were determined to crush Dingaan and break the Zulu power. Reinforcements arrived, and Commandant Pretorius advanced on the Zulu capital with a force of 464 mounted Burghers.

At every camping-ground prayers were offered and psalms were sung. The Burghers were imbued with the spirit of Cromwell's Ironsides, and they vowed that if God would give them the victory, they would build a church and keep an annual day of thanksgiving. The Dutch church at Maritzburg is their thank-offering, and "Dingaan's Day" is still a solemn festival in the Transvaal Republic. Dingaan hurled 12,000 men at the Boer camp on the Blood River. For two hours the Zulus faced the farmers' field-guns and musketry fire, and tried unsuccessfully to storm the camp. Three thousand Zulus fell in this action, which took place on December 16, 1838. Commandant Pretorius and his forces captured the Zulu capital, and collected for burial the remains of Mr. Retief and his sixty-five murdered companions.

The Zulu power was broken, and the emigrants returned to found the town of Maritzburg and establish the Republic of Natal. The British Government sent a small party of military to garrison Durban. The emigrants were told that they were still British subjects, and England declined to acknowledge the Republic of Natal. The Boer Government applied for the protection of the King of Holland, but Holland was too weak to venture to attack England.

At last hostilities broke out, and the British garrison at Durban was closely besieged by the farmers. The siege was close, and the garrison were in great straits. At length Colonel Cloete, a member of an old Cape Dutch family, who had entered the British service, arrived with a relieving force. Shortly after this Natal was proclaimed a British colony, and Colonel Cloete went to Maritzburg and persuaded the emigrants to submit peaceably.

His brother, Advocate Cloete, was appointed Royal Commissioner to take over the territory, and on September 4, 1843, the Republic of Natal ceased to exist, and Natal became a Crown Colony. The emigrant farmers were more embittered than ever against the British Government, which had destroyed their republic, and driven them from Natal. They all went back to the Transvaal and Free State, except about 365 families. The Republic of Natal was lacking in educated officials, and it was a weak government. But, notwithstanding this, the annexation of Natal by England was a high-handed proceeding that left bitter memories.

The emigrants north of the Orange River were at this time organized into two republics, one at Winburg, which was the germ of the Orange Free State, and the other at Potchefstroom (which was the first town founded by the emigrants over the Vaal), and which was the germ of the present Transvaal Republic.

Such was the political condition of South Africa in 1847.

Its religious condition was also chaotic and divided.

The Dutch Reformed Church had gradually spread its Consistories and organization over the whole country wherever a Dutch-speaking population existed. Under the brief rule of the Batavian Republic a General Synod was allowed, but two Political Commissioners appointed by the Civil power had to be present, and all the decisions of the Synod had to be approved by the Governor. Sir George Napier desired to put an end to "secular interference in all spiritual or purely ecclesiastical matters," and a "Church Ordinance" was framed and received the Royal Assent, which gave a certain liberty to the Dutch Reformed authorities to manage their own affairs. But the Civil Courts of the Cape Colony have exercised the right of reviewing the ecclesiastical decisions of the Dutch Reformed authorities, and the practical result is that the Dutch Reformed Church has not the same freedom as the Established Kirk of Scotland. The necessity of training their own ministers was forced upon the Dutch Reformed Communion in South Africa by the Rationalism of their co-religionists in Holland. At first the need was supplied by filling their vacancies with Scotch Presbyterian ministers, and eventually they established a very efficient Theological Seminary at Stellenbosch.

In 1847 there were five Presbyteries of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Cape Colony, who were represented in its annual General Synod. The whole of the colony was geographically mapped out under

their jurisdiction, and there were twenty-seven Consistories, representing the number of congregations that had been formed. The ministers were all supported by the State, which had adopted in South Africa the principle of "concurrent endowment." Outside the colony, and amongst the emigrant farmers, the Dutch Reformed Faith was practically "in possession," so far as the European population was concerned. There were a few missionaries here and there who did not belong to it,—French Protestants in Basutoland, American Independents in Natal, Wesleyans amongst the Barolongs, and L. M. S. missionaries amongst the Griquas.

The Batavian Republic in 1805 proclaimed religious toleration, and a room at the Castle was fitted up for the use of the Roman Catholics of the garrison, and a Roman Catholic chaplain was appointed. As we have before mentioned, Sir David Baird, after the capture of the Cape in 1806, compelled the Roman Catholic chaplain to leave the colony. In 1819 Lord Bathurst allowed a Roman Catholic priest to be stationed at Cape Town, and a Roman Catholic chapel was built in Harrington Street, Cape Town. Several priests ministered there in succession, but for three years, from 1835 onwards, the chapel was unserved by a regularly appointed chaplain. In 1838 Bishop Griffith arrived as Vicar-Apostolic, with two priests, and in 1844 the Roman Catholic church of S. Patrick, Grahamstown, was built, and in 1849 a bishop was appointed as Vicar-Apostolic of the eastern districts.

The Roman Catholic bishops in South Africa have never adopted territorial sees, or the organization of a hierarchy, as in England, Scotland, and other parts of the British Empire. Their bishops have always been Vicars-Apostolic over missionary jurisdictions, and no territorial sees have ever been established in South Africa except those of the English Church. Neither Romanists nor Anglicans can call each other "schismatics" in South Africa. There are two branches of the Catholic Church, which are, unhappily, out of communion with each other.

There had been Lutherans in South Africa since the colony was founded, but they were not permitted the free exercise of their religion till 1780, when the Lutherans were allowed to build a place of worship in Cape Town, on condition that they paid their own minister, and chose a Netherlander to minister to them.

In 1824 the Berlin Lutheran Missionary Society was founded, and its missionaries were active amongst the Koranas, Bechuanas, and Kafirs within the colony and beyond it. In 1829 the Rhenish Missionary Society (also Lutheran) was founded, and formed a centre at Stellenbosch, whence they extended their operations beyond the northern border. We have already alluded to the good work done by the Moravians, and to the evil political meddling of the London Missionary Society, which began its work in South Africa in 1799.

The Glasgow Missionary Society was founded in 1796, and its first missionaries came to South Africa

in 1821. The beginnings of the famous missionary and educational work at Lovedale, on the Cape Colony frontier, were made in 1824. The work done there at the present day is an honour to Scottish Presbyterianism.

Moshesh, the Paramount Chief of Basutoland, and the creator of the Basuto power, asked for white missionaries in 1829. The Paris Evangelical Society sent out three French Calvinist missionaries, the forerunners of that French Mission that has exercised such a remarkable social and political influence in Basutoland. The Wesleyans began missionary work in South Africa in 1816. In 1822 the first Wesleyan chapel was built at Cape Town, and they rapidly spread their missionary work on the frontier. As we have noted before, the Wesleyans took a sensible line on the native question. Dr. Philip, of the London Missionary Society, attacked the Wesleyan missionaries publicly, and they responded in a spirited pamphlet which gained them much sympathy from the settlers.<sup>1</sup> Their

<sup>1</sup> They not unnaturally vindicated themselves from aspersions which brought down upon them the odium of the religio-philanthropic coteries of Exeter Hall, and their explanation was somewhat unfortunate for the reputation of the London missionaries. As men who, equally with their traducers, were giving their lives and hearts to the mission cause, they originally told Sir B. D'Urban that in their opinion "the war had been conducted in accordance with the principles of justice and mercy," and further, "that the Kafirs themselves were the aggressors, and most wantonly, cruelly, and ungratefully commenced this war, with a people who sought and desired their welfare and prosperity." When attacked for this expression of their views, they reiterated them at length with greater fulness, as "*men who had counted*

action on the native question was one great factor in their undoubted success with the English settlers on the frontier. Most of these settlers came out as nominal Churchmen, at all events, but their Mother Church neglected them. Messrs. Shaw and Ayliff, the leading Wesleyan missionaries, were men of ability and spiritual power. Wesleyanism became the predominant religion of the British settlers, and Grahamstown became a Methodist stronghold.

In 1847 Wesleyanism was "in possession" as the predominant religion of the English-speaking population of the eastern districts of the Cape Colony.

It now remains for us to relate the meagre records of lost opportunities which form the sorry annals of the English Church in South Africa before 1847.

If our American brother Churchmen have thought fit to erect at San Francisco a stately "Prayer-Book" Cross of massive stone, to commemorate the first Prayer-Book Service held on the Pacific coast, on June 24, 1579, by Sir Francis Drake's chaplain for the crew of the *Golden Hinde*, it may be worth our while to record the first English Church Service held in South Africa.

A part of Admiral Boscawen's fleet that had sailed in 1748 to capture Madras from the French, put into Table Bay on their return voyage. The Commodore

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*the cost," "content to suffer for a while in the opinion of the great and good, and willing to sacrifice on the shrine of truth the sympathies and attachments of the religious public."*—*Defence of Wesleyan Missionaries against Dr. Philip*, pages 60 and 63.

asked for the use of the Dutch church for an English Service for his men ashore. Leave was courteously granted, and on April 20, 1749, the naval chaplain held service according to the rites of the Church of England. On February 9, 1751, Mr. Wake, the Governor of Bombay, died in Cape Town on his voyage to England. The Dutch church was again lent to the English, and the solemn Burial Office of our Church was used for the first time in South Africa. On February 5, 1752, Commander Lisle, R.N., was buried beneath the pavement of the Dutch church, and the English Burial Office was again used.

After the capture of the Cape in 1795, English Services were conducted by the military and naval chaplains. Mr. Attwood, chaplain of H.M.S. *Stately*, came into collision with the Dutch Reformed authorities about a marriage which he solemnized without the sanction of the Matrimonial Court. General Craig annulled the marriage.

In 1798 the Governor granted permission to Mr. Davis, the chaplain of Cape Town, to baptize some coloured adults.

In 1799 the Stellenbosch Consistory complained formally to the Governor that Mr. Tringham (the chaplain in succession to Mr. Davis) had baptized the illegitimate child of a woman belonging to the Dutch Reformed Communion. Mr. Tringham justified his action, and replied—"Since my arrival in the colony I have ever pursued (and shall continue to do so) a line of duty prescribed by and conformable to the Statutes and Ordinances of the Anglican Church,

sanctioned by the laws of my country, and conformable to the laws of this settlement, under the protection of his Excellency the Governor." Here the matter ended. When the Cape was again taken possession of in 1806, the Government took over the strange regulation made by the Batavian Republic, that no public worship could be held except "by permission of his Excellency the Governor." It was part of the Erastianism of the times, and the Governor's position as "Ordinary" over the chaplains was on a par with it.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Griffiths, the garrison chaplain of Cape Town, started the first volume of the cathedral register in Cape Town in 1806, and was very soon involved with the Dutch Reformed Consistory of Cape Town for baptizing ignorant adults who did not belong to the garrison. The Consistory quoted Abp. Tillotson against the chaplain to prove that "teaching" must precede the baptizing of adults, in accordance with the doctrine of the English Church as well as of the Dutch. Mr. Griffiths was manifestly in the wrong, and Sir David Baird ordered him to confine his ministrations to the garrison and British inhabitants.

In 1807 Mr. Jones became chaplain at Cape Town. The Dutch Reformed authorities kindly lent their church for English Church Services. This regular use of the historic Dutch church, whose building we

<sup>1</sup> This title of "Ordinary" appears in the colonial regulations of 1847, which state that "with respect to the English Church, the Governor was, in the absence of a bishop, *ex officio* the Ordinary. The title was continued, *after Bishop Gray's consecration*, by both Sir Harry Smith and Sir George Cathcart.

have before recorded, continued until St. George's Cathedral was opened in 1834.

Mr. Jones was succeeded in 1807 by the notorious clerical impostor, Dr. Halloran. This man was never ordained at all, and on the strength of forged letters of Orders, he became chaplain of H.M.S. *Britannia*, and was present at the Battle of Trafalgar. He was an eloquent preacher, and a discursive writer of scurrilous libels on persons who offended him. He libelled General Grey, the Lieutenant-Governor, and was sentenced to banishment from the colony. He served various curacies in England under various *aliases*, until at length he was sentenced to penal servitude for forging a frank on a letter, and thus defrauding the Post Office. The law officers of the Crown decided that his lack of Holy Orders did not invalidate the marriages which he performed in South Africa. The decision was somewhat unprecedented, and carried to an extreme the doctrine *feri quod non debuit, factum valet*.

Mr. Parker became military chaplain in 1811, and Mr. Jones was termed "Chaplain to the British Colonial Civil Establishment," thus becoming the first of the "Colonial Chaplains" of the English Church, who eventually discharged the ordinary duties of Parish Priests. In Feb. 1817 the Rev. George Hough, Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, became Colonial Chaplain at Simonstown, where on S. George's day, 1814, the first English church in South Africa was opened for Divine Service.

In 1821 the Society for the Propagation of the

Gospel began its noble work in S. Africa by sending the Rev. W. Wright to Wynberg, where he opened a school for coloured children, and held services in a temporary chapel. The advent of the British settlers in 1820 caused the appointment of Mr. Geary as Colonial Chaplain of Grahamstown in 1823, and of Mr. M'Cleland as Colonial Chaplain of Port Elizabeth in 1825. The S. P. G. granted £500 for the building of S. George's, Grahamstown, which was begun in 1823, and a sum of £300 for S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, the foundation stone of which was laid at the end of 1825. Mr. Fallows, the Astronomer Royal at the Cape Observatory, fitted up a spare room in the Observatory as a chapel, and held regular services there. In 1827 Bishop James of Calcutta officially visited the Cape and reported on Church matters in South Africa. He confirmed 450 persons in the Dutch church at Cape Town, and reminded Churchmen that the English Church ought to have a building of its own in Cape Town, and no longer trespass on the kindness of the Dutch Reformed Consistory. Bishop James found nine clergy, two of whom were in deacon's orders; one completed church (S. George's, Grahams-town), and one unfinished church (S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth). Bishop James died, and in October 1829, his successor, Bishop Turner, spent ten days in Cape Town. He preached in the Dutch Reformed church at Cape Town, and also confirmed 180 candidates. In 1830 the foundation stone of S. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, was solemnly laid, with

masonic honours, by Sir Lowry Cole, the Governor of the colony. A public holiday was observed in Cape Town; and Burgh Street, at the end of which the site of the cathedral was situated, had its name changed to S. George's Street by official authority.

In August 1832, Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta arrived in the colony. He consecrated the sites of the projected churches at Rondebosch and Wynberg, and afterwards confirmed sixty-six persons at Simonstown, where steps were promptly taken to build a church to replace the previous building, which had fallen into ruins.

On Sunday, Sept. 9, 1832, the first Anglican Ordination in South Africa was held by Bishop Wilson in the old Dutch Reformed church. The Consistory kindly allowed temporary fittings to be put into their building to make it suitable for an Ordination Service. The Bishop preached the Ordination sermon, and two deacons (the Rev. E. Judge, M.A., Trin. Coll., Cambridge, and the Rev. G. P. Cooke, B.A., of Exeter Coll., Oxford) were ordained to the Priesthood. On Monday the Bishop administered Confirmation in the same building, and 240 candidates were confirmed. On S. Thomas' Day, 1834, S. George's, Cape Town, was opened for Divine Service. Its total cost was £17,000, and its pure Grecian architecture still vindicates for it the claim to be considered on the whole the most spacious and dignified church in South Africa.

In September 1835, Dr. Corrie, Bishop of Madras,

held a Confirmation in S. George's, on his way to his diocese, which was the first episcopal function in the Cathedral, which has since become so rich in historic memories of South African Church life.

South African Churchmen will always link S. George's Cathedral with the memorable consecration of Bishop Mackenzie, the first missionary bishop of the English Church, and the equally memorable consecration of Bishop Macrorie, who succeeded Dr. Colenso, whose solemn trial and deposition took place in the same building. It was the scene of the first Provincial Synod, which organized our Church on its present basis of Catholic truth and Apostolic order, and our subsequent Provincial Synods have always been held within its walls.

St. George's was governed by a Government "Church Ordinance" promulgated in 1829, which was the precursor of other "Church Ordinances," which were incorporated in the statute law of the colony, and caused serious trouble in after years. There was no Bishop in South Africa, and the Church Ordinances were intended to transplant, so far as was practicable, the working and methods of the English Church Establishment to South Africa. Their effect was to set up a feeble kind of Erastian Congregationalism, in which each vestry claimed to represent "the United Church of England and Ireland, as by law established."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Permissive Bill to abolish these obsolete enactments was passed by the Cape Parliament in 1891, which will be dealt with in a later chapter.

The Blue-book for the year 1836 gives the following Church Statistics :—

Parish and Church Population.	Church Accommodation.	Average Congregation	Income
S. George's, Cape Town. 3800.	1150	950	£600
Wynberg, 1050. Rondebosch (united to Wynberg).	159 200 ?	120 No returns.	£80 ,,
Simonstown. 1309.	Service held in hired building till S. Frances Church was opened in 1837.	250	£400
S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth. 1028.	400	100 ?	£200
S. George's, Grahamstown. 4800.	700	420	£200
Bathurst. 1300.	300	100	£200

During the year 1840, Mr. Hough, Senior Colonial Chaplain, preached some Lenten sermons in S. George's, Cape Town, on the duty of Fasting. The Anglo-Indian community at the Cape were mostly men with views tending to Plymouthism. Some of these gentleman communicated in church in the morning and officiated as lay preachers for the Wesleyans or Independents in the evening. They

declined to teach the Church Catechism in Church Sunday Schools, and they denounced Mr. Hough, who was an old-fashioned moderate Anglican, as a man "holding very high sacerdotalist views." They began an agitation, which afterwards culminated in the building of Trinity Church, Cape Town, in 1845, where their peculiar views found development under the auspices of the Colonial and Continental Church Society. This Church caused much trouble in after years.

On June 1, 1841, Archbishop Howley summoned the great meeting of clergy and laity which established the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. Mr. Gladstone was a prominent speaker at this memorable gathering, and his magnificent speech fifty years later, when the Colonial Bishoprics Fund celebrated its Jubilee in 1891, will not readily be forgotten by Churchmen.

The foundation of a Bishopric for the Cape was part of the original plan formulated by the Committee of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, although its execution was delayed for several years.

In the Eastern Province, S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, was finally completed in 1842, although it had been opened for Divine Service on January 12 (First Sunday after Epiphany), 1834.

As Under-Colonial Secretary, Mr. Gladstone wrote an autograph letter of congratulation to the Chaplain and Select Vestry, which is still treasured amongst the Vestry Records.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the Mother Church of Port Elizabeth, S. Mary's became a Collegiate Church in 1888, with the Bishop as Provost, the Rector as Vice-Provost, the Precentor and Vicars of two district

In 1846 the Cape Town District Committee of S. P. C. K. petitioned the Committee of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund for the establishment of a Bishopric of Cape Town. About the same time the clergy and laity of the eastern districts forwarded a similar petition.

This last petition is interesting on account of the statistics it gives. It states that the Western Province contains 6600 members of the English Church, and the Eastern Province about 3400, making a total of 10,000 people. These people were ministered to by eleven clergymen and two catechists, and had eleven churches already in use.

The petitioners urge the fact that no confirmations had ever been ministered in the eastern districts, a point already urged two years before by the Vestry of S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, who in 1844 addressed the Governor, and urged him to use his influence to procure the appointment of a Bishop.

In 1843 Bishop Nixon of Tasmania confirmed several hundred people in Cape Town, and this last episcopal visit was followed by the founding of the See of Cape Town, and the consecration of Dr. Robert Gray as its first Bishop on S. Peter's Day, 1847.

We may summarize the condition of things which

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churches in the parish as Priests Associate, forming a Collegiate Body for the corporate working of the parish. Port Elizabeth now possesses two other parishes with five churches which are worked separately from the Collegiate Parish, and their clergy have honorary stalls in S. Mary's Collegiate Church.

Bishop Gray found on landing in the words of a previous writer on South African Church annals:—

“In Cape Town itself Church matters were in a very bad state. The Senior Chaplain had been absent in England on sick leave for nearly two years, and had just resigned.

“The only two clergy of Cape Town—who both resided at Green Point, fully three miles from their churches—were extreme Low Churchmen, and members of a little so-called Evangelical Alliance. The Baptismal Regeneration controversy was raging, and sermons and pamphlets were being issued against that doctrine of the Church; and though sober-minded Churchmen were much dissatisfied at the state of things, there was a party full of jealousies and suspicions, and ripe almost for anything.

“At St. George's there were no services except on Sundays; at Trinity there was a week evening lecture, badly attended. At Wynberg, in a school founded and supported by the Church, part of the Church Catechism was omitted for fear of giving offence. In the Eastern Provinces only two clergy seemed to be doing any real work. One clergyman had not for some time had a single adult at church. In short the state of the Church in the colony was one dead level of inefficiency, incompetency, and neglect.” (*English Church History in South Africa, 1795—1848*, by J. A. Hewitt, D.C.L., Incumbent of Holy Trinity, Port Elizabeth.)

## CHAPTER IV.

### ROBERT GRAY, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF HIS WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The Foundation of the See of Cape Town by the efforts of the Colonial Bishops Council—Letters Patent Bishops and their position—The Character of Robert Gray and his Life-work—His Parentage, Education, and early desire for the Priesthood—Ordination as Deacon and Priest—Work at Whitworth—Marriage to Miss Myddleton—The *Tracts for the Times*—Work as Vicar of Stockton—Honorary Canon of Durham—Acceptance of newly-founded Bishopric of Cape Town: his Consecration on S. Peter's Day, 1847—Table of Episcopal Succession from Archbishop Laud—Importance of Laud's Consecration—Union in Laud of English, Irish, and Italian Lines of Succession—Bishop Gray's view of his Letters Patent and the uneven Union between Church and State—He sails for the Cape—Friendly Relations with Sir Harry Smith—Events North of the Orange River—Battle of Boomplaats, and Temporary Settlement of the Orange River Sovereignty—Bishop Gray applies for Government Grants—The Bishop's Primary Visitation from Cape Town to Natal—His Opinion of Mission Stations—Meeting with Native Chiefs at King Williamstown—Arrival of Archdeacon Merriman and his party—The Bishop returns and holds his first Synod of Clergy, which protests against Government Interference in Church Matters—In February 1849 the Bishop sails for S. Helena—History of the Island and of Church Work there—The Bishop's return to Cape Town—

The Anti-convict Agitation—The "Pledge"—The Final Victory of the Colonists—The Bishop's Second Visitation through Bloemfontein to Natal—The Eighth Kafir War of 1851—Sir Harry Smith shut up in Fort Cox—Rebellion of Hottentots, and Native Police—Sir Harry Smith succeeded by Sir George Cathcart in 1852, who patches up a peace—The Basutos and the Orange River Sovereignty—The Sand River Convention, and Acknowledgment of the Transvaal Republic in 1852—The Battle of the Berea and subsequent abandonment of the Sovereignty by the Imperial Government—Founding of the Orange Free State in 1854—Development of the Colony of Natal—Bishop Gray sails for England to found Two New Dioceses—The Constitution Ordinance of the Cape Colony—The first Cape Parliament meets in 1854—Sir G. Grey succeeds Sir G. Cathcart—His Influence as a Colonial Statesman.

ON JUNE 25, 1847, Letters Patent were issued constituting the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, with the Island of S. Helena, to be a Bishop's See and Diocese, and appointing Robert Gray, D.D., to be consecrated "as Bishop thereof."

The work of the Colonial Bishops Council was a noble movement, but those who planned it never rose to the ideal of independent and free Colonial Churches organized into Provinces under their own Primates and Metropolitans. They were satisfied with the appointment of bishops under Letters Patent, which made the colonial sees thus founded extra-provincial suffragans of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and which professed to transfer to the colonies and their new developments of national and political life the whole burden of the complex relations between Church and State which had been the growth of centuries in an ancient civilization like that of England.

The position created by Bishop Gray's Letters Patent was an untenable and an impossible one, as the sequel will show. It was still further complicated by the Church Ordinances for Cape Town, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth, and a few other parishes, which were held to create in each separate parish a Church property trust and a Church organization which was part and parcel of the "United Church of England and Ireland as by law established." The Church Ordinances of course failed to create legally the corporations they professed to create, but the practical result was that the parishes governed by them could claim a different legal status from the parishes formed by synodical action subsequent to the arrival of Bishop Gray, and an element of future disunion and disorder was thus introduced. Let us turn from these foreshadowings of future difficulties to contemplate the personal character of the man who was called by the Providence of God to face them.

In many ways Robert Gray was the foremost and most remarkable man in the long list of Anglican prelates who have left a deep impress upon the Anglican Communion since the period of the Reformation.

Before his day Archbishop Laud and Bishop Cosin had completed the Anglican Reformation on Catholic lines, and Bishops Seabury and White had consolidated that work in America upon Cavour's basis of a "free Church in a free State."

His cotemporaries, Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Wilberforce, were great men, and Bishop Selwyn worked in parallel lines with him in developing the

organization of the Colonial Churches in freedom from the State. But Bishop Selwyn sailed in smoother waters than the first Metropolitan of South Africa. It was given to him to stand foremost amongst those who have redeemed the coldness of the nineteenth century from the reproach that her sons were utterly alien from the robust and sturdy religion which nerved the heroes of the Church Primitive to do and dare all for the Catholic Faith. It was given to him to stand firm as S. Athanasius of old, and maintain his position as the victorious champion of the Faith, whole and undefiled, in the bitterest conflict and most arduous struggle against heresy and Erastianism that our Church has ever passed through. It was given to him, through the unwearied energy, patient perseverance, unswerving courage, and gentle humility of a life devoted to God, to weld into a Province of Christ's Church the feeble beginnings of English Church life in South Africa. His was no mere prominence as a theologian, a scholar, a sacred orator, or an ecclesiastical statesman. Dowered as he was with a measure (and that no sparing one) of all these gifts, others may have equalled or surpassed him in each or any of them, without touching his special claim to the loving reverence of Churchmen of this and all future generations. He restored to us the primitive ideal of the Christian Bishop and Father in God,—the unwavering champion of the Catholic Faith against the world. He restored us this ideal when its very existence was imperilled amongst us some fifty years ago, when the office of

a Bishop in England was almost identified with a Spiritual Peerage ; of itself not necessarily an evil, but which had become so by the Erastianism and politico-religionism with which, in too many instances, it was involved. He taught men by his life and actions that the Anglican Church throughout the world was an integral part of the Christendom founded and organized by Christ and His Apostles, and able to point backward over eighteen centuries of unbroken historical continuity to the Day of Pentecost. He disentangled the Erastian traditions which clung around the connection of Church and State in England, which fettered her energies, crippled her powers, blighted her life, and gave her enemies cause to blaspheme. He freed his own Province, and by implication such of the sister Provinces as were not free from the reproach that our Church was the creature of the State, the caprice of Henry VIII., the plaything of Edward VI. and his venal advisers, and the political tool of Elizabeth. He showed the world by his courageous independent initiative and his assertion of his inherent rights as a Metropolitan and Bishop of the Church Catholic, that the blemishes and defects caused by the Establishment of the Mother Church are the *accident* and not the *essence* of her being. He helped the tried hearts of loyal Churchmen in England to take courage and wait in patience the day of their deliverance, neither anticipating nor deprecating the methods whereby, in God's Providence, the severance between Church and State will in His own Time and Way be surely wrought

out. All this, and even more, we may reckon as the conscious and unconscious influence of the life of the man who has been fitly named "The Athanasius of the South," apart from the personal holiness, loving tenderness, and Christian humility which were the leading graces of his character.

Robert Gray, the seventh son of Bishop Robert Gray, was born in 1809. His father was the courageous Bishop of Bristol, who, in the stormy days of the Reform Riots at Bristol in 1831, showed that the spirit and resolution afterwards displayed by his son were hereditary qualities. The infuriated mob burnt the ancient Episcopal Palace and attempted to fire the Cathedral, as a means of venting their party fury upon the Bishop for voting against Parliamentary Reform. The Bishop was appointed to preach in the Cathedral on the Sunday when this destructive riot took place. Knowing that the mob intended to attack the Cathedral, some of his clergy entreated the Bishop not to preach. He said, "Where can I die better than in my own Cathedral?" A Minor Canon asked him to postpone the service. "These are times," replied the Bishop, "in which it is necessary not to shrink from danger. Our duty is to be at our post."<sup>1</sup> He accordingly preached as usual, and after he had discharged his duty took due precautions to preserve his family from the violence of the mob. The Bishop was the author of *The Connection between Sacred and Profane Literature*, some

<sup>1</sup> Southey records this story of the Bishop. See *Life and Correspondence*, vol. vi., p. 167.

*Bampton Lectures*, some published Sermons, and other minor works. He was evidently a man of much power and force of character, a worthy father of a worthy son. The young Robert Gray was sent to school at Durham, and at fourteen went to Eton, where the advantages of a public school career were suddenly cut short for him by an untoward accident. He was accidentally thrown down and his ankle trampled on in a crowd of boys rushing out of school, and for three years he was a constant invalid. He bore his sufferings manfully, and learnt a lesson of patience which deepened his religious life and tinged it with a thoughtfulness beyond his years. His brothers and sisters were delicate, and the early death of the sister who had tenderly nursed him through his painful illness exercised a chastening influence upon him. He went with her on a sea voyage to Barbadoes, where, after a few months, she died of consumption. He then returned to England, and we find by his diary that as no Sunday Service was held on board ship, he read the Church Prayers to his fellow-passengers. This was an act of some moral courage in a lad of seventeen amongst strangers; but Robert Gray had already made up his mind to serve God in the Priesthood of His Church, if his health would permit of it, and to consecrate all his powers to that holy service. He then went for a short trip on the Continent, and returned only to find one of his brothers dead from the family malady, consumption. His own health was precarious, and gave no promise of the energetic robustness and

manly physique of the future Metropolitan of South Africa. But the trials that saddened his youth helped to form and strengthen his mind. He went to University College, Oxford, in October 1827, a young man with a steadiness, gravity, and solidity of character capable of resisting the trials and temptations of a University career. He did not read for Honours, but went in for a Pass Degree, doing so well that he was placed in the Honorary Fourth Class in 1831. He started immediately after his degree for a long tour through France and Italy, spending the winter at Rome. He spent the next year in intelligent travel, and his journals show much keen observation and progressive culture of the mind. In March 1833, a few months after his return from England, he was ordained Deacon by his father in S. Margaret's Church, Westminster, whom he immediately began to help as private secretary. He had some experience of parish work too in his brother Charles's parish at Godmanchester, but his Diaconate was mainly spent in close attendance upon his father, for the Bishop of Bristol was in failing health. In January 1834 he was ordained to the Priesthood by the Bishop of Bath and Wells by letters of request from his father, who died in the September following. At the end of the year he took possession of the Incumbency of Whitworth, Durham, to which he was presented by the Chapter of Durham Cathedral, and his active life as a responsible parish priest began. The standard of the ministerial life and its duties and requirements had not in those days recovered the laxity of the Hanoverian era of Churchmanship.

The *Christian Year* had only recently been published, the *Tracts for the Times* had not yet roused the dormant energies of the Church, and the Catholic revival was but a cherished aspiration in the hearts of a few faithful men. An entry in the young Priest's journal shows him to have been in advance of his time in his conception of the duties of his office. "On Christmas Day I entered on my own duties at Whitworth, and administered the Sacrament to fourteen communicants. May God grant that I may feel as I ought the overwhelming importance of the trust committed to me. May I be blessed with the Divine Assistance in the discharge of my awful duties. Oh, how much is required of a minister of God!—what watchfulness, what self-examination and self-denial and prayer! Who is sufficient for these things? Grant me, O my God, an understanding heart to know my duty, and knowing it, grant me to fulfil it!"

Work begun in this spirit, and carried on with perseverance and faithfulness, could not fail in its tangible results. The young Incumbent of Whitworth restored the disused observance of Ash Wednesday and Lent, and commenced additional services for a neglected hamlet called Byer's Green. Besides active parish work, his mind was ripened by careful preparation of sermons, "daily reading and weighing of Holy Writ," aided by a thoughtful course of theological reading. The foundation of all pastoral efficiency in the life of the Priesthood depends upon such a conscientious fulfilment of the Ordination Vow bearing upon the Priest's scriptural and theological studies as Robert

Gray then carried out. Men may plead pressure of parochial duties, and want of time, but other things ought never to be permitted to interfere with a young Priest's *making time* for the sacred studies needful for the due discharge of his duties. Faithful in this and in all other parts of his work, Mr. Gray received an offer of the living of Hughenden, a post which offered many inducements to incline him to accept it. But, after a careful weighing of the matter, he decided to refuse, mainly because he did not feel sure that his successor would carry on his work in the outlying parts of his parish, and also because he became deeply attached to Miss Myddleton, the second daughter of one of the chief land-owners of his parish, whose family had rendered him much valuable help in parochial matters. His marriage with Miss Myddleton was soon afterwards definitely arranged, and in September 1836 he was married to one who made his life work hers, and who henceforward shared his cares and lightened his labours as Priest and Bishop in a way in which it is given to few women to do. In 1838 the offer of the important living of Crossgate, Durham, was made to him, which he declined, mainly on the ground that the work in his hamlet of Byer's Green was not permanently provided for, and depended upon his continuing Incumbent of Whitworth.

At this period Mr. Gray carefully studied the *Tracts for the Times*, and circulated some of the earlier numbers amongst the people.

The principles inculcated in them were in great

measure his already, as the result of the careful study of God's Word by the light of the faith and teaching of the Church Primitive.

A mind thus trained would naturally be drawn into the front rank of the band of devoted men who inaugurated the Catholic Revival, whilst the steady thoughtfulness and far-seeing patience of Robert Gray guarded him from the danger of impatience and hastiness of judgment which characterized some of its leaders, and caused them to desert the old ship when tempest-tossed and sore driven by the fierce blasts of an intolerant, ignorant, and persecuting Puritanism. We cannot now realize the sore trials of the period between 1840 and 1850, or the agonies of our Mother Church in the painful awakening of her dormant energies after the death-like trance of Hanoverian Erastianism, broken only by the movement of the Wesleys, whose zeal ended in a schism they were powerless to avert. Suffice it to say, that the men who left us were tempest-tossed on the waves of a controversy whose spent forces we cannot duly estimate, and that whilst they failed, Robert Gray, and many another clear-headed leader in those troublous times, stood firm and faithful, with a faith all the brighter and clearer for the sifting trial which had wrought patience in their strong and trustful hearts.

In 1840 he linked himself for the first time with the cause of the Church abroad by accepting the Local Secretaryship of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Convinced, to use his own words, "that *Church principles* are true Gospel *principles*,"

he threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Church, and furthered the cause of the venerable Society which alone works the mission field of the Church in accordance with the lines she has laid down. We find him also at this time showing warm interest and sympathy for the American Church, and expressing his hope that some practical efforts might be made to establish friendly intercourse with the Eastern branch of the Church Catholic. In 1845 he had the satisfaction of seeing two churches in his parish consecrated, one at Byer's Green, which was thus adequately provided for.

At this time Dr. Maltby, Bishop of Durham, offered him the important living of Stockton-on-Tees. The character of his parishioners at Whitworth had undergone a great change, owing to the rapid increase of a fluctuating population of colliers, and as the work became too heavy a strain upon his own and his wife's energies,—partly, too, because he felt that his position as squire and land-owner at Whitworth was becoming a hindrance to his work,—he decided to accept the Bishop's offer, and in November 1845 became Vicar of Stockton. He plunged with his accustomed methodical energy and patient tact into the arduous parish work of Stockton. "*Festina lente*" was his motto in raising the tone of the Services and teaching Church Doctrine to the people. He preached in that illegal vestment, so dear to an illogical Puritanism, the black gown, and suffered the accustomed "parson and clerk duet" (now happily almost obsolete) to continue unmolested.

He set to work to re-organize his parochial schools, thereby encountering much opposition from Socinians, Quakers, and others, who were afraid lest the Church should practically assert her due position in matters educational.

In 1846, the Bishop, in a kindly letter, offered him an Honorary Canonry of Durham Cathedral, in which he says—"I have much gratification in thus marking my personal regard and approbation of your public services." Mr. Gray accepted this honour, which was specially acceptable to him from his father's past connection with the Cathedral. Shortly afterwards the Bishop offered him the living of Whickham, which would have been a post of much usefulness and of few difficulties and drawbacks. But Canon Gray determined to fight his battle in Stockton. In his letter of refusal he says that he thinks a change of Vicar just at that time would unsettle his people, and interrupt the schemes of parochial work he started. Some of his relatives regretted the pecuniary sacrifice he had made to stay at Stockton, but all his true friends felt that he would remain where he deemed himself most useful, until some wider sphere of usefulness marked itself out to his conscience and duty. Such a sphere soon was presented to him, when, in January 1847, Mr. Ernest Hawkins, Hon. Sec. of the Colonial Bishoprics Committee, wrote to ask him if he would allow his name to be put forward for a Bishopric in the colonies. This letter "caused him much anxiety and trouble of mind." And naturally so. He deemed himself unfit for so high an office. He writes—"In

learning, judgment, talent, temper, piety, I feel I am far below what such an office requires." He adds, after asking the counsel of his brother-in-law, Dr. Williamson, on this point—"Supposing your opinion to be that I am fit for such an office, do you think me, before God, at liberty to decline it?"

He felt deeply the responsibility of a selfish *nolo episcopari* based upon a dislike to leave England and sever family ties. He took that view of the service of the Church which another great missionary prelate<sup>1</sup> always held, which was simply this;—that as the soldiers of the Queen were ordered on foreign service, and went as a matter of course, should those who had been signed with Christ's Cross, *in token that they should hereafter continue Christ's faithful soldiers and servants unto their life's end*, show less fidelity than the soldiers and servants of an earthly Sovereign, who go cheerfully to the ends of the earth to maintain their country's honour? He writes—"My own belief is, that a man is bound to go where he will be most likely to promote the Glory of God, the good of His Church, and the salvation of souls." In his reply to Mr. Hawkins he states—"That if from your position you know or have reason to think that the Archbishop has before him the names of other men whom you deem equally qualified for the office, I

<sup>1</sup> The late Bishop Selwyn, Metropolitan of New Zealand, and afterwards Bishop of Lichfield. The author once saw a letter of his making forcible application of the above simile, in connection with the hesitation expressed by a priest to undertake colonial work.

had rather not be named. But if there is really a dearth of men who are both competent and willing to undertake it, I would place myself at the disposal of the Church; for I think in that case I ought not to shrink from what then might appear a plain duty." The ties of family, the responsibilities of his English position as a man of private fortune holding a difficult post in the Church, his own personal feeling, all combined to render his acceptance of the new See of Cape Town a matter of extreme difficulty and anxiety to him; but he looked only to his plain duty, and wrote as follows in reply to Archbishop Howley's offer—"No one can feel so keenly as myself my utter inability adequately to discharge the duties of that office from which I have shrunk as long as I felt at liberty to do so, but which I no longer decline to undertake, now that your Grace, knowing what my feelings are, sees fit to press it upon me." A flood of harassing work immediately flowed in upon the Bishop Designate, which he faced with his accustomed energy of character, and on S. Peter's Day, 1847, he was consecrated as the first Bishop of British South Africa, with Bishop Short of Adelaide, Bishop Tyrell of Newcastle, and Bishop Perry of Melbourne. Archbishop Howley was the chief consecrator, and he was assisted in the laying on of hands by Bishop Blomfield of London, Bishop Sumner of Winchester, Bishop Monk of Gloucester and Bristol, Bishop Gilbert of Chichester, and Bishop Lonsdale of Lichfield.

Bishop Gray was tenth in the direct line of Epis-

copal Succession from Archbishop Laud. Taking the Bishop *senior by consecration* amongst the consecrating prelates in each link in the succession, we have the following results :—

	Date of Consecration.	Senior Bishop by Consecration.
Archbishop Howley (Canterbury).	1813	Archbishop Manners-Sutton.
Archbishop Manners-Sutton (Canterbury).	1792	Bishop Hinchcliffe.
Bishop Hinchcliffe (Peterborough).	1769	Bishop Thomas.
Bishop Thomas (Winchester).	1747	Bishop Wilcocks.
Bishop Wilcocks (Rochester).	1721	Archbishop Wake.
Archbishop Wake (Canterbury).	1705	Bishop Compton.
Bishop Compton (London).	1674	Archbishop Sheldon.
Archbishop Sheldon (Canterbury).	1660	Bishop Duppa.
Bishop Duppa (Winchester).	1638	Archbishop Laud.

Archbishop Laud is not only the most important figure in many ways in the Church of England during the Reformation period (A.D. 1549—A.D. 1662), but he is the central figure in the Anglican chain of Apostolic Succession. Too much has been made of Archbishop Parker's consecration, which dispassionate Roman Catholic authorities like Lingard are willing enough to accept as an historical fact. The Church of England has two distinct lines of succession, dating from the Gallican consecration of S. Augustus by Vergilius of Arles on November 16,

A.D. 597, and the Roman consecration of Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus on March 26, A.D. 668, by Pope Vitalian.

In the consecration of William Laud to the See of S. David's on November 18, 1621, two other *independent* lines of succession were interwoven with the English line. Laud's chief consecrator was George Montaigne, Bishop of London, one of whose consecrators was Antonio De Dominis, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Spalato, who became an Anglican, and was made Dean of Windsor by James I. This brought into the English Church the *Italian* line of succession.

Another of Laud's consecrators was John Howson, Bishop of Oxford, one of whose consecrators was Thomas Morton, Bishop of Lichfield, who brought in the Irish line of succession. Roman Catholic controversialists have never ventured to dispute the validity of the Irish succession, for the very good reason that all the Bishops of the Church of Ireland (besides tracing their succession to S. Patrick) trace it also to Hugh Curwen, the Marian Archbishop of Dublin, who was consecrated during Queen Mary's reign by Bonner, Bishop of London, and the Bishops of Ely and Rochester at London House, on September 8, 1555. Laud's other consecrators were the Bishops of Worcester, Ely, Chichester, and Llandaff, who were of the English line of succession. These details are of some importance, because it is in consonance with ancient canon law that all the Bishops of a Province should inherit their episcopal succession from the Metropolitan. All the

present South African Bishops, with the exception of the Bishop of Mashonaland (Dr. Knight Bruce), have inherited the succession of Robert Gray, first Metropolitan of the Province.

Bishop Gray had little rest after his consecration. Already he began to foresee the germs of future trouble in the anomalous relation existing between the State in England and the Church in the Colonies. He foresaw that the Letters Patent given by the Crown in those days to Colonial Bishops might prove "waste paper," and "a trap to catch Colonial Bishops in,"<sup>1</sup> and he already anticipated difficulties attending the relations between himself as Bishop and the chaplains nominated by the Colonial Office.

He secured the services of Archdeacon Merriman, henceforward his right-hand man and most trusted fellow-worker, who became in 1871 Bishop of Grahamstown, and died in 1882 after a memorable episcopate.

In December 1847 the Bishop, with his wife and four children, accompanied also by the Rev. the Hon. H. Douglas, the Rev. H. Badnall,<sup>2</sup> and some

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop wrote as follows just before his consecration: "Things cannot long go on thus between Church and State; the reciprocity is all on one side. We find the money for foundation of a See, and pay for a patent—'waste paper,' as they call it, and a 'trap to catch Colonial Bishops in,'—and they nominate Bishop and his successor, and keep a tight hold upon all they can catch. They are loosing, step by step, the links that bind Church to State." If the Bishop could write thus in 1847, we can well understand what his attitude would be *were he alive at the present time.*

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Archdeacon of the Cape.

others, sailed for the Cape in the *Persia*. At Madeira he was commissioned to act as peacemaker in the disturbed Church community, a part of whom were in schism against the clergyman holding the Bishop of London's licence, having set up against him a nominee of Lord Palmerston's, who was officiating in direct defiance of the Bishop. Thus early did Bishop Gray's struggle against Erastianism cast its shadows beforehand, and he did his best to settle the Madeira difficulty in accordance with the principles of the Church.

On Feb. 20, 1848, Bishop Gray landed at Cape Town, and was heartily welcomed by clergy and people. His first Sunday sermon in the Cathedral, where he preached to a crowded congregation, was upon Episcopacy, a subject fitly chosen in a country where the Episcopal Office was a matter of hearsay to most Church people. He touched too upon the duty of the Church to the heathen, and thus early contemplated missions to the Kafirs and Malay Mahometans of Cape Town. The Bishop found a kind friend in the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, who had just returned after an attempt to pacify the frontier, and writes thus of him—"Sir Harry and Lady Smith are kindness itself. He will help the Church in every way he can. In fifty-eight days he has settled Kaffraria; quieted, for the time at least, the Boers, and dismissed half the troops. I believe his success is mainly owing, under God, to the character which he earned for justice, kindness, and determination, when in the colony ten years ago."

The frontier certainly seemed settled, but the Boers soon afterwards rose in open rebellion against British authority. Major Warden, the British Resident at Bloemfontein, the then capital of the Orange River Sovereignty, had been compelled to evacuate the fort with his handful of British troops before the superior forces of Mr. A. W. Pretorius, the Dutch Commandant-General. The Dutch emigrants, whom Lord Glenelg's policy had driven as wanderers from the colony, had little desire to come to terms with the Government, whose rule they had forsaken. The misfortunes that befell them in Natal, in the war with the Zulus, and the subsequent occupation of Natal by the British, caused them to settle in the Transvaal and part of the present Orange Free State, where they declined to submit to British rule.<sup>1</sup> Sir Harry

<sup>1</sup> The Boers of the emigration of 1835 set up a Provisional Republic at Winburg, a town founded by them within the present boundaries of the Orange Free State in 1837. In 1845 the emigrant farmers who professed allegiance to the governments set up at Potchefstroom in the Transvaal (the beginning of the present Transvaal Republic), and Winburg, made war upon the Griquas, a mixed race, under the chieftainship of Adam Kok, who occupied Philippolis, and the southern districts of the present Free State. The half-castes were aided by British troops, and a detachment of the 7th Dragoon Guards met a part of the emigrant army at Zwartkoppies, and surprised them. Colonel Richardson, of the 7th Dragoon Guards, then captured the emigrant camp, and seized their arms and ammunition. In 1842 Judge Menzies, while on circuit at Colesberg, had crossed the Orange River, and proclaimed the territory to the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude northward, and from the twenty-second degree of longitude eastward to the sea (except Portuguese territory), to be a British possession. The boundaries

promptly put himself at the head of a considerable force, with which he crossed the Orange River, and after some days found the emigrant army in position at Boomplaats, on August 29, 1849. The Boers were strongly posted under cover of some rocky ground, and their position was only forced after severe fighting, coupled with serious loss of killed and wounded on the British side. Sir Harry himself had a narrow escape from a farmer's bullet, and British authority in the Sovereignty was speedily re-established, as the Boers, after a most obstinate and brave resistance, finally retreated, having suffered far less loss than the British. This outbreak and its result naturally struck a sympathizing chord in the hearts of the colonial kinsmen of the emigrant Boers. The feeling between Dutch and English was naturally intensified, and it is only matter of wonder that it did not materially enhance the Bishop's difficulties in the early years of his Episcopate.

The Bishop plunged at once into a vortex of harassing difficulties and arduous work. He speedily fixed the destination of the fourteen clergy and catechists he had engaged in England, and strove to obtain a fair share of Government aid for the Church under the system of concurrent endowment which then obtained at the Cape, but which since has

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proclaimed by this bold Judge were afterwards repudiated by Government, and they did not fall far short of the boundaries of the British Protectorate proclaimed in 1885. In 1848 Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the present area of the Free State as the Orange River British Sovereignty. But the emigrant farmers declined to submit.

happily been abrogated by the "Voluntary Act" of 1875, whereby all State aid to religion ceased in the Cape Colony. Naturally the Dutch Reformed Church obtained the lion's share in such State payments, and if the principles of State aid to various and varying religious bodies be adopted, it is difficult to see where the Cape Government could fairly draw the line in such a country as South Africa. The Act alluded to carried out concurrent disendowment upon most liberal terms, and it is plain that what some feared might be a blow to the Church, will ultimately become a source of strength to it.

Still Bishop Gray did wisely and prudently in 1848, when the Church was in its infancy, in bringing its claims for a moderate portion of State aid before the Government. His applications were successful, and the Church gained a footing where otherwise the Bishop's resources would not have been able to maintain its ministrations efficiently. In 1848 we find the Bishop writing to Archdeacon Merriman, then on the eve of sailing for this country, and telling him of his plans for Diocesan Colleges, or Church Grammar Schools, at Cape Town and Grahamstown (now realized in two of the leading Public Schools of the country—the Diocesan College, near Cape Town, and S. Andrew's College, Grahamstown), and also of his need for four more clergy and four catechists. The perversion of some careless English emigrants in Cape Town to Mahometanism caused the Bishop much pain, and made him all the more eager to start Church work amongst the Malays. Archdeacon