

A clash of churchmanship?

**Robert Gray and the Evangelical Anglicans
1847 – 1872**

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the initial causes of Anglican division in South Africa in order to assess whether the three Evangelical parishes in the Cape Peninsula were justified in declining to join the *Church of the Province of South Africa* when it was formally constituted as a voluntary association in January 1870. The research covered the following:

- Background to the period in England and at the Cape, based on the histories pertinent to the period;
- An assessment of the differences in churchmanship between the Evangelicals and the Anglo-Catholics, through study of the applicable literature;
- A critical assessment of the character, churchmanship, aims, and actions of the first bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, drawn from the two-volume biography of his life, his journals and documents obtained in the archives;
- An analysis of the disputes between Bishop Gray and two Evangelical clergymen, analyzed from the published correspondence and archive material.

The conclusion of the study is that the differences in churchmanship between the Evangelicals and the Anglo Catholics were very substantial and when coupled with the character, aims and actions of Bishop Gray, left the Evangelicals with little option but to decline the invitation to join his voluntary association.

KEY WORDS

- Anglican
- Evangelical
- Anglo-Catholic
- Tractarian
- Churchmanship

In hierdie studie word die aanvanklike oorsake van Anglikaanse verdeeldheid in Suid-Afrika ondersoek ten einde te bepaal of die drie Evangeliese gemeentes in die Kaapse Skiereiland geregverdig was om nie aan te sluit by die *Church of the Province of South Africa* nie toe dit formeel gekonstitueer was as 'n vrywillige vereniging in Januarie 1870.

Die navorsing het betrekking tot die volgende:

- Agtergrond van die tydperk in Engeland en aan die Kaap, gebaseer op die pertinente geskiedenis vir die tydperk;
- 'n Beoordeling van die verskille in *churchmanship* tussen die *Evangelicals* en die Anglo-Katolieke, deur middel van studie van die toepaslike literatuur;
- 'n Kritiese evaluering van die karakter, *churchmanship*, doelwitte en optrede van die eerste biskop van Kaapstad, Robert Gray, gebaseer op die twee-volume biografie van sy lewe, sy joernale en argief dokumente.
- 'n Ontleding van die geskille tussen biskop Gray en twee Evangeliese predikante, ontleed uit die gepubliseerde korrespondensie en argief materiaal.

Die gevolgtrekking van die studie is dat die verskille in *churchmanship* tussen die *Evangelicals* en die Anglo-Katolieke aansienlik groot was en dit tesame geneem met die *churchmanship*, karakter, doelwitte en optrede van Biskop Gray, het die *Evangelicals* min keuse gelaat het as om die uitnodiging om by sy vrywillige vereniging aan te sluit te weier.

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Thanks also to my wife, Marilyn, for her support and understanding, and to my children: Mark, Raymond and Natalie for their prayers and encouragement.

And thanks to Almighty God who, in his mercy, hears our prayers and grants us understanding, grace and power to do the things that please him. (Adapted from the Collect for the first Sunday after the Epiphany, BCP)

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Here are we, the Bishops of the Church of S. Africa; we are a voluntary religious association; these are our terms; who likes to join us? Bishop Robert Gray, first Anglican Bishop of Cape Town, May 1865. (Gray 1876:200)

Bishop Gray's invitation eventually led to the founding of the Church of the Province of South Africa¹ (CPSA) as a voluntary association of Anglican churches in 1870. However, the three evangelical parishes in the Cape Peninsula (St John's Wynberg, St Peter's Mowbray and Holy Trinity Cape Town) declined the invitation, eventually linking up with churches in the (then) Transvaal and Natal to form a separate voluntary association of Anglican churches, the Church of England in South Africa (CESA) in 1938². The need for Gray to issue the invitation cited arose out of decisions of the English Privy Council regarding the legal status of Anglican churches within self-governing colonies, such as the Cape of Good Hope (see e.g. Ive 1992:26f; Hinchliff 1963:91f; CPSA 1982:2). The ostensible reason for the drastic action taken by the Evangelicals was the fear that joining Gray's association would separate them from the mother Church in England and, therefore, from the protection of the English courts. Bishop Gray's supposed dislike of Evangelicals prompted their fears.

The decision of the Evangelicals to remain outside of Gray's church structures eventually led to the anomaly of two Anglican denominations in the same country, marked by considerable mutual hostility; each claiming that the other was schismatic. For a long time, the larger, mainly Anglo-Catholic, CPSA regarded the minority evangelical CESA group as incorrigibly insubordinate and sectarian, whereas the CESA regarded the CPSA as having abandoned the Reformation principles of the Church of England as defined by her doctrinal confession. An example of these attacks and counter-attacks can be seen in Canon Digby Berry's "Why I cannot join the Church of the Province of South Africa" (Berry 1916) and the reply of Archdeacon George Cameron "Are we loyal to the Book of Common Prayer and the Principles of the Reformation?" (Cameron 1917).

A clash of churchmanship?

The title of this dissertation: *A clash of churchmanship?* stems from a comment of the late CPSA historian Professor Peter Hinchliff:

"The differences between this body [the Church of England in South Africa] and the Province [the Church of the Province of South Africa] are now almost entirely matters of 'churchmanship' and it is pathetic that the schism should continue." (Hinchliff 1963:225)

Hinchliff appears to imply that matters of 'churchmanship' (his quotation marks) are relatively unimportant. He may be using the term in a limited sense as referring simply to differences in style of worship and liturgy by different parties within the Church of England (see e.g. Armentrout & Slocum 2000:102). However, it is contended that underlying these differences in style are differences in doctrinal understanding. In this dissertation, therefore, 'churchmanship' is used in the sense of distinctive understandings of both doctrine and liturgical practice and as will be shown, those differences were very substantial and cannot be so easily dismissed.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Were the Evangelicals justified in standing aloof from the voluntary religious association founded by Bishop Gray? This is the basic problem investigated in this dissertation; in order to assess this, the following individual problems were researched:

- What was the nature and state of the Church of England in the home country, and at the Cape, prior to the appointment of the first bishop of Cape Town?
- What were the differences in churchmanship between the Evangelical party and the Anglo-Catholic party and how substantial were they?
- To what extent did the churchmanship, character, aims and actions of Bishop Robert Gray contribute to the division?
- What were the issues that caused Bishop Gray's main antagonists, William Long and Robert Lamb, to clash with him and, ultimately, to defy him?

1.3 EXISTING MATERIAL/SPECIFIC GAP IN PRESENT KNOWLEDGE

Both Peter Hinchliff's CPSA history (1963) and Anthony Ive's CESA history (1992) cover the division that developed during Robert Gray's episcopate, each with its own bias and conclusions. However neither work gives detailed attention to the underlying causes of the conflict or the differences in churchmanship between the Evangelicals and the Anglo-Catholics. These differences can be traced back to the complicated state of churchmanship and governance in the mother church in England, and the uncertain legal status of the clergy and churches in the colonies. Differences in churchmanship, in particular, were substantial and require careful explication.

Bishop Robert Gray was an important, pioneering colonial bishop and therefore receives mention in a number of books and articles on the development of the Anglican Communion. There are also a number of books and articles on Gray available but there is no definitive biography. The two-volume *Life of Robert Gray* (Gray 1876) compiled by a devotee, H.L. Farrar, and edited by Gray's son Charles, is an uncritical narrative, mostly compiled from the bishop's correspondence. As such it does provide insight into the bishop's character and motives and is therefore a primary source for this research. Earlier works on Bishop Gray were written by devotees and tended to be hagiographic; later references are more critical, particularly in relation to his dealings with Bishop John Colenso. Gray was a complex character, admired for many things, roundly criticized for others. Ive (1992) shows, by way of selective quotations, Gray's dislike of Evangelicals; however it is just as easy to show, by selecting other quotations, Gray's admiration for, and sensitivity towards, Evangelicals.

The character, aims and actions of Gray's evangelical antagonists, in particular William Long and Robert Lamb, also require further investigation. Partisan works on Gray are naturally critical of these men. It is unfortunate that later more objective works uncritically repeat these views. For example, Thelma Gutsche (1970:84), in an otherwise well-researched book, describes the Englishman William Long as "another wild Irishman, an Orange Protestant whose drive and enthusiasm verged on aggressiveness." As far as biographical details of these men are concerned, there is a paucity of information; almost nothing has been published regarding these men. This work goes some way towards remedying

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this situation but information has been hard to obtain and there is scope for further research in this area.

1.4 RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

The general aim of this study is to investigate the initial causes of Anglican division in South Africa during the episcopate of Robert Gray in order to test the hypothesis as stated at 1.5 below.

The specific objectives and methodology used were:

1.4.1 ANALYZE THE NATURE AND STATE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, IN ENGLAND AND AT THE CAPE IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The standard histories were consulted, e.g. Moorman (1985) and Walker (1986) and especially histories specific to the period, e.g. Chadwick (1966), Carpenter (1933) and Reardon (1980). Neill's (1958) *Anglicanism* was most helpful in analysing the different strands of Anglicanism. Hewitt (1887), Hinchliff (1963), Ive (1992) and Baynes (1908) amongst others were useful for the Cape history. William de Villiers' (1998) valuable compilation of basic biographies of all the clergy during the first two Anglican episcopates proved extremely helpful, as did a telephone conversation with the author.

1.4.2 ENUMERATE AND ASSESS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE DIFFERENCES IN CHURCHMANSHIP BETWEEN THE EVANGELICAL PARTY AND THE ANGLO-CATHOLIC PARTY.

The prominent literature concerning the Oxford Movement and the Evangelicals was researched, critiqued and compared. Church's (1892) standard work on the history of the Oxford Movement was not particularly helpful in terms of stating its doctrines. Brilioth (1925) was better in this respect, but William Davage's (2010) lecture on "Tractarianism then and now" proved the most valuable for its insights and lucidity. Nockles (1996) was also helpful. For the evangelical views, Wellings (2003) and Toon (1979) were used with profit.

1.4.3 ASSESS THE CHURCHMANSHIP, CHARACTER, AIMS AND ACTIONS OF BISHOP ROBERT GRAY.

The assessment of Gray was drawn from a detailed study of the two volume biography (Gray 1876 a&b) and his visitation journals. A number of visits to the Anglican archives at Witwatersrand University yielded a great deal of

supplementary information – copies of correspondence, pamphlets, newspaper reports and records of the diocese. Other publications containing assessments of Gray - negative, positive and mixed – were consulted and critiqued.

1.4.4 ENUMERATE AND ASSESS THE ISSUES OF DISPUTE BETWEEN BISHOP GRAY AND ROBERT LAMB ON THE ONE HAND; AND GRAY AND WILLIAM LONG ON THE OTHER.

Attempts to fill in the gaps regarding the biographies of Robert Lamb and William Long, through contact with various authorities in Ireland and England and a search of the archives, were partially successful. The backgrounds to the disputes were researched and assessed, and the points of disagreement were enumerated through a detailed study of the correspondence and court cases. The correspondence was conveniently published in newspapers and magazines of the time but still proved difficult to track down. The assistance of the CPSA provincial archivist in obtaining the correspondence between Gray and Lamb is gratefully acknowledged. For convenience, the two disputes have been accorded separate chapters.

1.5 BASIC HYPOTHESIS

The basic hypothesis of this study is that the differences in churchmanship between the Evangelicals and the Anglo Catholics were very substantial and when coupled with the character, aims and actions of Bishop Gray, left the Evangelicals with little option but to decline the invitation to join his voluntary association.

1.6 PERSONAL VIEWPOINT

I grew up as a member of St John's Church, Wynberg in Cape Town, an evangelical Anglican parish of the Church of England in South Africa. In 1940 St John's concluded an agreement with the Church of Province of South Africa (CPSA) (Vos 1972:104). I had always regarded myself as a member of the CPSA and had received confirmation from a bishop of the CPSA. After moving to Johannesburg in 1971, I started attending a local CPSA church. This was my first encounter with Anglican "High Churchmanship" and I was to discover that the CPSA was overwhelmingly "High Church". After a year I left because of liturgical, rather than doctrinal, reasons and, there being no evangelical CPSA churches in the region, I joined the monochromically evangelical Church of

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England in South Africa (CESA). My interest was kindled in the reason for the anomaly of two separate Anglican denominations in South Africa, alike in some respects and very different in others. I write as a member of the CESA and a committed evangelical, but this study is not intended as an apology for the CESA. Although I view the first bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, as a primary culprit in the division that occurred; one has to admire the principled stance he took on many important issues, the spirit of adventure and pioneering that took him on a number of marathon and gruelling trips through an untamed country, and the impressive organisation, administration and development achieved by Gray and his wife, Sophy. It has been stimulating exercise to explore the complexities of his character, aims and actions, as well as those of his erstwhile opponents.

1.7 TERMS

Churchmanship: The term *churchman* came to be used to describe members of the established Church of England as opposed to dissenters. *Churchmanship* however is used to distinguish the different streams that make up the comprehensive Anglican Church. In this dissertation, the term is used to refer to distinctive understandings of both doctrine and practice. See especially chapter 2.

Tractarian, Anglo-Catholic: The Oxford Movement was known by a number of other names, some intended to disparage it. One most generally used to describe its followers was *Tractarians* due to the Movement's spread of ideas through tracts. The Movement is generally taken to have started in 1833 with Keble's sermon on *National Apostasy* and to have ended with Newman's conversion to Rome in 1845. However, the movement had a widespread effect on Anglican doctrine and liturgical practice and during the Victorian era followers of its practices became known as Anglo-Catholics. At the Cape, the terms *Tractarian*, *Puseyite* and *Papist* were used in a derogatory sense, and thus Anglo-Catholic was preferred. In this dissertation the terms *Tractarian* and *Anglo-Catholic* are used synonymously, unless the context indicates otherwise.

¹ Now known as the Anglican Church of Southern Africa; but will be referred to by the former name or abbreviation 'CPSA' in this dissertation.

² St John's Wynberg and St Peter's Mowbray concluded separate agreements with the CPSA in 1939, with clauses protecting their Evangelical distinctives.

CHAPTER 2: PROLOGUE

Queen Victoria was 18 years old in 1837 when she ascended the throne of England and took the oath as supreme governor of the Church of England. 10 years later she signed *letters patent* establishing the Diocese of Cape Town and appointing Robert Gray as its first bishop. The Church of England is an 'established church', the state church, with particular legal privileges and responsibilities, but with increasing toleration granted to non-members. In the mid-nineteenth century the Church of England comprehensively embraced a range of different forms of churchmanship. Events in Gray's episcopate, in particular his clashes with Evangelical churchmen, have to be understood against this background, as well as the situation at the Cape before Gray's arrival in February, 1848.

2.1 MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY CHURCHMANSHIP IN ENGLAND

Stephen Neill (1958:232) identifies no less than 7 strands of churchmanship in the Church of England of this period, and then rightly cautions that "even when we have attempted to identify all these various strands in the Anglican complex, it will still remain true that the majority of Anglicans, then as now, cannot be identified wholly with any one of these tendencies." As it is usual to identify High, Low, Broad and Tractarian streams this grouping will be followed in the synopses below; with due acknowledgement of the protean nature of these labels.

2.1.1 HIGH CHURCH

Although the term "High Church" is today often used as a synonym for "Anglo-Catholic" and describes clergy and churches that use various ritualistic practices, this was not so in the mid-nineteenth century. The high churchman of that time was marked by a rigid orthodoxy, strict rubrical adherence to the prayer book, belief in the supremacy of Scripture and opposition to reform. Whilst maintaining the Protestantism of the Church of England he also stressed its catholicity, through commitment to the ancient creeds and the historic episcopate, thereby upholding a form of apostolic succession. Nockles (1996:26) describes the high churchman's view of the sacraments and spirituality:

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"He upheld in a qualified way the primacy of dogma and laid emphasis on the doctrine of sacramental grace, both in the eucharist and in baptism, while normally eschewing the Roman Catholic principle of ex opere operato. He tended to cultivate a practical spirituality based on good works nourished by sacramental grace and exemplified in acts of self-denial and charity rather than on any subjective conversion experience or unruly pretended manifestations of the Holy Spirit."



High churchmen tended to make a clear distinction between the sacred and the secular, with the clergy set apart from the laity in terms of their role and authority. High churchmen of this period included Bishop Henry Phillpotts of Exeter and Bishop Samuel Wilberforce of Oxford (later Winchester), a great friend and mentor to Robert Gray.

2.1.2 LOW CHURCH

'Low Church' was originally a pejorative term, developed as the antithesis to 'High Church' and describing those who sought a greater liberalisation and comprehensiveness for the Church of England – see 'Broad Church' below. In the nineteenth century however, it began to be used (again, initially pejoratively) as a synonym for 'Evangelical'. As with all the streams of churchmanship, there were many differences amongst the Evangelicals, making definition difficult. Bishop J.C. Ryle (1896:4), however, listed 5 principles asserted by Evangelicals:

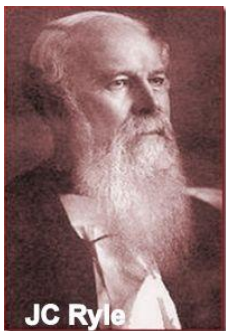
- The absolute supremacy of Holy Scripture as the only rule of faith and practice, the only test of truth, the only judge of controversy.
- The depth and prominence of the doctrine of human sinfulness and corruption.
- The paramount importance of the work and office of the Lord Jesus Christ.
- The high place of the inward work of the Holy Spirit.
- The importance of the outward and visible work of the Holy Spirit.

Peter Toon (1979:5) proposes a practical definition, intended to embrace both Calvinist and Arminian Evangelicals:

"An Evangelical Anglican has a strong attachment to the Protestantism of the national Church with its Articles of Religion

and Prayer Book. He believes that the Bible is authoritative in matters of faith and conduct and is to be read individually and in the home as well as in church. He emphasises the doctrine of justification by faith but with good works and a specific (holy) life-style as the proof of true faith. He claims to enjoy a personal relationship with God through Christ, the origins of which are usually traced not to sacramental grace but to a conversion experience. And he sees the primary task of the Church in terms of evangelism or missions and so emphasises preaching at home and abroad."

The Evangelicals of this period were the heirs of the famous 'Clapham Sect' of Henry Thornton, William Wilberforce, Hannah More and others, who were particularly associated with the abolition of slavery; and Charles Simeon, the Cambridge clergyman described as having a far greater influence in England than any primate or bishop. Prominent Evangelicals of this period were Charles Sumner (Bishop of Winchester) and his brother John Bird Sumner (Archbishop of



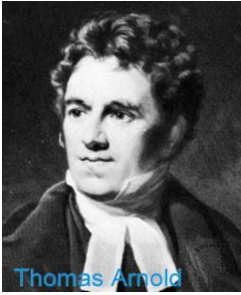
Canterbury from 1848). JB Sumner attempted to influence the state of churchmanship at the Cape by the appointment of the evangelical Henry Cotterill to the see of Grahamstown. JC Ryle, a fearless advocate of Evangelical principles, was a prolific writer of books and tracts, distributed at the Cape by the Rev Paddy Lamb from 1852. Ryle was appointed as the first bishop of Liverpool in 1880.

2.1.3 BROAD CHURCH

'Broad Church' origins go back to the early 18th century when those who favoured reform and a more liberal and comprehensive church were stigmatised as 'low church' in contrast to 'high church'. In the 19th century 'low church' began to be applied to Evangelicals (see 2.1.2 above) and the term 'broad' or 'latitudinarian' came into vogue, referring to those who sought to encompass a broad range of opinion and greater latitude in church matters. Today it is more common to speak of broad churchmen as 'liberals' or by the euphemistic 'intellectual/cultural' as used by Archbishop Rowan Williams (see Ndungane 2006).

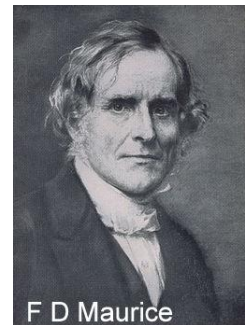
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Neill (1958:244f) distinguishes three different groupings within this broad church classification in the 19th century. Firstly, those who sought more



comprehensiveness in order to include the majority of orthodox dissenters, Thomas Arnold (headmaster of Rugby School) being their chief representative. Secondly, those who championed much needed reform³, such as the successive bishops of London, Blomfield and Tait. Neill (1958:249), Carpenter (1933:49f), Chadwick (1966:32f) and others paint dismal,

indeed shocking, pictures of abuse and chaos in the Church at this time; reform was much needed. Tait, as Bishop of London from 1856 to 1868 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1868 to 1882, was to play a significant role in the affairs of the South African church, particularly clashing with Bishop Gray over his treatment of Evangelicals. Thirdly, Neill mentions the Christian Socialist grouping and, in particular, Frederick Denison Maurice. Reardon (1980:118) describes Maurice as "arguably the most original theological thinker that the nineteenth century produced in this country." He adds that this originality proved too much for his contemporaries, resulting in his dismissal from his professorship at King's College, London. In South Africa, Bishop Colenso claimed to be a 'Maurician' (Rees 1958:58) although Maurice later denounced Colenso's critical study of the Pentateuch and called on him to resign his bishopric (Rees 1958:72).



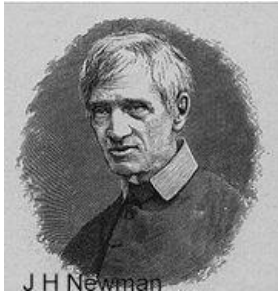
2.1.4 THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

The Oxford Movement is generally taken to have commenced when John Keble preached a sermon entitled 'National Apostasy' at St Mary's in Oxford on 14 July 1833. Legislation to suppress several Irish dioceses gave the immediate spur to Keble's sermon. Increasing toleration meant that parliament was no longer exclusively Church of England or indeed, Christian. Keble saw this and increasing liberalism, both within and outside of the Church, as real dangers:

"The point really to be considered is, whether, according to the coolest estimate, the fashionable liberality of this generation be not ascribable, in a great measure, to the same temper which led the Jews voluntarily to set about degrading themselves to a level with the idolatrous Gentiles? And, if it be true anywhere, that

such enactments are forced on the Legislature by public opinion, is APOSTASY too hard a word to describe the temper of that nation?" (Keble 1833)

The Oxford Movement thus sought to free the Church from state control, championing its divine character and asserting its Catholic and Apostolic nature



against erastianism. The doctrine of Apostolic succession became a vital principle of the movement, as well as an appeal to the Church Fathers. In asserting the Catholicity of the Church, the movement effectively rejected Protestantism. Views were propagated by a series of tracts, *Tracts for the Times*; 90 of which were published between

1833 and 1841. The leaders included John Henry Newman, John Keble, Edward Pusey and Richard Hurrell Froude.

2.2 THE ROLE OF THE MISSION SOCIETIES

The Church of England mission societies played a major role in the spread of Anglicanism in the colonies. In South Africa, the major player was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Colonial Church Society played a small but important part in the establishment of Evangelical congregations but later ceased work, except in certain schools, after a disagreement with Bishop Gray. It is regrettable that the main evangelical Church Missionary Society was prevented from playing a part, except on his terms, by Bishop Gray.

2.2.1 THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL



The first Anglican mission society to be established was the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (SPG)⁴.

The SPG was founded in London in 1701 at the instigation of Thomas Bray and a group of landed gentry and clergymen. Its purpose was to be of service to Anglicans in the British colonies;

with a further aim of evangelising the natives of such colonies. During the eighteenth century only the first purpose of its charter was fulfilled (Walls s.a.:2). By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the SPG was at a low ebb and facing competition from the newly-founded and self-consciously Evangelical *Church Missionary Society*. Through the efforts of the businessman Josiah

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Watson and the so-called *Hackney Phalanx* it then re-invented itself as a High Church society. The energetic Rev Ernest Hawkins was appointed as its first full-time secretary and he played a major role in the establishment and support of colonial bishoprics. Bishop Robert Gray had been a local secretary for the SPG in England and was an enthusiastic supporter of its work. The rapid expansion of dioceses and parishes of the Anglican Church in South Africa was made possible because of the sterling support provided to Gray by the SPG and Hawkins, in particular. Gray played a major role by frequently preaching on behalf of the SPG and raising support for its work at the Cape. The SPG typically provided a library and sea fare for colonial clergymen and then supplemented their stipend. Gray's partnership with the SPG, to the exclusion of the other mission societies, meant that he had dictatorial control over the clergy selected for the Cape, ensuring an overwhelmingly Anglo-Catholic churchmanship.

2.2.2 THE COLONIAL CHURCH SOCIETY

The Colonial Church Society⁵ (CCS) was established by Samuel Codner in 1838.

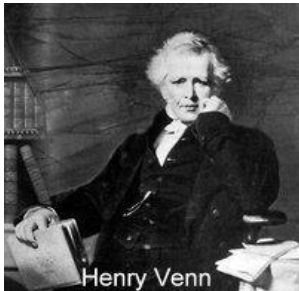


Samuel Codner

One of its major aims was in the field of education and it played a fairly significant role in this connection in South Africa. Its work in South Africa started in 1839 when a certain Mr Saffery was sent to the Cape to assess the needs and to organize schools. (CCS 1922:70). By 1841 three schoolmasters and two clergymen were appointed by the society. The clergymen were the Rev H Beaver at Fort Beaufort and the Rev TA Blair at Holy Trinity, Cape Town. The society contributed to the building of Holy Trinity and began a long relationship with the church. The CCS supported teachers at Holy Trinity and Mowbray and in the Eastern Cape. Two or three other clergymen came to South Africa under the auspices of the CCS but it was never a great force in the country. The CCS would, in all likelihood, have assumed a much greater role but for a tenuous relationship with Bishop Gray who effectively prevented the expansion of their work – see 4.4.3.

2.2.3 THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The Church Missionary Society⁶ (CMS) was founded in 1799, mainly through the efforts of Evangelicals of the so-called *Clapham Sect*. Henry Venn, recognized as



one of the foremost Protestant missions theorists of the nineteenth century, and an outstanding administrator, served as its honorary secretary from 1841 to 1873. Robert Gray preached in support of the CMS in 1840 (Gray 1876a:75) but in 1846 declined to hold a meeting for it (Gray 1876a:90). As Bishop of Cape Town, he declined to

work with the CMS except on his terms – see 4.4.3. However in May 1852, Gray met with Henry Venn with a view to persuading CMS to support his plans for a mission in Zululand. Venn was sympathetic but unsurprisingly made no contribution (Gray 1876a:365). The CMS was supported by the majority of parishes in England and had far greater financial resources than the SPG; in 1900 its income was almost 3 times that of the SPG (see Wellings 2003:5). Gray's failure to negotiate with the CMS was a great loss to the cause of the gospel in South Africa.

2.3 THE STATE-CHURCH CONNECTION

The Church of England is an “established” church, i.e. there is a clear state-church connection. The monarch, as governor of both State and Church of England, takes an oath to uphold “the Protestant reformed religion established by law” and “to maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline and government thereof, as by law established in England.” (Davie 2008:60). No official definition of “establishment” exists but, in essence, the Church of England is the only officially recognised church of the nation of England and has particular privileges, responsibilities and legal requirements. Before the Toleration Act of 1689 it was the only permitted church; thereafter Protestants who dissented from the Church of England, but held to the doctrine of the Trinity were permitted to have legal existence. Until the nineteenth century, only communicant members of the Church of England were permitted to hold public office or to enrol at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. However, increasing religious and civil rights have been granted to other Christians, people of other faiths, as well as to

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atheists and agnostics. Because of this toleration, the Tractarians, in particular, sought greater responsibility for the Church to regulate itself without state interference, a freedom which dissenting churches possessed. The Tractarians detested the fact that Parliament (which included dissenters, as well as people of other religions and no religion) should be making laws for the Church of England. Similarly, they were totally opposed to the secular law courts ruling in church disputes. This was to become a major issue in the Privy Council judgements, particularly the Gorham case (see chapter 3) and was a leading factor in the defection of many Tractarians; including Newman, Manning and the Wilberforce brothers, to the Church of Rome.

The status of the Church of England in the British colonies, particularly when those colonies became self-governing, was extremely problematic. “Letters patent” issued by the monarch purported to create colonial bishops’ sees and to invest jurisdiction in the bishops thus appointed. But did the sovereign have the power and authority to issue letters patent and did they effect any jurisdiction for the bishop, or was it just so much “waste paper” as the Attorney-General of the Cape was reputed to have said (Gray 1876a:472fn)?

When the British occupied the Cape in 1806 (having previously controlled it from 1795 to 1803), the Dutch Reformed Church was the established church of the colony. Thereafter a somewhat peculiar “semi-established” situation prevailed with the state providing stipendiary support for both Dutch Reformed and Church of England clergy. Salaries of Dutch Reformed ministers were paid by the colonial treasury and the governor was in control of clerical nominations (Du Plessis 1919:45). In the case of Church of England clergy, colonial chaplains, though licensed by the Bishop of London, were appointed by, and made responsible to, the Governor of the Cape who, as “Ordinary”, fulfilled all the functions (save ecclesiastical) of a bishop. It would seem that the governor retained some authority over colonial chaplains even after the appointment of the first bishop, as Sir George Grey’s granting of leave to the Rev Robert Lamb, without reference to Bishop Gray, in 1854 indicates (Grey 1854).

Robert Gray was well aware of the anomalous church-state position in the colony before his appointment as bishop. Gray’s chief counsellor, as he weighed up the pros and cons of accepting nomination as bishop, was his brother-in-law, the

Chapter 2: Prologue

Rev Dr Richard Williamson, headmaster of Westminster School. In a letter to Williamson of 1 February 1847, one of the points he raised was the fact that “the relations of the Church towards the civil power [of the colony] are quite undefined; the laws of the Church unsettled” (Gray 1876a:101). In an undated note to his sister, Annie Williamson, he expresses his deep disappointment at his inability to obtain clarity on the status of colonial bishops. “I could not get a



decisive answer from any one upon any point, either Archbishop, Bishop of London, Archdeacon Harrison, etc” (Gray 1876a:121).

Similarly, a meeting with the crotchety Henry Grey, 3rd Earl Grey, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, gave him the impression that the Secretary was quite disinterested in the subject and left him discouraged (Gray 1876a:121). An attempt by

the *New Colonial Bishops Committee* to use the pending consecration of four colonial bishops as an opportunity to discuss the status of the colonial churches came to naught, except for a suggestion to issue pastoral letters by all the Archbishops and Bishops, “enjoining their Clergy to bring the subject before their respective flocks as a subject of special prayer, even where it might not be expedient to ask alms . . .” (Gray 1876a:122).

In 1852, W.E. Gladstone promoted a “Colonial Churches Bill” in the British parliament. The Bill was intended to remove anomalies and to permit the colonial churches to arrange their own synods for the regulation of their affairs. Bishop Gray was in England at the time and he held various discussions on the bill with Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, Sir John Pakington (Secretary of State for the Colonies) and Gladstone himself (Gray 1867a:359f). Although Gray and the majority of clergy of his diocese favoured the introduction of the Bill, it is to his credit that he gave free rein for those opposed to the bill to state their views. The three Evangelical parishes of Cape Town (St John’s Wynberg, St Peter’s, Mowbray and Holy Trinity, Cape Town) were all opposed to the bill. Gray wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that “the Congregation of Trinity Church is also one of some importance and entitled to have its objections weighed and considered” (Cameron 1974:87). Trinity Church’s main objection lay in the wider powers that the bill would give to the bishop, revealing the basic insecurity of an Evangelical parish in an Anglo-Catholic environment. In the event, the bill

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was defeated in the House of Commons due to objections that it violated the royal supremacy. Only after judgement in the Long and Colenso cases in 1863 (see chapter 5), was the status of the colonial church resolved. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled that the Church of England could not exist as a state church at the Cape, due to the Cape acquiring representative government in 1854. This had important consequences for Anglicanism at the Cape. It meant that the Church of England would have to be constituted as a voluntary association of churches and that Bishop Gray's Letters Patent could not grant him coercive jurisdiction. Therefore Gray's antagonists (in particular William Long and Robert Lamb - see chapter 5) could legally refuse to attend his synods and decline to join his voluntary association.

2.4 THE GENESIS OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

The rapid expansion of the British Empire in the 19th century brought with it an expansion of the Church of England. Sachs (1993:164) observes that "the Church readily adopted the role of the religious establishment to the empire, seeing itself as the vanguard of historical progress." *Readily* is perhaps an overstatement on Sach's part; at the Cape of Good Hope (see below) the Church authorities were alarmingly tardy and provision of pastoral care came about through reactive responses to the needs by the military and colonial establishment rather than through pro-active action by the Church.

Article 19 of the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion defines the visible church as

a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. (BCP 1662:619)

Notwithstanding this definition, many Anglicans cannot conceive of the church without a bishop. For Anglo-Catholics this is inherent in their concept of *apostolic succession* (see chapter 3). Bishop Robert Gray expressed this in a letter to Bishop Henry Cotterill: "It seems to me that we Bishops are the only essential parts of this voluntary association . . ." (Gray 1867b:206). Tentative negotiations towards union with the Cape Dutch Reformed Church in 1870/1 ran aground on the rock of Gray's insistence on episcopal government and

ordination. “We are persuaded” he wrote “that ours is the true and divine Order in Christ’s Church, with which we may neither part nor tamper. Episcopacy, in our meaning of the word, is ordained of God” (Gray 1871). Even the Evangelical missionary Bishop Stephen Neill (1958:278), in considering the expansion of Anglicanism beyond the shores of England, begins with a consideration of the appointment of bishops. Likewise, Carpenter (1933:427). But Church of England churches began to be planted in British colonies long prior to the appointment of bishops, the first such church being in Bermuda in 1612. Ministers of these churches were licensed by the Bishop of London and the churches were nominally part of the diocese of London until the creation of separate sees. At the Cape, 14 churches were established before the appointment of a bishop and Hinchliff (1963:1) rightly deplures “the tendency among some to behave as though Anglican Christianity did not exist before [the appointment of the first bishop]. . .” But Neill (1958:278) is correct in stating that expansion was almost non-existent before the appointment of bishops and such appointments were greatly hampered by the church-state connection, requiring an act of parliament and consecration under royal mandate. The first colonial bishopric was created in Nova Scotia in 1787; followed by Quebec in 1793. Calcutta (1814) was the first diocese founded in the 19th century. Calcutta’s impossibly large see included all of India, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and Australia. At some stage the Cape of Good Hope was also included but the extent and date of this are unclear. Hewitt (1887:1) states, rather vaguely, that “when the See of Calcutta was founded in 1814, its Bishop was regarded as, in some degree, Bishop of South Africa.” Chatterton (1924:X7) however says of Bishop John James’ 1827 visit to the Cape that “the Cape was not then in the diocese of Calcutta, though afterwards it was for a short time.” This undefined “short time”, which would have ended with the appointment of Robert Gray to the bishopric of Cape Town in 1847, probably occurred during the episcopate of Bishop Daniel Wilson, who served as Bishop of Calcutta from 1832 to 1858. Whatever the relation of the bishops of Calcutta to the Cape churches, the churches certainly benefited from their visits en route to India (see below).

Between 1824 and 1840, 7 new bishoprics were established: Jamaica and Barbados in 1824, Madras in 1835, Australia (now Sydney) in 1836, Bombay in

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1837, Newfoundland and Toronto in 1839. In 1841 the Colonial Bishops Fund was established in response to pleas for the creation of additional sees. Following generous donations from the mission societies and private donors, 14 new bishoprics were made by 1850 and over a period of 50 years the fund collected £840,000 for 55 new bishoprics (Carpenter 1933:431). In 1847, Baroness Burdett Coutts made a munificent donation of £35,000 to be equally shared in the creation of the dioceses of Cape Town and Adelaide (Burdett Coutts 1865.)

2.5 THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AT THE CAPE BEFORE 1848

2.5.1 FIRST SERVICES

According to Baynes (1907:32), the first English church service at the Cape was held, whilst the Dutch were still in control, on 20 April 1749 by the naval chaplain of a ship stopping at the Cape en route to the East. Thereafter several Anglican funeral services were conducted for eminent persons who died at sea (Hinchliff 1963:4). In 1795 the British occupied the Cape in order to protect the Cape route from Napoleon. This was at the request of the Dutch stadholder, Willem V, who had fled to England when the French invaded the Netherlands. Dutch forces put up resistance but were decisively defeated at the battle of Muizenberg. Regular Church of England services at the Cape thus began, conducted by military chaplains. In 1803 the Cape was handed back to the Netherlands (now the Batavian Republic) in terms of the Peace of Amiens, but



Henry Martyn

this was short-lived. On January 4th 1806 the British, having declared war on France and the Batavian Republic, landed their forces at Blaauwberg. In the ensuing battle, the eminent missionary to India, Henry Martyn (on his way to India and serving as a naval chaplain) ministered to the wounded and dying. Martyn famously wrote in his journal:

"I prayed that the capture of the Cape might be ordered to the advancement of Christ's kingdom, and that England might show herself great indeed by sending forth ministers of her Church to diffuse the gospel of peace." (Hewitt 1887:7)

It would be over 40 years before Martyn's prayer would be answered in any great degree, and then the ministers sent would be of markedly different churchmanship to the Evangelical Martyn.

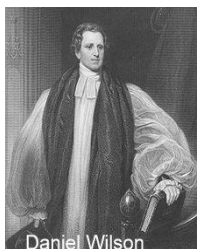
On the 18th January 1806 the Dutch forces surrendered. This marked the beginning of regular Church of England services. The Articles of Capitulation preserved the Dutch Reformed privileges as the 'established' church, with the ministrations of the Anglican chaplains meant to be confined to the garrison and British residents. The chaplains however found it difficult to maintain the conditions and conflicts arose with the Dutch ministers (see Hinchliff 1963:4f and Hewitt 1887:8f).

2.5.2 COLONIAL CHAPLAINS

In 1811 the first Anglican colonial chaplain, the Rev Robert Jones, was appointed. The Cape was officially ceded to England in 1814 and further colonial chaplains were then appointed receiving government stipends and support from the SPG or CCS. Thus both the English and Dutch Reformed churches were in a 'quasi-established' position. The first Church of England church building, St George's⁷, was opened in Simon's Town in 1814. This was followed by St Paul's, Rondebosch in 1832 and St John's Wynberg in 1833. In Cape Town services were held in the Groote Kerk by kind permission of the Dutch Reformed authorities until the opening of St George's Cape Town in 1834. Anglicanism spread to the Eastern Cape with the advent of the 1820 settlers, although the Methodists dominated both Church and mission work. Work commenced on St George's Grahamstown in 1823 and St Mary's Port Elizabeth in 1825.

2.5.3 VISITING BISHOPS

Ministers at the Cape were licensed by the Bishop of London and the churches were nominally part of the Diocese of London and the Province of Canterbury (see 2.4). In practice, the Governor, as "Ordinary", fulfilled the administrative, but not ecclesiastical, functions of a bishop. Successive Bishops of Calcutta (James in 1827, Turner in 1829, Wilson in 1832) called at the Cape and confirmed candidates. Bishop Daniel Wilson also presided at the first ordination service to be held at the Cape, ordaining 2 presbyters during his visit. In 1835 Bishop



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Corrie of Madras confirmed candidates in St George's Cape Town, the first such service in the church which was to become the cathedral.

By 1847 there were 14 Anglican congregations in the Cape – 6 in the Cape Peninsula, 1 at George, and 7 in the Eastern Cape. The estimated 10,000 Anglicans in the Cape at this time had been shamefully neglected by the mother church and there was no leadership or proper organisation. Wirgman (1895:123) dismissively describes it as "a feeble kind of Erastian Congregationalism", but it is difficult to imagine any other outcome, especially given the vast distance from England, the remoteness of many of the churches, and the rough roads of the time.

2.5.4 CLERGY AND CHURCHES

Bishop Stephen Bradley, a former Presiding Bishop of the CESA, frequently spoke of the 'strong' evangelical churchmanship of the clergy who preceded Bishop Gray to the Cape (see e.g. Bradley 1998:2). Although this is difficult to prove, Bradley was probably correct as Evangelicals were strongly represented in missionary activity of that period and the Evangelical CCS was active in the Cape 10 years prior to Bishop Gray's arrival. Although the High Church SPG sent a clergyman (Rev W Wright) in 1821, its missionaries at that time were not necessarily High Churchmen and, in any event, the SPG was not very active until the arrival of Bishop Gray, a staunch SPG supporter (see Walls s.a.:2/3). One can say however that, with one glaring exception, the early clergy were certainly all of Protestant convictions. The one exception was the Rev George Hough, colonial chaplain. Hough left the Cape in 1847 just before Gray's arrival.

The Rev G Hough

George Hough was born in Gloucester, England in 1787. He received the MA of Pembroke College, Oxford in 1811. He was ordained presbyter in 1812 and served a curacy in Oxford before leaving for the Cape. He was appointed Colonial Chaplain at Simon's Town in 1813 and moved to St George's in Cape Town in 1817. Wirgman (1895:125) and Hinchliff (1963:13) describe Hough as a moderate old-fashioned 'high and dry' churchman. However some of the congregation denounced Hough as 'holding very high sacerdotal views' (Wirgman 1895:125). According to Langham-Carter (1977:29), most of the congregation of St George's at the time were 'low church' and one of them observed that Hough 'reads the service with great distinction and dignity but his

preaching, however, is uncertain and often unsound'. That Hough was certainly more extreme than Wirgman and Hinchliff own, is apparent from Baynes' (1908:34) description of Hough's use of the Dutch Reformed church prior to the opening of St George's. Hough, he says, was unable to administer the sacrament more than once a month because of the necessity of building and demolishing an altar every time. This is a clear indication of a high church sacrificial view of the communion as the prayer book makes no mention of an altar, simply prescribing a "table . . . having a fair white linen cloth upon it . . . in the body of the Church. . ." (BCP 1662:236). How much easier for Hough to have simply used a table! In 1840 Hough stirred up controversy. According to Hinchliff (1963:17) he merely preached on fasting in Lent, raising a cry of 'popery' against him. However, there does seem to be more to it than that and indeed Kearns (1913:11) says he began a sermon series in which he openly advocated Tractarian teachings. The result was that some congregation members withdrew and formed a 'Religious Society' led by a Captain Dobbs. They then established an 'Episcopalian Chapel' in Long Street with the Rev TA Blair as minister in 1841. This eventually led to the opening of Holy Trinity Church in Harrington Street in 1846. A further telling point is that the governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, recommended that the Evangelical CCS should select a junior colonial chaplain to assist Hough, a move obviously to placate congregation members, but sure to create tensions (Kearns 1913:13). Indeed the appointment of the Rev Robert Lamb in 1845 did just that: Lamb and Hough were soon at loggerheads over various matters, including the doctrine of baptismal regeneration (see Hewitt 1887:94 and Hinchliff 1963:17). In April 1846, Hough left for England on sick leave and did not return, leaving Lamb in sole charge of St George's. When Gray was appointed as bishop he made sure to visit Hough at his home in Stroud in September 1847 (Gray 1876a:131). According to Brooke (1947:35) Hough would have painted a very dark and discouraging picture of church life at the Cape. Brooke also, without justification, maligns Lamb and Blair as being "gentlemen of strange ways and more than doubtful efficiency" (Brooke 1947:35), but in her assessment of Hough's views she is probably correct. This would explain Gray's poor attitude towards Lamb right from the outset.

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The following is a list and brief description of the clergy at the Cape at the time of the arrival of Bishop Gray. The names come from a report from the hand of Sophy Gray. Biographical details (unless otherwise indicated) are from the painstaking and valuable research of Mr William de Villiers – ‘Messengers, Watchmen & Stewards’ (De Villiers 1998).

Rev RG Lamb A.B. (St George’s Cape Town)

see chapter 5.

Rev TA Blair (Trinity Church, Cape Town)

The Rev Thomas Blair was born in Ensbury, Dorset in England in 1802. After a career as an army officer, Blair settled at Wynberg in 1832 and served as treasurer and trustee of the church there. In 1838 he went to Bombay, India where he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Bombay. He returned to the Cape and served as a military chaplain until 1841 when he accepted a colonial chaplaincy (with support from the CCS) as minister of the new Long Street Episcopal chapel. He was ordained presbyter in 1843 by the Bishop of Tasmania. The Episcopal Chapel became Holy Trinity Church in 1845 and he continued as minister until 1848. In 1848 he was appointed to St John’s Wynberg. He resigned in 1854 and returned to England.

Rev G Dacre M.A. (Military Chaplain, Cape Town)

Very little is recorded of the Rev George Dacre’s life and ministry. He served as a curate in Carlisle and was in Cape Town as a military chaplain when Bishop Gray arrived in 1848. He subsequently served as chaplain to the forces in the Eastern Cape.

Rev J Fry B.A. (St Paul’s, Rondebosch)

The Rev John Fry was born in Leicestershire in England in about 1801. He graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1826. He served as a Naval Chaplain from 1827 and then as an SPG missionary and chaplain. He was appointed to St Paul’s, Rondebosch in 1848 where he served until 1861. Fry died at sea on his way back to England in 1861. Bishop Gray described him as “an old naval chaplain, an establishment man who has no views about the Church” (Gray 1876a:419).

Rev H Okes D.D. (St John's, Wynberg)

The Rev Dr Holt Okes was born in King's Lynn in England in 1777. He graduated from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge with an MA in 1804 and DD in 1820. He was ordained in 1801. He arrived at the Cape with his family in 1830 as a military chaplain. He was appointed as a Colonial Chaplain and incumbent at St John's Wynberg from 1834-1848. Vos (1972:18) describes him as a classical scholar, astronomer and mathematician. Sophy Gray described him as being unequal to the discharge of his duties for many years due to his advanced age and illness. He died in 1854.

Rev E Judge M.A. (St Frances', Simon's Town)

The Rev Edward Judge was born in London in 1801. He graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1825. He was ordained deacon in 1824. He was ordained presbyter by Bishop Daniel Wilson in Cape Town in 1832, the first ordination service at the Cape. He arrived at the Cape in 1825 as the Rector of the Government Grammar School, serving until 1829. He was Professor of Classics at the South African College from 1829-1830. In 1832 he was appointed as a colonial chaplain, serving successively in Wynberg, Rondebosch and Simon's Town. He was appointed to St Frances, Simon's Town in 1848 and served until his retirement in 1874. He died in 1875.

Rev ET Scott (George)

Very little is recorded of the Rev Thomas Scott's life and ministry. He came to the Cape as an SPG missionary in 1845 and was appointed as a colonial chaplain at George. He resigned his chaplaincy in December 1848 following an admission of impropriety.

Rev J Heavyside M.A. (St George's, Grahamstown)

The Rev John Heavyside was born in Westmoreland in England in about 1799. He served as an SPG missionary in Madras from 1829-1831. According to Whibley (1982:25) he was the first Englishman to be ordained in India and had in fact been on his way back to England when he stopped over at the Cape and decided to stay. He arrived at the Cape in 1831 and was appointed Colonial Chaplain at Grahamstown in 1833. Heavyside appears to have been a hard

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working clergyman who put up little resistance to Archdeacon Merriman's liturgical innovations.

Rev J Barrow M.A. (Bathurst)

The Rev James Barrow was born in Cumberland in England in 1805. He was appointed colonial chaplain at Bathurst in 1833 and served until 1874. Bishop Gray visited Bathurst in October 1849, reporting simply that the church was neat and in excellent order and that the parishioners had expressed their deep affection for Mr Barrow. In August 1850 he again visited and remarked on the large congregation present. He died in 1891.

Rev F M'Cleland A.B. (St Mary's, Port Elizabeth)

Francis M'Cleland was born in Longford, Ireland in 1793. He graduated from Trinity College, Dublin in 1817. He was ordained presbyter by the Bishop of Limerick in 1819 and came to the Cape with a party of Irish settlers, located outside Clanwilliam in 1820. M'Cleland served as minister and schoolmaster. The settlers were subsequently moved to the Eastern Cape and M'Cleland was appointed Colonial Chaplain in Port Elizabeth in 1825. M'Cleland at Port Elizabeth and Copeman at Uitenhage (see below) were no favourites of Gray and Archdeacon Merriman for their refusal to accede to Merriman's requirements. Gray described the area as "our weakest point" and said that "everything is dead and going back there" (Gray 1876a:248). However in Gray's visitation tours of 1849 and 1850 the church was full. M'Cleland died in 1853 and was succeeded by the Rev W.H. Fowle. Fowle introduced Tractarian practices causing a similar withdrawal to that which had occurred at St George's Cape Town. However, with the Tractarian Bishop Armstrong in place, recognition was refused. Armstrong's replacement, Bishop Cotterill, however licensed a clergyman for the group which became Holy Trinity, Port Elizabeth.

Rev G Thorpe BA (Sidbury)

The Rev George Thorpe was born about 1810 in Surrey, England. He graduated from St John's College, Oxford in 1833 and was ordained presbyter in 1839. He arrived at the Cape in 1840 and served at Sidbury in the Eastern Cape from 1842-1849. Thorpe had been invited by the parishioners of Sidbury to take charge of the parish in 1842. However, after disputes regarding his stipend and the conduct of his ministry, they repudiated his ministry in 1844. He proceeded

to Cape Town and obtained a colonial chaplaincy and returned to Sidbury. Once again his ministry was repudiated but he carried on for the next 4 years with a congregation consisting of only a few children. After Bishop Gray arrived an enquiry was held, resulting in his stipend being withdrawn. The parishioners were only able to rid themselves of this unwanted pastor by defraying his expenses to return to England in May 1849.

Rev PW Copeman M.A. (Uitenhage)

The Rev Philip Copeman was born in England in 1813. He graduated from Queen's College, Cambridge in 1844. He was ordained in 1841 and served 2 curacies in England before coming to the Cape as an SPG missionary in 1846. He was appointed Colonial Chaplain at Uitenhage in 1847. Copeman came under censure from Bishop Armstrong and appealed to parliament for protection, incurring the wrath of Bishop Gray who described him as 'an utterly careless clergyman' (Gray 1876a:402). Copeman's clash with Armstrong was reputed to have contributed to the latter's early death but Hinchliff (1963:44) counters that "Tractarian heroes seemed to have succumbed very easily to hearts broken by persecution. . ." Copeman moved to Sidbury in 1857 as Colonial Chaplain and sometime later was appointed Rector of Christ Church, Alexandria. He apparently then took to farming but continued to preach every Sunday. He retired in 1889 and died on his farm outside Alexandria in 1898.

Rev W Long (Graaff-Reinet)

See Chapter 5

Rev H Beaver BA (Military Chaplain, Fort Beaufort)

The Rev Herbert Beaver was born in Surrey, England in about 1800. He graduated from Queen's College, Oxford in 1821. He served as a chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company before joining the CCS and coming to the Cape in 1841. He then served as chaplain to the forces at Fort Beaufort and Fort Hare from 1842-1868. Beaver appeared to be a hard worker who ministered over a wide area – from Somerset East through to Alice. He died at Alice in May 1858.

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2.6 CONCLUSION

The Church of England, in its home country, exhibited a comprehensive spectrum of churchmanship. The version of Anglicanism exported to the British colonies, however, would generally be dominated by one or other strand of churchmanship, largely influenced by the Episcopal leadership and the mission societies. At the Cape, the pioneer clergy were almost all Evangelical or firmly Protestant. This was to change after the appointment of the first bishop who deliberately excluded the evangelical mission societies and actively sought Anglo-Catholic clergy with the assistance of the High Church SPG. The wideness of the doctrinal gulf between the original clergy, such as William Long and Robert Lamb, and the newly-appointed Anglo-Catholic men, will be seen in the next chapter.

³ Broad churchmen were, of course, not the only group working for reform.

⁴ Now the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG).

⁵ The CCS went through a number of name changes over the years; it is now known as the Intercontinental Church Society.

⁶ Now the Church Mission Society

⁷ St George's Simon's Town is no longer in existence. The building collapsed within a short time of opening. In 1837, the current St Francis Church was opened.

CHAPTER 3: A PATHETIC SCHISM?

3.1 INTRODUCTION

"The differences between this body [the CESA] and the Province are now almost entirely matters of 'churchmanship' and it is pathetic that the schism should continue." (Hinchliff 1963:225)

Hinchliff's statement makes light of the differences between the Evangelicals of the CESA and the Anglo-Catholic-dominated CPSA. However, the differences can not be so easily dismissed. The Anglo-Catholic priest William Davage (2010:3 & 6) makes the clear assertion that Tractarianism involved a rejection of Protestantism as an "accretion" that "submerged" the Catholicism of the Church of England. Evangelicals agree that these different streams of churchmanship cannot be easily reconciled: Martin Wellings (2003:14) quotes a sermon of Prebendary Webb-Peploe: "In their aim, their desire, their intention, these two systems are absolutely contrary, the one to the other."

The purpose of this chapter is to list and compare a number of points of difference. In so doing, it is not proposed to evaluate critically the different positions or to subject them to the scrutiny of Scripture or the Anglican formularies. Rather, the aim is simply to highlight the substantial and serious nature of these differences in churchmanship. This will then lead to an understanding of the reason the 19th century Evangelicals felt that joining a voluntary religious association, bound only by its own courts, would threaten their Evangelical distinctives.

In attempting a list of differences, it must be acknowledged that the use of the terms *Anglo-Catholic*, *Tractarian* and *Evangelical* imply a homogeneity that simply did not (and does not) exist; generalizations are therefore unavoidable.

3.2 THE HEART OF THE DIFFERENCES

"If we have to locate the heart of Tractarianism we would find it in the assertion that the Church and the Church of England is Catholic and Apostolic. . . The founding Fathers of the Movement were motivated by their firmly held and tenaciously articulated belief that the Church of England was the local embodiment and

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the national expression of a wider concept of Catholic Christendom. Their aim was to convince all members of the Church of England that they were Catholic and reformed, not reformed and protestant. They sought to re-awaken through their Tracts and sermons, and to make the Church of England aware, that a latent Catholicism was enshrined in its liturgies and formularies but these had lain dormant, submerged by an accretion of Protestantism and anti-Catholicism inherited from the political and dynastic disputes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their aim was nothing less than complete conversion.” (Davage 2010:3)

Davage, in pointing to the heart of Tractarianism, uncovers the heart of the differences: What is true catholicity? Evangelicals certainly did not deny the catholicity of the Church of England: to the contrary, they strongly asserted it. Griffith Thomas wrote a “manual of instruction for the members of the Church of England” entitled *The Catholic Faith*. Two chapters were devoted to an exposition of catholicity (Thomas 1952:226f). Thomas listed three aspects of catholicity: geographical diffusion, doctrinal purity, and ecclesiastical fellowship. He then proceeded to show that the marks of catholicity in the Church of England were expressed in her reception of the ancient creeds and in the theological statements concerning the Godhead in Articles I to V of the 39 Articles. However, he then drew attention to the emphases arising from the Reformation: the supreme authority of Holy Scripture; justification by faith without the need of an intermediary; and true and worthy reception of the gospel sacraments through faith, not *ex opere operato*. “In these three particulars, above all others, the Church of England in the sixteenth century protested against the current and predominant views of the day, and in so doing was not adopting any merely negative position, but one that was essentially positive and Catholic” (Thomas 1952:229).

Fundamentally, therefore, what the Anglo-Catholics saw as negative accretions, the Protestant Evangelicals saw as positive clarifications of a true catholicity. Davage (2010:2) gives explicit expression to the gulf between the two systems:

“To its detractors [Tractarianism] sought to dismantle the protestant inheritance of the sixteenth century, and those detractors were not mistaken because the Oxford Movement

sought to restore the Church to its place within a Catholic heritage and understanding, and to recover the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, unsullied by the accretions of historical events. Thus, the aim of the Oxford Movement was a radical one and marked an assault on the English protestant and anti-Catholic consciousness that had become endemic in the English psyche."

3.3 THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION

"The Apostles were the sole channel of the powers bestowed by Christ and no one could possess them who had not received them in a direct line from the Apostles by the laying on of hands. Tractarians held that if any body of Christians lost the apostolic ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, the three-fold ministry, it would cease to belong to the true Church, for then its officers or ministers would not possess either authority or the commission to teach in the name of Christ, or the power to absolve from sin, or to offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice: all essential to the life, continuity and authenticity of the Church." (Davage 2010:4)

The claim to Apostolic succession, though not invented by the Tractarians, was a cornerstone of their assertion of the catholicity of the Church of England. Wilson (s.a.:1) rehearses the doctrine in its original, simple form: an unbroken chain, starting from Christ and the apostles, of bishops successively laying hands on bishops, transmitting the divine gifts of episcopal grace and power. The implication was clear: break the chain and the ministerial orders are invalidated. At the Cape, Bishop Gray's conviction that episcopacy was "divinely appointed" caused unification talks with the Dutch Reformed Church to fail, for as Gray put it in a letter to Dr William Robertson of the DRC: "It is well-nigh certain that the reunion of Christendom, which we believe that God will in his own good time bring to pass, cannot take place on any other platform" (Gray 1871). In 1892 the Cape Argus reported on a sermon by the Rev E Osborne of the Cowley Fathers in which he represented that the Dutch Reformed Church had neither valid ministry nor sacraments. This prompted a detailed study by PGH Willmot,

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churchwarden of St Peter's Mowbray, which concluded "that the unchurching of non-episcopal bodies has no warrant from the accredited documents of our Church" (Willmot 1892:15).

Wilson (s.a.:2) admits that "there is something very alluring about this unbroken chain running back to the Apostles and to our Lord himself: it bewitches the imagination and throws an awesomeness about the Church which is very impressive. It strengthens church authority. For when bishops give commands the utmost deference must be given to them." He perceptively adds, however, that "oddly enough, the people who uphold this doctrine most ardently are not conspicuous for deference to episcopal authority." It is instructive to see the weighty significance of this doctrine for the South African Tractarian historian, Wirgman, who painstakingly traces Bishop Gray's direct line from Archbishop Laud, and then goes into discussion of various "independent lines of succession" (Wirgman 1895:142). Wilson (s.a.:4) points out that the doctrine has now been modified to place less emphasis on the mode of transmission but still asserts the fact that "episcopacy, alone, guarantees a ministry which has 'the security of the Divine Covenant about it.'" Davage (2010:6) concedes that the doctrine was perhaps expounded too crudely and mechanically "but the Tractarians wanted to achieve an awareness of the true character of the bishop as the symbol of the divine origin of the whole Church and as a man possessing the commission of Christ and the authority of the whole body of Christ." He adds that "the bishop is the guardian of the deposit of faith, the guarantor of the teaching office of the Church. . ."

Evangelicals saw the Tractarian view of Apostolic succession as fundamentally flawed due to their erroneous views of the visible and invisible church. Toon (1979:176) quotes William Goode, the foremost Evangelical theologian of the mid-nineteenth century:

"Both the Roman and the Tractarian systems are founded upon one and the same fundamental error; namely that the true Church of Christ must be a body of individuals united together by external and visible bonds of union and communion, under the government of those ordained in succession from the Apostles as their bishops and pastors. From this primary false principle springs an abundant harvest of errors. Truth is sacrificed to unity. The 'priesthood' are exalted to a place not belonging to

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them, and the ministry of service is turned into a ministry of lordly government. Usurped power is sustained by the expedients to which usurpers are wont to resort, fictions and delusions of every kind calculated to place the minds of men under their yoke. And the spiritual kingdom of Christ, of which hearts are the subjects, and His word and the unseen influences of His Spirit the ruling and directing authorities, is turned into an earthly kingdom, whose subjects are all those who submit themselves to certain human authorities and hold themselves bound by certain human laws."

That Bishop Gray's view of his Episcopal office accorded with the Tractarian view reflected above will be seen in the assessment of Gray in chapter 4 and in his dealings with the Evangelicals Lamb and Long as set out in chapters 5 and 6.

3.4 ACCESS TO GOD

"The importance of the Church is that she prevents the individual from leaping into subjective religiosity. The salvation of the individual is accomplished in and through a redeemed society."
(Davage 2010:6).

Wellings (2003:22) notes that "few Evangelicals [in the nineteenth century] engaged with ritualism on the level of the debate about formal, meritorious and instrumental causes." For them, the matter was simple: the individual's direct access to God. Statements such as the above and, indeed, the whole Anglo-Catholic system, appeared to them to interpose an unnecessary and unscriptural mediatory role for the Church and her ministers. Thus, in the Cape, the Rev Alfred Daintree asserted "the right of every individual to have full, direct, personal access to God through the sole mediation of Jesus Christ by faith in Him alone. Christ fills the whole expanse between the soul and God. There is therefore no place for subsidiary mediators" (Buchanan & Daintree 1930:18). To Evangelicals this imposed mediatory role seemed pervasive in Anglo-Catholicism: They saw it in the re-introduction of private auricular confession which, according to the Anglo-Catholics "had the object of repair of the loss and damage incurred by mortal sin. . ." and for a baptised penitent includes a penal element. "We show sorrow most effectively by submitting to punishment . . . the

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invariable custom of the Church is to impose some definite action as a condition of Absolution" (Mackenzie 1931:108). Bishop Ryle however, saw it as "a practice fraught with danger, dishonouring to our Lord Jesus Christ, and calculated to do infinite harm to souls." Evangelicals crossed swords with the Anglo-Catholics over invocation of the saints, prayers for the dead, and in the veneration of, and prayers to, the Virgin Mary. Berry (1916:12) deprecates the increasing occurrence of these practices in the CPSA.

The very style of Anglo-Catholic worship created a barrier for Evangelicals. Mackenzie (1931:76) justifies the Anglo-Catholic usages of ceremonial, gestures and vestments:

"Ceremonial is the expression of doctrine. It is not mere pomp, but the natural result of the Catholic faith. . . The presiding minister is not merely acting in the name of the congregation but in the person of Christ. Once this doubly representative character of the priestly office is realized, the whole function is seen to be the natural expression of the inner meaning of the action which is being performed. Special Eucharistic vestments imply the unique character of the act; incense is eloquent of acceptable worship; the bowing of the head, the lifting up of the hands, are the universal human expression of humility and confidence respectively in the presence of the Divine. The ceremonial which surrounds the act of Consecration is no more than the translation into outward gesture of the belief that the consecrated species mediate a spiritual presence of Christ in the flesh, and that then and there a spiritual fact has been accomplished by the power of God. The elevation of Host and Chalice is the deliberate act by which the attention of the worshippers is called to the fact that Christ himself has intervened in our solemnity."

The association of ceremonial with a doctrinal position that they opposed, naturally created a barrier for Evangelicals. Evangelicals had a strong aversion to anything approaching Romanism – even the plain white surplice was seen as a sacerdotal garment when worn in the pulpit, and its use resulted in disturbances. Evangelicals welcomed an appropriate worshipful aura but the Anglo-Catholic aura of mysticism and the use of gaudy and elaborate vestments offended them, 'salvation by haberdashery', they mocked. Even if the vestments were said to

have no doctrinal significance, they were deplored on aesthetic grounds (Ive 1992:143). To the Evangelical, Anglo-Catholic ritual created a barrier to the believer's access to God – "elaborate services . . . reduced the laity to the status of spectators and rendered the proceedings incomprehensible by the introduction of inaudible prayers and interpolations from unauthorised books. Simplicity in worship was not merely a question of aesthetics, but of theological principles and of loyalty to the Prayer Book's purpose of a 'Common Prayer' intelligible to all" (Wellings 2003:23).

3.5 THE RULE OF FAITH

"In the Early Fathers the Tractarians found a purity of doctrine and were keen to preserve it. They maintained that the Church of England had lost, or at best neglected, the ethos of the Early Fathers and they needed to recover it. So the Tracts and the scholars of the Oxford Movement set out to find what they feared was an endangered heritage of Catholic doctrine and devotion. They did so because that was where the Church as a Divine Society could locate its authority. If they denied the authority of the State to legislate for that society, if they rejected the Erastian principle, they needed to locate an authority elsewhere. The question of authority lies at the heart of the Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic dilemma. (Davage 2010:7)

For Evangelicals, statements such as the above challenged their conviction of the supremacy of Scripture as the rule of faith. Although both parties affirmed the inspiration of the Bible, Evangelicals believed that Anglo-Catholics elevated tradition to a co-equal position. Anglo-Catholics with their high view of the Church, saw it not only as the preserver of Scripture but also as its interpreter. "The Church to teach and the Bible to prove, with the corollary that if the Bible ever failed apparently to support the Church's teaching, the individual's understanding of the Bible must be at fault and should be corrected" (Wellings 2003:15). Such teaching was deeply repugnant to Evangelicals. Bishop JC Ryle's view is typical:

"The first leading feature of Evangelical Religion is the absolute supremacy it assigns to Holy Scripture as the only rule of faith

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and practice, the only test of truth, the only judge of controversy. Its theory is that man is required to believe nothing, as necessary to salvation, which is not read in God's Word written, or can be proved thereby. It totally denies that there is any other guide for man's soul, co-equal or co-ordinate with the Bible. It refuses to listen to such arguments as 'the Church says so,' - 'the Fathers say so,' - 'primitive antiquity says so,' - 'Catholic tradition says so,' - 'the Councils say so,' - 'the ancient liturgies say so,' - 'the Prayer Book says so,' - 'the universal conscience of man says so,' - 'the verifying light within says so,' - unless it can be shown that what is said is in harmony with the Scriptures." (Ryle 1896:4)

Anglo-Catholics countered that Scripture required expert interpretation due to its unsystematic structure and perplexities; the ignorant use of private judgment had resulted in most heresies. For Evangelicals, however, revelation was useless unless it was comprehensible and, in their opinion, Scripture was sufficiently perspicacious. Evangelicals further charged Anglo-Catholics with undermining the sufficiency of Scripture by adding to it. JC Ryle likened this to the way the Pharisees did not deny any part of the Old Testament Scriptures but "brought in, over and above it, so much of human invention, that they virtually put Scripture aside, and buried it under their own traditions" (Ryle 1896:398).

Wellings (2003:16) rightly notes that the evangelical position on Scripture was not just logical and dogmatic: it was an emotional issue as well. "Evangelical religion was soaked in Scripture, while prayer and Bible reading were the staples of Evangelical piety. . . Put more simply, and at the risk of sounding trite, Evangelical Christians loved their Bible. It was to them the Word of God, the message of salvation, the source of guidance, assurance and hope." The perceived Anglo-Catholic downgrading of Scripture thus struck at the very heart of Evangelicalism. This commitment to Scripture is also reflected in the CESA's choice of a slogan from Psalm 138:2 "Thy Word above all things."

3.6 THE MINISTRY AND THE SACRAMENTS

"The Eucharist was not a mere memorial feast, the spiritual benefit of which depended on its psychological effect on the worshippers. It was rather of the nature of a sacrifice; and the

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sacrificed Food, identified, in some hitherto undefined way, with the sanctified Flesh and Blood of Christ Himself, might be expected to bring the same blessing to those who had actually taken part in the assembly of the faithful.” (Mackenzie 1931:81)

The above quotation, the context of which is the reservation of the sacrament for persons absent from the service, reveals the Anglo-Catholic mystical and mechanical understanding of the Holy Communion or Eucharist (or, indeed the Mass, the name many Anglo-Catholics tellingly reverted to). This is the area of greatest difference and conflict between Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals; the area of most innovation in terms of vestments, ornaments and ritual on the part of the Anglo-Catholics. The first major difference concerned the nature of the service. Anglo-Catholics denied the Roman Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation but asserted the Eucharist to be a sacrifice offered to God, with all its accompaniments: an altar, the eastward position of the celebrant; and elevation, adoration, and reservation of the consecrated elements (see e.g. Cameron 1917:15f). Griffith Thomas (1952:277) counters this view:

“In the Lord’s Supper Christ is neither offered ‘to’ God, nor ‘for’ man; He is offered ‘to’ man as Saviour and sustenance to be welcomed by faith. It will be well, therefore, to get rid of ambiguous and misleading terms. The Lord’s Supper is not a commemorative sacrifice; it is the commemoration of a sacrifice; . . . The whole position is un-Scriptural, un-Anglican, un-historical, unreal, untrue. It ministers to superstition, tends to materialism, and is perilous to the soul in relation to God and Christ.”

Allied to the notion of Eucharistic sacrifice is that of a sacerdotal priesthood. Some Anglo-Catholics explicitly acknowledged this as their role; others were more guarded as to the propitiatory nature of the Eucharist, but “it was a feature of their theology that the Christian minister was a priest and fulfilled in some sense a sacrificial and mediatorial role. In this understanding of priesthood was to be found the basic principle of sacerdotalism” (Wellings 2003:31).

For Evangelicals the notion of a sacerdotal priesthood was totally unacceptable on Biblical grounds, an affront to the high priesthood of Christ, a denial of the priesthood of all believers and a distraction from the real work of ministry.

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Griffith Thomas (1952:248) was decisive: "The only priesthood, apart from our Lord's, is the spiritual priesthood of all believers." He adds (1952:250) "In the Jewish economy a mediatorial priesthood was necessary because of alienation from God, because sin was not put away, because the way to God was not open. But now sin has been put away, the way to the holiest is manifest, and for this Christ, our Divine Priest, is all and in all. . . there is no room for and no need of any other mediator."

Another major difference concerned the apprehension of the 'real presence' of Christ in the Eucharist. Evangelicals were sometimes accused of holding a 'Zwinglian' bare remembrance view; disparaged as a 'real absence' view. In fact, most Evangelicals asserted a real spiritual presence – the so-called 'receptionist' view. Tractarians, whilst denying the doctrine of transubstantiation nevertheless asserted a real bodily presence. Wellings (2003:34) quotes from a 1900 ECU Declaration:

". . . that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the bread and wine, through the operation of the Holy Ghost become, in and by Consecration, according to our Lord's institution, verily and indeed the Body and Blood of Christ, and that Christ our Lord, present in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar under the form of Bread and Wine is to be worshipped and adored."

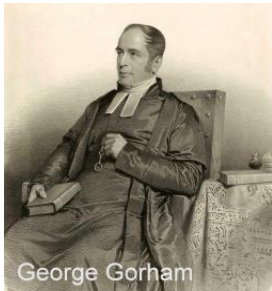
To Evangelicals this was almost tantamount to transubstantiation and William Goode charged the Tractarians with gross contradictions and sophistry in their views (see Toon 1979:199f).

Turning to the other sacrament: Different views on the relationship between baptism and regeneration (and, indeed, the meaning of regeneration) caused raging controversies in the mid-nineteenth century. The 'Gorham Judgement' of 1850 marked a crucial point and illustrates the seriousness of the gulf in understanding between the extremes, with a range of views lying between. If the judgement had gone against Gorham there would very likely have been a large exodus of Evangelicals from the Church of England. Instead many Tractarians defected to the Church of Rome following the judgement.

The Rev George Gorham held a living in the Diocese of Exeter and was about to move to another parish in the same diocese. His bishop, Henry Philpotts however held that Gorham's Calvinistic views of baptism were incompatible with

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Church of England doctrine, in particular the Prayer Book statements on regeneration. Philpotts therefore required Gorham to undergo an examination



before he could be instituted to the new parish. After a lengthy examination, Philpotts declared Gorham's views heretical and refused to institute him. Gorham therefore requested the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court of Arches to compel Philpotts to institute him. The Dean of Arches, however, found in favour of Philpotts. Gorham was then

compelled to appeal to the Queen in Council - the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Privy Council, with the two archbishops concurring, ruled that Gorham's position was acceptable in the light of the 39 Articles. The decision caused uproar amongst High churchmen and Tractarians and there were numerous protests and objections, not just to the decision itself, but to the fact that, as they saw it, a secular court had overruled a church court - an Erastian elevation of the State above the Church. At the Cape, Bishop Gray also organized a petition against the decision. Many, perhaps most, Evangelicals at the time would have regarded Gorham's views as extreme but they would not have held to the instrumental *opus operatum* view of the Tractarians. Their objections were not just on theological grounds - there was also a pastoral and evangelistic concern as Wellings (2003:28) observes. He quotes one minister as saying that this teaching "made it impossible to preach conversion to the baptized because they were already counted as part of the Church and truly 'in Christ'". Another stated that "it is becoming increasingly common to meet with people who are proof against the preaching of conversion, because they have been taught to believe that they are already regenerated." Baptismal regeneration *ex opere operato*, says Wellings, was a spiritual menace, a 'deprivation of the souls of people of living truth' and a real danger to their eternal welfare.

3.7 JUSTIFICATION

Evangelicals suspected that Anglo-Catholics embraced a Roman Catholic (Tridentine) view of justification wherein the righteousness of Christ was infused into the believer in order to make him worthy to be accounted just before God. Protestants held that justification was declaratory - imputed, rather than

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infused, to the believer because of the merit of Christ. In fact, it was somewhat difficult to know what the Tractarians believed on the subject. "If in this respect" says Brilioth (1925:275) "the Oxford Movement stands on the Catholic side of the great dividing-line, it must also be called to mind how alien its deepest spirits are to every doctrine of merit." Newman's definitive *Lectures on Justification*, consisting of 13 lectures (available on the internet at www.newmanreader.org), attempted a harmonisation of the Protestant and Roman Catholic views. G.S. Faber (author of *The Primitive Doctrine of Justification Investigated*) claimed to have devoted more time to the study of Newman's *Lectures* than any other book. His conclusion was that it was confused and confusing and that it was impossible to create a harmonious view out of Newman's seemingly contrary principles (Toon 1979:143).

3.8 ERASTIANISM

"Tractarianism championed the liberty and the independence of the Church against the encroachments of a secular polity. It asserted the divine nature of the Church as it was pitched against an Erastian state. Given that parliament, following Catholic Emancipation and the Great Reform Act of 1832, could no longer be regarded as an expression of an Anglican hegemony, the Oxford Movement asked the radical question, what right did Jews and Roman Catholics (and later agnostics and atheists) have to legislate for the divine society that was the Church of England."
(Davage 2010:2)

Evangelicals came under fire from the Anglo-Catholics for their supposed Erastianism. This was particularly so at the Cape and in the 'Long case' where William Long went to the secular law courts to challenge his bishop's right to call a Synod. Ironically, Bishop Gray had refused to secure the legality of a Synod through legislation because of his rejection of the State's right to legislate for the Church. "The Church of England is in a false position" Gray wrote, "I will not allow the State's claims to be coiled round the necks of Colonial Churches" (Gray 1876b:172). Wellings (2003:4) makes the point that "the Evangelical attachment to the Church of England was one of principled commitment to a Protestant establishment, not mere erastianism or coincidence." At the Cape it was all that plus an instinct for survival.

3.9 CONCLUSION

The evidence adduced above reveals a wide and irreconcilable divergence between Evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism. E.A. Litton (1912:xxi) in his *Introduction to Dogmatic Theology on the basis of the Thirty-nine Articles* sums up the differences:

"Romanism (including its mutilated counterpart, Anglo-Catholicism) is a religion of the incarnation, the virtue of which is communicated by sacraments; Protestantism is a religion of the atonement, the virtue of which is appropriated by a direct faith in Christ, His word and His work, not, however, to the exclusion of sacraments in their proper place. Broadly, this is the difference. On neither side are these cardinal facts of revelation, or their connexion denied; there could have been no atonement if there had not been an incarnation; but the stress laid on the one or the other, and particularly differences of view as regards the instrument of appropriation, may affect our whole conception of Christianity and lead to widely divergent theological systems."

In England, these streams of churchmanship co-existed in a comprehensive state Church with protection for differences in churchmanship offered, and limitations defined, by the law courts. For the Cape Evangelicals, who found themselves in a decided minority soon after the arrival of the first bishop, to sever their connection from the Church in England in favour of a local voluntary association, comprised mainly of men of a widely divergent churchmanship and bound only by its own courts, would seem to be the height of folly.

CHAPTER 4: BISHOP ROBERT GRAY – AN ASSESSMENT

4.1 BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

The major events of Robert Gray's life have been well documented, most fully in the biography compiled by a devotee, H L Farrar (Mrs Sidney Lear), and edited by Gray's son, Charles (Gray 1876a). These notes are based chiefly on that work.

4.1.1 EARLY LIFE

Robert Gray was born on 3 October 1809 in Bishopwearmouth, Sunderland in



North-East England. Gray's father (also Robert), Rector of Bishopwearmouth and prebendary of Durham, was consecrated as Bishop of Bristol in 1827. Robert Gray senior and his wife, Elizabeth (née Camplin) had 14 children. Robert junior, the 12th of the 14 children, was educated at grammar schools in Durham, Hanwell and Eton. An unfortunate accident at Eton left him crippled for a

time and this, coupled with chest problems, seriously affected his formal education. During this time his sister, Frances, was a great help in caring for him. Gray wrote that she "impressed religious subjects on my mind, advising me to read some portion of the Scriptures every day, and frequently reading them to me herself. . ." (Gray 1876a:4). Frances' own health was rather poor and in December 1826 she and Robert were despatched to the warmer climes of Barbados in the hope of recovery. It was a bitter blow for Robert when Frances died in Barbados in February 1827. Robert recovered and returned to England only to suffer a further loss in the death of his younger brother, Augustus, in October of the same year. The death of siblings was a frequent occurrence in the Gray family. Three of the children died in early childhood and two elder sisters (both married at the time) died in 1823, followed by the death of another sister in 1832.

4.1.2 BRISTOL RIOTS

A further distressing event for the Gray family occurred in 1831 during riots which followed the rejection of the 1831 Reform Bill in the House of Lords. The

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elder Robert Gray's bishop's palace in Bristol was burnt to the ground by the mob in retribution for his vote against the bill. Besides the loss of the building, its contents and the bishop's personal papers, the valuable library of the cathedral was destroyed.

4.1.3 OXFORD UNIVERSITY

Gray enrolled at University College, Oxford in October 1827. "His health prevented his fitting himself for honours, but he went in for a pass, and got an honorary fourth (1831), which he hardly accepted with pleasure . . ." (Gray 1876a:13). This was the first time of awarding of this particular qualification which was created for those candidates for pass degrees "who had shown more than ordinary diligence or ability" (Brock & Curthoys 1997:345). The intention was thus to place worthy candidates for passes at the same level as honours candidates, albeit in the lowest honours class. Gray however resented this as "he fancied it would look as if he had gone in for honours and failed." (Gray 1876a:13). He was not alone in this view; according to Brock and Curthoys (1997:345) the degree was widely resented by its recipients who were embarrassed at seeing their names at the bottom of the list of passes. Awarding of the degree was scrapped in 1865.

4.1.4 WHITWORTH AND MARRIAGE

Following extensive travels in Europe, Gray was ordained deacon by his father on 3 March 1833 when 23 years of age. He then acted as secretary to his ailing father, assisted with parish work and preaching, and undertook extensive reading in preparation for ordination as a priest. He was ordained priest on 17 January 1834 by the Bishop of Bath and Wells under letters dimissory from his father. The elder Bishop Robert Gray died in September 1834 and the younger



man then took up the living of Whitworth in County Durham. His ministry at Whitworth was hamstrung by the lack of a residence in the area and he came close to accepting a call to another parish as a result. In the end, however, the problem was neatly solved by his marriage to Sophia ("Sophy") Wharton Myddleton, daughter of a wealthy landowner. Robert and Sophy were married by his brother Charles on 6 September

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1836 and took up residence in the Wharton mansion 'Old Park' in the area. Sophy was to prove a splendid and efficient helpmeet and partner in his ministry. Five children were born of the marriage: Louisa (1837), Charles (1840), Agnes (1843), Blanche (1847) and Florence (1853). Following the provision of a residence in the area, the Grays served the parish with diligence for the next 9 years. Gray, always an extremely hard worker, took on additional responsibilities in the adjacent and neglected areas of Byer's Green and Tudhoe and he had the satisfaction of seeing two further churches consecrated in the parish.

4.1.5 LOCAL SECRETARY OF THE SPG

Not content even with the additional pastoral load, Gray turned his attention to foreign mission; particularly the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG – see 2.2.1). He preached and encouraged support for the SPG and was appointed as a local secretary of the society. Gray's enthusiastic work for the SPG must have been a significant factor when, eight years later, the Rev Ernest Hawkins, secretary of both the SPG and the Colonial Bishops Trust, asked Gray to consider appointment to a colonial bishopric.

4.1.6 THE TRACTS FOR THE TIMES

Another factor to prove significant in later years was that Gray, during his ministry at Whitworth, began to show great interest in the Oxford Movement. He began an intensive study of the 'Tracts for the Times', as well as the writings and sermons of leading Tractarians such as Pusey, Newman and Manning (Gray 1876a:78f).

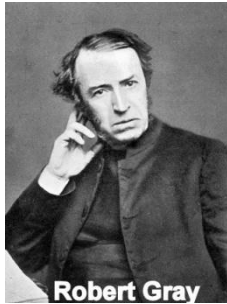
4.1.7 STOCKTON-ON-TEES

Gray came to recognise that residing in the mansion of 'Old Park' made him "too much of a squire, perhaps, for my own good." (Gray 1876a:66). Thus, when the Bishop of Durham (Dr Maltby) invited him to move to the larger urban parish of Stockton-on-Tees, he accepted without much delay and moved at the end of September 1845. Bishop Maltby was evidently very impressed with Gray and in May of the following year offered him a living with a higher benefice. Despite not having had an easy passage in the short time he had been at Stockton, he unselfishly turned down the offer as he felt that the parishioners of Stockton had

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not had a settled ministry for some time. In September 1846 he was appointed as an Honorary Canon of Durham Cathedral. He was however destined not to remain at Stockton for much longer.

4.1.8 BISHOP OF CAPE TOWN



In January 1847 Gray received a letter from the Rev Ernest Hawkins asking him to tentatively consider appointment to a colonial bishopric. After much consideration and considerable opposition from his family, he made himself available for the proposed bishopric of Cape Town. The choice of Cape Town was influenced by his brother-in-law, Dr Richard Williamson, who strongly advised it "as it is nearer home, and the place is more civilised [than the other possibilities in Australia]" (Gray 1876a:104). Gray was awarded the Doctor of Divinity degree, *honoris causa*, by Oxford University in May 1847 and was consecrated bishop, together with Short of Adelaide, Tyrrell of Newcastle and Perry of Melbourne, at Westminster Abbey by Archbishop Longley on St Peter's Day, 29 June 1847. *Letters Patent* signed by Queen Victoria on 25 June 1847 created his new diocese of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, together with the island of St Helena, and appointed Gray as its first bishop.

4.1.9 METROPOLITAN OF A NEW PROVINCE

Gray resigned his original letters patent when the diocese was subdivided into three sees on 30 November 1853. At that time, Bishop John Armstrong was appointed to the new see of Grahamstown and Bishop John Colenso to that of Natal. Gray then received new letters patent appointing him Bishop of the Diocese of Cape Town (now reduced in size) and Metropolitan of what was now a new Anglican province. Gray's new letters patent were issued after those of Armstrong and Colenso, a factor which was to prove significant when Gray attempted to depose Colenso as Bishop of Natal.

4.1.10 THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Following the Privy Council verdicts in the Long and Colenso cases which ruled that the Church of England could only exist as a voluntary association in South Africa, Gray succeeded in establishing the *Church of the Province of South Africa* (CPSA) in 1870. The constitution of the CPSA included a proviso disallowing any

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appeal beyond its own courts in the interpretation of doctrinal standards. The inclusion of the proviso, which was to cause much controversy within the CPSA, was a triumph for Robert Gray, who was bitterly opposed towards the secular law courts, particularly the Privy Council, making judgements in ecclesiastical matters. Gray's determination in this respect is evident in a letter to his niece:

". . . it may be that the Colenso case will bring the question as to whether the Colonial Churches are to bow down before the world and the Dagon of the Privy Council to an open issue. For myself, I say that I will not go before any civil court in the matter, and that I will not be restrained by any sentences they may give from doing my duty to my Lord. . . From the first I have said I will be no party to legal proceedings. . . I know what English lawyers' hatred of ecclesiastical courts and ecclesiastical authority would lead the Privy Council to decide. I could write their judgement for them. Perhaps, dear, you will think this bitter. It may be so, but the Church may well be bitter under her wrongs from the world and the courts of law, in whose decisions all these wrongs are concentrated. If the Church does not denounce the judgement which I hear is to be delivered in re Essays and Reviews, she will cease to witness for Christ. She must destroy that masterpiece of Satan for the overthrow of the Faith – the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as her Court of Final Appeal – or it will destroy her." (Gray 1876b:113)

Ironically, it was the Privy Council which in 1882 (ten years after Gray's death), confirmed the judgement of the Cape Supreme Court (in 1880) that the effect of the CPSA's *third proviso* was to separate the CPSA "root and branch" from the Church of England (see Ive 1992:54, 55). Although the judgement created problems for the CPSA in terms of property and endowment rights vested in the Church of England, rather than the CPSA, Gray would still have been well satisfied that the outcome was in accord with his original plan to create an independent diocese/province in communion with the Church of England. Already in 1849 (a year after his arrival in the Cape) Gray was considering a membership declaration as follows: *I do declare that I am a member of the*

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Church in the Diocese of Cape Town in communion with the Church of England, and that I will conform to the doctrine and discipline of the said Church (Gray 1876a:249). Gray would have regarded the “root and branch” separation as being separation from the “state” Church of England (and therefore from interference by parliament and the secular law courts), rather than separation from what he regarded as the “spiritual” Church of England.

Sophy Gray died on 27 April 1871 and Robert, following a fall from his horse which was not thought serious at the time, died on 1 September 1872 at the age of 62.

4.2 GRAY'S CHARACTER

4.2.1 CONFLICTING OPINIONS

Opinions of Gray range from the gushing adulation of Theodore Wirgman to the vituperative denunciation of Jeff Guy.

Wirgman's praise of Gray is fulsome and exaggerated. For Wirgman, Gray was “in many ways . . . the foremost and most remarkable in the long list of Anglican prelates who have left a deep impress upon the Anglican Communion since the period of the Reformation.” (Wirgman 1895:130). He goes further in a lengthy sycophantic section. To quote a brief extract:

“It was given to him, through the unwearied energy, patient perseverance, unswerving courage, and gentle humility of a life devoted to God, to weld into a Province of Christ's Church the feeble beginnings of English Church life in South Africa. His was no mere prominence as a theologian, a scholar, a sacred orator, or an ecclesiastical statesman. Dowered as he was with a measure (and that no sparing one) of all these gifts”
(Wirgman 1895:131)

By contrast, Guy's estimate reads:

“Gray was in fact a man whose ideas, philosophy, and character were sadly inadequate. His methods were often unfair and dishonest. The trial of Colenso in 1863 for erroneous teaching was unjust by any standards. When Gray went to Natal in the following year to depose Colenso he published personal attacks

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on him which were based on gossip and rumour. . . . Gray's language was exaggerated, vainglorious and frequently ridiculous." (Guy 1983:114).

There are elements of truth in both of these extreme views but both are gross overstatements. The writings of Wirgman, an extreme Tractarian, seem to be guided by his own agenda; history is interpreted through his biased lenses. Dean Green of Natal, also an extreme Tractarian, is an even greater hero to Wirgman than Gray, and Wirgman does not hesitate to criticise Gray severely in reporting his clashes with Green. For example, when Green charged Colenso with heresy for his Eucharistic views and Gray rightly dismissed the charge and admonished Green, Wirgman accused Gray of inability to see the seriousness of the charge and of exhibiting weakness (Wirgman 1909a:61). Ive (1992:247) has some justification in assessing Wirgman's writing as "characterised by a vigorous and easy style and a complete lack of objectivity."

Guy, on the other hand, in his biography of Colenso, expresses a view of Gray to which the subject of his writing would hardly have subscribed. Colenso and Gray had been close friends and there was a great deal of mutual respect between them which, despite the bitterness of the events leading to Gray's excommunication of Colenso, was never really lost. This is well illustrated by Hinchliff, who recounts that when both Gray and Colenso were old men, Colenso told one of his acquaintances:

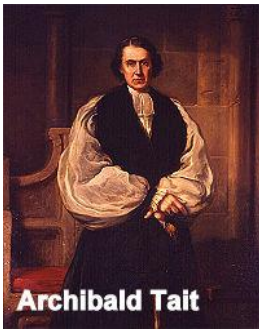
"If you ever meet Bishop Gray, tell him, I have never through all this trouble, lost my deep personal love and respect for him.' And when the message was delivered to Gray, not long before he died, the bishop of Cape Town was almost unbearably moved. 'I could see by his tears the struggle between personal affection and his strong sense of duty.'" (Hinchliff 1964:130)

4.2.2 ARCHBISHOP TAIT'S OPINION

A more objective assessment of Gray comes from a somewhat unlikely source, Archibald Tait. Tait, a broad churchman, was Bishop of London from 1856 to 1868 and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1868 to 1882. Tait had many clashes with Gray and indeed once wrote in his journal that "Gray made my blood boil" (Edwards 1978:134). He was particularly concerned about what he considered

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Gray's abuse of power. "I will never believe that it was the intention of the letters patent, or whatever it is that clothes the Bishop of Capetown with authority, to make him so irresponsible that there should be no earthly appeal from his decision . . ." (Davidson & Benham 1891a:349). After Gray's biography was published in 1876, Tait wrote the following concerning his erstwhile opponent:



"Have been reading Life of Bishop Gray of Capetown. It quite confirms my view of his character: thoroughly earnest and conscientious, but self-willed and imperious; placed in circumstances of exceeding difficulty, principally from the opinions he had adopted as to the spiritual power invested in him as a Bishop." (Davidson & Benham 1891b:316)

Tait further remarked on the constant note of antagonism in the life of Gray, "relieved by gleams of tenderness in letters to friends, and even once or twice in his dealings with Colenso" (Davidson & Benham 1891b:316).

4.2.3 CONSCIENTIOUSNESS AND DETERMINATION

Tait's assessment is perceptive. The truth of his remark about Gray's thoroughly earnest and conscientious character can be seen in Gray's reflection on his time at Whitworth as he contemplated a possible move to another parish. As he considers his work in Whitworth he commences by berating his failings and praying that he may be "stirred up to more vigorous exertion, more watchfulness, prayer, meditation, study of the Scriptures, and self-examination" (Gray 1876a:45). He goes further in his self-evaluation to reveal his understanding of salvation and his earnest desire to see people saved. It is a fine example of an earnest country clergyman at a time when many were careless of their duties. Later, when wearied by Episcopal duties that he felt himself ill-equipped for, he wished for this sort of life. "I often sigh for the quiet pastoral work of a parish priest in England, which seems to me in this distant land the happiest lot on earth" (Gray 1876a:242). This is Gray at his best and happiest – an earnest and conscientious country parson:

"I trust I have in my public preaching and private exhortations laid freely before my people, as well as I was able, the saving truths of the Gospel. I have endeavoured to humble the sinner

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and exalt the Saviour. I have endeavoured to describe God to them as Holy, Just and Merciful;- to convince every man that he is a corrupt fallen, sinful creature, by nature obnoxious to the wrath of God, and still more so by actual sin;- to point out that if judged by our works there would be no hope for our souls. I have dwelt largely and often upon that Atonement which Christ Jesus has made for our sins; I have made the main subject of my preaching Christ Crucified. I have endeavoured to impress upon them the immense debt of gratitude we all owe to our Beloved Redeemer for all the great things He hath done for our souls. I have pointed out how the love of Christ should constrain us to obedience and lead us to live no longer to ourselves, but to Him Who died for us and rose again. I have pressed upon them the absolute necessity of faith in Christ, without which we can have no interest in His Death, and shall obtain no benefit from His Precious Blood shed for us upon the Cross. At the same time I have taken pains that they should not mistake the nature of saving faith. I have endeavoured to expose to them the rottenness and even wickedness of a barren profession- a dead faith- that true faith worketh by love, and that good works are as necessary evidences of the soundness of their faith, as fruit is of the soundness of the tree which bears it- taking care, however, that they be not led to trust in themselves as righteous, and urging upon them that we are justified in the Sight of God by faith only.” (Gray 1876a:45)

He also resolved “at least once before I go, to visit every house in my parish and in Byer’s Green, and if possible, again to preach Christ to every individual in it. Good Lord, help me” (Gray 1876a:47).

Gray took his responsibilities as bishop just as seriously. He has rightly been described as a pioneer; the prospect of administering such a wide-spread diocese in a wild, untamed country where the roads were but rough tracks must have been daunting. Gray, despite frequent bouts of ill health, was made of stern stuff. Within six months of his arrival in Cape Town, he set off on an

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arduous visitation tour of four months duration, arriving back in time for Christmas. Day describes his return well:

A few days before Christmas, 1848 a travelling-waggon drew up before the inn at Stellenbosch, thirty miles from Cape Town. Its body was dented and roughly patched, its wheels tied up with ropes; the baggage which it contained was worn into holes. The first Bishop of Cape Town had returned from the first Visitation of his diocese. It had been a new experience for an Anglican bishop to swim rivers, to put his shoulder to the waggon-wheel, to pitch tents and hew wood and groom the horses.” (Day 1930:1)

Gray made frequent visitation trips around his diocese, including sea journeys to the islands of St Helena and Tristan Da Cunha. One of his trips around South Africa took a full nine months. Full details of such trips were recorded in journals, of historical interest for their comments on conditions, people and natural history. The journeys were accomplished in a mixture of modes - sometimes travelling in the wagon, sometimes on horseback, at times even walking along the way. Nights would be spent in the open, in the wagon, or under the wagon, but often accommodation would be provided by hospitable (mostly Dutch) farmers. Gray always offered to pay for his accommodation. Such offers were usually greeted with surprise, but were generally thankfully accepted! (Gray 1849 & Gray 1853). Gray preferred, whenever possible, to spend the night in the open veld as this afforded him time to write. His diligence in this is much to be admired; there were many occasions when travel was interrupted by breakdowns and Gray would redeem the time by carrying on his correspondence whilst awaiting repairs.

4.2.4 COURAGE AND OBSTINACY

It is natural that the incident involving the burning of his father's bishop's palace in the Bristol riots of 1831 would leave a deep impression on Gray and he certainly seems to have inherited his father's traits of courage and obstinacy, displayed on that occasion. The bishop was to preach in the cathedral on the day of the riots and, despite efforts to dissuade him as it was known that the mob was targeting the cathedral, he went ahead. Hinchliff comments, somewhat unkindly, that "the bishop made rather dramatic preparations to be killed in his own cathedral like a nineteenth-century Becket" (Hinchliff 1963:27). It is true

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however that the bishop's words as reported by the biographers (see Gray 1876a:3) display considerable overtones of drama.⁸ The younger Gray was also judged to have a tendency to self-dramatisation (Cockshut 1959:95). At the height of the Colenso controversy he wrote to his brother Edward:

"Do not make yourself uneasy about me and Colenso. My course is clear. A necessity is laid upon me to defend our Lord's cause, and purge the Church of all complicity, and woe is me if I shrink!"
(Gray 1876b:230)

Gray generally seemed to display stoicism and determination and it is unusual, though not surprising in the light of so much family tragedy, to find (in a letter to his sister Anne in 1835) his admission to worry and depression, underlined by a quotation he makes from a James Montgomery hymn:

*"This world's a wilderness of woe
And life a pilgrimage of pain."* (Gray 1876a:41)

4.2.5 IMPERIOUSNESS

Tait's remarks regarding Gray's opinion of his Episcopal powers are perhaps to be expected, coming from a Scotsman berated as "the best Archbishop of Canterbury the Presbyterians ever had" (Norwood 1945:5). Nonetheless, Tait's assessment is accurate.

Gray certainly did not desire the office of a colonial bishop, or indeed that of metropolitan of the province (see Gray 1876a:329); he would have preferred serving in a parish church or as a missionary, which is where his heart really lay. However having been appointed to the Episcopal office, he fully embraced the High Church/Tractarian view of bishops as being in the Apostolic succession, and thus possessing an authority that could scarcely be questioned. The parameters were set right from at the outset: Gray's very first sermon at the Cape was on the subject of episcopacy: "the Scripture arguments, duties and responsibilities of bishops." (Gray 1876a:159). It was also clear that he came to the Cape with preconceptions and plans that were made without consultation with the clergy who had preceded him. This lack of diplomacy set him on a collision course with the 'old' clergy regardless of their churchmanship (see e.g. Cameron 1974:89). The rift was further exacerbated by Gray's importation of Tractarian clergy and his machinations to reduce the influence of the Evangelicals (see Gray

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1876a:163). Gray's exercise of what he saw as a peculiar apostolic authority caused much disagreement and opposition. One clergyman commented bitterly in a letter to the governor, Sir George Grey, that the interpretation of authority displayed by Gray and Bishop Armstrong of Grahamstown "operates with peculiar severity" (PW Copeman, quoted by Southey 1998:20). Gray's imperiousness is very evident in his quarrels, both with clergy and laity, where he was quick to take offence and often complained that his dignity had been impaired and insulted. He seemed to imply that, because of his high office, he was beyond criticism. Yet there did not seem to be personal ambition in his actions. Bishop Cotterill had originally thought that it was so. In a letter to Bishop Colenso at the commencement of his (Cotterill's) episcopate he wrote:

"I acknowledge to you that his ambition (I can call it nothing else) and the slight disguise with which he now thinks it necessary to conceal it, amazes me and makes me more resolved than ever to withstand his assumptions. He has evidently a gigantic scheme for extending his province up to the equator, and creating a host of Bishops dependent on himself." (Cox 1888a:343)

However, Cotterill evidently revised his opinion, accepting that Gray's desire was for the expansion of the Church, rather than for personal advancement. Nonetheless, Cotterill's criticism of Gray's autocratic behaviour remained valid and the supporters of Bishop Colenso were surprised at the extent of Cotterill's subsequent support for Gray (see Rees 1958:103). Whilst they understood that the Evangelical Cotterill could not stand with Colenso following the publishing of the latter's liberal views (Cox 1888a:346), they felt that Cotterill's alliance with Gray made a mockery of the views he had expressed on Gray's desire, as Metropolitan, to treat the other bishops as his suffragans. Gray had proposed that a missionary bishop in Colenso's Episcopal territory should be answerable to him, rather than Colenso. Cotterill had written to Colenso encouraging him to resist Gray's aim:

"They [i.e. the SPG] acknowledge – speaking in an under-whisper – the monstrous insolence (I cannot call it by a milder term) of the claims of the Bishop of Cape Town. He has tried the same thing with myself. . . His claim is most preposterous and absurd. On the ground of a patent derived from the Queen, he assumes a

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right over no-one knows what amount of territory. . . At all events let us be firm, and we shall prevent evils of a most serious character.” (Cox 1888a:341)

Gray’s exercise of Episcopal authority attracted much criticism. His obituary in the Cape Argus of 3 September 1872 stated:

In the earnestness and enthusiasm of his earlier years in the bishopric he displayed a resoluteness of character which oftener than once degenerated into what without offence we may speak of as arbitrariness of temper almost despotic. He saw things so clearly from his own point of view that in the impetuosity of his character he could not imagine that other people, equally single-minded and equally earnest with himself, saw the same objects in a quite different light. But perhaps this combined narrowness of view and fiery impetuosity of temper was quite the very quality which ensured for him the very success which he has achieved.”

Southey’s comment on this ‘damning praise’ is perceptive: “the line between resolute commitment and bigoted intolerance was clearly very fine”! (Southey 1998:20). Indeed Gray has been accused of bigotry and intolerance, particularly in his relationships with (but not limited to) the Evangelicals. Gray could be warm and affirming in his relations with diligent Evangelical ministers - he was unstinting in his praise of William Long’s ministry at Graaff-Reinet (Gray 1849), as well as the ministry of Samuel Gray (no relation) at Cradock (Gray 1853); but he could also be insulting and dismissive towards Evangelicals (see e.g. Gray 1876b:409). His writings also reveal a disdain for other denominations and one has to agree with Guy (1983:39) that Gray could be insensitive and snobbish. Gray attempted a light-hearted response to the charge of bigotry when he wrote to his sister-in-law, Agnes (Mrs Charles Gray):

“My dear Aggy – I must send you a line, if only to comfort you with the information that I have lately taken to preach in the Methodist Chapels! I have preached there three times, and am in high favour with that respectable Society in consequence, as you will see by the Methodist newspaper of this Colony. The

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*Archdeacon [Merriman] has been preaching in a Moravian chapel,
so you see we are in a fair way of getting rid of our bigotry!"
(Gray 1876a:315)*

However, a mere five days later Gray writes to one of his main confidants and advisers, Dr Williamson, "You talk of the possibility of a Methodist coming out for the Mission: I distrust the Methodists – not their sincerity or zeal, but their self-denial and self-discipline. Methodism does not seem at all the system to make a good Missionary." (Gray 1876a:316). One may assume that the reason he wrote as he did to his elder brother Charles' wife was because Charles and Agnes were concerned that he would cause offence by hastily imposing his views on others. Early in his episcopate Gray had requested a relative: "Pray let Charles know that it so falls out that I am going to promote both the Colonial Church Society men [the Evangelicals Blair and Lamb]; - I trust this may propitiate a certain party here, and it will in many ways help the Church cause." (Gray 1876a:163). Kearns (1913:16) takes the reference to 'promotion' as sarcasm, but it was probably meant as a re-assurance to Charles who would have been alerted to a potential clash with the Evangelicals by a previous letter from Gray. That Gray had ulterior motives is certainly evident from his letter to Dr Williamson: "I have made some important changes . . . The low element will be weakly represented in Cape Town; the result is, all parties are pleased – the low grateful." (Gray 1876a:164). Concern about Gray's impetuous nature was already evident when he commenced his ministry at Stockton. Someone, identified as 'C' (quite probably his brother Charles), had suggested to him that he should be cautious in attempting to bring in high church practices in what was evidently a "low church". Gray was deeply offended: ". . . what an utter nincompoop (if you understand the word) he must think me! I am going to order a black gown immediately, and I shall submit with the best grace I can . . ." he wrote to his sister (Gray 1876a:85). However, his very first sermon, which he considered 'very moderate', succeeded in offending some of the congregation. (Gray 1876a:87). Even in Stockton he was branded a "revolutionary and a Papist" (Brooke 1947:13). That Charles, Agnes and others were concerned about this aspect of his character is evident from a letter to Charles in August 1848. Following a review of his contacts, Gray writes: "I am sure, after all the evidences I have given you of Evangelical catholicity, Lady Olivia will consider

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me hopeful . . ." (Gray 1876a:190). But Gray's episcopate was not popular with the general public and he was frequently under attack in the press, both in the Cape and in England (see e.g. Gray 1876a:164, 324 & Gray 1876b:410). Despite his protestations that he was not a party man, the perception was that he promoted priestcraft and sacerdotalism. Gray's wife, Sophy, was at a loss to understand why as she regarded him as gentle and conciliating, making necessary changes as gently and slowly as possible (Gray 1876a:324fn). It is perfectly true that certain of the attacks on Gray were the product of malicious mischief making, particularly that of the "Anglo-Indians" that Gray disliked so much; however Sophy's loyalty blinded her to Gray's imperiousness. Not only Robert, but Sophy too, was unpopular in certain circles (Gutsche 1970:181). Sophy's perception that Robert made changes 'as gently and slowly as possible' may appear to be borne out by the advice he gave his son: "It is infinitely better to go slowly than to have a great row, which will throw everything back. . . I should say, be slow in all your movements. Let there be a gradual preparation of men's minds. If not, you will throw back your work, and have disappointments, which perhaps would not otherwise have arisen." (Gray 1876b:529). This advice, coming as it did, towards the very end of Gray's episcopate, was clearly the product of bitter experience. How different matters may have been had Gray taken similar advice proffered to him by others at the beginning of his episcopate! For example, on 1 March 1848 (one month after he arrived at the Cape) he wrote to his brother Charles that the congregation of St George's had appealed to him to take action against the Rev Robert Lamb, but he declined to do so "choosing to take time for everything." (Gray 1876a:158). However, a mere 10 days later, his plans were in place to transfer Lamb out of St George's, having prevented him from preaching (Gray 1876a:163; cf Kearns 1913:16). Clergy of Gray's appointments, particularly Archdeacon Merriman and Dean Green, were also eager to introduce Tractarian practices, resulting in conflict in various churches, and complaints to the Archbishop of Canterbury that Tait said made Archbishop Longley "almost tremble with anxiety at the arrival of each mail from the Cape" (Davidson & Benham 1891a:216). Merriman's introduction of various practices under the guise of 'strict rubrical observances' caused a great deal of unhappiness in Port Elizabeth, but had the full support of Gray (Gray 1876a:248).

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Tait's further comment that the constant note of antagonism in the life of Gray was "relieved by gleams of tenderness . . ." can be seen, even in his dealings with his Evangelical disputants, Long and Lamb. Anderson-Morshead (1905:79) says that Gray did not maintain personal bitterness towards Lamb and Long. She tells of someone who heard him say to his wife "in happy accents, 'Oh my dear, I forgot to tell you, I have heard from dear Brother Lamb and dear Brother Long.'" Unlike Gray however, Lamb and Long did not believe that a notion of apostolic succession invested bishops with an unquestionable spiritual authority, contrary to the opinions of courts of law, and this brought them into conflict with him.

4.2.6 INTELLECT

Peter Hinchliff strains credulity by his statement that "Gray's intellectual and physical handicaps are almost the only adverse criticisms which can be made of him." (Hinchliff 1963:28). Aside from the fact that many other criticisms of Gray can be made, Hinchliff overstates Gray's supposed intellectual and physical handicaps.

As has been shown at 4.1.3 above, Gray's honorary Honours degree was in fact a superior earned pass degree, a fine achievement which showed that he was not lacking in intellectual ability. Hinchliff (1963:28) infers that Gray's consultation with others, such as Dean Green and Bishop Cotterill on specialised matters (such as canon law), reflected "his own painful awareness of his academic shortcomings." However there is no hint of this in Gray's biography and one may argue that it is a wise leader who consults on such matters. Gray lacked formal theological training but he grew up in a clerical home with a father who had published a number of books, including one used in examinations for Orders (Gray 1876a:19). He would especially have benefitted from his father's knowledge and experience during a period of almost two years when he served as assistant to his father, whilst preparing for ordination to the priesthood. Gray was an avid reader of standard theological works and was always eager to obtain newer books. In his biography are listings of books that he had read and/or recommended to his son, which show a breadth of reading across the theological spectrum. He also enjoyed reading biographies, including those of prominent Evangelicals such as Charles Simeon and Henry Martyn; not hesitating to express his admiration for them (see e.g. Gray 1876a:37, 62 &

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190). In unity negotiations with the Cape Dutch Reformed Church, Gray showed that he had prepared well and was familiar with their writings and confessions. In defending himself in the Cape Supreme Court against Long, he handled his case admirably, despite his lack of legal training, showing an acute mind and receiving wide praise for his efforts. A habit of regular scripture reading and prayer was inculcated by his sister, Frances (see 4.1.1), and continued throughout his life, both on his own, and with his wife Sophy.

4.2.7 HEALTH AND PHYSICAL ABILITY

Hinchliff (1963:28) makes much of Gray's health problems. It is true that Gray was quite ill as a young boy and it seems that his university education was also affected by ill health. However, following his graduation he managed an extensive year-long trip around Europe, seemingly without illness or mishap. If his health had been such a serious concern, he would surely have declined to move to the Cape. To the contrary he wrote to the secretary of the colonial bishoprics trust "You ask about my health; my only doubt on that score would relate to the effect of extreme heat on my constitution." (Gray 1876a:105). In South Africa, he managed many long visitation tours under severe conditions that would have taxed the strength of lesser men. The 1850 trip lasted a full nine months, the journey taking him all over the Western and Eastern Cape, the Free State and Natal. Conditions were at times incredibly difficult. To illustrate, here is an extract from Gray's journal:

"As evening came on, we began the descent of the Drakensberg. It was so very precipitous, that the pole cracked in several places, even though we unloaded the cart, and carried all the luggage ourselves for a distance of upwards of half a mile. Night surprised us during this operation. We therefore outspanned at the bottom of the steepest declivity. I never knew my driver baffled with a difficulty before. As the pole had cracked before we reached the worst part of the road, he said he did not dare to "riem" (lock) the wheel; and that if we went down with it unlocked, all would roll into the precipice below. He said we must turn back; we could not attempt the descent. As this, however, was impossible, we did attempt it, and arrived safe at the

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bottom, though through many dangers. I understand a cart has never been down before. The wagons of the country can, if they please, lock all the wheels. We spent the night again very uncomfortably and with little sleep, sitting or reclining as well as we could in the cart. When day dawned and we proceeded in our descent, (which I did on foot, considerably in advance of the cart,) . . . I know not whether the change of scene affected me at all, but I have seldom enjoyed a two hours' walk more. During the whole of the time I was enabled to maintain almost uninterrupted communion with God. The cart had scarcely overtaken me, before we reached a deep ravine, near to the first house which we have seen for nearly four days. In descending this, the pole snapped in sunder, and at one time I thought my driver would have been killed, and the cart dashed to pieces. Happily, however, the horses, perhaps through fatigue, behaved very well, and the cart reached the bed of the river with little additional damage. . . . We again slept in the veldt. On the following day we passed through a pleasing country without further serious accident, though the front board of the cart gave way altogether,--our swingle broke,--the iron ring which fastened the harness of the four front horses to the pole snapped in two, and we had several similar trifling misfortunes.” (Gray 1853:11)

Gray suffered from insomnia all his life (see Anderson-Morshead 1905:199) and also a number of recurring bouts of illnesses; however these bouts always seemed to have been brought on by overwork and stress. When Gray was suddenly laid low for about two weeks in May 1848, Sophy Gray wrote “Everyone agrees that Robert’s illness is very much owing to fatigue and over-work for the last year, which has disordered his constitution . . . Dr Bickersteth’s letters are to the same effect, i.e. that over-work was the chief malady.” (Gray 1876a:181fn). Similarly when he took ill in August 1852 in England, to such a degree that Sophy went over to care for him, the cause was not surprising; given the heavy load of consultations, preaching and deputation work he had been engaged in since the beginning of that year (see Gray 1876a:352f). Gray himself spoke of his “brain almost bursting at times with the multiplicity of

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things that are daily forcing themselves upon me, and the anxiety consequent upon them . . .” (Gray 1876a:181). He would today be described as a “workaholic”, a “Type A” personality – aggressively operating under a sense of urgency in line with his ambitious plans for his diocese. It is therefore not surprising that his health would suffer from time to time. Ultimately, he spent himself in the service of his Church.

4.2.8 RACE RELATIONS

At Graaff-Reinet, on 20 April 1850, in William Long’s newly opened St James Church, Wilhelm (servant of Archdeacon Merriman) was the first Black man to be confirmed and admitted to membership of the Anglican Church. “He was very devout and attentive” commented Gray “May he be the first fruits of an abundant harvest!” (Gray 1853:3). Gray, in common with many of the Victorians, adopted a somewhat paternal attitude towards the indigenous population but certainly had no time for apartheid-type separation of the races. On his first visitation tour he conducted a confirmation service in the Dutch Reformed Church, Uitenhage on 25 September 1849. His journal reads:

“We held our first confirmation service this morning at twelve in the Dutch Church. There were fourteen candidates, a very small number considering the amount of the English population here. The Church was quite full, and many of the poor coloured people were standing round the door. I grieve that the prejudices which exist so strongly in other parts of the Colony, with respect to the Coloured people, should be found here also, and that they should not be admitted to worship together with their white brethren, and to partake of all Christian ordinances with them. The feeling which keeps them at a distance is utterly unchristian, and those who indulge in it cannot look for God’s blessing.” (Gray 1849:7)

During a later visitation tour, on 5 December 1850, he received an application from a Dutch Reformed missionary in George, Mr Niepoth, to be received into the Anglican Church. Niepoth complained that the Dutch Reformed Church had generally neglected work amongst the Coloured population and was unwilling to allow mixing with Coloured people, to admit them to Church privileges, or to be

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buried in the Dutch Reformed church yard. Gray did not give an immediate answer but took time to investigate the situation. On receiving favourable testimony regarding Niepoth, he was received into the church at George. The upshot was that 100 of Niepoth's congregation members also applied to be admitted to the Anglican Church (Gray 1853:55).

4.2.9 A PASSION FOR EDUCATION

A major concern and passion of Gray was the provision of schools, particularly Church schools. He started one such school in Stockton (Gray 1876a:89) and, after appointment as Bishop of Cape Town, lost no time in putting his educational plans into place. In a letter soon after arriving he complained that the Cape schooling did not include religious teaching along Church lines. "Yet I am full of hope" he wrote "I think I see much prospect of doing good, and remedying many matters. But it is early days to speak." (Gray 1876a:162). But in less than two months he had hatched a grand scheme to take over the South African College, which he described as having failed (Gray 1876a:176). Having criticised the Revs Lamb and Blair for living at Green Point (Gray 1876:159), about 5 kilometres from their churches in Cape Town, Gray himself bought the house "Protea" (later "Bishopscourt"), more than double that distance away. Protea did however have the advantage of large grounds and outbuildings, including 'Mayniers Cottage', big enough for a fledgling College. Thus, when the plan to take over the South African College came to nothing, Gray went ahead



and established a college in Maynier's Cottage. With the Rev Henry M White as principal, the Diocesan College for boys, better known as 'Bishops', commenced operation in 1849. Within a year, Gray purchased the farm 'Woodlands' in Rondebosch and the college moved to its present site. Just over twenty years later, a similar school for girls – St Cyprian's – was opened with Miss Katherine Buller as headmistress.

A number of the churches, encouraged by Gray, also provided schooling. St George's Grammar School, now situated in Mowbray, began in 1848 as the church school of St George's Cathedral. Another church school in the city (with

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200 pupils) operated from Holy Trinity Church in Harrington Street. The Claremont, Mowbray, Wynberg and Rondebosch churches also ran schools.

In 1858, Gray established a school for the sons of chiefs in the Maynier's Cottage. It began with 25 pupils, housed at Protea. Besides schooling and religious education, they were taught trades such as carpentry, shoemaking and tailoring, under the supervision of Gray's son-in-law, the Rev Edward Glover and his wife, Louisa. In 1860 the school moved to larger premises and became Zonnebloem College. Following the move, the cottage at Protea continued to be used for schooling, this time for children of colour (Anderson-Morshead 1905:64).

4.2.10 MISSION AND SOCIAL WORK

Gray was very committed to mission. From the time of his arrival at the Cape, he was determined to start mission work amongst the Muslims. This was achieved from the beginning of Gray's second year at the Cape, under the direction of a former Roman Catholic priest, Dr Michael Camilleri (Cameron 1974:51). Gray was also acutely aware of the need for mission work amongst the Xhosa and Zulu people but had his hands full with the establishment of his new diocese following the years of Anglican neglect of the Cape and Natal. In 1850 he wrote to the SPG pleading for the immediate founding of mission work in the Eastern Cape. When the diocese was divided in 1853, Gray would willingly have gone to Natal to start mission work there if he could have found a suitable replacement as Metropolitan (Gray 1876a:329). Gray was a pioneer of the idea of "missionary bishops", courting controversy with the consecration (without Royal mandate) of the ill-fated Mackenzie in Cape Town in 1863 (Yates 2004:57). The bishop's foray into social work, through the founding of a sisterhood in 1868 and the opening of St George's Home and St George's Orphanage is well covered by Mary Anderson-Morshead, one of the founding young ladies (Anderson-Morshead 1905:137f).

4.2.11 OTHER INTERESTS

Gray also had a wide range of other interests; he read widely on an extensive range of subjects. He was an animal lover, even to the point of not harming mice but rather feeding and taming them. His journals reveal a great interest in

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natural history and a fine appreciation of the beauty of the creation. "I wish I could show you the noble hills which I look upon just before my window – the lawn, and oak trees, and rushing stream; and on my right, stretching out for twenty-five miles to Hottentots Holland, where there is another magnificent range", he wrote to his brother, Edward, in England (Gray 1876a:181). Whilst he sometimes complained about the need to be away for long visitations and the after effects thereof (e.g. Gray 1876a:270), his journals reveal just how thoroughly he enjoyed being outdoors and travelling around the rugged, and often, untamed country.

4.3 CHURCHMANSHIP

4.3.1 CONFLICTING OPINIONS

Just as with the assessment of Gray's character, there are conflicting opinions of his churchmanship. According to Ive (1992:17) Gray was a "determined Tractarian". Although Ive writes disapprovingly, his view certainly accords with that of pro-Gray writers. For example Wirgman (1895:138) speaks of Gray being "drawn into the front rank of the band of devoted men who inaugurated the Catholic Revival . ..". Baynes (1908:57) agrees: Bishop Gray represented "the very soul of the Oxford Tractarian Movement and the spirit of Athanasius and the early Councils. . ."

Southey, however disagrees:

"It is often assumed that Gray was profoundly influenced by the Tractarian ideas of the Oxford Movement, and that the synods and councils of the early church, which the 19th century Tractarians believed to be the ideal model for church government as opposed to church establishment and royal supremacy, were venerated by Gray. Historians have convincingly shown that such a view needs to be substantially modified. While Gray did refer approvingly to the patterns of authority in the early church, especially in gatherings of the clergy, he was always at pains to stress the need for the South African church to maintain close ties with the Church of England. . . The notion of lay involvement horrified leading Tractarians in England, such as E B Pusey . . ."

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but Gray maintained that lay participation in church government was essential . . .” (Southey 1998:21/22)

Neither of the two points made by Southey, viz. Gray’s desire for close ties to the Church of England; and lay involvement in synods, serves to convince one that Gray was not a Tractarian and, in themselves, the points are weak. It is true that the membership statement⁹ that Gray required of all church members included a reference to being in communion with the Church of England, but the point is that the statement defined a separate church and the nature of the ‘communion’ or ‘close ties’ was not specified, an issue that continues to plague the Anglican Communion today. Indeed, the ‘communion’ that Gray wanted was a ‘spiritual communion’ with the Church, but not with the ‘Church as by law established’. He held the strongest opposition to erastianism, in complete accord with the Tractarians on this issue. A letter to Dr Williamson in November 1864 illustrates Gray’s views:

“The talk of separation from the Church is a mere device of the enemy. I am surprised that any should be weak enough to be taken in. We are one with the Church. We never were in connection with the State, and I have not ever separated from it; but we are not (as a Church) one with it. With all that attaches to the Church of England, as an accident of her position as the Established Church of England, we have nothing to do.” (Gray 1867b:172)

Ive (1992:29) sees Gray’s desire for lay involvement in Synods as mere tokenism. He quotes Gray “The bishops meet in Synod and lay down principles and agree to invite clergy and laity. These form the mixed Synod and clergy and laity assent to what Bishops have done . . .” (Ive 1992:29, see Gray 1876b:206). However, the context of this quotation is a proposal by Gray (for Cotterill’s consideration) for the formation of a voluntary religious association following the Privy Council decisions; there is no indication that this would be the on-going *modus operandi* of Synods. Gray really had little option but to involve the laity. Lay opinion was strong at the Cape and, as Southey points out, funding for the growth of the church would have to come from the laity, not the state (Southey 1998:22). Therefore it would have been folly not to seek lay

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involvement, no matter what the Tractarians thought or what Gray's private opinions were. However, Gray's desire to involve the laity seems sincere. In England in April, 1852 he had separate discussion on lay involvement with Samuel Wilberforce and Pusey (Gray 1876a:358). In discussions with Wilberforce it is clear that Gray wanted a declaration so as to exclude dissenters but he was more lenient than Wilberforce in this regard. Pusey's alarm was at the desire to give laity power on points of doctrine, but, as Gray reported, he did not seem opposed to the principle of lay involvement in synods.

4.3.2 HINCHLIFF'S OPINION

Southey's statement that historians have shown convincingly that views on Gray's churchmanship must be substantially modified seems to relate mainly to Hinchliff's contention that Gray was "not strictly speaking, a Tractarian at all, but a High Churchman of a somewhat older school" (Hinchliff 1964:128). Hinchliff posits that "it is an oversimplification of things to treat [Gray] as a 'Tractarian' pure and simple" (Hinchliff 1963:30). He appears to suggest that, as Gray "was just too old to have been at Oxford during the period when the Tractarians were at the height of their influence", he was not a product of the Tractarian



Movement (Hinchliff 1963:30). Gray graduated from Oxford University in 1831, just prior to the generally accepted inception of the Oxford Movement in 1833, but to suggest that he therefore could not have been a Tractarian is plainly absurd. More credible is Hinchliff's reference to Bishop Samuel Wilberforce as the "greatest single influence on Gray's life and policy" (Hinchliff 1963:30). Gray certainly saw the High Church Bishop Wilberforce as a great friend and mentor and Wilberforce was undoubtedly a moderating influence on Gray. However, Wilberforce was one of many consultants and commissaries Gray used, the majority of them being Tractarians. Although Wilberforce had cut ties with the Oxford Movement in 1838, he had family members deeply involved with it. Two of his brothers, Robert and Henry as well as his brother-in-law, Henry Manning, later defected to the Roman Catholic Church.

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4.3.3 ACCORDING TO GRAY . . .

In answer to many accusations of 'Puseyism', particularly from congregation members of Lamb and Long, Gray defended himself in a letter to William Long:

"I never have been connected with any party in the Church. There is much that I love and honour in individuals connected with various parties. But I have ever taken my stand upon the written laws and acknowledged principles of the Church, as embodied in the Prayer Book. If to adhere resolutely to these be to identify myself with one party, I am sorry for it. When I swerve from these to the right hand or to the left, I shall acknowledge the justice of the imputation." (Gray 1857)

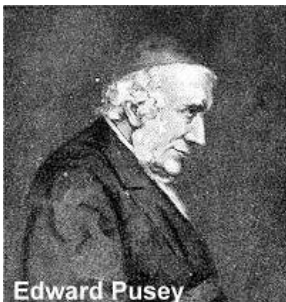
It was rather disingenuous for Gray to disclaim connection with any party as he was clearly connected to the High Church party, if not to the Tractarians. This he was forced to acknowledge in the 'Long Case' in the Cape Supreme Court, whilst maintaining that "there is by no means that wide difference of opinion existing between what is called High Church and Low which some are ready to suggest . . .", and disclaiming any prejudice towards 'low' clergy (Gray 1876a:488/9). It is true that Gray gave honour to individuals of other parties and was unstinting in praise of works that he admired, even if he did not share the same churchmanship. Gray was undoubtedly an extremely loyal Churchman. The taunt of "Papist" was unjust and wholly untrue – Gray was indignant at romanising members of the Church (Gray 1876a:329). He was certainly committed to the Prayer Book as he claimed, interpreted in a High Church way; for example regarding his opinions on baptismal regeneration and strict observance of fasting in Lent (Gray 1876a:61 & 35). One must also acknowledge that Gray was not extreme in his churchmanship and undoubtedly sincere in seeking to avoid party spirit in his diocese. The problem was that his way of so doing was to appoint clergy almost exclusively of High Church or Tractarian sentiments. His disclaiming of favouritism thus rings hollow in the light of his actions which clearly favoured the Tractarian party.

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4.3.4 GRAY'S APPROVAL OF TRACTARIAN TEACHING

The "Tracts for the Times" were published between 1833 and 1841, creating a storm of controversy and opposition. Gray began to study them earnestly in January 1839. His stated aim was to "judge for myself whether the charges of their opponents are true – i.e. that their doctrines are unscriptural and contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England" (Gray 1876a:68). His early opinion was favourable to the tracts. Whilst he stated that he could not subscribe to all their opinions, he did not perceive of any unscriptural or non-Church of England doctrines. Indeed he saw much good flowing from their publication. After three months intensive study, he pronounced himself "much pleased" with them, feeling that "their principles are in the main those of the Church of England." (Gray 1876a:68). Again he mentions "some passages and opinions to which I cannot assent, and some which require consideration and reflection" (Gray 1876a:68); but, on the whole, he saw them as positive, capable of doing much good. Included in Gray's wide reading, were anti-tract publications, which he gave fair consideration to, but he was not deterred from his admiration of the tracts and their writers. Gray not only read their works and sympathised with their aims, he supported, encouraged and avidly sought their advice and newest writings.

4.3.5 EDWARD PUSEY



Gray's admiration of the Tractarian leader, Edward Pusey, borders on veneration of the man. He eagerly went to hear Pusey preaching several times (Gray 1876a:86/7); he snapped up and read everything that Pusey wrote that he could lay his hands on (78/9). To be fair, he also read contrary views and considered them carefully, but these did not diminish his esteem of Pusey. He was in frequent correspondence with Pusey and made sure of hearing him preach and meeting up with him on his visits to England. He especially consulted with Pusey on the question of lay involvement in synods and the establishment of sisterhoods (Gray 1876a:358). A number of years after a discussion with Pusey, Gray launched a sisterhood in Cape Town (Anderson-Morshead 1905:137).

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4.3.6 JOHN KEBLE



John Keble

If anything, Gray's relationship with John Keble was even stronger. Keble was a huge supporter of Gray, personally contributing funds for Gray's legal expenses (Gray 1876b:110) and launching appeals for assistance for Gray. Gray met with Keble on numerous occasions and consulted with him on various matters, particularly the Colenso affair. When Bishop Armstrong of Grahamstown died unexpectedly, Gray wrote to Keble for advice on the choice of a replacement. Keble even arranged for a theological library to be sent to the Cape (Gray 1856a). On Keble's death, Gray wrote to his brother, Thomas Keble:

"His memory will be cherished by generations yet to come, and his works serve to form the character of the Church's children from age to age. I have ever considered it one of my greatest privileges to have known him, and to receive his fatherly counsel. Amid the trials and anxieties of my present position, it has been a great comfort to know that he has approved of the course which I felt it my duty to pursue." (Gray 1876b:260)

That the admiration was mutual can be seen in that Keble was reported to have said that Gray was the greatest of all colonial bishops "because he was a real confessor of the faith" (Gray 1876b:256fn). In the light of Gray's continual consultation with Tractarian leaders, there can be little doubt that they regarded him as one of their own. Indeed it is quite possible that Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce had Gray in mind when he suggested to Archdeacon Manning that the Tractarians should "consider a 'half-way house" between England and Rome . . . after finding a handy colonial bishop to be the head of the new Free Church." (Newsome 1966:371).

4.3.7 CONCLUSION

It would be fair to say that all that has been adduced above proves nothing more than that Gray was sympathetic to Tractarian ideas and towards Tractarian leaders and clergy. This is particularly so in the light of Gray's own moderate, non-ritualistic stance and eschewing of party labels. However, in considering the clerical appointments that Gray made, as reflected in the next section, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Gray was a Tractarian at heart, and that

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he used others to further the vision of an independent Anglo-Catholic province of the Anglican Communion.

4.4 GRAY'S AIMS AND ACTIONS

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Wirgman (1909a:91) "Bishop Gray came to South Africa to transplant the ideals of the Catholic Revival into the virgin soil of these distant parts of the British Empire." The Evangelical Bishop Henry Cotterill, second bishop of Grahamstown, also very clearly linked Gray to Tractarian expansion in South Africa. Writing to Bishop Colenso in 1858 he said:

"I have no doubt that the Tractarian Party, feeling that in England the battle cannot be fought with success, have been for some time looking to the Colonies as the field where they might establish practices which would ultimately react on England. This has been my conviction for some years and it was this that made me feel so strongly the importance of a colonial bishopric at the present crisis, that I felt it would be dereliction of duty to decline the offer." (Cox 1888a:339)

The opinions of Wirgman and Cotterill have been seized upon by evangelical writers such as Ive (1966:38), Kearns (1913:23) and Churms (1947:5) but they have to be treated with caution. Wirgman's opinions, as has already been noted (see 4.2.1), are biased and unreliable. Kearns, in quoting this 1856 statement of Cotterill, further asserts that the antagonism between Gray and Cotterill led to Cotterill's resignation in 1869. However, there is no evidence for this. Cotterill stood firmly with Gray against Colenso and was a major, if not the major, architect of the CPSA 1870 constitution (see Hinchliff 1963:112). Cotterill became so closely associated with Gray that Sachs (1993:204) incorrectly labels him as an Anglo-Catholic bishop along with Fulford, Selwyn and Gray.

Notwithstanding these caveats, it must be said that the truth of the statements can be seen in the resultant Anglo-Catholic churchmanship that has so dominated the Anglican Church in South Africa, the direct result of Bishop Gray's actions, if not his aims. The fact that Gray avoided extreme practices may well

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have been fear of a backlash, particularly from the laity, many of whom were eager to cry “Popery” at the slightest provocation.

4.4.2 GRAY’S MONOCHROMATIC VISION

Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane, the recently retired former Archbishop of Cape Town, in a lecture reflecting on Gray’s relevance for the contemporary church, posits a three-fold vision of Gray: plant clergy, build churches, and preach the gospel (Ndungane 1998:8). Although Evangelicals, especially Robert Lamb, would have questioned the nature of the gospel being preached, there is no doubt that Gray’s plans were highly successful. In an episcopate of 24 years he grew the number of churches from 14 to over 130, with a commensurate number of clergy. However, unlike the comprehensiveness of the church in England, the Anglican Church in South Africa had become overwhelmingly, monochromatically, Anglo-Catholic; quite unlike Archbishop Ndungane’s own affirmed commitment to a comprehensive Anglican church. In a letter to the primates of the Anglican Communion, Ndungane urged them to “uphold the broad rich heartlands of our Anglican heritage”, adding that:

“It is not easy to live with a spectrum of perspectives – it is challenging even when we are fully confident we are all firmly within the Anglican heartlands. But this wrestling together offers us the possibilities of treasures that cannot be found in more monochrome approaches to faith. We need people, even communities and Provinces, who are deeply immersed in each of these streams, catholic, reformed and intellectual/cultural, so we can together forge a fuller understanding of how to live faithfully in our current times. . . . Our liturgical wealth, historically rooted yet finding contemporary, contextual expression, provides scope for the full celebration of word and sacrament in our worshipping life. High church, evangelical, charismatic and more – each bring their own particular riches, while all resonate with something undeniably Anglican. Whether it is awe and adoration, gospel proclamation, faith re-energised, encultured expression – there is room for all and there is need for all. Of course, each tradition may draw strength from the others, and that is good – but we

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need them to flourish as they are, overflowing with heavenly grace into our common life. We do not need some lowest-common denominator compromise, but the full glorious panoply that God, who is both One and Three, grants through his richly diverse creativity.” (Ndugane 2006)

It is hardly likely that the first bishop of Cape Town would have subscribed to these sentiments of a later incumbent of the office. Gray was determined to avoid “party spirit” within his province and, in order to achieve this, attempted (and largely succeeded) to create a monochrome province. He did this through the churchmanship of the men he appointed and his refusal to work with the evangelical mission societies, except on his own terms. It is true, as Hinchliff (1963:137) notes, that the Tractarian clergy who were attracted to South Africa in increasing numbers went far beyond Gray in terms of ceremonial, ornamentation and ritualism. Nevertheless Gray not only laid the groundwork for these practices but he also approved them – see for instance, his comments on ritualism (Gray 1876b:527).

During the episcopates of the two Tractarian bishops who succeeded Gray, William West Jones (1873-1908) and William Carter (1909-1930), the Tractarian leanings of the province escalated as Hinchliff (1963:191) notes: “The clergy recruited for service in the Province became predominantly Tractarian and Anglo-Catholic . . .” Bishop Edwin Palmer, in a letter to Archbishop William Temple in 1943, wrote that a newcomer to the Anglican Church in South Africa “finds that the ‘colour’ of the church which he would like to attach himself is in the main decidedly High Church. He is very likely to find in the only church he can go to those features of ceremonial which distress or irritate him.” (CPSA 1982:6). The dilemma that this created for Evangelicals was already apparent in 1856 when Emma Rutherford (Mrs Andrew Murray) wrote that “Bishop Armstrong of Grahamstown has just succeeded in suspending the only Evangelical clergyman and a Colonial Chaplain in his diocese. . . I do not suppose poor Mr Long will be left long in peace, and then there will be no evangelical Church of England, we must all become dissenters . . .” (Murray 1968:149).

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4.4.3 GRAY AND THE MISSION SOCIETIES

Gray was an ardent supporter of the High Church *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (SPG). He was appointed as local secretary of the SPG in Whitworth in January 1840 and thereafter poured much energy into the work of the society, raising funds and preaching on its behalf. At that time he also preached and encouraged subscriptions to the Evangelical *Church Missionary Society* (CMS) (Gray 1876a:75). However, 6 years later he declined to hold meetings for the CMS and the Bible Society, for reasons not stated (Gray 1876a:90). His antagonism towards the CMS is clear in a letter to Dr Williamson in February 1850:

"If you like to sound the Church Missionary Society as to funds; I have no objection, but nothing would induce me to submit to any dictation or interference on their part. The whole Mission shall in every respect be managed by the Church here, or there shall be none. I have seen enough since I have been out here of the working of Societies to make me loathe them – always excepting the dear S.P.G., which mercifully seems preserved from the Society spirit. If the Church Missionary Society will follow the example of S.P.G. and place £500 a year entirely at my disposal for the formation of a Mission, I will thankfully accept it. But if they mean to bargain for power, I will have nothing to do with them." (Gray 1876a:267)

The "working of Societies" Gray referred to was no doubt that of the *Colonial Church Society* (CCS) which was active to a limited degree in the Cape prior to Gray's arrival. Gray's bitterness towards the CCS preceded his arrival at the Cape. In November 1847 he complained of harm done to him in England by two of the CCS Committee (Gray 1876a:137). His desire to limit any influence of the Evangelical societies is evident in his assuming the trusteeship of Holy Trinity Church "which the Colonial Church Society looked upon as their own." (Gray 1876a:162). Gray went further in attempting to bring the operations of the CCS under his control. In 1852, whilst on a visit to England, he called at the CCS offices to serve an ultimatum that he was not prepared to work with the local CCS committee unless it came under his control. Despite the desire of the local

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committee to work in harmony with Gray, he was determined to assert his authority and to put the society in its place (see Spartalis 1989:10).

Despite Gray's reference to the "dear S.P.G.", his relationship with that society was also to come under strain. Wood (1939), in a lecture to the "Friends of the Archives", points to the deteriorating relationship of Gray with Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the SPG. This is evidenced, says Wood, by the progressive change in language from exaggerated courteousness to brusque irritation, occasioned by Gray's increased demands and lack of accountability for funds sent. However, there was more to the matter than Wood intimates: In a letter to Samuel Wilberforce in August 1858 (Gray 1858), Gray is apologetic about what seems to be a complete breakdown in his relationship with Hawkins. From the letter it is apparent that this was caused by Gray's criticism of changes taking place within the SPG "leading to a downward tendency" (Gray 1858). Gray was evidently annoyed at the SPG's resolve to be more involved in the disposal of their funds, the very matter causing his refusal to work with the CMS and the CCS! In relation to the SPG, however, Gray did have the argument that much of the fund raising had come through his own efforts.

4.4.4 GRAY'S APPOINTMENTS

Gray's support for Tractarianism is clearly seen in the appointments that he made. These were overwhelmingly Tractarian clergy, some of them highly extreme men as some examples will show:

Nathaniel Merriman, Archdeacon, and later Bishop, of Grahamstown was one such appointment. Merriman was one of Gray's closest friends, much admired by Gray. Pauline Whibley writes approvingly of Merriman in her biography of him (and there certainly was much to admire in the man), but she cannot hide the fact that his extreme views caused constant troubles, something that Gray had anticipated (see Gray 1876a:210). This was particularly the case in Port Elizabeth and Gray's support for Merriman's efforts is apparent:

"The only quarter from which I feel much anxiety about 'ism' is the Eastern Province. There the Archdeacon is aiming at establishing strict rubrical observances and is, I believe, succeeding. He has carried Graham's Town, and the Church has a great rise there, through his energy, zeal, self-denial, and power. But Port Elizabeth always looks with a jealous eye on Graham's

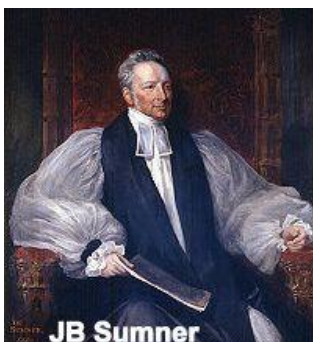
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Town, to which it is a sort of rival, and so it calls the Archdeacon names.” (Gray 1876a:248)

Merriman also clashed with William Long in Graaff-Reinet, when he endeavoured to persuade Long to use “Eucharistic vessels, robes or rituals which might possibly be construed as ‘Popish’ . . .” (Whibley 1982:46). Such a move would likely have been disastrous in Long’s mainly Dutch congregation. When Merriman and Henry White (headmaster of Gray’s new college) came to Cape Town they gave Gray anxiety by wearing vestments that caused offence. Gray, instead of counselling otherwise, hoped that the matter would blow over and people would accept the dress as appropriate to their offices (Gray 1876a:247).

Dean James Green of Pietermaritzburg is another example of an extreme Tractarian appointed by Gray. Described by Hinchliff (1964:61) as a definite product of the Oxford Movement and medievalist in theology, Green had the impertinence to present his bishop (Colenso) for heresy for holding views on baptism which did not accord with his own. Bishop Gray, whilst not sharing Colenso’s views, had the sense to recognise their acceptability in terms of Anglican formularies and admonished Green.

Bishop John Armstrong, another Tractarian, was handpicked by Gray for the new diocese of Grahamstown. During his short episcopate there were troubles in Port Elizabeth, when a group seceded from one church due to high church practices. Armstrong refused to recognise the group and then encountered further problems at Uitenhage with the Colonial Chaplain, Copeman (see Wirgman 1895:167f). When Armstrong died, Gray (1856b) wrote to the Evangelical Archbishop of Canterbury, John Bird Sumner, building a strong case for the appointment of Archdeacon Merriman. In asserting the choice of Merriman as the “general feeling of clergy and laity”, Gray carefully avoided any



JB Sumner

reference to the strong antipathy for Merriman in certain quarters, particularly in Port Elizabeth. Sumner though, had been well informed (or misinformed, per Gray’s view – see below) and he attempted to redress the situation by the appointment of the Evangelical Henry Cotterill. It was extremely discourteous, to say the least, of Sumner to not even consult Gray, as Metropolitan, on the issue and

Gray was rightly indignant. But his reaction went beyond indignation – the

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appointment was a bitter blow to Gray's objectives and his reaction, in a letter to Sumner, gives the clearest indication of the monochromatic churchmanship that Gray wished to foster. The letter is worth quoting in full:

"I have just received your Grace's letter announcing the appointment of Mr Cotterill to the See of Graham's Town. Rumours had reached the Cape by the previous mail, that one who had openly avowed his hostility to the Soc. for the Prop. of the Gospel had been nominated, and the announcement, I need not tell your Grace, filled the Diocese with sorrow and dismay. The best men in it wrote to me to express their apprehensiveness that they would be compelled to withdraw from that particular field of labour. I have done what I could to quiet their apprehensions; but I should not be dealing candidly by your Grace, or dutifully by the Church, if I did not express my fears that difficulties and discussions will arise, however good and amiable Mr Cotterill may be, if he holds extreme views, as from various quarters I hear is the case, and which the fact that he is not a subscriber to the SPG, but is to the Col. Ch. Society, founded in direct opposition to it, must be regarded as some evidence. I shall use every effort as I am bound to do to prevent difficulties from springing up, and to induce all to work harmoniously together, but upon your Grace, permit me to say, who has set aside the advice of the Governor, the Metropolitan and the Clergy of the Diocese, must rest the responsibility, should a Diocese which (notwithstanding what has occurred at Uitenhage and Port Elizabeth) has hitherto been more closely united in mutual love and confidence than any other, of whose internal condition I have ever known anything, - henceforth becomes a prey to those unhappy divisions which present so sad a feature of the state of the Church at home. Of myself I will only say that though that Diocese was founded chiefly by my exertions, and the work now carried on in, has been maintained largely by funds raised by myself, it was on these grounds that I ventured to obtrude my views upon your Grace. It was as Metropolitan, and as the representative of the joint wishes of the

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Clergy and laity, that I felt it to be my right and my duty to speak; and as such I feel I ought not to refrain from saying that it would have been wiser, if their wishes, conveyed through me, could not have been complied with, - that one like minded with him who has been taken away, with the universal respect and love of his people, should have been selected as his successor. The refusal to allow any right to the united representations of the Church here, by the selection of one of a wholly different school of opinion; and the feeling that a wrong has been done to the Society for the Prop. of the Gospel which has given £3250 a year to that Diocese, and is known to have made similar representations to your Grace, will I feel assured have painful consequences. The Colonies, which are daily acquiring greater political independence, shew no less a disposition to insist upon having some voice in those spiritual matters upon which they feel deeply; and I already hear it said by some that it has become needful to claim the right of electing their own Bishops. About this others, as is natural, think differently; and thus, just as I am about to summon my first Synod, one subject at least for discord has arisen. It is very painful for me to write in anything like a spirit of complaint to your Grace; but your goodness has been imposed upon by others who are more designing, and a blow has been struck at the future peace and harmonious action of the South African Churches, which others look to me, as their natural organ to represent to the Church at home, and which I feel it to be my duty respectfully but plainly to intimate to your Grace.”
(Gray 1856c)

Bishop Edward Twells is a further example of Gray’s favouring of extreme Tractarians. During Gray’s visitation tour of 1850, he visited Bloemfontein where the young Andrew Murray, junior had recently been appointed as Dutch Reformed minister. Murray comments on their meeting:

“We had the Bishop here last Sabbath . . . I rode out with him for a distance of one-and-a-half hours (nine miles) on horseback last

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Tuesday, and we had a little chat. He is exceedingly active, and will not rest until he has churches everywhere. I tried to probe him on Puseyism, but he says there is no such thing in the Colony, only different shades of opinion. 'The jealousy of the Dissenters, and the ignorance of others, is the cause of all the outcry.' I told him that if he sent a man of evangelical sentiments [to Bloemfontein], I would be delighted to welcome him as a brother." (Du Plessis 1919:113)

What was Gray's response to Murray's suggestion? Not only did he not send a 'man of evangelical sentiments', he sent, in Edward Twells, a man of extreme Anglo-Catholic views! (see Hinchliff 1964:131). Twell's 6-year episcopate ended in disaster when he fled his diocese to avoid facing charges of sexual misconduct.

The Rev William Butler: When Gray determined to consecrate a bishop for Natal to replace the 'deposed' Colenso, his first choice was the Rev William Butler of Wantage, an extreme Tractarian who was notorious in England as a ritualist. One can only wonder at what further damage such a controversial appointment would have caused in an already delicate situation. Thankfully, Butler was persuaded to withdraw by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Rev W.E. Belson: Further evidence of Gray's inherent Tractarian leanings can be seen in his response to a letter from the parishioners of St Thomas Church in Malmesbury in 1869. The parishioners wrote with a formal complaint against their parish priest, the Rev W.E. Belson. They adduced 9 instances of Tractarian practices which Belson had introduced, including adoration of the communion elements, a mixed chalice, use of coloured stoles, alb & girdle, candles, and genuflection. The bishop's reply is almost wholly a justification of Belson's actions. Whilst sympathising with the members at their resistance to change, he clearly expects them to accept the changes (Gray 1876b:531f). Whilst Gray claimed to be "not constitutionally fond of ritual" (Gray 1876b:333) he nevertheless gave full support to those who practised it, as is evident in this extract from a letter to Bishop Welby:

Ritualists may be indiscreet in some things; but all England is going in for a higher form of worship; Dissenters not less than Churchmen. And men who are called Ritualists (it is impossible to

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draw the line) have a firmer grasp of the faith than most others. Moderate Ritualism is decidedly popular already, and my belief is that gradually the Church will adopt almost all that these men are contending for.” (Gray 1876b:334)

4.5 SUMMARY

Robert Gray seemingly had all the qualities necessary for a good pioneering colonial bishop – he was a visionary who was conscientious and determined, well read and educated, with a good intellect. He was also a hard worker and an adventurous man, not afraid to endure hardship; and a good administrator (helped considerably by his wife). He was steadfastly determined to build churches, to promote evangelism and mission work. He was also privately wealthy and backed by a good support base of friends, family and the SPG in England.

Notwithstanding all this, his episcopate was highly controversial; he failed to win the respect of many; and the division in South African Anglicanism stems directly from his actions. The CPSA booklet “Anglican Division in South Africa” (CPSA 1982:3) ascribes this to his lack of “statesmanship that would have given him the consensual support for his constitutional plans” and his intolerance of opposing views. But it was more than that: His expressed moderate stance and desire to avoid ‘party spirit’ in his diocese was but a thin veneer over an underlying plan to eliminate (or at least limit) Evangelical influence in favour of a monochromatic Anglo-Catholic Church. This is very evident from the appointments that he made¹⁰, his approval of Anglo-Catholic practices, and the actions he took. One cannot escape the conclusion that Gray used others, through his appointments, to promote his inherent Tractarian leanings, whilst maintaining the allusion of a ‘neutral’ stance in respect of churchmanship.

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⁸ "I thank you for your kind consideration of my person, but I am to regard my duty to God, and not the fear of men. It shall never be said of me that I turned my back upon religion." To a minor canon the bishop remarked "My young friend, these are times in which it is necessary not to shrink from danger. Our duty is to be at our post." Warned of the grave danger to his person, he said "Where can I die better than in my own cathedral?" (Gray 1867a:3).

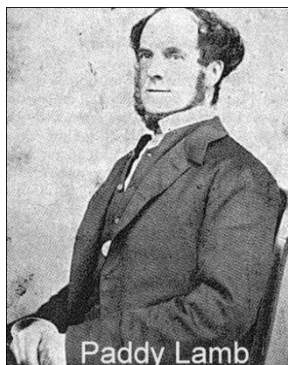
⁹ The original wording of the statement was "I do declare that I am a member of The Church in the Diocese of Cape Town, in communion with the United Church of England and Ireland; and that I will conform to the doctrines and disciplines of the said Church." (Gray 1876a:249). The form eventually adopted was: "I declare that I am a member of the Church of the Diocese of Cape Town, in union and full communion with the United Church of England and Ireland, and I belong to no other religious body."

¹⁰ One exception was the appointment of the liberal John Colenso to Natal; but Colenso's SPG secretaryship and commitment to mission was probably a greater factor in that instance.

CHAPTER 5: THE DISPUTE WITH THE REV ROBERT LAMB

5.1 ROBERT GUMBLETON LAMB

Robert Gumbleton Lamb, affectionately known as 'Paddy' Lamb, was born in 1811 in Cork, Ireland. He was privately tutored before entering Trinity College, Dublin in 1839 at the age of 28. He graduated in 1844 with the degree of



Bachelor of Arts and the *Divinity Testimonium*. Lamb married Sarah Helena Welch, probably around about 1836, and they had at least three young daughters by the time they left for the Cape of Good Hope in 1845. Lamb was ordained deacon by Bishop Thomas Plunkett of Tuam in 1844. He was appointed as curate at Dunkerrin in the Diocese of Killaloe and was ordained as presbyter by the

Bishop of Killaloe, Ludlow Tonson, also in 1844. In 1845 the Governor of the Cape, Sir Peregrine Maitland, requested the Colonial Church Society (CCS) to nominate an assistant chaplain for St George's Church in Cape Town. This followed the withdrawal of certain congregation members in protest at the Tractarian preaching of the Rev George Hough, Colonial Chaplain (see 2.5.4). The CCS recommended Lamb. Bishop Tonson (Lord Riversdale) wrote the following commendation, dated 28 January 1845, to the secretary of the CCS:

I hereby certify that the Rev R.G. Lamb, curate of Dunkerrin, in this diocese, is, in my opinion, a most respectable and sound minister of the gospel, that he is faithfully attached to the pure doctrines and salutary discipline of our evangelical church, and that he is well qualified by his zeal, and attainments, and example, to gain the affections, secure the respect, and improve the spiritual condition, of any congregation, at home or abroad, over which he may be appointed pastor. (SACM 1855:174)

Lamb was thus appointed as Assistant Colonial Chaplain in September 1845. Lamb served as curate to the senior chaplain, the Rev George Hough. Hough and Lamb were soon at loggerheads (see 2.5.4), particularly over the doctrine of baptismal regeneration which Lamb attacked 'violently', according to Hinchliff (1963:17). Hough, who had been at the Cape for over 30 years, returned to

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England in April 1846, leaving Lamb in sole charge of St George's until the arrival of Bishop Gray in February 1848 and the appointment of the Rev WA Newman as Dean of what then became St George's Cathedral.

Bishop Gray had met with George Hough in England (see 2.5.4) and would have come to the Cape with preconceived negative impressions, especially in relation to the ministry of Paddy Lamb at St George's. According to Gray (SACM 1855:179), Lamb's position at St George's was 'an uncomfortable one' and his ministry was 'not acceptable to the very important congregation of St George's'. Although Lamb (SACM 1855:294) said he was not aware of being 'uncomfortable' at St George's, this would surely have been the case following the arrival of Gray. Gray acted quite unfairly with regard to Lamb who, at that time was 37 years of age and had been in sole charge of St George's for almost two years. Gray appointed the High Churchman, Newman, to take charge of St George's and then prevented Lamb from preaching (Kearns 1913:16). Lamb then had little option but to accept a transfer to Holy Trinity Church. Gray's manipulation of the situation (see Gray 1876a:164) was as shameful as his assertion that Lamb was unacceptable to the congregation of St George's. Lamb (SACM 1855:294) stated that it would not be becoming to enter at length into discussion of that subject; however it is clear from Langham-Carter (1977:31) that it was Gray, rather than the congregation, who found Lamb's ministry unacceptable, the congregation being mainly Low Church at the time.

Apart from a 16-month absence in England because of poor health, Paddy Lamb was the much-loved minister of Holy Trinity Church from his appointment on 12 May 1848 until his final sermon before retiring on 2 June 1878, at the age of 67. He was well-known for riding a white horse and carrying a white umbrella and preaching the gospel at every opportunity. Bradley (1998:3) relates a tradition that 25% of the population of Cape Town had come to faith in Christ through Lamb's witness; surely an exaggeration, but still indicative of the sort of impact Lamb made. The church was filled to overflowing during his ministry, necessitating the building of a gallery to alleviate the crowding. A multi-racial school with over 200 pupils was run at Holy Trinity with assistance from the CCS. Lamb also operated a bookshop in Long Street, Cape Town, distributing evangelical books and tracts, including those of JC Ryle. On Lamb's retirement,

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the minutes of the Annual Vestry Meeting of Trinity Church on 24 April 1878 stated:

"This congregation while cordially expressing its appreciation of the long and devoted services of the Rev RG Lamb in the cause of Christ and the faithful testimony borne by him to the Evangelical principles of the English Church, a testimony resulting in blessing on so many; places on record its sincere regret that failing health and increasing age cause his retirement from the pastorship of Trinity Church. (Holy Trinity Church 1878)

After 4 years of retirement in England, however, Lamb's health evidently improved and he went back into ministry, serving the congregation of Emmanuel Church, Maida Hill, London for a further 12 years before retiring for a second time in 1894 at the age of 83. He died at Boscombe, near Bournemouth on 18 December 1901.

5.2 THE DISPUTE

5.2.1 BACKGROUND

In 1854 Paddy Lamb had been in ministry at the Cape for almost 9 years; years that would have placed an enormous strain on his health and wellbeing. Aside from the normal stresses and burdens of the pastoral ministry, the serious doctrinal differences with Hough would have resulted in distress and additional tension. Although tensions would have decreased following Hough's departure in 1846, the workload would have increased greatly. His reward for 2 years of extra hard labour in the cause of Christ was to be unceremoniously dumped from the preaching roster and then manoeuvred out of St George's by the machinations of the newly-appointed bishop (see 5.1 above). A measure of Gray's disdain for Lamb can be seen in his characterization of Lamb as a 'wild Irishman', and 'a weak, ignorant and foolish man', in a letter to Bishop Samuel Wilberforce (Gray 1855b). Lamb, whose health had broken down completely, was in dire need of a furlough. Thankfully, the Governor, Sir George Cathcart (with Bishop Gray's agreement) granted Lamb 9 months leave in April 1854. A worry for Lamb, however, was the support of his large family during his absence in England. But a solution was at hand: the independently wealthy Rev John

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William Hoets was willing to minister as *locum tenens*, in all probability without payment. However, for less than adequate reasons, Bishop Gray was not willing to accept the arrangement (see 6.2.2), thus placing financial strains on Lamb. Instead Gray appointed his future son-in-law, the Rev Edward Glover, to minister at Trinity Church in Lamb's absence.

5.2.2 THE SPEECH

Lamb departed for England on 18 April 1854. In June 1854, he made a speech at a public meeting of the Colonial Church and School Society (CCS) in Liverpool. He was on the platform as a substitute for a London clergyman; a person of some prominence, judging from Lamb's opening remarks. The speech was reported, rather briefly, in a supplement to the *Liverpool Courier* of 21 June 1854 (SACM 1855:163). A transcript of the report is given at 5.2.4 below. Lamb (SACM 1855:169) later stated that he could not recall what he had said with perfect accuracy but remembered being annoyed at the fact that the report contained inaccuracies and much that he had said had been omitted. In the subsequent correspondence, however, he does not elaborate on the omissions; rather he attempts to correct the inaccuracies. Whilst taking into account his corrections and the mitigating circumstances of his health and late substitution as speaker, one must still judge his speech as rather injudicious and ill-considered. Once a report of it reached the Cape, there was bound to be an outcry; and this is exactly what occurred. The actions of Bishop Gray and his advisers in response, however, were even more ill-considered and, indeed, disgraceful, particularly in regard to the totally unnecessary assailing of Lamb's character and the farce of the subsequent consistory court proceedings.

5.2.3 THE CORRESPONDENCE

Lamb was in on sick leave in England at the time that the dispute arose. As a result, there are large gaps in time between the various letters due to the slowness of communication at the time. The correspondence was published in various newspapers, both in England and South Africa. *The South African Church Magazine and Ecclesiastical Review* (SACM), a magazine started by the Dean of St George's (the Very Rev WA Newman¹¹), and sympathetic to the Bishop's position, conveniently published all the correspondence over 4 issues, along with rather one-sided editorial comments. The following is a list of the

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correspondence, as published in the magazine, arranged in chronological order of the events:

1. 21 June 1854: Report of Lamb's speech (from the *Liverpool Courier*). SACM June 1855, p 163
2. 6 September 1854: Letter from the Rev HM White to Bishop Gray. SACM September 1855, p 268.
3. Undated: Letter from 4 Cape clergy to Gray. SACM September 1855, p 270.
4. 24 September 1854: Gray to Lamb. SACM June 1855, p 164.
5. 9 December 1854: Letter from the Rev H Badnall to the *Liverpool Mail*. SACM June 1855, p 162.
6. 23 December 1854: Lamb to Gray. SACM June 1855, p 168.
7. 8 March 1855: Gray to Lamb. SACM June 1855, p 176.
8. 15 May 1855: Lamb to Gray. SACM October 1855, p 290.
9. 8 August 1855: Gray to Lamb. SACM October 1855, p 294.
10. 10 August 1855: Gray to Lamb; citation to appear before the Bishop. SACM September 1855, p 271
11. 13 August 1855: Lamb to Gray. SACM October 1855, p 299.
12. 16 August 1855: Gray to Lamb. SACM September 1855, p 271.
13. 18 August 1855: Gray to Lamb. SACM September 1855, p 272.
14. 22 August 1855: Consistory Court Report, day 1. SACM September 1855, p 258.
15. 23 August 1855: Consistory Court Report, day 2. SACM September 1855, p 265.
16. 22 October 1855: Lamb to the editor of the SACM. SACM November 1855, p 321.

In addition, there are unpublished letters, from Gray to Archbishop Sumner (Gray 1855a) and to Bishop Wilberforce (Gray 1855b), both dated 1 September 1855, regarding Lamb's appeal against his sentence. There are also two lengthy letters from Gray to Mr W Sampson regarding the publishing of the correspondence (Gray 1855c&d).

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5.2.4 THE REPORT

The *Liverpool Courier* of 21 June 1854 reported on Lamb's speech as follows:

The Rev Mr Lamb from Cape Town, at the commencement of his address, expressed the regret he experienced in not having, as expected, met with one who might be called a prince of Israel, who, he understood, was to have preceded him in addressing the meeting. He could not, however, resist the opportunity offered of telling them what he knew of the operations of the Colonial Church and School Society, in the locality in which he had been placed. Being a government chaplain, he was not immediately connected with the society, but was desirous of bearing his humble testimony to its usefulness. (Applause). The society had been the means of disseminating Gospel and Christian truth. Its working, however, his own experience enabled him to say, was interrupted by the spread of dangerous doctrines, and as an instance of that, he cited a case of a gentleman, whom he would not name, who under the pretence of teaching Christian doctrine, lent a book to a young woman; it professed to be the confession of a saint, but which he should blush to describe, and was not, indeed, fit for the human eye. He went on to say that, at the Cape of Good Hope, innovations had been introduced into the services of the church, and these had been carried to such an extent, even after remonstrance had been made, that he (the speaker) was informed the congregation was compelled to leave the church. This was a matter deeply to be regretted, as in the colonies no powerful press lent its aid in checking error; and here, in the instance referred to, the congregation would, in all probability, be forced to leave the Church of England by the Tractarian practices which were obtruded on them. He next referred to an edition of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, which had been prepared for and circulated in the colony, from which "the Giant Pope" had been withdrawn and "the Giant Mahomet" substituted in its stead – a proceeding which had unnecessarily offended every Mahometan in the colony. He concluded by urging

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on the meeting the necessity of countenancing by every means in their power the objects of the Colonial Church and School Society.

5.2.5 THE ISSUES RAISED

In the correspondence that followed the speech, Lamb maintained steadfastly that his purpose was to expose 'general evil in a general way' (SACM 1855:169). He drew attention to his standpoint "that a leaven of principles inconsistent with the purity of evangelical truth, a tendency to Tractarian doctrines, is insidiously working in the colony of the Cape of Good Hope" (SACM 1855:172). Despite Gray's insistence, Lamb refused to name persons or to give detailed facts. He held that this was not possible because of 'the very insidious nature of the system' and the 'diffusion of the leaven' (SACM 1855:172). Not that it would have profited him to have charged anyone with Tractarian error; because of the bishop's Tractarian leanings, it is reasonable to expect that such charges would have been summarily dismissed. This was indeed the case when Mr W Sampson named the Rev Canon HM White as having admitted to Tractarian doctrines. Gray's reply was scathing: "You seem however wholly ignorant of the fact, that under these expressions which you quote are many varieties of opinion. I do not expect you to know much of theology or even of the meaning of theological terms, but before you do so, you ought not to take upon yourselves to write very dogmatically upon theological subjects" (Gray 1855d).

In the report of the speech, Lamb gave three examples of the spread of error: the fact that a clergyman had given an 'indecent' book to a young woman under the pretence of teaching doctrine; the secession of members of one church due to the introduction of innovations; and the substitution of the "Giant Mahomet" for the "Giant Pope" in an edition of *Pilgrim's Progress*. These three examples, plus Lamb's apparent disclaiming of connection to the CCS were the issues addressed by Bishop Gray, but for Gray the major offence was that he held that Lamb had slandered his fellow clergy at the Cape and, by naming no one, had implicated everyone.

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5.2.6 THE UNDERLYING ISSUE

Lamb maintained that he spoke in a general way, not intending to name any persons and that he had the liberty and right to do so. Gray held that Lamb's remarks reflected adversely on all of the Cape clergy. Underlying all this, however, was a dispute between the Evangelical CCS and the High Church Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (the SPG). The initial response, in the pages of the *Liverpool Mail*, was not concerned with Lamb's speech at all. Rather the report criticised the remarks of the chairman of the meeting, the Rev Fielding Ould, "with reference to the colonial bishops and clergy, generally and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel . . ." (see SACM 1855:162). Almost certainly Ould would have been critical of the spread of Tractarianism by the colonial bishops, their clergy and the SPG. Lamb's speech would have been grist to Ould's mill and thus Lamb was caught in the middle of hostilities between the High Church SPG and the Evangelical CCS. Having regard to Gray's strong antipathy towards the CCS and equally strong affection for the SPG (see 4.4.3), this would certainly spell trouble for Lamb once his bishop came to hear of the speech. This came about just over two months later, on 6 September 1854, when the Rev Canon HM White, headmaster of the Diocesan College, wrote to Bishop Gray drawing his attention to the speech (SACM 1855:268). Subsequently, 4 clergymen (3 of them acting colonial chaplains, including Edward Glover, Lamb's *locum tenens*), also wrote to Bishop Gray requesting that action be taken against Lamb on his return to the colony (SACM 1855:270).

5.2.7 SYNOPSIS OF THE SUBSEQUENT EVENTS

Before proceeding to an examination of the issues involved in the dispute, a synopsis of the course of events follows:

After White's letter, Gray wrote to Lamb on 24 September 1854. Gray refers to White's complaint and the report in the *Liverpool Courier*. Gray commences with the statement:

"As you are there represented to have used language affecting both your own character, and that of the clergy of this diocese, it becomes my painful duty to call your attention to it, in order to have an opportunity of disavowing, explaining, or defending it. I need not assure you that I am well aware how little reports of

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speeches are to be depended upon, and that it would give me unfeigned pleasure to find that you have been misrepresented."

(SACM 1855:164)

Notwithstanding Gray's reference to the unreliability of newspaper reports and his call on Lamb for an explanation, he did not wait for a reply from Lamb. Instead, Gray went on to the attack. Although using qualifiers such as 'if these words are really yours' and 'you are made to say', the letter is a hard-hitting assault on Lamb and it is hard to escape the conclusion that it was written for public consumption. Indeed, this was the case - Gray forwarded a copy to his chaplain in England, the Rev H Badnall, 'to use in any way that he may think fit' (SACM 1855:168). Badnall lost no time in forwarding it for publication in the *Liverpool Mail*. Gray's letter was published on the 16th December 1854, 3 days before Lamb received the original (SACM 1855:176). Gray stated that his letter was published to counter any other possible attacks Lamb may have made upon the Cape Church at other meetings¹². However, to do so before hearing from Lamb did him no credit at all. Furthermore, it forced Lamb to respond in like manner (see SACM 1855:176), thus setting in chain a slew of correspondence in the English and Cape newspapers, including personal attacks, hearsay and the airing of private matters. All this from a somewhat obscure report in a supplement to an English provincial newspaper!

Lamb received the Bishop's letter in England on 19 December 1854 and responded on 23 December 1854. His lengthy response (SACM 1855:168) shows unconcealed pain and anger at what he saw as aspersions cast on his character. Gray replied by letter on 8 March 1855, expressing dissatisfaction with Lamb's response. Lamb responded to this second letter on 15 May 1855 expressing outrage at the 'very grievous charges', the severe public assailing of his character and conduct, and his view that the letters 'were calculated to mar seriously my peace, [and] to destroy my health' (SACM 1855:290). In the light of such strong sentiments, it is rather surprising that Gray's next letter (of 8 August 1855 - SACM 1855:294) starts on a conciliatory note with Gray commenting that Lamb's last letter was written in a better spirit! Gray, in fact, seems anxious to conclude the matter without instituting proceedings. He assures Lamb that all will be forgiven and forgotten provided that "you . . . write

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to me, and frankly own that you have been betrayed into the use of sinful language, that you deeply regret what you did say; and that you did not mean to charge any of your brethren with unsoundness in the faith, or unfaithfulness to their Church" (SACM 1855:296). It is possible that Lamb and Gray may have been able to work out a compromise statement and avoid further unpleasantness; but Gray's public attacks made such a step difficult for Lamb. Lamb had by now returned to the Cape and he responded on 13 August rejecting Gray's request for a retraction.

"I cannot, my Lord, admit the charge of having used 'sinful language'. I therefore cannot express regret for what I may have said, except in so far as it relates to any intention of offending, wounding, or accusing any Christian brother . . . I disclaim having 'made any charge against your Lordship's clergy as a body - or any section thereof, or of having accused any individual.' I must therefore, respectfully demur to the course your Lordship would force upon me . . ." (SACM 1855:300)

The upshot was that Gray issued a citation for Lamb to appear before his consistory court. The proceedings of the court took place on 22 and 23 August 1855, at the conclusion of which Gray issued Lamb with an admonition and censure "for the course you have, in a far-off land, adopted towards your brethren, while they were cheerfully undertaking your duties, that you might have rest and relaxation" (SACM 1855:267).

5.2.8 THE ISSUES IN THE DISPUTE

In his letter to Lamb of 24 September 1854 (SACM 1855:164), Gray listed 5 instances in which he judged Lamb to be at fault (at least as reported in the newspaper article):

Firstly, that Lamb had misrepresented himself as not being immediately connected with the CCS.

Gray felt that people in England would infer that Lamb, representing himself as an unconnected observer, was creating the impression that the CCS was doing a great work at the Cape, but was being hampered by the spread of 'dangerous doctrines'. In fact Lamb was the only clergyman supported by the CCS at that time. Lamb made somewhat of an unguarded response, charging Gray with

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having accused him of a 'gross and palpable falsehood' and asserting that it would be patently absurd of him to make such a statement at a meeting of a society that was supporting him; it was therefore obviously misreported. Lamb's reaction, though hasty and wrong, is understandable, given that Gray, surely knowing Lamb must have been misquoted, took the opportunity to make a public statement regarding the meagre work of the CCS at the Cape. When Badnall published Gray's letter, he further added the shrewd statement:

"It would be hardly right, perhaps, though beyond the immediate scope of this communication, to omit the opportunity of mentioning, by way of contrast with what the Colonial Church and School Society is doing in South Africa, that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, besides having contributed £5000 to the Bishopric of Grahamstown, and £1500 to the endowment of the Bishopric of Natal, is spending altogether in the South African diocese £2200 per annum."

(SACM 1855:163)

Conveniently omitted, was the fact that the CCS was effectively prevented from expanding their work through the actions of Bishop Gray (see 2.2.2 & 4.4.3).

In declaring the support Lamb was receiving from the CCS, Gray went on to publish full details of Lamb's stipend, declaring that Lamb was the highest paid parochial clergyman in South Africa, and that he, Gray, had obtained the government portion of his stipend for him (SACM 1855:164). Not only was this information incorrect, but to publish it was a deplorable act on Gray's part which only served to increase the bitterness of the dispute and gave the impression that Lamb was being unfairly persecuted by his bishop (see Gray 1855d).

Secondly, Gray took issue with Lamb's reported claim that 'dangerous doctrines' were being spread at the Cape.

This was really the crux of Gray's complaint against Lamb. Gray was adamant that Lamb had "brought vague, indefinite, but very serious charges, without call or provocation, gratuitously and indiscriminately, at a public meeting, against the clergy of this diocese" (SACM 1855:177).

Gray was insistent that Lamb should bring specific charges, particularly in respect of the book that Lamb had mentioned as being given to a young woman

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'under the pretence of teaching Christian doctrine'. Lamb replied to this charge that he did not believe he had used the words 'dangerous doctrines' but he did not deny that he believed error was being spread. Lamb refused to name anyone in particular but his mention of the book obviously pointed to a particular clergyman. The book in question was Richard Sherlock's *Practical Christian*, written as long ago as 1673 and having gone through several editions. Sherlock was a high churchman and the book found favour amongst clergy of that ilk. It contained exhortations to self-examination with some candid examples (possibly expurgated in some editions) of 'gross sins', calculated to offend Victorian sensibilities.¹³ The book was given to the young woman by the Hon and Rev Henry Douglas, chaplain of Somerset Hospital at the time; he had since returned to England in 1853. Gray and his supporters made capital of the fact that the woman was actually a prostitute, but as Lamb pointed out, if anything, that compounded the 'offence'. However, there was simply no proof that Douglas had ulterior motives in passing the book on, or that he knew of the exact contents. Although Lamb tenaciously refused to name Douglas, the details were obvious and it cast unproven aspersions on the man's character. Lamb unwisely compounded matters by stating that the book "can be considered only as a fitting introduction to the disgusting details of the Romish confessional" (SACM 1855:173).

Thirdly, Gray challenged the report that a special edition of *Pilgrim's Progress* had been prepared for the Cape which 'had unnecessarily offended every Mahometan in the Colony.'

Gray asserted that he did not approve of the mutilation of works such as this but that he felt that Lamb was attempting to show that the Cape clergy favoured Popery. In reply, Lamb denied that he had referred to a special edition prepared for the Cape and that he had only referred to the offence which would be caused if the existence of the book was known. The book, he said, was sold at the SPCK depot in Cape Town and he alluded to it as illustrating its character in favouring Popery. Gray did not revert to this matter.

Fourthly, Gray adverted to Lamb's claim that the withdrawal of members of a church was caused by innovations and Tractarian practices.

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Gray claimed that only a small minority had withdrawn from the particular church and that the reason for their withdrawal was the introduction of a weekly offertory¹⁴. Lamb, he said, used language that implied a great deal more. This was a blunder on Gray's part as the reasons for the secession had been published in England and there certainly was a great deal more. The dissentients had openly declared that they had left because of the preaching of Romish doctrines and the introduction of innovations in the service. The church in question was St Mary's in Port Elizabeth and the changes were introduced by the Rev WH Fowle after the death of the Rev Francis M'Cleland in 1853 (see 2.5.4). Gray made no further reference in the correspondence to this situation and it is instructive to note that the editorial comment in the SACM avoided the subject. Gray's tacit support for such practices can be seen in his reaction to a complaint about the Rev Mr Fowle made by Messrs Willmot and Cooke, two young men of Lamb's congregation in August 1856. Gray not only dismissed the complaint out of hand, he used language that showed contempt for the men (Gray 1856d). Reacting to a protest by Lamb, he then stated that he did not doubt their 'personal religion' and that Lamb should not convey to them any part of the letter that might 'wound their feelings'. He however concluded by stating that 'conceited and forward young men must be checked' (Gray 1856e).

5.2.9 PUBLIC ATTACKS

In the course of the correspondence, various other issues surfaced which really had no place in public correspondence of this nature. Most distressing, however, are the bishop's personal attacks on Lamb. In the first letter, published before Lamb was given the courtesy of a reply, he is referred to as having a 'defective attachment to the principles of the church' and of being in circumstances 'singularly unbecoming and unchristian' (SACM 1855:167). In the second letter Gray (SACM 1855:179) resorted to quoting hearsay criticisms, which Lamb (SACM 1855:292) quite rightly dismissed as 'anonymous accusations . . . I think it my duty to ignore.' Even in the more conciliatory third letter Lamb is characterised as stirring up strife, creating party feeling, and doing much harm to himself and the church by the vehemence of his speech. Lamb openly acknowledged his own shortcomings: "I have never concealed from myself that I have a great deal to learn of Christian truth and Christian charity" (SACM

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1855:292) and he admitted that “. . . I have oftentimes expressed my opinion strongly as to error. . . ” (SACM 1855:298). However these admissions were then used against him (SACM 1855:298).

5.2.10 THE CONSISTORY COURT PROCEEDINGS

The Rev Paddy Lamb was duly summoned to appear before the Bishop's Consistory Court. The court was convened on Wednesday 22 August at 2pm. The Bishop presided with his two assessors, Archdeacon Thomas Welby and Canon Edward Judge. The churchwardens of the cathedral were also present but the wardens of Lamb's church, Holy Trinity, were excluded. This was because they had refused to sign the membership statement demanded by Gray (see 4.3.1) and Gray therefore legalistically excluded them. He did however allow Mr Charles Reade to accompany Lamb. Reade, who served in the Indian civil service, acted as an adviser to Lamb¹⁵. The proceedings opened with Gray reading the letters from the Rev Canon White and the four clergymen who had requested Gray to take action against Lamb. Gray then opened proceedings by addressing Lamb. His opening address is quoted in full:

"Reverend sir, - It is with very great pain that I have summoned you to appear before me this day, to answer for what you have said and written with reference to the clergy of this diocese, during your late visit to England. From the letters which I have addressed to you, you have long known that these remarks have given very great offence to your brethren, and that they have formally appealed to me, to make an official inquiry into the matter, and "to bring the truth or falsehood of your charges to a speedy issue."

Both by letter and by personal intercourse since your return to this country, I have endeavoured to induce you, either to declare that you never meant to accuse your brethren, the clergy of this diocese, of saying or doing anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England; or, to express regret, and apologize for any language which you may have used with regard to them in an unguarded moment; or, to furnish me with the grounds upon which you have made your charges.

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The Archdeacon and Mr Canon Judge, who, as members of my chapter, are my assessors upon this occasion, have each of them in like manner repeatedly, with all kindness, urged you to declare that you never meant to impute to your brethren unsoundness in the faith. But this you have steadily declined to do.

After every effort, therefore, has been made to avoid the necessity of this formal proceeding, I am constrained to summon you to appear before me; and to call upon you, as your Bishop, to state where, and when, any clergyman of the Church in this diocese has held or taught anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of which he is a minister.” (SACM 1855:259)

It is apparent from the above that, firstly, no actual charge was laid against Lamb and, secondly, that the Bishop and his two assessors had all pre-judged the case. The proceedings simply consisted of the Bishop and the assessors attempting to obtain from Lamb an admission that he had slandered the Cape clergy as a body; or to name any individuals who had taught error. Lamb refused to do either, maintaining that he had “dealt with general evil in a general way” (SACM 1855:260). In effect, Lamb was being asked to retract and apologise or be found guilty. By any standards the ‘trial’ was unfair and the outcome predictable. Lamb (SACM 1855:322) later remarked “I feel I should not have been justified in appearing there without proper and sufficient legal advisers, - a privilege to which, until the Star Chamber be re-established, I believe I am entitled.” Gray later admitted to Samuel Wilberforce that the “only weakness in the case is that Lamb named no man . . .” (Gray 1855b).

5.2.11 THE VERDICT AND SENTENCE

The court re-assembled on Thursday 23 August 1855 and the Bishop made one last attempt to get Lamb to retract and apologise. He then announced his decision, based he said, on the complaint brought by the clergy that Lamb did “at a public meeting in England, without call or provocation use language which could be construed, and which was construed, as reflecting upon their characters as faithful ministers of the Church of England” (SACM 1855:265). After reviewing the course of events, Gray (SACM 1855:266) stated:

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"I . . . called on you to justify the language which you had used, generally, with evident reference to your brethren of the clergy; and especially with regard to the Hon. and Rev H. Douglas. This in my judgment, and in that of the Archdeacon and of the Rev Canon Judge, whom I have taken for my assessors on this occasion, you have entirely failed to do."

Gray then informed Lamb that, having been found guilty of a 'heinous sin', he deserved the punishment of suspension. However the Bishop was willing to impose a lighter sentence "to bring one who has shown both zeal and earnestness to a due sense of greatness of his fault . . ." (SACM 1855:266). Lamb was therefore to consider himself as admonished and censured and to be warned that a further offence of this nature would bring a more severe punishment. Lamb's response was that, whilst submitting to the Bishop's decision, he could not fully acquiesce in its justice.

5.2.12 THE AFTERMATH

On 29 August 1855 Lamb lodged an appeal (to the Archbishop of Canterbury) against the judgement with Bishop Gray. Gray informed Lamb that he would 'cheerfully' forward such an appeal but he did not believe there was any right of appeal in the case. "The Archbishop's jurisdiction is not, as you appear to imagine, unlimited, but limited and defined by the laws and Canons of the Church. Were it not so, his Grace would exercise Papal power . . ." (Gray 1855e). Despite his statement, Gray was worried about the outcome and particularly concerned that Lamb or his friends may have made direct representations to Archbishop Sumner, a known Evangelical, who could well be in sympathy with Lamb. Gray was concerned that Sumner might make an unguarded comment that would cause problems for him. He therefore requested Lamb to let him have copies of any correspondence he or his friends may have sent directly, and he also wrote to Bishop Wilberforce of Oxford requesting his help in ensuring that Sumner did not do anything untoward (Gray 1855b). Gray, in forwarding Lamb's appeal to Sumner, also added a further private letter (Gray 1855a). In this letter, Lamb is again described in unflattering fashion as 'an Irishman of the wildest school of opinion' and as exerting himself to create discord. The letter contains exaggeration, and hearsay is repeated. Gray also goes on to make the ridiculous and rather dramatic claim that "Lamb knows that

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the great bulk of the population hates all Englishmen, and the English Church as representatives of the English nation, and that our wonderful expansion over these last eight years has alarmed them, and that they would leave no stone unturned to crush us." Even with allowances made for the fact that Gray was away on visitation and writing from Swellendam, the letter does him no credit at all.

As it transpired, Sumner was not able to entertain an appeal, but not for the reasons Gray had advanced. According to an extract from the SA Church Magazine (SACM 1856) the Archbishop asked Dr Augustus Bayford (an expert in canon law) for his opinion on the case. Bayford's opinion was that "there is nothing to appeal from; it will be difficult to word the grievance complained of in a way to make it cognizable in a legal enquiry." As previously observed, there was no particular charge against Lamb. Spartalis (1989:14) says that the legal advisers of the CCS concluded that Bishop Gray had deliberately avoided issuing a decree thus invalidating an appeal. This is unfair on Gray who seemed genuine about passing a light sentence on Lamb. It is also contradicted by Gray's correspondence with Sumner and Wilberforce. However Spartalis (1989:14) notes that "in the light of this, Dr Brayford (sic) advised withdrawal of the prosecution of the appeal but intimated that legal advice completely vindicated Lamb of the charge." According to the extract from the SA Church Magazine, however, Bayford made no comment on the merits of the case. What he did say was that Gray actually had no jurisdiction in the case because the alleged offence was committed in England. Furthermore had such proceedings taken place in England, the judgment would have had to be set aside because of irregularities in the way it was conducted (SACM 1856).

5.3 CONCLUSION

The Rev Paddy Lamb was an uncompromising Protestant Evangelical churchman, strongly opposed to Tractarian doctrine and innovations. He had little in common with the Anglo-Catholic priests of the diocese and preferred to align himself with the dissenters and Dutch Reformed clergy, thus receiving criticism from his bishop. By his own admission, Lamb held strong opinions which he expressed strongly without reserve; there was always going to be a measure of conflict as he stood resolutely for what he considered to be the pure and unadulterated

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evangelical truth. In his speech in Liverpool, he faced the difficulty of bringing specific examples of what he considered the insidious spread of error; he should have been more circumspect in this regard. Although he maintained throughout that he had not named any person and had no intention of harming anyone's reputation, it is clear that he indirectly implicated the Rev Henry Douglas without sufficient proof of any wrongdoing. For this he deserved censure and he should have made a public apology in this respect. That said, one cannot but regard Bishop Gray's actions in response to the speech as beyond any sense of proportion and calculated to stiffen Lamb's resolve not to yield on any point.

Lamb's outspokenness, vague charges and vilification of Tractarianism, forced Gray to take action of some sort against him. Contrary to Lamb's equating of Tractarianism with 'general evil' and the 'stealthy introduction of false doctrine', Gray's own opinion (after 'painstaking study') was that "their principles are in the main those of the Church of England" (Gray 1876a:68). Furthermore he had the mainly Anglo-Catholic clergy of his diocese clamouring for Lamb to be brought to book. Nonetheless, the way he chose to take action was regrettable: the initial publishing of his letter to Lamb, the aspersions on Lamb's character, the airing of private matters in public, the repetition of hearsay, the unfair and illegal proceedings of his court, all testify to this. He succeeded in turning a minor newspaper report into a *cause célèbre* that only increased his unpopularity at the Cape. With regard to a possible appeal by Lamb, Gray seemed blissfully unaware that, in disclaiming "Papal' power for the Archbishop of Canterbury, he had in fact assumed it for himself. Archbishop Tait's comment is apposite: "I will never believe that it was the intention of the letters patent, or whatever it is that clothes the Bishop of Capetown with authority, to make him so irresponsible that there should be no earthly appeal from his decision . . ." (Davidson & Benham 1891a:349).

Lamb resumed his ministry at Trinity Church but his relationship with Gray remained strained with further issues cropping up periodically. Kearns (1913:17) however, says that Gray, in later years, expressed regret for his treatment of Lamb.

Had Lamb been properly charged and sentenced to suspension, as Gray had threatened, he would have had grounds for an appeal which, in all likelihood,

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would have succeeded, based on Dr Bayford's opinion. For the Evangelicals to join a voluntary association, dominated by men of a different churchmanship, and with the possibility of such appeals totally removed, would have been foolhardy and unthinkable.

¹¹ Newman was, however, on leave in England at the time of the dispute.

¹² Later, due to criticism of his actions, Gray disingenuously claimed that "I should have infinitely preferred that my letter remained, as I hoped it would have done, a mere private remonstrance" (Gray 1855c).

¹³ Even Gray agreed that parts of the book were offensive (Gray 1855c). The SA Church Magazine also censored quotations from the book in Lamb's correspondence (SACM 1855:172).

¹⁴ Bishop Gray encouraged the churches to eliminate the system of pew rentals and to reduce reliance on the State through free-will offerings of the congregations. At this distance it is difficult to understand why this seemingly wise step caused so much resentment. Hinchliff (1963:49) says that it was "part of a policy aimed at depriving the congregation of its rights over the church building."

¹⁵ Reade was one of the "Anglo-Indians" who took leave at the Cape for financial reasons. They were not popular with Bishop Gray who amusingly maligned them as men who "with long purses and pious purposes are the pest of the place" (Gray 1876a:164).

CHAPTER 6: LONG VERSUS THE BISHOP OF CAPE TOWN

6.1 WILLIAM LONG

6.1.1 ENGLAND



William Long was born in Olney, Buckinghamshire, England on 20 May 1821. Olney is the town famous as the home of the *Olney hymns* of John Newton and William Cowper, the most famous being of these being *Amazing Grace*. The biblical commentator, Thomas Scott, successor to Newton and converted under his ministry, died in Olney in the year that Long was born.

Long offered himself for missionary service with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and was ordained as deacon “for work in Her Majesty’s foreign possessions” by the Bishop of London, Charles Blomfield, on 20 October 1844 when 23 years of age. The society (SPG:1844) had intended for Long to be appointed as a schoolmaster and pastoral assistant to the Rev John Heavyside at Grahamstown but circumstances prevented this and Long remained in England. He then enrolled at St John’s College, Cambridge as a *sizar*¹⁶ and a *ten year man*¹⁷ on 10 June 1845. However, he does not appear to have completed the BD degree because shortly thereafter he boarded a ship bound for the Cape. The society (SPG:1845) instructed Long to take up the posts at Grahamstown as originally planned, or alternatively to seek a colonial chaplaincy position at Graaff-Reinet. Hinchliff (s.a.:12) indicates that there was some trouble over his appointment (though no fault of his), ending in the Secretary of State (Earl Grey) sending a stiff rebuke to the SPG for not following proper procedures. However, he consented to Long being appointed to Graaff-Reinet as the post at Grahamstown was not of a permanent nature.

6.1.2 GRAAFF-REINET

Graaff-Reinet was an important farming centre with a large Dutch population, having been one of the Boer republics. There was a small English population, about 100 adults and growing slowly. In spite of the general unpopularity of the

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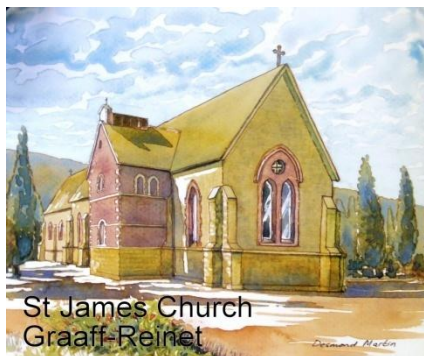
English, Long seems to have been well received and accorded kindness and help from the Dutch Reformed congregation and their minister, Andrew Murray (senior). Long began his ministry in Graaff-Reinet on 27 September 1845, making use of the schoolroom on Sunday mornings and the Dutch Reformed church building on Sunday afternoons. Long's ministry seems to have been popular and by the end of the year he was able to report to the SPG that he had a congregation of 100 in the mornings and over 200 in the afternoons; most of the afternoon congregation being Dutch. Plans were already in train for the erection of a church building. Long was also ministering periodically at *Bloemhof*, a settlement 30 km from Graaff-Reinet towards Nieu Bethesda (Long 1845).

In 1846, Long reported to the SPG that the church building was delayed owing to a labour shortage and a drop in congregation numbers due to the frontier wars (Long 1846). In his next report to the SPG in March 1847, he bemoans the lack of a bishop. Long was still only in deacon's orders and needed to be ordained as a presbyter in order to give communion to his people; he also had a large number ready for confirmation. He also stressed the sad lack of organisation and care exercised by the Church of England at the Cape (Long 1847). Long could not have envisaged the bitter clash, ending in a landmark Privy Council judgment, that would occur between him and the bishop who would shortly be appointed.

6.1.3 BISHOP GRAY'S VISITS TO GRAAFF-REINET

There was no hint of the future tension when Bishop Gray made the first visitation trip of his diocese in 1848. During the trip, William Long accompanied him for part of the way and, after an examination, was ordained presbyter at Grahamstown by the bishop on 15 October 1848. Gray then visited Graaff-Reinet for almost a week, in the process confirming 48 candidates. Gray was much impressed with Long's ministry there and he wrote in his journal: "I leave Graaff-Reinet with much satisfaction, feeling assured that Mr Long will devote himself, as he has hitherto zealously done, to the work of the ministry; and that God's cause will prosper there" (Gray 1849). Similarly on Gray's next visitation tour, in 1850, he was well pleased with the state of church affairs in Graaff-Reinet. During Gray's marathon 1850 visitation tour (which lasted nine months), he stopped over in Graaff-Reinet on 18 April 1850 during the outward leg. He was then able to inspect the well-advanced new church building. He observed

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that it was 'exceedingly well built' and 'at present, the best church in the diocese' (Gray 1853). During the return leg of his trip, Gray consecrated the St James Church, Graaff-Reinet on 29 September 1850.

On 5 November 1846 William Long married Madeline Watt, daughter of James Duff Watt, assistant commissary general to the forces in Grahamstown. Madeline Long became ill in 1852 and, for a time, Long swapped parishes with the incumbent of Port Elizabeth so that she could receive treatment there. Madeline Long died at Graaff-Reinet on 5 June, 1853 at the age of 27, leaving William Long with the care of three small daughters. Long's own health was suffering and, on his doctor's advice, he sought to move from Graaff-Reinet. In March, 1854 he was offered the incumbency of a new church at 'Three Cups'¹⁸ (St Peter's Church, Mowbray) by the church's patron, the Rev Mr JW Hoets.

6.1.4 MOWBRAY



Bishop Gray (1854) wrote to Long in March 1854 regarding his appointment to Mowbray. Gray stressed the need for a conciliatory and gentle ministry in view of various problems experienced; a particularly sore point being the division of the parish of Rondebosch. He added a warning to Long that he should have nothing to do with the CCS, again demonstrating Gray's deep antipathy for the evangelical mission societies. The warning was ignored and the CCS was involved in appointments to the school run by the church at Mowbray. Long was duly appointed as incumbent of St Peter's, Mowbray on 3 June, 1854. The church building was consecrated by Bishop Gray on St Peter's Day, 29 June, 1854.

6.1.5 SECOND MARRIAGE

At the age of 33, William Long married for a second time. His second wife was the 30 year old Maria Christina Wentzel. The marriage took place at Trinity Church in Cape Town on 14 September 1854. With Long's good friend, Paddy

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Lamb, on leave in England, the marriage service was conducted by Bishop Gray, assisted by the Rev Edward Glover. Four daughters were born of this marriage. Aside from the period when his licence was withdrawn in the dispute with Bishop Gray (see below), Long ministered at St Peter's until his death on 16 February 1887 at the age of 65. Maria Long died at Kenilworth on 10 November 1898. Throughout his ministry Long steadfastly maintained an uncompromising protestant, evangelical stance at St Peter's. At the CPSA provincial synod of 1887, Archbishop William West Jones paid tribute to him, saying that Long "though never a member of our Synod was usually present at our opening and closing services and by the gentleness of his spirit won the regard of those from whom he most widely differed" (Wood 1939:202).

6.2 THE DISPUTE

6.2.1 INTRODUCTION

The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, in no better but in no worse position, and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them. (Long 1863)

This landmark ruling of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was one of the outcomes of the dispute between William Long and his bishop; a dispute which lasted nearly three years. The ruling clarified the status of the Church of England in self-governing colonies such as the Cape of Good Hope, and opened the way for the formal establishment of a voluntary religious association. For William Long, however, the summary statement of the Privy Councillors was the most important outcome of the appeal:

We are therefore of opinion that the order of suspension issued by the Bishop was one which was not justified by the conduct of Mr. Long, and that the subsequent sentence of deprivation founded upon his disobedience to the order of suspension must fall with it. (Long 1863)

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This ruling brought to a conclusion an extended period of extreme stress and anguish for the quiet and dignified clergyman, a period he survived, by the grace of God, through his strong faith and the steadfast support and prayers of his family and friends.

Because of the importance of the landmark ruling in the dispute, the 'Long case' has received extensive treatment in various Anglican publications, especially histories of the Church of England and of the Anglican Communion. The proceedings of the two cases, 'Long vs the Bishop of Cape Town' in the Cape Supreme Court in 1861, and the appeal in the Privy Council in 1863 are recorded fully elsewhere and will not be rehearsed here (see Long 1861 and Long 1863). Instead, the main points of the dispute will be determined from the exchange of correspondence between Gray and Long prior to the court cases. Excerpts from the important parts of the Privy Council judgment will be found in Annexure 'A'.

6.2.2 BACKGROUND – THE REV MR HOETS

At this point it is instructive to consider Bishop Gray's dealings with Mr Hoets as a further example of Gray's hostile relationship with evangelical churchmen in his diocese. John William Hoets (or Jan Willem van Rees Hoets, his given Dutch name) was born at Groote Schuur, Cape Town to Dutch parents in 1854. His family was the original owners of the Groote Schuur estate. He was educated at the University of Leyden in the Netherlands and at Trinity Hall, Cambridge where he graduated with the MA in 1849. He was ordained as deacon by the Bishop of Manchester in 1849. In 1850 he returned to the Cape and was appointed by Bishop Gray to the new church district of *Three Cups* (Mowbray) in the parish of Rondebosch. The work commenced in a school room with accommodation for 110 persons and 40 children. As the work developed, Hoets saw the need for a permanent building and used his own money to build a chapel. However following quarrels with the incumbent of the Rondebosch parish, the Rev John Fry, and with Bishop Gray, he decided to withdraw from active ministry at the Cape, as soon as a successor could be appointed. Bishop Gray declined to consecrate the new church as it was privately owned and Hoets wanted patronage rights. Gray was opposed the patronage system and would not have wanted it to become a feature at the Cape. The fact that Hoets wanted to preserve an evangelical ministry at Mowbray may also have been a factor

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inhibiting Gray from coming to an agreement with Hoets. After a great deal of correspondence and wrangling, the matter was eventually resolved with Hoets transferring the church to the diocese on condition of his right to appoint the first two incumbents. He generously made an endowment to provide for the stipend of the incumbent. However, in 1856 Gray vindictively instructed that Hoets not be allowed henceforth to minister in his diocese (see Gray 1856f). This had consequences for Paddy Lamb, for whom Hoets had often preached and for whom he had offered to serve as *locum tenens* during Lamb's overseas leave (see 5.2.1). Hoets died in England in 1907.

6.2.3 BACKGROUND – LONG AND THE ARCHDEACON

During his eight-and-a-half years at Graaff-Reinet, Long had a number of disagreements with Nathaniel Merriman, the Archdeacon of Grahamstown. According to Whibley (1982:46), Merriman was 'dismayed' at Long's refusal to use Eucharistic vestments which could be construed as 'Popish'. Merriman was also concerned about the slow reduction of the debt on Long's church. The most serious disagreement concerned Merriman's concept of the duties and responsibilities of the churchwardens. The wardens refused to comply with Merriman's demands and referred the matter to Archbishop Sumner¹⁹. Sumner sent a letter vindicating the churchwardens' position. Whibley (1982:47) speculates that this contributed to Sumner's refusal to consider appointing Merriman as Bishop of Grahamstown after Bishop Armstrong's death (see 4.4.4). Merriman was a favourite of Gray and these incidents would have displeased him greatly. When Long therefore sought to move to Mowbray, Gray wrote to him (on 30 November 1852): "I could not have appointed you without some guarantee that you would conform to the laws and regulations of your Church" (Long 1861:126). Again on 6 June 1853, he wrote: "With reference to your removal to another sphere of labour, all that I can at present say is that I shall endeavour always, presuming that you have returned to a sense of duty which you owe to the Church and to obedience to its laws, to make an arrangement for your exchange" (Long 1861:126).

Long had, on medical grounds, sought a move from Graaff-Reinet as early as April, 1851. In February, 1854 he wrote to reassure Gray: "Should I be stationed at Mowbray I desire to live, if possible, peaceably with all men for the gospel's sake, and that the ministry be not blamed. I shall do my best to prevent any

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falling off in the contributions of the people, and endeavour rather to get them increased. I trust, also, that your Lordship will not have ground for complaint in regard to conformity to the Prayer Book” (Long 1861:128).

On 22 March 1854 Gray, having conceded to Hoets’ request for Long to be appointed to Mowbray, wrote to Hoets:

“With reference to Mr Long’s appointment. I have felt my first duty to see to the appointment of a clergyman who will act with forbearance and in a conciliatory spirit. It is because I think him a man of a mild and Christian spirit that I have been ready to meet your views. Had you named to me at first a man of whom I could not approve, I should have had more hesitation in the acceptance of your offer.” (Long 1861:29)

Gray’s intention was obviously to let Hoets know who had the final say in appointments. However it does indicate Gray’s assessment of Long’s character and Gray’s view that Long was manipulated by others in later taking the stand that he did. Gray’s commendation of Long to the congregation at the consecration of St Peter’s Church, Mowbray on 29 June, 1854²⁰ gives no hint of the conflict to follow:

“From this time forth you will have your parish priest, one who having been made to bear his cross, and disciplined in the school of affliction, has been led to realise for himself the vanity and emptiness of earthly things, and to look forward with hope to the rest that remaineth for the people of God, and who will, I trust, be found faithful to his Lord and master, rightly divide the word of truth, and minister lovingly and tenderly to your souls.”
(Long 1861:129)

6.2.4 THE COURSE OF THE DISPUTE

The dispute received coverage in a number of newspapers; the *Cape Monitor* published all the correspondence between Gray and Long in December 1860 (Long & Gray 1860). The court proceedings in the Cape Supreme Court plus the correspondence and supporting documents were also published (see Long 1861). Unless otherwise stated, the following notes are extracted from these documents.

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On 1 October 1860, Bishop Gray issued a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese. In it he summoned a 'synod'²¹ for 17 January 1861; and he required notice to be given to the laity of each parish for the purpose of electing lay delegates to the synod. A synod was very necessary for regulating the affairs of the diocese and giving a voice to the laity (see 4.3.1). Gray had insisted that the laity should be an essential part of the synod (Hinchliff s.a.:27).

This was the second synod called by Gray; the first in 1857 unleashed a storm of criticism and protests. Opposition to the synod was driven by a barrister, FR Surtees, who charged that the holding of such synods was illegal for a number of reasons (see Hinchliff s.a.:39-40). Lamb at Trinity, Long at Mowbray and Phillipson at Wynberg all refused to attend the synod and 6 parishes declined to elect delegates (Ive 1992:23).

Long's main contention was that, in holding such a synod, Gray was constituting a body separate from the Church of England. He thus replied, somewhat belatedly on 29 November 1860, rejecting the bishop's summons and refusing to call a meeting to elect lay delegates. Long contended that such a synod could not be held without the sanction of the legislature. He further stated that he was even more convinced of the illegality of such a meeting following the publishing of the "Acts and Constitution" of the 1857 synod. These documents required that the following membership statement be signed:

I do declare that I am a member of the Church of the diocese of Cape Town, in union and full communion with the United Church of England and Ireland, and that I belong to no other religious body.

Long countered that he did not belong to any religious body in *communion* with the United Church of England and Ireland; he belonged *to* the United Church of England and Ireland. Furthermore, in his "humble opinion" this clause constituted a declaration of secession. He also objected to the constitution of ecclesiastical courts without legislative sanction. Finally, he considered a clause requiring all newly appointed ministers to subscribe to the Acts and Constitution, as a condition of license, to be "a measure sanctioned neither by law nor usage in our church, and an unwarranted clog upon a clergyman's liberty unknown in any English diocese." He added that he had given copies of the pastoral letter to

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his churchwardens who were at liberty to decide whether to call a meeting to elect delegates.

The legal issues attending the holding of synods were complex and Gray was in a difficult position in this regard. In Canada and Australia enabling legislation had been passed. The strongly anti-Erastian Cape bishop, however, refused to go that route. Gray rightly felt that for the government to frame an ordinance for the Church would give the State the right to amend such legislation at a later time. This would admit the State's right to interfere in Church matters (Hinchliff s.a.:38). As a consequence, he absolutely refused to consider that option. Gray's stance on this was not unreasonable and the holding of a synod on a consensual basis really ought not to have become a major issue. However, the Evangelicals were extremely suspicious of his motives. The first synod's adoption of a membership statement and provision for ecclesiastical courts confirmed their worst fears that an association separate from the mother Church was being established which would threaten their distinctives. As they saw it, their only option was to oppose the synod as being illegal. As the writers of the CPSA document *Anglican Division in South Africa* (CPSA 1982:3) point out, Gray lacked the required statesmanship and his intolerance of opposing views, as well as his and Long's inflexibility ensured a path of division.

Gray replied to Long on 30 November, 1860. He began by dismissing any discussion on the legality of synods. "No one now, whose opinion is worth having, has any doubts upon this point . . ." This was an unfortunate comment which was interpreted as belittling the opinions of many learned men, and which unleashed a storm of protest and simply hardened the resolve of those who, like Long, were opposed to the synod. Gray also did not want to discuss Long's mention of secession, although he warned that it was a "daring and wanton charge" and that if Long published it he would be liable to trial for a "grave ecclesiastical offence." He then called on Long to obey his ordination vow of obedience to his diocesan by calling a meeting of his parishioners as ordered by his bishop.

Long's reply of 3 December, 1860 took issue with Gray's points but chiefly drew attention to what Long considered the "real point at issue, the unlawfulness of a Synod which has not the sanction of the Legislature and the Crown . . ." Long

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maintained that his ordination vow only required obedience in things lawful in the Church of England.

Gray's response came on 6 December, 1860. Long's original letter had now been published so Gray now charged him with publicly imputing to the diocese "the very grave offence of having seceded from the Church of England." He also denied that he had ever interfered with anyone's "conscientious convictions", or that he was demanding "unlimited obedience." He then summoned Long to appear at a meeting at the cathedral, stressing that it would not be a trial, but a private meeting. He added that he was calling the meeting in the spirit of Matthew 18:15-17 and would therefore invite two clergymen to be present; Long was welcome to bring a friend along.

In a lengthy reply dated 8 December, 1860, Long refused the summons to a private meeting. He contended that, as the issues were being debated in the public arena, there was nothing further to discuss in private and any meeting should thus be public. He added that, in his opinion, a private meeting on these matters would give rise to incorrect reports and 'evil' results. On the face of it, it is difficult to follow Long's reasoning. Although the probability of the two achieving agreement would have been remote, Gray's request seemed reasonable and infinitely preferable to the continual bickering in public via the press. However, the reason for Long's intransigence related to a previous "private meeting" with Bishop Gray. According to Long's churchwardens (in a letter to Gray dated 19 December, 1860), Long had had a private meeting with the Bishop on a different matter, with no-one else present. Gray had then written and distributed a report on the meeting to his friends. Long had it on good authority that the report contained inaccuracies and slandered his character. When challenged, Gray had not denied having circulated the report nor had he defended the accuracy of it. Gray's response (of 21 December, 1860) to this claim of the churchwardens was that it was a matter of no concern to them and he only mentioned it to repudiate inaccuracies in their reporting. He did not, however, elaborate on these inaccuracies.

Reverting to Long's letter of 8 December, 1860: Long apologised for causing any offence in publicly giving his reasons for opposing the synod and for not giving notice of it, but he stood by his reasons. Long also clarified his comments regarding secession, stating that he was not judging the motives of anyone who

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signed the membership declaration but he stood by what he referred to as his "humble opinion", quoting strong legal opinion to support his view. He further countered Gray's accusation that he was keeping his congregation in ignorance about the synod. Pointing to all the publicity surrounding the issue he told Gray "I am sure that there is not a qualified elector who is, as you imply, ignorant of the fact." However, it was on this last point – Long's failure to give notice of the synod to his congregation – that Gray cited him to appear at a hearing, threatening him with suspension if he failed to appear.

Gray, in his reply of 12 December, 1860, first berated Long strongly for publishing "to the world what is not a mere opinion, but a libel." However, in view of Long's apology in this matter he was prepared not to press the point further. On the matter of failing to give the required notice of the synod, Long was summonsed to appear before Gray. Gray made it clear that he did this by the power and authority vested in him by the Queen's Letters Patent. In his response of 15 December, 1860, Long expressed his 'grave doubts' as to the legality of Gray's citation; however he would appear since Gray grounded his summons on the authority of the Letters Patent. However, he repeated his objection to a private meeting, insisting that it should be public and open to reporters, that he be allowed to bring two friends, and that the proceedings be conducted upon proper legal lines. Gray (15 December, 1860) agreed to the request for two friends to accompany Long but insisted that the meeting was private. It was not a trial; its purpose was to allow Long to give 'explanation, apologies or excuses' and for Gray to convince him of his error. That Gray was not really interested in Long's view is evident from his statement that "If I could succeed in this [convincing Long that he had 'violated his duty'], and you should be led by God's grace to see how unjustifiable your conduct has been, I shall be prepared to overlook your fault and forgive you, as I have done before. If not I shall be compelled to bring you before a public trial."

The hearing was held on 15 December, 1860, with Long being accompanied by his churchwardens, John Reid and Frederick Rutherford. Gray had the Dean (Newman) and two clergymen (Bebb and Currey) in attendance. At the outset, Long and his representatives objected to the private nature of the meeting, but the Bishop would not concede on this point. He also refused permission to Reid

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to take notes of the meeting. Nevertheless the churchwardens compiled a report of the meeting which they submitted to the Bishop for comment before publishing it. The report shows Gray as an autocrat, claiming almost absolute power and authority over the clergy and parishes of his diocese. Gray countered, in a letter of 19 December, 1860, that "the account . . . is wholly one-sided and incorrect, imputing to me language which I never used, opinions which I never held, and keeping entirely out of view the wholly unbecoming language and demeanour of Mr Long."

The hearing ended with the Bishop giving Long 30 days in which to give the required notice and to express his sorrow for having previously refused to do so. Failure to do so would mean suspension and possible deprivation.

6.2.5 SUSPENSION AND THE SUBSEQUENT COURT CASES

Having refused to comply with the Bishop's demands, Long was cited to appear before Gray's diocesan court on 4 February, 1861. Long attended, accompanied by his legal advisers and, although disputing the jurisdiction of the court, presented his defence. On 8 February, 1861 Long was sentenced to 3 months suspension.

When Long ignored the imposed suspension and continued his ministry at St Peter's, he was again cited to appear before the Bishop's court. This time he did not attend and at the hearing on 6 March, 1861, he was deprived of his incumbency at Mowbray.

Long then applied to the Cape Supreme Court to overturn Gray's sentence. As a suitable attorney was not available, Gray conducted his own defence and did so admirably by all accounts. Judgment was given on 15 February, 1862 in favour of Bishop Gray. All three judges asserted that Gray's Letters Patent could not confer coercive jurisdiction and that his authority was thus limited to those who voluntarily submitted themselves to it. Two of the judges, however, ruled that Long, by his ordination oath of canonical obedience, had submitted to Gray's authority. The dissenting judge, Mr Justice Bell, disagreed, giving as his opinion that the bishop's authority could only be exercised within a formally constituted association, such as that proposed on the basis of the first synod. Long had of course specifically refused to recognise that synod and its Acts and Constitution. Judge Bell was also very critical of the way that the dispute was handled,

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asserting that with “a little more forbearance and good feeling” the dispute could have been settled and the resultant scandal avoided. He perceptively remarked that the dispute had given “a wound to the Church of England in this colony . . . which the decision of this Court, whatever the nature of it may be, is not likely to heal.” Gray (1876a:508/9), however, dismissed Judge Bell’s arguments as “the speech of a partisan and an advocate, not the sober judgment of a judge. He is a Scottish Presbyterian by birth . . .” Despite his criticism of Bell and the possibility of an appeal, Gray was buoyed by the victory and asserted that he would have reinstated Long, provided he “expressed sorrow and promised future obedience” (Gray 1876a:511). Gray (1876a:509) was very confident that the Privy Council would not overturn the Cape court’s judgment. His view on this and his strong antagonism to State interference in the affairs of the Church are plain in a letter to his brother, Edward, on 18 March, 1862:

“This case will settle the right of a Metropolitan and his Suffragans to try an erring brother . . . If Courts should refuse to endorse the opinion of Watermeyer [one of the judges], the Church must break up in the Colonies. It could not hold together long as a body. But the Privy Council will not. It will endorse that view, and it will be an immense boon to the Church everywhere, and save it from prostrating itself before Colonial Parliaments, composed of men of all denominations, and asking them to be gracious enough to define rights of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and tell them what they may do and what they may not. Colonial legislation for the Church is no better than a device of Satan to destroy it.” (Gray 1876a:512)

As it transpired, the case did go on appeal, and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council did not endorse Watermeyer’s view, although it agreed with, and quoted parts of, his judgement (see appendix A). Nevertheless, the judgment, given on 24 June, 1861, did clarify the position of the Church of England in the colonies, pointing the way to the establishment of a voluntary association which could establish its own rules. Long had not submitted himself to any such rules and, although the Privy Council ruled that he had given voluntary submission to his bishop through his ordination vows, this could only be matters lawful in the Church of England. Long’s sentence of deprivation was thereby set aside.

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Criticism was also expressed as to the way in which proceedings were conducted in the Bishop's courts as not being proper, and costs were awarded to Long.

6.3 CONCLUSION

Gray was of course deeply upset by the Privy Council judgment, causing him to describe the Privy Council by such uncomplimentary terms as "that masterpiece of Satan for the overthrow of the Faith" (Gray 1876b:113) and "the great Dagon" (Gray 1876b:119); but he took comfort from the fact that the status of the Church of England at the Cape was at least clarified, leading to the establishment of a voluntary association in 1870. In dealing with Long, he displayed good sense:

"However little I may be satisfied by this interpretation of the law of the Church . . . I frankly allow that I am bound in practice to admit the authority of the Judges on such a point; and that it sets the conduct of Mr Long, so far as the fact of the refusal to give the notice is concerned, in a different light from that in which I have regarded it . . . Acquiescing, as I feel bound to do, . . . I have felt the greatest difficulty in making up my mind as to how I ought to deal with Mr Long himself. The decision puts him in possession of the emoluments of the living and of the building. Professedly, if I understand it aright, it does not go beyond this. . . With great hesitation, I have come to the conclusion, after weighing well the advice which has been tendered to me both here and in England, that I may restore, and perhaps ought to restore Mr Long to the cure of souls, and the right to celebrate Sacraments, on the ground that he had in law justification for his conduct. I have therefore . . . formally restored him to the exercise of spiritual functions in the parish of Mowbray; and I pray God to give him grace to act hereafter with faithful allegiance to the Church, and dutiful submission to its authority."
(Gray 1876a:520/1)

Undoubtedly, the dispute which lasted almost three years caused much anguish and suffering for Gray. "It has caused me as much suffering to inflict as it can ever have caused my brother to bear the blow" (Gray 1876a:506). However, this

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could hardly have been the case; the mild-mannered and godly Long was deeply distressed by the events and the necessity of taking the stand he did against his bishop, not to mention the anguish of a yearlong suspension from ministry to his congregation.

"Throughout this period of controversy and difficulty . . . Long was encouraged by the faithful support of his congregation and in particular of P.G.H. Willmot, later his churchwarden (who had been converted through the ministry of the Revd Robert Lamb). Willmot had a sound knowledge of ecclesiastical law and a firm belief in the power of prayer. Evening after evening he would be found at his rector's house, praying with him hour after hour."

(Ive 1992:25).

Aside from his restoration, the practical effect of the judgment for Long and his parish was that they were not compelled to submit to the rules adopted by Gray's synods or to join the voluntary association when it was established in 1870. The judgment, in effect, also created the anomaly of a 'dual-capacity bishopric'. Long and the Evangelicals after him continued to recognise the lawful authority of the bishop in his capacity as a consecrated Church of England bishop, whilst distancing themselves from his role as bishop of the CPSA. This 'dual-capacity' recognition continued with the next two bishops, ending after the retirement of Archbishop Carter in 1930.

Bishop Tait's comment in Convocation in June 1866 (in a debate on colonial bishops' powers) regarding Bishop Gray's conduct in respect to Long is worth quoting in closing this chapter:

"Mr Long was a quiet, inoffensive member of the evangelical body. A bishop who could use his power to proceed to the last extremity against a gentleman of Mr Long's character, simply because he did not agree with him, was a man likely to pursue others also." (Tait 1866)

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¹⁶ "A *sizar* was a student who, having passed a certain examination, was exempted from paying college fees and charges - nothing for food and tuition, and very little for lodging.

¹⁷ Up to the mid-nineteenth century it was possible for a man over the age of 24 to be admitted to the BD degree without first proceeding to the BA and MA degrees. They were known as "ten year men".

¹⁸ The Dutch name was *Driekoppen*, actually meaning 'three heads', mistranslated by the English as 'three cups'. The name referred to the gruesome display of the impaled heads of three slaves beheaded for murder in 1724. It was renamed *Mowbray* after Melton Mowbray in England.

¹⁹ Whibley (1982:46) incorrectly refers to Archbishop Sumner as the "brother of John Bird Sumner, who had ordained Nathaniel in Chester Cathedral". The Archbishop was the one and the same JB Sumner. Sumner's younger brother, Charles, was Bishop of Winchester.

²⁰ The court record (Long 1861:129) gives the date as 6 June, 1847, an obvious error.

²¹ The Privy Council ruled that it was not a synod at all. See appendix 'A'.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Bishop Robert Gray came to the Cape of Good Hope with noble ideals. He sought to create a strong, well-organized colonial Anglican outpost, free from party spirit, free from state interference. He was deeply committed to mission work amongst the indigenous population and to the provision of educational institutions for all. That he succeeded admirably with most of his aims is very evident from the structures he left behind. However, in seeking to avoid 'party spirit', he must carry culpability for the division in Anglicanism in South Africa that resulted. The assessment of his churchmanship and aims shows how effectively he marginalized the few Evangelicals in his diocese and how transparent his plan to create an Anglo-Catholic province was. Through this and by his imperiousness, based on his convictions regarding the Apostolic Succession of bishops, he created an environment of distrust and threat for the Evangelicals. Given the wide divergence of their churchmanship from that of the Anglo-Catholics, they had good reason to feel that their distinctives were in jeopardy, unless they had the protection of the courts. This was clearly shown in the Gorham case; Gray's reaction to it would have spoken volumes to them. The unfairness of Gray's courts in the prosecution of Lamb and Long gave a worrying forewarning of things to come, should no appeal from Gray's courts be possible. The Long judgment opened the way for the creation of a voluntary religious association, free from state interference. It also gave the Evangelicals the option of declining to join the association. When the association thus formed in 1870, deliberately eliminated the possibility of any appeal beyond its own courts, they exercised that option.

In the light of all the foregoing, it is the conclusion of this dissertation that the Evangelical Anglicans were indeed justified in declining to join Gray's voluntary association.

ANNEXURE A

EXCERPTS FROM THE JUDGMENT IN THE CASE OF THE REV W. LONG V. THE RT.REVD. R. GRAY, BISHOP OF CAPE TOWN BEFORE THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, ON APPEAL FROM THE SUPREME COURT OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE. 1863 FEB.9-13, JUN.24.

The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same situation with any other religious body, in no better but in no worse position, and the members may adopt, as the members of any other communion may adopt, rules for enforcing discipline within their body which will be binding on those who expressly or by implication have assented to them.

It may be further laid down that where any religious or other lawful association has not only agreed on the terms of its union, but has also constituted a tribunal to determine whether the rules of the association have been violated by any of its members or not, and what shall be the consequence of such violation, then the decision of such tribunal will be binding when it has acted within the scope of its authority, has observed such forms as the rules require, if any forms be prescribed, and, if not, has proceeded in a manner consonant with the principles of justice.

In such cases the tribunals so constituted are not in any sense Courts; they derive no authority from the Crown, they have no power of their own to enforce their sentences, they must apply for that purpose to the Courts established by law, and such Courts will give effect to their decision, as they give effect to the decisions of arbitrators, whose jurisdiction rests entirely upon the agreement of the parties.

These are the principles upon which the Courts in this country have always acted in the disputes which have arisen between members of the same religious body not being members of the Church of England. They were laid down most distinctly, and acted upon, by Vice-Chancellor Shadwell and Lord Lyndhurst in the case of Dr. Warren, so much relied on at the Bar, and the report of which in Mr. Grindwood's book seems to bear every mark of accuracy.

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To these principles, which are founded in good sense and justice, and established by the highest authority, we desire strictly to adhere, and we proceed to consider how far the facts of this case bring Mr. Long within their operation.

To what extent, then, did Mr. Long, by the acts to which we have referred, subject himself to the authority of the Bishop in temporal matters? With the Bishop's authority in spiritual affairs, or Mr. Long's obligations *in foro conscientiae*, we have not to deal.

We think that the acts of Mr. Long must be construed with reference to the position in which he stood as a clergyman of the Church of England, towards a lawfully appointed Bishop of that Church, and to the authority known to belong to that office in England; and we are of opinion that by taking the oath of canonical obedience to his Lordship, and accepting from him a license to officiate, and have the cure of souls within the parish of Mowbray, subject to revocation for just cause, and by accepting the appointment to the living of Mowbray under a deed which expressly contemplated as one means of avoidance the removal of the incumbent for lawful cause, -- Mr. Long did voluntarily submit himself to the authority of the Bishop to such an extent as to enable the Bishop to deprive him of his benefice for any lawful cause, that is, for such cause as (having regard to any differences which may arise from the circumstances of the Colony) would authorise the deprivation of a clergyman by his Bishop in England. We adopt the language of Mr. Justice Watermeyer, p. 81, that "for the purpose of the contract between the Plaintiff and Defendant, we are to take them as having contracted that the laws of the Church of England shall, though only as far as applicable here, govern both."

Is, then, Mr. Long shown to have been guilty of any offences which, by the laws of the Church of England, would have warranted his suspension and subsequent deprivation? This depends mainly on the point whether Mr. Long was justified in refusing to take the steps which the Bishop required him to take, in order to procure the election of a delegate for the parish of Mowbray to the Synod convened for the 17th January, 1861.

In what manner and by what acts did he contract this obligation? The Letters-Patent may be laid out of the case, for if the Bishop's whole contention in

respect of them be conceded, they conferred on him no power of convening a meeting of clergy and laity to be elected in a certain manner prescribed by him for the purpose of making laws binding upon Churchmen.

A very elaborate argument was entered into at our Bar in order to show that Diocesan Synods may be lawfully held in England without the license of the Crown, and that the Statute with respect to Provincial Synods does not extend to the Colonies.

It is not necessary to enter into the learning on this subject. It is admitted that Diocesan Synods, whether lawful or not, unless with the license of the Crown, have not been in use in England for above two centuries; and Mr. Long, in recognising the authority of the Bishop, cannot be held to have acknowledged a right on his part to convene one, and to require his clergy to attend it. But it is a mistake to treat the Assembly convened by the Bishop as a Synod at all. It was a meeting of certain persons, both clergy and laity, either selected by the Bishop, or to be elected by such persons and in such manner as he had prescribed, and it was a meeting convened, not for the purpose of taking counsel and advising together what might be best for the general good of the society, but for the purpose of agreeing upon certain rules, and establishing in fact certain laws, by which all members of the Church of England in the Colony, whether they assented to them or not, should be bound.

Accordingly, the Synod, which actually did meet, passed various acts and constitutions, purporting, without the consent either of the Crown or of the Colonial Legislature, to bind persons not in any manner subject to its control, and to establish Courts of Justice for some temporal as well as spiritual matters, and in fact the Synod assumed powers which only the Legislature could possess. There can be no doubt that such acts were illegal.

Now Mr. Long was required to give effect, as far as he could, to the constitution of this body, and to take steps ordered by that body for convening one of a similar nature. He was furnished with a copy of the Acts and Constitution of the last Synod, and he was requested to attend carefully to the inclosed printed regulations with regard to the election of Delegates.

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He clearly, therefore, was required to do more than give notice of a meeting, and he could not give the notice at all without himself fixing the time and place at which the meeting was to be held. He was required to do various acts of a formal character for the purpose of calling into existence a body which he had always refused to recognise, and which he was not bound by any law or duty to acknowledge.

The oath of canonical obedience does not mean that the clergyman will obey all the commands of the Bishop against which there is no law, but that he will obey all such commands as the Bishop by law is authorised to impose; and even if the meaning of the rubric referred to by the Bishop in his case were such as he contends for, -- which we think that it is not, -- it would not apply to the present case, in which more was required from Mr. Long than merely to publish a notice.

We are therefore of opinion that the order of suspension issued by the Bishop was one which was not justified by the conduct of Mr. Long, and that the subsequent sentence of deprivation founded upon his disobedience to the order of suspension must fall with it.

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