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BISHOP BOUSFIELD AND BEFORE :

Being the history of the Church

of the Province of South Africa

in the Transvaal

1863 - 1902.

by

EDWARD VICTOR HINWOOD.

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JOHANNESBURG.

MLI.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

List of contents:	iv.
Preface:	viii.

CHAPTER I.

Before Bishop Bousfield: the Bloemfontein period	1.
Potchefstroom:	1.
Pretoria:	2.
Bishopric proposed, 1870:	3.
Bishop Wilkinsons:	6.
Pretoria:	9.
Potchefstroom:	12.
Rustenburg:	13.
Zeerust:	14.
Eastern Transvaal:	15.
Founding of the Bishopric:	17.
British Annexation:	18.
Endowment:	19.

CHAPTER II.

The English Church in an English Colony, 1878 to 1881.	21.
Bishop Bousfield's election:	21.
Financial difficulties:	22.
State of the Church:	23.
Pretoria:	24.
Potchefstroom:	26.
Zeerust:	27.
Rustenburg:	27.
Eastern Transvaal:	28.
Needs of Diocese:	30.

CHAPTER III.

The Retrocession and its results, 1881 to 1886:	33.
General results:	33.
Financial difficulties:	35.
Synodical government:	37.

Needs of Diocese:	39.
State of Church, 1886:	39.
Pretoria:	40.
Potchefstroom:	40.
Western Transvaal:	41.
Eastern Transvaal:	42.

CHAPTER IV.

The discovery of gold and its repercussions on the Church: 1886 to 1902.	45.
The Discovery, 1886:	45.
Unity in Diocese:	47.
Synods:	47.
Association of Church choirs:	48.
Law cases:	48.
Catechist Khunyana:	48.
Richardson:	49.
Bishop's Cote:	50.
Pretoria:	51.
Western Transvaal:	51.
Northern Transvaal:	54.
Western Transvaal:	54.
The Church and the War:	57.

CHAPTER V.

The Church on the Witwatersrand, 1886 to 1902:	59.
Difficulties:	59.
Bishop's first visit:	59.
Darragh's ousting:	60.
Bousfield - Darragh duel:	61.
Bishop's intervention, 1890:	62.
Division of the Mission:	63.
Commission of enquiry, 1892:	65.
Commission of enquiry, 1899:	66.

CHAPTER VI.

Organisation:

68.

Relationship to larger units:	68.
Synodical government:	69.
Diocesan officers:	69.
Diocesan trustees:	70.
Finance:	72.
Parochial system:	74.
Small centres:	75.

CHAPTER VII.

Education:

77.

Importance:	77.
College of St. Alban:	77.
School committees:	78.
Church and State relations:	78.
Protergia:	79.
Johannesburg:	81.
Country districts:	81.

CHAPTER VIII.

Native missions:

83.

Necessity:	83.
Organisation:	83.
Work by natives:	86.
Protergia:	86.
Indian mission:	87.
Potchefstroom:	87.
Molate:	88.
Zerust:	90.
Witwatersrand:	91.
Death of Bishop Boussfield:	91.

CONCLUSION:	94.
APPENDIX:	95.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:	99.

PREFACE.

This study has been written largely so as to be complementary to the two secondary histories of Agar-Hamilton, and Lewis and Edwards. Whereas these have been written more or less chronologically, the present essay has been arranged by subject and locality within suitable periods. The order followed within each chapter has usually been the Diocese as a whole, followed by particular districts or parishes, in the order Pretoria, the Western and the Eastern Transvaal. As the endeavour has been to outline the facts of the development, as far as the material available would allow, conclusions and opinions have largely been omitted.

In order to be able to give an exact reference to the source of each statement made, a system of marginal references has been employed, the key to which forms the Appendix at the end of the essay. For non-serial sources, a capital letter has been assigned to each work, followed by the page number in figures. For serial publications a lower-case letter has been inserted between the capital letter and the page number, referring to the particular issue. Because of the limitations of the notational base, however, a capital followed by lower-case letter, in a few instances, refers to non-serial works. The symbol representing the source is found in the right hand margin opposite the last word, underlined, of the statement to which it refers. References appearing during a quotation are to other sources of the same information.

JOHANNESBURG,
St. Stephen's Day, 1950.

BEFORE BISHOP ROUSSEAU:THE BLOEMFONTEIN PERIOD.

In 1850, when the Orange Free State and Transvaal were both definitely in the British sphere of influence, Bishop Gray had thought that the territory North of the Vaal, which represented the fringe of European-occupied land, would be an excellent starting point for a chain of missionary dioceses stretching into the heart of Africa. The Conventions of 1841 and 1854, which constituted two autonomous states North of the Orange, however, dimmed the previous brightness of this plan, and the Church in the Free State, which had begun to spring into life, all but died. To save the situation, Gray decided to constitute the Bishopric of the Orange Free State, the first Bishop of which was consecrated early in 1855; the Transvaal at this time being scarcely even thought about. Ia594.

It did not remain long in that condition, however, for the first official report from Bishop Twells, dated 15th December, 1855, contains the paragraph:-

"I have received intimation from Potchefstroom, the chief town, of considerable size, in the Trans-Vaal Republic, that the English residents are anxious I should visit them, and are willing to do their utmost to support a resident clergyman. This is an unexpected opening for good, and of great importance in a new country."

Wa.

In reply to this, the Bishop visited the Transvaal in 1856, particularly Potchefstroom, Pretoria, and Rustenburg; and decided to station William W. Richardson, who had been a Catechist for fifteen years at Philippolis, to which Gray had licensed him after his conversion from Methodism, there. Together with his daughter he set a pattern, which later became fairly general throughout the Transvaal, of combining the offices of clergyman and schoolmaster. Although they only arrived in January, 1856, by the time of the Bishop's visitation in the second half of the year, the congregation numbered Ia575. Eb57.

fifty to sixty, and the school attendance thirty, and ten adults were presented for confirmation. The Bishop was so satisfied that he took Richardson back to Bloemfontein with him, "and after due examination I ordained him Deacon at the Advent Ember season. He remained a week with us, then left for Kool River." Prior to taking this step, however, Wb. Bishop Twells had regularised his authority over the Church in the

Transvaal:

"Before planning the Mission in Potchefstroom, I obtained the permission of my ecclesiastical superior, the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town, to administer the affairs of the English Church in the Transvaal in addition to the care of my own Diocese, and so to act under the authority of the Church of England, as Missionary Apostolic in this Republic, until such time as it can be formed into a distinct Diocese".

Owing to the energy and sacrifice of the Potchefstroom churchmen, a curate's house and adjoining ground for a Church were bought, and on the 25th March, 1867, the laying of the foundation stone of the first church in the Transvaal took place in the presence of Bishop Twells and Reverend Richardson, by President Pretorius. During the year 1868, the congregation gave £82. 15. 0d towards the curate's salary, and general expenses, and £15. was collected towards the building fund at the laying of the foundation stone.

Pretoria was considerably smaller, and the growth of the Church there in those early days less spectacular. During his visitation of 1866, the Bishop wrote as follows of Pretoria:-

"I hold services on Sunday, visited the English at their houses in the week, baptised one infant, confirmed three adults, and admitted three to Holy Communion."

In 1866, as well, the Reverend Charles from the Free State paid a short visit to Pretoria. In 1868 the Bishop issued the following appeal for aid to the Pretoria churchmen:-

"A Church is much needed at Pretoria, the capital of the

"Transvaal Republic, in South Africa, where the residents also require assistance for the support of a clergymen. About fifty English live in or near the town of Pretoria, but a great increase in population is expected. At present these residents have the ministrations of the Church brought them twice a year, once a year from the clergy of the Mission-house at Bloemfontein, 400 miles distant, and once from Potchefstroom, a distance of 150 miles."

Wc.

This position was greatly improved, however, when the Bishop was able to appoint the Reverend T.H. Mills to Pretoria in 1870; and so much so, that when the curate went on three months' furlough in 1872, the Bishop felt justified in spending three months in Pretoria with his family, although he had lately been away on a long visitation of his Diocese. A valuable result of this was reported in the Church News of the 1st September, 1872:-

Ja, Ib.

Ja, Ib, EIS.

"It is pleasing to hear that the liberal feeling of the new President of the Republic was likely to be productive of much good, and to know that His Honour had publicly held out the hand of friendship to the Bishop, and recognised him as one who was working for the good of the state."

EIS.

This working bond between the Bishop and his far-removed people, was a continuation of the tie established by the presence of Transvaal delegates, Reverend Richardson for Potchefstroom, and Mr. Green for Pretoria, at the Synod of 1872, during which Richardson was ordained a priest.

Eg.

Outside the Republic, the year 1870 was probably one of the most important for the Church in the Transvaal. The Episcopal Congregation strongly recommended the establishment of a separate Bishopric in 1869, which led the Metropolitan to write the following letter and memorandum to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in November of that year:-

Ex2, 2b.

"I enclose you a memorandum of Archbishop Harrison's on the subject of a Bishop for the Transvaal Republic. You know that the obtaining of a Bishop for that country was one of the objects I had in view when I was last in England, and that I failed in my effort. A sum of 7,000 l., or 8,000 l., would secure this. I frequently marvel that men are not to be found who are ready to come forward to give the small pittance needed to establish a new home for God in these distant outposts.

Archdeacon Harrison, writing from the Orange Free State which adjoins the Transvaal Republic, writes: 'In these days of vigorous Church extension, it involves a great - I fear an irreparable - mistake if a Bishop is not speedily provided for the Transvaal Republic, and the lands adjacent. The diamond-finding and gold-digging goes on with such rapidity, and with such evident prospects of success, that no one can forecast the numbers of an English-speaking population that will inevitably gather to this part of South Africa in a very few years' time meantime, the Transvaal Republic has the following towns, with English residents in each. 1) Potchefstroom larger than Bloemfontein, and with a large number of English-speaking inhabitants. They have a little church and a deacon, who receives 25 l. a year from the negro funds of the Orange Free State diocese: the rest of his maintenance is made up by the residents. 2) Pretoria, the seat of government, with a population of about 150 English. 3) Rustenburg, with a few English - numbers unknown - and other lesser settlements. But throughout the Republic, not including the gold-fields, English-speaking burghers can muster armed to the number of at least a thousand. And now for the most important feature in a missionary point of view: the natives, Matsigen, Baralange, Batalegis, and others are exceedingly favourable to the

"English, and welcome them most gladly as a sure and
defence against the extending encroachments of the
Boers ... They are not dispersed like our Amakoa Kafirs,
but are collected in huge kraals or towns. Mosilikatse's
people (named after their chief, now dead) amount to
30,000 in one town. Machinga's people (Barolong, I
believe) number 15,000 besides other lesser towns;
and numbers of both these tribes are at, or close to,
the gold-fields. The Machinga's people have one Wesleyan
teacher among them. The Matsela one English resident
of much power and influence, but not a Missionary".

Ua.

Vol. 4.

Gray had the insight to perceive that the claims of the Trans-
vaal were stronger than those of Bechuanaland or the Zambesi, so that in
the Provincial Synod, the following motion by the Bishop of Grahamstown
seconded by the Archdeacon of the Cape, was passed:-

170, 171.

"That this Synod would further express its strong con-
viction that, for the efficient maintenance of the
present Mission work of the Church in South Africa,
as well as for the extension of the Missions, it is
necessary that the following Missionary Sees should
be formed as soon as possible:-.....

2. A See in the Transvaal Republic, where there are
many English beyond the reach of any means of grace,
and large tribes of heathen."

E49.

The Guardian of the 26th August, 1870, reported that one of
the Metropolitan's main purposes in going to England was to obtain an
endowment of £5,000 for the Transvaal, and the two other proposed sees,
and in December, 1870, Gray again wrote to the Society for the Propa-
gation of the Gospel:-

E55.

"The Transvaal, a vast region, extends nearly to the
Zambesi. It has within it Dutch, English, and many
thousand heathen. It ought to have a Bishop of its
own. Our Provincial Synod strongly urged this. I
should have rejoiced if the Central African Mission

E. 2.

had been originally in that land, because of its claims upon us, and because of the wisdom of pushing our missions into the heart of Africa, step by step, through the links of a connected chain. There are now two dioceses in it. They have written to entreat me, who live 1,200 miles away, to visit them, saying they have not had the Holy Communion celebrated in their parishes for two years. There are German missionaries among the heathen, we have not one."

Ib.

He was further impelled upon this path by the resolutions of the Easter vestry meeting of the Potchefstroom congregation, in which the delaying action of the Provincial Synod was deplored. Proof of his desire for a Transvaal Bishopric, however, lay in the fact that he had already investigated certain points of organisation, and written to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, "Happily the Roman Dutch Law enables our Synod to create a Trust Board, which the courts will recognize as a corporation."

Bd.

Wd.

The slow growth of the Church in the Republic had been partly due to the fact that the Bishop of Bloemfontein had more than enough work in the Free State itself, and had neither the men nor the resources to spare. He, therefore, asked the thirty-two year old Bishop of Zululand, Thomas Edward Wilkinson, to assist him in the care of the Transvaal, and the amazing growth which took place up to the time of the founding of the Diocese, indeed, that foundation itself was largely Wilkinson's work.

A10.

W788.

Arriving in Pretoria in the winter of 1873, the Bishop of Zululand found two letters awaiting him from the Bishop of Bloemfontein; the one authorising him to act as Coadjutor-Bishop in the Transvaal, and the second, imploring him to do what he could to help. The two visitations of 1873 and 1874 gave him a fairly accurate estimate of the potentialities and needs of the Church in the Republic:-

Wp293.

W542.

A12, P225.

"This second visit to the Transvaal showed me how anxious the English were that their church should be founded throughout the country ...

I wrote to England "From what I saw in passing through

"the country I was much impressed by the opportunity the Church has before her now. We are doing next to nothing not only in Pretoria but in the small towns which are increasing their English population. Bishop Webb is only able to place a young deacon here, where there ought to be a man of experience. At Potchefstroom, which is larger, there is a priest, and at Secrust, a new district, a church is to be built, and a deacon has been placed there. This is all the Church is doing. In passing through Heidelberg, where there are about thirty English families who expressed themselves willing to welcome the Church of England, and anxious to combine the white and coloured work for which work certain land is set apart... All agree that there never was such an opening for our Church."

Pe225.

Time and time again in the numerous letters and reports which issued from his hand this sentiment was repeated. In May he wrote: "Here in the Transvaal I am amazed to find such openings for Church work. Men are offering their help on all sides as laymen and cate-chists"; and in the October issue of the Mission Field,

Xb.

"All the townships are signing a memorial to the Colonial Bishopric's Council, your venerable body and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, asking for a Bishop and urging non-delay...

And so ended a most pleasant and encouraging visitation, throughout which only one feeling towards the English Church was exhibited by all with whom I came in contact, whether of our communion or not; and were convinced as I now than when I said it to you upon the occasion of our short visit to the Transvaal last winter, that if we do but step in now and lay the Church's foundations wisely and in every place, we may become the Church of the English-speaking population of the entire Transvaal."

Als, Ng223.

His plans were equally concrete and defined:-

"What it seems to me we need, and need at once, is £20,000. 10,000 £ of this should form a Bishopric Endowment Fund, and the other 10,000 £ a Clergy Endowment Fund. Six good men (an Archdeacon and two priests for each of the North and South) and these must move about on the Wesleyan system of itineration, if we are to keep Church people together and get schools and Churches built. The people are very willing to help."

Wf86.

In addition, schools and churches in the villages would be in the care of the schoolmaster, in minor or deacon's orders, who would maintain the ordinary services of the Church, while the High School of the Diocese in Pretoria would have an ordained master who would assist the Bishop in the pastoral care of Pretoria. But even without the Bishopric, he considered the Clergy Endowment Fund essential, because with costs so high, married priests needed a minimum of £200. per annum, and a house, and unmarried priests £100 and a house, in addition to any subscriptions and contributions by the laity, which at its best could be but small. This fund could be administered by the local Finance Board, already provisionally established in 1875, under the joint supervision of Bishops Webb and Wilkinson.

A.12

En, Wb571.

Pe226.

Wg254.

In the interim, before such schemes could be started upon, Bishop Wilkinson set about organising the Church as best he could. He planned to spend three months in each year in Pretoria, and for this purpose, having comfortably sufficient private means, bought a house from "a Dutchman named Piet Harris", described by the Bishop in the following terms:-

"It was the best house in the place ... large and well-built, a pretty Dutch-like bungalow, with a courtyard on one side and a stable yard behind. It had an excellent garden, well-watered by a spring."

Wf204.

Probably foreseeing the trouble with the S.P.G., which was later to lead to his resignation, he justified both the residence and the purchase in a letter to the Society:

- "I could not" -

"I could not but make this promise of residing amongst the inhabitants of the Transvaal as long each year as I could well spare, so repeatedly was I requested on all sides to do so. The bitter retort with which my refusals at first were always met was this - 'Why should the Zulus have a Bishop and clergy, and we be so entirely neglected?' I felt it to be unanswerable, and I will go, therefore, and do my best by moving about in all towns, ships, districts, and settlements, to keep the ground open for us as long as I can."

Pc.

Wf41.

All this, with the very high cost of moving about, as will be seen later when dealing with Bishop Bousfield, had to be paid for by the Bishop privately, because "there are no funds at my disposal".

Despite a Government Grant of £100., the Church in Pretoria was far from wealthy, as its curate had to be paid entirely from local financial sources. The schoolroom which did service for a Church was "of very mean proportions; the smallest English agricultural hamlet would not own it as their place of worship". It was:

Wg289, Pa576

Wf41.

"A mean building some forty feet long and fifteen feet wide, white-washed and with calico windows and an open thatched roof, rough benches without backs, some common green stuff hangings at the east end, and a red baize Altar cloth, a white Cross, and brass pillar candlesticks, such as we find to-day in our kitchens, and two earthenware vases, worth say threepence each, but costing five shillings; you knelt on a mat floor, and you had no housewarming."

Pa9.

The priest-in-charge, Mr. Reverend Shorley, who had been sent up towards the end of 1876, was already feeling the burden of overwork by the time of Wilkinson's visit in 1874. It had been decided that one of the first things to be done was to open a school for boys, and so a prospectus for "St. Alban's College" was printed and circulated, resulting in applications for fifteen day boys and as many boarders. But there was no suitable building, and rents were absurdly high.

Id.

By September, however, the Bishop had built a house on the ground

opposite his hempelaw, and the school was able to commence. Resid- Za247.
 Sundry services in Pretoria, Shorley visited out-lying farms within
 a radius of thirty miles, and occasionally took service at Heidelberg.
 In view of Wilkinson's plans and Bousfield's notice,
 the list of requirements he presented to the Bishop is in-
 teresting: (1) a second clergyman for Pretoria to act as second
 master of St. Alban's, and to organize lay-readers at Heidelberg,
 Wakkerstroom, Nazareth, Rustenburg, Nylstroom and take occasional
 services at these places and at farms near Pretoria; (2) a layman
 who would work in the college, be prepared for Ordination, and begin
 work among the non-European servants in Pretoria; (3) four English
 sisters to begin a Ladies college, and an elementary school; (4)
 a new Church, and a parsonage with accommodation for twelve board-
 ers; (5) a priest with common sense, a good physique, to itinerate
 on the gold fields where the population was about nine hundred. Ib.

In October, 1874, the Bishop left Pretoria, for England,
 leaving his furniture, books, saddlery, and other possessions, intend-
 ing to return in the next year. His resignation prevented that, and
 during the war which followed, the house was sacked, and the stables
stripped. The following December saw the departure of the Reverend Fe.
 Hills, so that Pretoria was left without an ordained clergyman until
 April, 1876, when the Missionary Greenstock spent a few months in Pre-
 toria at the request of Bishop Wilkinson. He reports as follows on the
 state of the Church:-

"The English Church in Pretoria has been without a clergy-
 man since December. Mr. Green, who had been appointed
 Reader some years back, determined to do his best to keep
 the congregation together. He held two services on Sunday
 reading printed sermons. The choir supported him in his
 endeavours, and he was partially successful in preventing
 a scattering of the people. Some, however, preferred the
 Wesleyan services; others, on account of there being no
 ordained clergyman, remained at home ... the people were
 in a profound state of discouragement in Church matters,

- and they -

"and they were not disposed to take the initiative in procuring a clergyman."

Wells.

On Easter Day, 1876, in compliance with a request from the Government, Greenstock included a thanksgiving for the safe return of President Burgers among the services of the day. Despite the intervening events, Bishop Wilkinson maintained his enthusiasm for work in the Transvaal. In August, 1876, he wrote to Iow, the Priest-in-charge of Pretoria:-

Wells.

"I have made arrangements for conveying the house which you will occupy in Pretoria to the Church, and thus make it a parsonage. This will relieve you of rent. Mr. Igo, however, writes to me that he requires £80. more to finish it. I am instructing my bankers to send him £30. of this. I will ask you in lieu of rent to pay him the balance of £50. This, I hope, will enable him to make the house comfortable for you...

At the advice of the Bishop of Haritzburg, who is now in England, I have withdrawn my objection to being nominated for the Transvaal, in consequence partly of the memorials from that country. Whether such withdrawal comes too late or will be otherwise inoperative, I cannot say ...

Will you let me know if there is anything needed for the church and its services at Pretoria, and I will endeavour to procure it ... Are there enough Hymn and Prayer books in the town? I sent but two copies to Mr. Sherley for sale in the Transvaal generally, and hope that Pretoria had its due share offered to it."

C

In April, 1877, he writes that he has secured a donation of a font of Devonshire marble for the future Cathedral.

C

Under Iow, the Church life in Pretoria went ahead rapidly, as can to some extent be gauged by the work which he raised the enthusiasm of his congregation to do. In January, 1878, he was able to write to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

"At the commencement of last year, our Church in Pretoria was £30 l. in debt. Every halfpenny of this has been paid

"off. The Church property was not properly conveyed to the Church of the Province of South Africa. It is properly conveyed, and legally secured, with the exception of the two houses of Bishop Wilkinson, the title deeds of which are not in our hands. We have the present church and the erf on which it stands; two acres near Government House, on which the foundations of the new Church hall are already built and paid for (70 £ for the foundation) also a piece of ground lately presented to the Church by Mr. George Pyatt Hoodie, one of our churchwardens, between one and two acres ... We have paid for legal expenses of transfer something over 20 £. All the working expenses of the Church for the past year have been duly met, and the first three-quarters of last year's stipend for me from Pretoria (180 £) I have received. The last quarter's is not fully paid up, but I expect to receive it in the next few days. Towards our new Church Hall, which when we obtain funds to commence the permanent Cathedral, will be used for educational purposes, we have subscriptions amounting at present to about 525 £.. Altogether in adding to work expenses of the Church and my stipend, about 200 £. has been raised in Pretoria during the last year."

Wp124.

On the 4th April, with the subscription list standing at 2801. £. 2d, the foundation stone of the new building was laid by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who, "though an ardent supporter of the Colensoite schism in Natal, seems to have been prepared to throw the mantle of the Establishment in his own person over the new Diocese".

Wp575.

A27.

This, more or less, was the state of things in the Capital of the Transvaal when the Bishop arrived.

Elsewhere in the Republic, the solicitations of Bishop Wilkinson had borne fruit. To his great disappointment the Bishop had been unable to visit Potchefstroom in 1876, because he had to hurry back to Zululand before the rains set in, although it was one of the two towns which had priests as curate. In July, 1874, he spent a week in Potchefstroom, on the first Sunday holding a Confirmation, and on the

Za179.

Za242.

second ordaining J.P. Richardson, son of William Richardson, and J. Thomas, an ex-Wesleyan minister, who, like Richardson Senior, had been converted by Bishop Gray, as Deacons. Wilkinson was extremely pleased at J.P. Richardson's bilingualism, and duly wrote on the necessity for South African born clergy. He also reports that William Richardson:

"retires upon a secured stipend guaranteed by the inhabitants of Potchefstroom, and his parsonage. At the same time they guaranteed for five years 300 £ per annum for a man from England, who is to act as Archdeacon of the Southern Transvaal and incumbent of Potchefstroom."

Wg298.

The successor was not forthcoming, so that William Richardson was still guiding the oldest congregation in the Transvaal when Bousfield arrived.

A29.

When he visited Rustenburg in June, 1874, Bishop Wilkinson found J.P. Richardson there holding services, as a layman, to a congregation of fifty. At the meeting, on the Monday, following a Sunday of full congregations, he received enough support to warrant a quote:

"All more or less came forward heartily and willingly to support the Church of England; there were present Dutch, Wesleyans, and some Baptists; guarantee lists reached 100 £ per annum for salary of clergyman; have got plot for church and started building fund."

Wg294.

Immediately after his ordination on Trinity Sunday, Richardson Junior returned to Rustenburg, where he exceeded even the Bishop's expectation that he could "undertake all these branches of work, English, Dutch, and native," by starting a school, building a church largely with his own hands, and making the seats and furniture.

Id.

Wg294

Wc45.

Until this was completed, however, temporary premises had to be secured, so at the suggestion of Mr. F.I. Lewis, to whom Bishop Wilkinson had given him a letter of introduction, Richardson made application for the use of a hall owned by the local Volunteer body, "The Rustenburg Schutzen Corps", for conducting the services of the Anglican Church, which was readily conceded. Although there were only seven

nominal Anglican families, many of the other people rallied round.

Ws405.

The opening of the school had been partly a necessity:

"Finding in the meanwhile that the guarantee of 100 l. towards the stipend of the minister was merely a paper-show, I turned my attention towards the opening of a school, the fees of which might assist my support, and enable me to pay my way in the obtaining of the ground, the expense of building, meeting my private rent, etc. etc."

Ws406.

This unfortunate situation was in part due to lack of finance although from 1870 onwards somewhat over £5,000 for Clergy Endowment was in the possession of the Provincial Trustees, but more especially to the virtual collapse of Transvaal Church administration after the departure of Bishop Wilkinson.

Za285.

Henry Sadler, who had come out from England as Deacon in charge of Klipdrift in 1871, had been sent up to Zorrust in 1873 by Bishop Webb, at the request of the inhabitants, to commence the work of the Church there. Contributions were raised largely from visiting traders and hunters, "and in 1873 a church was built by Mr. Hutton, on a 'burger-right' plot presented by Mr. Gontzen", and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. In December, 1873, however, Sadler wrote that his congregation could not complete the Church for want of money, and continues:-

Pc.

Ws286.

Us22.

"The cottage occupied by myself and family was kindly placed at my disposal for three years by its owner, Mr. Hutton.

It is a long distance from the Church, and quite unfit for a permanent residence of the rector here. We need a parsonage built close to the Church.

The schoolroom now in use adjoins my cottage; it was built on to it by subscriptions. It is not in a central position.

We need a new large, lofty schoolroom near the parsonage.

We have a government grant of £100. per annum."

Id.

Sometime in May or June, 1874, Bishop Wilkinson visited the

town, and was well pleased with the state of the congregation, recording the conversion of a number of Wesleyans. As at every other town he visited, he held a meeting about a public-library and reading-rooms, which would provide a good and healthy supply of books to counteract the mischievous literature otherwise filtering in. £50. was subscribed, and the Bishop promised to get grants of books from ecclesiastics in England.

Ng296.

Ng296.

In the Eastern Transvaal, Wilkinson's success was even more spectacular. At Middelburg, which received an occasional visit from the clergyman at Pretoria, a meeting of the inhabitants "decided to petition the Government for a grant of land for an English church, a school and parsonage." At Middelburg, on the way up to Pretoria in August, 1876, the Bishop met the people after a service. The thirty English families, though mostly presbyterian, were willing to come under the Church, and receive an Anglican clergyman. It was further suggested that he might itinerate to two or three small neighbouring towns, and take charge of the coloured work, for which the President had already promised a grant of land to the first missionary who would take it. In the meanwhile, the town would be on the Pretoria itinerating circuit. The Bishop writes in August, 1874:

A15.

Za160.

Pt.

"The 'successful meeting at Waldenstrom', spoken of by Mr. Chorley in his letter, I have since heard has resulted in the resident magistrate - or Landrost, as he is called, himself a Wesleyan - promising us all his support to get an English clergyman for the place. He has granted us Government land for church purposes, while the inhabitants generally have opened a guarantee list for the support of a clergyman."

Nb572.

On the goldfields, at Pilgrim and Mac-Mac, Mr. Barker, the Deacon in charge, served two church-tents each Sunday; the Bishop states that he has been through really hard times, and is "getting knocked-up." He requires relief and chance. At Nasereoth the inhabitants petitioned the Government for land for a church, school, and parsonage, and circulated a subscription list through the town and district to guarantee a clergyman's stipend. At Eerstelling, the Bishop was

Nb569.

Nb571.

still more successful. Mr. Button, the manager, normally read the Divine Offices on Sundays, and was an enthusiastic churchman. He gave the Bishop a letter signed by all at Eerstelling, to the Company's directors and shareholders in England, asking for a stipend for a clergyman, as it was estimated that in two or three years there would be some hundreds of hands at work there. Little under a year later, the Reverend W. Greenstock wrote on the 18th May, 1875, "Mr. Button, the manager, has, I understand, built a church, and is extremely anxious to have a minister. His Natalaland expedition having temporarily to be abandoned, Greenstock decided to spend a few months at Eerstelling, working among natives and Europeans, and preparing for his intended work across the Limpopo. His advice on leaving was:

Wh569.

W1275.

"I trust that steps will be taken by the new Bishop of the Transvaal for a permanent occupation of Eerstelling. It is an admirable religious centre for the North as Pretoria is for the South of this Republic."

TJ356.

At Lydenburg the Bishop called a meeting on the Monday, after good congregations on the Sunday, and the people expressed much pleasure in having him visit them. Williamson had arrived just in time to prevent an interdenominational or congregationalist church being established, since funds had already started being collected, and an invitation was about to be sent to a minister. However,

A15

"After some necessary discussion the original plan of the Free Church was abandoned, and the whole meeting threw itself heartily into helping in every way in its power the English Church. A new subscription list for church-building is opened, and the inhabitants are willing to do their very best towards helping to support a clergyman."

Wh566.

This change of plan, and the subsequent zeal shown, was to quite a large extent due to the Lindwatt, Mr. Cooper. After his ordination on Trinity Sunday, 1874, already mentioned, Thorne was sent up as Deacon in charge of Lydenburg. By 1877 two acres had been secured for the Church, but they still had to be paid off; and Thorne writes on the 51st March:

Pc.

"But as it is we have very little comfort indeed, and not half the decency which we desire. Pushed about from place to place, having a Dutch school-room to worship in for one year, a waggon-house for another, and an empty store for a third, friends at home will understand that our hands sometimes hang down; and will perhaps not judge so harshly if we confess at having been tempted to despair."

Wc275.

Another more general difficulty of church life in the early days of the Transvaal comes from Thorne's letter to the S.P.G. dated the 30th June:-

"Once, for a few weeks only, in the space of nearly three years, have we had the pleasure and help of a visit from a fellow-labourer. Not once through all that time have we had a visit from the chief pastor, or any word of guidance or counsel, and difficulties innumerable. This has arisen to a great extent out of the peculiar circumstances of the country, but it has been none the less hard to endure. Only once or twice all that time have we had the privilege and blessing of Holy Communion."

Wc481.

Nevertheless, the situation brightened a little despite the setbacks due to the amercement and native threat, and on Monday, 27th August, 1877, His Excellency the Administrator, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, laid the foundation stone of what was to be a "handsome stone church and clergyman's residence", costing 1000 l., of which only 500 l. has been actually subscribed, and of this Mr. Thorne himself provided 100 l.

Wc575.

Wc41.

After this long digression into the doings of the Church in the Transvaal, we shall now return to the question of the Bishopric. The Second Metropolitan knew what Gray had wished, and what he himself could see was necessary. He, therefore, wrote to the S.P.G. in January, 1875, asking for an endowment for the Transvaal See. Bishop Webb was in England at the time, and Bishop Wilkinson left a little later in the month, so that the Metropolitan agreed to a drive for funds for the Transvaal, aiming at £20,000. On 14th January, after a long discussion

Ib.

With Wilkinson, the Metropolitan gave him the following letter to use in whatever way he felt necessary:

"This is now a very pressing and urgent question. The country appears to be fairly stretching out her hands, and entreating that the ministrations of our Church may no longer be withheld from her. So far as these ministrations have as yet been supplied, viz. at Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Lydenburg and Rustenburg, they have been thankfully accepted, and the work that is being done appears to promise well. It is now high time that a country which is rapidly increasing both in population and importance, and whither it must be expected that the recent discoveries of gold will very shortly draw a large influx of inhabitants, the Church should show herself ready to rise to the opportunities before her. I do most sincerely trust that, during your visit to England, you may be able, in union with the Bishop of Bloemfontein, and with the aid of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Colonial Bishopric's Fund, and the S.P.C.K. to set everything in train towards this end, that the necessary funds may be raised for the endowment of the new See before twelve months have passed by ...

It is surely not too much to expect that England will not grudge £10,000 to a work of such vital importance, a sum not greater than is often spent on a single Parish Church, or on a single article of luxury. Now is the time to carry out this idea. A year's delay, or even less, may be fatal to it. There is a cry now in the Transvaal from our own countrymen, and from others too, for a larger supply of the ministrations of our Church. It may be, and probably will be that if we fail them now, and close our ears to their entreaties, they will look elsewhere for that which we have declined to give."

2b78.

The appeal was in part successful, and about 5,000 £ was lodged with the Metropolitan and the Provincial Trustees. One unfortunate circumstance, however, accompanied it, for Bishop Wilkinson wished to continue ministering in the Transvaal until a Bishop was appointed. The Mackenzie Mission trustees refused, and he resigned, partly in order to continue to work for the Transvaal. Thus it was that he was able to offer himself for nomination to the See of Pretoria in 1876. While these endeavours to secure the endowment were in process, two occurrences made the whole matter more urgent. The less important of these was a depression prevailing the annexation, during which some of the work was only saved by Bishop Wilkinson getting the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel's permission for Bishop Webb to divert some Free State grants to the Transvaal.

Za255.

Bo7.

G.

G.

The second event was the annexation of the Transvaal by Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Letters, such as those of the Reverend Arthur J. Low to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel during June, 1877, show how desperate the situation was with people pouring into the Transvaal from every corner of South Africa, shortage of clergy, lack of money, and a disinclination to proceed without Episcopal guidance.

Wm459-30.

The need for extended pastoral work, and particularly educational Exhibition, demanded the immediate attention of a Bishop in the Transvaal. The Metropolitan and Bishop of Bloemfontein visited the Transvaal together in October, 1877, to see if they could alleviate the situation temporarily. They were heartily welcomed at Potchefstroom, Pretoria and other places, and "at Pretoria steps were taken to ensure the speedy erection of a church, to be the future Cathedral of the Dioecese."

G, Wm271.

Wp323.

Es5.

L71.

Es6, Zbl12.

Bishop Wilkinson had meanwhile been building up the endowment funds, 27,000 reported on June 1st, 1877, only one third towards the Bishopric Endowment Fund; but by the time of the consecration of the Bishop, and the constitution of the Diocese by the Provincial Authorities in the next year, this was up to 35,000, which gave an income of 1400 a year, which the Society for the Propagation of the

Ep7, Ep8.

Gospel undertook to bring up to \$600. The Society for the Promotion
of Christian Knowledge gave \$750. for Church buildings, and \$400. was ID.
collected towards the Cathedral. Everything was, therefore, prepared ARD.
for the constitution of Bishopric.

CHAPTER II:

THE ENGLISH CHURCH IN AN ENGLISH COLONY:
1878 TO 1881.

The Transvaal, not having the six priests required by the Canons of the Church of the Province, was not able to elect a Bishop, but the Metropolitan and Provincial Bishops delegated the choice to a small committee consisting of the Metropolitan, Bishop Cotterill of Edinburgh, formerly Bishop of Grahamstown, and the Reverend W.T. Bullock, secretary of the S.P.O., which had so ably filled a vacant South African Bishopric in the past. Their choice fell upon Dr. Henry Brougham Boussfield, Rector of Andover, who had always shown much active interest in mission work. At the age of forty-four he was asked in 1875 to come and found the Bishopric, but he categorically refused to take his eight children to a Dutch Republic. In the next year the annexation took place, and the request was repeated, together with the information that a house and an annual income of £800 were assured. After hesitation he accepted, and was consecrated on the Feast of the Purification, 1878, in St. Paul's Cathedral, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Winchester, Salisbury, Edinburgh, Grahamstown, and Bishop Piers Cloughton, taking the oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitan Bishop of Cape Town during the service.

B22.

A20.

Iell4.

Ba3

Ia580

D6-7
G15.

D7

D6,
Eva.

"Consecrated on the 2nd of February, 1878, I did not leave England until the 8th of August through delay in the conveyance of the See house. These days were occupied in raising funds to start my new work, for which they proved insufficient, as the future showed. My own judgment would have let me stay for longer in England, as before I left the Zulu war had broken out, but that judgment was surrendered to the desire of those who should have

D8-9

- should have -

"known better, and as in more than one case, the results proved me right."

014.

Conditions in the Transvaal, nevertheless, demanded urgency.

Besides the Bishop's family, Emma Hayward, the nurse, and Henry and Sarah Thurgood, the servants, Miss Lamb and Miss Dowling came out "to help their old vicar in his new sphere"; Messrs. Adams and Dowling, candidates for Holy Orders, actuated by the same principle; and the Reverends C.M. Spratt and A. Roberts, "whom the Bishop had ordained at Andover." On the way out they received civic welcomes at Port Elizabeth and Durban, whence they started their erratic trek towards Pretoria, which lasted from September to December 26th, during the morning of which:

D10.

"a party with a carriage and horsemen was observed coming towards them in a cloud of dust, who soon introduced themselves as the Reverend Arthur Law, Mr. Godfrey Lagden, Mr. Rider Haggard, Judge Coetsee, Messrs. Wyon and Swart, Mrs. Juta and Mrs.

Loveday.

Ub10.

They conducted them to Bishop's Gate, where lunch was spread. "The next communication was not so pleasant, and proved only too true: 'You have come to the most expensive place in the world'"

D16.

Bousfield soon found out two reasons why £600. per annum was hopelessly insufficient, and they had both previously been reported by Bishop Wilkinson, namely, the necessity to keep up appearances, and the expense of do doing. Wilkinson wrote:

"In those days it was necessary to have four horses, and the Boers think a great deal of appearances, and their ideas had to be considered since often I had to rely on them for a night's lodging. A Boer would think little

"of a man who travelled with less than four horses, but four would bring him out of his stoop to greet an arrival"

70.

to which Housfield adds:

"I found an aspiring and gay little capital -

"the Paris of South Africa", in which a Bishop grooming his horse, and digging his garden, and building his house would be as little suitable as in England or London itself."

D53.

"In a world where appearances tell so much it is not a slight loss to have one institution here, another there; instead of all being grouped together."

D22.

Mrs. Wilkinson had written in 1874 that "this is a most horribly expensive place", with kid gloves 66, a pair, soap 1s.6d. to 2s. bar, flour 5s. a pound and pale ale 25s. a dozen pints. Against which law had reported in 1877 that since the annexation costs had doubled; so that we can sympathise with the Bishop when he writes: "It was not long before I found how great was the mistake made in taking the Bishopric of Pretoria with £600. a year", articles were double or treble English prices. When the money supply dried up later, this was to be among the main causes of the Bishop's financial straits.

Za237.
Za247.
Pd206.

Wu460.

D53.

The state of the Church in the Diocese, which was smaller than the Republic, by being bounded in the East by the Drakensberg watershed, was described by the Bishop in his Charge to the Synod of 1884:

Wu59.

"The Diocese contained four churches, and a school chapel, all save one in heavy debt, one building standing still for money I was to bring. The Church, perhaps rather one of her

"Clergy, owned one school; her own cemetery shared with others a desolation, disgraceful to the common civilisation of the land. The Clergy numbered three priests and two deacons."

None of the churches had a font, communion vessels, or altar linen, and even in Pretoria the set of altar vessels was one borrowed, and shortly afterwards reclaimed. Before the war broke out three years later, all debts had been liquidated, and improvements made to each church, mainly by the efforts of the local churchmen, diocesan and local schools had been opened, and fresh clergy enlisted.

Tb7.

The Bishop's description of the church in Pretoria is not flattering:

"a small, ill-built, thatched, barn-like erection; the pointed windows, cross on the top, and bell hanging by proclaiming its sacred character. The unkempt ground around about it said but little for the love with which it was regarded. Inside the little building did look more church-like. There was a lofty platform at the East end, which seemed to us a South African fashion, being found in Natal also, but upon it an altar so large and so suitably adorned as to throw its halo over the whole building, and mark it as His whom it showed forth. The seats were of good yellow wood; a lectern did its own duty and served for a pulpit as well, and choir stalls proclaimed the purpose of rendering the service musically, which indeed was often very well done ... the building might hold 100 persons.

D17.

There were five hundred nominal Anglicans out of a total population of one thousand, five hundred. The

1a551.

were good, and on St. Mark's day, 1878, there was the first confirmation of seventeen candidates. Immediately on arrival, the services were re-organised: Matins and Evensong were recited daily, Mass was celebrated on Sundays at 9 a.m. preceded by Litany, and on Holy Days, and Sunday Evensong and catechising was at 4 or 5 p.m. depending on the season, to which the Governor and Sir Bartle Frere often went. Shortly after, the Bishop called a Meeting of all those who had subscribed towards the new church, at which it was agreed that the church should be the Cathedral of the Diocese as well as the parish church of Pretoria, the Curate of Pretoria to be the Canon, "The arrangement and regulation of all services, and the disposal of all offertories ... shall be in the hands of the Bishop and his successors or Dean and chapter, but contrary to his wish, he could not persuade them to make all the seats free, an archaism on which he compromised for peace sake. By the end of 1879, he had paid over the £500 promised by the Metropolitan and Bishop Webb, which had been collected mainly by the efforts of Bishop Wilkinson, and in just over a year after his arrival, the new church had been completed at a cost of approximately £3,000, the congregations were increasing, and the offertory for the first quarter of 1880 was £98.4.11d. A considerable square of ground had been secured around the Cathedral, and a little Close with trees and flower-beds was thriving. The Devonshire Marble font, which Bishop Wilkinson had received as a donation from the parish of Plymton St. Mary, Devonshire, a Bishop's throne made of wood from Winchester Cathedral, and a "Miserere" sent followed by the arrival of the Church plate just before the siege in 1891, provided the necessary furnishings for the new Pretoria Cathedral. In 1880 the Bishop raised £100 for the portion of the cemetery allotted to the Church, and as he had money, from time to time, the whole

Ka
D29.
D32.
D25.
A28.
D20.
R04.
D49.
Ca31.
Rb4.
Kf.
Dnl.
Ka.

was divided into lots, the roads marked off, the grass cleared, and trees planted; one of the ladies tended the flower beds around the large central Groen. The Legislative Council debates, however, show that the Bishop was accused of the offence of enclosing and appropriating public ground.

Kf

"I pleaded common decency's requirements as my justification, but knowing how little they would stand before legal quibbles, at once deferred a journey to examine the legal status. This I found very satisfactory; the ground had been appropriated to augulture by the Volksraad before the annexation, and entrusted to the charge of a Committee, whose rules were to be sanctioned and varied only by the authority of the President. One of these rules determined to assign portions to those several congregations in Pretoria, 'for consecration', as well as use; and this appropriation, with one of private groves, was declared 'irrevocable'. My justification was complete."

D51-2

One result of ordering the cemetery was the stopping of the unpleasant practice of burials from private houses.

D51.

As soon as he was settled, the Bishop started on his visitations of the Diocese, making the first large scale tour of the Western Transvaal with a Circuit Judge. His immediate experience of the cost of such travelling appalled him, for he estimated that his annual expenses in this connection would be £350. largely to be met from his stipend of £600.

D27.

D38.

A29,D33.

The Church in Potchefstroom possessed a very central piece of ground on the main street, on the front of which was the pretty little thatched church dedicated to St. Mary,

about a hundred people, and a thatched cottage where the priest lived; also two erven on the outskirts of the town with a cottage occupied by natives. Both the Church and parsonage, however, were heavily in debt, over £200., and William Richardson had not yet been able to retire, despite his age. Here the Bishop had his first experience of unpleasantness with the congregation: because he asked some natives who were seeking a teacher to meet him in the Church, the white parishioners threatened never to enter it again. Which led the Bishop to comment:

015.
D38.
A29.
D38.

"It has the unenviable distinction in my mind, and must have in this report, of being the one place in the Diocese which has treated me badly. The good people seem to have made up their mind to do so before I went there, did it to perfection, and did not repent nor amend before I left, nor since."

Nevertheless, the mortgage on the Church was transferred to the Bishop, and a few months later Mr. Reid, of Great Queen Street, London, paid off £150. of the debt, leaving only £75.

Re6.
Re6.
Rb5.

At Zeerust, there was a church similar to that at Potchefstroom, though not so well fitted, standing on four erven of land. The Church needed improvement, and was heavily in debt. A meeting held by the Bishop to consider the matter was able to start a movement by help from England, which completely cancelled this burden. Friction between Sadler and his congregation was smoothed over by the Bishop, but only temporarily, because within a year Sadler had left, and the Bishop was complaining that he had no one to replace him.

015.
D40.
A29, Re7.
Rb6.

At Rustenburg, where Richardson, Jnr. was still at work, there was "a little church with two little rooms attached to it where the clergymen abode, and then, or soon after,

Re7, D41.

a room used for a school." He was living at the time mainly on a grant of £50. per annum from the S.P.G., and such school fees as he could collect, though these were but meagre. The Administrator on a recent visit had inspected a cadet corps organised by Richardson, and was surprised at the amount of drill they know.

015.

A30.
Vb406.

Kb.

In the South-Eastern Transvaal, the Bishop himself had considered placing Heidelberg and Standerton under one clergyman, who would hold fortnightly services in each, and at houses along the road that would have welcomed them. The people at Standerton, however, were extremely anxious to have their own clergyman, and promised to pay £130. the first year, and £160. subsequently to maintain him, to which the Bishop would add £70. and £80. respectively to raise the stipend to £200. The parish contribution was to be paid into the Diocesan Fund at Pretoria, and the Bishop would guarantee the stipend, to prevent personality differences causing financial difficulty to the curate. Sceptical of the people's ability to fulfil this undertaking, the Bishop commented:

D42.

P42

Vt549.

"I have consented to this arrangement with some reluctance, as I can ill spare one from my small staff for one small place, but rather than check their earnestness and zeal, their wish has been complied with. Mr. Spratt will begin work there with the new year,"

Ro7.

after his ordination to the priesthood in December, 1879,

Ra6.

The Bishop reported in March, 1880, that Spratt had been at Standerton for a quarter. He was using a tent for a church, temporarily, and had all the difficulties of pioneer work in a small town to contend with. Nevertheless, the Bishop had every hope that a church would be built shortly. Heidelberg was less fortunate: before Lent, 1879, the Bishop licenced two young communicants to hold services

Rb6.

Kb.

on -

on Sundays in the schoolroom of the town, with a monthly visit from a priest from Pretoria. The lay readers proved a failure, and with the exception of a few weeks at the end of 1879 when a regimental officer took them, the weekly services had to be abandoned, though the monthly itineration was maintained.

D35.

Ra3.

D35.

Middelburg proved unexpectedly fruitful, especially as the Bishop had been warned not to expect anything. Well attended services on the Sunday were followed by a meeting on Monday night, November 17th, at which the people chose a monthly itineration by the Bishop or Lay from Pretoria, rather than a local lay reader. The next day the Bishop left with £17. 16. Od. paid up contributions towards the work and church buildings. When Sadler left Zeerust early in 1880, the Bishop sent him to Middelburg, "to commence regular work, which I hope may prove lasting and profitable. There seems a good and earnest spirit prevailing there." He was succeeded by Adams.

Qa.

D46.

Ra4.

R66.Qa.

"At Wakkerstroom we found the marks of a good man's work. Services were held in the court-house, but eight were ready for confirmation ... the visit was, however, saddened by the death of Mr. Allington himself, which I could never doubt was due to the hardships he endured in endeavouring to do his work."

D45.

Although only very few church-people in the area, the Bishop was confident that under a deacon-school-master the work would go forward, so in August, 1880, he moved Sadler there from Middelburg. He straightway again obtained permission to use the Court house for services, and secured a grant of an erf in a suitable central position for a church. The unsettled state of the country, and the Basuto war, were causing a depression owing to the stoppage of the transportation of goods; but the observance of Sunday

had greatly improved.

Wx123-28

At Lydenburg, the Bishop had found what he considered by far the prettiest church in the Diocese, and almost as large as the new one in Pretoria, with a parsonage adjacent: "Inside all is devotional, and good in its simplicity, and except for a font and altar vessels, all necessities are there." A meeting was called by the Bishop to consider the accounts, well kept by the Rector and Bank Manager, which showed a debt, which the Bishop gives in two different places as £300. and £719. In either case, the meeting subscribed £104. towards clearing it, and the rest was cancelled by a donation from England.

D43.

Kb.

D43;Kc.

Kc,Ww.

From some of the information given briefly above, the Bishop was able, at the end of the first year, to make the following assessment of the needs of the Diocese:

A30.

"These wants are, first, men. At the present time we really, and immediately, want five men ...

(one for Pretoria; one each for Heidelberg and Middelburg, and two itinerating.)

Our second want is the money to assist in supporting these men.

Our third want is gentlewomen (one for teaching, two for nursing.) ... Women of a lower class - serving sisters for domestic work - or superintending it in the schools, are no less wanted in a land where servants are not.

Our fourth want is funds for school buildings.

Our fifth want is the sum of about £1,000, from which grants may be made towards church-building, establishing schools, and the different good works which people in our different districts are prepared to undertake, but which want a little aid from the central authority.

Our sixth want is really more pressing than any

- other -

"other, because upon his work all now turns, and that is, an increase to the Bishop's income".

Ro8-9

"Every town would have welcomed, and in the main supported, a schoolmaster, who, as a deacon, might hold services on Sunday; and all would have welcomed also the itinerant priest, who came to celebrate the Holy Eucharist, and keep school and schoolmaster alive and well up to the mark."

D47.

The shortage of clergy was in part relieved by a series of ordinations: on September 21st, J. Thorne, and on December 21st, 1879, C.H. Spratt and A. Roberts to the priesthood; on May 23rd next year Adams was ordained a deacon; and in Potchefstroom on 19th September, 1880, J.C. Richardson and Alexander Temple were ordained priests. Various calls were perpetually being made upon the small band, however. In the Zulu scare of 1879, Adams and Dowling both underwent military training, "interfering much with more peaceful and sacred pursuits". Spratt and Roberts, being clergy, were exempted. Shortly after Law was desired by Sir Garret Wolseley to be chaplain to the forces engaged in the Sekokuni campaign, so that the Bishop had to takeover the work of the Curate of Pretoria, which he did not relinquish for four years, because on Law's return from the war, he was summoned to England by his mother's death. This cut down his travelling drastically, and for most of 1880 kept him in Pretoria, as well as burdening him with the extra duty of Chaplain to the troops, which he had to undertake because there was no one else. The Bishop's attendance at Episcopal Synod again constituted a drain on manpower, because the length of time taken for the journey was so great. It was on return from this Synod in 1881, that the Bishop found the War of Independence in process, and Pretoria in siege, which shortly

A51.

Wy350.

D30.

D48-9

D52.

D49.

D84.

led to the retrocession of the Transvaal to the Repub-
licans.

D56-59

CHAPTER III:

THE RETROCESSION AND ITS RESULTS :
1881 TO 1886.

To the infant Diocese, the change in the political authority came as a blow from which it was only just able to recover. Before the war, owing to the influx of population, scattered congregations were good, and offerings abundant, the rich people were rallying round the Bishop, and subscribing very liberally, with the prospect of more to come, so that in the year before the war, the local Church subscribed 23,000 for various needs. Then at the end of March, 1881, came the retrocession, and the Diocese of Pretoria became that very outpost in a foreign country which Bousfield had rejected eight years previously:

"Loss of members was the first felt - in Pretoria the congregations fell at once from an average of three hundred to fifty persons, and they, as one expressed it, had 'no heart for anything, not even going to Church.' Reasonable debts were immediately demanded, property fell in value, the poor remnant of the Church people were unable to support their clergy. It was no light task to keep going at all; the immediate result was the incurrence of a debt, in the country and in England, of over £4,000."

Several of the clergy deserted, from two of whom the Bishop heard by post after the siege; from the third he never had a word. Instead of an expansion which involved the building up and stimulating of congregations, which in a few years would be financially independent, and able to largely manage their own affairs, the problem became how to maintain contact with the scattered remnants of the Church population living in small corps and on lonely stores and farms. This was the key to the labour, the expense, the difficulties of

Ey7.

Oo29.

Kf.

Ey7.

D62.

O&G

D60,D62

A32.

the Diocese.

"The work can only be done by a system of itinerating, which involves great expense, and demands a manly self-denial in the clergy, combined with a zeal to gather the dispersed and feed the scattered which can persevere only amid all discouragements, and live on without the stimulus of visible tokens of success and hearty numbers appreciating the word of God."

Od39.

For this stage of affairs, the Bishop predicted a certain permanence:

"Always allowing for changes in a new country which may be sudden and unexpected, so far as I can calculate it seems certain that the progress of this country will be as slow as a Governmental policy of obstruction to progress can make it. Whether the gold fields would support a larger population or not is as yet uncertain, but it is certain that by a system of concessions to the capitalists, an attempt will be made for years to bring in capital while keeping out a stirring population. Of the wisdom of this I may not be a fair Judge, and after the events of the last few years I cannot blame the Dutch for it, but I am disposed to feel confident it will be so. If it is, our state will be this, probably; congregations in Pretoria and Potchefstroom, averaging 70 - 100 from about 300 professed Church people. Zeerust, and perhaps Lydenburg, about one third of these numbers. In all but Pretoria and Potchefstroom, tuition and Church work must go together to secure a maintenance; to reach the smallest numbers, the very few that will then remain scattered in separate

"farms, itineracy must be employed. Each of these spheres of work will require for years aid and support from home".

0c29

0a7.

From the strength of the denials, there must have been serious thought in Provincial and English minds of abandoning the Bishopric, but, fortunately, this counsel of despair was not heeded.

Ky7, Ob5,
26130

Of all the repercussions of the Retrocession, probable none was so immediately crippling as the financial. The perpetual worry over money rapidly exhausted the Bishop and how to meet the next bill or liability was an ever present problem. There was neither money to pay the clergy, nor at times to buy food for his own family. The clergy were receiving just enough to keep them in food; at the beginning of 1883 the Bishop had £75. to meet quarterly stipends to the tune of £450. and Archdeacon Roberts reported that his salary was nine months overdue.

0a6.

Ob2.

0a9.

Ob1.

A32.

"I am very anxious to go to the Cape (to attend the Provincial Synod) but I have not enough to pay my clergy their stipends, or even to leave at home for weekly requirements. Unless I can sell something, I cannot go. It did break me down on Saturday to send my waggon to the sale, to meet Christmas bills."

Ob2.

The travelling which was necessary in order to keep the Church alive at all in the fifteen months after the Retrocession, added to the increased costs, absorbed money at the rate of £2. a day, so that at the end of 1883, the Bishop calculated his travelling expenses for the year at £665. More than ever, this emphasized the need for an increased income for the Bishop, estimated at a minimum of £1,000 to £1,300 per annum by the Diocesan and Provincial Synods, because, under the circumstances, it was vital for the Bis

Kf.

D33, D61.

A39, Ob5,
0c30.

the Bishop to be able to continue his work unhindered.

Oa8.

The particular causes for this financial distress was summarised by the Bishop in a letter of 16th June, 1893 as follows:-

- "A. First and foremost, the original insufficiency of the Episcopal income.
- B. Failure of the local income received from offertories, school fees, etc. owing to changes and removals consequent upon the retrocession.
- C. Depreciation of properties and securities at the time.
- D. Failure, resulting from the retrocession, of personal resources equal to the loss of £300. a year of private income.
- E. Unusually heavy stable and travelling expenses in the fifteen months succeeding the war ...
- F. Failure of supplies from home, the causes of which I can only conjecture, and therefore do not suggest.
- G. Failure of income during the transfer of capital to the Cape for investment. Unfortunately this was contemporaneous with all other troubles.
- H. Failure up to this very day in payment of dividends from the Cape, due, I believe, to financial affairs in that Colony."

Bx2, Oc42

to which should be added the debt of £800. incurred in parishes during the war, when Episcopal supervision was inhibited.

D62.

The Bishop was able, however, to continue work in the Diocese at the time when his presence was so urgently needed, by the efforts of the local Church, numbering 1,300 - 1,400 members, which in 1885 raised £2,500 for various purposes, despite the depression of the time, and the generous donations from Overseas, amounting in 1893 to £2,150. It was the diminishing of this latter source of finance that forced the Bishop

Oa6.

A38, Oa6,
Oa9.

A40, D63,
Oa44,
Oa1-2,
Oa9, Aa10
P. 3. 2.

early in 1885 to go to England, and plead the cause of his Diocese.

Kf,Ob2.

In the meantime, the Bishop had been busy establishing a permanent organisation in the Diocese so that the Church would not be so entirely dependant on the Bishop for its existence. On the Feast of Sts. Simon and Jude, October 28th, 1882, the first assembly of laity and clergy of the Diocese of Pretoria assembled in the Cathedral. The meeting decided, against the Bishop's wishes, that it was not a Diocesan Synod in terms of the Provincial Canons, but should be considered as a preparatory assembly. After two days' discussion, however, the representatives by a majority of one reversed the previous decision. The title of "The Church of the Diocese of Pretoria in the Province of South Africa" was adopted as the official designation, and the relations with other Anglican branches of the communion, similar to those in the Provincial Canons, were defined. Two committees were set up: the one to draw up the rules for the Synod, and the second, the Canons for the Diocese; the former completed its work, before Synod closed, and its recommendations were largely adopted. The only one fault with this Synod was that all the lay representatives had come from Pretoria, the Bishop having been compelled to allow proxy representation to outlying districts. At this Synod the Bishop announced that a Diocesan Library had been formed for use by the clergy, those in outlying districts being allowed to borrow six volumes at a time, for a period of three months.

Oa3.

A32-3,
Oa3,
Sa3.

A34,Sa2.

Oa5-6,Sa

Od38,Ta7

Oa17.

Before the second Synod had met, the Bishop had attended the Provincial Synod which formally admitted the Diocese to the Church of the Province of South Africa, entitling it to send representatives, clerical and lay, to the next Provincial Synod. This led the Bishop to inspire his Diocesan Synod which met in October, 1883, with the thought of their part in the "Catholic Church of Christ."

Bx1-15
Sa4.

A40.

Ta3.

He was also able to report that

"the best of all signs in the past year has been the improved tone of places, more effort, more communicants, more signs of spiritual life, and thought for the world to come."

Od14,
Od35.
Od14,
Od35.

Tall.

The Canons, drawn up by the Bishop, and improved by the Committee, and by Synod, were adopted. Unfortunately, the Government was unwilling to incorporate the Diocesan Trustees, set up by the previous Synod, to look after Church property, but a relenting was hoped for. Again, fearing the appearances of "establishing" the Anglican Church in the Transvaal, the Government requested the Bishop not to use the form "N.B. Pretoria" on official communications, but to sign his name, followed by his title of office. At the third Synod, in November of the following year, just before the Bishop's departure for England, the Canons were finalised. The Bishop, however, said:

N,Od39.

Sb2.

A40.

"Our people have a very unsatisfactory view of these guarantees (of clergy stipends.) Instead of exerting themselves to spare the guarantor, and so testify their sense of the confidence he placed in them, and the responsibility he undertook for them, by relieving him as much as possible, they have acted as if they were entitled to his aid, and should lessen it by more liberal personal contributions, which, ... they have not striven to provide."

Of1

Whether anything more could have been done is doubtful, because "money in the Transvaal grows scarcer and scarcer, and credit is the chief medium of exchange." The financial position was vastly improved by May, 1886, following the Bishop's visit to England, and temporarily the Synod diverted its attention to other matters, among which were a letter

Of:

A4:

to the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, then also meeting, to which a kindly reply was received; and an address of sympathy on the death of his wife, presented by the clergy and laity to the Bishop. Diocesan organisation received a big move forward with the constitution of seven parishes.

0635.

063, 0636.
863.

061.

0642.

The lack of funds at the end of 1884, made it essential for the Bishop to go to England, and appeal personally for men and money to keep the Diocese alive. His incessant travelling could not be alleviated without further staff, though this he wished to pick personally, owing to an unhappy experience following his last big appeal. Before leaving, he made Thomas Kenley Vicar-General of the Diocese in his absence, Canon of the Cathedral and Curate of Pretoria. Of the many surveys made of the Diocese, the following best illustrates the growth of the Church, despite the many set-backs, since 1878:

Kf.

163, 065.

941.

A42.D.

"We now number nine Priests, two Deacons, four Catechists, and Readers duly licenced, besides native teachers ... Outside Pretoria we have other schools (besides St. Birinus', St. Etheldreda's, and the poor school); in all thirteen in the Diocese, in connection with the Church, and subject to our Canons ... As to Churches, we now have four duly consecrated, one dedicated, one awaiting consecration, four school chapels (two permanent, two temporary), two buildings lent for services, and three native chapels."

Three had foundations laid, and a site had been given for a Church at Amsterdam. The Bishop estimated that he had travelled twenty thousand miles on horseback in the past six years. His minimum needs he estimated to be:

077-9

0745.

"I. In money:

1. £15,000 to endow the Bishopric.
2. £5,000 to provide good schools and aid Church Building, and then £2,000 to £2,500 for a few years would enable us to answer all the calls God makes to us.

0715.

0714.

"II. In men and women, six of each sex:

1. Two Priests to itinerate and one for the goldfields, one good Schoolmaster (in holy orders, if he has zeal enough to take Sunday Services), and two inferior, for small places.
2. Four educated women, in various degrees from the higher to the national school standards, to teach and two to commence a hospital."

Of14-15.

Of22.

The support gained on his fourteen month campaign satisfied him, and he returned to the Transvaal in April, 1886, a return, which he had always made conditional on sufficient support from the Mother Church.

A41, D68.

The stories of the various parishes and districts at this time are generally of diminished, but hopeful, work.

All Saints' Day, 1882, saw the consecration and dedication of the Cathedral Church to St. Alban, the patron of its lawlier predecessor, which the Bishop hoped would lead the way for the consecration of other churches in the Diocese. This seems that by this date the Cathedral must have been free from debt, as no bonded property could be consecrated. The members which had dropped so precipitously after the Retrocession, began to pick up, being two hundred and fifty to three hundred early in 1886, but almost a hundred more a year later. Pretoria also received an addition to its clerical staff in the Deacon, Webster, who ministered there for two years prior to his death in 1884. This enabled the Bishop to commence services alternate weeks at two factories about ten miles outside the town. There was further trouble over Pretoria cemetery, which could not be consecrated without freehold title or its equivalent, enjoyed by the Church in perpetuity, "for she cannot dedicate to God what is not her own." Interesting special services during this period were a Day of Thanksgiving for the end of the war, requested by the Government, with which the Bishop complied; and a children's Flower Service at Christmas, 1886.

D41, O45, S45.

C.

Kf27. O48.

O459.

D62.

O44.

O441.

Tc.

O45. O49.

In the ^{West} East, the old centres of Potchefstroom and Rustenburg had an extremely bad period. The Bishop reported from Potchefstroom that the people were contributing 27. per adult per annum

- towards -

towards the Curate's stipend, and church up-keep, the total varying between £415 in 1832 - 35, and £253, in 1834 - 35, though thereafter it increased again.

Og20.

"The Church now has an additional difficulty in the presence of the head-quarters of well-supported Wesleyan work. To half-hearted, luke-warm churchmen, who must make efforts for their Church, prosperous secularism becomes a snare and temptation in back-sliding."

D75.

Nevertheless, the Chancel to the Church was built, and consecrated. It was a great and necessary addition, because the East wall of the old church was very shaky. Much Mary had to be abandoned because of the fearness of the population, and the lack of clergy, and the church buildings suffered deterioration.

D69.

D75,D61.

Oa9.

Early in 1834, however, the Bishop was able to send the Reverend A. Temple there, and he reported that after a lapse of two years the work was slowly picking up. In November, 1833,

G616.

"Mr. Richardson reports from Zeerust increased zeal in the Church's services, and largely increased offerings towards the maintenance of the Clergyman, while a few people had united in paying the organist. The subscriptions received had relieved the Diocesan Fund of all payment this quarter, and allowed a balance of £3.17.0d to stand to its credit against the next ...

D61.

The Bishop greatly desires, and soon hopes to be able to provide Mr. Richardson with £200. per annum, and his house rent, and then help him with an assistant in school and church, as he is doing good work in all directions, and his people are helping him with good."

Oc5.

Two new centres in the ^{we} Eastern Transvaal went ahead rapidly Dr. Beck, a medical practitioner at Christiana, finding no Anglican worship in the village had commenced services. Early in 1834, the Bishop reported that his interest had deepened in his work, that he was now holding a licence as a reader and keeping school, and was a candidate for Holy Orders. Before he went to England, the Bishop

D65.

Od42.

planned to make Beck a sub-deacon, and ordain him a Deacon on return. Of21.

At Thornedale, near Pretoria, a church dedicated to St. Thomas Of21, Ia585.
had been built at the cost of \$500. by the eighteen or twenty English
families in the vicinity, one of whom, Mr. Hartley, had donated the D72.
ground, and he and his wife kept the church in constant readiness.
It was the second church built, and the third consecrated in Bous-
field's episcopate. A similar zeal was shown by the small congrega- Kf.
tion at Kenpoort, which came into the same itineration from Pretoria
as Thornedale.

In the West, Standerton and Middelburg had their clergy with-
drawn in 1831, and work at Ermelo and New Scotland was stopped entire- D61.
ly, until 1834, when it came back on to Archdeacon Roberts' circuit. Qa.

Under the Catechist, Mr. Dexter, Standerton began to re-
cover slowly, and by the middle of 1833 the Bishop gives a hearten-
ing account of better school attendance, larger congregations, and
better offertories: "I found them quickening, and in self-conscious-
ness of past failure, arousing to improvement." Middelburg was put on G616.
the Pretoria circuit, and three times in 1831 the Bishop had to go
there to save church funds and property. Efforts were made to build a D60.
church, for which \$350. had been raised locally, and another \$500. was
needed. Siggers writes:

"The ground for the Church is purchased, and though the
actual number of churchmen is small, the good disposi-
tion of the Dissenters towards the Church is shown by
their liberal gifts to the building fund. In fact they
all wish to be received into Communion with the Church
of England. The town is on the proposed line of railway
from the coast to Pretoria, and the Goldfields, and when
these last are developed, must at once spring into great
importance."

Qc24.

Regular services re-commenced in 1834, however, when Mr.
Times was sent to Middelburg as a school-master and lay-reader. Od41.
Further stimulus was provided by the Bishop's proposal to build a
hospital there, and the itinerating ministry of Archdeacon Roberts. Od41. Od5.

Heidelberg also, continued on this circuit, and the foundation stone of the church, St. Ninian's, was laid in 1922, by Miss Ross, "but due to one hindrance or another, its completion was delayed." D77, Qa.

At Weldonstroom, a zealous Churchman provided, at his own expense, a good school building, which could also be used for services. Sadler, however, had trouble with schism, "pure - rather, most impure in motive and action - indefensible and simple," and the Goldfields and Zululand drained away the population. Co4.

The new work, commenced with the stationing of Dowling at Pilgrims' Rest in 1881, went ahead slowly and steadily. In a short time a Church was built and paid for, and the curate's cottage enlarged. The Church, however, could not be consecrated because the company could not give freehold title to the land, but it was dedicated. In 1884, the Bishop considered moving Dowling to Middelburg but abandoned the idea because there was no one to replace him, and his valuable work would have collapsed if he had left. Marchbaster, Spelonk, and Woodbush, constituted together another new sphere of work. In 1884, the Bishop paid his first visit to the area, and at Spelonk received the promise of £100, a year towards the clergyman's stipend, besides offertories and school fees, and three round huts for his residence. At Woodbush he baptised seven and confirmed eight. D61, Co4.

Before the end of the year, he had sent the Reverend C. Esher, formerly of Natal, as curate. After the possibility of having to abandon it in 1885, for want of clergy. The Bishop was fortunately able to station the Reverend J.D.S. Woodman there in 1886, by which time the district included Barberton and Middeburg. D66, Co4.

Lydenburg, as ever, continued its growth despite the Retrocession and the ensuing depression. Henry Adams was sent there as Deacon in Charge in 1891, and ordained a Priest in August, 1893. D61, Co44.

Each quarterly report brought a record of increased attendance, increased activity, and increased collections. In April, the first Church bazaar was opened by the Lord Chief Justice of the Transvaal. This was one of the results of his efficient Parish organisations. Co59, Co12, Co25, Co26, Co25.

"With his usual energy he has formed a 'Church Workers'

"Association' which would seem to have made a great change for the good. One section takes care of the Church; another, the Cemetery; a third, the choir; a fourth, the Young. 'Mutual Improvement' is the aim of another division, which includes in its means of improvement not only books and lectures, but games and athletic sports. The Ladies are uniting for the improvement of the Church, and a Communicant's Class seems to be bearing good fruit. "

OcE.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD AND ITS
REFLECTIONS ON THE CHURCH :
1886 - 1902.

Little did the Bishop expect, on his return in April, 1886, that all the preparations and plans he had made in England were going to be upset within the year, but a sudden and unexpected change in the Diocese. By 1887, the Witwatersrand was being established, and the repercussions felt throughout the Diocese; owing to the suddenness and magnitude of the growth of the former, it will be dealt with in the following chapter, and mainly the repercussions will be dealt with here.

In June the Bishop wrote about Johannesburg and the Rand,

"The population must be reckoned now by thousands ... and this does not exhaust the fields or facts. On town lands at Heidelberg, across the belt from Klippe Spruit, from Klerksdorp to Zeerust on the West, around the Mulmain River, near the latter place, at Marabastad in the north, many are gathering for gold. And so the whole faced my Diocese is changing - and what is the church doing? All she, unaided, can ... At Johannesburg a clergyman is at work, and soon I hope to see another in the west. But I could well employ four if I had them and the funds to start them. It is my old need - a central itinerating staff, only now intensified. There is work in abundance, there will in all probability be many soon to carry on each work begun."

190.

Oh7,0j1.

By the end of the year the Bishop was faced with the prospect of numerous towns springing up on the Bath, Central,

South and East of the Diocese, accompanied by an enormous increase in population. For a large number of places, the Bishop appealed for clergy, and the funds to start them, being confident that in a few years they would pay their own way. The Delagoa Bay railway, which resulted from the changed conditions, proved another valuable aid to the expansion of the Church's work:

Feb 14.

Oct 1.

Jan, Oct 31,
Oct 10.

"The opening of the railway has made access to the rising townships, and remote mines possible, and we now have six of them regularly served from Pretoria every month, and hope soon to make arrangements for another four."

Nov 11.

Periods of boom and depression alternated with somewhat unpleasant regularity, and the Bishop was always either warning against excessive speculation, or endeavouring to save buildings excessively mortgaged, when depression came upon the congregation.

Nov 13.

The great amount of travelling that the Bishop had to do to keep contact with this development, constituted a serious drain on the still inadequate Bishopric Endowment Fund, rendered yet more so by the loss of a portion in a Cape bank failure. Nevertheless, Diocesan contributions were sufficient for the most part to meet the need. This increased effort required of the Bishop immediately after the gruelling post-retrocession years, damaged his health beyond repair, until in 1891 he wrote:

Dec 198.

Apr 22

Oct 1

Apr 21

Oct 4, Oct 1
Oct 1.

"The continual strain is telling now on me, and I am breaking, entirely from over-care and anxiety, as I see work undone, and fields unwon. My doctor warns me of a paralytic seizure."

Oct 4.

Confirmations during the whole of this period varied from a minimum of about two hundred to five hundred or more per annum.

Oct.

The expansion of the Diocese brought with it the problem of unity; an increased number of priests, of more varied backgrounds and ways that in the past, ministering to more varied congregations. To assist in keeping some sort of a norm, the Bishop employed such means as a Diocesan pattern of Eucharistic dress and ritual, allowing within itself certain divergences, but others only being allowed with the Bishop's permission.

Tell, Tg5

"The Bishop should be in his Diocese the Centre of Unity. I would be if I might. No responsibility, labour, or sacrifice would I shrink from if it might accomplish and secure it" and yet more vehemently he exhorted the Synod of 1891:

Tel3.

"We have difficulties to overcome, evils to correct, a nation to disciple, and great is the task we might accomplish it, but how shall we accomplish aught; whose members are divided, whose every difference of opinion is discussed before the unbelieving, whose clergy give scandal to her laity, whose sons 'know' not those over them, because so few are ever seeking to 'be in' the Lord, and in Him one body we."

Tgl6.

That unity, however, was something which was not to return for several years after his death, because the Synod which should have been the heart of that unity, became the scene of a dual, between Boufield and Darragh, between the Rand and the Rest of the Diocese. Most of the work of the Synods will be dealt with under the Chapter on Organisation, but there are a few interesting resolutions of a more general nature. The Synod of 1890 approved the surrender of the districts of Utrecht, Vryheid, and Piet Retief to the Diocese of Zululand; and also raised no objection to

surrendering Lydenburg and the Zoutpansberg as headquarters for the proposed new See of Labanbe. Then, however, it was suggested that Amsterdam would be preferable, Bousfield refused. The Synod of 1891 created two Archdeaconries, covering, between them, the whole Diocese, with Alfred Roberts and Alexander Temple as the two Archdeacons. Two resolutions to the Government, one thanking the Volksraad for prohibiting the sale of liquor to non-Europeans, and a memorandum on the proposed Native Marriage Law, and a resolution about Sunday Observance were passed by the Synod of 1895. The tension which eventually led to the suspension of Synod in 1892, is perceptible as early as 1889, and after the former date there is a general impression of superficial amity achieved by avoiding certain contentious issues.

The Synod of 1896 created the Diocesan Association of Church Choirs, under the control of the Precentor, Canon Fisher. The Bishop was President, and the Reverend J.T. Darragh, Vice-President of the committee, whose purpose was to organise choir festivals alternately at Johannesburg and Pretoria, as well as sectional festivals in smaller areas. The first local festival of the Reef parishes was held in Johannesburg on the Eve of All Saints' Day, 1896, with a hundred and forty members in the combined choir. The first annual service of the Association held in the Cathedral, Pretoria, on Ascension Day, 1897, mustered two hundred and twelve choirsters conducted by the Precentor, who were followed in procession by ten clergy.

In 1894 the Bishop wrote that "the most disastrous events of the last two years have been the various law suits to which we have been exposed, and the unliking decisions in three cases out of four against the Church." In the case of the Catechist Khunyana, the High Court decided:

v "That a paid native Catechist of the Church, who in that capacity received from native members of the Church, contributions for a Church purpose, and paid them to a Priest of the Church, to be preserved for that purpose; being dismissed for misconduct, and thereupon ordained in the Free Baptist and Congregational Communion, is entitled to take with him the money thus collected, to his new communion!"

Bb241, Bt

This case involved costs to the sum of £60. In the case of Molati Mission, which resulted in the Church losing its only mission farm in the Transvaal, will be dealt with under the Chapter on Missions.

2 The most tragic of these cases from all points of view was that brought by J.P. Richardson over the Church at Rustenburg. Richardson had had his licence cancelled by the Bishop in 1887 for dunkenness, and was thereby deprived of his livelihood. In 1891 he brought action against the Bishop for the repayment of monies spent by him on the Church buildings at Rustenburg during his curacy. The case was lost. He then brought action against the Parishioners, and won. His plea was:

Qk222

"3. Dat gedurende de jeren 1874 tot 1892 hieft hy als zulk Predikant geageerd by de Episcopasleche Gemeente te Rustenburg.

4. Dat gedurende diend tyd heeft hy of instantie en met kennis, toestemming, goedkeuring en wettig besluit van gemelde Gemeente verskillende sommen gelds aan de Gemeente voorgeschooten en betaald voor het koopen van grond, het bouwen van kerk en school en voor andere doeleindene en waarvan de Gemeente nu nog het voordeel geniet. De Bischof hecht hieraan, en verzoekt eerbiediglyk dat het als hierin geïncasseerd wagt beschouwd worden seen

"rakening gemerkt B aantende dat gemelde
Gemeente te Rustenburg diensgevolge nog aan
hem verschuldigd is een som van (£247. 5. 7d)
Twee Honderd Seven en Veertig Pond Vyf Shillings
en Zeven Pence sterling."

C.

To which Bousfield replied that according to the
law and custom of the Anglican Church no debts could be
assumed by a congregation without the consent of the Bishop,
which consent in this case he had never given. Therefore,
the money spent in excess of the lawfully collected amount
could not be debited to the Parish; and that by handing over
the title deeds to the Bishop on demand had thereby relinquish-
ed his claim, in addition to which Richardson had accepted a
grant of £50. from the M.P.C.K. knowing that it was given on
certificate that there was no claim or debt on the property.
The Court judgment in favour of Richardson, together with
costs, saddled the parish with a debt of £500., to which the
Bishop commented:

Bald, Bp.
C, 1914.

Ok22.

"anyone will if this is law, any clergy-
man may do additions he pleases to a house
or church, and compel people to pay him for it.
At this rate, I might claim at least £1,000. for
additions and improvements to Bishop's Cote!"

Bb.

Fair wear and tear, and deterioration of its sur-
roundings, made Bishop's Cote, once "the best house in the
town", no longer a fit Episcopal residence. In 1896 it was
sold for £3,300, and a larger house in the immediate vicinity
of the Cathedral and schools was purchased for £6,000. The
Synod of that year went into various ways and means of paying
off this difference, but in 1899 the Bishop had to address the
following warning to Synod:

Ed 104.

A62.

Sj4, Sk.

"On this subject: I must remind you that Synod
stands twice pledged to pay the debt on the See

"house, £2,750, and a greater part of its interest, £162.10. 0d, and that I am a year older, nearly seventy, and you, therefore, nearer to a vacant throne with nothing to offer a Bishop, beyond his expenses, save a house, and unlimited labour."

Til2.

This was not the only improvement to Church buildings in Pretoria. In 1887 a porch had been added to the Cathedral in celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee. The collection of funds for the extension of the Cathedral had been under way since 1888, but delay over deciding between two architects and their plans, delayed the work, so that the foundation stone of the new section was only laid on 29th March, the Bishop's birthday, 1890, in the presence of the President, Generals Joubert and Smit, and Dr. Krissae. By October the extensions and the organ chamber to hold the organ presented by Messrs. Struben, were completed. To the Synod, the following year, the Bishop stressed the Diocesan character of the Cathedral:

A60.

In583,Xa

Oj5,Xa.

Se,Sg4.

"I regret that the enlargement has been so little promoted by the Diocese, although I recognise joyfully the debt to the churchmen of Pretoria, whose zeal has provided so much for all. I regret more deeply through one accidental oversight, so far as I can judge, a great mistake has been made, involving a heavy debt. Debt is the deepest earthly disaster that can depress a young church. My own efforts and those of the Committee will be devoted to its removal."

Tg11.

Anderson Roberts was made second Prebendary of the Cathedral in 1891; and by 1899, the staff of the Cathedral consisted of three Canons.

Tg12.

O19.

Potchefstroom also achieved a new church during this period. In August, 1886, there were only fifty-two

adult members of the congregation left, but the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, & the prospect of prosperity soon heartened these into zealous action. In 1872, Edward Oberg had bequeathed three erven to St. Mary's Church, Potchefstroom, and in July to August, 1888, when money was required for building, they were sold for £250. to one van der Merwe, despite the Rector's opposition, and desire rather to mortgage the parsonage. A difficulty arose, however, over missing title deeds. In September, 1889, the church property was sold for £5,000, suitable ground being available nearby for £500. The original Church was consecrated in 1891, and pulled down in the following year, by which time, despite an unfortunate accident, the new church and parsonage were completed. In June, 1891, the Church had received a portion of Potchefstroom cemetery for consecration and use. The parish was badly hit by the depression of 1898 to 1899, and the Rector reported in February, 1899, that the adult congregation which had been ninety-seven in 1897, had fallen to sixty-eight in 1898, and was still dwindling, most of those who stayed doing so because they could not afford to move.

Og20.

C.

C.

Ua22.

Tg15.

O19.

O120.

From the other established parts of the Western Transvaal there is not much information. Rustenburg, with Maber as Rector, reported a slight increase of population in 1891, owing to a depression in Johannesburg, but the parish was seriously crippled by the Richardson affair. All that we hear of Thorndale is that at a meeting in September, 1886, the parishioners agreed to subscribe £50. a year towards the stipend of an itinerating priest. At Zeerust, funds were collected in 1888 for a Rectory, built in 1891, and including two rooms on the South side, for use as a school. A letter of March, 1892, from Temple, states:

C

Ua23.

"in building a Parsonage and Schoolroom, and

re-building the fallen gable of the Parish

"Church, and in purchasing a new organ, all within the last eighteen months, we have exhausted our parochial resources."

Ok23.

In 1398, Lichtenburg and Venterdorp were also being served by the Priest in charge of Potchefstroom.

Ua24.

In 1836, the Bishop wrote:

"At Christiana I found, as ever, Mr. Beck's work a source of real rejoicing. A nice- well-built, though small church ready for consecration; three European candidates for confirmation."

Ogl4.

In the same year Beck was ordained. At Bloemhof the Bishop received a donation of an erf or ground for a church, but reports that "this place has been lost to the Church by my lack of clergy, combined with the foolishness of two of them, and the consistency of sealers."

Ogl5.

"In 1857, the gold fever, or fever reached ...

Ogl5.

(Klerksdorp), and the prospects before it demanded the appointment, and gave hope of the maintenance of a clergyman ... £300 a year was guaranteed. Full of hope they set to work to build a church. One gentleman gave them £500, and held out hope of more. A very nice design was adopted to cost £1,250. £300 was quickly raised and no man doubted as to the remaining £450., and so (I must add, without asking me) the contracts were signed, and a bond given on the building when funds were exhausted, none doubting its discharge. But alas; the times changed with unusually swift and complete severity.

Xa.

ity, and no money could be obtained for the building, and the church building is in danger of being seized, while the clergyman received 25 s. one month, £4. another, and in the third 7 s. only. He is supported now by a grant of

OJ12,OM2

"£100 from the S.P.G., but this is not sufficient to maintain him in this expensive land."

The Bishop secured an extension of time when the mortgage foreclosed, by payment of £100., and between the parishioners, and the liberality of Johannesburg churchman, the debt was cleared.

Be198.

The Northern Transvaal represented a new sphere of activity in this period. Occasional services had been held in the old Court House and Masonic Hall when Richardson was at Rustenburg, but not until the Bishop's two visits in 1894 was the work regularised. After an unfortunate incident with the first Rector, the Reverend A. Weinstein, who vainly endeavoured to persuade the congregation to go into schism, when the Bishop refused to licence him, the Church prospered.

Under the Reverend H. Gallier, a church was built on a site given by Mr. A.W. Devenish, the foundation stone laid by Mrs. Mannin, and the church opened on Jubilee Day, 1897. The eighty parishioners gave £272. in offertories, besides contributions to the building fund. Shortly after Hugh Jones became Rector in 1898, the railway was opened, and with increased prosperity the church debt was cleared off.

Ground was acquired for school and parsonage. Until July, 1900, when he was arrested on a charge of distributing Lord Roberts' surrender circulars, the Rector was allowed to remain and carry on services. After the British troops had entered the town shortly afterwards, services were taken by army chaplains. By 1899 the Church had ground at Nylstroom, and plans for a church building were in progress.

Cl.11.

Q.

Cl.12.

In the West, if anything, the progress was even more marked. In 1888, the Bishop on this return journey from England, reported that the work at Heidelberg was going ahead under Dowling's ministry, and that the weekly offertories had so nearly raised the sum for the Guarantee Fund that the six-monthly subscriptions had not been required.

- Shortly -

Cl5.

Shortly before than, when Dowling had taken over the parish, the debt on the barely completed church was between £400. and £500. By Christmas, 1887, the building was ready for use, and by the same day in 1889, the Rector announced that the debt had been completely liquidated. An appeal had readily raised suitable seating. A hindrance to the Consecration of the Church was the fact that it was used as a schoolroom during the week, but by 1890, Dowling was confident that the Good Templar's Hall would do so well for that purpose, and on November 9th, 1890, the Bishop Consecrated the building. This progress was due to the growth of the town, under the extending influence of Johannesburg. In 1891 it became the Archdeaconry of Archdeacon Roberts.

Oh14.
O114

O110.

A61.

The reports from Middelburg were alternately good and bad. In the Occasional Paper of May, 1889, the Bishop reported his visit as follows:

"This has been exceedingly painful from causes and details which it is not desirable to enter into. I will only say that one of the brightest beginnings of 1879 has four times been checked through the mistakes, and, in some cases, very gross misconduct of those on whom the after work depended. Four times the bands which laid the first foundations have been called in to rebuild the faulty super-structure which others had erected on their first work."

O16.

In 1888, however, the church was built and consecrated, and in the three years following the congregation was doubled. In March, 1890, the following grant was received from the Landdrost: "dat gedeelte aan de boyen linker kant van de Kerkhof als een begraafplaats."

C.

C.

On the 31st July, 1890, the parish council decided to raise a band of £500. on the church and parsonage to meet debts. The Rector was violently opposed to this, and the

C. To.

Bishop and Diocesan Trustees intervened to prevent it. As late as 1899, the Bishop was still complaining that the chief hindrance at Middelburg was disunion. Despite this, the Archdeacon for the Eastern Transvaal was shifted to Middelburg from Heidelberg in the same year.

01.10.

See.

At Volksrust, the government gave a valuable erf in the centre of the town for a church, on condition that it was erected within the year. The depression made it very difficult for the people to raise the necessary money; but by 1899 the church had been completed. Towards the end of 1899, Lydenburg was still making good progress, the Rector reporting that the communicants were twice or four times as many as the previous year, the congregations had doubled or trebled, and choral services were rendered by a surpliced choir. A new Sunday-school room had been built, to be used during the week for school, for parish and social meetings and entertainments, and for a lending library, all under the control of the Curate and Ecclesial Council. By 1899, both Lydenburg and Pilgrims' Rest had suffered a decrease in population, and they were combined under one Priest. At Belfast, the church had acquired a central block of land, on which a school-chapel had been built.

2.

01.10.

0315-16

01.10.

01.10.

01.10.

In 1898, Adams was transferred from Lydenburg to Barberton, which was the centre of the large district known as the De Kopp Gold Field. Three gold fields temporarily caused a boom which led to great activity; according to Adams' report of December, 1898:

Ad.

01.10.

0315, 0316.

0315, 0316.

"Since writing, and contrary to my expectations, our population has increased ... Buildings are springing up in all directions. The side of the town has doubled last week ... The Church and Public Cemetery walls are finished ... My hospital work has been very great. Added a number of churchmen to the Board, bought \$600. temporary

"hospital ... added rooms to buildings, and alone I finished the whole. Have spent about £1,500 ... From two wattle and daub huts, with four patients and a drunken matron, I have now made it really worthy of the name of Hospital - taking now twenty-four patients; household staff, 6; medical staff, 4; monthly expenditure risen from £80. to £150."

Ogle.

The prosperity was short-lived, and soon the drift towards the Witwatersrand caused the whole edifice to collapse, the parsonage had to be sold to satisfy creditors and Adams resigned heart-broken. This unhappy ending to the first glorious upsurge left the Bishop extremely sceptical of rapid expansion on ephemeral gold-fields; an attitude which always conditioned his attitude towards the Witwatersrand. In 1894, A45. he had to go up to Barberton again to investigate the charges of drunkenness against the Vicar, which were threatening to divide the Parish. He found the Rev. Mr. Fitzpatrick not guilty, and exhorted the people to peace and unity. B4171.

Upon the prospering Diocese, which the Bishop described in 1896 as follows:-

"Looking over twenty-one years, the five churches and clergy, two cottages and two rooms - we thank God for thirty-two clergymen, more than fifty churches and chapels, besides twelve places for regular, mostly monthly services. We thank God and take courage" -

T118.

The "Great War" broke, the Bishop and many of the clergy were expelled, almost at a moment's notice, thus being forced to leave nearly all their possessions behind, almost all of which had been destroyed or looted by the time they returned. In the interim some of the work was kept alive by a skeleton staff, assisted later by the army chaplains. Lord Roberts' interference and unwarrantable suspicion prevented

P881.

In 593,
UB78.

G64-8

A64.

the Bishop's return as long as was possible, and probably added to the original burden of the war and separation from his people, hastened his death, which took place in Cape Town on the 2nd February, 1902, when he was at Episcopal Synod, putting forward with the last of his strength, the case of his shattered Diocese. His death "co-incided with the end of the 'old' Transvaal."

Fb81.

65, Fb82
25846.
F78.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH ON THE VITWATERSRAND:
1886 - 1902.

The difficult position of the Church on the Witwatersrand was much the same in the earliest days as now. Theodora Marna summed up the situation ably:

"In Johannesburg and all along the Rand, the Church is on her trial - outnumbered not only by the Dutch Church, but by the English sects, new and old; in some parts surrounded by Presbyterians, in others by Wesleyans, and everywhere sapped and ruined by the new explosives of Theosophy, Spiritualism, Christian Science and New Thought."

L68.

which the Bishop supplemented in 1897 when he described the Reef population as

"godless to the last degree, but in great measure, because when they come hither no man cares for their souls; they are a shifting population - here to-day, there to-morrow, and gone altogether ere long."

V104.

To this was added the great misfortune that the wealth which was being dug out of the mines was not in the hands of Churchmen. Mining Magnates, Boards, and Managers were "harder to get money from than their own goats." The one or two exceptions gave generously, but could not supply sufficient money to finance all the work, so that appeals to England from the Diocesan Mines Commission continued, receiving in response among other generous gifts a block grant for buildings from the S.P.C.K.

01.11.

Bc198.

Bb4.

Ib.

FB.

In October, 1886, the Bishop paid his first visit to the new gold-fields, holding services in the largest room in the hotel. He planned to place Johannesburg on the "home-circuit", with monthly services. A Building Committee was arranged to make preparations for building a reed hut on a

small site granted by the Government. In May, 1887, how- Ogl6.
ever,

"I found the church-people there most zealous-
ly affected towards the Church, and most anxious
to build and maintain the needful, churches, schools
and clergyhouse, besides undertaking the support
of their priest (I hope there will soon be two)
entirely by their own offerings and subscriptions,
though the greater part are simple wage-earners ...
Our guiding financial principle is to AVOID DEBT
at all costs. Accordingly, instead of building
a church at the outset ... we are running up a
plain brick Hall to seat 500, which we mean to be
our future Boys' School."

Oh.

At the same time, some of the men from Kimberley
suggested the Reverend John Thomas Barragh as curate, which ES.
post he accepted, arriving in June, and undertaking immed- A46.
ately the organisation of a variety of activities within
the Mission.

O113.

His first work was to build St. Mary's Hall in Sloff
Street, with rooms attached for the clergy. Originally built ES;Ch21.
to seat 300, by June, 1893, it was already being enlarged, to
accommodate about a thousand, the old part forming the trans-
sept. In this enlarged church, Midnight Mass was celebrated O11, Qa.
"with the maxims of Anglican Ritual", at Christmas, 1899. Ea.
The building, however, was palpably inadequate for the size
of the town, especially as it was used during the day for
school purposes. The building of a worthy church formed part Ea.
of the award of 1893, and was also exhorted by the Archbishop Yl.
Metropolitan at a concert given in his honour at Deerfontein. Yk.
In November 1893, steps were taken to make it more suitable to
its sacred purpose, at the cost of £550; but on account of the C.
controversy in 1899, no steps were taken towards building the
new church until after the war.

Darragh's next problem was staff. Already by 1880, the population numbered seventeen thousand. In that year Father Shaw received a dispensation from his Brotherhood for work under Darragh; one of the churchmen offered £250, for the stipends of three clergy among the mining districts, and another £150, for one year for the same purpose, with the result that Darragh arrived at the Synod of 1889 at the head of a staff of four assistants. In 1893, the Bishop appealed for another three or four. By 1899, there were fifteen priests along the Witwatersrand, and more were needed.

During 1890, a ward of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament was started by the Reverend F.H. Fisher, which Darragh reported at the vestry meeting in 1891 had been most successful, increasing both its numbers and influence, to which he added,

"As you know, the Confraternity has for its principle objects the upholding and spreading of the highest doctrine on the subject of the Blessed Sacrament, and the encouragement of the fullest ritual in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist."

Johannesburg showed its generosity in Church matters in 1895, when it subscribed £1,200 in a few days to the Mashonaland diocese. In 1898, the Bishop reported to Synod:

"Another point of diocesan importance on which I should have spoken briefly and joyously, calls for more notice and detail. Since our last Synod through the liberality of a Johannesburg churchman, a branch of the Sisterhood of St. Margaret from Grahamstad has commenced work in Darghroodorp, Johannesburg."

a growing work, continued through all upheavals, to the present day.

Agnes-Hamilton has described the general back-ground

to the unfortunate conflict between the Church on the Rand, and the rest of the Diocese, which had a crippling effect upon the work of each, in these terms:

"The hostility between Johannesburg and Pretoria, by no means extinct to-day, was carried into the ecclesiastical sphere, and a long-drawn feud embittered the latter days of his episcopate. The Witwatersrand was acutely self-conscious and not a little sensitive to external domination, and the Bishop saw his cherished methods challenged and an imperium in imperio setting itself up against the episcopal throne."

A23.

Because of the stature of the two leaders involved, the conflict often took on the appearance of a duel between the Bishop and Barragh. The Bishop had long been fearful of light, especially after the many tragic experiences the Diocese had been through as a result of it. In connection with the beginning of Church life at Johannesburg, he had written, "Our guiding principle is to AVOID DEW", and it was over this that the first two parties took place. Towards the end of 1890, a tension became discernible in the correspondence between Johannesburg and Pretoria, as Barragh applied for permission to extend one hand after another, until the Diocesan Trustees refused to execute one of his property transactions.

Og1, Pg11-12.

G.

"In 1890, during John Barragh's absence on sick leave, the Bishop of Pretoria was compelled to intervene to rescue St. Mary's Church from confiscation. Faults had been discovered in the title to the ground on which it was built; moreover, the debts which Barragh, by light-hearted borrowing, had incurred on his various church and school properties amounted to £5,000, so that both St. Mary's Hall, Johannesburg, and St. Mary's Church, Jeppestown, were threatened with the

A49, P2.

"prospect of forced sale. This episcopal intervention, however, appeared to Barragh and his Johannesburg supporters as gratuitous interference; its immediate result was an increased desire on the part of the Church people of Johannesburg to manage their own affairs, to the deliberate exclusion of the Bishop and Diocesan Trustees."

A49.

76.

Unfortunately, one of the most effective ways of securing that object, was to keep the buildings mortgaged, and in debt, because regulations prevented the Trustees from taking over buildings under these conditions, which led to the appearance of the following item on the Synod agenda of 1892:

"The Barrar will call the attention of Synod to the apparent disregard to Canon XXIV, 2, in the Missions of Witwatersrand and Merksdorp, and will move for a committee to investigate the holding of property for church purposes within those Missions, and to report to the Synod thereupon, and on the means of preventing such irregularities in the future."

Another result of the intervention was that the Bishop planned to divide the Mission up into several districts as soon as possible, leaving only Johannesburg to Barragh which had become necessary also due to the rapidity of the growth of the Rand. In 1894 he wrote,

A52, F15.

A50, F7.

"After years of negotiation to this it is accomplished, and the superintendence of this vast mission field devolved upon the Bishop. It has already been divided into nine districts, and had I the men I could immediately constitute three parishes."

OK2, 38.

Bol100.

From the Johannesburg side, impetus was given to the movement to have St. Mary's congregation a parish, instead of

mission -

a mission district, so as to give it more autonomy. A Memorial sent to the Synod of 1891, brought nothing more than a motion deferring a decision; and although the item appeared on the Agenda for the Synod of 1898, there was no resolution of the subject owing to the dissolution of the Synod.

C
Sg.
Sj.

This brought the whole matter to a climax. The Synod by a majority of 999, three times elected Darragh to the Diocesan Finance Board, which election the Bishop vetoed each time, after which the Synod adjourned in protest. His veto, however, was not as capricious as Agar-Hamilton or the star of the time make out. The Bishop's reasons to Synod were these:

Ye.
Ye.
A61, Ye.

"1. He has for five years been the head of the most important parish in the diocese financially, and next to nothing has been done for diocesan finance; or even to fulfil diocesan obligations. No branch of the Diocesan Society, the child of the Synod, has been founded. I think only two offertories to the SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL made. One contribution sent for the Bishopric maintenance fund, and failing thus to support his own plan of a quarter ... (of the offertories), not one for the Bishopric Endowment Fund, on which the C.F.C. grant to the Bishopric depends.

2. He has established a Committee in England to collect for his own parish, contrary to a necessary rule of the Finance Board, thereby injuring to the extent of his own success that of the Diocese.

3. The state of the finances of his Mission. Mortgage for St. Mary's Hall and Parsonage for debts incurred when offertory averaging some

"£40 - £50 a week. (Scandalous). Confusion of St. Mary's, St. Michael's, attempt to saddle Jeppe's Town Church with debt of £500. upon a mere verbal arrangement, and since that claim of me ... for Church furniture, stated in the Vestry Book to be 'the property of the Rev. J.T.D.' " ...

Ba.

As a result of all these thrusts and counter-thrusts, a memorial was presented to the Episcopal Synod in September, requesting a Commission to investigate the grave difficulties in the Diocese, the excuses of which a private individual offered to pay. The Synod appointed the Metropolitan, with the Bishops of Bloemfontein and Grahamstown as assessors.

Yj.

Th268.

The Commission met "behind closed doors", starting on Tuesday, 15th November. On November 22nd, a reconciliation was effected, whereby the Bishop withdrew his allegations against Barragh, and the Parochial Council of St. Mary's, and they each did likewise in connection with the Bishop. The Commission awarded that Mission should be divided by separating off the Chapels in Jeppestown, and the Missions of Doornfontein and Dordeburg, as soon as a guaranteed stipend of £250. for the priest in charge of each was assured. The boundaries of the Mission of the Witwatersrand were defined, which was to be formed immediately into a Chapelry by the Bishop of Pretoria, "with a view to its being constituted as quickly as may be into a parish." The Commission also found that Barragh was not an unfit person to sit on the Diocesan Board of Finance, and that the Bishop of Pretoria was not justified in refusing to recognise his election. The Bishop, however, did not accept his defeat lying down. In March he wrote to the Metropolitan saying that St. Mary's could not be saved by a disaffection of £3,000, and that St. Michael's School was lost,

Yi.

Yi.

because the debt of £1,800 on the property was impossible to redeem. Because of a High Court ruling, the Bishop could not assist with this debt, without, by implication, assuming responsibility for it. The general tenor of the letter implied that the Bishop, who knew the affairs of his Diocese, should be left to manage them as he saw best. As most of the Diocesan moneys had been raised by and invested in him personally, he withdrew them from the jurisdiction of the Diocesan Finance Board.

Bp.27

A52.

The tension continued, and was brought to another crisis in the Synod of 1898, when the Bishop proposed:

"That the Synod forbid the sale of the stands adjoining St. Mary's Church, Johannesburg, or those on which the Church stands, unless for the purpose of building a new Church on them, or other set of stands."

Sk.

The Archbishop again came up to arbitrate between the Bishop and the Diocesan Trustees on one hand, and the Incumbent and St. Mary's Church Council on the other.

A53.

The dispute which was over the boundaries of the parish, the question of building a new church, the disposal of land, and the share, if any, of the parishes lately formed out of the previous Mission, in the proceeds of such a sale. On all points, the Commission, which sat from January 1898 to 14th, 1899, decided in favour of St. Mary's, the text being found in the Stat. of the 16th January, 1899. On this occasion the Bishop complained bitterly in his Charge to Synod,

Ab313.

Yo.

"But I cannot part with Provincial Synod without a wider and much deeper complaint. As I understand and understood when I accepted the Bishopric under it, our Provincial system, it leaves full freedom for Diocesan action in diocesan affairs,

"and this rightly, considering the great diversities of diocesan conditions and circumstances, to say nothing of men's minds, securing only such accord as may prevent any breach of useful unity.

But I observe a tendency of a different kind, to interfere with Diocesan independence, and bring all things under provincial control. The history of this diocese shows with what disastrous results. To some men's minds metropolitan autocracy and provincial interference is the remedy for, what they have been induced to believe, the abuse of episcopal ...

I would gladly pass over the affairs of St. Mary's, Johannesburg, in deference to those who have made themselves responsible for the great wrong now determined on. But as I have been condemned for silence on the former occasion, I will not maintain it now, but raise my voice in loudest protest, and retain to myself the right of making the real truth known, and exposing the wrong so wrongfully enacted."

716-7

The same Synod transferred Beoyama, Ferdaburg, Krugersdorp and Maraisburg to the Archdeaconry of Potchefstroom, thus splitting the Johannesburg area."

814.

* NOTE: A little further information has been available on the parochial affairs on the Rand, besides what is already contained in "Jeppe Jubilee" and the "Anglican Chronicle", details of parish history are being omitted.

CHAPTER VI.

ORGANISATION.

The relationship of the Church of the Diocese to the Catholic Church as a whole, and the parts thereof, is clearly set out in the introduction to the Canons:

"Whereas it is expedient to provide for the Diocese of Pretoria, in the Church of the Province of South Africa, a body of Canons, Laws, and Rules for the regulation of all such matters as by the laws and customs of the Church Catholic, and of the English branch thereof, or by the Canons of the said Church of the Province of South Africa, are left to be regulated by particular Dioceses by the Synods thereof ... we ... do not in any ^{way} mean or desire by these Canons, or anything therein contained, to separate ourselves, or this our Diocese of Pretoria, either from the Church of England, or from the Church of the Province of South Africa, but do claim to be an integral part of both, and do fully accept the Creeds, Articles, Services, and Formularies of the former, and all the Rules and Canons of the latter, reserving only to ourselves the right of adopting them to our own special needs as a Diocese of the Church in this State, and referring ourselves and these our Canons to the judgment of both the said Churches, and of the whole Catholic Church of Christ, for approval, or correction if needed."

III-iv.

Being a part of the Church of the Province, and under the Metropolitan See of Capetown, the Church of the Diocese was bound by the laws of the Provincial Synod, and the Bishop by his oath of canonical obedience to the Metropolitan, beyond this, however, he was supreme in his own Diocese, limited only by such limitations as he might voluntarily undertake through a Diocesan Synod. Thus for the

- first -

Can. 86.

Can. 8.

DS, Ev. 3.

first four years of his episcopate Housefield ruled as an autocrat, as the Bishops of Bloemfontein and Zululand had done before him.

In 1882, however, following on the Retrocession, the Bishop felt that it would be in the interests of the Diocese to have a permanent and secure organization. The first Diocesan Synod was, therefore, called in November, and among other activities appointed a committee to advise on the Canons drawn up by the Bishop. These Canons were passed in the following year. The Diocesan Synod was to meet not less than once in three years, suggested annually in 1883, to be summoned by the Bishop. All licensed clergy and representatives of parishes and congregations, elected according to the rules prescribed had seats, any dispute on these elections to be settled by Synod at the commencement of the session. Clergy and laity normally sat and voted together, but at any time a vote by orders could be requested, or separate deliberations. All acts of Synod had to have been passed by a majority vote, and receive the Bishop's assent. Procedure was based on that of the Provincial Synod generally, but that of the Diocese of Cape Town being used for the election of representatives to Provincial Synod.

Sa5.

H

Se

Exiv, Sa6

Sa.

Sa2.

For the election of a Bishop, an electoral college similarly constituted would be summoned by the Dean or Senior Priest on a mandate from the Metropolitan, a two-thirds majority being necessary in both houses. Between Synods, a Standing Committee of three Priests and three laymen, attended to all urgent matters requiring the authority of Synod.

Exiii.

The Diocesan Synod would always meet prior to the Provincial Synod, and elect clerical and lay representatives by a majority of both houses. Representatives of the Press were admitted to Synod.

Exv, S64,
S63.
S63.

Diocesan functionaries and officers were appointed

by the Bishop. The Dean of the Cathedral would be Archdeacon of Pretoria, have precedence next to the Bishop, and, in the absence of any other specific authorisation to a priest, would be Vicar-General in the Bishop's absence. Archdeacons were to be appointed by the Bishop to assist him in running the Diocese, especially schools, and the training of Ordinands; the first two archdeaconries were created by the Synod of 1891. The Bishop could also appoint a Chancellor to watch legal matters, a Registrar to supervise all registers, documents, and deeds, and a Bureau to superintend the finances, each having seven years' tenure of office, unless removed by the Bishop at the request of Synod.

Evil.

Exi.

AGL, 864.

Exi.

In the Occasional Paper of January, 1883, the Bishop wrote:

"On my arrival, Diocesan organisation was not. There was no authorised body to represent the Provincial Trustees, and no Board of Diocesan Trustees, while the need of securing land in all parts of the Diocese was apparent. I, therefore, took the highest legal advice on the competency of the Bishop, and his successors in office to hold property as Trustees, after the manner of 'sole' corporations in England, and being advised that he was competent, when property was bought under real, or virtual, mortgage, when it had to be secured in fulfilment of Government promises, or was likely to be more profitable for sale or exchange than for permanent occupation. I had conveyances made in such cases to the Bishop of Pretoria and his successors in office ...". In all other cases where permanent occupation was probable, I not only offered as an alternative, but pressed conveyance to the Provincial Trustees,

"but was met with a very determined disinclination on the part of parochial bodies to bring themselves under any control, Episcopal, Diocesan, or Provincial ... There are potent objections to this Episcopal arrangement being permanent, but in the past ... it has allowed a promptness and power in dealing with property which has alone secured the Church much of what she possesses, and has twice enabled me to defeat plans aimed at a local independence entirely inconsistent with Diocesan or Provincial action."

Ca26-27

For these reasons, a body of Diocesan Trustees was urgently needed, and, indeed, this was the main purpose of the Synod of 1882. The Board consisted of the Bishop, the Dean and Archdeacons, if any, the Chancellor, Registrar and Bursar, and held Church property within the Diocese, wherever possible, and trust fund monies. The By-Laws and Regulations of the Board had the force of acts of Synod, unless disallowed by the latter. The Government hesitated in incorporating the Trustees, for fear of making the Anglican Church a State Church but eventually it saw that this was not a necessary implication. Some parishes, however, still had a false independence, and failed to convey their property to the Trustees, which led the Bishop to declare in the Synod of 1891 that if this attitude continued, he would enforce compliance by refusing to allow services except in buildings vested in the Diocesan Trustees, where conveyance was possible. A few continued to make conveyance impossible, by maintaining debts on the buildings, which prevented the Trustees, according to their regulations, from receiving it. The Canons required that all buildings should be mortgaged, and that no alterations could be made without the Bishop's consent. After the Richardson case, a Canon was inserted that no debt could be incurred on a property, binding on the Parish or Diocese, without the Bishop's written -

1a582,
Ca26.

Exxiv,
Ca6, Ca8
A46, Ca8,
S42.

T21.

T26.

Exv,
Exvii.

written consent. The Synod of 1890 applied to the Government for an exemption on all Church property from taxation and transfer duty.

XXXX 200
SI, Agenda
1892.

524.

The original endowments of the See had, as has been shown, proved inadequate, with the result that the finances of the Diocese long continued to be precarious, and dependant on individual donations from Overseas. Although he never stated it, the Bishop seems, from the organisation which followed in this direction shortly after his return, to have realised that the £5,000, he collected on his English visit of 1886, was probably the last large sum he would be able to raise there. The London Committee of the Transvaal Mission, which had so far fairly efficiently collected money for him overseas was dissolved, and replaced by a treasurer, assisted by commissaries and correspondents. Funds did continue to come, especially from the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. but in nothing like sufficient quantity, besides which the Diocese was becoming more able to help itself. For the purpose of "raising, expending, and controlling funds for the Diocese" the Diocesan Finance Board, consisting of the Bishop, two clergy, and three laymen, had been constituted by the Canons, and to this body, acting through Synod, the financial control of the Diocese largely passed.

Toll.

Tol5.

ASG, G62,
Tol5.

Murvil 8

The interest from the Bishopric and Clergy Endowment Funds, steadily declined for a number of years, due in part to some of the capital being lost through bank failures. Repeated appeals from the Bishop and the Synod to transfer what was left of the funds to the Transvaal, were declined by both the Provincial Trustees and the Provincial Synods and the Bishop was just kept out of extreme financial difficulty by a grant from the Colonial Bishopric's Council of £100 a year, which expired however, in 1890. Owing to the "Johannesburg scandal", the Bishop was unable to go to England in that year, to endeavour

ASG, G62,
G6V.

So, T60,
T60-0.

to raise the Endowment, with the result that internal efforts had to be made. A Diocesan or Bishopric Endowment Fund was suggested to buy and build up the capital, but came to nothing. A Bishopric Guarantee Fund, otherwise known as the Episcopal Fund, for meeting the Bishop's expenses, was started, to which it was proposed that parishes should donate one tenth of their earnings:

Bb
A69, Yn.
A69.
A69.
Bb7.

"Protectoria has in this matter led the way, not only giving a tenth, but in consideration of the Bishop's share of the work there, and place in the Cathedral, a fifth of its offertory for his support. Barberton has followed for 1888-9. Johannesburg has the matter under consideration, and meanwhile has pledged £50. for this year."

Ta16-17.

It was intended that such a fund would provide £300. in that year, 1889, increasing in the future. In his Charge the following year, however, the Bishop reported that only four European and two Native Parishes had contributed.

Ta11.

"But a more important matter is now the pressing need of establishing within the Diocese a more general fund for its use. The day is passing, if not passed, when we can expect continued pecuniary assistance from England on a large scale. Men must be money enough to supply its own needs, and the remark is perfectly just. Save for exceptional cases, or work that may well be shared with us by Christians at home, as missionary work among the natives, I could as little desire an attempt to draw funds from England much longer."

Ta15.

said the Bishop in his Charge of 1886. This fund was designed to help new, small, or poor parishes, and cover purely business expenses.

This.

In 1890 only Pretoria and Wakkerstroom contributed towards it, to which were added in the following year, Ros-
burgh, whereafter it seems to have died until resurrected
by the Synod of 1896.

Tf11.

Tf18, Fa
18
Sj3.

On first arriving in the Diocese, the Bishop had inaugurated the Guarantee system for clergy stipends, where-
by the amount promised by the parish was paid into the Dio-
cesan Fund at Pretoria, whence it was paid by the Bishop, who
made good any fall short, or any addition that was needed.

Wt549.

The laxity of the parishes in paying, added to the failure of
funds from England, compelled the Bishop to abolish the system
at the end of 1894, when the guarantees expired. Thence-for-
ward, the Finance Board adopted the system of making grants

Of18,
Of7, Of38

to parishes when funds were available. The question of a
Diocesan Assessment Fund, to which each parish would contri-
bute according to its means, was first mooted in the Synod of

Of7.

1896, whence it dragged on, being discussed for ten years,
until it was temporarily allowed to rest, without anything con-
crete having come of it. In favour of this white elephant the
Synod of 1891 rejected the Bishop's scheme for a Central Dio-
cesan Fund, which would integrate the existing and the assess-
ment schemes, bringing in the Sustentation Fund. Thus Canon

So5, So5.

Tf13, Tg36

Farnes reported in 1899: "consequently the system upon which
we work is purely the congregational system, by which the
clergy must be supported entirely by their own people." An
attempted Clergy Pensions Fund, equally came to nothing.

Of7.

So5, S14,
S16.

As early as 1881, the Bishop introduced the Parochial
system in Pretoria, to provide a Church Council of Church-
wardens and Stewards who would assist in doing the organiza-
tional work of the Parish. The regularization of the system was
effected by the Canons. Any mission district or chapelry
could be created by the Bishop at any time - for text of
constitution of Thornedale see Bousfield Parish - and he could
alter their boundaries at will. Parishes, on the other hand,

D20.

Nt5, S16.

- could only -

could only be made or altered by Synod. A Parish, with a consecrated Church, a church house, sufficient communicants to elect two churchwardens and four side-men, and an internal revenue of £200, could on application be constituted an Advowson by Synod, which entitled it to nominate its own curate, if the cure fell vacant, though the Bishop could refuse to accept him. Originally the cure was for seven years, during which time the incumbent could only be moved with his own consent; the Provincial Synod, however, changed the provision so that even after seven years, he could only be removed against his will subject to appeal to the Metropolitan.

Nix, Ogl.

Niv, Nix,
Sf6.
Sf8.

Sg4, Xa.

A Ventry meeting held in Easter week, or immediately after, consisting of all the communicants of the parish, mission, or chapelry, had general control, under the Rector, of the local policy, and elected a Council of two Churchwardens, and a number of side-men, depending on the size of the congregation, which administered affairs throughout the succeeding year, for the assistance of the Rector. As Bishop's officers, they controlled the distribution of offertories, and had to give their approval to the alterations of times of services, disputes with the curate being referred to the Bishop whose decision was final. The curate, churchwardens, and representative side-men also represented the ecclesiastical district at Synod. An interesting variation of this existed at Batsburg, where each centre of the large parish had its elected representative on the Parish Council. Pretoria, being the Cathedral City, in addition to a parish, provides a very interesting document among the Bondfield papers, showing the authority given by the Bishop to J.R. Godfrey in 1890, to act as Curate of Pretoria and Vicar-General during his enforced absence. In 1899, the Bishop introduced formal visitations of parishes.

Nii, Niii
On34.
Sf8.

Niii.

On34, Ta7
Tf4.

Ab16.

C.

Tc10.

For smaller centres, which could not occupy fully, nor maintain, a Priest, the Bishop conceived the plan of

Deacon-Schoolmasters preparing the way for priests and fully constituted parishes. For congregations yet smaller, and for isolated farms, he developed the scheme already advocated by Bishop Wilkinson, of itinerating priests, sometimes deacons, taking services monthly at isolated centres. The agreement between the Bishop and the Reverend Hugh Hugh Jones, made in October, 1890, shows that the itinerating vicar had to hold services at such times and places as the Bishop should determine, and keep a journal to be available for the Bishop's inspection at all times, while receiving his travelling expenses over and above his stipend. The development of the railway further opened up the scope for this work, at the end of the period.

D47, Ef,
D415, 241

A12, 0438

FC, C416,
2413-14

C,

Ti.11

CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATION.

That education was early an important interest of the Church in the Transvaal has been illustrated by the Richardson's school in Potchefstroom, started immediately after their arrival in 1866, and Bishop Wilkinson's plans for a Boys' and a Girls' School in Pretoria, when as yet there were only two churches in the Republic. Bousfield co-incided with this tradition:

"As parish priest for twenty-two years, I ever reckoned as inferior only in importance to the parish church, the parish school. As Bishop, education has occupied the same place, second only to the Church and her services."

019.

"I would wish, next to the Church services and the cure of souls ... that the clergy would make schools their care. Almost all have so little pastoral work that they can teach themselves - a work I would commend, not only as a means of livelihood not to be despised, but a means of usefulness not to be over-estimated, if to Christian instruction be added the display of Christian principle in the sympathy which wins young hearts to their teacher, and may, through him, to their Saviour."

As with every other activity in the Diocese, education was under the direct control of the Bishop, and such people as he chose to delegate his authority to. The Synod of 1891, however, on a motion by the Bishop, constituted the College of St. Alban, allowed for in the Canon, to be a Diocesan Board of Education, to assume responsibility for the organization of education in the Diocese. The college consisted of the Provost, (the Reverend H.B. Sidwell), and three clerical and three lay fellows, appointed by the Bishop in the first instance, and thereafter elected.

Exxi,
213.

Exxi.

Exxi, 213.

Exxi, 213.

- The General -

The general regulations for Diocesan Education were laid down in the Canons, under which every parish, chapelry, and mission district was exhorted to establish schools for both sexes, under the superintendence of the curate and Parochial council or school committee, to provide "a sound secular education, as well as instruction in Holy Scriptures and the Catechism and Services of the Church." All schools were under the superintendence of the Bishop and the College, and the Bishop's authority was necessary for the appointment of all teachers. Educational expenses formed a general charge upon the finances of the Diocese. This system, which worked extremely satisfactorily from the Church's point of view, also fortunately satisfied the terms of the Education laws which required that the school committees of State subsidised schools should be elected by the Ratepayers, and was required to appoint the teachers.

De 251

Ex 11.

597.

The Church's relation to the State educational system, seems on the whole to have been satisfactory. In 1879 the Bishop wrote that he was applying to obtain Government aid, which was liberal, for the Protestant schools, and in 1882 he led a deputation to the Government to have this extended to all Anglican schools. In 1889, the Reverend Herbert Selwin wrote in the Occasional Paper, from Johannesburg,

De 253.

De 10.

"Their education not is a most liberal and valuable instrument. They grant a liberal support - 25 per head to every scholar in the lower standards who puts in fifty attendances during the quarter. 25 to those in higher standards, and double each amount to each child of needy parents who are unable to pay school fees. The only conditions made are - (1) that the school shall open with prayers and reading of the Scriptures, and that each denomination possessing Government aided schools shall give its own dogmatic instruction; and (2) that Dutch shall - be taught -

"be taught to each scholar claiming the Grant ...

it is enough to make one rejoice in being under the protection of so enlightened and paternal a Government ... Fortunately we had paid great attention to the teaching of Dutch, and earned thereby the very liberal grant of the Transvaal Government."

0112.

At the examinations held at St. Etheldreda's, Pretoria, in the same year, the standard of Dutch was so high that a Government grant of £19. was made, reckoned at the rate of 7/6d a month for three months for each successful candidate. In anticipation of the proposed amendment of the Education Act in the Volksraad occasion of 1893, the Synod of 1891 sent a petition urging the amelioration of the existing law, by giving grants to all schools at which, in the opinion of the Government Inspector, the "National language was sufficiently taught for ordinary purposes" the general medium of instruction being left to the managers to decide. In the next year, however, the Bishop reported that the Government had made such "unreasonable conditions for the use of the Dutch language" that most, if not all the schools would lose their State Grants, which formed a fairly large part of their income. St. Birinus's, Pretoria, for instance, lost such a large portion of its income that the services of the Assistant Master had to be dispensed with. Before the end of the year, however, the grants were largely restored, and what delighted the Bishop more, the inspection of Dutch was more competently organised. In 1892, St. Etheldreda's again received a Government Grant, £13. for successful examination results. There was consternation for a time in 1896, while the Volksraad debated a motion to suppress all except State schools, but the tension relaxed when it was lost by two votes.

Ub68.

Sg4.

Bb245.

Ok7.

Th13.

Ok4.

Th13.

Ub74.

Ub74.

Pretoria was the first centre to have Church schools.

The Girls' school, the history of which is related in "Rosmarina", was opened within ten days of the Bishop's arrival at Pretoria, in the dining room at Bishop's Gate with six pupils. Before the war, it had a hundred and fifty on the roll, and adequate buildings, standing in spacious grounds. A most interesting feature of its earlier history was the Sisterhood of St. Etheldreda, based upon that which had prospered in a neighbouring diocese, to conduct the school. Its rule, drawn up by the Bishop, was quite simple:

"I. Sisters associated shall on admission select some special portion or portions of the work of the Sisterhood, or some definite means of assisting its general objects, in which they desire to take part, and solemnly pledge themselves to the performance thereof for a definite time.

II. In performance of such work they shall follow in all respects the directions of the sister-in-charge of that department of work.

III. Sisters associated are expected to say daily the prayer of the sisterhood, and on the second Sunday of every month at Holy Communion to unite in entreating the blessing of God on the work of the Sisterhood, and every member of it, that in singleness of heart they may live to Him alone."

Of the three novices who came out with the Bishop in 1886, only Sister Capel took her vows at the end of the year, and after a few years moved away to work elsewhere in the Province, so the Sisterhood failed to accomplish the Bishop's purpose. About the same time as St. Etheldreda's opened for girls, St. Birinus', also under the Bishop's own roof, was started. As it grew, it developed three branches, the College the College School, and a Preparatory School, numbering in 1898, a hundred and fourteen pupils in the two senior sections.

U5.
D59, G531

01.18.

D5178.

1916.

U557.

Re.
Other
Refs.
G52, G533
G516, G526
U555, G524
01.16.

during the war, however, it was commandeered, and suffered considerable damage at the hands of its military occupants, including the destruction of the newly acquired laboratory. Ub78.

In the "queer looking cottage" across the road from Bishop's Cote, which Bishop Wilkinson had planned for the Care of Pretoria, the School of the Good Shepherd was started for the poor Dutch and British children, of both sexes, previously entirely unprovided for. Ub23;Ra5
Ka.

Johannesburg was the other big centre of Church education in the Transvaal, largely, because with Pretoria, it alone had sufficient population to support the schools. Early 01.18.
in 1867 "a committee of ladies and gentlemen had been formed for the promotion of education on the goldfields," which bore Ub62
its first fruit in the opening of St. Mary's College for girls, Jeppe's Town, with seven pupils in 1868. By September, F3.
1880, the pupils numbered twenty-nine boarders and thirty-nine day girls, and a year later the total figure stood at a F4.
hundred and fifty. St. Michael's College for boys was likewise started by Dorrigh in 1868, in St. Mary's Hall, numbering by January of the next year eighty pupils, under the headmaster-ship of the Reverend Herbert Godwin. In 1880, the foundations 01.12.
stone of a proper school building was laid on the site of the F7.
present Jeppe High School for Boys, during the time that the F16.
later Bishop of Orange, H.B. Sidwell, was one of the school-masters. In the same year a school was opened at Roosendaal, A47.F15.
which has provided us with the type of the constitution of a school-chaplain. B488.

In the country districts the position was much more precarious, due mainly to the fewness of the population. On On7.
his initial journey up from Durban, the Bishop received a large number of requests for schools in smaller towns, which led him Ub15.
to inaugurate his Deacon-Schoolmaster plan, which, had he had the men and money, would probably have flourished. For a short D47.

period after the Retrocession the Church did have "school-
masters in every town", numbering thirteen schools in the Of32.
Diocese, but shortage of funds forced the withdrawal of the Of9.
guarantees in 1854, and a large number of the schools had
to close down, so that the Bishop wrote at the beginning of
the next year, in connection with the Eastern Transvaal,

"We have, therefore, no schools now in this dia-
trict, and have been compelled to allow the
children to attend the [Government] schools, though
with great reluctance, as the church in connec-
tion with them is Presbyterian, Puritan and Cal-
vinistic." Of32.

The Government schools, which gave education free,
or at a very low rate, reacted badly upon the Church schools
but in some places, the education authorities of the Diocese felt Of18.
that the language and religious differences were sufficient
to justify the Church carrying on its work. Nevertheless, Ua24
in many places such as Beersburg, Pilgrimage, West, Heidelberg Of36, Ua24
and Lydenburg, the Church schools did flourish, and, reserve Of15, Of16
English as a medium of instruction, rather than as a foreign
tongue taught "three hours a week", in a country whose popu- Ua24.
lation was shortly to become bilingual.

CHAPTER VIII.

NATIVE MISSIONS.

As we saw at the beginning of Chapter One, Bishop Gray had considered the Transvaal almost exclusively as a native mission district, and this idea had been continued to be held, especially by people overseas, and more remote authorities in South Africa, for some considerable time. Following, in this as many other things, the previous ideas of Bishop Wilkinson and the Reverend A. Jay, Bishop Bousfield had refused to sponsor large-scale work among the natives at the expense of the Europeans:

Al17,G6.

Pc, W&L,
W. 273.

"To my mind the Church's first effort should be to keep her sons Christian, and from becoming heathen among the temptations of a land like this, heathen of the worst kind ... But, that doing, my heart does delight in the prospect of doors opening to us for the extension of God's Church among the heathen."

Gd43.

For a long time the field was relatively open, because the Dutch churches did nothing, and the little work that was being pursued was in the hands of the Lutherans and Wesleyans. Yet, as Canon Fisher says, "we English people should be the last to blame the Dutch, who at least do not profess an obligation", because from the very earliest days in the Diocese, Mission work among the natives had been hindered by the prejudice of the Europeans. Thus throughout the episcopate of Bousfield, the major part of the finance for the work came from England, especially from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

G52, Gc34

Pc
D72.

G57.

G119-20.
Ra10.

G57.

G17,G65.

Prior to the appointment of the Canon Evangelist, any supervision that existed of the Mission work of the Diocese, was exercised by the Bishop himself, who to this end received Synodical authority to draw up such rules and regulations as might be necessary for the discipline of the

missions to the heathen. The first attempt at an organised, centralised Diocesan mission was made, with the appointment of the Reverend Edwin Farmer as Canon Evangelist of the Diocese in 1893. The centre of the mission was in Pretoria:

334.

A121,
18591.

"But it has been my endeavour, ever since I came, to build a Central Church for the Mission in Pretoria. Alongside of the church I wanted a College, and I hoped the time might come when we might have a Medical School also ... I was able to secure a most excellent site from the Government, plenty large enough for church and College ... On April 17th we laid the foundation stone of the church ... the church is now finished. In order to save money I have been architect, builder, and everything else, and have employed only native labour ... The church was consecrated last September, and, although bare and incomplete, is a vast improvement on our old quarters, and a great blessing ... Alongside the church now stand the new buildings, the beginning of what I hope will some day be a real theological college ... We now have seven students, but have not yet found a clergyman who will act as tutor and assist in the general work of the mission."

0127-28.

From these headquarters, the Canon Evangelist itinerated among the various centres in charge of unpaid Catechists, "they are but slightly instructed laymen," or schoolmasters, whose salaries were paid by school fees and the contributions of the congregations. The work progressed to such an extent that in the last year before the war a Diocesan Board of Missions was established to organise the missionary work throughout the Diocese, no one person could no longer control it. Commencing long before Farmer's

620-25,
T17-8.

0126.

313.

arrival, and continuing throughout, there were the small native congregations, superintended by the parochial clergy as part of their cure. In 1885, the Bishop reported that there were three native chapels in the Republic, and a few native teachers; in the following year, that a portion of the U.P.C. grant was going to native missions; and of 1886, Farmer was able to write, "there are not half-a-dozen parishes in the diocese in which larger or smaller work amongst natives is not being done."

Ok8, T17
On8, G15,
On8, G29,
x.

Of8-9.

1b.

G32.

Nevertheless, this combination of the two different types of work was far from ideal, because of the different talents required for each, and, in addition, because the natives resented the complete white control. Farmer, therefore, insisted that a native ministry was necessary, and, as a result, was so determined to have the theological college referred to above. In the interim, however, he started a training college for catechists, where, during the six summer months when rain made travelling difficult, he collected a dozen natives, chiefly boys for preference, and "tried to train them in habits of prayer and study and work." He outlined his scheme for native clergy in a description of a visit to the Katorval congregation near Kretoria. It

G112.

G107.

G33, 88,
91, 126,
G128.

A112.

"made so long for the time when we should have native clergy, so that one could be placed with a congregation like this; and there are many more ready to receive such a minister. These people themselves would be prepared to provide for their native clergyman. Such men would give a church-due of ten shillings a year, there would be a Sunday collection of about £1; and the parents would pay a small day-school fee, and the evening scholars a larger one; the people could provide a house; and the clergyman would

"have a small garden, a few cows, sheep, etc.

in fact he would be provided with a house,
about £50 a year, and what may be called a
small glibe. This is quite sufficient for the
native clergy under the present conditions; and
as it could be provided in very small places,
we must hasten to prepare our native clergy."

G26.

Like so much of the other mission work, this plan,
just beginning to take form in 1899, was shattered by the
war.

G91.

There was another force at work, however, which con-
verted tens of thousands of heathen to the Church, and that
was the unaided efforts of certain native churchmen, mainly
converts returned from Kimberley. They would gather around
them little congregations, and build a small church at their
kragl, and sooner or later either contact the Bishop or local
priest, or be found by them. From by the most colourful and
outstanding of all these native evangelists was Jacob Dabani,
whose story is related by Lewis and Edwards, Agar-Hamilton,
and Canon Farmer.

G85,132.

L73.

G84.

Ok3.

Ja591.

Al20.

G86-88.

Native work in Pretoria started in 1884, when the
~~arrival of~~ a trained native teacher from the Grahamstown Dio-
cese came as a Catechist, and ministered and taught in the
native chapel and school, in the "queer looking cottage" ac-
ross the road from Bishop's Cote. Shortly after, in Synod, the D26.
Bishop said that there were three prospective native tea-
chers coming to him every evening for an hour's instruction.
A couple of years later, this work which the Bishop des-
cribed as "promising", was seriously disturbed by the desertion
of the Catechist, followed by a large part of his flock, to
the 'Free Baptist and Congregational' Church, taking the major
part of the congregation's finance with him.

Of20.Ch1.

Kg.

Ok8.

Bb,Bb241

Through the labours of one of the Cathedral Lay

Evangelists, the remnant was kept together, and formed the foundation of St. Cuthbert's Mission, which eventually became the headquarters of Canon Farmer's mission.

OKS.

0428-30

01.20.

An equally interesting work was reported by the Bishop in June, 1894, under the title "Our Indian Population":

"For some years we have had springing up among us a new element of population, Arabs or Indians. They have been steadily upon the increase for some time, and their stores are found in most of our towns, while as servants they abound in hotels and the houses of those who can afford to employ them. For some time past there has been growing upon the outskirts of Pretoria, a batch of shanties, mostly made of the tin linings of cases, in which the poor portion of them live. Some time since I tried to start a Schoolmaster and Catechist among them, but he proved a fraud.

I am now engaging one who has long worked under Dr. Boothe, Missionary Canon of Haritzburg, and whom he considers fit for Ordination, if Tamil and Sanscrit take place of Latin and Greek in the knowledge required of him. This I should be content to accept. I hope to arrange for his coming to Pretoria on my return, and to employ him experimentally for three months, in hope that he may find work to do, and do it well, and so that God may gain the joy of meeting the wants of some more of those for whom Christ died, and adding to our Cathedral Staff, one who shall be able to minister to our Indian population and keep school among them."

Ed.

At Potchefstroom, the Church had its work thrust upon it, in the first instance, by Jacob Dabani being received into the Church, and bringing his followers with him.

Call.

Although the Bishop considered that a farm and a teacher were both necessary, he was able to provide neither, until D29.
 in 1833, he sent the Reverend Prebendary Clusee to be in charge of the work, releasing him from all other duties, so D77, Ca9
 that he could devote his whole time to the mission. He Cc5.
 delayed taking any action in connection with the farm until he saw how the work progressed. The main centre of the mission was at Losberg, rather than Bealruah, where Jacob and his followers had originally lived, and embraced a number of native villages anything from three to fifteen miles distant, the nearer ones under Jacob's supervision, and the others in the charge of Overseers, natives who had been baptised by the previous Rector of Atchafalpa. Among these centres the Cdl1-13
 priest itinerated. By March 1834, the Bishop reported t' t Cc21.
 he had confirmed a hundred and thirtyeight natives on the mission, but that the financial position had caused the temporary abandonment of the idea of purchasing a farm. Cc11.

During the Bishop's absence in England in 1835, and early 1836, the opportunity arose whereby the Church could acquire a farm without having to find the money to pay for it. A chief, Ratcho Panahotla wanted a farm for his people, which Republican law did not allow him to possess, and approached Clusee, with a view to the Church holding the farm in its own name, for the chief and his people, who would pay for it. Knowing that the Bishop would consent, Clusee had a preliminary agreement between the chief and himself on the one hand, and the brothers Bowman, who owned it, on the other, whereby the farm was to be paid for in instalments. The Bishop having returned, Clusee took the chief up to Iretonia, where he entered into an agreement with the Bishop to the effect that the Bishop would protect him before the law, and hold his land for him, and send him the Reverend Prebendary Clusee for his immediate protector and teacher; while the chief would

allow the missionary's congregation to settle, and have their own headman, would give him 3 residents and pasture rights, and sites for churches, schools, and teachers' residences, which buildings would be under the absolute control of the Church authorities, that the chief recognised the Bishop as sole ecclesiastical head of the station, to the exclusion of all other religious bodies, and would assist in collection of Church-dues. Olulce commented on this: "This is the first Mission Station that the Church has acquired in the Transvaal, and that without trouble or expense." Og22-29

He was not left with this view for long. The first instalment was paid promptly, but for the second the natives could not find sufficient money. The gold boom being on, Olulce sold the mineral rights to a German Company in Portuguese East Africa, at a sum which completely covered the debt. This, however, constituted a serious difficulty a couple of years later, when the Volksraad passed the Counters' Law, whereby no farm could have more than five tenant families, except missionary farms which had to be conveyed to the government as native locations. The mining rights having been sold, however, this latter could not be done; but by special Government permission, the Church was allowed to retain all the people on the farm, as a mission station. Another, and more 0118-26

general difficulty that Olulce complained of, was that the chief would not listen to the missionary's advice out of jealousy for his authority, yet the priest received the stigma for anything that went wrong. Nevertheless, the work 0127-28.

of the mission went ahead. A stone church was built by the chief's brother at their own labour and expenses. Starting in 018-10.

1886 with one Christian and a few catechumens, in 1890 Olulce reported twenty communicants, thirty catechumens and ten enquirers, and just before his death in May, 1893, he reported X1; Ok.2

that "the majority of the young men and women have been

instructed and drafted into the Church." In the conflict which followed his death, between his successor, Archdeacon Alexander Temple and the Bishop, and the chief, a case was brought against the Church's ownership of the farm, which through bad pleading, went in favour of the chief, so that without compensation for buildings, or without any reference to the terms of the earlier agreement between the Bishop and the chief, the Church was expelled from the farm, the congregation dispersed, and the station was taken over by the Lutherans at the invitation of the chief. So ended the dream of the Diocesan mission farm of St. Michael's, Solate. A56-58

After the collapse of the mission at Solate, the centre of the Western Transvaal mission work moved back to St. Chad's Mission, Potchefstroom, under the control of the Rector. The work went ahead rapidly, until it became the biggest parochial mission in the Diocese. In 1897, Archdeacon Roberts had twenty catechists under him, as well as thirty-five workers, and five paid teachers, working twenty-one centres, with a total Church membership of approximately four thousand, over three hundred baptisms, over four hundred confirmations, and one thousand six hundred communicants the previous year. C09. A120. O121-74.

The other big mission centre from the early days of the Diocese was at Zeerust. Originally while yet unordained at Rustenburg, J.P. Richardson had started mission work on his farm, which he continued until he was moved to Zeerust. With him he took his Hottentot Catechist, who was the first non-European confirmed by the Bishop. With his usual zeal, Richardson commenced native services in a large wagon-house lent by Mr. Hutton, the Reader and Churchwarden of St. John the Baptist's. Besides the Sunday Services, there was a Bible Class on Monday nights, a Prayer Book study group on Thursday nights, and night school on the other evenings. A119. U235. C28. O680.

Shortly, Richardson had acquired a disused store for a school chapel, and had built a large wattle and daub Church. Early in 1834 the Bishop reported that the Zeerust Mission was expanding rapidly, and that Richardson wished to make it a Central Mission and training school, if money could be made available. Successive rectors continued the work so that when the new native chapel was completed in 1899, there was a congregation of over two hundred in the town area.

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0d7-9

01.36

0K23.

The development of the mines brought about a terrific influx of natives on to the Witwatersrand, reliably estimated at a hundred thousand in 1899. It raised an immense problem, but also concentrated the natives, and made them easily available to missionaries in a way which had never happened before in South Africa, indeed perhaps, in the world. Nevertheless the old, old shortage of men and money made the work done relatively neglige. Following on a visit from the Bishop of Lebombo to Johannesburg in 1898, however, added to Bishop Bousfield's impotency to satisfactorily handle the position through lack of resources, the Provincial Synod of 1898 decided that the evangelisation of the natives on the Rand, as they were drawn from all quarters of the country, should be a Provincial responsibility. Resulting out of that, there was an interesting proposal, outlined in the Bishop's Charge of 1899, which unfortunately never came to anything.

017.

01.11.

V106.

A183,644
T15.

"Shortly afterwards it was suggested to me that the Bishop of Zululand would be a most desirable Superintendent for the proposed work, and at the request of a small sub-committee (with whom I stipulated that before a second Bishop was brought into the Diocese, the S.P.G. must be relieved of the grant for maintaining the present, and provisions made for his travelling expenses). I wrote to the Bishop of Zululand suggesting of my own mind that

"should he find himself able to undertake the work, its success in his hands, and my own increasing years, would probably open the way to his co-operation with me, as co-adjutor, and ultimate succession to my chair: both of which appeared to me worthy of consideration, and to be wished, should he see the way to undertake the present embryonic work. This led to a correspondence which might have secured the desired result had it been left to ourselves."

T17.

As it was, foolish action by others produced the feeling that no co-adjutor was needed, so the scheme failed.

T18.

Although various smaller works were undertaken on various parts of the Rand, the main work was done by St. Mary's, Johannesburg, from its own resources. In 1886, Darrogh secured Father Shaw from Vanderpoort for this purpose on his salary, and school-chapel and priest's house were built. As a result of all these efforts, it was estimated in 1899 that "our native Christians must now reach 10,000 at least" on the Witwatersrand.

G81.

G17.

This promising and expanding work was all but shattered by the war. The clergy were expelled, thus weakening the organizational and supervisory authority, the catechists were commandeered with the rest of the natives and sent to the front, so that the people in the country districts were left without their local teachers, and the natives of the Rand were to a large extent evacuated, to avoid trouble. Plans, therefore, had to be made for starting the work all over again. During the period of banishment, Canon Farmer drew up the following scheme:

G89.

- "1. The Theological College at Pretoria.
2. The work amongst the mines.

"7. The itinerating work amongst the natives and scattered white people on the veld.

4. The railway mission."

683.

When the G.P.S. made £70,000 available after the war, the Bishop, ill and tired as he was, undertook the long journey to Cape Town to secure the interests of his Diocese.

He was quite exhausted on his arrival. But with the determination that characterised him he attended every meeting of the Bishopric in order that he might plead the cause of his diocese, and explain the scheme on which he had set his heart of vigorous mission work among the large native population in and round Johannesburg. During the discussions it was evident that he was suffering from weakness and pain, but he fully explained his plans, and it was a great satisfaction to him to know that he had the approval of his brother Bishops. On Friday he attended four important meetings in connection with the Church work in the province, and on Sunday passed quietly away while talking to a friend. He was buried in Rondebosch churchyard by the Metropolitan."

Ek.

CONCLUSION.

So closed forty years of Church history in one quarter of South Africa. It stands as a monument to those whose self-sacrifice and untiring labour, built up from nothing, through constant set-backs and difficulties, one of the largest and most populous dioceses in the country; and as an inspiration to all who are now, or will be in the future, building on the groundwork they established.

Disasters as were the effects of the war, they did not undermine the foundations so laboriously laid, and the new era which dawned both for the Transvaal, and the Church of the Diocese of Pretoria under Bishop Carter, enabled this small member of the Catholic Church of Christ to carry ever onward and upward the work of its Lord and Saviour.

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- D -----
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- a 25 March, 1867.
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e 1 June, 1870.
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h 1 March, 1873.
i 1 September, 1873.
j 1 January, 1873.
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n 1 February, 1875, no. 89.
o 3 November, 1875, no. 97.
p 1 January, 1877, no. 117.
q 1 October, 1877, no. 119.
r 1 October, 1877, no. 120.
s 1 November, 1877, no. 121.
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e 1882.
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i 1889.
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k 1892.
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q July, 1878.
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