

**THE ANGLICAN CHURCH'S MISSION TO THE
MUSLIMS IN CAPE TOWN
DURING THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES.
A STUDY IN THE CHANGES OF MISSIOLOGICAL
METHODS AND ATTITUDES.**

THESIS

**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Theology of Rhodes University.**

by

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Abstract

When Bishop Robert Gray arrived at the Cape in 1848, he was concerned at the large percentage of the former slave population who had been attracted to the Muslim faith. He appointed Michael Angelo Camilleri (1848-1854) as a missionary to the Muslims of Cape Town. Camilleri's tenure was short and he was frequently used to fill other ecclesiastical posts. From 1854 until 1911 the responsibility of mission to the Muslims was given to priests whose parishes had large Muslim populations. In 1911 a fulltime missionary was once again appointed.

Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, arrived at the Cape in 1858 and served at St Paul's, Bree Street until his death in 1904. His was a ministry of love and caring. He was greatly respected for his work by all sections of the population.

John Mühleissen Arnold worked in the parish of St Mary's, Woodstock. His aggressive missiological technique broke down much of the religious tolerance which had existed. His publication of a pamphlet supposedly written by a Muslim, raises doubts about his integrity as a missionary and his ethical stance as a Christian.

In 1907 the Diocesan Mission Board took control of the Muslim mission and in 1911 appointed Stephen Garabedian as director. Under Garabedian the policy of the mission was aimed primarily at preventing Christian women 'lapsing' from Christianity and becoming Muslims through marriage. After his resignation in 1922, the work continued under numerous women workers who concentrated on Muslim women and children through sewing guilds and childrens' clubs.

In 1960, George Swartz was appointed as director. Swartz was the first Coloured and South African-born priest to hold the post of director. Swartz served as director until he was appointed to Bonteheuvel as parish priest. He subsequently chaired the board until it ceased to meet in 1976.

Throughout its one hundred twenty eight years of active existence, the Anglican mission to the Muslims failed to attract a large number of converts. Initially this could be attributed to the attraction the Muslims had to those seeking a strong community life. Later, outside influences from the Islamic world strengthened the faith of the Muslim community against any Christian conversion attempts.

During the latter part of the twentieth century the mission viewed its tasks as preventing the conversion of Christians who wished to marry Muslims and informing and educating Christians on the Islamic faith.

In the late 1960s, the Board encouraged dialogue rather than confrontation. It changed its name to the Board of Muslim Relationship. Apartheid was seen as the common enemy of both Christians and Muslims and they worked together against its evils. The need for a Mission Board was seen as redundant and from 1976 it ceased to be active.

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Notes on Nomenclature used.

Certain terms used by one ethnic or racial group to describe other racial and ethnic groups may have become offensive and derogatory to both groups. When used in the text they have been used purely as ethnic labels and categories in order to simply explain the attitude and thinking of the people involved. The terms Black, White, African and Coloured fall into this category. Where I have used the term 'Kafir' or 'Native' I have tried to keep these only in the original quotations. This also applies to the term 'Malay' or 'Malays', which was used in the nineteenth century (and even today among those unfamiliar with the Muslims of the Cape) to describe all people who belong to the Muslim faith. Many Muslims at the Cape today find the use of 'Malay' offensive. No offence is implied when used in the text.

As far as possible I have standardised the spelling of Muslim, Quran and Muhammad. When used in quotations I have retained the original spelling of many words of Arabic origin which the writers had transliterated into English. I have not used the term '*sic*' after such usages. This is not meant to indicate an acceptance of this spelling but merely a means of avoiding the excessive use of '*sic*'.

Acknowledgement of Illustrations

Map of Nineteenth Century Cape Town from *Breaking the Chains* (ed Nigel Worden and Clifton Crais).

Photographs of Robert Gray and Ernest Hawkins from *Into all Lands* by H P Thompson.

Photograph of Nathaniel Merriman from *Merriman of Grahamstown* by Pauline Megan Whibley.

Photographs of Lightfoot's Bree Street Chapel and portrait of Lightfoot in 1858 from *The Life and Times of Archdeacon Lightfoot* by H P Barnett Clarke.

Photographs of Archdeacon Lightfoot as a young man, as Archdeacon, on the cover of *The Field*, lying in state and his funeral procession taken from a scrap book of photos and cutting of Lightfoot's life and times in the CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University Library.

Photograph of St Paul's Bree Street taken from *St Paul's Centenary Brochure*.

Photograph of the Lightfoot Memorial from the Lightfoot scrap book. Cartoon of Lightfoot and the photograph of him walking in the streets of Cape Town taken from *The Life and Times of Archdeacon Lightfoot* by H P Barnett Clarke.

Photograph of Bishop (later Archbishop) William West Jones taken from *A father in God* by Michael H Wood.

Photograph of Dr J M Arnold from *History of St Mary's Woodstock* by R R Langham-Carter.

Copy of watercolour of St Mary's Woodstock from CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

Front pages of pamphlets *Kind words and loving counsel to the Malays and other Moslems* and *Abdullah Ben Yusuf; or the story of a Malay as told by himself* taken from original pamphlets in the CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

Photographs of Moslem girls, the Boys' Club with the Rev A R Hampson and S Hofmeister, the *Cross and the Crescent* and Pamphlet, *The Approach to Malays in Cape Town*, from CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

Photograph of Mary Attlee from *The Outspan* June, 1945.

Photographs of Miss Ethel Hefford from *Christian Doctors and Nurses: The history of Medical Mission in South Africa: 1799-1976* by Michael Gelfand. Other photographs of St Monica's taken from the CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

Photograph of the Reverend Stephen Garabedian from *The Cape Argus*, 1954.

Photograph of Father Congreve from *Father Congreve of Cowley* by M V Woodgate.

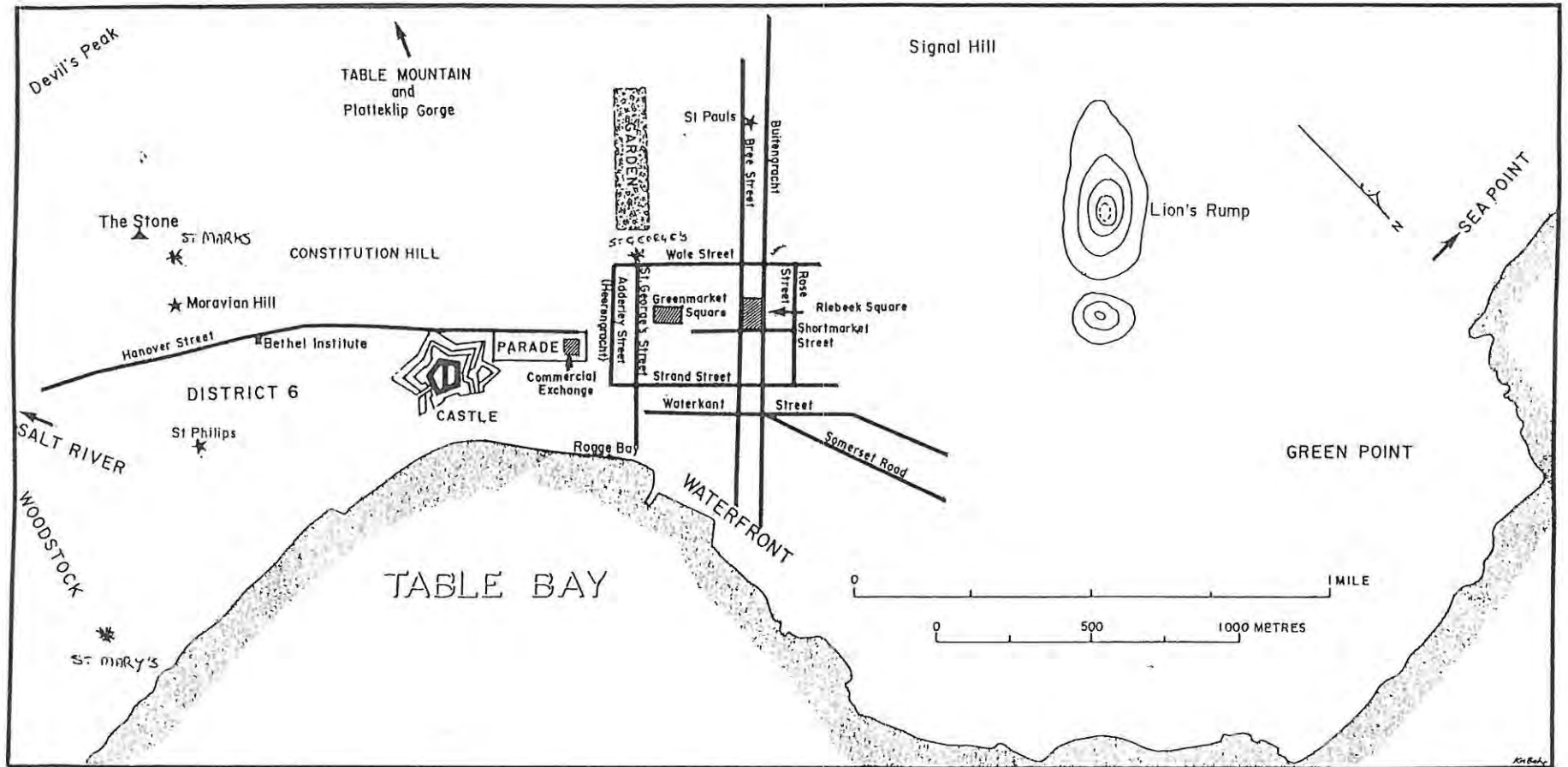
Photograph of 'St Columba's Home for Natives' from *SA Church Year Book*, 1936.

Copy of cover of Pamphlet *Cross or Crescent* from CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

Photograph of the Rev Albert Hampson from St Thomas's, Rondebosch

Photograph of Archbishop Joost de Blanck from *A Good Place to be* by Dean E.L. King.

Map of Nineteenth Century Cape Town



Nineteenth-Century Cape Town.

Chapter 1
Introduction to the Cape Town Mission to the Muslims
(1848-1974)

When Bishop Robert Gray, the first Bishop of Cape Town, landed at the Cape on 20 February 1848, he found a city with a population of more than 20,000, of whom more than half were white, being chiefly Dutch.¹ Of the black population by far the largest component was that of the former slaves. These consisted of two groups. Those who came from the Far East - mistakenly called 'Malays'² and those from Madagascar, the East and West coasts of Africa. The 'Malays' were Muslims and considered by the white settlers to be the best workers. The settlers referred to all Muslims at the Cape as 'Malays' thus the term defined their religion rather than their geographic origins. Many former slaves from Africa were also Muslims or had converted to Islam. They also became known as 'Malays'.

Within a month of his arrival Gray wrote to Dr Williamson, his commissary in England, asking for 'a hard-working Curate' who could become 'a Missionary to the Mahomedans in Cape Town, a most important and interesting field'.³

For the next 128 years the Diocese of Cape Town would support and staff a mission to the Muslim population of the city. Over these years the methods and approaches adopted by the various missionaries, or by the Muslim Mission Board itself, varied according to the personalities involved, the opinion and views of the Bishop (and later Archbishop) of

¹ Charles Gray, *Life of Robert Gray: Bishop of Cape Town: Vol I*, London, 1876, p. 154.

² See Note on Nomenclature.

³ Charles Gray *Life...*, p. 164.

Cape Town, the current thinking in missionary circles and the influence of the attitudes held by the local population. This study shows that, at different times, the shifts of missiological methods responded to all these factors. These shifts are demonstrated with historical data from original correspondence between the missionaries, the bishops, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and other major role players either directly or indirectly involved in the mission. Secondary sources have also been used to show the influence of the international missionary community and the influence of local attitudes, both social and religious, which had a bearing on the methods and approaches of the Anglican mission to Muslims.

The study compares these different missiological approaches and shows which missionaries and/or methodologies were the more successful. As David Bosch has shown in his study of missionary theologies,⁴ what could be considered 'successful' in a mission field differed according to the standards applied by the worldwide church community at any particular moment of time. This is the case of the Diocese of Cape Town's Mission to Muslims during the century and a quarter when the mission was active. The 'success' or 'failure' of any missionary or style of mission used can be judged only when the missiological praxis in operation at that period is taken into account.

In general, 'success' or 'failure' of missionary endeavour has been judged in two ways. Firstly, in the nineteenth century and even in the early twentieth century 'success' was judged by the number of Muslims who were converted to Christianity. Later in the twentieth century 'success' became the acceptance of each faith community's right to exist in toleration with each other within the same suburb or wider community; to

⁴ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, Maryknoll, 1994.

witness to one's own faith within that community and suburb without fear of attack; to defend the rights of all faiths within the wider community against the oppression and persecution from the *apartheid* policies of the National Party government.

Toleration for each other's faith varied through the 128 years of the existence of the Anglican mission to the Muslim. These variations occurred because the different models of 'success' were applied. These variations have created the current situation of uneasy tolerance between the Muslim faith and the Anglican Church in Cape Town in spite of a new political constitution which allows religious pluralism.

A chart of the different periods of the mission and its action in the different suburbs of Cape Town is given below.

The Muslim faith was first brought to Cape Town in the seventeenth century. The response of the Christians over the next hundred and fifty years varied, depending on the politics of the European power governing the Cape as well as the fear the Christian and non-Muslim population felt towards the Muslims.

The final British occupation of the Cape in 1806 brought an increase in British settlers and their Christian denominations. As the occupation was initially viewed as a military one, the existing religious structures were maintained. The first clergy from the Anglican Church were military chaplains and three colonial chaplains appointed and paid by the colonial government. The number of British settlers gradually increased in the Western Cape until it became impossible for these chaplains to have an effective ministry. This relatively ineffectual ministry by the Anglican Church continued until the middle of the century. When the Colonial Bishopric Fund was founded in 1841 Cape Town was on the short list for

Year	1800-	1810-	1820-	1830-	1840-	1850-	1860-	1870-	1880-	1890-
Political Events	1806-2nd British Occ.		1820 - Settlers to the E. Cape	1838 - Abolition of Slavery		1855 - Representative Government at Cape		Discovery of Diamonds at Kimberley	Discovery of Gold on Witwatersrand	1899 Anglo-Boer War
Historical Events										
Bishop Archbishop					1847 - Robert Gray	→	→	1874 William West Jones	→	→
Mission Director					1848 Michael Angelo Capillieri	→1855	→	→	→	→
Other Workers			1822-1827 W.W. Wright	1838 J.W. Sanders		1858 Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot		1875 John M. Arnold	→1881 1885 Cowley Fathers	→
Events affecting Mission					School in Barrack St.	Mission in Bree St.		St Mary's Woodstock	St Philip's Chapel St	
Events affecting Muslim Community	Public worship for Muslims 1799 - First Mosque					1858 Small pox epidemic	1863 Arrival of Abou Baker Effendi 1867 Typhus Epidemic	1880 Tract - Abdul Ben Yusuf	1882 Small pox epidemic 1884 Attempt to shut Muslim Cemetery Riot	

Year	1900-	1910-	1920-	1930-	1940-	1950-	1960-	1970-
Political Events		1910 Union of SA		1930 Depression	1939-1945 WWII	1959 Group Area Act		
Historical Events		1914-1918 WWI			1948 - National Party Government			
Bishop Archbishop	→ WW Jones 1909 William Carter	→	→	→ 1931 Francis Phelps 1938 John Darbyshire	1948 Geoffrey Clayton	→ 1957 Joost de Blank	1964 Robert Selby Taylor	→ 1981
Mission Director	→ Cowley Father 'til 1904	1911 Stephen Garabedian	→ 1922 1922 Arthur Blaxall	→ 1932 1933-1937 Albert Hampson	1937-1940 W Evans	1945 Miss Leslie	→ 1961 George Swartz	→ 1976
Other Workers		1917 St Monica's Home 1917 Dr Mary Turpie	→ with Hilda Adams in Claremont	→ 1930 Mary Atlee	→	→ Miss Manning	→	→
Events affecting Mission	1907 Formation of Diocesan Mission Board		1925 Visit of Dr Zwemer	1933 Mission made independent of DNB				1969 Name change Board of Muslim Relationship
Events affecting Muslim Community			1925 1st Muslim Congress			Opposition to 'Cross and Crescent'		1969 Death of Imam Haron

a bishop.

Initially, the Church of England had been reluctant to become too involved in the missionary field because of the numerous legal difficulties. These included the fact that the Church in England was established by law and therefore governed by the British Parliament. This made it difficult for the Anglican Church to administer mission stations in non-British colonial territories.⁵ Even in British colonies the control of the Church by parliament in Westminster created problems. These problems included the appointment of bishops and clerical personnel in overseas territories. These problems had to be overcome before any 'native' or indigenous church could be established.⁶

In 1847 Bishop Gray was appointed as Bishop of Cape Town. He viewed his ministry as a missionary one. He arrived at the Cape to find that he had to build up a church which barely existed. Not only was he to build up a church to minister to Anglican settlers but he also planned to establish a missionary venture to the non-Christian African population. Another task taken on by Gray was the establishment of an outreach to the large Muslim population of Cape Town, which consisted mainly of freed slaves.

The Church in England consisted of many 'parties' who approached missionary work differently. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the evangelical wing of the church, especially the members of the 'Clapham sect', was actively involved in social reform, including the abolition of the

⁵ It was easier for a missionary society to run mission stations as they were not directly part of the established church even though the members of the society were clergy and laity from the Church of England.

⁶ This issue is discussed by T E Yates, "Anglicans and Mission" in *The Study of Anglicanism*, ed. Stephen Sykes and John Booty, London, 1988, p.429-441 and in Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, Oxford, 1983, p158-187.

slave trade. However, by 1833 the Church had become less active on these social issues. Keble's famous Assize Sermon addressed the role of the state in the control of the church and began what became known as the Tractarian or Oxford Movement. The Anglo-Catholic party of the Church of England grew from the Oxford Movement and, through missions, addressed the social and spiritual needs in the slum areas of the industrial cities of England.

Gray was considered by the Evangelical wing of the Church of England to have been a Tractarian.⁷ The missiological method of the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church differed greatly from that of the Evangelicals. This can be seen in the different missionary approaches of Archdeacon Lightfoot (who had received Anglo-Catholic training at St Augustine College, Canterbury) and Dr John Arnold (who had been trained at the evangelical Church Missionary Society College at Islington).

Most Anglican missions were run by voluntary lay societies such as the Church Mission Society (the CMS - founded in 1799) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (the SPG - founded in 1701. In 1965 it combined with the Universities Mission to Central Africa - UMCA. The combined organisation became known as the USPG). Later in the nineteenth century when colonial bishops (such as Gray) had been appointed, clashes frequently occurred between the missionary societies and the colonial bishops over clerical appointments and control of mission stations. Although this did not occur at the Cape many of the missionaries appointed by Gray and his successors to work among the Muslims at the

⁷ Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, London, 1963 p.30. Also Anthony Ive, *The Church of England in South Africa: A Study of its history, principles and status* Cape Town, 1966, p.9. Tractarians were those who supported the *Tracts of the Times* issued by John Henry Newman, Edward Pusey and others from Oxford. Their movement was also known as the Oxford Movement.

Cape had experienced such conflict elsewhere and thus ecclesiastical polity was a factor in the success and growth of the mission.

Descriptions of the individual missionaries and their approach to field work in Cape Town have been arranged as follows:

- ▶ Missionary work done by Anglican and other clergy amongst Muslims at the Cape before the arrival of Gray.
- ▶ The work done by the first missionary, Dr Michael Angelo Camilleri, who was at the Cape from 1849 to 1855.
- ▶ The long and fruitful ministry of Archdeacon Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot (at the Cape from 1858 to 1904). Although not working solely as a missionary to the Muslims, he worked in a parochial district with a large Muslim population
- ▶ The role played by Dr John Mühleisen Arnold (from 1875 to 1880) in Muslim missionary work in Cape Town. He, too, worked in a parish (Papendorp, later Woodstock) but his experience elsewhere as a missionary to Muslims enabled him to engage in similar work among the Muslims in his parish, which was on the opposite side of the city from Lightfoot's.
- ▶ The role of the Society of Saint John the Evangelist (SSJE) and of Dr Edith Pellat (from c1895 to c1904). As the first "Native Location" developed close to the Chapel Street Mission House, the SSJE fathers became more interested in 'Native' rather than Muslim mission.
- ▶ St Monica's Home and its role in the Muslim mission (from c1911 to the 1970s)
- ▶ The first thirty years of the twentieth century including the roles played by Stephen Garabedien and Arthur Blaxall and the increasing role of women missionaries in reaching Muslim women and in particular Christian women who had converted to Islam.
- ▶ The role of the Rev. Albert Hampson in the Muslim Mission Board

and its approach to Muslims while under his directorship (from 1932 to 1937). The work done by the Mission Board during the 1940s and 1950s under Miss Leslie.

- ▶ The Muslim Mission Board in the 1960s and 1970s under Rev. George Swartz. He was the first South African-born priest to be appointed director of the Board. The use of a coloured priest enabled a more sympathetic understanding of the unique situation of religious tolerance which had developed in the poorer areas and township of Cape Town.
- ▶ The Muslim Mission Board attempted to identify itself with the modern missionary trend of dialogue with other faiths and thus it proposed a change of name in 1969. However by this time the number of coloured priests working among their own people was large enough to enable the missionary work to become parish-centred rather than diocesan-centred. This led to the final demise of the Board in 1974.
- ▶ At the November 1997 Synod of the Diocese of Cape Town, the proposal to formally remove the chapter dealing with Board of Muslim Relationship, was defeated. This seems to indicate that Anglicans, both clerical and lay, wish to see, once again, their Church actively witness to the Muslim population.

There was a change of racial attitudes among the white population during the nineteenth century. Initially this led to economic, then later racial, segregation. These changes brought together the coloured people, both Christian and Muslim, as they faced growing marginalisation. This 'coming together' reached a peak during the *Apartheid* era after 1948 and especially with the implementation of the Group Areas Act after 1959. The forced removal of integral coloured communities and families and the re-settling of them, piecemeal, in new townships on the Cape Flats, promoted a greater tolerance and acceptance of each other in the fight

against a common enemy. This tolerance led to the 'Mission to the Muslims' becoming an anomaly.

Chapter 2

The Arrival and Spread of the Muslim Faith at the Cape.

Introduction

Colonisation of African and Asia by European powers between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries led to an almost complete European control of these two continents. Among the areas colonised by the Dutch, albeit reluctantly, was the Cape of Good Hope.

In the Western Cape the indigenous population had little or no experience as agrarian farmers or farm workers. They belonged either to hunter-gatherer or pastoralist tribes. The Dutch East India Company (DEIC) had prohibited the enslavement of the indigenous people of the Cape. Therefore, the slave trade, an essential part and result of European domination, was used to supply agricultural labour at the Cape.

The origins of the slaves brought to the Cape were varied. They came from both Africa and Asia. Many of those who were brought belonged to the Muslim faith. In spite of (or perhaps because of) the fact that Muslims were socially and religiously oppressed at the Cape, the Islamic faith was able to take root. Islam offered a sense of community to the oppressed races at the Cape. Its colour-blindness and ease of conversion led to an increase in the number of followers of Islam, even after the British trade in slaves was abolished in 1807 and no further slaves were imported from the East. The conversion to Islam was more than a mere passive action by the slaves. The teaching of Islam was attractive to them. A government report of 1831 stated that the local imams told the slaves that although their bodies were in slavery, their souls were free and they must trust God to make them free before they died.¹

¹ Quoted in Richard Elphick and Herman Giliomee (eds), *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840*, second edition, Cape

Besides slaves, there were other Muslim groups at the Cape. These included political prisoners who were Asian political figures who were banished to the Cape, where they lived out their lives. They lived on Robben Island or on isolated farms. They arrived with small retinues of family and servants, many of whom remained after the death of the prisoners. Although their number is small, they did exercise a leadership role among free blacks.² Asian convicts (*bandieten*) were brought to the Cape for particular projects, such as the building of the breakwater in 1743. On the completion of their sentences they became free and many remained at the Cape in the free black community.³ 'Free Blacks' are defined by Elphick and Shell as 'all free persons wholly or partially of African (but not Khoikhoi) or Asian descent'.⁴ While this was roughly the definition used by the DEIC, Elphick and Shell acknowledge that the description was varied and imprecise. The 'Free Blacks' who were descendants of Asian political prisoners, convicts or other Asian settlers were Muslim. The last group was 'Prize Negroes' from Africa, who were or became Muslims. 'Prize Negroes' were slaves who were released from captured slave ships after the enforcing of The Abolition of the Slave Trade Act after 1 March 1808.⁵ These free Muslim people and their descendants brought to the Islamic faith at the Cape a leadership class of educated men and women, which facilitated the survival of the faith at the

Town, 1989, p149.

² Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, p.216.

³ Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, p.217.

⁴ Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, p.184fn.

⁵ Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, pp.120 & 478.

Cape after the abolition of slavery in 1834. It was from this class that the first imam and teachers of the Islamic faith were to be drawn once religious tolerance was permitted under the Batavian Republic and the second British occupation.

The number of Muslims grew rapidly until 1840 when their growth became more commensurate with the growth of the general population. The reason for this growth was that Islam became an attractive alternative to the Christianity of the slave owners. Islam was seen as a vehicle of both political and spiritual opposition to the oppressors of the slaves and the free blacks.⁶

The Cape in 1652.

Before 1652 and the arrival of the Europeans at the Cape, this portion of Africa was 'a poor, underpopulated territory of interest to no one but its inhabitants, its neighbours and a few inquisitive travellers'.⁷ It was chosen by the Dutch East India Company as a refreshment station mid-way between the Europe and the East and then became strategically important. The Cape was to supply fresh fruit, vegetables and meat to the passing ships so as to prevent scurvy among the sailors. It was hoped that the Company gardens and bartering would be able to supply all the necessary food supplies required by passing ships. This, however, was not achieved. To ensure the supply of provisions, in 1657 the Company finally permitted some of the Dutch settlers to farm independently and sell their produce to the DEIC. The free burgers' land required clearing and planting but the Khoikhoi at the Cape were not willing to take up this task and thus slaves,

⁶ Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, p. 149

⁷ Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, p.xvii.

convicts, political prisoners or *mardijkers*⁸ were sought.

African and Asians slaves coming to the Cape

The Cape obtained slaves in various ways. These included Company sponsored voyages to Madagascar and elsewhere; the bringing of a few slaves from the East by the returning fleet and the sale of slaves by foreign slavers en route to the Americas from Madagascar, Mozambique and East Africa.⁹

The first slaves to arrive at the Cape came from Angola and Guinea (Dahomey). Those from Guinea were probably Muslims but they do not seem to have established their religion at the Cape.¹⁰ It was not until the 1660s that the Muslim faith was established.

The slaves themselves came from various places in Africa and Asia. Their origins can be traced because the Dutch used their places of origin as their surnames, e.g., Jan van Seylon, Frans van Bengal etc. Using this information Bradlow produced a table which gives a fairly accurate indication of the origins of over three thousand foreign-born slaves coming to the Cape from 1658 and those residents at the Cape in 1824. (See Table 1). From this table it can be seen that the majority of the slaves came from India and Africa (over two-thirds) while less than one percent came from Malaysia. The majority of the slaves from India, East Africa, Ceylon, the Philippines and Malaysia were Muslims. By 1799 the Muslim

⁸ These were freed family servants who journeyed back to Holland with returning Dutch families. Many stayed and settled at the Cape. They were 'Free Blacks' of Asian descent.

⁹ Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, p.112.

¹⁰ Frank R Bradlow, 'Islam at the Cape of Good Hope' in *South African Historical Journal* 13, November 1981:12-19 and Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, p.112.

population felt large enough to petition the authorities to build a mosque. Among urban slaves and free blacks Islam was stronger than Christianity and only a handful of slaves appeared on the communion roll of the Cape Churches.¹¹

Table 1
Foreign-born slaves covered in limited survey of period
1658-1824¹²

Place of origin	Number	Percentage of total
Africa, Madagascar	875	26.65
Ceylon	102	3.10
India	1195	36.40
Indonesian Islands	1033	31.47
Malaysia	16	0.49
Miscellaneous	19	0.58
Unidentified	43	1.31
Total	3283	100

¹¹ Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, p. 193/4.

¹² Bradlow, 'Islam at the Cape of Good Hope' p.14.

Islam at the Cape

Bradlow argued that one of the reasons that Islam was able to take root so firmly at the Cape was that the large number of slaves who came were members of that faith and although coming from a variety of places, they had a common language which enabled them to communicate with each other. This language was the trading version of the Malay language, known as 'Bazaar Malay' or *Melayu Pazar*. Bradlow said this language 'welded the diverse elements among the slaves into a united Islamic community'.¹³ Bradlow also believed that the name given to the Muslims at the Cape, 'Malay' or 'Cape Malay', is derived from this language.

On the other hand, Armstrong and Worden concluded that ethnic diversity led to linguistic diversity and the emergence of two *lingua franca*, a creolised Portuguese and an evolving form of Dutch which developed into Afrikaans. These language theories have resulted in scholarly controversy. Armstrong and Worden concluded that any communal identity based on traditional language was rapidly eroded.¹⁴ Thus it appears that a communal identity was based rather on their common faith of Islam.

Perhaps the most famous of the Muslim exiles to the Cape was Shaykh Yusuf al-taj al-Khalwati al-Maqasari from Sumatra, who arrived at the Cape in April 1694. His entourage consisted of 49 people. Among their number were twelve imams, two wives, two slave girls, twelve children and nine others. Shaykh Yusuf was placed in an isolated spot on the farm Zandvliet, which belonged, ironically, to the Dutch Reformed minister, Rev. Petrus Kalden. The Company paid for his upkeep with a monthly stipend. Zandvliet soon became a gathering point for Muslim slaves and other Muslim exiles and a strong Muslim community began to develop

¹³ Bradlow, 'Islam at the Cape of Good Hope' p. 13.

¹⁴ Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South Africa Society*, p. 121f.

around him. Shaykh Yusuf died on 23 May 1699 and he was buried at Zandvliet. After many requests, the Dutch finally allowed wives, sisters, and children under six to return to the East in 1704. Other members of the Shaykh's retinue remained at the Cape for many years before being allowed to return home. This strengthened the Muslim community at the Cape. Dangor sees Shaykh Yusuf's influence on the Muslims at the Cape in three ways.¹⁵ Firstly, Shaykh Yusuf's stay here strengthened and encouraged the faith of the Muslims at the Cape. He gave the members of the Muslim community dignity as human beings in a society in which they had been degraded by slavery and exile. Secondly, his deep spirituality encouraged socio-religious structures among the Muslims so that a strong Muslim community developed which would attract non-Muslims who had lost contact with their own communities because of slavery. Thirdly, Shaykh Yusuf, through his missionary work, gave 'fresh blood' to the Muslim community of the Cape, allowing it to stabilise and grow.

Another exile to the Cape was Said Alochie of Mocha who became known as Tuan Said.¹⁶ He had been an Imam before he came to the Cape in 1747 and was certainly one of the first imams at the Cape. After eleven years on Robben Island he found employment in Cape Town as a policeman in 1758. As such he was allowed to enter the slave quarters and he used this opportunity to preach his Islamic faith.¹⁷

But it was not until the first British occupation that General Craig gave

¹⁵ S Dangor, 'In footsteps of the Companions' in *Pages from Cape Muslim History* (ed: Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids), Pietermaritzburg, 1994 p.23.

¹⁶ Frank Bradlow, 'Islam at the Cape..' p.17.

¹⁷ David Chidester, *Religions of South Africa*, London, 1992. p.160.

permission for the building of a mosque. The Dorp Street Mosque was built by Imam Frans of Bengal in 1804.

At the Dorp Street Mosque there was also a Muslim school or *Madrassah*. These *Madaris* (plural of *Madrassah*) were a factor which helped to knit the Muslim community together. They provided 'the ideal ecological base for the transmission of cultural and religious ideas'.¹⁸ The founder of the first *Madrassah* was a convict brought to the Cape in 1780. He was Abdulla Kadi Abdu Salaam who became known later as 'Tuan Guru' (Mister or Sir, Teacher). He was released from Robben Island in 1793 and at the age of 81 he became the leader of the Muslims at the Cape. Up to the time of Tuan Guru the Muslims formed small *tariqas*¹⁹ around individual shaykhs, but through his efforts they became more organised as an *ummah*, a community of the faithful around the institution of the mosque.²⁰

The spread of Islam among the slaves and other black workers at the Cape was made easier by the simple acceptance of converts into the Muslim faith. Islam appeared the most attractive option to those seeking a faith in the country in which they had been forced to live. Islam was attractive because it offered community aid to all its adherents. The Holy Law of the Quran insisted on almsgiving to the poor and acceptance of all

¹⁸ Achmat Davids, 'Alternative Education: Tuan Guru and the formation of the Cape Muslim community' in *Pages from Cape Muslim History...* p. 47.

¹⁹ *Tariqas* is defined by Bradlow as 'an hierarchically organised mystical organisation' for followers of the Sufi mystical aspects of Islam. M A Bradlow, 'Exploring the roots of Islam in Cape Town in the Eighteenth Century: State Hegemony and Tariqas' in *The Decline of Urban Slavery at the Cape 1806-1843* (Cape Town: UCT Centre for African Studies) 1991, p.111.

²⁰ David Chidester, *Religions of South Africa...* p.161.

people, regardless of colour. This was in contrast to the experience of those who became Christians and who were not readily accepted into the white community. There was at that time very little missionary work among the slaves or the indigenous people at the Cape. The Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) was, according to the Statutes of India, the only Church allowed. It ministered almost exclusively among the white settlers. The early attempts at evangelising the Khoikhoi and the San had been sporadic and unsuccessful.²¹ Early Christian missionary work at the Cape had come from the Moravian Church under George Schmidt who had a mission station a hundred miles from Cape Town at Genadendal. Within ten years his work ceased. The DRC's Calvinist orthodoxy opposed the Moravian understanding of the theology of universal grace being proclaimed to all people. Schmidt's teaching was viewed not only as a theological threat but also a threat to the social life of the Dutch farmer. This created a tension between what De Gruchy called the 'settler' church and the 'mission' church.²² This tension continued until the twentieth century. In dealing with the religious life of the slaves, an additional problem arose. A new set of *Placaten* of the Statutes of India, introduced during the 1700s, prohibited the sale of baptised slaves. Naturally, the slave owners, wishing to protect their assets, did not encourage any of their slaves to seek baptism. Although the Statute of India attempted to encourage conversion to Christianity it had, in fact, the opposite effect.

Shell has shown that there is a variety of reasons for the rapid growth in the number of Muslims when compared to the growth of other religious

²¹ Jonathan N Gerstner, "The Reformed Church under Dutch Rule" in *Christianity in South Africa*, Cape Town, 1997, p. 25.

²² John De Gruchy, *The Church struggle in South Africa*, Cape Town, first edition, 1979, p.2.

groups from 1808 to the 1840s.²³ These reasons were diverse and frequently mundane and practical. They included the strong community sense which Islam offered and which Christianity at first denied them. Muslims had also set up impressive social, educational and religious centres which were an attraction for those who were socially or economically marginalised, regardless of their colour or country of origin. Conversion to Islam was 'a behavioural response to a host of colonial social pressures'. Shell concluded that Islam at the Cape offered first an authentic universalism, a cradle-to-grave range of social services, then an identity and then an intellectual inspiration.²⁴

The rapid growth of Islam occurred between 1809 and 1840. After 1840 the growth became more in line with the projected maximum natural increase. This demonstrates that Islam was more attractive to the newly freed slaves than Christianity, which did not offer those of insecure social standing the same community services.

In 1824 Commissioner J C Bigge investigating 'Native inhabitants at the Cape' reported 'a manifest preference shown by the slaves for Islam'.²⁵ This has also been noted by William Wilberforce Bird, writing in 1822 who stated:

²³ Robert Shell, 'Rites and Rebellion: Islamic conversion at the Cape. 1808 to 1915' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town Vol5 (1984)*, Cape Town, 1984, p.37. Also Robert Shell, 'From Rites and Rebellions: Islamic Conversion, Urbanization and Ethnic Identities at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797 to 1904' which is typescript updated and fuller version of the previous essay, SAL MS. D1993/51067.

²⁴ Robert Shell, 'From Rites and Rebellions: Islamic Conversion, Urbanization and Ethnic Identities at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797 to 1904', Cape Town, SAL MS. D1993/51067, p.66.

²⁵ *Papers relative to the Conditions and Treatment of Native Inhabitants of Southern Africa within the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope or beyond the borders of the Colony*. Part 1 Ordered to be printed 18 November 1835. Parliamentary Paper No. 50. p. 107-210.

Muhammedanism is said to be gaining ground among the slaves and free people of colour at the Cape; that is to say, more converts among the negroes and blacks of every description, are made from paganism to the Muselman, than to the Christian religion notwithstanding the zealous exertions of pious missionaries.²⁶

As can be seen by this quotation, some Christian missionary work was being attempted among Muslims. However, not much success was achieved. Bishop Gray arrived in 1848, ten years after the abolition of slavery. He found a well established Muslim population with a strong sense of community and with an ardent spiritual life. It was against this that he would have struggle in his attempts to bring Muslims to Christianity.

²⁶ W.W. Bird, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, London, 1825, fascimile edition 1966, p.349.

Chapter 3

Anglican Missiological History and Methods

Over the past 300 years, the Anglican Church has made a significant contribution to the field of missiology. The Anglican contribution has been chiefly through its writing on practical missionary work rather than through theological theory. This description of missionary praxis came from individuals rather than from official Anglican Church bodies.

Anglican Missiology

In general, the Anglican missionaries stressed the indigenisation of the church. They attempted to do this by ensuring the building up of the local Church and the development of indigenous ministries. The various missionary societies employed different models for this task. The end objective, however, was the same - the initiating of an indigenous priesthood that could contribute to the development of a local church that would join the worldwide Anglican communion.

The Anglican missionary societies stressed education as the way of equipping converts and developing an indigenous ministry. Education was in the vernacular, thus the translation of the Bible and the Anglican liturgy (The Book of Common Prayer) into the vernacular languages was one of the missionaries' first tasks.

The Anglican Church was the state church in England and was established by law. Although there were Roman Catholic and Non-conformist churches, the Anglican Church had a broad ecclesiological base with low, broad and high church parties. Overseas missionary work was done by voluntary societies. Each society reflected the churchmanship of its members, workers and supporters. The societies had diverse missionary policies even though their final objective was the same. Their objective

was the conversion of unbelievers to Christianity and the establishment of indigenous churches in communion with the Church of England.

During the middle years of the nineteenth century the two largest missionary societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS), had secretaries with great strength of character. Ernest Hawkins at the SPG and Henry Venn at the CMS ensured that little or no missionary rivalry occurred between the two societies. The work was divided geographically and one society would not enter an area in which the other had its mission stations. This co-operation by geographical division meant that in some instances differing policies and approaches existed even though missionary conditions were similar.

Increased missionary work in the colonies during the late nineteenth century reflected the increased vigour, wealth and strength of the Church at home. This vigour and wealth was brought about by the more aggressive imperial policies adopted from the 1850s. The 1832 Reform Bill and the two subsequent nineteenth century Reform Acts paved the way for the transformation of England from an agricultural country controlled by the landowners to an industrial nation controlled by industrialists and merchants who sought cheap raw materials and expanded markets abroad. Thus expansion in missionary endeavours and expansion in secular empire-building began to run concurrently.

This empire-building gave missionaries a sense of moral and cultural superiority which 'involved the wish to dominate'.¹ Missionary work was inherently imperialistic and was viewed ambivalently by the indigenous

¹ Andrew Porter, 'Late Nineteenth Century Anglican Missionary Expansion' in *Religious motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for Church Historians*, (ed Derek Baker), Oxford, 1978, p.349.

people who both opposed and supported it. Although attracted to the spiritual teaching of the missionaries, many of the indigenous people were aware of economic oppression and the loss of independence which the missionaries brought. Majeke makes the claim that missionaries 'had acted as agents of the 'divide and rule' policies; that they had been political advisors to the colonisers; that they had helped to evolve 'Native' policy; and that they had been apologists for a ruthless military campaign and eulogists of the governor'.²

Beginnings: The Eighteenth Century

In the Prayer Book of 1662 the colonising of the New World was recognized. The service for 'the Baptism of such as are of riper years' included the rubric that it 'may be always useful for the baptising of Natives of our plantations and others converted to the faith'.³ However, the Church's lack of concern toward missionary outreach caused Thomas Bray (1656-1730) to found two missionary-oriented societies, the SPCK (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge) in 1698 and the SPG in 1701. The SPG was granted a Royal Charter by William III which stipulated that it was to supply the 'want of learned and orthodox ministers' in the plantations, colonies and 'factories beyond the seas'.⁴ This charter restricted the SPG to work in British colonies and among British settlers rather than the indigenous people. However, at its first annual meeting in 1702, the Dean of Lincoln, Dr Willis, stated that the SPG's aim was to 'settle the State of Religion as well as may be, among our *own people* there.... and then proceed in the best methods they can

² Nosipho Majeke [pseud.], *The Role of Missionaries in conquest*, Johannesburg, 1956, p.54.

³ Quoted in T.E. Yates 'Anglicans and Mission' in *The Study of Anglicanism* (ed Stephen Sykes & John Booty), London, 1988, p.430.

⁴ Ibid p.431.

towards the *conversion* of the *Natives*.⁵

The SPG's sister society, the CMS was founded in 1799. It grew out of the 'Society for Missions to Africa and the East' which was one of the many missionary societies modelled on the inter-denominational London Missionary Society (LMS). The CMS was an evangelical Anglican organisation. Unlike the SPG it had no Royal Charter and could work anywhere including non-British colonies, if entry could be gained.

The Nineteenth Century

The comment has been made that the SPG became the *Church* missionary society and the CMS was the society for the propagation of the gospel.⁶ The SPG aligned itself with the structures of the Anglican Church in England. The CMS, on the other hand, was much more independent. While the SPG emphasised the planting of churches with full ecclesiastical structures, the CMS stressed the conversion of the individual. This reflects the difference between Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical missionary work and will be discussed below.

India attracted both missionary societies. Although the English East India Company (EEIC) tried to prevent missionaries going to India, William Wilberforce struggled to include provision for the operation of churches in the renewal of the EEIC charter in 1793. All that he achieved was the agreement to appoint chaplains. Many evangelicals who fell under the influence of Charles Simeon from Cambridge, and were supporters of the CMS went to India. The most famous of these was Henry Martin (1781-1812) who is viewed as one of the first modern missionaries to Muslims. The 1813 renewal of the Charter ensured the appointment of a Bishop of

⁵ H.P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, London, 1951, p.21. Italics in original.

⁶ Yates, *Anglicans and Mission*, p.432.

Calcutta as well as a 'Pious Clause' which facilitated missionary work.⁷ The more independent and evangelical CMS set up many stations in India but continually clashed with the newly appointed colonial bishops, who wished to have a greater control of the work, staff and operation of the mission stations. The Letters Patent from the crown did not permit the Bishop the right to exercise any power in relation to the indigenous Indians and thus the presence of missionaries was often an embarrassment. These clashes between missionary societies and colonial bishops became one of the dominant themes in Anglican missiological history in the nineteenth century.

Missionary Bishops

Without endowments the appointment of overseas bishops was hamstrung financially. In 1840 Bishop Blomfield of London, under whose jurisdiction the overseas churches fell, urged that a fund be established to make the extension of the overseas episcopacy possible.

Henry Venn, honorary secretary of the CMS from 1841-1872, was one of the leading Anglican missionary strategists of the century. He stressed the importance of the indigenous church which had to be developed 'from the bottom upwards' rather than have an organizational structure thrust upon it from above. For the CMS, small groups of 'native Christians' were consolidated into native pastorates which would become 'self-supporting, self-governing and self-extending'.⁸ The missionary (usually a European) was viewed as 'a scaffold'⁹ which could later be removed. Ideally this allowed the missionary to move on to new regions, leaving the native church self-supporting. As the native pastorates developed they were to

⁷ Ernest Marshall Howse, *Saints in Politics*, London, 1953, p. 82-94.

⁸ Henry Venn as quoted in Yates, *Anglicans and Mission...*, p.434.

⁹ Yates, *Anglicans and Mission...*, p.434.

be grouped into a diocese. The 'crown' of this indigenous church edifice was to be a native or indigenous bishop.¹⁰ The first place that this occurred was in Sierra Leone and the Niger where Samuel Crowther was appointed Bishop in 1864. Unfortunately he was not made bishop of the local Church, because the European settlers in the colony preferred a European Bishop. Crowther was made 'an evangelist in episcopal orders'.¹¹ Instead of this becoming an indication of Africans being ready for leadership, it became the sign of an African's failure to lead. A further problem of the method used by the CMS was that the local mission station and its staff were not responsible directly to anyone in the colony but only to the CMS back in London. Once bishops were appointed to dioceses in the colonies this became the cause of many disagreements.

The CMS viewed the Bishop as 'the coping stone and not the foundation of the church',¹² which was the view taken by the SPG. The SPG method was to establish and plant a church in a colony as the first step in mission. This was achieved by the appointment so-called missionary bishops. The first was C.F. Mackenzie who was made 'bishop to the mission and the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyassa and the River Shire'.¹³ Bishop Mackenzie personified the dream of the Tractarians and Anglo-Catholics that the bishop should be the pioneer evangelist and missionary leader. Unfortunately he died of malaria shortly after arriving in his new diocese. His successor moved his headquarters to the healthier regions along the coast.

¹⁰ Yates, *Anglicans and Mission...*, p. 434.

¹¹ Yates, *Anglicans and Mission...*, p. 435.

¹² Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious: Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism*, Oxford, 1983, p.165.

¹³ Quoted in Rowell, *The Vision Glorious...*, p.174. Bishop Mackenzie was consecrated in Cape Town by Bishop Gray.

Robert Gray, first bishop of Cape Town viewed himself as a missionary bishop. He wrote to Archbishop Howley of Canterbury accepting the post of 'a Missionary Bishop at the Cape'.¹⁴ Gray viewed his task as two-fold; the missionary work to reach the heathen and the Muslims living within his vast diocese and the establishment of a local church order and discipline. In order to do this he set up a synodical government for the Anglican Church at the Cape. He attempted to call his first synod in 1851, within three years of his arrival, but three clergy and one parish refused to respond. In 1856, Gray was finally able to call a synod and pass motions dealing with parish structure and organisation and Church courts.¹⁵ As a Tractarian he supported the concept of missionary bishops being sent out to 'heathen lands' as pioneer workers. Thus he established other dioceses, such as Grahamstown (1853), Natal (1853) and Bloemfontein (1863). He supported the idea of the restoration of monastic orders and after the Lambeth Conference of 1868 he return to Cape Town with the nucleus of the first sisterhood at the Cape, who were called the Sisters of St George. The Sisters later amalgamated with the All Saints Sisters from Margaret Street, London. Gray also hoped to use R H Benson's Society of St John the Evangelist (the Cowley Fathers) in his mission work among the Muslims in Cape Town. Although they were not very successful with their work with the Muslims, they did do much good missionary work among the Xhosa, both in the Cape Town area and later in the Transkei.

Most of the missionary bishops were supporters of the Oxford Movement, a fact which frightened the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church. They feared that the freedom which these overseas bishops had might result in Tractarian ideas coming to dominate the Church overseas.¹⁶ The

¹⁴ Quoted in Rowell, *The Vision Glorious...*, p.167.

¹⁵ Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, London, 1963, p.48-52.

¹⁶ Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious...*, p.163.

supporters of the Tractarian movement strove to give the Anglican Churches overseas an independence from local colonial government and from the Church and government in England. Thus the autonomy of the Churches making up the Anglican Communion, as we know it today, owes much to the endeavours of these missionary bishops and their supporters.

The Missiological position of the Anglican Mission to the Muslims in Cape Town.

Most of the above theory of mission was applicable to missions in rural areas of colonies where the majority of the population were considered to be unbelievers or 'heathen'.

The Anglican mission to the Muslims in Cape Town presented a rather unique situation for the following reasons:

1. The mission was in an urban and not a rural setting. It was in the midst of, or bordering on, existing parishes.
2. It attempted to convert people with a monotheistic faith which formed what was even then acknowledged as one of the 'three great faiths'.
3. The Muslim population although substantial in number, was in the minority in Cape Town. The majority of the population of the town was Christian, living under a government which would expound 'Christian' values. This was a completely different situation from the Anglican missions in the urban areas of India, Egypt or Palestine.
4. The Muslims of Cape Town were almost exclusively poor and members of the lower classes. The only exceptions to this were the religious leaders, although most of them also carried out secular trades. The Muslims had all been slaves without the opportunity of bettering themselves until the emancipation of slaves in

December 1838.

5. Although being poor and part of a faith minority, they were similar to the Christian European settlers in as much as they were not indigenous to the Cape but had come from other parts of Africa, India and Asia.
6. The missionary endeavour was undertaken by the Diocese and not the missionary societies although the SPG did make a considerable financial contribution.

Because of the above unique features of the Cape Town Mission to the Muslims, it is more closely comparable to the home mission of the Church of the newly industrialised towns of England rather than the work of missionary societies in India or Africa.

In England, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the ideal and practical pastoral unit was the rural parish model, able to minister to the people making up the local church. Factories and their workers were accommodated in new urban areas. In these areas urban parishes developed. With its large population, impersonal relationships developed in these urban parishes. The people became separated into different urban parishes depending on income and class, unlike the rural model where in spite of class differences, all belonged to a single parish.¹⁷

In Cape Town classes lived in different parts of the town and thus were also separated for worship. Unemployment and poverty were as common in Cape Town as in the industrial cities of England. Shortage of social amenities, schools and churches aggravated the Church's inability to reach many.

¹⁷ David Mole, 'The Victorian Town Parish: Rural Vision and Urban Mission' in *Studies in Church History: Volume 16: The Church in town and country* (ed. Derek Baker), Oxford, 1979, p.361.

At the Cape, race as well as wealth, separated the classes. Examples of this will be shown in subsequent chapters but a few can be briefly mentioned. These include:-

- the Cathedral churchwardens prevented curious Muslims from attending a service when the new Archdeacon of the Cape, Nathaniel Merriman, was preaching;¹⁸
- Bishop Gray was shocked 'at hearing that five emigrants, who have arrived from England since I have been in the Colony, have turned Mahometans; and this is not a single instance of such apostasy';¹⁹
- and Dr Arnold commented in *Mission Field* (the magazine of the SPG) that 'it is a terrible sight to see a European face now and then in the streets of this metropolis dressed up as a Moslem'.²⁰

David Mole presents three ways of ministry to the poor and unchurched in the urban areas of England.²¹

- ▶ Firstly, subdivision of the parishes to a manageable size. In England this required parliamentary legislation. Although easier at the Cape, it meant that extra funding had to be found as no parishes were endowed.
- ▶ Secondly, in England the larger parishes opened proprietary chapels and chapels-of-ease which depended on pew rents to pay

¹⁸ D H Varley & H M Matthew, *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N J Merriman 1848-1855*, Cape Town, 1957, p.8.

¹⁹ Charles Gray (ed), *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town Vol 1*, London, 1876, p.178.

²⁰ John Arnold, 'A Mission amongst the Malays of Capetown' in *Mission Field*, July 2, 1877. p. 247.

²¹ Mole, 'The Victorian town parish...' p.363.

their way. This obviously worked in richer areas but was not suitable for the poorer areas. At the Cape, because of the lack of parish endowments, the existing parishes churches were dependent on pew rents themselves, so the use of chapels to reach the poor or possible Muslim converts would be too expensive for the Diocese.

- ▶ Thirdly, the number of clergy attached to each church could be increased, forming a collegiate. In Cape Town the funding of the clergy was a major problem as none of the parishes was endowed, thus financially this scheme was not viable.

Mole criticised the fact that in the attempt to solve the urban problem of mission the model of rural parish life was placed in an urban setting. At the Cape the same model was attempted with mission, where missionaries to the poor and Muslims were appointed to parishes and given parochial pastoral duties. This can be seen in the work of Lightfoot (see Chapter 6) on the western side of town around Bree Street and Arnold (see Chapter 7) on the eastern boundary of the town at Woodstock. Bishop Gray's first missionary to the Muslims, Dr Michael Camilleri, was on the staff of the Cathedral but in the Cape Almanacs he has 'Moslem Mission' behind his name, indicating that this was his primary role. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, he did spend considerable time temporarily occupying other vacant positions.

Bishop Gray favoured the use of a missionary monastic order for the urban missionary work. The Cowley Fathers appointed by Gray's successor, Bishop West Jones (see Chapter 8), would have been the most suitable priests for inter-parish missionary work. However, in order to prevent any rivalry and disputes by working in another priest's parish, they themselves requested to be bound to a specific parochial district (around Chapel Street, just below District Six). It was only after the formation of the

Diocesan Mission Board (DMB) that a priest once again was appointed for specific work among the Muslims throughout the diocese. Funding continued to be a major problem and the post of Director of the Mission to the Muslims was frequently vacant and the work was continued by full-time lay women (see chapter 10).

One of the problems the Church of England faced in the urban areas of Britain was that the priests were not trained to work amongst 'the common people'. Most of the priests who came to work at the Cape from England were less qualified than those who remained in England.²² Although they were university men they had no special training for work at the Cape. They were frequently ignorant of the ways of the people to whom they were to minister. The result was that the people often felt more at home within the Muslim community where the imam was locally born and trained.

At the Cape the Anglican Church mainly attracted the English speaker who lived in the small towns or villages. Thus it developed as an urban church whose ideal of a pastoral unit of ministry was based on an English rural pattern. The Anglican Church did not employ the right missiological techniques in its attempts to convert the Muslims at the Cape. Only after locally born and trained clergy became members of the Muslim Mission Board was there a change of missiological methods (see chapters 12, 13 and 14). This change could also be attributed to other factors such as a worldwide shift in missionary praxis and the emergence of *apartheid* as a common enemy of the black communities, regardless of faith.

²² A F Wallis, ' "The Best Thinking of the Best Heathen": Humane Learning and the Missionary Movement' in *Studies in Church History: Vol 17 Religion and Humanism* (ed. Keith Robbins), Oxford, 1981, p.341.

Chapter 4

Early Christian Mission to Muslims at the Cape.

Under the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) was for the first 150 years the only Christian church permitted to function at the Cape. Although viewed as fellow Christians and followers of the gospel of justification by faith alone, the Lutherans were denied the right to build a chapel until 1780. Similarly, the Moravians were also viewed as part of the reformed church. From 1737 the Moravian Georg Schmidt was allowed to bring Christianity to the Khoisan. When, however, he baptised his converts he was accused of starting a Moravian Church at the Cape and was removed from the colony.¹

The DRC at this time had little missionary vision and few of the indigenous people or the slaves were evangelised during the DEIC period (1652-1795). For practical economic reasons, the Christian governing authorities accepted and tolerated the existence of the Islamic religion at the Cape in spite of the public practice of it being illegal according to the Statutes of India² which stated:-

No one shall trouble the Amboinese [Mardyckers who were Muslims] about their religion or annoy them; so long as they do not practise in public or venture to propagate it amongst Christian and Heathen. Offenders to be punished with death, but should there be amongst them those who had been drawn to God to become Christian, they were not to be prevented from joining

¹ Jonathan N Gerstner, 'A Christian Monopoly: The Reformed Church and Colonial Society under Dutch Rule' in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History* (ed Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport), 1997, Cape Town, p.21.

² In 1642, Antonio van Dieman, the governor of Batavia, drafted a set of laws which became known as the Statutes of India. As the Cape was part of the DEIC Indian empire, these laws and their amendments were applicable at the Cape.

Christian churches.³

This law also encouraged the tolerance of the Muslims during the DEIC era at the Cape.

The DRC indifference to mission occurred because of the theological concept of the 'thousand-generation covenant'⁴ and because most the DRC ministers at the Cape were followers of pietistic rather than evangelical faith. It was believed that by the covenant anyone with an ancestor within the last thousand generations who was a believer in Jesus Christ, could be considered a member of the covenant and brought to church for baptism. This meant virtually all Europeans, except Jews, could be baptised as Christians. Muslims and the indigenous people of the Cape, who were erroneously believed to be without religion and who were referred to as 'heathens', were outside of the covenant and thus outside of the concern of the church.

With the decline in power of the DEIC a more relaxed attitude to other faiths and to other Christian denominations at the Cape developed. From 1780 the Lutherans were allowed to worship in public. The Moravian missionaries were allowed to return in 1792. This relaxing of state control of religion continued under both the first British administration (1795-1803) and the Bataviaan Republic (1803-1806).

The British accepted the DRC as the *de facto* church and continued to assist in the payment of clergy stipends. However, they also encouraged the work of the Moravian missionaries and extended the right of public worship to the Muslims for the first time.⁵

³ Eric Asperling, *The Malays of Cape Town*, 1883, London, p.17.

⁴ Jonathan N Gerstner, 'A Christian Monopoly....' p.24.

⁵ Rodney Davenport, 'Settlement, Conquest, and Theological Controversy: The Churches of the Nineteenth century European Immigrants' in *Christianity in*

The Bataviaan Republic, through de Mist's church ordinance of 1804, allowed equal rights to 'all religious associations which for the furtherance of virtue and good conduct, respect a Supreme Being'.⁶

During the period 1800 to 1840 the number of Muslims increased significantly. This increase was not due to the importation of slaves as the oceanic slave trade had been stopped in 1808, nor was this growth by natural means as the number exceeded the natural maximum increase.⁷ Islam had become an attractive alternative for slaves and thus the large increase in numbers has been attributed to conversions.⁸

The popularity of Islam was of great concern to the Christian missionaries. The shift in theological emphasis in the DRC, from pietism to evangelism, began to stress personal conversion to Jesus. This was the belief of the Continuing Reformation and was personified in the ministries of the Rev Michiel Christiaan Vos (at Tulbagh) and the Rev Helperus Ritzema van Lier (in Cape Town) who called on Christians to spread the Gospel to the ethnic population.⁹ In 1812 Vos ensured that legislation was passed which reassured slave owners that they were not bound to free their slaves if they baptised them.¹⁰ This was achieved by a

South Africa..., p.51.

⁶ Quoted in Rodney Davenport, 'Settlement, Conquest, and Theological Controversy:...' p.51.

⁷ Robert Shell, *From Rites to Rebellion: Islamic Conversion, Urbanization, and Ethnic Identities at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797 to 1904.*, 2nd Edition, typescript MS 1993/51067: SA Library, Figure 1, p.4.

⁸ Richard Elphick and Robert Shell, 'Intergroup relations: Khoikhoi, settlers, slaves and free blacks, 1652-1795.' in *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840* (ed. Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee), 2nd edition, 1989, Cape Town, p.191.

⁹ Jonathan N Gerstner, 'A Christian Monopoly....' p.29.

¹⁰ Robert Shell, 'Between Christ and Mohammed: Conversion, Slavery and Gender in the Urban Western Cape' in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political,*

having a proclamation issued by the Governor, Sir John Cradock.¹¹ Most of the Muslims resided in Cape Town and their strength was an embarrassment to the many missionaries passing through on their way to the interior. Although missionary work to the Muslims at this time is described by Shell as being 'energetic' it failed to attract many urban Muslims.¹²

This urban work in Cape Town was done by the South African Missionary Society (SAMS) which had been established in 1799. In that year Dr Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society (LMS) brought to the Cape a letter of intention to begin work on the Eastern Frontier. This letter enthused the residents of Cape Town to inaugurate their own missionary society.¹³ SAMS supporters received only brief help for their mission to the slaves and indigenous people in Cape Town as the LMS missionaries passed through Cape Town to the interior. The work of the SAMS was further hindered by de Mist who felt that a missionary society should not be working within the bounds of settled congregations. The SAMS also assisted the LMS and Rotterdam Society in its work in the interior and opened some of its own missions stations in the Swellendam district.

The development of a large and strong Muslim community in Cape Town by the end of the eighteenth century created the need for an Islamic school (*Madrassah*). The first one was opened in 1793 in Dorp Street initially with only a few students. However, this *Madrassah* soon attracted so many students that by 1799 the

Social and Cultural History (ed Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport), 1997, Cape Town, p.274.

¹¹ Theal, *Records of the Cape Colony*, vol 8, p.500 and; vol 9, p.131-132.

¹² Robert Shell, 'Between Christ and Mohammed...' p.274.

¹³ J du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, Cape Town, 1911 (facsimile edition 1963), p.92.

building of a mosque was permitted.¹⁴

The second British occupation of the Cape in 1806 exposed it to a large number of the Protestant movements from Europe. Elphick states:

South Africa was soon awash in newly imported churches - Anglican, Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist and new missions from Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland and Scandinavia.¹⁵

The growth of Islam among the slaves and former slaves at the Cape concerned the local Cape Town Auxiliary Committee (CTAC) of the London Missionary Society. This committee had grown out of the SAMS and its supporters. SAMS had made little impact on the religion of the slaves in Cape Town. In 1823 the Cape Town Auxiliary Committee of the London Mission Society (CTAC) was formed, aimed at supporting both work in the city and work done by the LMS in the interior.¹⁶

In 1823 a missionary school run by the CTAC of LMS was established in Dorp Street. This school was in direct competition with the Muslim *Madrassah* in the same street and was seen as a potential for conflict. The mission school in Dorp Street was used for day, evening and Sunday schools for infants, juveniles and adults.

The SAMS had long desired to appoint someone to be a missionary to the Muslims but could not find anyone qualified for the post. In 1824 they negotiated with the Rev W. Elliot who was on his way home from mission work on Johania

¹⁴ *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 27 February 1836.

¹⁵ Richard Elphick, 'Christianity in South African History' in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History* (ed Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport), 1997, Cape Town, p.3.

¹⁶ *Report of the CT Auxiliary of the LMS - 1845* (1846), p.5.

in the Comoro Islands. He had a knowledge of Arabic and was acquainted with the Muslim religion. He agreed to work for the SAMS. He returned to the Cape in 1825 and served the SAMS until 1828. His service was described by du Plessis as being one of 'great zeal and devotion, but the soil was barren, the prejudice deep-rooted and the support of the Christian friends slack, and he therefore was compelled to sever his connection with the mission'.¹⁷

At this time the Dorp Street *Madrassah* was particularly strong, having by 1825 a student body of 429 slave and 'Free Black' children. Davids is of the opinion that because of this Islam had the vigour to withstand the Christian missionary efforts.¹⁸

The Government assisted in the payment of DRC clergy and paid the stipend of three Colonial Chaplains (at Cape Town, Simon's Town and Bathurst) who were Anglicans. The Cape Town Auxiliary was not the only missionary organisation concerned with the educational field. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) also paid and appointed some clergy at the Cape. The Rev. William Wright was appointed especially to inspect and improve the 'Public Schools' and, if necessary, establish new schools.¹⁹ This was the result of an agreement between the government and the SPG, who agreed to pay a portion of Wright's stipend 'for the religious instruction of the natives and the negroes and the

¹⁷ J du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa*, Cape Town, 1911, (facsimile edition 1963), p.98.

¹⁸ Achmat Davids, 'Muslim-Christian Relations...'

¹⁹ Anon, *Digest of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1702-1892*, London, 1893, p.269. Traditionally, the term 'Public Schools' referred to non-state schools, however, the report continued to speak of Wright's role in the management of the 'National School' in Cape Town which had scholars who were slaves as well as the establishment of schools in Cape Town (1822) and Wynberg (1823) for "Malays, Negroes, and Hottentots' children."

superintendence of the school'.²⁰

By 1827 Wright's pro-black and anti-slavery attitudes angered both the government and the white population. His conduct became subject to an inquiry by Bishop James, the visiting Bishop of Calcutta. Although cleared by the Bishop of any misconduct, Wright was removed to Bathurst. After returning to England he published in 1831 a book attacking slavery at the Cape, especially the lack of educational opportunities for slaves. He felt that slave owners were neglecting this important area:-

The natural consequence of this neglect is that vast numbers of the slaves profess no religion whatsoever: the vast majority of those who do, are followers of the doctrine of Mohammed: few, very few, make any profession of Christianity, or attend at any place of religious worship; still fewer become catechumens; and the number of baptised are extremely small.... The proprietors do not in general discourage the embracing of Mohammedanism.²¹

Another Anglican clergymen sent to the Cape by the SPG with a special task was the Rev James Willis Sanders. He 'was specially engaged in shepherding the apprentices sent out from England by the "Children's Friend Society"'.²² Sanders was based in Stellenbosch and reported that the emigrant apprentices conducted themselves well. He also ministered to the Dutch and coloured apprentices but this was with difficulty, because of his inability to speak Dutch.

In 1838 Sanders reported to the SPG that the great majority of coloured

²⁰ Anon, *Digest of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1702-1892*, London, 1893, p.269.

²¹ William Wright, *Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope*, London, 1831, p.4.

²² Anon., *Digest..* p.273. The Children's Friend Society was founded in 1830 for the rescue of destitute and neglected children in London, many of whom were sent out to the Cape to be apprentices in various trades and crafts.

apprentices²³ (who were former slaves and also fell under Sanders' charge) 'showed a decided preference for the Mahometan religion'.²⁴ The reasons he gave for this were, firstly, the Christians showed no zeal for the conversion of the coloured population and treated badly their former slaves who were now apprenticed to them. Thus Sanders reported that:-

By some of the Masters, the slaves have been looked upon not as human beings, but as a link between man and the brute creation ...slave holders have brutalised and degraded these poor creatures by their treatment and then pointed to that degradation as a divine curse inflicted upon the descendants of Ham according to the inspired predictions.²⁵

Sanders claimed that high Calvinism did not encourage mission work, believing that 'God will, in his own good time, gather His saints together, and that there is no resisting His Sovereign will'.²⁶ Having suffered the heavy yoke of slavery under Christian masters, the apprentices had :-

no love for the white man, no predilection for his faith. Yet they feel within them the stirring of an immortal spirit, they feel that there is a reverence due to that great and eternal Being by whom all were created, and are predisposed to receive some form of religion.²⁷

Christianity, the faith to which the oppressive owners belonged, held no attraction to the former slave apprentices. The religion that was openly available and willing to accommodate them was Islam.

²³ These apprentices were former slaves who, in the process of the abolition of slavery, became apprentices before manumission. Their apprenticeship lasted from December 1834 to December 1838.

²⁴ *Digest...*, 278.

²⁵ *Digest...*, 278.

²⁶ *Digest...*, 278. This was the pietistic attitude discussed above which was undergoing change especially among DRC ministers such as M C Vos.

²⁷ *Digest...*, 278.

Sanders ended his report;

There is, however, one circumstance which may inspire the hope and belief that a brighter day before long may dawn upon the Christian Church. The coloured people are grateful and affectionate and when they become a little more educated, when the English language and English books are diffused among them, and when they fully know the interest manifested in their welfare in Christian Britain they will, we hope, calmly consider the evidence of our faith and embrace and lay hold of the hope of everlasting life set before them in the gospel.²⁸

Sanders' suggestions were typically the patronising view that once coloured people could speak and read English and become more like the English, it would naturally follow that Christianity would become their faith.

Before the emancipation of slaves the LMS school did not attract many Muslim infants. This has been attributed to the resistance of the slaves to socialising with the ruling class.²⁹ During the period 1830 to 1833 the Muslim *Madrassah* would have been the attractive alternative for slave parents as all children born in slavery were considered slaves and at that time the Muslim community offered a better option for slaves. In 1839, after the abolition of slavery, the Cape Auxiliary of the LMS reported that more than a third of the pupils at the Dorp Street Mission School were Muslims and that there was an increased desire in the coloured population for education.³⁰

In 1840 the Rev Vogelgezang reported that:-

²⁸ *Digest...*, 279.

²⁹ M. T. Ajam, 'Creeping like a snail unwillingly to School - Schooling infant slaves on Cape Town on the eve of abolition' a paper presented to the Slavery and After Conference, UCT, 1989 quoted in Achmat Davids, *Muslim-Christian Relations...*p. 15.

³⁰ *Report of CTAC for 1839*, (1840), p.15.

The infant School has a daily attendance of between 100 and 120 children. ..The advance of these children, particularly in the Christian religion, is very encouraging. There is every reason to expect that the instruction given to the children will be blessed even to the parents. And, when we think that half of the children are Mahometans, and at least two-thirds of them daily associates with Mahometans, the instruction given to the children cannot be of little use.³¹

The number of Muslim children attending the Mission School continued to increase during the 1840s.³² The reason for this was that Muslim parents desired that their infant children learn to read and write. Once this was accomplished the parents withdrew the children and sent them to the *Madrassah* for training in Islam.³³ This served to counteract the influence of Christian mission. Writing in 1855, a visiting British officer, John Schofield Mayson stated:-

Some of the very young children are sent to Dutch and to English schools, where they excel in intelligence: the number of these is happily increasing. At ten years and occasionally at a later date, they were removed to their own Malay schools, where they remained till they have attained the age of fifteen.³⁴

In 1843 the Cape Town Auxiliary could report for the first time that six Muslims had been baptised. It would thus appear that the strong attraction that the Muslim faith had for the coloured former slaves was beginning to decline. Shell states that the attraction to Islam was counteracted by the abolition of slavery as slavery had

³¹ *Report of CTAC for 1840* (1841) p.7.

³² *Report of CTAC for 1847* (1848) p.6.

³³ *Report of CTAC for 1843* (1844) p.7.

³⁴ J S Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town*, Manchester, 1855, facsimile edition 1963, p.24.

given Islam the advantage over Christianity.³⁵

In 1847 the CTAC and the LMS in Cape Town obtained a lithographic press which enabled them to distribute short biblical tracts which, according to the Cape Town's Auxiliary annual report, were 'eagerly sought after and diligently read by the Muslims'. Davids believes that these tracts were printed in Afrikaans and transliterated into Arabic script, a script widely used by Muslims in Cape Town at that time.³⁶

By 1848, the year in which Bishop Gray arrived in Cape Town, the Cape Town Auxiliary mission school was forced to drop the adult evening classes which were aimed at the Muslim population. The reason given in the report was not that the Muslims were unwilling to attend but that the imams were making it more difficult. The report continued:

It is, however, gratifying that an increasing number of Malay children are allowed to receive Christian instruction in the day school.³⁷

Thus the imams were beginning to express concern at the influence the Christian schools were having on young Muslims.

As far as the Anglican Church was concerned, it was only after the arrival of Bishop Robert Gray that any effort was specifically made to convert Muslims to Christianity.

³⁵ Robert Shell. 'Between Christ and Mahommed..' p.277.

³⁶ Achmat Davids, *Muslim-Christian Relations...* p. 18.

³⁷ *Report of CTAC for 1848* (1849), p. 9.

Chapter 5

Michael Angelo Camilleri (1814-c1903)

1. The Arrival of Bishop Gray.

In 1827 the bishop of Calcutta, Bishop James visited the Cape. He had episcopal oversight of the Cape and in his report, expressed concern at the spiritual level of the Anglican Church in South Africa. This view was also echoed by the military and colonial chaplains who were stationed at the Cape from the start of the second British occupation.

The clergy at the Cape fell under different authorities. The colonial chaplains were sponsored jointly by the SPG (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel) and the British government. Their main task was to minister to the settlers. Their areas of pastoral responsibility were vast. The chaplain stationed at Wynberg, for example, had responsibility for an area which covered 2584 square miles. Other colonial chaplains were at Cape Town, Simon's Town and Bathurst in the Eastern Cape. In 1836 the Children's Friend Society sent 700 destitute children to the Cape. The Society sponsored a chaplain to look after the children's spiritual needs. Doctrinal controversy between the high church clergyman, George Hough and the strongly Protestant 'Religious Society' (whose members were mainly Anglo-Indians who had retired to the Cape) resulted in an 'Episcopalian Chapel' being opened in Long Street in 1841. Its staff was paid for by the Colonial Church Society.¹ The variety of sponsors did little to encourage church growth or to establish a single Anglican Church authority at the Cape.

In 1846 the local SPCK committee called upon the Colonial Bishopric

¹ Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa*. London, 1963, p.13-24



Fig 1. Bishop Gray



Fig 2. The Rev Ernest Hawkins



Fig 3. Archdeacon N Merriman

Fund to establish an episcopal see in Cape Town. Shortage of funds at the time prevented this. In 1845 Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts gave £36 000 to be used for the creation of two new colonial dioceses, of which Cape Town was one. Robert Gray was approached and nominated by the Fund for the Cape Town diocese.

Soon after Bishop Gray's arrival in the Cape on 20th February 1848, he determined those areas which required attention. He stated in his journal that 'church matters are in a very bad state'.² He considered ministry to the settlers his first priority. A further task was the establishment of a church school and college. In addition, in his first sermon at St George's Church (which became his Cathedral) he preached on the episcopal office, mentioning the duty of the Church to the heathen and 'thus early contemplated missions to the Kafirs and Malay Mahometans of Cape Town'.³ In a list of Gray's initial objectives on his arrival at the Cape Gutsch included 'the establishment of a mission among the heathen (of whom he at first misguidedly thought the Malays the most important)'.⁴ His 'misguided' assessment would appear understandable in the light of the fact that one third of the population was Muslim and that their number had increased over the previous three decades at a faster rate than the maximum natural population increase allowed. This indicated that there was a large number of people being converted to Islam. The 1842 census reported 6,492 Muslims in Cape Town itself.⁵

² Charles Gray (ed), *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town Vol I*, London, 1876, p.156.

³ A Theodore Wirgman, *The English Church and People in South Africa* London, 1895, p.146.

⁴ Thelma Gutsch. *The Bishop's Lady*, Cape Town, 1970, p.46.

⁵ Robert Shell, *From Rites to Rebellion: Islamic Conversion, Urbanization, and Ethnic Identities at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797 to 1904*. (Typescript MS 1993/51067: SA Library) This is a second edition of an original article which appeared in *Studies of the History of Cape*

On 1st March 1848 Gray wrote to his brother, Charles,

I think my first work must be among the Mahometans in this town. A man for this work must understand Arabic, and be able to learn Malay and Dutch. Cannot Cambridge give me a man?⁶

Twenty days later he wrote to his brother-in-law Dr Williamson,

I want two clergymen, one curate to the Cathedral.... the other may be wanted for Knysna or to be a missionary to the Mahometans in Cape Town, most important and interesting field.⁷

As these were missionary endeavours, Gray hoped that the SPG would assist with the stipends of these clergy. On 11 April 1848 he wrote to the Rev. E Hawkins, the general secretary of the SPG:

There is ample field for a vast body of additional labourers, both amongst our own people and the coloured population. There are a great number of Mahometans in and around Cape Town; their converts are made chiefly from among the liberated Africans, but occasionally also from the ranks of Christians. It is very painful to think that many of these, when they have to choose a religion for themselves prefer Mahometanism to Christianity... I cannot but feel a deep interest in their condition and am resolved, God helping, to make some effort for their conversion.... I need not say that I shall be thankful to receive any clergyman into the diocese who may be qualified for the work, and will devote himself to this special mission ...⁸

Town.

⁶ Gray (ed), *Life*, 1876, p.161.

⁷ Gray (ed), *Life...*, 1876, p.164.

⁸ Gray (ed), *Life...*, 1876, p.169.

On Easter Monday 1848, Gray wrote to Nathaniel Merriman who was to become the Archdeacon (and later Bishop) of Grahamstown. He requested that Merriman seek:

a good, sound, discreet earnest man for the Mahometans in Cape Town -£200 a year. I would appoint such a one, though I have not raised the funds for his support, but have no fear about it. ... As to mission, mine in Cape Town will, I believe, be the only Church of England mission to the Mahometans. If the mother church helps me now, I can, I believe (if the home government does not interfere), strike a blow. But I verily believe it is our last chance.⁹

Gray meant that his proposed mission to Muslims would be the only diocesan run Muslim mission in the Anglican Church. Other Missions to Muslims were run by missionary societies such as the CMS, Bible Society, LMS as well as German societies such as those from Berlin and Basel. These societies operated missions to the Muslims in the Middle East and India. Gray, in his statements, showed concern for the influence that Islam had among the black population. He realised that a missionary to Muslims required specialised experience differing from that required for mission work among the rural African population. At that time few possessed this experience.

Gray hoped to have someone who would devote himself full time to the mission. Yet, after appointing such a man, Gray continually used him to fill other temporarily vacant posts such as assistant colonial chaplain serving the Cathedral parish (whose congregation was mainly white townspeople) or as assistant military chaplain (ministering to white soldiers and their families). This occurred because of the shortage of clergy willing to work at the Cape and the Bishop's realisation that

⁹ Gray (ed), *Life...*, 1876, p.173-174

financial independence of the Diocese could not be obtained without ministering to the white settler families.

Soon after his arrival at the Cape, Bishop Gray had been shocked 'at hearing that five emigrants, who have arrived from England since I have been in the Colony, have turned Mahometans; and this is not a single instance of such apostasy'.¹⁰ Wirgman refers to this case as 'the perversion of some careless English emigrants in Cape Town to Mahometanism which caused the Bishop much pain and .. the more eager to start Church work amongst the Malays'.¹¹ This seems to indicate that the occurrence of conversions among white settlers was a spur to begin the work. Gray, however, does also attribute such 'apostasy' to 'the low standard of religion of our people in England, and the little estimation in which Christianity is held here'.¹² The Muslim community with its stable community life, and educational, social and religious equality offered more to the newly arrived lower class immigrants from Europe than the Christian community.

Bishop Gray was concerned over what he viewed as Government interference in his work. While lunching with the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, he discovered the Governor was about to promise government sponsored schools to the Muslim imams. Being a public luncheon, Bishop Gray felt he could not comment there, but went to see the Governor in private and to show how this would impede the Church's plans. Sir Harry Smith agreed to do nothing about this in future without the Bishop's approval. The curtailment of the plan shows how the Church was already

¹⁰ Gray (ed), *Life...*, 1876, p.178.

¹¹ Theodore Wirgman, *The English Church and People in South Africa.*, London, 1895, p.147.

¹² Gray (ed), *Life...*, 1876, p.177.

interfering with the religious tolerance that had existed at the Cape. This lack of appreciation of the existing tolerance between coloured Christians and Muslims would influence the Mission's work for the whole of its existence until coloured clergy themselves took a leading role in the mission's work.

Bishop Gray said in a letter to his brother Charles that the Governor had a temptation to 'compromise truth in the warmth of his heart, and desire to meet the wishes of all and agree with all'. Bishop Gray had 'to watch him very narrowly, lest he commit himself, and hamper me'.¹³ Gray used his close connections with the governing authority to further his plans at the expense of the Muslim community, who made up a third of the city's population. It is interesting to note that in 1864, the Education Bill before the Cape Legislative Council, decided that the word 'Christian' should be removed from the clause 'instruction in the Christian Religion may be given in aided schools'. Thus Muslims had the right (in theory at least) to give instruction to their followers in state aided schools.¹⁴

2. The arrival of Archdeacon J N Merriman

In August 1848, Gray left for his first visitation to the eastern part of his vast diocese. No mention was made in his biography or in other literature whether he had as yet appointed anyone to be a missionary to the Muslims.

Archdeacon Nathaniel James Merriman arrived in the Cape before Gray had returned from his visitation. Merriman was a very perceptive man and during his stay in Cape Town, awaiting his bishop's return, he recorded in his journals many insights concerning the 'Malays'. On Sunday 10th

¹³ Gray (ed), *Life...* 1876, p.177.

¹⁴ Shell, *Rites and Rebellions...*, 1984, p.22.

December he preached in the Cathedral to 'a numerous congregation' but, he pointed out, there were 'no poor, no coloured people' present. He found that the Cathedral congregation was similar in composition to Holy Trinity Church in Caledon Square¹⁵, where he had preached earlier. He goes on to describe how two or three Muslims 'with their red handkerchiefs on their heads' came out of curiosity to see the new Archdeacon but 'the attendant official turned them out and shut the door in their faces!!!'.¹⁶ Merriman was also quick to perceive the reason Christianity was so unsuccessful when competing with Islam for the souls of coloured population of the Cape:

The Malays are the finest race and the most advanced in civilisation, making also the best servants and workmen. their religion has some power over them, and they are not only particular in maintaining their own distinctions, but they have made a considerable number of proselytes, both from the coloured people and from Europeans, and it seems pretty plain that by their charity to the distressed generally, by their kindness in helping all those who are in any way connected with them, by the absence of covetousness, ... and by their temperance, they have fairly outlived their Christian neighbours and stolen the hearts of many of those whom God seems to have placed here as a trial to us and our nation to see whether we would win them from their darkness and evil ways to embrace the

¹⁵ Holy Trinity, Harrington Street near Caledon Square, had been established in 1846 by dissatisfied congregants of St George's church (later Cathedral) and consisted of white settlers. Anthony Ive, *The Church of England in South Africa*, Cape Town, 1966, p. 6.

¹⁶ D H Varley & H M Matthew, *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N J Merriman 1848-1855*, Cape Town, 1957 p.8.

Gospel of Jesus Christ.¹⁷

Merriman was told that most of the black families who were tenants of *Protea* (afterwards *Bishopscourt*) were from Mozambique and had 'joined the Mahometans and loved to be considered as Malays ... their children were all brought up in the Mahometan faith'.¹⁸ Merriman commented later that it was a sad reflection on Christian neglect how these people travelled to Cape Town (seven miles away) every Friday to attend worship and how their priests were all shopkeepers, of local origin, and had great influence over them. Merriman asked why Christian ministry could not be of the same kind especially 'in a country like this where the services of the Church are uncelebrated for want of men authorised to officiate'.¹⁹ Merriman showed the insight and adaptability which the missionary work required if it were to succeed.²⁰ He also was first in suggesting self-supporting ministry for the Cape Town Diocese. At that time, a self-supporting model of priesthood, similar to the Muslim's imams, would have been very practical in a Church serving a country with such large distances and small financial resources. The Church, by using self-supporting ministers, would have saved money, thus enabling it to send more priests into the distant mission fields. Indigenous priests would have had a closer identification with the local population of the Cape and would have been the start of a more indigenous based church. His criticism of the church officials at St George's Cathedral showed how he felt neither race nor social snobbery should have been an issue in any church affairs.

While waiting in Cape Town for the return of Bishop Gray from his

¹⁷ Varley and Matthews, *Merriman...*, p.3

¹⁸ Varley and Matthews, *Merriman...*, p.8.

¹⁹ Varley and Matthews, *Merriman...*, p.9.

²⁰ This included the use of indigenous people as missionaries and establishing an indigenous church.

visitation, Merriman took the opportunity to learn more about the country in which he had come to serve. He found that a number of Muslim children attended white schools.²¹ In Simon's Town he found that heathen parents wanted their children baptised, brought up and educated in European ways in order to advance socially but - 'no single Mahomedan child had been found to embrace Christianity from choice or conviction in consequence of being at any of our schools'.²²

Merriman found a large number of names of coloured people in the baptismal register at Simon's Town but few of these attended the divine service. On inquiry he was told that there were few 'free pews'²³ and thus no room for them in the church building. In his journal, Merriman continued to attack the rich white stall holders, calling them 'Laodicean Christians' who would not allow 'their coloured brethren to partake of the same means of grace which they themselves enjoy'.²⁴

3. Michael Angelo Camilleri

On Wednesday 13th December 1848, Merriman wrote in his journal that Dr Michael Angelo Camilleri, who had just arrived by the *Lion* had come out and spent the afternoon at Protea.

Camilleri (1814- c1903) was a Maltese by birth and, according to

²¹ Varley and Matthews, *Merriman...*, p.11. The Cape Town Auxiliary of the London Missionary Society (LMS) had schools in Dorp Street and Barrack Street. The CTAC viewed these schools as part of missionary outreach to the Muslim population of the Cape.

²² Varley and Matthews, *Merriman...*, p.11.

²³ 'Pew Rent' was the rent paid by the congregation to reserve pews in the Church. At St George's Cathedral, the pew rents paid the interest on the money loaned for the building of the Cathedral. (Hinchcliff *The Anglican Church in South Africa* 1963, p. 23.

²⁴ Varley and Matthews, *Merriman...*, p.11.



Merriman, a former Roman Catholic priest of eight years standing, having served in Malta and Tangier.²⁵ *Crockfords* of 1860 lists him as having trained at the Theological College of the University of Malta (1834) and having received a doctorate in 1838. In 1836 he was made deacon and ordained priest by the Catholic Bishop of Malta.²⁶ *Crockford's* of 1887 lists no previous posting until he became SPG chaplain at Cape Town in 1848.²⁷ Merriman describes him as 'a person of sober earnest thoughtfulness and having a great facility of acquiring languages, and, knowing already the Arabic besides several European tongues'.²⁸

Dr Camilleri²⁹ began his work among the Muslims in Cape Town by starting a school in a large house at 19 Barrack Street where he and his wife taught Muslim boys and girls. By June 1849, the Bishop reported to the Rev E. Hawkins of the SPG that Dr Camilleri:-

... is going on very quietly and judiciously with his Mahomedan Mission. He is obliged to be cautious in his way of dealing with people, and is approaching them not only in person but by endeavouring to interest masters and employers, several of whom meet him in class to receive

²⁵ Varley and Matthews, *Merriman...*, p.10.

²⁶ The SPG *Digest's* list of missionaries stated that he was ordained deacon in 1835 and priest in 1836 by the 'RC Bishop of Malta'.

²⁷ *Crockford's Clerical Directory 1860 and 1887*. After his return to England in 1854 he served as curate at Stanford-in-the-Vale, Farringdon, Berkshire (1858-1863) and as Vicar of Lyford, Wantage, Oxfordshire (1863-1897).

²⁸ Camilleri had translated the New Testament and Book of Common Prayer into Maltese.

²⁹ In spite of intensive research in Gray's papers, no information can be found on Camilleri's appointment. He appears in the roll of missionaries at the SPG and he submitted reports to them as well as informing them of his planned resignation. This seems to imply that the SPG was sponsoring him to a greater or lesser degree.

instruction as to the best means of dealing with their servants.³⁰

Gray reported to Hawkins, that 'three Mahommedans' were among the seventy adults baptised at St George's.³¹ The *Digest of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1702 - 1892* reports that between Camilleri's arrival and 1851:-

Mr [sic] Camilleri baptised 28 Malays and prepared for baptism 100 heathen (some connected with Malays), besides carrying on other works, including a district parish formed by him at Papendorp.³²

Papendorp was later re-named Woodstock. In his house in Barrack Street Dr and Mrs Camilleri held evening school and daily classes of instruction. They also offered 'a hearty and hospitable welcome to all needy enquirers'.³³

It was often the Church itself which hindered Dr Camilleri's mission. The shortage of staff forced Bishop Gray to use Dr Camilleri in other posts. In a letter to Dean Newman, the Bishop emphasised that although Dr Camilleri had been unavoidably drawn from his 'proper work' to act as assistant chaplain at the Cathedral, he was now to 'devote himself more

³⁰ Gray (ed), *Life....*, 1876, p. 237. The masters of the Muslim servants were interested in the faith of the exotic 'Malays' and Camilleri gave instructions to them on how they could help his missionary work by witnessing and attempting to convert them. This Camilleri later stopped as they did not have the necessary patience and skill to be inter-faith missionaries.

³¹ Gray to The Rev E Hawkins (Sec. SPG), 20 June 1849.

³² Anon, *Digest of the SPG*, p.279.

³³ Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, 'The Cape Malays' in *Sketches of Church Life and Work in the Diocese of Cape Town* (edited by The Right Rev. Alan G S Gibson, DD. Co-adjutor Bishop of Cape Town), Cape Town, 1904, p.36.

exclusively to the conversion of the Mahommedans and Heathen'.³⁴ In a subsequent letter to Dr Camilleri,³⁵ the bishop gave him a thorough description of what was expected of him after the Rev J Quinn had been appointed as acting Assisting Chaplain and Dr Camilleri's services were no longer required for that post. In this letter, the Bishop makes it clear to Camilleri that he is to minister to Muslims and heathens throughout the city without regard to parish boundaries but he is not to have complete free range, being attached to St Georges Church [Cathedral] assisting there in daily offices and other services as required by the Dean. Like the Anglican Bishops of India (see Chapter 3 above), Gray was concerned that missionaries should have allegiance to the parochial system and episcopal authority. The Bishop stated:-

In the exercise of your special office throughout the city, you will need habitually to bear in mind that your work is in subordination to and in combination with the Parochial system of our church and must therefore be carried on in consultation with the clergy and with their concurrence ...
It is absolutely necessary that there should be unity of design and action in our whole Church work, which can only be attained by adopting such a course as I have pointed out.³⁶

Yet, within eight months (on 29 December 1851) Dr Camilleri was told by the Bishop that he could collect his allowance of one guinea a week for acting as military chaplain during the absence of the Rev. Dacre.³⁷ John

³⁴ Gray to Newman 9/4/1851. *Bishop Gray's Letter Book Vol 1*, p.88. MS AB1162 CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

³⁵ Gray to Camilleri 30/4/1851. *Bishop Gray's Letter Book Vol I*, p. 89

³⁶ Ibid, p. 90.

³⁷ Gray to Camilleri 29/12/1852. *Bishop Gray's Letter Book Vol I*, p. 268.

Mayson's book *The Malays of Cape Town* contains a note from Dr Camilleri in which he states -

Beside my mission work I was assistant chaplain to the Dean, chaplain to the gaol and house of correction, and for twelve months garrison chaplain, administering to some 400 families of soldiers, etc.³⁸

Dr Camilleri also acknowledged his and the Anglican Church's inexperience in the field of missionary work among the Muslims:-

The works of mission like theirs is barely understood by us. Would you believe, that the SPG has not yet published so much as a 'Guide for Missionaries'! ..I had not only no guide, no precedent, nothing to work upon but my own good sense and experience.³⁹

After pointing out how his and his wife's acceptance by the Muslims was such that they 'could do anything among [the Muslims] and [their] children', he continued that after five years labour :-

I was knocked up and obliged to look for my safety, as well as that of my wife, who took a prominent part in the school and the Malay children. This is a very great evil which I trust will be averted in future.⁴⁰

Dr Camilleri's ministry as missionary to the Muslims came to an end in 1854. He resigned because of his own and his wife's ill-health, the inability to stand the heat of the Cape and 'over-exertion in the discharge of my

³⁸ Mayson, *Cape Malays...*, p.33.

³⁹ Mayson, *Cape Malays...*, p.33.

⁴⁰ Mayson, *Cape Malays...*, p.33.

duty'.⁴¹

4. Camilleri's Missiological Methods

Camilleri's style and method of mission can be deduced from a report he made to Bishop Gray (and subsequently forwarded to the SPG)⁴² and Camilleri's subsequent letter to the Rev E Hawkins, the Secretary of the SPG dated 31 May 1851.⁴³

On his arrival in the Cape in December 1848, he proposed to the Bishop that he begin his mission by giving a lecture course at the Cathedral during Lent. This course was successful enough to motivate a Mr Inglesby, a mason, and other people from the Cathedral congregation, to approach Camilleri to find out how they could assist him in his mission. Camilleri decided that these volunteers needed further teaching in 'the errors of the Mahometan sect and of the means of opposing them'.⁴⁴ He began by examining the Quran together with them. But he found that after three months some members of his class were acting:-

injudiciously in addressing the Malays, and others took an air of dictatorship which I could not allow. So the meeting was given up.⁴⁵

⁴¹Camilleri to General Secretary, SPG - Letter of Resignation 19/11/1853, SPG Records Microfilm Series D, 359-362.

⁴² M A Camilleri, *1851 Report. MS AB1569 St George's Cathedral Box 10.18 Misc Correspondence*, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

⁴³ M A Camilleri to Rev Hawkins, SPG. SPG Record Microfilm Series D, 221-224.

⁴⁴ Camilleri, *Report 1851...*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Camilleri found that the white masters of Muslim servants did not possess the right qualities to assist in the conversion of Muslims. In fact their domineering attitudes, perhaps typical in a master-servant relationship, was more of an hindrance than a help.

Camilleri then adopted an approach which he called 'silent intercourse' using the witness of the Christian friends who were close to the 'Malays' rather than the aggressive apologetic evangelism of white Christians who had attended his classes. He lists twenty three names of people he had baptised. Most of these people have Christianised first names so whether these are Muslim converts or 'heathen' converts it is hard to tell. The three Abdol sisters, Margaret, Classina, and Catherine do appear to have been Muslims. Camilleri also relates his work with other Muslims who showed an interest in Christianity. These included those who had become Muslim because of inter-faith marriages. He completed his report listing all the other tasks which interfered with his missionary work. His future hope was that full parochial work among the Muslims would be done only by him or his successors and not by other parish priests. In a comment in Mayson's book he stated the wish that '... our Church keep a distinct mission for them in Cape Town and two or three other places,'⁴⁶ and he also hoped that 'some kind warmhearted people in England' would give funding for two or three missionaries 'under the bishop of Capetown, but independent of his funds'.⁴⁷ Over the years the Diocese of Cape Town has varied in its approach to missionaries being independent of parishes. Frequently this depended on the Diocese's financial situation. However, the fear that independence might lead to a loss of episcopal authority inevitably resulted in the missionary work being linked to a particular parish structure. With a few clerical exceptions, this occurred when a lay person (usually a woman) was the head of the mission. The financial support the mission received from people in England was always slight and the mission had to be constantly supported financially by the SPG and the Diocese.

⁴⁶ Mayson, *Cape Malays...* p. 33.

⁴⁷ *Ibid* p. 34.

In other letters to the SPG secretary, Camilleri commented on the goodwill that existed between the Christians and the Muslims. This was demonstrated in the willingness of Muslim parents to send their children to Christian schools. He reports that he had rented a large house for use as a mission school and classes and he requested that the SPG aid him financially. There is no report of their response to this request. Camilleri's stay at the Cape was short and the impression is gained that neither the SPG nor Bishop Gray aided him as fully as he would have liked.

5. Conclusion

Mandy Goedhals described the period between Gray's arrival and 1887 as 'the age of caesaropapism' in Anglican thinking on mission.⁴⁸ The influence of the Anglican Church on the State in the oppression of the indigenous people and people of other faiths in South Africa can be seen in the execution of Gray's missionary policy.

This occurred not only on the eastern frontier (as described by Goedhals) but also in the urban centre of Cape Town where Gray's strong representation to the Governor, Sir Harry Smith, prevented Muslim schools opening under the protection and sponsorship of state authorities. The personal prejudice of the white congregation of St George's Cathedral rendered it unacceptable to welcome dark skinned Muslims who were curious to hear Archdeacon Merriman preach. It was in this *milieu* that Camilleri had to practise his missionary endeavours.

From Camilleri's comments on the aggressive, confrontational and 'dictatorial' approach of some of the St George's Church congregation,

⁴⁸ Mandy Goedhals, 'From Paternalism to Partnership: the Church of the Province of Southern Africa and Mission 1848-1988' in *Bounty in Bondage* (ed. Frank England & Torquil Paterson) (Johannesburg: Ravan Press 1989) p. 111.

it seemed he preferred a more intimate approach to possible converts. Camilleri thus used what he called a method of 'silent intercourse' through the close friends of those he wished to convert.⁴⁹

Camilleri's work had to be carried out within the restraints of a parochial system which was more suitable for an English diocese than a colonial one such as Cape Town with its cosmopolitan population. This led him to believe that a missionary structure, separate from the parishes, was necessary for the conversion of the Muslims. Such a structure although falling under the Bishop would be funded independently.⁵⁰ This approach would have discouraged the formation of an indigenous united church which would have had to include elements of the cultural diversity of all members. Camilleri's idea of separate structures would have led to the formation of two churches - a white church and an indigenous church. The separation of 'Malay Mission' work from the normal parish work as proposed by Camilleri did not occur as he did not stay in the Cape for very long (six years) and during his stay he was temporarily used to fill many other chaplaincy posts. This hindered his own specific missionary work. His successor, Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, established a mission for all coloured people as a chapelry of St George's Church. In 1880, once the mission had obtained financial viability, it became a parochial district with a priest-in-charge. In 1913 it became the parish of St. Paul's, Bree Street, with its own rector. As a parish it was recognised on an equal footing with white parishes.

It would appear that Camilleri had no chance to put into practise any programmes or ideas that he had while serving as a missionary at the Cape. His comments in Mayson's book demonstrate his own lack of

⁴⁹ M A Camilleri, *Report 1851...*

⁵⁰ Mayson, *The Cape Malays....* p. 33.

knowledge of Muslim mission work worldwide, as well as a lack of understanding of the unique missionary situation in Cape Town at that time. His achievements appear slight and had no long term significance but this can be attributed to his short stay, his being used to fill other interim clerical posts and the fact that no immediate successor was appointed to carry on the work he had begun. Three years after Camilleri's departure, Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot arrived and was given charge of ministering to all the coloured population (not just the Muslims). Lightfoot thus used a different approach from Camilleri.

Chapter 6

Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot (1831 - 1904)

It was some time before Gray was able to appoint a successor to Camilleri as fulltime missionary to the Muslims. The pew rent¹ system and the racial attitude of the congregations did not encourage the Muslims to show any interest in converting to Christianity. A mission service was taken by the Rev E Glover on Sunday afternoons but after his departure to be Archdeacon of George in 1856, these services reverted to a Sunday school for coloured adults.² This remained until Thomas Lightfoot arrived in Cape Town in April 1858.

1. Lightfoot's early life and influences in Nottingham.

Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot was born in Nottingham, England in 1831. His father was Robert Lightfoot, a lace merchant from the lace manufacturing city of Nottingham who had moved there from Melsonby, Yorkshire. Bishop Lightfoot of Durham, the well known New Testament scholar of the nineteenth century was also descended from the Lightfoots of Melsonby. Thomas's mother was Hannah Fothergill. She died in 1841 leaving her husband with a family of five sons and two daughters, Thomas being the oldest.

He attended the Nottingham Grammar School. At fifteen he left school and was articled to a printer, Mr Job Bradshaw, the proprietor and publisher of the *Nottingham Journal*. According to Lightfoot's

¹ 'Pew Rent' at St George's Cathedral was used to pay the interest on the money loaned for the building of the Cathedral. (Hinchcliff *The Anglican Church in South Africa* 1963, 23.)

² Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, 'The Cape Malays' in *Sketches of Church Life and Work in the Diocese of Cape Town* (edited by The Right Rev. Alan G S Gibson, DD. Co-adjutor Bishop of Cape Town), Cape Town, 1904, p.36.

biographer, the *Nottingham Journal* was 'a weekly paper of High Church views and Tory principles'.³

From 1851 (aged twenty) he resolved to keep a diary. He intermittently kept this until 1858. He used shorthand and Barnett-Clarke, his biographer, transcribed his notes into ten hand-written volumes. They are, as Barnett-Clarke pointed out, an expression of his 'innermost thoughts and confessions'⁴ but they also demonstrate Lightfoot's commitment to his church life and show the influences which affected his spiritual thinking.

As a reporter at the *Journal* he was heavily involved most days and some nights in preparing the paper for the presses. His journalistic career took him around the country, including London where he reported on the funeral of the Duke of Wellington as well as many interesting and famous court trials.⁵ He was concerned, throughout his life, in education and cultural affairs. His interests in Nottingham included being a member of the Social Discussion Society, reading, glee singing, music and attending the theatre. Yet, in spite of this wide range of interests and secular employment, he was able to make time to teach Night and Sunday schools at his parish church of St Nicholas and to sing in the choir.

In the summer of 1851 he was infected by typhus fever and was seriously ill for several weeks. While recuperating he 'came under the influence of Canon Gilbert, Vicar of Ayrton, near Grantham'⁶ and right up till his departure for Cape Town his diary shows frequent visits to Canon Gilbert.

³ H P Barnett-Clarke, *The Life and Times of Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, BD, Archdeacon of Cape Town*, Cape Town, 1908, p. 5.

⁴ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot....*, p. 7.

⁵ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot....*, p. 8.

⁶ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot....*, p. 10.

After the summer of 1851 his diary ceases until November 1852 when he states:

After a long break I have again taken to my diary. Since I last wrote what changes have taken place!! I have been for a week to a Mission and I have made up my mind to [?] contrive [writing illegible] to become a clergyman. Consequently I am hard at work at Latin and Greek....⁷

Lightfoot first heard Bishop Gray preach in March 1853 in Sneinton Church, Nottingham:

On Tuesday afternoon... the Bishop of Cape Town preached on behalf of the Missions in his Diocese. ... He preached a most excellent Sermon from the Sentence in Our Lord's Prayer, 'Thy Kingdom come'....After the meeting I had the honour of speaking to the Bishop. His Lordship is a younger man than I expected, scarcely forty, I should think; he was apparently knocked up, and complained considerably of his head.⁸

This meeting with the Bishop inspired him to become a missionary-clergyman in South Africa.⁹ He intensified the learning of Latin and Greek, rising early in the mornings, both summer and winter to accomplish this task. He informed his family and friends of his intentions. His rector suggested he attend St Augustine's College in Canterbury (see Appendix 3) and advised joining a church in the colonies. This was advised as Lightfoot, unlike most Anglican clergy of that time, would not have been to Oxford or Cambridge and would thus have difficulty in progressing in the church in England. Furthermore, Lightfoot was greatly influenced by

⁷ T F Lightfoot, *Private Dairies Vol 1: 1851-52* MS AB1102 CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

⁸ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...*, p. 13.

⁹ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...*, p. 14.

the Bishop of Cape Town and this caused his rector to suggest a more missionary-oriented church in the colonies.

Numerous entries in the diaries indicate the 'church party'¹⁰ to which Lightfoot belonged.

- ▶ First, the newspaper he worked for was a High Church paper, therefore he was unlikely to have been an Evangelical churchman.
- ▶ Second, in his diary he reported on sermons preached by Dr Bolt, his vicar:

Dr Bolt's sermon, a very good one and was about the Communion and the necessity of it. I stayed to Communion but I am afraid I had not prepared myself as I might. I pray that I may be called to the work of the ministry in Christ's Holy Church....¹¹

This statement seems to indicate that he belonged to an Anglo-Catholic parish. His own pietistic feelings concerning his lack of preparation show, what Dieter Voll called, 'Catholic Evangelicalism'.¹² Voll included in this party R M Benson, founder of the missionary Cowley Fathers (see Chapter 8 below) and the ritualistic slum priests of Anglo-Catholicism such as Frs. Dolling of St Agnes; Landport, Portsmouth and Mackonchie and Stanton of St Albans's, Holborn, London. Lightfoot, himself, spent all his clerical life working among the poor in the slums of Cape Town demonstrating a similar approach to missionary

¹⁰ See Chapter 3 for the different 'parties' in the Anglican Church during the 19th century.

¹¹ Lightfoot, *Private Diaries... Vol 1*, 14 Dec 1851.

¹² Dieter, Voll, *Catholic Evangelicalism: The acceptance of Evangelical traditions by the Oxford Movement during the second half of the nineteenth century*, London, 1963.

outreach.

- ▶ Third, his parish church, St Nicholas and its Rector tended towards Anglo-Catholicism. Mrs Bolt, the rector's wife, 'wished to get a number of the boys in surplices.....and I hope she may succeed'.¹³ But he adds a week later 'Boys wore surplices but a great row was kicked up about it and the boys were ordered to take their surplices off'.¹⁴
- ▶ Fourth, he attended St Augustine College, Canterbury which according to Boggis' *History of St Augustines College Canterbury* was 'a High Church institution'¹⁵.
- ▶ Fifth, he was attracted to work under the Bishop of Cape Town, a High Churchman who had strong Tractarian leanings. His attraction to the missionary field seem to indicate that he belonged to the Catholic Evangelical group of clergy mentioned above who laid emphasis on the evangelical aspect of Catholicism.

2. Training at Canterbury, ordination and arrival in Cape Town.

Lightfoot was accepted at St Augustine's College at Canterbury and spent three years there (1855-1857). He trained in the diverse disciplines thought necessary for the missionary-clergy of the 19th Century. His course was described by Barnett-Clarke as 'threefold, viz Theological, Practical and Classical'.¹⁶ Subjects included were classics, theology, history, mathematics, medicine and useful manual work, which, in Lightfoot's case, was printing, the trade to which he had been articled.¹⁷

¹³ Lightfoot, *Private Diaries... Vol 2*, Jan 2 1853.

¹⁴ Lightfoot, *Private Diaries Vol 2.*, Jan 15 1853.

¹⁵ Quoted in F W R Bullock, *A History of Training for the Ministry 1800-1847*, St Leonard-on-Sea, 1955, p. 88.

¹⁶ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...* p. 17.

¹⁷ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...* p. 16.

His diary during this period was not kept up to date. Barnett-Clarke suggested that this was because of his heavy academic work load, especially for a student of twenty four years of age, 'a mature age at which to recommence scholastic studies'.¹⁸

While on route to Canterbury, he would stay over in London with his uncle. It was here that he met his cousin, Anna Ellen Fothergill, whom he later married at the Cape in 1861.

Lightfoot still felt strongly about coming to the Cape and in April, 1856 expressed this desire to the Warden of St Augustine's, Henry Bailey. By September he had begun to learn Dutch. However, the SPG had not fixed his destination and in June 1857 he commented in his diary that there was 'doubt as to [my] destination as no vacancy [exists] in Cape Town Diocese'. However, the Rev Bullock, the SPG Secretary at that time, had written to Bishop Gray pointing out that 'Lightfoot, a first rate man from St Augustine's is waiting for a summons to your diocese'.¹⁹ His intermittent diary does not state when such a summons arrived but presumably this occurred in October 1857 when Lightfoot once again met with Bullock.

In November he went to Great Yarmouth to get some parish experience before his ordination as a deacon. On his way there, on All Saints Day he attended an Eucharist at All Saints', Margaret's Street, one of the bastions of Anglo-Catholicism in London. He commented in his diary that 'the Service was very nice in some aspects but rather too much "ceremonial"'. The Church was much decorated'.²⁰

¹⁸ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...* p. 17.

¹⁹ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...* p. 31.

²⁰ Lightfoot, *Private Diaries Vol 5....*, 1 Nov 1857.

On the 20th December 1857 he was ordained deacon in the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, by the Bishop of London, the Right Rev A C Tait who later became the Archbishop of Canterbury. As he had obtained the best marks in the examination with the Bishop he was the gospeller at the ordination. He departed from Gravesend on 4th February 1858 for Cape Town.

Lightfoot arrived in Cape Town on 13th April 1858 and commented in his diary of his first view of the city and its people:

A splendid panoramic view was disclosed when the sun's rays lit up the top of Table Mountain and gradually shone upon the houses.....The scene which met us at the jetty was extraordinary: Kaffirs, Hottentots, Malays - all mixed up together.²¹

Lightfoot went on to attend the morning and evening offices at the Cathedral, reading the lessons. He also had an interview with the Dean who informed him that his work would be a mission among the coloured people of Cape Town and in a letter written in 1858 described it as 'a rather discouraging field of labour but I must try to do my duty and leave the rest to God; may He strengthen my faith'.²²

3. Lightfoot's work among the poor of Cape Town

He began his work by restarting the Sunday afternoon services for the poor and the servants. He used a school house at the bottom of the Gardens (which is the present site of the Houses of Parliament) but used the Cathedral for all the sacraments.²³

Writing in 1904 in *Sketches of Church Life and Work in the Diocese of*

²¹ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...* p. 67

²² Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...*, p.69.

²³ Lightfoot, *The Cape Malays...*, p.37.



Fig 4. The Rev Thomas Lightfoot as young man

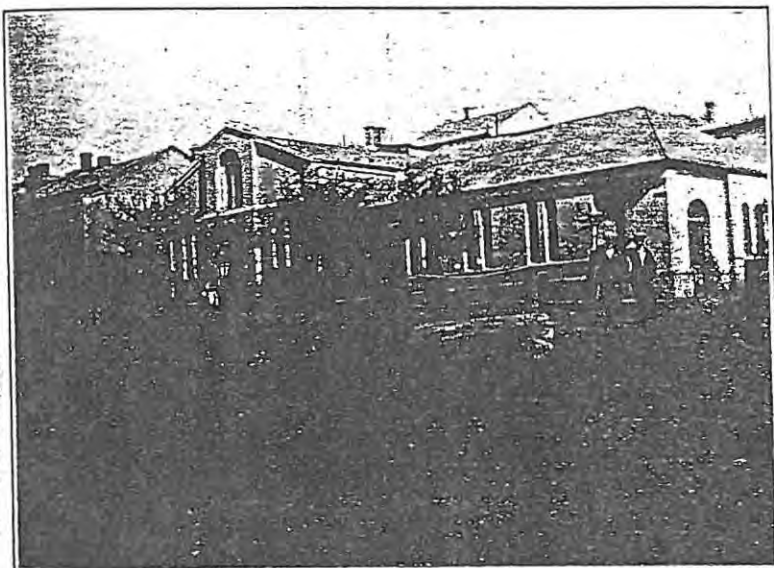


Fig 5. School Chapel used by Lightfoot



Fig 6. Portrait of Lightfoot



Fig 7. Portrait of Lightfoot

Cape Town Lightfoot says very modestly, that the number of catechumens increased after the smallpox epidemic of 1858.²⁴ Dean Henry Douglas,²⁵ writing to Bishop Gray in October 1858 about this epidemic states:-

The Small-pox has been raging in the town. It is said that one day there were nearly fifty funerals. ... Lightfoot has been devoted ... [and] has got into a great many Malay houses, and I have urged him to make the most of the opportunity afforded now of doing something to win their hearts to us. I have often wished that something of this kind might occur, as it seemed the only means of approaching the Mohametans.²⁶

Later in November Douglas added:-

Lightfoot has been doing almost more than a man could do. I fully expect that [he] will need a Catechist to help him soon. The Malays are very grateful to the "English" and the English Church.²⁷

In spite of the Dean's uncharitable desire, it was through Lightfoot's acceptance by the Muslims and through his ministry to them during the smallpox epidemic that they became more open to the church's ministering and thus brought about the increase in the number of catechumens. Lightfoot himself admits this in his report to the Bishop of 1860 (forwarded to the SPG), which will be used below as a basis to discuss his missiological methods. In the report he says:

..... I cannot but attribute much of the success with which our Master has been pleased since to bless my labour, to

²⁴ Lightfoot, *The Cape Malays...*, p.37.

²⁵ Dean Henry A Douglas became Bishop of Bombay in 1869 and died in 1875.

²⁶ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...*, p.108.

²⁷ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot....*, p.108.

the favourable opinion which hundreds of persons, unbelievers and misbelievers, were then led to conceive of the principles of Christianity as exhibited before them by our own Church.²⁸

Lightfoot almost immediately continued his Dutch lessons²⁹ which he had begun in England. He had lessons with Mr Roselt starting in April 1859. He could soon take services in that language. He translated parts of *The Book of Common Prayer* into Dutch and also learnt to speak Xhosa.³⁰ In January 1859 he was authorised by Dean Douglas to rent a warehouse in Buitengracht for both a day and night school. This building was fitted out from money given at the Cathedral during a Thanksgiving service for the cessation of the small-pox epidemic.³¹

Lightfoot soon had forty or fifty boys and girls attending his day school. The attendance of a number of older 'Malay' girls forced him to employ a female teacher as a 'mistress' and he also employed 'as master an excellent young man, a coloured native of the Cape, who has been most useful to me...'.³² It was through the school that Lightfoot continued to gain converts from Islam - 'some men but more frequently women'.³³

²⁸ T F Lightfoot, *Report to Lord Bishop of Cape Town and Forwarded to the Society, for the years 1858-1860*, SPG Microfilmed Archives, Series E 96722/3 p. 49-67, MF172/1 Cory Library.

²⁹ Dutch was the common language of the coloured people of Cape Town.

³⁰ R. R. Langham-Carter, *Notes on the Early Anglican Clergy at the Cape*, in R. R. Langham-Carter Papers, MS AB2044, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

³¹ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...*, p. 113.

³² Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot...* p. 113. The 'mistress' is not named.

³³ Lightfoot, *The Cape Malays...*, p. 37.

The use of schools, although criticised by Merriman³⁴ as a means of conversion, appeared to be successful among the Muslim women. This resulted from the Muslim boys attending the Muslim *Madrassah*, after being taught to read and write at Church or state school. Girls, however, continued to study at Christian government schools. An article in *The Cape Monthly* stated that in infant schools both Muslim boys and girls were seen but as the boys grew older they were withdrawn and only the girls remained.³⁵

Robert Shell disagrees with the author in *The Cape Monthly Magazine* article over the reasons for this phenomenon. According to Shell the reasons for the differentiation was cultural and financial. The cost of sending children to the unsubsidised Muslim schools was steep. Mayson gives a figure of threepence per week per child.³⁶ Girls, whose education was considered to be of minor importance, could continue at what Shell calls 'the inferior, but free, Christian schools'.³⁷ *The Cape Monthly* author adopts a strongly patronising, sarcastic, Christian racist stance on this issue:

Education of that character which will be useful to them in

³⁴ Merriman had expressed in his journal his view of education as a means of mission after a visit to Simon's Town in 1848. 'I could not learn that *any* heathen child and certainly no single Mahomedan child had been found to embrace Christianity from choice or conviction in consequence of being at any of our schools whilst living all the time at home with its heathen or Mahomedan parents.' D H Varley & H M Matthew, *The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N J Merriman 1848-1855*, Cape Town, 1957, p. 11.

³⁵ Alfred W Cole, 'Islam at the Cape' in *The Cape Monthly Magazine*, December 1861, Cape Town, p. 361. Muhammed Haron's *Muslims in South Africa* attributes Cole as the author.

³⁶ Mayson, *Cape Malays*, p. 24.

³⁷ Robert Shell, 'Rites and Rebellions: Islamic Conversion at the Cape, 1808 to 1915:' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town Vol 1984*, Cape Town, 1984, p. 20. Shell goes on to say that this sex-selective education led to domestic tension and a tendency towards syncretism.

the position in which they find themselves, cannot be acquired except at Christian schools ...the old Moslem notion of the inferiority of women is at the bottom of this marked difference. There is no objection made to the girls being instructed, in any manner or to any extent, because such instruction would make them serviceable to their lords and master; and having no souls, poor things, it does not signify what heretical notions they may pick up. The boys, the more worthy gender, must be kept from the chance of such contaminationThey are learning .. a few half intelligible prayers and passages from the Koran; they are becoming true Arabs of the streets earning money by dealing in fruit and vegetables, which supplies them with money for gambling. ...The women, with educated minds and some acquaintance with higher religious ideas than can be gathered in the Mosques will undoubtedly exert a real and wholesome ... influence over their male relatives.³⁸

Lightfoot used the Christian influences which these Muslim girls received while at Christian schools, as 'a wedge in the front door of the Muslim households'³⁹ and an opportunity to visit the families of these pupils. He also believed that parochial welfare organisations such as 'clothing clubs and similar institutions'⁴⁰ could assist in the conversion of Muslim women.

³⁸ Anon., *Islam at the Cape.*, p.361-62.

³⁹ Shell, *Rites and Rebellions*, 1984, p.21. Lightfoot commented 'Reports made by district visitors and others seem often encouraging, suggesting a hope of still better things. [Muslim] women in some instances were found to be using Christian prayers with their children, and little children were repeating Christian hymns which they had learnt from other children at schools'. Lightfoot, *Cape Malays*, p. 43.

⁴⁰ Shell, *Rites and Rebellions*, 1984, p.21. These parochial institutions were similar to the co-operatives used successfully among the poor in England

In this area some success was achieved. Shell speaks of a 'tug-of-war' which developed between the Muslim and Christian clergy over the conversion of women. The advances the Christian Church made were soon counteracted by the establishment of the first Muslim school for women under the Kurdish scholar Abou Bakr Effendi. He established the Ottoman Theological School on the corner of Wale and Bree Street in 1863.⁴¹

Lightfoot became involved in social work. These endeavours included the Adult School for Mechanics, The Free Dispensary, Soup Kitchens and Night Shelters. Thus he viewed his ministry as one which was concerned with social as well as spiritual issues.

Lightfoot was ordained priest in 1859. In 1861 he married his cousin Anne Ellen Fothergill in Cape Town. In the same year, members of Lightfoot's congregation, which by this time had risen to over two hundred, volunteered to accompany Bishop Mackenzie on the Zambezi Mission. Bishop Gray had asked Lightfoot to inquire among his congregation for former slaves who might have come from the East Coast of Africa and who could still speak their native language.⁴² The use of African Christians in a missionary party to go on a missionary trip into Africa is a significant occurrence as it shows how missionaries could use the 'younger' or indigenous church members to witness and work among their own people rather than use only overseas missionaries. Bishop Mackenzie had been struck by the suitability of the volunteers who were

during the same period.

⁴¹ Shell, *Rites and Rebellions*, 1984, p.21.

⁴² Harvey Goodwin, *Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie*, Cambridge, 1865, p.234.

the products of Lightfoot's missionary efforts.⁴³

Langham-Carter, the well-known historian of the Anglican Church in Cape Town, has collected many notes on the early Anglican clergy in South Africa. His notes on Lightfoot show the interest Lightfoot had in social, cultural and community concerns. He was a member of the Board of Management of the New Somerset Hospital and Eaton Convalescent Home, Diep River; on the committee of the Sailors' Home; editor of *Church News* from 1867-1884 and, from 1893 until his death, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the South African Library. He also founded a night shelter for the unemployed in Riebeeck Street. Here, during the economic depression of 1866, each person could receive bread and a blanket.⁴⁴

Plagues were a constant threat to the poor of Cape Town. In the typhus epidemic (1867), small-pox (1881-82), and bubonic plague (1901) as well as the great storm of 1865, Lightfoot's tall vigorous form was seen caring for the sick, injured or dying. He was a fast walker and usually walked everywhere around town at great speed thus earning his nickname of 'The South Easter'.

Lightfoot's work was in the service of others in the community and this was recognised by the Cape Town City Council. After the 1881-82 small-pox epidemic the mayor organised a collection as a gift to Lightfoot. A total of £258 was collected and presented, with a testimonial, to Lightfoot who immediately gave it to the poor.

During the 1881-82 small pox epidemic a sinister rumour started which

⁴³ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot....*, p. 121.

⁴⁴ Langham-Carter, *Notes.....* AB2044 CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

stated that the Muslims were purposely spreading the disease. The Muslim women did laundry for the white citizens of Cape Town and they were accused of placing the underclothing of whites into contact with plague-infested dead bodies. This rumour was based on cultural misunderstandings. The Muslims resented their dwellings being fumigated. Furthermore, they wished to continue burying their dead in the traditional manner.⁴⁵ The white citizens of Cape Town, however, thought that these factors were intentionally done by the Muslim as a revenge. Bickford-Smith questioned, why the whites thought it necessary for the Muslim to seek revenge.⁴⁶ He suggested that the Muslims supported the 'Dirty' Party in the local council election and thus sought revenge from the white, English dominated 'Clean' party. Many letters to the newspapers at that time expressed the view of Muslims spreading the disease intentionally as 'a fine lark'. When seeking assistance from the Relief Committee, many Muslim requests were refused because '... they did their best to communicate disease to Europeans...' while others said that 'people were not giving because they thought it might go to the Malays'.⁴⁷ It was through the endeavours of Lightfoot that the Muslims were allowed relief.⁴⁸ Abdol Burns, a prominent Muslim leader of that time wrote thanking Lightfoot and 'others' who stood up for Muslims at the Relief Committee Meetings.⁴⁹ This demonstrates the respect with

⁴⁵ Muslim dead had to be buried before sunset on the day they died, being carried from their homes to the burial grounds.

⁴⁶ Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Dangerous Cape Town: Middle-class attitudes to poverty in Cape Town in the late Nineteenth Century' in *Studies on the History of Cape Town: Vol 5*, Cape Town, 1984, p. 37.

⁴⁷ Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Dangerous Cape Town...' p. 37.

⁴⁸ In the same way that he had supported them in the 1857 epidemic so in 1882, he took their side in their struggle to obtain funds from the Relief Committee.

⁴⁹ Vivian Bickford-Smith, 'Dangerous Cape Town...' p. 61.

which the Muslim community viewed Lightfoot. This was demonstrated again at his death by the large number of Muslims who mourned with the St Paul's Congregation (see below).

Lightfoot was made Canon in 1868 and Archdeacon in 1885. In addition he served on two occasions as Vicar-General while the Archbishop was overseas. He refused any other preferment and remained as Priest-in-charge of St Paul's, Bree Street until his death in 1904.

Writing in 1902, Lightfoot states that he found from 1870 the open minded acceptance of Christians by Muslims was diminishing.⁵⁰ Religious exclusiveness, however, came from the Christian side and was usually socially and racially based. Theologically, many of the Cape Muslims appeared quite willing to acknowledge the Incarnation and to reverence the Divinity of Jesus, but they were less willing to accept their need for atonement:

The doctrine of the cross seemed to them a stumbling block and foolishness. Yet everything seemed full of encouragement and the opinion was expressed by men well qualified to form a correct opinion, that the Malays would gradually, yet without long delay, be absorbed into various Christian bodies.⁵¹

Lightfoot felt encouraged by the tolerance and acceptance of Christianity by Muslims, Muslim women in particular. He attributes the change in this tolerant attitude to the contact of the Cape Muslim leadership with the rest of the Muslim world which begun in the 1860s.

Changes in attitude also occurred from the Christian side. In 1853

⁵⁰ Lightfoot, *Cape Malays....*, p. 38.

⁵¹ Lightfoot, *Cape Malays...*, p. 39.



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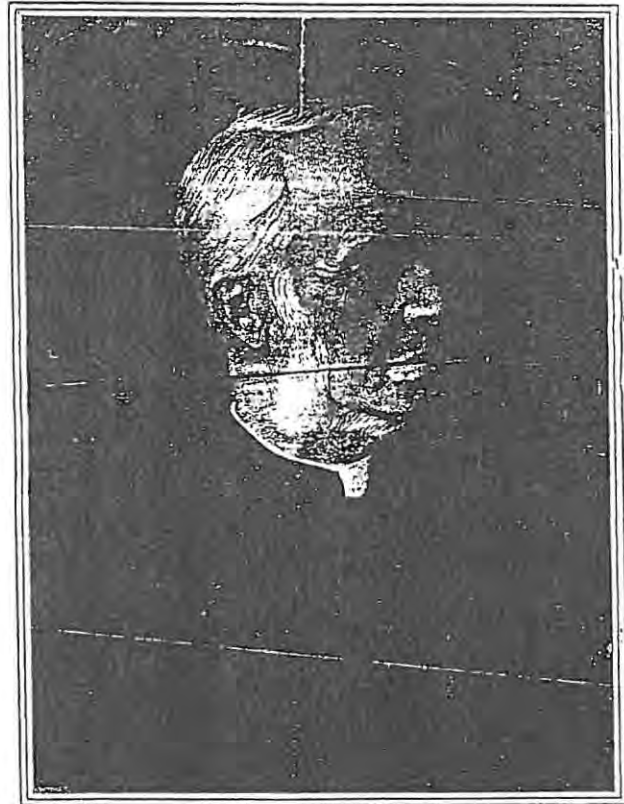
1st OCTOBER, 1902.

60.

MEN WE ADMIRE.



Fig 8. Portrait of Lightfoot

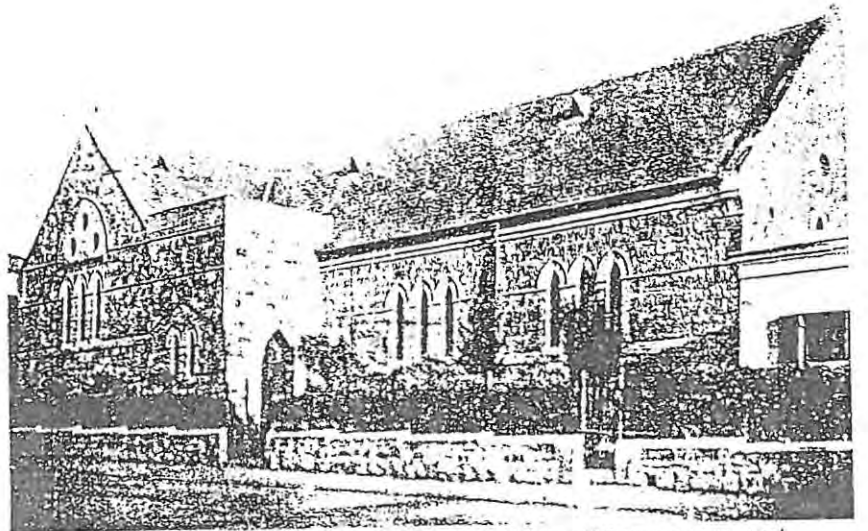


Drawn by

THE VEN. ARCHDEACON LIGHTFOOT.

Designed.

Fig 9. Lightfoot on cover of *The Veld*



St. Paul's Church was consecrated in March 1880, and in 1899 the added tower was consecrated.

Fig 10. St Paul' Church circa 1880

representative government was granted to the Cape Colony. The franchise qualification required that a man earn £50 a year, or earn £25 per year and be supplied with board and lodging or occupy a house and land with a combined value of £25.⁵² This low qualification, in theory, gave all the population groups in Cape Town equal rights. Thus Cape Muslims were given an opportunity to participate in Cape politics. At first they appeared reluctant to do so. Around the 1860s Muslims began to realise the power they had with their block vote in the election for the Legislative Council. Voters in Cape Town had six votes which could, at that time, be cast for a single candidate. This was called 'plumping'.

In 1862 Mr P de Roubaix,⁵³ a member of the Legislative assembly, with assistance from the Sultan of Turkey, brought out a teacher who could teach the principles and practices of Islam. Lightfoot reported that very soon the influence of this *Effendi* or religious teacher, Abou Beker [Abu Bakr Effendi] could be seen in the change of dress of both men and women and in how they observed their religious services. Furthermore, the route to Mecca via Zanzibar was opened and other teachers from the Arabic centres soon arrived. Lightfoot felt that these factors helped to cement the feeling of community already present among the Muslims and:

in some respects isolated them from the rest of the community. The social difficulties in the way of conversion to Christianity seemed to become greater.⁵⁴

⁵² Achmat Davids, *Politics and the Muslims of Cape Town.*, 1984, p.188.

⁵³ On the introduction of responsible government, Mr P.E. de Roubaix 'assumed for himself' the role of representing the Cape Muslims. This Achmat Davids states was found to be satisfactory and by 1860, de Roubaix was appointed Consul in Cape Town for the Turkish Government. He faced a loss in Muslim voters support because he favoured responsible government rather representative government. The Muslims moved their support to Charles Arthur Fairbridge.

⁵⁴ Lightfoot, *The Cape Malays...*, p.40.

Indifferent treatment of Muslims in the 1882 epidemic, the boycott by the Muslims of that year's Municipal election and the 1886 Cemetery Riots⁵⁵ left the Muslim community disillusioned with Christians and Christianity. Achmat Effendi announced his intention of standing as a candidate for the Cape Legislature. His election was prevented by the altering of the constitution which removed the cumulative vote and he was defeated at the polls.⁵⁶

Lightfoot had provided at his parish church a community of acceptance for the black population whether from a Christian, Muslim or heathen background. They were made to feel welcome but ironically this could only be achieved through separate 'black' mission parishes and not within the Cathedral parish a few blocks away. Similar, 'mission' parishes for the poor of Cape Town, who also generally made up the Muslims and the 'heathen' section of the population, were established at St Philip's, Chapel Street under the Cowley Fathers (see Chapter 8) ; St Mark's, District Six; St Mary's, Woodstock under Dr John Arnold (see Chapter 7) and St Luke's Salt River.

The use of the parochial infra-structures such as schools, clubs and associations gave the poor and marginalised a sense of belonging similar to that offered by the Muslim community. It was a source of aid and ministry to them in times of difficulty. Through this support and these

⁵⁵ In 1886 the authorities attempted to shut the Tana Baru Burial Grounds at the top of Longmarket Street, in term of the Public Health Act of 1883. The normally law-abiding Muslim community were driven to acts of civil disobedience at this action which they considered as an attempt to undermine their religious freedom. Achmat Davids, *The Mosques of the Bo-Kaap*, Athlone, 1980, p. 61-62.

⁵⁶ Achmat Davids, 'Politics and the muslims of Cape Town: A Historical Survey' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town Volume 4*, 1984, Centre for African Studies, UCT. The Constitutional Ordinance Amendment Act of 1893 removed the cumulative vote.

community-based structures, Lightfoot enjoyed some success, especially in the conversion of Muslim women. However, Lightfoot's brief was to the coloured population of Cape Town in general and not just to the Muslims and thus any conversions that occurred were not because of specific missionary endeavour to the Muslims but merely the carrying out of normal parish evangelism.

At his death, after serving the coloured population of Cape Town for forty six years many Muslims came to pay their last respects:

On the steps of the Church, under the trees, on the 'stoeps' of the adjacent houses - everywhere about the Church were numbers of people, most of them poor and coloured. Among them were many Malay men in their red fezes and Malay women in their white shawls. As one went into the Church with the unending stream of people, one noticed a pathetic thing - a number of poor Malays standing uneasily at the porch watching the mourners pass. It was so that these people of the Prophet kept watch for this dead servant of Christ, who was the friend of the universal poor.⁵⁷

4. Lightfoot's Missiological Methods

The basis of the missiological methods employed by Lightfoot will be taken from a report submitted by him in 1860 to the Bishop of Cape Town which was forwarded to the SPG. This demonstrated the methods Lightfoot thought appropriate at the beginning of his long and fruitful ministry as a priest among the poor of Cape Town. As his career continued, it became more and more that of a typical parish priest within the structures of a diocese and less of a missionary priest at the boundary of Christian outreach. However, this very fact is a demonstration of the

⁵⁷ Barnett-Clarke, *Lightfoot....*, p.269.

change in missiological method he underwent in the forty six years he was in Cape Town. In 1902 he wrote a chapter on the mission to Muslims in a book by the co-adjutor-Bishop of Cape Town, Bishop Alan G S Gibson. Written two years before his death it is a reflection on his own ministry in this particular part of the mission field and any changes in methodological approach from the 1860 report will be demonstrated using this chapter.

Eight significant missiological approaches can be drawn from the 1860 report.

- ▶ **Language.** Lightfoot realised that to reach what he called 'unbelievers and misbelievers' (see below) he had to speak the same language as them. He began learning Dutch while he was still at Canterbury and he continued once he arrived in Cape Town. He also learnt Xhosa so that he could preach to all black Christians and non-Christians in the city. (See Appendix IV)
- ▶ **Education.** Lightfoot believed in the importance of education and opened a day and night school soon after he arrived. It was from this school that willing adult pupils moved voluntarily to his catechumen class in preparation for baptism. The schools taught the European way of life and basic reading skills. This enabled the converts to read the Bible and to understand Western philosophical concepts. The openness of Christian schools to accept girls as equal pupils was an attraction to many Muslim parents. This was in contrast to the sexist attitude they experienced in their own Muslim schools. Thus the school became a way of gaining access to the Muslim women for evangelism.
- ▶ **Use of Homes.** The over-crowding of the poorer sections of Cape Town allowed Lightfoot to gain access to a large, ready audience whenever he visited a home. He thus used home visiting both for pastoral purposes and missionary outreach. 'The fact that each house is usually occupied by many different families offered

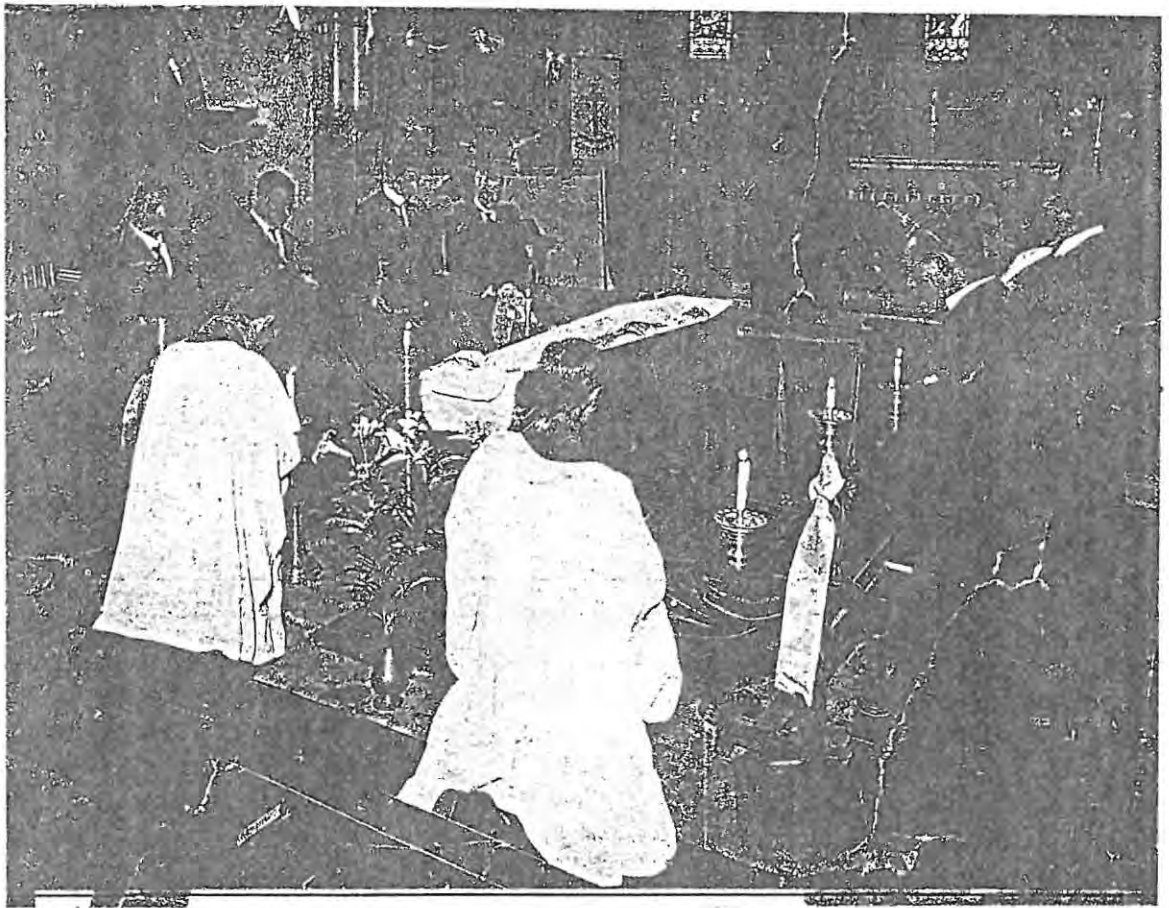
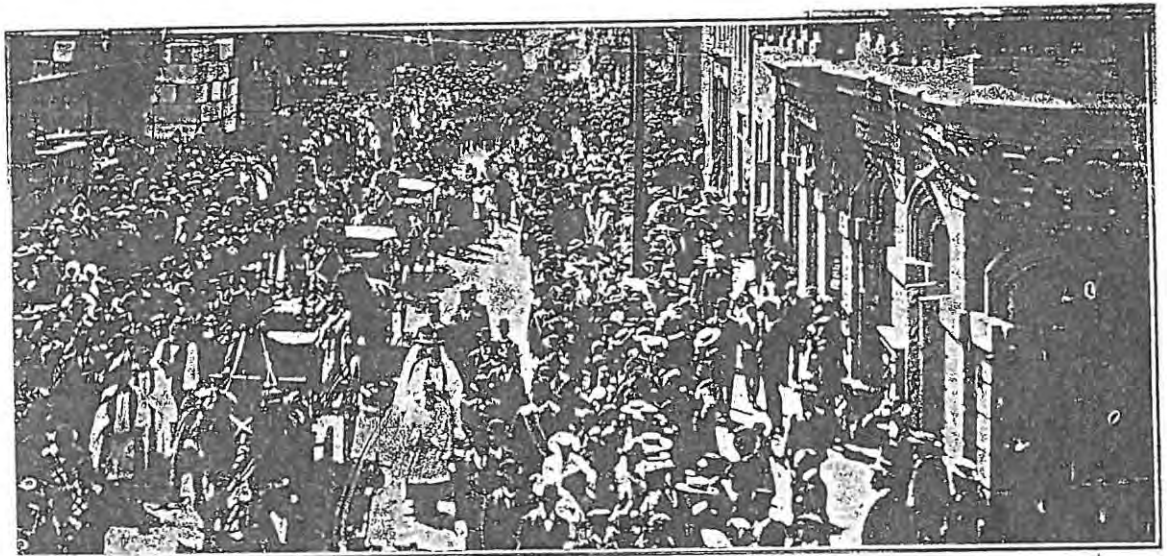


Fig 11. Lighfoot lying in state



Funeral Procession passing along St. George's Street.

Fig 12. Lighfoot's Funeral Procession

peculiar facilities for this work, having once occurred the co-operation of a well disposed inmate could usually obtain an audience without much difficulty'.⁵⁸

As Dean Douglas pointed out the plague enabled Lightfoot access to homes of those who might not have been so 'well disposed' to welcome him.

The sickness and mortality among them was ... more severe and the sad distress which was thus almost universally occasioned, seemed to offer a most favourable opportunity for this minister of Christ practically to present the precepts of his Gospel before those who were altogether ignorant of its truth, in a manner which could not but secure their attention and admiration.⁵⁹

The result of this 'attention and admiration' was an increased attendance at the church's school especially by Muslim girls.

- ▶ **Unbelievers and misbelievers.** In his report, Lightfoot uses these terms without any qualification. It is presumed that 'unbelievers' were heathens whom Lightfoot understood to have no religion while 'misbelievers' were the Muslims, who believed in a monotheistic God, Allah, who was the same as the Christian God. They were considered misbelievers because of their misinterpretation of the incarnation, life, death and resurrection of Jesus.

This theological approach to other faiths was expressed by the

⁵⁸ Lightfoot, *Report 1860....*,

⁵⁹ Lightfoot, *Report 1860....*

liberal theologian, F D Maurice. In the Boyle lecturers of 1842 he said that the greatest form of unbelief was ‘the tendency to look upon all theology as having its origin in the spiritual nature and faculties of man’.⁶⁰ He insisted that God, not human minds, imaginations, or energies, had raised Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. He criticised missionaries for forcing the honouring of important European teachers rather than the indigenous ones; ‘in other words, the wish to make us Europeans, to bring us over to their modes and habits of thinking’.⁶¹ Thus he saw other faiths as part the working out of God’s purpose. He saw Christianity, however, as the key to the reconciliation of religions. To a certain extent this was the approach adopted by Lightfoot. He accepted the Muslims as they were and simply brought into their household the love of God without attempting to force conversion.

Lightfoot’s concept of ‘misbeliever’ would seem to fit this concept. The God of the Muslims was the same as the God of the Christians and it was the missionary’s role to bring the revelation of Christ to the human race who required it. Those who rejected Christ could be viewed as ‘misbelievers’ rather than unbelievers.

- ▶ **Role of the Christian Minister.** Through his ministry during the plague of 1858, Lightfoot felt that Muslims would start to look upon him, and Christian ministers in general, as their friend. He found that ‘the more fully that they inclined to receive me in kindness and gratitude does furnish me with the most favourable opportunity for advancing much appeal to their understanding’.⁶²

⁶⁰ F D Maurice, *The Religions of the World*, London, 1886, p. 244.

⁶¹ F D Maurice, *Religion....* p. 239.

⁶² Lightfoot, *Report 1860....*

Lightfoot acknowledged that kindness influenced those he approached and he felt that 'once the heart has been gained to God's side the head will soon follow'⁶³ Thus he thought that 'the Mohammadan population of Cape Town will be led to Christ through the instrumentality of the heart rather than that of the head'⁶⁴ and the character of Christ's invitation to all was, he believed, in contrast to the Islamic principles of exclusion of women from the mosques and 'from eternal happiness which they are taught to expect for the men'.⁶⁵

A third aspect of the role of the Christian ministry which Lightfoot demonstrated in his report was that such ministry should not only come from the priest but from all Christians. The behaviour of Christians who suffered and died during the plague was a witness to the Muslims and unbelievers. Lightfoot stated in his report:

During its continuance I derived much comfort and encouragement from the conduct and in some instances the happy death of those who had been under instruction. And upon its departure many of the ignorant and heathen classes at once became attendants at my night school and afterwards admitted as Catechumens and a few Mohammadans were also added to the number.⁶⁶

⁶³ Lightfoot, *Report 1860*.....

⁶⁴ Lightfoot, *Report 1860*.....

⁶⁵ Lightfoot, *Report 1860*..... In the Quran heaven is depicted in sharp sensuous terms, described as a Garden. Included are 'pure-eyed maidens' but in spite of the statement that there is marriage with these maidens, Kenneth Cragg feels that if heaven is a place of mainly male delectation and then this should be viewed as spiritual teaching couched in metaphor and not interpreted in a literalist fashion (*The Dome and the Rock*, London, 1964, p. 211).

⁶⁶ Lightfoot, *Report 1860*....

- ▶ Lightfoot thus approached his mission with the determination to **identify with the poor**. He moved into rooms near to his school and chapel. He willingly entered the homes of those living within his parish regardless of the state and condition these homes. He did this even during the health hazard of the plague. Similarly he was given permission to visit the Isolation Hospital to minister to small-pox sufferers. He reported that he had heard that several ‘liked the English Church as it is kind to poor people’.⁶⁷

He opened his mission to all who sought conversion and stated in his report that ‘the mixed character of the population residing in Cape Town is well illustrated by the fact that among the people baptised in December, at least eight different nations were represented’.⁶⁸

Lightfoot’s stipend on his arrival in Cape Town was £200 pa and according to Langham-Carter’s notes, this was his stipend at his death forty six years later.⁶⁹

- ▶ **Establishing an indigenous or younger church.** Lightfoot believed that his mission church was an integral part of the Anglican church in Cape Town. Thus he strove to make his parish financially independent of any outside finance. The final paragraphs of his 1860 report demonstrate these efforts. He had introduced a planned-giving scheme with subscriptions of one shilling for single men, one and sixpence for couples and nine pence for single women. A hundred parishioners enrolled in this scheme, which brought £7 per month.

⁶⁷ Lightfoot, *Report 1860.....*

⁶⁸ Lightfoot, *Report 1860....*

⁶⁹ Langham-Carter, *Notes...*

The previous year's collection had paid for the rent on the school and chapel as well as a small salary for an assistant teacher. The Chapel had also purchased an harmonium at £10, the balance being raised by the parishioners themselves. Lightfoot hoped that in the coming years, his stipend paid by the Bishop from an SPG grant, would be raised by the parish and thus the grant for his stipend could be used for other missionary work. In 1878 he encouraged the raising of funds to build the first part of St Paul's Church in Bree Street which was opened in 1880 and the Rectory remained his home until his death.

By far the best example of his concept of an indigenous church, however, was the volunteers which went with Bishop Mackenzie's mission. Here, the new Christians were being employed in the mission among their people.

- ▶ **Role of Missionaries.** In spite of the fact that he remained in Cape Town and in the same ministerial role all his life, in 1860, he stated that missionaries had to bring the good news to the unconverted and then move on, leaving the newly converted in the pastoral care of others who followed. It would appear from his report that this was what he had in mind for himself. He thus prepared his congregation to be financially independent. His report does contain one particular condescending and patronising note when he reported that:

However willing and anxious to do what is right the poor people here may be, there is a sort of inherent weakness or instability of character in all African races whom I have met with (including the brown mixed race natives of this place) which

require special care and watchfulness on the part of those set over them in the Lord.⁷⁰

Because of this Lightfoot believed that overseas priests or missionaries would still be required by the local church to ensure the people's stability.

The article by Lightfoot on 'The Cape Malays' in *Sketches of Church Life and Work in the Diocese of Capetown* published in 1902 confirm the approaches he adopted in 1860.

- ▶ **Attitude to Muslim Faith.** Lightfoot retained a respectful attitude to the spirituality and morality of the Muslims. He complimented them on the fact that they have retained their faith 'uncontaminated by nature worship, fetishism and polytheistic idolatry'⁷¹. The preservation of their faith he attributes to it being 'in part to the Truth itself, so far as Islam has retained it'⁷² thus he continued to believe that Muslims were 'misbelievers' rather than 'unbelievers'. Furthermore, he admired the openness of Islam to accept other former slaves into their 'brotherhood'. This originated the saying '*Slam's Kerk is de zwarte man's Kerk*' which Lightfoot felt no longer applied.

Lightfoot admired the Muslims stance on moral issues. While many Anglican priests would later refer to the 'kidnapping of Christian children by Malays', Lightfoot refers to the 'charitable Malay women' who adopt destitute white children before the

⁷⁰ Lightfoot, *Report 1860*....

⁷¹ Lightfoot, *The Cape Malays* p. 30.

⁷² Lightfoot, *The Cape Malays* p. 30.

Church had established orphanages.⁷³ In addition he comments that when an English women 'has adopted the Malay dress, and has taken a Mohammedan for her husband, the change as regards herself has been morally an improvement'.⁷⁴

- ▶ **Three Necessities for Missionary success.** Lightfoot lists three necessities for success.

First, the church required a loving attitude from the employers of Muslim men and women to allow them to listen to Christian teaching. The increasing racialism as shown in the alterations to the franchise qualification for the Cape Legislature showed that this love frequently did not exist.

Second, the beneficial effect of the teaching in Christian Schools which the Muslims received. It is questionable whether this did play a great role in the increase of converts from Islam to Christianity. Achmat Davids stated 'even the Christian missionary schools with their strong Christian orientation and purpose of inducing the civilising tenets of faith could not break the Cape Muslim commitment to Islam'.⁷⁵

Finally, the desire of Muslim women to marry Christian men. It was in this way that most of the conversions did occur and this still continues today. Lightfoot had his doubts about this class of applicant and demanded a long term of probation and preparation.

⁷³ Lightfoot, *The Cape Malays* p. 30.

⁷⁴ Lightfoot, *The Cape Malays*.....

⁷⁵ Achmat Davids, '“My Religion is superior to the Law”': the survival of Islam at the Cape of Good Hope' in *Pages from Cape Muslim History* (ed. Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids), Pietermaritzburg, 1994, p. 66.

It can be seen that over his forty six years of ministry at the Cape, Lightfoot's view did not radically alter. It was because of this that he was greatly respected by all members of Cape Town society. Memorials to him occur all over the City of Cape Town, a ward at New Somerset Hospital was named after him, a plaque was erected in the City Hall, and a memorial was built in Trafalgar Place, where many descendants of Lightfoot's parishioners still sell flowers today.

THE LIGHTFOOT MEMORIAL.

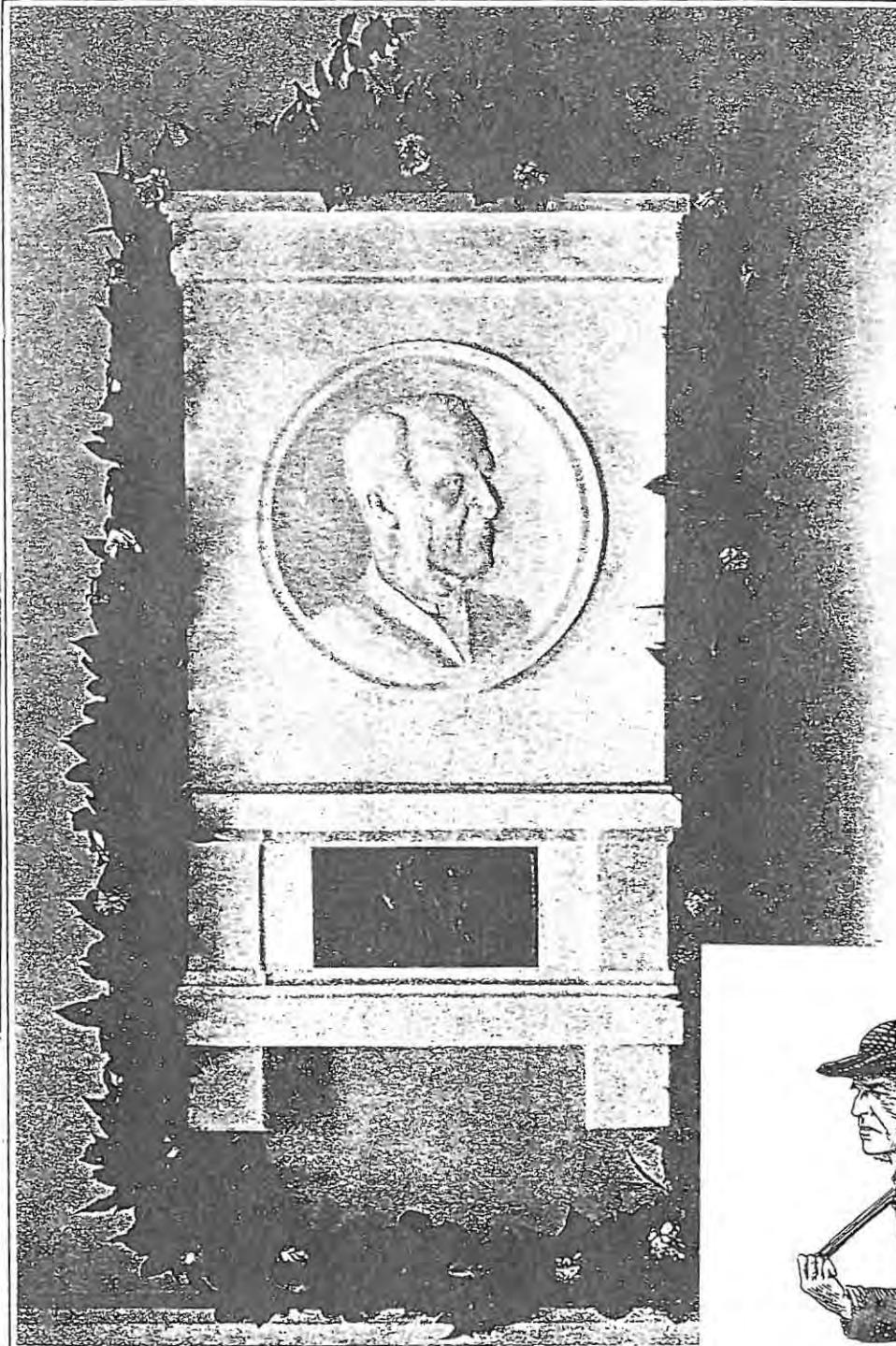


Fig 13. Lightfoot Memorial in Cape Town City Hall



Fig 14. Lightfoot in the Street



Fig 15. Cartoon of Lightfoot

The Archdeacon on his daily round.

Chapter 7

Dr John Mühleisen Arnold

In 1869 Bishop Gray wrote to his former colleague the Hon Rev H Douglas:

If I were in England I should be disposed to see whether I could not connect a Brotherhood [i.e. a monastic community] with the Kafir College [at Zonnebloem], who might take up mission work among the Mahometans.¹

With this in mind he wrote to Father R M Benson asking the Society of Saint John the Evangelist (SSJE or the Cowley Fathers as they were known) to take on this task.² The Cowley Fathers had neither the manpower nor the money to begin any new work at that time but Gray continued to hold the view that only a brotherhood could carry out the task of reaching the Muslims. He wrote to his former Dean who was by then the Bishop of Bombay, H A Douglas: 'I have nearly come to the conclusion that I will never do anything for the Malays of Cape Town, except through a brotherhood'.³

In his last letter to his son, the Rev Charles N Gray, he wrote 'I see plainly that we must have a Brotherhood here, for Mission work among the Malays'.⁴

Bishop Robert Gray died on 1st September 1872.

¹ J A Hewitt, 'Mohammedanism in South Africa', in *The Church Chronicle* July, 1887, p.253.

² See Chapter 8.

³ Hewitt, 'Mohammedanism....' p.253.

⁴ Charles Gray (ed), *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town Vol 2*, p.551.

Bishop Gray's successor, Bishop William West Jones, arrived at the Cape in August 1874. He, too, thought that work among the Muslims was important. The number of Muslims had trebled between 1822 and 1875 while the total population of Cape Town had risen from sixteen thousand in 1806 to forty five thousand.⁵

Bishop West Jones was successful in persuading Dr John Mühleisen Arnold to come to Cape Town.⁶

J M Arnold: Biographical background.

John Mühleisen Arnold⁷ (born Johannes Mühleisen) was the son of wealthy landowners Johann Georg and Maria Mühleisen. He was born on 6 August 1817 at Oberamt Göppingen in Börtlingen. At the age of eighteen (1835) he went to the University of Basel in Switzerland. At the Mission House of the Basle Evangelische Missions Gesellschaft, he studied for the Lutheran ministry.

Mühleisen desired to work in the foreign mission field, so he moved to

⁵ W W Bird estimated 'nearly 3000' Muslims in Cape Town in 1822. James Backhouse estimated in the 1830s some 6000 Muslims. Joseph de Lima's private census of 1854 estimated 6111 as compared to Mayson's estimation of 8000 a year later. The 1865 census listed neither race nor religion. The 1875 Census reported 8948 Muslims in Cape Town. This information is from Robert Shell, 'Rites and Rebellions: Islamic conversion at the Cape, 1808 to 1915' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town Vol 5.*, Cape Town, 1984, pp. 7-10.

⁶ Michael H M Wood, *A Father in God: The episcopate of William West Jones, DD.*, London, 1913, p.78.

⁷ The biographical details of John Arnold are from notes by R R Langham-Carter on the early Anglican Clergy at the Cape. Copies of these notes are at the CPSA Archives at Witwatersrand University, MS AB2044. Other information was obtained from the USPG archives (kindly supplied by Mrs Catherine Wakeling), the *CMS Register* of 1841, the *Crockfords* and Clergy list from that time period and from the Promotion of Arnold to the Degree of Doctor from the Acts of the University of Tübingen (UAT 131/2b Nr.4).

England and continued his studies at the Church Missionary Society's college at Islington. In 1841 he went to Abyssinia as a CMS missionary. He worked under Dr Krapf and his co-worker Isenburg. The following year he moved to Jerusalem and was ordained Deacon by Bishop SMS Alexander, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, on 17 April 1842. He was priested on 31 July of the same year. For three years he continued to work in Egypt, Palestine, and East Africa. Although priested by the Bishop of Jerusalem he worked for the CMS which remained as independent as possible from the episcopal authorities⁸. In 1844 he was sent to Nasik, north east of Bombay in India. On his way there, he married Jemima Cannon in London. She died at Junir, India, in 1848. For health reasons he returned to England and became curate at Brewood, Staffordshire. In the clergy lists of that time he was still known as John Mühleisen. He became chaplain to the Bishop of Gibraltar in Malta. On his return to England in 1851 he applied to the University of Tübingen to be granted a Doctorate degree for a work he had published in London earlier that year, '*Genuine and Spurious Religion*'. The University waived the usual requirement of prior study at Tübingen and the oral examination. There was also a considerable reduction in fees in return for a generous donation of oriental manuscripts and books which the University received from Mühleisen.⁹

From 1852 to 1857 Mühleisen was Chaplain of St Mary's Hospital Paddington. By 1854 he appears in the Clergy Lists as 'J M Arnold' adopting what he called his family name as his surname.¹⁰

⁸ See appendix I for information concerning the Jerusalem Bishopric.

⁹ Letter from the Archivist of University of Tübingen (dated 7 December 1995) quoting from the promotion of Arnold to the Degree of Doctor according to the Act of the University of Tübingen 131/2b Nr 4.

¹⁰ Crockford's *Clerical Directory* 1854 and SPG notes.

Arnold published several books during the 1850s. These included *Genuine and Spurious Religions* (1851), *Papist conspiracy against Civil and Religious Liberty of Great Britain* (1851) and *True and False Religion* (1852).¹¹ In 1859 he published *Ishmael: or A natural History of Islamism and its relation to Christianity*, the proceeds from which he used to found the Muslim Missionary Society in 1861. *Ishmael* went to three editions, the third, appearing in 1874 just before Arnold's arrival at the Cape (under the title *Islam, Its History, Character, and Relation to Christianity*). Other books he wrote before his arrival at the Cape were *English Bible Criticism* (1864), *The Koran and The Bible* (1866), *Genesis and Science* (1875).

In spite of the broad theological scope of Arnold's writing, he was the most successful when writing about Christian mission to Muslims. This was confirmed by the reviewers of his books, *Genesis and Science* and *Islam..* in the Cape Town newspapers, *Cape Argus* and the *Standard and Mail* where his view of Islam was considered 'poor, one-sided and erroneous'¹² and his writings showed 'too little of the historian' and 'many historical errors'.¹³ The *Cape Argus* reviewer felt that the best chapters were the ones dealing with the 'method of prosecuting missions'.¹⁴ Arnold's theoretical methods of mission as presented in his book will be discussed below.

In 1865 shortage of funding from the Muslim Missionary Society (MMS), based in England, forced him to accept the post of British Consular Chaplain in the Dutch colony of Batavia. Here he used the opportunity to

¹¹ *Crockford's Clerical Directory* 1854

¹² *Cape Argus* 10 February 1876

¹³ *Standard and Mail* 11 February 1876.

¹⁴ *Cape Argus* 10 February 1876



Fig 16. Bishop (late Archbishop) William West Jones



Fig 17. The Rev Dr John Mühlesien Arnold

learn Malay and to witness to Muslims. He returned to England in 1871. In 1874 he was awarded an honorary Doctorate of Divinity (DD) from the William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Virginia, USA.¹⁵ Financial difficulties¹⁶ in the MMS once again forced Arnold to seek employment to support himself and his family. As Bishop West Jones was seeking a priest for the mission work among the Muslims at the Cape, he was the ideal candidate. In 1875, Bishop West Jones appointed him the first Rector of Papendorp. When the area became an independent municipality from Cape Town it was re-named Woodstock. It is significant that Arnold was appointed a parish rector rather than a director of a specialised mission to the Muslims. As a rector he would have to carry out all the normal pastoral duties of a parish priest as well as the evangelical outreach to Muslims in the area. The concept of Arnold operating from a parish base was modelled on what Thomas Lighfoot was doing at St Paul's, Bree Street.

Arnold, together with his second wife, Maria, his daughter and his sister-in-law, arrived in Cape Town in December 1875. Woodstock was not an easy area in which to work. As a new parish it had no rectory and the Arnolds had to rent 'a small inconvenient house'.¹⁷ A mission at Papendorp had been established by Dean Newman in 1849. It was supported financially by St George's Cathedral. The Rev James Quinn,¹⁸

¹⁵ Information e-mailed from Sharon Garrison of the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, USA. 21 September 1995.

¹⁶ Bishop West Jones was also to find out that Christians in England were not generous in giving to Christian missions to the Muslim (see below).

¹⁷ Langham-Carter, MS AB2044, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

¹⁸ The Rev James Quinn, was an Irish-born Roman Catholic priest who converted to Anglicanism. He first arrived in the Cape in 1849. He worked in Papendorp and District Six before becoming Military Chaplain in 1856. He remained in this post until his death in 1904. (*Colonial Church Chronicle*

one of the first clergy to work in the area reported to the SPG that the Muslims were 'the most difficult to overcome'.¹⁹ In 1877 it was reported to the SPG that the inhabitants were notoriously 'bad' and were being referred to as 'the wolves of Papendorp'.²⁰ Arnold viewed Woodstock as a good base for a mission because the district, although the home of many Muslims, had no Islamic priest or Mosque.²¹

Arnold's Theoretical Missiological Methods

As indicated above John Arnold was a prolific author of theological books dealing with many of the controversial issues facing the Anglican Church in the nineteenth century. His theoretical missiological methods have been extracted from the third edition of his book *Islam: Its history Character and relation to Christianity*.

This is an extremely esoteric book aimed at an academic rather than a popular readership. The Biblical quotations given are either in Greek or Hebrew and other quotations from non-English sources are also given in the original languages, such as Latin, German, Italian and Dutch. All the quotations from the Quran are in Arabic.

The book is divided into two parts, the first showing the rise of Islam and the content of the Islamic faith. The second deals with the differences and relationship between Christianity and Islam.

December 1904).

¹⁹ Report to SPG from the Rev J Quinn, MS AB 1676, 1855, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

²⁰ Report to SPG from Dr Arnold, MS AB 1676, 1877, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

²¹ Andrea Badham, *History of St Mary's Woodstock*, unpublished BA(Hons) Thesis UCT, 1989, p.13.

From the introduction it can be seen that Arnold viewed Islam as a natural development out of Christian heresies such as Nestorianism and Monophysitism. Arnold felt that such a development suited the Arab mind²². Furthermore, he felt that 'the creed of Mohammed was essentially part of a wider system of apostasy' which 'as soon as Islam was established those many heresies which had served as forerunners, suddenly vanished'.²³ This opinion differs from those presented to the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. The report of Commission IV states 'While this religion borrowed not a little both from Judaism and Christianity, it cannot be regarded as merely a corrupt form of one or the other'.²⁴ Arnold continued in the first part of his book to discuss the life and character of Mohammed and what he borrowed from Judaism and Christianity. From Judaism was borrowed the meat laws and those of divorce; from Christianity the tradition of the historical Jesus, his birth and public ministry. However, his second coming and his sonship were denied. The first part ended with a description of the spread and success of Islam as well as its character and the influence it had on the world.

In the second part of *Ishmael*, Arnold indicated the differences between Christian theology and that of Islam. He pointed out the integrity of the Old and New Testament and the relationship between the Bible and the Quran. He also compared 'Christ, the son of God' and 'Mohammed Son of Abdallah'. In his final chapter, which Arnold entitled 'Counter Aggression of the Church', he listed the history of the Church's missionary

²² John M. Arnold, *Ishmael*, 3rd Ed, 1874, p.1.

²³ Arnold, *Ishmael*, 1874, p.4.

²⁴ World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission IV: The Missionary Message in relation to Non-Christian Religions*, Edinburgh, 1910, p.122.

effort to the Muslims from John of Damascus through to Henry Martyn.²⁵ He gave 'Hints to Missioners' and pointed out the direction in which he felt the modern Mission to Muslims should move.

For Arnold too many Christian missionaries lacked knowledge of Islam:

Many Missioners might have rendered far more effectual service to the cause of Christianity among Moslems, had they possessed a more thorough acquaintance with the tenets of Islam.²⁶

This lack of a full knowledge of the Islamic faith was seen in the false belief among Christians that Muslims worshipped the 'True God' and, because of this, 'occupied a much higher position than the idolater, and therefore stood not so much in need of the Gospel'.²⁷ Missionary work among the Muslims was further obstructed by the secular backing the Islamic faith had from state laws that made apostasy from Islam a capital offence. Arnold points out that neither the apostles nor their successors had waited till the governing powers had withdrawn active opposition but merely obeyed Jesus' command to go to all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. Arnold had started the Muslim Missionary Society in 1861 because the great missionary societies such as the SPG 'did not feel justified in taking up the great work'.²⁸ By the middle of the nineteenth century he felt that the Muslim world was becoming more accessible to Christian missionaries because it had adopted the technical advances made in the Christian world in the fields of commerce,

²⁵ John of Damascus was a Greek theologian who was the chief representative of the Christians to the Caliph of Damascus. Henry Martyn (1781-1812) was one of the first modern missionaries to the Muslims in Persia.

²⁶ Arnold, *Ishmael*, 3rd Edition 1874, p.381n

²⁷ *Ibid*, p.380n

²⁸ J M Arnold to the Rev. Bullock, SPG 25 Sept 1878. D46 Film 96722/2 page 55, MS MIC172 Cory Library.

education, political and social reforms.²⁹ In Arnold's opinion, where previously theological differences were not disputed but left for God to decide on the Day of Judgment³⁰, now Muslims were writing theses disproving the veracity of their own religion and some were writing bilingual Bible Commentaries in Urdu and English.³¹

Arnold encouraged the Christian Missionaries to avoid argument but 'where it cannot be avoided, he is not to shun the contest'³² and quotes how Paul 'reasoned out of the Scriptures, disputing and persuading the things concerning the Kingdom'.³³ All such argument must be entered into in the spirit of love and zeal for the salvation of souls but guarding against any display of vanity when a victory is gained especially as this is usually achieved through 'a superiority in education or philosophical acumen'.³⁴ By this statement Arnold adopted a typical European attitude of that time which believed in the superiority of the white race not only in the technical field but also in intellectual and philosophical areas.

Arnold gave techniques (or as he called them 'Hints for dealing with Moslems') which the missionary could adopt in such debates. These techniques are acceptable even by today's missiological standards except that the basic premise of these 'hints' was to prove that Islam was wrong. Firstly Arnold reminded his readers that, 'the main points at issue must never be forgotten in the heat of the contest' and thus such disputes must

²⁹ Arnold, *Ishmael*, 3rd Edition 1874, p.383.

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.385.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.383.

³² *Ibid*, p.385.

³³ *Ibid*, p.385.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p.386.

be kept 'short, kind and seldom as possible'.³⁵ Secondly, a Christian missionary should not attack Islam 'as a mass of errors' or use all the facts he has brought together in his book but should concentrate on only a few errors at a time.³⁶ Thirdly, he suggested that discussion with a Muslim should start with a subject matter both parties are in agreement over and then to proceed 'from similarities to differences'.³⁷ Finally, just as 'Greek and Latin was essential to the Apostles' so Arnold believed all missionaries must be 'acquainted with Arabic'.³⁸

Arnold gave an example of a parable which a missionary can use as an indirect way of approaching the heart of a Muslim. Initially the missionary presents a story to the possible convert. The missionary himself related how he argued with someone else who doubted the integrity of the writings of Abulfeda, a well known Muslim scholar and writer. This doubt was based on the same doubts that Muslims have over the integrity of the Bible. The missionary presents to the Muslim all the arguments he used against the doubter of Abulfeda's work then once he and the Muslim seem to agree he,

'like Nathan to David, may turn around and say, Thou art the man, and this is precisely your obstinacy in refusing to admit the integrity of the Bible'.³⁹

Another example Arnold gave was to show that the divinity of the Quran and of Allah were doubtful because of their lack of obedience to scientific laws. In this example the missionary asked a Muslim whether Islam and its laws, especially that of the Ramadan fast, were designed for all people.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.386.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.386n

³⁷ *Ibid*, p.386.

³⁸ *Ibid*, p.386n.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p.387

When the Muslim agreed that this was the case and that fasting must be binding from sunrise to sunset, the missionary pointed out that in the Arctic and Antarctic the period from sunrise to sunset extended to several months thus making the fast a physical impossibility. Therefore, to Arnold, the Quran could not be applied to all climes and nations and thus could not be divine. Furthermore the author of the Quran could not have been inspired because he was ignorant 'of the first principles of geography, with which every Christian Schoolboy is acquainted'.⁴⁰ Arnold who had written a book dealing with Biblical criticism (in 1864) must have been aware of similar 'first principles of geography' which the Bible seems to ignore (e.g. Joshua 10:12-14 where the Sun stopped in the middle of the sky). Thus his argument lacked unbiased reason. It counteracted his own principle of objection to Jerome Xavier (see Appendix 2) who Arnold felt manipulated Christian doctrine to gain converts. Arnold was willing to accept without comment scientific faults in the Christian Scriptures and then criticised similar faults in the Quran. The missionary examples quoted above appeared in both the first (1859) and the third (1874) edition of Arnold's book. Although he argued that missionaries must not use 'satirical or harsh phrases' to 'excite or wound our opponents'⁴¹ both these examples seemed to do this very thing.

Arnold took a strongly apologetic line throughout the chapter which described his missiological method. While he encouraged gentleness he emphasised that no leading truths of Christianity must be omitted merely to conciliate possible converts.⁴² He felt that the Catholic Church had made such conciliations and quotes the example of Jerome Xavier (see Appendix 2) who Arnold felt had betrayed Christian truth in his book

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.388.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p.386n

⁴² *Ibid*, p.388.

Historia Christi persice conscripta... a P. Hieronymo Xavier by the incorporation of 'apocryphal fables'.⁴³ He also believed that 'Islam to a certain degree, originated from sheer opposition to those identical errors and degeneracies in oriental Churches which the Papist strives to defend'.⁴⁴

Some missionaries and scholars in the nineteenth century viewed Islam as doing the same task of preparing the way for the Gospel that Judaism did for Christianity in the early church. Arnold, like Archdeacon Grant in the Brampton Lectures of 1842, rejected this view. According to Grant the system of the false prophet 'offers the most formidable obstruction to the faith of Christ, from the fact of its being, as it is, counterfeit of truth itself'.⁴⁵ Once again Arnold took the nineteenth century view that those who did not believe in one of the three great monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity or Islam) were barbarous and superstitious people and thus more easily able to be drawn into the 'fold of the church than the Mohammedans'⁴⁶ and thus every effort should be made to prevent the spread of Islam.

Arnold concluded his chapter on Christian counter-aggression to Islam by making suggestions for the future mission policy that the Church should follow.

First, he criticised the Church for neglecting the Muslims. He suggested there should be an equal sharing of resources between the missions to the

⁴³ *Ibid*, p.389f.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p.389.

⁴⁵ Anthony Grant, *The past and prospective extension of the Gospel by Missions to the heathen - Brampton Lectures 1842*, London, 1844.

⁴⁶ Arnold, *Ishmael*, p.390.

Jews, Muslims and Pagans.⁴⁷ Arnold suggested that the recognition of Abraham by all three religions can be used as a starting point.⁴⁸

Looking back at the early missions to Britain and the subsequent British mission to Germany he suggested a similar model be employed by the Anglican Church in the nineteenth century. He suggested the use of a brotherhood or confraternity as these early British Missionaries had used in Germany. He describes a possible brotherhood as a specifically missionary order which could be:

a body of Christian men, who, for the love of Christ consecrate themselves to Mission work, uniting together, under certain rules, to live a life of active devotion and self-sacrifice, making personal piety and self-denial, acts of prayer and praise, the sole foundation of their union.⁴⁹

This idea of a missionary brotherhood, even if only roughly based on the monastic model, was an innovative concept. In 1868 Father Richard Benson founded his Society of St John the Evangelist (the Cowley Fathers) as a missionary order. This was nine years after the publication of the first edition of Arnold's book.

Arnold applied this theory of using a brotherhood into an imperial and colonial policy where a 'Christian colony' consisting of more than just 'deacons, priest and bishops, but in which various trades and professions are represented'. This 'colony' would be established and be practically independent of outside aid. Such a colony would enable 'Africa [to] share in the blessings of Christian civilisation' and would offer

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p.394.

⁴⁸ This view is also taken by Karl-Josef Kuschel in *Abraham: A Symbol of Hope for Jews, Christians and Muslims*, London, 1995.

⁴⁹ Arnold, *Ishmael*, p.405.

security and 'future prosperity' for settlers themselves and their children 'whilst benefitting the natives in the highest interest'. Quoting Sir Bartle Frere, Arnold agreed with him that the missionary task was to instruct the 'wilder and more savage tribes.... [in] the rudimentary art of civilised life'. Arnold concluded that such an enterprise would be lucrative and 'prove an everlasting blessing to natives as well as ourselves'.⁵⁰ Arnold does not acknowledge the need for the development of an indigenous or a 'young' church without the domination of a European brotherhood or confraternity.

Arnold received his training at strongly evangelical institutions, at Basel (*Evangelische Mission Gesellschaft*) and Islington, (the Church Missionary Society college). His suggestion of a missionary monastic order was not a demonstration of Catholic leanings but rather the correction of what he viewed as over 'reforming' in the Church. The repudiation of monastic orders by the major Reformers had deprived the Church of missionary brotherhoods such as the ones he suggests could work in the mission to Muslims.⁵¹ His evangelical-apologetic missiological approach required the missionary to take an aggressive, pro-Christian stand against all other faiths. He was positive that Christianity was the only true faith and that once Muslims had read the Bible and understood the Christian faith, they could not help but converting.

'The Koran has laid the foundation of its own destruction, in ascribing too great authority to the Law and the Gospel, without in any degree establishing its own assumed superiority. The intelligent Moslem on reading the Bible, cannot fail to discover the sophistry of the Koran, that, while professing to confirm the foregoing revelations, it

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, pp.408-409 and footnotes.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p.402.

virtually abrogates them; and thus the charm which rivets
him will be destroyed'.⁵²

Arnold may have had opportunity to apply some of his theories of missionary practices as given in his book while he was at Batavia between 1865 and 1871 and it could be expected that he would apply these same methods at the Cape. He had not made any changes to the chapter dealing with missionary praxis between the first (1859) and third editions of his book (1874). It was reported that Dr Arnold converted thirty six Malay Muslims to Christianity in the six years he was in Batavia.⁵³

Arnold's Missiological Methods as applied in Woodstock.

Arnold brought to the Muslim Mission at the Cape a wealth of theoretical and practical experience. He had formed the Muslim Mission Society (MMS) in 1861 because he felt the SPG was not willing to take on what he considered an important task.⁵⁴ The MMS viewed itself as the 'fourth wheel, heretofore lacking to the mission chariot'.⁵⁵ The other three being the SPG working in the British colonies, the CMS working among heathen in Africa and the East, and the Church of England Missionary Society to the Jews. By 1877 the MMS was working in Egypt, Syria, the Dutch East Indies and the Cape where Arnold was working as Rector of Woodstock. He hoped that with his knowledge of Islam and working in partnership with the SPG and the Bishop of Cape Town, the SPG would come to realise the importance of the MMS's work among Muslims.

⁵² *Ibid*, p.390.

⁵³ *The Muslim Missionary Society Special Appeal Pamphlet*, London, 1877, p.10.

⁵⁴ Arnold to Bullock (SPG), 25 Sept 1858, SPG Microfilm 96722/2 D46, 55, MIC172 Cory Library.

⁵⁵ *The Muslim Missionary Society Special Appeal Pamphlet*, London, 1877. p.6.

The SPG publication, *Mission Field*, of July 2, 1877 gives a report of Arnold's work at the Cape in 1875-76. This report had been submitted to the MMS. In his report Arnold commented that evangelistic work among Muslims in any country was difficult and demanding and required patience. He acknowledged the work of his predecessors but pointed out that 'no impression of any great or lasting nature has been produced'.⁵⁶ Using the example of Canon Lightfoot's church which was filled with black people (see Chapter 6) he saw no ground for despair and saw 'a wide door open' through which Christian missionaries could reach Muslims.

Although an Arabic and Malay speaker, he discovered that the language spoken by the majority of the Muslims in Cape Town was not Malay⁵⁷ but 'a sort of a corrupt Dutch *patois*'⁵⁸ which he still had to learn. Most 'Malays' also understood and spoke English which Arnold viewed as a great advantage in itself as he could offer them English books, including his own. He later brought out many tracts and pamphlets in both English and Dutch⁵⁹ aimed at converting Muslims (see below).

Arnold went on to report on other unique features of the Mission to the Muslims at the Cape.

⁵⁶ J M Arnold, 'A Mission amongst the Malays of Capetown' in *Mission Field* 2 July 1877, p.246.

⁵⁷ According to S A Rochlin, Malay was still being spoken at the Cape during the earlier part of the twentieth century. This was most probably only among pure Malay descendants and not Muslims in general. 'The first Cape Malay Author' in *Africana Note and News*, 11, December 1954, 145. Arnold comments in his report to the MMS that Muslims were all referred to as 'Malays' regardless of their racial origins e.g. 'Negro, Kaffir, Hottentot ... or even of English or Scotch blood', (Arnold, *Mission Field*, 2 July 1877).

⁵⁸ *Mission Field*, 2 July 1877, p.246.

⁵⁹ See below.

Beside the unexpected language differences from usual Muslim missions, Arnold found many Muslims willing to send their children to Christian schools. As discussed above this occurred especially among girls, while boys were frequently sent to the Muslim *Madrassah*. At the Christian-based state schools they were taught:

‘not only the English language and English ways and thoughts, but they learn the English Church Catechism, the Collects and Gospels’.⁶⁰

Arnold hastily pointed out that he disapproved of non-discrimination in teaching between the baptised and the unbaptised but he had been assured that the Christian way of life made a deep and silent impression, ‘wearing out slowly but surely Moslem bigotry and prejudice’.⁶¹ Here he demonstrated typical nineteenth century Christian bigotry when he stated that Christianity, once presented to a Muslim, cannot but bring him to Christ. In order to prove this he presented examples in his report. One example was of a Muslim of high standing in the community who ‘encouraged all his sons and daughters to become Christians though he himself remained a Moslem’.⁶² Some of this man’s relations sang in St Mary’s choir. Why the Muslims of Arnold’s parish should make themselves so accessible to Christian conversion in this way is not directly stated but Andrea Badham suggests that ‘respectability’ rather than race was the over-riding criterion of acceptance. One of the ‘badges of respectability’ was affiliation to the Anglican Church.⁶³

Arnold ended his first report with a request for financial aid so that he

⁶⁰ *Mission Field*, 2 July 1877, p.247.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.246.

⁶² *Ibid*, p.247.

⁶³ Andrea Badham, ‘“The Badge of Respectability”’: Anglicanism in turn of the century Woodstock’ in *Studies in the History of Cape Town Vol 6*, Cape Town, 1988, p. 84.

could spend more time on his mission work and be able to pay for an assistant to help him in parish work. He pointed out that an advertisement had appeared in a local daily paper which sought 'a Mohammedan priest... Salary £240'.⁶⁴ This was better remuneration than that paid to English clergymen who had come all the way to the Cape to work. His requests for aid demonstrated once again the Church of England's lack of concern for the Muslim mission. Fortunately, Arnold did have the help of his wife, Maria and their only child, Evelyn Sophie.⁶⁵ He also had the help of an infant teacher, Miss Maria Burns.⁶⁶

Arnold had criticised the Anglican Church as a whole for not taking Muslim mission seriously enough and saw the necessity of having missionary societies as a reproach to the church.⁶⁷ In a report to the SPG dated 22 November 1877, he took great pains to dissociate himself from the SPG, asking that his name be removed from their roll of missionaries. He was under the impression that he received a grant from SPG but he felt that this should rather be 'devoted to [missions in] yet darker places of the earth'. He said he would rather live on 'bread and fish from Table Bay, the waters of which wash our grounds.' The Bishop assured him that

⁶⁴ *Mission Field*, 2 July 1877, p.247.

⁶⁵ Evelyn remained at the Cape after the death of her father. She became Sister Evelyn in the Community of All Saints. She founded a mission school in Woodstock and was its headmistress from 1886 until 1893. She died in London in 1896. R R Langham Carter, *A history of St Mary the Virgin, Woodstock*, 1988.

⁶⁶ Spelt as Byrnes in a later report to the SPG (26 Nov 1878). Maria or Nanno Byrne arrived from England on 10 November 1868. She worked for forty years at St Mary's. She died in 1907 and the Parish paid for her gravestone and a paten and chalice in her memory. R R Langham Carter, *History of St Mary's*.

⁶⁷ Arnold, *Ishmael*, p.400.

the £50 grant was from the bishop's own funds.⁶⁸ The remainder of the report paints a very negative picture of the conditions under which Arnold and his family had to work. The Parish debt included £120 for a Churchyard wall and £300 balance owing on the Gray Memorial Chancel which had cost £730. The parish's annual Sunday collection was only £100. Arnold's desire was to separate the parochial and missionary tasks of the church in Woodstock. St Mary's was a well-established, but poor parish in an urban setting which required both pastoral and evangelical outreach. This dual task could best be achieved by a parish structure similar to Thomas Lightfoot's at St Paul's, Bree Street.

The reason for Arnold establishing the Muslim Mission Society was the SPG's lack of concern for Muslim missions. Yet the report of 26 November, 1877, ended with a note of future co-operation between himself and the SPG. Furthermore, he reported that the MMS was in better hands than when he went to Batavia (in 1864).⁶⁹

In a letter dealing with the health of a fellow missionary (the Rev. Jeffrey from Ceres), Arnold reported to the Rev E Bullock of the SPG that he had baptised 100 adults. He also reported that General Tremerheere, Hon. Treasurer of the MMS, had forwarded a £100 in order to pay for an assistant. Because of his missionary workload, Arnold was forced to employ two catechists to assist him. The first began in January 1876 and the second in 1878. The money for them came from the MMS and was raised after a pamphlet entitled *The Moslem Mission Society: Special Appeal for its work among the Malays of South Africa*⁷⁰ was published.

⁶⁸ J M Arnold to Rev. E Bullock, 26 November 1877. E series film 96722/3 Reel 4 page 1121ff., MIC172 Cory Library.

⁶⁹ *Report....*

⁷⁰ J M Arnold, *Special Appeal for its work among the Malays of South Africa*, London, 1877.

This pamphlet gave the *raison d'etre* of the society, pointing out that although there were seven Societies for the conversion of the Jews, there were none aimed at the Muslims. It also reported on various works that the Muslim Mission Society was undertaking in Egypt, Syria, the Dutch East Indies and South Africa. The South African section consisted of reprints of Arnold's reports as discussed above and concluded with a request for contributions for this or any of the Society's other work.

In 1877 Arnold began a more direct and controversial approach to mission. He published in Dutch a sixteen page pamphlet, *Twijfel en Gemoedskwelling van een Maleijer in de Kaap-Kolonie, genaamd Abdullah Ben Yusuf door Hemzelve Verhaald*. This was subsequently translated into English and appeared as *Abdullah Ben Yusuf: or the Story of a Malay as told by himself*⁷¹ This pamphlet was very controversial among Muslims. Firstly, its authorship was in some doubt. James Hewitt, writing in the *Church Chronicle*, states

‘He [Arnold] wrote and published a good deal on the subject, and a little pamphlet, which at one time created some stir among the Malays, *Abdullah Ben Yusuf, or a story of a Malay, as told by himself*, may be traced to his influence’.⁷²

Samuel A Rochlin writing in *Africana Notes and News* suggests that this pamphlet is written by the first Cape ‘Malay’ author to go into print. Although he quotes the Hewitt article (giving the same quotation as above), he concluded that the pamphlet was written by Abdol Burns, a

⁷¹Anonymous [J M Arnold], *Abdullah Ben Yusuf, or a story of a Malay, as told by himself*, Cape Town, 1877. It was published by J.H. Rose and J.M.Belinfante, and printed by Saul Solomon and Co., Printers.

⁷²Hewitt, *Mohammedanism in South Africa*, Cape Town, 1887, p.254.

prominent figure in the 'Malay' community.⁷³ The inaccuracy of this conclusion is alluded to by Robert Shell who thinks that Rochlin's own evidence indicated that the author was J M Arnold.⁷⁴ Arnold, himself, writing to the Muslim Mission Society on 30 July 1877, stated

'I had a pamphlet printed,in Dutch, which is hoped by others beside myself will do a vast deal of good. It is supposed to be written by a Malay, as a Malay, stating the doubts and perplexities of himself and of other thoughtful Malays, respecting Islam; and it is *not* to be known who the real author is. ... I am urged to print it in English as well, as many Malays read English even better than Dutch, though all SPEAK English less fluently than Dutch'.⁷⁵

From this statement it can be concluded that Arnold himself was the author.

The second controversial issue which arose from this pamphlet was the fact that its contents were offensive to Muslims and even to some Christians. As indicated above, Hewitt showed that it caused 'some stir' in the 'Malay' community. The translation into English includes an introduction (presumably also written by Arnold) which states that the initial printing of the Dutch edition of some one thousand copies were soon sold out. He continues that 'I know some of my people were displeased and angry with me, because I wrote so plainly about my

⁷³ Rochlin, 'The First Cape Malay Author' in *Africana Notes and News*, 11,(1954) p.143.

⁷⁴ Robert Shell, 'Rites and Rebellion: Islamic Conversion at the Cape, 1808-1915' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town, Volume 5* 1984, Cape Town, 1984, p.39.

⁷⁵ Muslim Mission Society, *Special Appeal*...., p.17.

doubts'.⁷⁶ Its offensive nature has continued to draw criticism from both Christian and Muslim historians throughout this century. Achmat Davids stated that this pamphlet was:-

A despicable publication, derogatory of Muslims and a distortion of their religion. It was issued by the Anglican Church [sic] in the hope of gaining proselytes from Islam. It failed completely to have made an impression on Muslims.⁷⁷

Although this pamphlet might have failed to produce any Muslim converts to Christianity, it certainly made an impression on the Muslim community.

It is interesting to note that at the end of the 'Special Appeal' pamphlet issued by the MSS a short paragraph stated:

In answer to several inquiries, the Council desires to state that their connection with MUSTAFA BEN-YUSUF has been amicably terminated.⁷⁸

Whether this is a different individual or a misprint of Abdullah Ben-Yusuf is not known but if it is, it would appear that members of the MMS were not happy with the contents of this pamphlet.

Analysis of the *Abdullah Ben-Yusuf* pamphlet.

In the preface of the pamphlet, the author justified the publication of an English second edition by pointing out that the first edition (in Dutch) was sold out and that as most 'Malays' could read English better than Dutch,

⁷⁶ Anonymous (J M Arnold), *Abdullah Ben-Yusuf ; or the Story of a Malay as told by himself*, Cape Town, 1877, p.3.

⁷⁷ Achmat Davids, 'Muslim-Christian Relations in 19th Century Cape Town 1825-1925' a paper at conference *History of Christianity in South Africa 1792-1992*, Bellville, UWC, 1992, p. 27.

⁷⁸ MMS, *Special Appeal*, 1877, 17.

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TO THE

Malays and other Moslems.

Sold by all the Booksellers in Cape Town.

PRICE: ONE PENNY.

CAPE TOWN:
MURRAY & ST. LEGER, PRINTERS, 50, ST. GEORGE'S STREET.
1879.

Fig 18. Pamphlet *Kind Words and Loving Counsel*

10
ABDULLAH BEN YUSUF;

OR,

THE STORY OF A MALAY,

AS TOLD BY HIMSELF.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH.)

"They marvel that a warner from among themselves hath come to them."—*At Koran, Sura Sacrat.*

"Who is more unjust than he who hideth the testimony which he received from Allah."—*At Koran, Sura Bakkr.*



PRICE 6d.

CAPE TOWN:
PUBLISHED BY J. H. ROSE AND J. M. BELINFANTE.
1295. A. H.

1859? CAPE TOWN 1879

Fig 19. Pamphlet *Abdullah Ben Yusuf*

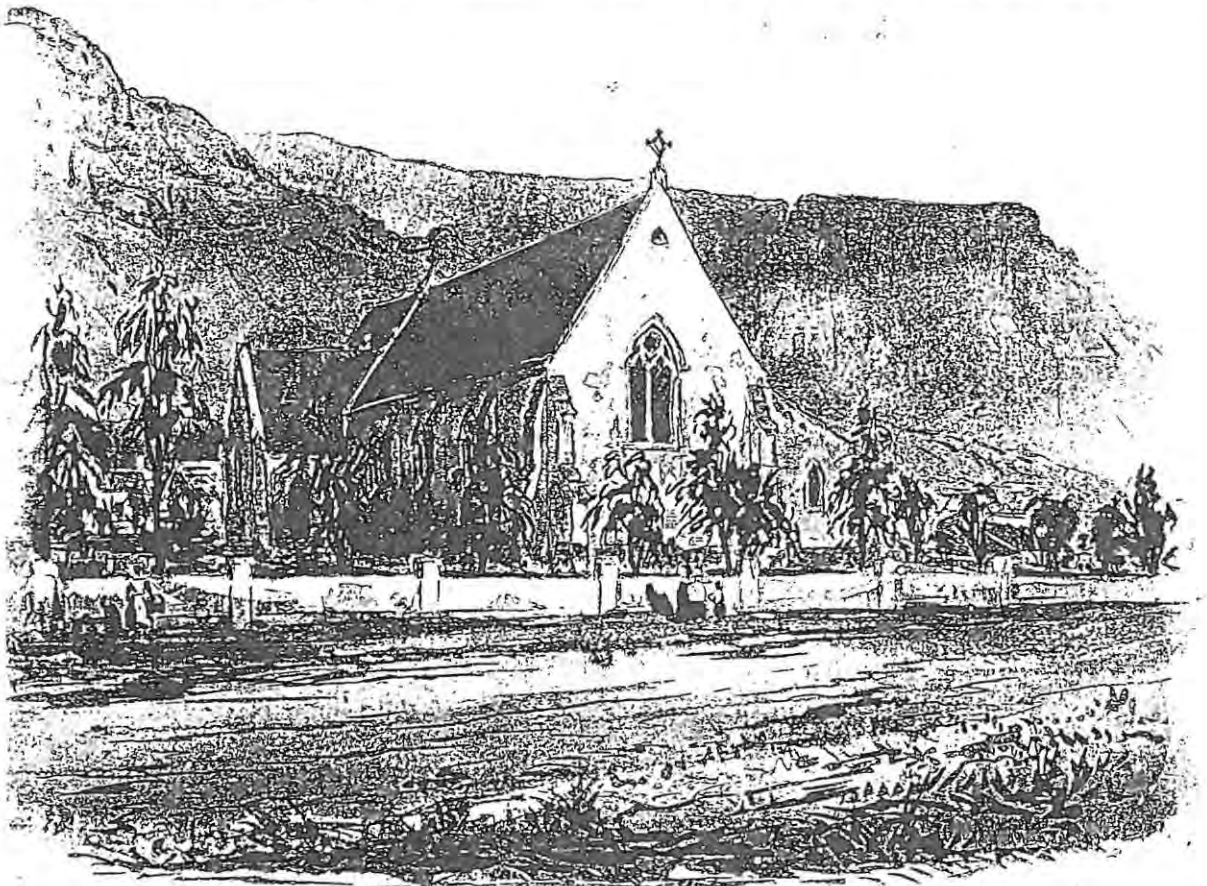


Fig 20. St Mary's, Woodstock

this edition would reach more readers.⁷⁹ He felt it was his duty to republish the pamphlet in spite of the displeasure and anger from ‘his people’ over the first edition. He felt he must tell the truth and not hide it from them.

Arnold, as the author, applied his own missiological theory. He began with something his readers could recognize and acknowledge as true. He described how the people of Mecca were angry with Mohammed when he preached against their idol worship.

It was his warm and plain speaking they disliked yet after a while they found he was right and they were wrong and they willingly forsook their foolish idols to worship the only true God.⁸⁰

Thus he felt that although the Cape Muslims were angry with him for publishing the pamphlet, it was because he was telling ‘the truth’ and they would soon realise that they were in error. The author pointed out that although clever in business, the Muslims of Cape Town were ignorant in religious matters. The imams knew little of the Quran or its language. Thus the pseudonymous author tried to give the impression that he was an authority on the Quran and Arabic and was justified in seeking the truth even at the expense of his Islamic faith. This justification he obtained from the Quran itself. He suggested that instead of trying to find out who he was, the readers should rather refute or accept what he said. He concluded his preface with a prayer in Malay, not a language in common

⁷⁹ Achmat Davids points out that ‘Those who prepared this document failed to recognise that it was not Dutch, English or Melayu in Roman script (the three languages in which the publication appeared), but Afrikaans in Arabic script which was the written language of the Cape Muslim community at that time’ [Achmat Davids, ‘“My Religion is Superior to the Law”: The survival of Islam at the Cape of Good Hope’ in *Pages from Cape Muslim History* ed. Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids, Pietermaritzburg, 1994]

⁸⁰ *Abdullah*, 4.

usage at that time among the 'Malays' of the Cape.⁸¹

The supposed Muslim author stated that he was wealthy enough to keep his wife and children in comfort as well as being able to afford the publishing of the pamphlet. His wealth should have made him happy but this was not the case. He was aware that the 'Malays' at the Cape had taken over many customs from the Dutch and English, some good, others bad. The abuse of alcohol was something which even 'all European rulers and magistrates condemn'.⁸² He also regretted the loss of the Malay mode of dress in favour of a European style. But he praised the adoption of the European custom of monogamy. He was still, however, unhappy about certain aspects of his religion and he stated that his priest could offer him no help and he had even heard of a Muslim priest being baptised to Christianity on his death bed. The author says he was taught Arabic and the Quran in so-called 'Malay' schools (*madrassah*). He also received education in Dutch and English schools but it was not here that his doubts arose but in the reading of the Quran itself. Once again Arnold, as the author, started from common ground or known territory (In this case the Quran) before he moved onto the areas of controversy or challenge. He compared 'the Engeel⁸³ and the Thorah' with the Quran. The Quran instructed him to 'observe the Law and the Gospel'⁸⁴ and elsewhere it stated that the Quran 'was sent down to confirm the Thorah of the Jews

⁸¹ There is much controversy concerning the use of the Malay language at the Cape. There is evidence that it was in use until the beginning of the twentieth century. The most common spoken language of the Muslim community was what Arnold called 'a Dutch *patois*' - what became Afrikaans. The term 'Malay' did incorporate all followers of the Muslim faith, including any European converts, and not only those who were from the Malay Archipelago. See Chapter Two.

⁸² *Abdullah*, 8.

⁸³ Arnold states further on in *Abdullah* (p 24) Engeel is 'an Arab word coming from the Greek, itself means good news or glad tidings.'

⁸⁴ Sura Maida

and the Engeel of the Christians'.⁸⁵ He found on studying these books that they did not agree with the Quran and

.. of course I do not know what others feel, but I myself feel convinced if the older books came from God, as the Koran states then the Koran, which came last, must agree with them, or the Koran can not be from God.⁸⁶

In the remainder of the pamphlet Arnold listed, in forty numbered paragraphs, the supposed Muslim author's concerns with the Islamic faith and the perplexities he had to face. These were in no particular logical order and often re-stated concerns previously discussed, merely illustrating them with different examples. In most cases he took the Islamic belief or standpoint at face value, purposely ignoring any deeper spiritual meaning of the verse from the Quran or the cultural and the contextual aspects of a particular doctrine. However when comparing it to Christianity he took great pains to see deeper spiritual and cultural values in the Gospels and within Christian doctrines and ignored any inconsistencies.

These forty points will be analysed under the following themes

- ▶ Muhammad, his life, morals and ethics
- ▶ The Quran, its supposed inconsistencies and contradictions as well as a comparison of the Quran with the Jewish and Christian scriptures.
- ▶ Modern prophecies concerning the future of Islam
- ▶ The authors personal view and position *vis-a-vis* Islam and Christianity.

⁸⁵ Sura Anaam, Maida, Yusuf, Ahraf, Malik.

⁸⁶ *Abdullah*, 9.

Muhammad, his life, morals and ethics.

The author had many problems with Muhammad being holy and a prophet of Allah. Using the Quran and other reputable Muslim authors⁸⁷ he attempts to show Muhammad as an unethical, immoral, self-seeking man whose actions were aimed purely at building up a false religious empire. Looking at the beginning of Islam in Medina the author criticised the vicious and bloodthirsty attacks Muhammad and his army carried out on caravans, members of his own tribe (the Kosehites) and different Jewish tribes in Arabia.⁸⁸ These attacks even occurred during sacred months in Arabia when no bloodshed should occur.⁸⁹ Later he complained of the murders, assassinations, and manslaughter ordered by 'Nabi Muhammed'⁹⁰ and of the Quran's approval of the murder of not only unbelievers but also Muslims - 'I confess I have never read of anything so horrible in the history of any other religion beside our own religion. How am I to understand that this our religion is ordained by God the most merciful?'⁹¹

In using these arguments Arnold failed to recognise that such bloodshed was a traditional way of life in Arabia. Mohammed, by allowing it to continue was contextualizing Islam as well as ensuring the unity of all Arabs under the Islamic banner. Arnold also failed to recognise (or purposely ignored) the bloodshed and mayhem which occurs in certain historical books of the Bible, such as the Book of Judges. He also ignored

⁸⁷ These included Abdufeda, Ali Halibi, Janabi, El Kindy and what Arnold referred to as 'Moslem writers'

⁸⁸ Items no. 4 *Beginning of Islam in Medina* and no. 5 *More expeditions and more Murders* in the pamphlet *Abdullah ben Yusuf*..... p.11,12.

⁸⁹ It should be noted that this sacred month was only sacred among the pagan religions prevalent in Arabia at that time.

⁹⁰ Item no. 26 *Cruel murders and assassinations* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf*... p. 21.

⁹¹ *Ibid* p. 22.

the bitterness the Crusades brought to the relationship between Christians and Muslims.⁹²

The author made mention of Muhammad's wives⁹³ and acknowledged that 'Nabi Dawid [David] had many wives' but goes no further in criticising David for his sexual ethics while he severely criticised Muhammad. In his criticism of Muhammad he used a text from the Quran⁹⁴ to show that Muhammad was cursed because of his promiscuity and that this was why all his sons predeceased him, leaving him no heirs.

Arnold pointed out that the convulsions which Muhammad suffered both as a child and later when he experienced his first revelations, were believed to be the work of a demon.⁹⁵ Arnold showed that this was what Muhammad himself, his wife and his nurse believed. Arnold, as a rational Protestant, criticised this belief. In doing so he failed to take into account the mental and physical stress such deeply spiritual and mystical experiences bring about. By criticising the belief that this was a demon and by stating that it was 'a worry' is to simplify a complex syndrome which occurred among mystics of all faiths including Christianity.

⁹² 'To the Christian in the West the Crusades were a bad dream, of which we have only the faintest recollection; but to the Arabs they are the greatest proof of Christian hatred for Islam....Needless to say Campus Crusade for Christ had to adopt another name when it moved into the Middle East.' J Herbert Kane, *A Concise History of Christian World Mission*, Grand Rapids, 1987, p.117.

⁹³ Item no 27 *How Muhammad got his many wives* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 22.

⁹⁴ 'In the Sura, *Al Kauthar* we read: 'Verily he that hateth thee shall be childless.' This curse came upon Nabi Mohammed, for none of his five sons lived... Marrying according to Abulfeda, thirty wives brought him no blessing.' in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 29.

⁹⁵ Items no.2 *Nabi Mohammed had convulsions* and no.3 *Nabi Mohammed himself feared he has an evil spirit* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 10,11.

In three paragraphs⁹⁶, Arnold links the life and character of Muhammad and that of Jesus. First, he tells how Muhammad ‘suffered hard things’.⁹⁷ He was reviled, yet refused bribes to silence him. Like Jesus, he was persecuted and like Jesus he foretold that he would rise again on the third day. His friends would not bury his body till three days had passed and his body was so putrefied they had to bury it. The Author then posed the question that if Jesus had not risen, would not Christians doubt? It was because of this that he as a Muslim, doubted.

Arnold also claimed that Muhammad used the revelations that he received to prove anything he wanted.⁹⁸ Thus, according to the author, it suited Muhammed to concur with Christian heresies which claim that Jesus Christ was not crucified.⁹⁹ This stance denied the atonement of Jesus and Arnold again questioned whether this was not just Muhammed merely trying to justify his own doctrines in the face of Christian, Jewish and Gentile writers who historically confirmed the crucifixion.

Finally, Arnold used the fact that the Quran recognised that Jesus performed many miracles and yet showed that Muhammed performed none, as proof that he cannot be the prophet he claimed to be. According to the Quran a prophet or teacher sent by God, teaching God’s truth, will perform miracles. Jesus was reported in the Sonna or traditions of Islam to have performed 4,440 and in other places as many as 60 million. Yet

⁹⁶ Items no.8 *Mohammed foretells he would rise again*, no 12 *Was Isa el Messiah ever crucified or not?* and no 23 *The miracles of Nabi Isa and of Nabi Mohammed* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* pp 13,15,21.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 13.

⁹⁸ Item no. 6 *How the Suras of the Koran came down* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 12. ‘What puts doubt in my mind is, that he always had a revelation from Allah ready when he wanted to prove anything he wished’.

⁹⁹ Item no.12 *Was Isa el Messiah ever crucified* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 15.

no where does Muhammed claim to have performed one. In fact, Muhammad claimed that he came not to perform miracles but to preach.¹⁰⁰ From these points, Arnold went on to quote a Quran verse to suggest that Satan was using Muhammed to deceive his followers.¹⁰¹

The Quran, its inconsistencies and contradictions. Comparison of the Quran, the Gospel and the Torah.

In the very first numbered paragraph, Arnold, as the author of the pamphlet, pointed out how Muhammad was never circumcised and the first Muslims were received into the faith by baptism and not by circumcision. He also points out that in the whole Quran circumcision is not mentioned, yet Muslims make much of the initiation rite. If, as the Quran claims, 'we have not omitted anything in this book'¹⁰², then either circumcision is not from God or the Quran 'cannot be from God'.¹⁰³

Another complaint of the author is the teachings on Heaven and Hell as given in the Quran. He finds the teaching on Heaven 'brimful of the most carnal and sensual enjoyments' and Hell 'dreadful and repulsive'. Both descriptions he found 'altogether repulsive of a holy and merciful God', and he could not have any faith in a book which contained teachings such as this.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Item no.23 *The miracles of Nabi Isa and of Nabi Mohammed in Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 20.

¹⁰¹ From *Sura Anaam, verse 112* 'Unto every prophet have we been given an enemy, who suggests teachings or discourses to deceive' as quoted in Item no. 24 *Eblis [Satan] suggesting things to deceive in Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 20.

¹⁰² From *Sura Anaam verse 38* 'Nothing have we passed over in the Book' (*The Koran* translated by J M Rodwell. London: Dent 1909 p. 320).

¹⁰³ Item no 1 - *Nabi Mohammed was never circumcised in Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ Item no 10 *Paradise and Hell as described in the Koran in Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 14.

Using the same argument which he used in his book *Ishmael* (see above), Arnold presented an argument which shows that the *Hadji* and the Fast cannot possibly be performed by all Muslim believers and thus concludes that the Quran cannot be of God and that Islam cannot be meant for all countries of the world.¹⁰⁵ This, Arnold felt, was also demonstrated by the injunction that the Quran was not to be printed or translated into any other language than Arabic. If the Quran was a message for all nations then it must be understood by all and be 'able to bear examination of friend and foe'.¹⁰⁶

Arnold used five paragraphs to demonstrate the numerous inconsistencies and contradictions he found in the Quran. In a paragraph entitled *Blunders and Mistakes in the Koran*¹⁰⁷, Arnold showed that the story of Noah and the Flood, which was known to Jews and Christians, was revealed to Muslims as if it was not known before.¹⁰⁸ Other errors demonstrated by Arnold include Mary being portrayed as the 'Sister of Aaron', the brother of Moses¹⁰⁹ and the fact that the Jews returned to

¹⁰⁵ Item no 16 *Neither the Hadji nor the Fast possible for all* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* P. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Item no 19 *Why the Koran is not translated* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 19.

¹⁰⁷ Item no 25 in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 21.

¹⁰⁸ Arnold quotes from *Sura Hud* verse 51 'This is one of the secret Histories: we reveal it unto thee: neither thou nor thy people knew it ere this' (*The Koran* translated by J M Rodwell, London, 1st Edition, 1909, p. 220.

¹⁰⁹ *Sura Maryam* verse 29 'They said 'O Mary! Now hast thou done a strange thing! O Sister of Aaron! Thy father was not a man of wickedness, nor unchaste thy mother.'" (*The Koran...* p. 119.) Dawood, in his translation of the Quran, gives the following footnote 'i.e. a virtuous woman, Aaron being held in the Koran as a "prophet" and a saintly man. Such idiomatic expressions are common in Arabic. Muslim commentators deny charges, often made by Western scholars and based solely on the text, that Mohammed confused Miriam, Aaron's sister with Maryam (Mary), mother of Jesus.' *The Koran* translated by N J Dawood, London, 1956, p. 33.

Egypt after leaving it for good.¹¹⁰ In both these errors, Arnold took literally the verses from the Koran and did not view them within the context they were written.

In Item no. 21, Arnold told of some 225 contradictions in spite of a Quranic verse which stated

‘Can they not consider the Koran? Were it from any other than God, they would surely have found in it many contradictions’ (*Sura al Nisa verse 81*).¹¹¹

Even concerning the relationship between the Christian and the Muslims there appeared contradictions in the Quran. In many verses Christians were condemned as ‘Infidels’ to be killed or were accepted as ‘above unbelievers’ and ‘nearest in affection to Moslems’.¹¹² Arnold used these contradictions in the Quran as an argument against the Muslim faith as he compared it with the Jewish writings in the Torah and the Christian writings in the ‘Engeel’ or Gospel. In the Torah and the Gospel, Arnold found no contradictions in spite of the fact that they were revealed to many prophets in differing ages. The Quran, however, was revealed to one prophet, Muhammad, over only thirty years.¹¹³

Arnold used five paragraphs to compare the Quran, the Torah and the Gospel. Firstly, having studied the three books, he expressed amazement at the similarities which for him showed that Muhammad had merely

¹¹⁰ *Sura al Shu'ara verse 58* ‘Thus we caused them to quit gardens and fountains, and treasures and splendid dwellings; So it was; and we gave them to the children of Israel for an heritage.’ (*The Koran...* p 105)

¹¹¹ From *The Koran...* p. 420.

¹¹² Item no 13 *Contradictory Teaching in the Koran* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 15.

¹¹³ How Arnold came to this conclusion will be discussed below.

borrowed from Jewish fables and traditions¹¹⁴. Criticism of the adoption of fables and tradition from other faiths by the Muslims also occurred in Arnold's book on Islam. The *Cape Argus*' review of that book criticised this stance,

That Sura Joseph is the word of God or not, is not important. What is important is that it is not disproved because it is derived from pre-existing material.¹¹⁵

Arnold also found that many passages of the Quran had been 'done away with' or abolished after at first being considered part of the text. He did not find this in the Torah or the Gospel.¹¹⁶ He found neither motive nor possibility for Christians or Jews to do this. He had known Greek and Hebrew translations of these books and they compared with the versions in current use so the Christianity community had not changed the scriptures.¹¹⁷

Analysis of the pamphlet *Kind Words and Loving Counsel to the Malays and other Muslims*.

In 1879 Dr Arnold published another pamphlet entitled *Kind Words and Loving Counsel to the Malays and other Moslems*. This pamphlet appears to be aimed at the Christians of Cape Town. It is a document which contains theological arguments Christians could use in their witness to Muslims. It is in twelve numbered paragraphs.

¹¹⁴Item no 7 *Something more I cannot understand...* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 13.

¹¹⁵ *Cape Argus*, 10 February 1876.

¹¹⁶ Item no 9 *More perplexities in the Koran* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 14.. On this issue, Arnold seems to conveniently forget the formation of the Christian canon and the inclusion or exclusion of certain books.

¹¹⁷ Item no 15 *Have the Thorah and the Engeel been altered?* in *Abdullah ben Yusuf...* p. 16.

The first paragraph, *Moslems and Christians*, compared the two faiths. Arnold gave a brief history of Abraham, Isaac and Ishmael and their link to Jesus. Comparing Mohammed and Jesus, Arnold related briefly the story of the historical Jesus. He went on to show how Muhammad falls short of this. No prophets foretold his birth, there was no wonder birth, he did not do any miracles but he was faithful to Abraham's covenant with God [Allah] and destroyed the idols being worshipped by the Arabs. Arnold expressed his belief that God punished the erring Christians by afflicting the Muslims upon them. But

‘when they got to those Christians who had not greatly erred, and when he fought with them, the Christians overcame them and drove them back’.¹¹⁸

Arnold described the Christian church in glowing terms, a company of people who love, a people of peace, a people of truth who do not love strife, who love no kind of slavery.¹¹⁹ Such descriptions must have been hard for many Muslim in Cape Town to believe. Many would have known the persecution of the poor and the blacks by the white Christians of Cape Town, many would have experienced the opposition which Christians brought because the rites and rituals of Islam were so different from Christianity. The so called *Khalifa*¹²⁰ problem occurred when the white Christians of Cape Town were disturbed by the noise that this ceremony brought. It led to strife, with police action being taken to halt these

¹¹⁸ John M Arnold, *Kind words and Loving Counsel to the Malays and other Moslems*, Cape Town, 1879, p.4.

¹¹⁹ John M Arnold, *Kind Words...*p. 5.

¹²⁰ *Khalifa* or *Ratiep* is a sword game where a sharp sword is hit across the arms or body or where sharp skewers are driven through the thick flesh of the face without causing blood to flow. Achmat Davids, 'My Religion is superior to the Law' in *Pages from Cape Muslim History* (ed Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids), Pietermaritzburg, 1994, p. 63.

ceremonies.¹²¹ Many elderly Muslims had been slaves under masters who belonged to the Christian faith which, according to Arnold, abhorred any form of slavery.

Arnold concludes this first paragraph by showing the evil ways of Islam in conquering nations by violence, bringing people to slavery, and how by the end of the nineteenth century 'Moslems are growing more and more feeble because the things of this world change'.¹²²

The next four paragraphs explained the Trinity in a way that can be used in rational argument with a Muslim who would emphasize the oneness of God. He continued to show how the worship of Jesus would not be sinful and then through a question and answer technique (once again starting from the known and moving to the new) Arnold demonstrated the sinfulness of Mohammed and how his sin, and the Christians', was in need of a saviour - 'we need one to take away our sin and punishment. This is only possible through Christ, Our Lord, who came to do that for all men'.¹²³

Arnold then presented the way in which Muslims could learn about the Christian religion. This was through reading the Gospel, in whose pages he found no contradiction as could be found in the Quran. This is the second occasion that Arnold makes this claim. Arnold had obtained a Doctorate of Philosophy from Tübingen University. It was at Tübingen that radical historical criticism of the Bible developed during the 1850s under F C Baur and D F Strauss. It is surprising that Arnold should

¹²¹ Achmat Davids, 'My religion is superior..' p. 63. Davids show that this action was, in spite of the noise factor, pure prejudice against the religious practises of the Cape Muslims.

¹²² John M Arnold, *Kind Words...*p. 5.

¹²³ John M. Arnold, *Kind Words...* p. 11.

adopt such a traditional and conservative approach.

Arnold concluded his pamphlet by assuring any who might want to convert that they would be safe, under the protection of the British Government at the Cape, from any 'secret murder [which] has been once or twice suspected among the Malays in the Cape Colony'.¹²⁴ He then gave some examples and narratives of converts and concludes with two prayers.

These two pamphlets reflect the missiological theory of Arnold as originally presented in his book *Islam, its history, character and relationship with Christianity*. Arnold's missiological theories were addressed to situations where Muslims made up the majority of the population. In Cape Town a unique situation existed. Although the Muslims of Cape Town belonged to the racial majority of the city and thus experienced racial oppression from the white minority, Muslim were a religious minority. Arnold's tracts and pamphlets did not supply the necessary tools to those attempting to convert Muslims to Christianity, nor did they convince the Muslims of the need to convert.

The Muslims had been out of contact with fellow believers for many years and, because of this, had assimilated many Christian rites into the Muslim faith. For example the naming of a Muslim child takes place on the seventh day. In the Cape it is called the *doopmaal*. This is the same Afrikaans word that is used for a Christian baptism feast.¹²⁵ Instead of using as a missionary tool the closeness and tolerance that existed between the Christian and Muslim population, Arnold drove a wedge between them which would continue throughout the twentieth century.

¹²⁴ John M Arnold, *Kind Words...*p. 13.

¹²⁵ Cass Abrahams, *The Culture and Cuisine of the Cape Malays*, Cape Town, 1995, p.27.

Arnold's typically Protestant evangelical Christian attitude which had developed from nineteenth century optimistic thinking which believed that Christianity was rational and progressive and would soon have converted the whole world. This was naive in a multi-faith, multi-racial, cosmopolitan environment such as Cape Town of the nineteenth century. Arnold's pamphlets claimed that Christianity was an irresistible power which was able to reform the world by eradicating poverty and restoring justice for all. However, Arnold, like many other European Christians in colonies such as the Cape, tended to judge people on racial lines rather than on religious beliefs.

Finally, Arnold's age and health was a factor in his inability to be both a successful missionary to the Muslims and a parish priest in a new parochial area which had no infra-structure when he arrived. Although not old in years by today's standards, he was 58 when he arrived at the Cape and 65 at his death in December 1881, he is described by Bishop West Jones as a 'fine old man, full of energy and self denial'.¹²⁶ The responsibility of running a parish which was in constant financial difficulties as well as a mission to Muslims began to take its toll. At one stage he reported with some despair to the SPG 'What to do many a time, I know not'.¹²⁷ The stress of this situation affected his work and he died from a 'spasm of the heart' on the 9th December 1881.

Arnold's Mission Methods compared with the 19th Century Paradigms.

The theoretical model which Arnold describes in his book on Islam is typical of the missionary paradigm during the post-Enlightenment

¹²⁶ Wood, *Father in God*, p.132-33.

¹²⁷ *Report to SPG 1877*. MS AB1676, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

period.¹²⁸ In his praxis of mission, however, especially that which he carried out in Papendorp (Woodstock), his methods are dubious in character and content. This is especially true in the pamphlets analysed above.

Arnold was an evangelical who desired to share with others the love of God which he had experienced. Trained at the Basel Mission College, Arnold should have applied the precepts of Christian Blumhardt¹²⁹ to be 'friendly, humble patient... never boastful nor conceited, nor rude, never selfish, not quick to take offense'.¹³⁰ As can be seen from the analysis of his pamphlets he was frequently boastful and conceited about the Christian faith. He was also rude and offensive in his dealing with other faiths. His allegations against other faiths in his pamphlets were outrageous and raise questions concerning his integrity as a missionary. The pamphlet *Abdullah ben Yusuf*, written with a *non-de-plume*, was a highly dubious method of mission which was hypocritical of other faiths to the extent that Arnold's ethical stance must be questioned.

Positively, Arnold's missionary praxis included the physical humanitarian care of people as well as the saving of souls. Arnold, according to Lightfoot, effected a 'marked improvement in the moral and physical atmosphere of the place'.¹³¹ After his death the *Cape Times* remarked:

¹²⁸ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, Maryknoll, 1991, pp.286-341.

¹²⁹ Said to be the first Missionary sent out by the Basle Mission School. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* p. 287.

¹³⁰ Quoted in *Transforming Mission*, 287.

¹³¹ Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot, 'The Cape Malay' in *Sketches of Church Life and Work in the Diocese of Cape Town*, Cape Town, 1902, p.41. See also Andrea Badham, ' "The Badge of Respectability": Anglicanism in turn-of-the-Century Woodstock' in *Studies in the history of Cape Town* Cape Town, 1988, p.83.

The Church, enlarged and improved, is now surrounded by streets and houses, forming a happy contrast to the dilapidated hovels and broken down remnants of ancient respectability that it formerly displayed.¹³²

Arnold presumed that all Muslims were eager to hear the good news the Bible offered and he felt personally responsible to bring that good news to non-believers, in this case Muslims. In a report to the SPG in 1877 he stated that after he had established the Muslim Mission in Cape Town on a firm footing he hoped to do missionary work on the eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony. There he could 'spend his last days on or beyond the frontier' doing 'the greatest, noblest and most blessed of all God's work on earth'.¹³³

With this presumption that all were eager to hear about Christianity there developed a spiritual superiority and condescension to non-Christians.¹³⁴ This Arnold showed in his simplistic concept that once intelligent Muslims read the Bible they could not help but believe. This condescension prevented any younger church developing¹³⁵ without the dominance of Western clergy. In this area, Arnold, tried to ensure the separation of mission work and parish work. When an assistant was not available he felt he could not use converts because they were 'not competent to cope with the difficulties'.¹³⁶

¹³² *Cape Times*, 10 December 1881.

¹³³ Report from Arnold to Bullock (SPG) 22 Nov 1877. SPG Microfilm 96722/3 Reel 4, 1121ff Cory Library.

¹³⁴ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p.290.

¹³⁵ The establishment of independent younger churches, according to Bosch (*Ibid*, 295), was the theoretical aim of Protestant mission.

¹³⁶ Report from Arnold to Bullock (SPG), 22 Nov 1877.

With the view of religious superiority, came an attitude of cultural superiority.¹³⁷ In *Ishmael*, Arnold speaks of the Western technical advances in fields of education, economics, political and social reform. Whilst at Woodstock, Arnold ran a Parish school where locals were educated in a pseudo-English manner by Misses Young and Byrnes. The latter had an old Hottentot women 'to tea' who 'kept singing "Lekker Tea. Nice Tea"'.¹³⁸ Similarly, two young girls living on the beach of Woodstock with their drunken parents had their Khoisan names of Spartie and Krissive changed at baptism to 'Christian names' of Eva and Annie.¹³⁹ The adoption of Christian names by Muslim converts makes it difficult to tell accurately the number of Muslims converting to Christianity and also demonstrates Arnold's belief that the 'superior' English culture should subjugate the local indigenous culture.

Arnold's idea of a Brotherhood or confraternity running a mission station, economically independent of any support from the 'home' country, is a typical Basel Mission College method.¹⁴⁰ The strategy was that a Mission could become a self-supporting, commercial venture. The danger was that its Christian missionary role would decline in the face of commercial pressure.¹⁴¹ Such a scheme could result in commercial and social colonisation and exploitation in the name of Christianity. Although this scheme was never implemented in Woodstock, the attitude of both Arnold and the Anglican Church reflected this in its attempts to make Woodstock respectable. In Woodstock, 'a respectable lifestyle' began to mean the

¹³⁷ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p.291.

¹³⁸ Miss M Byrnes to Dr J M Arnold and forwarded to the SPG. 26 Nov 1878. SPG Microfilm 96722/2 D46, page 69. MIC172 Cory Library.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, p.295.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.295. Quoting Neill.

position someone held in social areas especially the Church. Attendance at the Anglican Church became a means of acceptance into a higher class of society.¹⁴² Thus, English speakers were considered 'classy' when compared to others and particularly when compared to Muslims.¹⁴³

Arnold believed that it was the destiny of the western nations, chosen by God, to bring the Good News to the ends of the earth.¹⁴⁴ But with this destiny came Arnold's belief in the right to colonise through the settlement of missionaries in economically independent settlements. Such enterprises 'might prove lucrative in themselves'¹⁴⁵ but would appear to place little concern on whether it was lucrative for the indigenous population.

¹⁴² Andrea Badham, 'Badge of Respectability', pp.83-84.

¹⁴³ Rosemary Ridd, *Position and Identity in a Divided Community: Colour and Religion in District Six, Walmer Estate and Woodstock area of Cape Town*, unpublished D.Phil Thesis, Oxford, 1981, p. 18.

¹⁴⁴ Arnold, *Ishmael*, pp.408-411. 'If volunteers be never wanting to engage in perilous expeditions wherever the prospect of personal distinction and advancement in life seem to offer themselves can we as members of the Church of Christ stand aloof and watch from a distance with hearts unmoved how the Missionaries of Islam are taking possession of what is the promised heritage of the Redeemer' (pages 410-411).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, 409f

Chapter 8

The 'Malay Mission Work' carried out by the Cowley Fathers.

As stated in Chapter 7, Bishop Gray envisaged the use of a monastic brotherhood to do the Muslim mission work in Cape Town. In 1871 he wrote to Father R M Benson, founder of the Society of St John the Evangelist (SSJE or Cowley Fathers), at Cowley near Oxford, inquiring if Father Benson could send some Cowley Fathers to give the Muslim mission a new impetus. The mission had been without fulltime staff for nearly twenty years. Father Benson replied that the Society was just starting new work in America and India and they thus had neither money nor personnel to spare for work in South Africa.¹

Bishop Gray's successor, Bishop (later Archbishop) William West Jones obtained the services of Dr J M Arnold (see previous chapter). After Dr Arnold's death in 1881, Bishop Jones decided to revive his predecessor's idea of placing the Muslim Mission into the hands of the Cowley Fathers. He applied to Father Benson who sent Father Puller to Cape Town on a six month visit to ascertain whether the order would be willing to work at the Cape.²

Father Puller arrived in Cape Town on May 4, 1883. Writing ten years later, he stated that he was sent to Cape Town to be chaplain to the All Saints' Sisters³ who operated from the Home for Penitents in New Street.

¹Michael Woods, *A Father in God: The episcopate of William West Jones*, London, 1913, p 132.

² Michael Woods, *A Father in God...* p. 134.

³ The All Saints Sisters took over the running of many of the homes and orphanages in Cape Town after their arrival in 1876. Previously they were run by a 'Community of ladies under Miss Fair'. She and Bishop West Jones had agreed to make the Community in Cape Town a branch house of the All Saints' Sisterhood. This sisterhood was founded in 1851 by the Rev Upton Richards,

Father Benson had promised him for six months in the place of Father Holmes, 'who had been incapacitated by illness'.⁴ The Bishop was impressed with the work that Fr Puller was doing and even before his six months were up, had requested that he stay in Cape Town permanently. The Society's superior, Fr Benson agreed on condition that another Father came and lived with Father Puller. Thus the Bishop had to find work sufficient for two of the Society's priests. Some financial support was also to be given to the Fathers by the diocese.

Father Puller and the Bishop discussed what this work should be. Initially, work among stevedores and sailors in the docks was proposed. As the Society took responsibility for the Sisters living at the Home for Penitents at St George's Home, New Street (and later All Saints Home at Lielieblom above Woodstock) a task where the sisters could help was preferred. At this point an earlier suggestion of 'a mission to the Malays and a mission to the coloured people at the Eastern end of Cape Town'⁵ was revived. This would be similar to that run by Archdeacon Lightfoot on the Western side. Father Puller pointed out that friction would soon arise if a mission chapel was set up within the boundaries of any existing parish. He proposed that a new mission district be formed, 'nominally in the Cathedral parish, but practically independent',⁶ with the Cowley Fathers having the independence of parish priests. Throughout its history the position of the Muslim Mission in relation to the parishes, presented

incumbent at the Margaret Street Chapel, London, which is dedicated to All Saints. Wood, *A Father in God* and S.L. Ollard, *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*, London, 1915.

⁴ Fr F W Puller, SSJE to unnamed Father (presumably to Father Congreve, who was the Father in charge in Cape Town from June to December 1893), 31 August 1893. MS Bc2:2-7,10,11 SSJE Letters, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

⁵ Puller to unnamed Father, 31 August 1893.

⁶ Puller to unnamed Father, 31 August 1893...

some difficulties. In some cases the work of the mission would be duplicated by the parish priest as he went about doing his normal pastoral duties. In other cases, all pastoral matters involving Muslims would be simply referred to the 'Malay Mission' in spite of its own diocese-wide work load.

Father Puller and the Bishop came to agreement over the tasks which the Cowley Fathers would undertake. These were:

1. The 'Malay Mission work'
2. Mission to the 'Kafirs and other fully-coloured people in the Eastern part of the city'⁷ It was agreed that the Cowley Fathers could evangelise the Africans not only in St Philip's District but also in the district of St Mark's (District Six) and Holy Trinity (Caledon Square). This later was extended to include the parish of Papendorp (later Woodstock) where the first 'location' of Cape Town was being established.
3. The parochial charge of the new mission district which later became St Philip's Parochial District.
4. The chaplaincy work with the Sisters at St Georges Home.

This agreement was reached on 17 January 1884 at a meeting in the Cathedral vestry between the Bishop, Canon (later Archdeacon) Lightfoot, the Rev Mr Clementson of St Mark's and Father Puller. The Bishop also agreed to contribute £150 *per annum* out of his 'Malay fund' and £100 *per annum* in consideration of the Chaplaincy of St George's Home. This arrangement was to begin on the arrival of the second Cowley Father.⁸

⁷ Fr Puller to unnamed Father (presumably Father Congreve), 31 August 1893. See also Appendix IV 'Africans in Cape Town during the Nineteenth Century.'

⁸ Puller to unnamed Father, 31 August 1893.

In October 1884, Father Sheppard joined Father Puller and they took up residence in Sir Lowry Road. They realised at once that too much work had been assigned to them. The parochial district of what was later to become the Parish of St Philip's, Chapel Street, had no infrastructure. The first priority was to set up a church, a school and parochial organisations. They decided that the 'Malay' work, if it was to be done at all, had to be the main task of one man. Father Sheppard was put in charge of the parochial work while Father Puller acted as chaplain to St George's Home, did the African work, as well as having oversight of the entire mission. He thus requested that another man be sent to do the 'Malay work'.

It is ironic that the first priority in the list of tasks agreed to by the Bishop and Fr Puller in January 1884 should be the one neglected. The very reason for asking for a second Cowley Father was so that they could do the mission work to the Muslims from a local community house. By the time the second man arrived in October, they had realised that a third man was required if the other tasks were to be done. Why the Muslim mission work should have been neglected is not known. The Community were receiving £150pa for the work, which makes it especially hard understand. It would appear from the reports to the mother house in Oxford, that the Cowley Fathers preferred the work among the Africans and saw this as a more important and pressing need. This would be strengthened when Father Godfrey Callaway, who was working at St Cuthbert's, Tsolo in the Transkei, decided to join the SSJE in 1904.⁹

Using money from the Society, St Philip's School Chapel was built at a cost of £2000. It was opened in April 1886 and in July an adjoining

⁹ Stanier Green, *The First Hundred Years 1873-1973: The Story of the Diocese of St John's, Transkei*, Umtata, 1974, p.104.

school was completed. In September 1886 the Rev W U Watkins¹⁰ arrived in the Cape to work for the Cowley Fathers among the 'Malays'. He also found this work too much for one person and in 1890 relinquished the post to become chaplain to the lepers on Robben Island.

No other priest was sent out solely for the 'Malay work' and, regretfully, this part of the Cowley Fathers' work was to receive little or no attention until it was handed back to the Diocese in 1904. However, their chapel and school was in an area of the city where Muslims resided and contact between the Anglican Church and Muslims would have occurred in normal parish pastoral work. The SSJE fathers concentrated their mission work among the black Africans in Cape Town and the Transkei.

In 1891, Father Puller was recalled to Oxford to be the Novice Master and Father Henry Edward Osborne replaced in him in Cape Town. From indirect comments in books and letters, Father Osborne's term in Cape Town was not without incident. Margaret Woodgate in her book on Father Congreve states that 'difficulties had arisen at the Mission House in Cape Town, and it was imperative that an older father should go out and settle them'¹¹ Father George Congreve¹² was sent from Cowley to

¹⁰ William Uniacke Watkins was a graduate of Christchurch College Oxford. In 1882 he was made deacon and ordained priest in 1883, both by the Bishop of Lincoln. After serving his curacy at Sneinton, Nottinghamshire, he came to the Cape. It is interesting to note that Sneinton was the Nottinghamshire village where Lightfoot first heard Bishop Gray preach and was convinced that he should work at the Cape (see Ch.6 above). Watkins served at St Philip's, Chapel Street from 1887-1890 and then as Chaplain to the Asylum and Leper Hospital on Robben Island until 1901. He spent two further spells as Acting Chaplain from 1914-15 and 1923-24. During the years between these times he was assistant priest at St Philip's. In 1924 he retired to Exeter. His name does not appear in the 1941 Crockfords, so presumably he died between 1936 and 1941.

¹¹ M V Woodgate, *Father Congreve of Cowley*, London, 1956, p. 40.

¹² George Congreve was born in 1835 in Cork, educated at Eton and Exeter College, Oxford and Wells Theological College. Ordained deacon in 1859

deal with the problems. She did not state what these difficulties were but from the correspondence between Bishop West Jones and Fr Osborne it would appear that there was a personality clash between the two men, aggravated by Fr Osborne's refusal to accept a cut in the grant to St Philip's in spite of the fact that little or no work was being done among the Muslims.¹³

Father Congreve's stay at the Cape was short, in 'only a few months... the work he was sent to do was completed before the end of year and he was wanted very much in England'.¹⁴

In a letter to Congreve¹⁵ in 1893, Fr Puller, describing the position at the Cape, suggested that four priests were required to carry out the workload they had agreed to do for the Bishop of Cape Town. By this the Society would be justified to retain the £150 which the Bishop was giving them for 'the Malay work'. Fr Congreve had originally written to Fr Puller suggesting that because of the shortage of staff the Society could not 'undertake' the 'Malay' mission work. However, if St Philip's Parish was handed over to the diocese a father would be free to do the work. As an alternative, Fr Congreve suggested that the 'Malay work' could be 'added' later during the course of the year. He misunderstood the

and priest in 1860. He served in parishes at Warminster and Frankby before acknowledging a vocation to the monastic life at Cowley. He entered the order in 1873. He served the order at its mother-house in Oxford as well as two terms in South Africa. He died in 1918. M V Woodgate, *Father Congreve of Cowley*, London, 1956.

¹³ Bishop West Jones to Fr Osborne 10 Dec. 1892; 20 Jan. 1893; 28 March 1893 *Bishop of Cape Town's Letter Book*, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

¹⁴ Margaret Woodgate, *Father Congreve...*, p. 41.

¹⁵ The letters are addressed simply to 'Dear Father, ...' by their dates it can be concluded that they were addressed to Father Congreve while he was in Cape Town.



Fig 21. Father Congreve

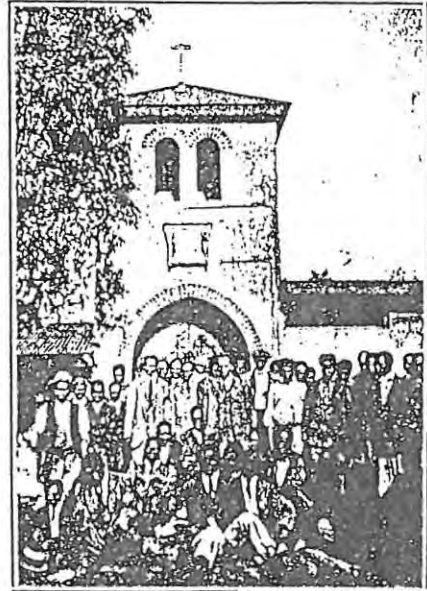


Fig 22. St Columba's Native Home

Society's role in the 'Malay Mission' but this was speedily clarified by Father Puller in return of post.¹⁶ He pointed out that they had 'solemnly "undertaken" it nine years ago' and received £150 p.a. for it, a total of £1350. Fr Puller acknowledged that in the first three years they had, to a certain extent, done 'the Malay work' and in one year they were 'doing it in a very real and efficient way'.¹⁷ For the last six years 'through sheer impossibility [they had] been unable to do it' but they had 'in no way resigned [their] position as 'Malay' missionaries'.¹⁸ Fr Puller's letter suggested that as the number of novices and newly-professed Fathers in the Society had increased, it was perhaps the time to resume the 'Malay' work. He gave a financial breakdown on how the Society could restart this work. He showed how this would be more economical than paying back the £1350 which the Bishop had paid them for the work.

In December 1893, having completed his tasks in Cape Town, Father Congreve continued to India and finally back to England. The Cape Town Mission House was left once again in the hands of Father Osborne. It would appear from notes made by Fr Page in 1896 that both the clergy and the public of Cape Town had problems with Fr Osborne's personality.¹⁹ As a result the Bishop requested the Superior of the Society

¹⁶ Father Puller to unnamed Father (presumably Fr Congreve), September 3 1893.

¹⁷ This refers to the period during which the 'Malay Work' was undertaken by the Rev. W U Watkins.

¹⁸ Fr Puller to unnamed Father, 3 September 1893.

¹⁹ 'The Bishop stated that it was quite true that he had in the past written and spoken to me on the desirability of Father Osborne's return, and although he thought that a change might be good for him now, that he had learned throughly to appreciate all the good work that he had done that he had recovered the ground with the public which at one time he had lost, and that it was very satisfactory that at the last meeting of the clergy they had unanimously passed a resolution expressing their appreciation of excellent work that he had done for the Church in Cape Town.' Father Page *Notes of the conversation with the Bishop Oct 5&6*

to remove him. The cause of these problems is not mentioned in the biographies of Congreve or Waggett (Osborne's successor at Cape Town) but it would appear to be a disagreement with the sisters at St George's Home where Fr Osborne was Chaplain. Many of the sisters wrote to the bishop requesting that they have another priest as their spiritual director as they found Fr Osborne had 'a very strong... and repellent personality'.²⁰ The Mother Superior who favoured Fr Osborne, attempted to smooth over the personality difference. In spite of other arrangements for spiritual direction being organised, in August 1895, three sisters fled from the home and returned to the mother house in England without permission from the Mother Superior. Archbishop West Jones wrote to Fr Page in Oxford expressing his pain and indignation over the action of the sisters, offering no excuse for their actions - 'they left without a hint or word of warning to me, and, so far as I understand, they have fled unknown to the other sisters'.²¹ The Archbishop attributes this action to the methods of action adopted by Fr Osborne in the past.

A hand written diary of the History of St Philip's by a parishioner (D Smit) speaks very highly of Fr Osborne and his work for the poor of the Chapel Street area. Fr Osborne was a great supporter of the temperance movement and was secretary of the Church of England Temperance Society in Cape Town. He was a strenuous campaigner against the Innes Liquor Act (1899)²² which was passed by just two votes in parliament. He also attempted to get a compulsory weekly half holiday for all shop assistants. At that time shopworkers worked a 6 full day week. By The Shop Assistants Act(1899) and The Half Holiday Act (1899) the

1896, CPSA Archives University of Witwatersrand.

²⁰ Abp West Jones to Fr Page, 23 July 1895.

²¹ Abp West Jones to Fr Page, 5 Aug 1895.

²² See Appendix 7.

conditions for these workers improved. Fr Osborne also supported the necessity of supplying cheaper food for the needy through government subsidised food purchasing schemes.

In 1893, he gave evidence before the Cape Government's Labour Commission. The Commissioners questioned him over an extremely broad field of issues. The tone of the questions indicates the difference between the Commissioners' stance and that of Father Osborne. The Commissioners appeared to support an apprenticeship scheme where black and coloured boys who did not attend school should be apprenticed. Fr Osborne preferred a government-run trade school as he felt that most of the white masters would abuse their apprentices and not teach them any trade. He felt that they would be overworked, and physically abused and ill-treated. Because they were children they would not complain to the magistrate. The Commissioners also inquired on his views concerning the availability of liquor (see Appendix 7), his view of Africans living in his district and girls working in shops, factories or domestic services. In all these he took a strong pro-poor and pro-black line which must have angered the white citizens of Cape Town.

Vivian Bickford-Smith²³ showed that by the mid 1890s all the English language newspapers supported the so-called 'Clean' party in the local City Council elections. This party stood for improvement of hygiene within the city especially among the poor. For this reason, Woodstock with all its poverty and large black population was given its own Municipality as an attempt to remove these problems from the Cape Town Council's ratepayers. Residential segregation of 'all coloured... Kaffirs,

²³ Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice on Victorian Cape Town*, Johannesburg 1995.

West Coast men, Mozambiques and so-called Malays'²⁴ was offered as a solution by the Dean of Cape Town, the Very Reverend C Barnett-Clarke, in a sermon in 1888. In a report in the *Cowley Evangelist* of August 1895, Fr Osborne reported, 'there has been terrible neglect in the enforcement of the laws for the protection of the natives.... But Oh, the difficulty of those native questions and their relation to whites ... I utterly deny that every Christian Kafir man or woman ought to be thankful to be a servant to a white man, still more that his Christianity is to be tested and judged by his willingness to fill this place in the world....'²⁵ From statements such as these it is clear that Fr Osborne's unpopularity among the white voters and the local clergy was based on his favouring the poor who were usually black, coloured or 'Malay'.

After he had been recalled, the Bishop told Fr Page that

he had learned thoroughly to appreciate all the good work that he [Fr Osborne] had done, that he had recovered the ground with the public which at one time he had lost and that it was very satisfactory that at the last meeting of the clergy they had unanimously passed a resolution expressing their appreciation of the excellent work that he had done for the Church in Cape Town.²⁶

It is significant that the clergy and the public seemed to be opposing the social work being done by the Cowley Fathers among the poor and oppressed blacks and coloureds of Cape Town. It shows the Anglican Church continuing to become polarised on racial, social and ethnic

²⁴ James Easton, *Lecture to the YMCA on the Need for Sanitation* in Vivian Bickford-Smith *Ethnic Pride...* p. 117.

²⁵ *Cowley Evangelist* 26 August 1895.

²⁶ from *A few notes of the conversation with the Bishop at Bishopscourt - 5 & 6 Oct 1896. Read over and approved by the Bishop.* MS Bc2:2-7,10,11 SSJE Letters, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

grounds. This polarisation also occurred in local Council politics where the 'Clean Party', mainly white English settlers, opposed the Dutch speaking citizens who preferred to keep property rates down and thus not spend money on improving roads and sanitation. Because they could not afford a rates increase, the poor of all races, as well as those coloureds and Muslims who had the vote supported the so-called 'Dirty Party'. This racial, social and ethnic polarisation continued in the policy of the Anglican mission to the Muslims during the first thirty years of the twentieth century where the conversion of the Muslims became less important than the prevention of Christian women marrying Muslim men.²⁷ This was particularly strong when it was a white women who intended to cross the racial and religious barrier by marrying a black Muslim man.

Father Osborne was replaced by Father Philip Napier Waggett (1862-1939). He arrived at Cape Town with Father Page (the Superior of the Society) as well as a doctor, Miss Edith Pellat (see below).

In an article in the *Cowley Evangelist* in 1899, Fr Waggett gives an account of the 'Malay' people of Cape Town.²⁸ This report was historically inaccurate, especially in regard to the origin of the Muslims which Waggett assumes to be Malaysia. The report does, however, indicate an understanding of the Muslim situation in Cape Town that prevailed in the Church at that time.

In discussing the origin of the 'Malays' in Cape Town, he indicated that 'Malay' was a generic name for all Muslims and was often preceded by further description e.g. 'Indian Malays'. He also acknowledged that many words of 'Taal - the Dutch of Africa' were derived from Malay.

²⁷ This will be dealt with in the following chapters.

²⁸ from *Cowley Evangelist* (1899) as quoted in John Nias, *Flame from an Oxford Cloister*, London, 1961, p.60.

However, most of the Asiatic influences were ‘obliterated by influences from Mecca and the Turkish Empire’. This influence was introduced by the arrival of the teacher from Turkey in the 1870s. He noted that in spite of the Turkish influence, the Muslim women at the Cape did not wear the veil. This he felt was significant as it carried with it ‘the practical abolition of half the social system of Islam’.

Waggett further commented that the influence of ‘the old East on the Malay’ was growing. Quite what he meant by ‘the old East’ is not clear but one can presume that he meant the Islamic and not Christian Influences. Where previously ‘Malay’ servants were trusted, he found that more and more they were becoming less ‘humble and accessible’ to their ‘white employers’. Waggett does not state why Muslim employees should be humble and accessible to their white masters. Presumably this was simply the expected norm from black employees towards ‘superior’ white employers. ‘The Malays are now rather exclusive and independent’²⁹ he stated. He claimed that this independent spirit was a reaction to the oppression of the ‘Malays’ by the ‘Clean’ Party. This oppression included the closing of the ‘Malay Cemetery’³⁰ which resulted in riots and the removal of the right to block vote a single candidate. This prevented the six votes each Muslim voter had, going to a single ‘Dirty’ or ‘Malay’ candidate. By dividing the ‘Dirty’ vote in this way, the ‘Clean Party’ ensured victory in the Council elections.³¹

²⁹ From *Cowley Evangelist* (1899)... p.60

³⁰ In 1886 the City Council closed all burial grounds within the boundaries of the City for health reasons. The issue was handled insensitively by the Council, taking scant notice of the religious differences between Muslims and Christians. Muslims carried their dead from their homes to the burial ground, thus cemeteries outside the city boundaries were viewed as an indirect attack on their culture.

³¹ Up to the change of legislation (Constitutional Ordinance Bill, 1893), a voter was entitled to allot his given number of votes to a single candidate. In Cape Town each voter had four votes. With the cumulative vote in operation, a ‘Malay’ or Muslim candidate could easily have won a Parliament seat. Achmat

Waggett also considered the 'Malays' of the Cape were not really well informed about Islam, 'but this did not prevent their clinging with extraordinary tenacity to their profession'.³² In fact the stubbornness of the 'Malays' to accept the Christian message he viewed as a 'discouragement' to the Cowley Fathers' work as a whole.

The Cowley Fathers' work continued to develop in spheres other than the mission to Muslims. It was only in the work done by Miss Edith Pellat that work among Muslims advanced.

Miss Edith Pellat

In 1896 Miss Edith Pellat had travelled out to the Cape on the same ship as Waggett (the *Lismore Castle*). She was qualified as a doctor and had gone to Zanzibar in 1895 to learn Arabic in preparation for missionary service to the Muslims at the Cape.³³

The Cowley Fathers and the Diocese of Cape Town were so short of money on her arrival that she was forced to go into private practice in order to earn her living. Waggett attempted to establish a dispensary but even the stock of drugs was completely inadequate. By 1897 Waggett was forced to appeal through the *Cowley Evangelist* for £40 for the absolutely essential equipment for the dispensary. Waggett's brother, Ernest, acted as London agent and sent out the drugs as the donations came in.

Davids, 'Politics and the Muslims of Cape Town: A Historical Survey' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town* Vol 4, 1984 (ed C Saunders), Cape Town, p.192.

³² John Nias, *Flame from an Oxford Cloister*, London, 1961, p.60.

³³ Cecil Lewis and G E Edwards, *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, London, 1934, p. 100.

By August 1897, the dispensary was up and running at 13c Sir Lowry's Road in the parochial district of St Philip's. It attracted 'many friends among the Malay community'³⁴ especially 'a large number of women and children who sought Miss Pellat's medical aid'.³⁵ A local pharmacist, Mr Russo of Sir Lowry's Road, also donated a series of generous gifts to the dispensary. By February 1898, Waggett wrote to Cowley that the Dispensary was continuing to increase its work and that 'Miss Pellat is invaluable, both as Doctor and Missionary'.³⁶

Waggett found that the work done by Miss Pellat merely showed how much more was required to be done. Miss Pellat was 'getting to know the goodness of the people and their weakness too'. She also reported to Waggett the problem of 'lapsing' Christians. She reported in February 1898 that she had seen 89 new 'Malay' patients but of these 51 were either lapsed Christians or had relations who had lapsed. Waggett, sensibly, decided that the excellent work being done by the dispensary should not be jeopardised by stronger evangelical mission work. Rather the 'quiet, loving, constant work which lies thick around the Dispensary' should be maintained as it 'justified itself as a medical work alone, as a work of mercy and reform, and an exhibition in act of the Divine love'.³⁷ This was a notable vindication of the view that the mere presence of Christian workers and the social work they did was the most effective witness.

Miss Pellat received additional funding for her work from the Guild of St

³⁴ John Nias, *Flame from an Oxford Cloister*, London, 1961, p.59.

³⁵ Thomas F Lightfoot, 'The Cape Malays' in *Sketches of Church Life and Work in the Diocese of Cape Town* (ed Bishop Alan Gibson), Cape Town, 1904, p. 43.

³⁶ John Nias, *Flame from an Oxford Cloister*, London, 1961, p.60.

³⁷ John Nias, *Flame from an Oxford Cloister* p.61.

Luke³⁸ and from the SPCK.³⁹ After Waggett's departure in 1899, Miss Pellat was the sole worker among Muslims from St Philip's district as the Cowley Fathers concentrated more on their work among Africans in Cape Town:-

One worker could not make much headway and the work was so incessant and so strenuous that it is no wonder her health began to fail. Ophthalmic neuritis led to total blindness and the task she had done so heroically had to be laid down.⁴⁰

Forced to resign because of ill-health, Miss Pellat returned to England. So all specialised (non-parochial) work among the Muslims in Cape Town ceased until 1911 when Father Stephen Garabedian was appointed Director of the Mission to Muslims.

The Cowley Fathers were now concentrating almost entirely on the parish work at St Philip's and what they called 'the Native Work' in the newly established 'Native Location' at Ndabeni. Other work was also undertaken among the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape at St Cuthbert's Mission at Tsolo under Father Geoffery Callaway.

In 1904 the Cowley Fathers gave up their parish work in Cape Town and with it the 'Malay Mission work'. Their Mission House in Chapel Street continued to be a power house of prayer in the Diocese but the work agreed to in 1884 was reduced to work among Africans in Cape Town.

The Cowley Fathers had taken on the 'Malay Mission work' as part of an agreement to enable an extra father to come to the Cape. In spite of the

³⁸ A medical missionary organisation based in London.

³⁹ The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge also based in London

⁴⁰ Cecil Lewis and G E Edwards, *Historical Records* p. 100.

vision of Gray and West Jones, it was never the Cowley Fathers' own aim to be the primary missionaries to the Muslims in Cape Town. Their interests concentrated on the African work and this continually drew them away from 'the Malay Work' and although they received an annual grant, little or no work was done over the twenty odd years they received the grant, the exemptions being the work of the Reverend W U Watkins and Miss Edith Pellat. In the latter's case, she was forced to run a private practice in order to survive financially.

The Cowley Fathers' approach to mission was to live among the people and witness to them by loving kindness.⁴¹ They believed that the African could be converted to English values. Similarly with the Muslim they believed that by simply living among them, English values would rub off and the Muslim, having been 'swiftly converted to English values', could not fail to become a Christian as well.⁴²

⁴¹ 'Fr Congreve as a postulant once asked Fr R M Benson:- "I suppose, Father, that your object in founding the Society of St John the Evangelist was to train the clergymen who join you for work of missions at home, and to the Heathen abroad?" His answer gave him (Congreve) his first lesson in the alphabet of the dedicated life. "No, I do not think the object of our association in a Religious Community is to equip us to go out as missionaries. We do not come into our community primarily in order to convert others, but rather with the desire, first of all, to be converted ourselves. Then, if by God's grace, we are converted to Him, He may use us in missionary work, or in any other way that he pleases.'" from M V Woodgate, *Father Congreve of Cowley*, London, 1956, p. 20.

⁴²Vivian Bickford-Smith *Ethnic Pride...* p. 87.

Chapter 9

‘Moslem Mission Board’: 1911-1932.

The ‘Malay Mission Work’ was neglected during the early years of the twentieth century because the Cowley Fathers, in whose care the work had been entrusted, believed the ‘Native Work’ was more important (see previous chapter).

During the period 1911 to 1932 and especially under the influence of Stephen Garabedian, the whole accent of the mission to Muslim’s policy began to change. No longer was the conversion of Muslims to Christianity the most important work. During this period more emphasis was placed on the prevention of Christian women converting to Islam.

In 1907 the Cape Town Diocesan Synod decided to place all missionary work it carried out, under the control of the newly constituted Cape Town Diocesan Mission Board (hereafter referred to as the DMB). This Board was established to co-ordinate the funding of missionary enterprises especially the ‘Coloured Mission’ at Maitland and the ‘Native Mission’ at Ndabeni which were in financial difficulties.¹

In 1912 the DMB reported to synod that three priests, newly arrived at the Cape and all experienced in missionary work, had been co-opted to the Board during the previous year. They were the Reverend Stephen Garabedian, the Rev Father S.J. Wallis SSJE and the Rev Dr L. Booth. The Board also reported in 1912 that the Maitland Coloured Mission, which been such a drain on the Board’s fund, had been handed over to the Diocese as a parochial district and was no longer viewed as a missionary

¹ ‘Report of the Capetown Diocesan Board of Mission’ in *Cape Town Diocesan Synod: Reports and Agenda 1910*. [Hereafter the Diocesan Synod reports will be referred to as DS Reports (date)]

concern. This occurred because of a pledge made by the DMB to raise sufficient funds to put the mission on sound financial footing. Over £514 was collected over the preceding four years. Because of this, the funding previously spent in Maitland could now be used by the Board for 'more direct mission work amongst the Moslems and heathen'.² The Board also reported that the Rev Stephen Garabedian had been appointed to do missionary work among the Muslims.

The Rev Stephen Garabedian³

Garabedian was an Armenian⁴, born in Diarbaker in Turkey on 2 March 1874. He was educated at Bishop Gobat's School⁵ in Jerusalem before travelling to England where he attended St Paul's Missionary College, Burgh⁶ (1894). He also studied at St Augustine's College, Canterbury⁷ (1897-1900). He became a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1900 and worked at Karnal Mission Station⁸, then in the Diocese of Lahore, in India (now in the Diocese of Delhi). He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Lahore in 1903 and priest by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1905 while on sabbatical in England. He worked at Karnal

² 'DMB report to Synod' in *DS Reports (1912)* p. 21.

³ Information on Stephen Garabedian's early life was obtained from USPG's Card Index of Missionaries, kindly supplied by Mrs Catherine Wakeling, Archivist of the USPG in London. Faxed Letter dated 1 Nov 1995.

⁴ See Appendix 5.

⁵ Bishop Gobat was the second Bishop of Jerusalem. He started many schools in the near East. See Appendix 5.

⁶ St Paul's Missionary College, Burgh, Lincolnshire was founded in 1878 and closed in 1936.

⁷ See Appendix 3

⁸ Karnal Mission Station (originally in Diocese of Lahore, now in Diocese of Delhi) was part of a joint missionary venture between the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and the SPG. (Information given by the Archivist of the USPG, London, Mrs Catherine Wakeling in a fax-letter dated 1 November 1995.)

between 1903 and 1911 but spent two years in the Diocese of Lincoln (1905-06) at Crowle.⁹ In 1911 he arrived at the Cape and, with his experience of working amongst Muslims, was soon put in charge of the Muslim work. He was curate at St Paul's Church, Bree Street. He continued to work in this parish and do the Muslim mission work until 1922 when he resigned. After a spell in England, he returned to Cape Town where he remained until his death in 1960. From 1929 he had a general licence to officiate at services in the Diocese of Cape Town.¹⁰

Work carried out by Stephen Garabedian.

Garabedian's major concern seemed to be the social problems which arose because of the many and various faiths found amongst the population of Cape Town. In the synod report of 1912 the DMB reported that his work covered four specific spheres:

- a) the discovery and making known the causes and extent of the leakage to Islam that is going on in our midst;
- b) devising means for remedying this leakage;
- c) following up and rescuing the lapsed; and
- d) presenting Christian truths to the Moslems in a form intelligible to the oriental mind.¹¹

The order in which these concerns were reported demonstrate that Garabedian's main concern was to ensure that the Anglican Church lost no more of its members to Islam and, if possible, 'rescued' those who had 'lapsed'. This whole report reflects the patronising attitude of the early twentieth century church towards other faiths. The use of the words, 'rescued' and 'lapsed' demonstrate this exclusiveness which the Christian church assumed.

⁹ Crowle is a small country town outside Scunthorpe.

¹⁰ He was not licensed to a particular parish or to do any diocesan task.

¹¹ DMB Report to Synod in *DS Reports (1912)* p. 22.



Fig 24. The Rev Stephen Garabedian

It is not known the numbers involved in this 'leakage' at the Cape. The reason for the 'leakage' appears the security offered by the Muslim community. This was particularly the case in the acceptance of pregnant women into Muslim families through polygamous marriages.

The task of rescuing 'the lapsed' seemed to be of particular concern to Garabedian because of his Armenian background. The Armenian people suffered continual persecution from their Muslim rulers. It is likely that Garabedian brought with him some strong anti-Islamic sentiments. Because of this one can understand his concentration on 'rescuing' those who had 'lapsed'.

The 1914 DMB report to synod told of the establishment of a 'temporary shelter for women and girls returning to the Christian faith, or who desire to become Christians but are without Christian friends and relations with whom to take shelter.'¹² Garabedian hoped that by accepting these girls into a Christian shelter, they would not resort to marrying into Muslim families. The shelter was at 56 Bryant Street under Miss Stollard¹³ and was opened in January 1914. In 1915 the house next door was acquired so that up to ten women could be accommodated at one time. Miss Stollard, the Rev Stephen Garabedian and a new assistant, the Rev Paul Dimishky,¹⁴ also did pastoral visits in the surrounding districts to

¹² DMB Report to Synod in *DS Reports (1914)* No page number - Agendum No 3.

¹³ No further information on Miss Stollard could be found.

¹⁴ The Rev. Paul John Elias Dimishky was from Syria. He obtained a BA at the Syrian Protestant College, later the American University of Beirut. He was ordained deacon in 1902 and priest in 1906 by the Bishop of Jerusalem. He was assistant to the Archdeacon of Syria(1903-05) and SPG Pastor in Bombay (1906-11). While at the Cape he served as curate at St Philip's, Chapel Street, St Luke's, Salt River and St Mary's, Woodstock. He went to England in 1920, serving in various parishes until 1934 when he became Vicar of Skirlaugh, Hull, in the Diocese of York, where he served until 1953. He died in 1956.

investigate cases of lapsed Christian who had been absorbed into the Muslim community.¹⁵

In 1915, Miss Stollard (who had by this time become Mrs Norton¹⁶) was joined by Dr Mary Turpie,¹⁷ who began medical visits and dispensing.¹⁸

Another missionary worker who was also a qualified midwife, Miss F E Shepherd arrived in May 1916.¹⁹ She started attending maternity cases and by August 1916 she had delivered three babies in her district.²⁰

St Monica's Home established.

In January 1917 Miss Shepherd suggested to the Muslim Mission Committee of the DMB that she begin training suitable coloured women

(*Crockford's Clerical Directory - 1917, 1921, 1927 and 1955*).

¹⁵ Michael Gelfand, *Christian Doctors and Nurses: The history of Medical Mission in South Africa: 1799-1976*, Johannesburg, 1984, p. 96.

¹⁶ Miss Stollard married the Rev William Alfred Norton who was acting Rector of Maitland (1916-17). He had served as a missionary at many stations in Southern Africa and also as Theological Tutor at St Matthew's Mission, Keiskamma Hoek. He became lecturer in Greek at UCT (1918-1925) and Professor of Bantu Philology (1920-25). He returned to parish ministry and retired as Hospital Chaplain to Groote Schuur (1950). (*Crockford's Clerical Directory 1957*)

¹⁷ Dr Mary Turpie arrived in South Africa in 1917.

¹⁸ DMB Report to Synod in *DS Reports (1919)* p. 35.

¹⁹ Miss Frances Edwina Shepherd was born in Essex in 1879. In her twenties she was influenced by the Rev. Arthur Shearly Cripps (later missionary to Southern Rhodesia) and decided to become a missionary. After training she joined the staff of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi where she worked for a few years. Illness forced her to resign but she was well enough to accept employment at the Cape from Rev Stephen Garabedian (also formerly a missionary at Karnal, a Cambridge Mission in Delhi Station). In 1918 she resigned from her mission activity when she married the Rev L K Zeeman. She died in 1955. (Michael Gelfand, *Christian Doctors and nurses...*, p. 99).

²⁰ Michael Gelfand, *Christian Doctors...*, p. 96.



Fig 26. Miss Ethel Hefford



Fig 27. St Monica's at 182 Bree Street



Fig 28. A Midwife on a visit

as midwives. She had already instructed several women when they had accompanied her to deliveries. She approached Dr Murray, the Secretary of the Western Cape branch of the Medical Association, in order to get this instruction recognised. He stressed that training should really take place in a Maternity Home. Miss Shepherd realised that such a home could serve three purposes. Firstly, it could train coloured women to be midwives, secondly, it could offer a service to the entire community in the area of the Bo-Kaap²¹ and thirdly, the trained midwives could be useful as evangelists.²² A committee was set up by the DMB under the chairmanship of the Rev Canon S W Lavis²³ with the Rev S Garabedian, Mrs Garabedian, Mrs Herford²⁴ (secretary) and Miss Shepherd. They recommended the setting up of a training institution for coloured midwives. This was approved by the DMB and Garth House, 108 Buitengracht Street was opened on 1 April 1917.

The first students were taken in on 10th April 1917 and lectures were given by Dr Simpson Wells²⁵ and Dr Hazell, a general practitioner. At the

²¹ The *Bo-Kaap* is that area of the Cape Town city bowl which lines the lower slopes of Signal Hill. It is also known as the *Malay Quarter* or *Scotsche Kloof*.

²² Michael Gelfand, *Christian Doctors...*, p. 97.

²³ The Rev Sydney Warren Lavis had succeeded Archdeacon Lightfoot as Priest-in-charge of St Paul's Mission in 1905 and became its first Rector in 1913. In 1928 he became Dean of Cape Town and subsequently Co-adjutor Bishop in 1931. He was a great figure in the history of Cape Town and was extremely popular, particularly amongst the coloured people of the City. He battled all his life to remove poverty and to improve housing. Bishoplavis, one of the City Council Scheme townships was named in his honour [Anna Kotze, 'A history of St Paul's Church' in *St Paul's Church, Cape Town 1880-1980 Centenary Booklet*, Cape Town, 1990, p. 6.]

²⁴ Wife of Rev W L Herford.

²⁵ For 45 years, a local general practitioner in central Cape Town. He became a lecturer in obstetrics at UCT Medical School in 1920 and began using St Monica's as a training hospital for medical students.

time St Monica's Home (as the institution was called) was the only training school for coloured midwives. The *Church Chronicle* reported that 'An important step was taken by the Mohammedan Mission in Cape Town when a house in Buitengracht Street was rented... to train Christian coloured women as midwives who would not only be used as midwives among Malay women but also act as missionaries'.²⁶

The South African Nursing Association opposed the opening of St Monica's Home as it did not want coloured women trained as midwives. It petitioned the Colonial Medical Council to issue Second Grade Certificates to coloured trainees so that they would always have to work under the supervision of white nurses and their training would be for two years instead of the six months that white trainees were required to undergo.²⁷ The fact that the Anglican Church, through the DMB and the Muslim Mission Committee supported St Monica's Home shows that in this case, its patronising attitude was more towards the Muslim faith than the black races. Women missionary workers, however, expressed shock at the number of white women who were marrying coloured Muslims. So the acceptance of other races was by no means universal either in the Church or on the DMB.

The training of coloured midwives to work amongst their own people could also be viewed as empowering the local population to become independent of overseas missionary workers. Alternatively the training coloured midwives by the Church could have been also interpreted as an attempt to segregate midwives and patients, ensuring that they deliver only babies from their own racial group.

²⁶ *The Church Chronicle*, 8th March 1918.

²⁷ Michael Gelfand, *Christian Doctors and Nurses....*, p. 97.

Garabedian was, by training and background, an evangelical Anglican. It has been stated that evangelical Anglicans usually encouraged the development of the local church and opposed colonial oppression.²⁸ In this, however, Garabedian differed. He viewed himself more as an Englishman than an Armenian and thus adopted a patronising and paternalistic attitude to those of other faiths and races. He was so sure of the 'rightness' of Christianity that he appeared to view Islam as evil and any woman or child becoming involved, was in need of 'rescue'.

St Monica's Home went under various names including St Monica's Mission Home and St Monica's Rescue Home. These indicate the important role it played in the work of the Muslim Mission Board under the Rev Stephen Garabedian. Speaking at St Monica's Home Annual General meeting in 1925, Archdeacon Lavis, head of the Diocesan Mission Board and of the St Monica's Committee, said:

'St Monica's is a very real part of the Mohammedan Mission Work in the Cape. Perhaps on reading the report, some may fail, at first, to see the connection between the two; may feel it just an account of the year's work of an ordinary hospital, but surely it will only be those who have not realised that it is in "The Hidden Paths" that much of our mission work must go along, and particularly this branch of the work that deals with these young and misled mothers with their tiny infants, the lighter coloured and more refined the victim is, the greater the risk'.²⁹

In the 1970s Rosemary Ridd interviewed many Christian coloureds living in District Six. She reported that many accused the Muslims of purposely

²⁸ Lyle Vander Werff, *Christian Mission to the Muslims: The Record*, Pasadena, 1977, p. 182.

²⁹ Quoted in 'Thou Shalt not bear False Witness.:Dr Zwemer's Activities. Islam vs Christianity' in *Moslem Outlook*, 11th July, 1925, p. 6.

seeking out for marriage the lighter skinned coloureds. Thus it was an ongoing belief amongst coloured and white Christians that Muslims sought out the lighter skinned and more refined Christian girls in order to 'lighten' the Muslim population.³⁰ It cannot be ascertained whether this was just hearsay or actual fact amongst Muslims themselves. It is natural that such hearsay would be strongly denied.

Rescued Children and Mothers

Most of the pregnant women and children who were 'rescued' by St Monica's Home and the Mission Board were coloured and white women who came from the country districts. They had been rejected by their own Christian community in the more conservative rural areas of the Western Cape. Before the opening of St Monica's, they would usually have made arrangements for the unofficial adoption of the newly born babies into Malay homes. In these homes the child, and sometimes the mother as well, would be readily accepted as part of the community. Dr Samuel Zwemer, during a visit to Cape Town in 1925, told the *Rand Daily Mail*; 'Some of the fallen girls who leave the home with their babies are tempted with offers of regaining respectability by becoming Mohammedans. If the girls accept such an offer she marries a Mohammedan, and both she and her child must adopt the faith of Islam'.³¹ Such attitudes, whether perceived or real, are an indictment on the Christian Church. The work of the mission to the Muslims was becoming more of social work amongst Christians who had been rejected by their fellow Christians yet accepted by Muslims, who showed greater love than the Christian believers.

Garabedian viewed it as his task to attempt to rescue these children and

³⁰ Rosemary Ridd, *Position and Identity in a divided community: Colour and Religion in District 6, Walmer Estate and Woodstock area of Cape Town*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Oxford University, 1981, p. 391.

³¹ *The Moslem Outlook*, 11 July 1925.

take them to 'European and Non-European hostels in the Peninsula'³² or to foster parents. According to Garabedian by the time he rescued them many of the children had already been registered under Malay names and thus their only form of identification was their baptismal certificate which the Mission Board supplied. In one case the actual parents were traced yet Garabedian had to take the case to the Supreme Court to have the child registered afresh as a Christian child.³³ This description by Garabedian of his work appeared some 30 years after his resignation. At that time the Churches and other faith communities were being drawn closer together against the imposition of apartheid education laws. Yet Garabedian stressed how he ensured that the child went to the right hostel or foster home for their particular race group. The article also implies that Garabedian did not view the registered Muslim identification as valid. Thus they had no identity until the Muslim Mission Board could baptise them.³⁴ This demonstrates that Garabedian, in his personal approach, was patronising and racist. This attitude was perhaps at odds with the rest of the DMB and could also explain his resignation in 1922 at the age of only 48 years. He spent another 38 years in Cape Town but was not asked to work full time within the diocese.³⁵

As the Muslim author Achmat Davids points out the 'rescuing' of children whether by adoption into Muslim families or by the Christian Church creates a moral and ethical question on whether the adoptor's or the rescuer's religious system can be imposed upon a helpless child in need of

³² 'Marginal Children: Anglican Clergyman's "vital facts"' *Cape Argus*, 1954.

³³ 'Marginal Children...' *Cape Argus*, 1954

³⁴ Frequently these children were not registered. It is not known whether this was intentional to ensure adoption or merely through ignorance of the law.

³⁵ His General License only allowed him to conduct services in Anglican Churches in Cape Town.

care. Such ethical question were not addressed by the Muslim Mission Board under Garabedian.

It was amongst women, and particularly the so-called 'lapsed' women, that the Muslim Mission Board concentrated it work from 1911 until 1930.³⁶ This is borne out in an undated appeal letter sent by Garabedian to the possible donors.³⁷ In this letter he stated:

For the time being the greater part of the work lies in seeking for and winning back those Christians who through ignorance and sin have lapsed from Faith and become Mohammedans.³⁸

He continued that the assistance of 'good women', both a 'Bible Woman and a Lady Missionary', was of 'first importance', once again showing the Board's emphasis on outreach and concern amongst Muslim women and lapsed Christian women rather than men. The Board did appoint women missionaries and their work will be discussed in chapter ten.

Garabedian mentioned the desire to open a room as 'a Bible Depot for the sale of Scriptures in various languages, and other suitable literature.'³⁹ He also hoped to place a priest within the so-called 'Malay Quarter', where 'at stated hours, he will receive enquirers'.⁴⁰ The use of a Bible depot in the midst of a Muslim dominated area was similar to the technique used

³⁶ After Garabedian's resignation in 1922 the Board under Blaxall, whose interests were in the field of work among the deaf, continued to carry out the policies introduced under Garabedian.

³⁷ The staff complement mentioned can be used to date this letter as approximately 1917.

³⁸ *Letter to Donors from Stephen Garabedian* undated (approx. 1917) MS # D12, CPSAArchives, University of Witswatersrand.

³⁹ Letter to Donors...

⁴⁰ Letter to Donors...

with some success by W H Temple Gairdner in Cairo.⁴¹ Garabedian's proposals came during the First World War when the DMB was unable to find the required £5 to finance them.

During Garabedian's period as full time missionary a novel, *The Lure of Islam*, was written by Constance Prowse.⁴² This book was a romantic novel telling of a Christian women who falls in love with a Muslim or 'Malay' young man and describes the hardship she suffers as his wife. The Rev. Garabedian submitted this book to the Malay Mission Advisory Committee⁴³ and proposed that the Archbishop be requested to read it. Garabedian proposed that this book and other Christian tracts be made available at the Inquirers Room (see above). When her book arrived in Cape Town, it was initially withheld from sale on account of the war time paper restrictions. When Dr Zwemer visited Cape Town in 1925 (see below) he mentioned this and another by Olga Peruk.⁴⁴ He commented that the subject they addressed was 'delicate' and that the Muslim press resented reference to it. He concluded by saying, 'The books mentioned

⁴¹ W H Temple Gairdner was a CMS Missionary in Cairo, then the intellectual centre of the Muslim world. He served there from 1901 until his death in 1927. His main concern was to make the Arabic Anglican Church a living spiritual home for converted Muslims. To achieve this end he became highly proficient in Arabic and Islamic including music, devotions, doctrine and linguistics. To him the missionary's task was to establish a church to which the indigenous convert could relate. Constance Padwick, *Temple Gairdner of Cairo*, London, 1930, p. 332.

⁴² Constance M Prowse, *The Lure of Islam*, Cape Town, 1915.

⁴³ The Malay Mission Advisory Committee was established in May 1913 'on the invitation of the Archbishop and with the cordial assent' of the two full-time missionaries. Its purpose was to discuss the work the missionaries were to undertake. It had no control over finances and thus in May 1915 it resolved that its meetings be discontinued as most of its members were part of the 'Mohammedan Sub-committee' of the DMB.

⁴⁴ Olga Peruk, *Beware of the Purdah*, Cape Town. Miss Prowse's book is in the SA Library, but Mrs Peruk's could not be traced.

have been suppressed.’ Zwemer inferred that this suppression was intentional to prevent inter-faith tension.⁴⁵

Garabedian attempted to involve other denominations in the ‘rescue’ of Christian children from Muslim homes. He reported to the Advisory Committee that a conference with several Non-conformist ministers had taken place in November 1913. This conference had decided to arrange further meetings where the Child Life Protection Act could be explained by an advocate and attempted to appoint an inspector who could investigate the religious welfare of children.

Garabedian wrote a pamphlet entitled *Facts that concern both white and coloured throughout South Africa*.⁴⁶ This pamphlet tells of the ‘movement on the part of Malays to win over the white and coloured, whether Christian or Jews’. This, Garabedian felt, was done mainly through marriage. By marrying and producing children, ‘the Malays.. wished to make their race whiter’ and they would gain merit in paradise ‘by winning over a Christian spouse’. Garabedian continued by saying that Indian Muslims have ‘lust sanctioned by their religion’. In India women are strictly shut up in Zenanas thus:-

[H]ere he [the Indian Muslim] can hardly believe his eyes, when he finds men freely talking to girls and women on the road or ‘stoep’ or at the house door, hence his [the Indian Muslim’s] licence has no bounds.

Although Garabedian had worked in India, he mistakenly uses the Hindu term *Zenana* to describe that area where the Muslim women are enclosed. Whether this was confusion on his part, or whether it was purposely done

⁴⁵ Samuel M Zwemer, ‘A Survey of Islam in South Africa’, *International Review of Missions*, 14 (1926) p. 566.

⁴⁶ Stephen Garabedian, *Facts that concern both white and coloured throughout South Africa*, Cape Town, 1922, p. I.

for literary effect to shock his ignorant reader, is not known. Either way, it showed deplorable missiological method. Garabedian then listed what he saw as Muslim policy to further their religion:-

1. Men whose sole object and duty was to ruin girls, and so win them over. For this end they put on English caps and assume Christian names to deceive girls.
2. Malay women were always on the watch to get any child by any means they possibly could.
3. The older Malays practised the Black Art (Malay Tricks) by which they 'fleece the credulous, by threat and love philtre. We all know how both white and coloured have holy fear of the Malay tricks'.⁴⁷

He complained of the ignorance of Christians to the difference between Christianity and Islam which lead to a lack of fear of the dangers. That coloured Christians might know their Muslims neighbours well and thus have no fear of them was not an acceptable reason for Garabedian. He preferred to view the coloured Christian as too simple and gullible for this. He gave thirty seven examples from 'every class and colour' of those who have suffered since making contact with Muslims. He made the following comparison between the Christian and Muslims homes:-

What degradation!

To see a white women and her white son standing on the stoep in company with the second or third wife of her lord and master, 'doekje' on her head, in a long nightgown dress, wooden shoes, looking dejected! We talk to her - she does not seem to understand and has nothing to say. How should she, since she is out of her proper sphere and wonderfully depressed! We step into her house, the rooms are bare but devoid of dirt, no vase, no decoration, no picture, except that of the Sultan and that of Mecca. At

⁴⁷ Ibid pIV.

last we have found the secret. She has no sympathy with her white people; the white people's nationality is no longer hers, for she has learned to look to the Sultan as her king, and to Mecca, the uncivilised Arabian desert town, as her ideal..... We go to a Christian home, how different! The children have returned from school. ... to that little room called the drawing room, the sitting room and the other, the bedroom. There are the photos of a friend, a relation, a church, and if not the latest portrait of the King or a general, certainly that of the good old Queen. Then one realises how these people have a common interest and are bound together by one strong sympathy and nationality.⁴⁸

Garabedian's attitude was fairly typical of English clergy, that Christianity was civilised while Islam was not. Hence he even viewed the different household arrangements that might occur within a Muslim home as an indication of depravity and lovelessness. He took scant account of differences in culture; he simply stated that the Malay way of life must be changed because it was not the same as that of the Christian English. Thus he concluded that the Church's role was to rescue the white and coloured children 'given away' to the Malays; to plead with and stop those 'going over' to join the Muslims; and to realise the seriousness of the evil of Islam and 'warn others against it'. This pamphlet demonstrates that the work of the mission had shifted completely. Under Robert Gray it was primarily an outreach to the 'heathen' Muslims, now it was the prevention of Christian leakage to the Islamic faith. Furthermore this work seemed to be concentrated purely among women.

Garabedian attempted to involve the Dutch Reformed Church. The Rev.

⁴⁸Stephen Garabedian, *Facts that concern both white and coloured throughout South Africa*, Cape Town, 1922, p. vii.

Dr G Gerdener, the DRC minister in charge of work amongst Muslims,⁴⁹ was invited to join the Advisory Committee. Unfortunately, a serious road accident prevented him attending any meetings but his response was extremely sympathetic.⁵⁰

In 1922 Garabedian resigned as Director of the Mission to the Muslims and returned to England. He returned to Cape Town in 1927 and remained here until his death in 1960. His wife, who was very active as a woman worker for the Mission to Muslims, died in 1951. Her work will be discussed in the next chapter.

Mission to Muslims 1922-1932

A W Blaxall

No successor was immediately appointed in the place of Stephen Garabedian. In the 1924 Synod Report Archdeacon Lavis, Chairman of the Diocesan Mission Board (DMB) stated that the work of the DMB was 'to win Mohammedans and to uplift the poorer classes of Christian non-Europeans.' To this end, St Monica's Homes trained midwives and sheltered destitute women; at Protea Cottage, Newlands, two women workers ran clubs for Muslim girls and boys as well as doing systematic visiting; and in the Bo-Kaap two other full time workers carried out district work. It is evident that the Board was relying more and more on the skill and ability of their lay women workers and less and less on full time missionary priests. This will be discussed in Chapter 10.

Although Rev A W Blaxall was appointed priest-in-charge of the mission in 1927, he was also a parish priest (St Anne's Maitland) and organising

⁴⁹ G B A Gerdener, *Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field*, London, 1958, p.134.

⁵⁰ *Malay Missionary Advisory Committee Minute Book 1913-1915*. MS AB1599/A, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

secretary for the DMB and his pastoral interests lay mainly amongst the work for the deaf.

Missionary Exhibition 1924

In June 1924, the DMB held a Missionary Exhibition in the Cape Town City Hall. This was an extremely ambitious exhibition where the entire City Hall complex of foyer, main hall, minor hall and banqueting hall, was used to display the mission work being carried out by the Anglican Church worldwide.

The Governor-General and Princess Alice were the patrons and the Archbishop of Cape Town was the president. Many church dignitaries, army and navy senior officers, senators and medical doctors were vice presidents of the exhibition, as was the Mayor of Cape Town. The organising committee was chaired by Canon Lavis with Canon Herford as the secretary.

The halls were divided into twelve courts dealing the different lands where mission work was being carried out. The Cape Town parishes were put in charge of each display. The courts were the Bible Lands, East Africa, China, Corea (sic), Central Africa, Japan, India, Madagascar, the medical missions, the Holy Orthodox Church and South Africa. During the seven days of the Exhibition numerous lecturers, missionary plays and tableaux were presented by the parishes.

It is notable that only a single court dealt with the missionary endeavours in South Africa. In the souvenir leaflet⁵¹ a two-and-a-half page article entitled *At Our Own Gate* dealt with the missionary work of the Diocesan Board in Cape Town. This article included a short history of the Muslim

⁵¹ *Souvenir Brochure - Missionary Exhibition 19th - 25th June 1924*, Cape Town, 1924.

Mission. It mentions both Anglican missionaries to the Muslims such as Camilleri, Lightfoot and Arnold as well as non-Anglicans - Adamson, Stegman, Elliott, Philip, Solomon. The article also mentions those who 'outworked their strength' in their efforts to do all the work that was needed. It then listed the needs of the mission in Cape Town. These included 'energy and prayer and love that must go to strengthening our weaker brethren' (this is presumably those who are tempted to 'lapse' into Islam). Furthermore the mission was looking forward, by suggesting that 'evangelistic bands of converted non-European men and women in out of the way hamlets on the Cape Flats [and] the city slums' who through 'the beauty of personal holiness and the strength of their Christian character, will win others to desire and seek the Christ in who they themselves live.' The article then discusses the work amongst the 'Natives' in the Cape Peninsula. In spite of this article not a great amount of attention was given through the lectures or the displays and tableaux of the Muslim mission within the very city where the exhibition was being held. The Exhibition appears to have had little or no influence in the work of the mission to the Muslims.

Visit of Dr Samuel Zwemer⁵²

In 1925, the Foreign Mission Board of the Dutch Reformed Church invited the renowned American Presbyterian missionary, Dr Samuel Zwemer, to visit the country and attend numerous missionary conferences, including the ecumenical General Missionary Conferences to which the Anglican Church belonged. Dr Zwemer was able to spend two months

⁵² Dr Samuel Marinus Zwemer (1867-1952) was an American from Dutch-Huguenot parents. He and some other students founded The Arabian Mission in 1888. In 1912 he was called to Cairo by the United Presbyterian Mission which was supported by the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) At Cairo he became a missionary-at-large, writing books and editing the Journal *The Moslem World*. From 1928 until 1939 he taught at Princeton University.

touring the whole of Southern Africa.⁵³ He gave a detailed account of the history and current situation of Islam in South Africa in an article published in the *International Review of Missions*.⁵⁴

Zwemer reminded his readers of the strength of the Muslim community in South Africa, by describing the first Muslim Congress in Cape Town from 18-20 June 1925. This congress was attended by the Ministers of both Education and Labour, showing the importance the government attached to the Muslim community. During Zwemer's visits to mosques and schools he was always received with courtesy but he continued to feel that the destiny of Africa, whether being a Christian or a Muslim continent, depended on the border areas such as the Western Cape. He presented a table of the approximate numbers of Muslims in Africa South of the Great Lakes. He felt that these figures were grossly under-estimated because the official definition of 'Coloured, Asiatic or Bantu Muslims'⁵⁵ in South Africa was difficult to differentiate.

Zwemer presented a brief history of the Muslims at the Cape, as well as in Natal, the Transvaal and Rhodesia. On his visits to Muslim communities, he noticed the freedom the women had in comparison to some Muslim countries. The majority of the women were unveiled. He also noticed that polygamy was 'openly practised and publicly defended'.⁵⁶

Zwemer expressed concern at the 'luring' away of white girls to marry Muslim men. He quoted from the Anglican Archbishop Missionary

⁵³ G B A Gerdiner, *Recent developments in the South African mission field*, Marshall, Morgan, 1958, p.172.

⁵⁴ Samuel M Zwemer, 'A Survey of Islam in South Africa', *International Review of Missions*, 14 (1926) p. 566.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 562.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 566.

Commission Report of 1924:

Adult perversion, as it would appear, commonly begins with immorality as judged from the Christian standpoint, and not with religious conviction.⁵⁷

Zwemer further acknowledged that the race relation problem in South Africa strengthened the Muslim social consciousness and made Islam appear as the only course for coloured race supremacy.

Zwemer surveyed the Muslim press and pointed out that it was growing 'in self-consciousness and self-confidence'.⁵⁸ Among the Muslim literature available in Cape Town, Zwemer was shown a series of books in Arabic script but in the Afrikaans language. He commented:

It was strange to read a description of Mohammed's paradise in mongrel Dutch.⁵⁹

With regard to the spread of Islam, Zwemer was concerned that it would spread amongst the African tribes in South Africa from Portuguese East Africa. There it was being spread by the Indian traders.

Zwemer concluded his article by congratulating the Anglican and Dutch Reformed Churches for their work among the Muslims.

Excellent work is being done at Cape Town by a few men and women but none have received special training and there is a lamentable dearth of suitable Christian literature.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Ibid, p.566.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p.568.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p.569.

⁶⁰ Ibid, p.571.

Zwemer's final comment in the article suggests that:

To win the Moslems to His [Christ's] allegiance would be a long step forward in the solution of the black and white problem of South Africa.

If the attitude and approach of the Cape Town Diocese Mission Board of that period was the norm, then it was unlikely to solve South Africa's racial problems. If anything this attitude aggravated rather than improved racial issues.

Zwemer's visit was not without controversy especially in Cape Town where *The Moslem Outlook* attacked his one-sided presentation at the various conferences. An article, *Thou shalt not bear false witness.: Dr Zwemer's activities.: Islam vs Christianity*⁶¹ appeared in the 11 July 1925 edition. This article is typical of apologetic rhetoric which made much use of sarcasm and irony. It does however demonstrate the shortsightedness and gaps in the Christian stance against Islam. The article reported that Dr Zwemer was considered *the* authority on Islam in the Christian world but his arguments are:-

wholly and solely concerned with holding up Islam to ridicule by comparing it with ... the matchlessness of Christianity.⁶²

Zwemer's renown, however, meant that regardless of how inaccurate his reporting might be, it was taken as truth. *The Moslem Outlook* gave examples of how Zwemer's initial report of thirty four white women becoming Muslims diminished to zero when investigated by the *Cape Times*. Zwemer frequently spoke of the twenty three mosques in Cape Town but, as *The Moslem Outlook* pointed out, he never counted the number of Christian Churches. The article also quoted the report of St

⁶¹ Anonymous article in *The Moslem Outlook* (Cape Town) 11th July, 1925.

⁶² Ibid.

Monica's Home (quoted above) and the part it played in the work of the mission. It continued to describe the role played by Archdeacon Lavis in the Mission and at St Monica's and the Archdeacon's supplying of false information to Zwemer. It then compared Lavis with Lightfoot,

How lamentably divergent from his truly venerable predecessor, the late Archdeacon Lightfoot, whose death was deeply mourned in many a Muslim household.⁶³

The article stated that Dr Zwemer was painting the picture,

that Muslims fix their eyes on that Home intent upon forcing into Islam *every mother and infant* that finds sanctuary there *irrespective of who the responsible author is of the deplorable and most unfortunate state of affairs!*⁶⁴

The conclusion the article came to was summarised in the question it asked:

Do Dr Zwemer and Archdeacon Lavis seriously maintain that Christians have the monopoly of virtue?... We are almost convinced that they would welcome the conversion of non-Christians by the thousand at the point of the sword as obtained in Mediaeval times.⁶⁵

Archdeacon Lavis reported to the 1925 Synod,

Dr Zwemer's visit, as indeed the whole United Missionary Campaign, has given new vision and fresh courage to all engaged in the great task which lies before us.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ibid

⁶⁴ Ibid [Italics in original]

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Report of The Mohammedan Mission, Diocese of Cape Town Synod Reports, 1925, p.18. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

In 1927 the work among the Muslim in Claremont, based at Protea Cottage, was handed over to St Matthew's, Claremont, and the female fulltime staff was reduced to three.

As the decade came to an end, the Mohammedan Mission reported to synod that:

It becomes increasingly clear that much of the work of this mission will be done through the ordinary parochial channels, as the priest-in-charge is able to find more freedom for this work, so more will be done.⁶⁷

Overview 1911-1932

At the start of this period the Mission began with some impetus when Garabedian was appointed fulltime director. The emphasis which he placed on the prevention of leakage of Christians to Islam changed the Mission's direction. This change of policy could have been brought about by one or all of the following causes. First, it could have been a necessary step because of the large number of Christians who had lapsed, or second, the increased solidarity of Muslims in their faith frightened the local clergy to the extent that they feared a greater loss might occur, or third, it could have been Garabedian's own personal prejudice which caused the change of direction. The number of Muslims per capita of population was declining⁶⁸ and by far the majority of the leakage of Christians were women. Where inter-faith marriages occurred, the women normally tended to adopt the faith of their husbands. Furthermore, Christians did not readily accept unmarried pregnant girls in their society and so they

⁶⁷ Report of The Mohammedan Mission, Diocese of Cape Town Synod Reports, 1928, p.11. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

⁶⁸ Although the total number of Muslims were increasing. Samuel M Zwemer, 'A Survey of Islam in South Africa', *International Review of Missions*, 14 (1926).

were forced to cross over to the Islamic faith where they could find community support amongst Muslims. But Garabedian's personal prejudices still seemed to be the major cause of the mission's change in direction. The lapsing Christians and inter-faith marriages had occurred in the past without the introduction of such a dramatic policy shift. The direction taken was also to place emphasis on the work done by women for women. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 10

Women Missionaries and the Mission to Muslims 1911-1939.

Women have always played a role in the Anglican mission to the Muslims. The wife of the first missionary, Dr Angelo Camilleri (1814-c1903), 'took a prominent part'¹ in his school. Husband and wife gave unstintingly to this work and as a result both suffered ill health and exhaustion. This is the reason Camilleri gives for their forced return to England in 1854.

Archdeacon Lightfoot (1831-1904) realised that it was more likely to be through the Muslim women that he would obtain entrance into their homes to speak about Christianity. He was instrumental in setting up numerous social services which catered for the women of the Muslim community, including sewing classes. Lightfoot's daughter continued to serve as a lay member of the Muslim Mission Board right up to her death in the 1940s.

Dr John Arnold's (1817- 1881) wife and daughter played major roles in his mission at St Mary's, Woodstock, as did the Irish infant school teacher Miss 'Nanno' Byrnes. Arnold's daughter remained in the Cape after his death and became a nun in the Community of All Saints Sisters. As Sister Evelyn she founded the mission school in Woodstock and was its headmistress from 1886 until 1893.²

Even the all-male Society of St John the Evangelist (SSJE) relied on a woman to assist them in their much neglected Muslim mission. Dr Edith Pellat operated a clinic and dispensary at 13c Sir Lowry's Road near St Philip's, Chapel Street, from 1896 until failing eyesight forced her to give

¹ John Scholfield Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town*, Manchester, 1861, p.33.

² R. R. Langham Carter, *A history of St Mary the Virgin, Woodstock*, 1988.

up the work in 1904.³

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It was the period between 1911 and 1932 and especially through the establishment of St Monica's Home (1917) that the women workers in the mission began to play a more evangelistic role in their own right and not just as wives, teachers or medical workers.

The appointment of Stephen Garabedian as director of the Mission brought about a change in focus of women's work in the mission. As indicated above, work with Muslim women had been aimed at obtaining entry into Muslim homes, now it became the 'lapsed' Christian women who were sought as objects for re-conversion. The other major area of work was the prevention of marriages between Christian girls and Muslim men. As this change of direction was more particularly concerned with women, it is understandable that women workers would be more successful in this task.

In order to carry out this policy a refuge house was established under Miss Stollard in Bryant Street. She later married a priest, Rev. W A Norton, but she continued voluntary work in the Claremont parish around St Matthew's Church. In Claremont she worked with Dr Mary Turpie⁴ who opened a clinic and dispensary for the poor, hoping, as Dr Pellat had done earlier, to give Muslim women both medical attention as well as an introduction to the Christian faith.

Miss Stollard's successor at the refuge in Bryant Street was Miss Francis

³ John Nias, *Flame from an Oxford Cloister: The life and Writings of Philip Napier Waggett*, London, 1961, p. 61ff.

⁴ Dr Mary Murray McCullen Turpie arrived at the Cape in 1917, having qualified in 1910 in Edinburgh. *South African Medical Record* March 24, 1917 VolXV. Her address in 1924 was the Mission home in Claremont, 1 Protea Cottage. *The Medical and Dental Register 1924*.

Edwina Shepherd. She was a nursing sister (see footnote 17, Chapter 9) and began to do maternity nursing work in the Cape Town area. It was her vision, and support of that vision by the Mission to the Muslims Board (MMB), which led to the founding of St Monica's Rescue Home (see Chapter 9).

Social work by Christian women to Muslim women was encouraged by the employment of full-time women workers by the MMB. These women took an active role in the support of the Women's Missionary Society of the Church of the Province of South Africa (SWM). At many of the Society's Annual Conferences they reported on the work that was being done by them in Cape Town and its suburbs. These Conference Reports are better sources of information on the methods used in their work than the Church's own synod reports, which merely thanked the women workers for their endeavours, frequently not even mentioning these workers by name.

At the Conference held at St Cyprian's School, Cape Town, from 2 - 7 January 1916, the women workers of the MMB were given an evening session to present their work to the conference. Mrs Herford⁵ spoke of 'the aggressive work of the Mohammedans in Cape Town being pressed forward quietly and subtly'.⁶ She told the conference that the chief propaganda method of the Muslims was by marriage with Christians and 'by getting the children of Christian parents, white and coloured, and

⁵ Wife of the Rev W Herford,

⁶ 'Report on the Second Conference of Women Missionaries of the Church of the Province of South Africa: Sixth Session Wednesday, 8:15pm' in *SWM Quarterly Journal* Vol #1, March 1916, p. 8. [This journal was later re-named *AWM Journal*]

bringing them up in the Moslem faith'.⁷ Mrs Garabedian⁸ spoke on the need for more workers, both men and women, to open homes in Cape Town and it was necessary that this work spread throughout the country. She reported, however, that the work done had been beyond expectation. She claimed that over the previous four years 450 people had been either brought back to Christianity ('rescued') or converted.

The national expansion of the mission was becoming necessary. Although most of the Muslims were concentrated in the Western Cape, many had moved up the coast to Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage as well as inland to Kimberley during the diamond boom. Although culturally different from the Muslims at the Cape, a large number of Indian Muslims had arrived in Natal during the previous century and many of these had migrated to the Transvaal as mine workers and traders. Thus Islam was spreading throughout South Africa. In 1924 Zwemer estimated the number of Muslims as follows Cape Province 24,513; Natal 17,146; Transvaal 8,237.⁹

Miss Stollard was the mission's only paid woman worker at this time. The Conference passed a motion which pledged itself to support its work through daily prayer.

At the Conference of Women Missionaries of the Church of the Province of South Africa, meeting between 1-8 January 1921 in Grahamstown, there was an opportunity for the women, part-time voluntary workers as well as the fulltime workers, from the Muslim mission to inform the conference of the work they had carried out. Dr Mary Turpie introduced

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Wife of Rev Stephen Garabedian (see Chapter 9)

⁹ Samuel M Zwemer, 'A Survey of Islam in South Africa', *International Review of Missions*, 14 (1926) p. 562.

the subject by describing how the number of Muslims was increasing. The conference then sought ways of helping 'in combatting the evil'.¹⁰ Two resolutions were passed. One proposed the propagation of literature about the danger of Islam and a second proposed the petitioning of the Bishops. These were handed to a sub-committee for inclusion in their report. The sub-committee consisted of Dr Mary Turpie¹¹, Miss Bessie Jones and Miss Selby.¹² It is extremely difficult to tell which of these were full-time workers employed by the Mission Board and which were voluntary workers but it would appear from the Synod report of 1921 that all three of these ladies worked for the mission in a voluntary capacity. The Synod Reports of this era do not tell of the appointment of any of the lady workers. Presumably this was done by the director of the mission and payment was made from the missions own funding. Unfortunately no records are extant that indicate when these appointment were made. But some conclusions can be drawn concerning the appointment and work of women missionaries from personnel cards at the USPG Archives in London and from the reports at the women's missionary conferences. It would appear that a paid fulltime worker was employed in the District Six area of Cape Town as well as in Claremont.

At the 1923 Conference held in July 1923 Miss Selby and Miss Matthew¹³

¹⁰ John Scholfield Mayson, *The Malays of Cape Town*, p.33.

¹¹ Dr Turpie lived at the Mission's Claremont house, 1 Protea Avenue. This is the address given when she registered as a Medical practitioner in South Africa in 1917. It is not know whether she was employed by the Mission or was just a voluntary worker given free accommodation.

¹² Both Miss Jones and Miss Selby were voluntary workers.

¹³ Miss Margaret Florence Matthew was the fulltime worker in the Cape Town Area. She was born in Crowthorne, England, in 1877. After working as a teacher and secretary in England she came to South Africa in 1908 and worked at St Peter's Home, Grahamstown. In 1923 she moved to Cape Town and began working for the Mission to Muslims. She was paid by the mission, but in 1931 registered as a associated missionary with the SPG in order to obtain their

presented papers which dealt with the work among the Muslims in Cape Town and the Southern Suburbs. These papers spoke of the general apathy of Christians to other faiths as well as their ignorance of their own faith. This apathy among rank-and-file Christians occurred in spite of the appointment of fulltime workers by the Church. The lady missionaries spoke openly of the concern they had for the danger of Muslims marrying white girls in order to lighten the Muslim race. Miss Hart¹⁴ in her paper, showed the danger to white girls from Muslim men, who often professed to be Christians till it was too late for the girls to draw back. In one case the girl found that her husband had a wife aged 22 years, whom he had cast off. Three months later the girl returned to the Home (Marion Institute) as her husband had ill-treated her and taken another wife.¹⁵

With the departure of Stephen Garabedian in 1922, the strongly racialistic attitudes appear less frequently in the pages of the *SWM Quarterly Journal*. Fulltime worker in Claremont Miss Hilda Adams became the new Diocesan correspondent for the *SWM*. In May 1924 she wrote a short report on the mission's work. She described how in the previous five years she had done house-to-house visiting in the southern suburbs of Cape Town and the door had been closed in her face only about four times. Miss Adam's home visits marked a change from the previous policy which had concentrated on preventing marriages between Christians and Muslims. Miss Adams found that she was generally welcomed in

support. In 1935 she returned to England because of ill-health and died there in 1936.

¹⁴ Miss Hart was the other fulltime worker in the Cape Town area.

¹⁵ 'Report on the Conference of Women Missionaries of the Church of the Province of South Africa' in *SWM Quarterly Journal* Vol #13, November 1923.

Muslim homes and her visits appreciated. She felt that most Muslims girls were starting to question their faith but, because of cultural attitudes, were kept in ignorance about Islam. She did, however, feel that few would convert because they were fearful of being 'Malay-tricked'.¹⁶ The so-called 'Malay-tricks' were a witchcraft which many believed that Muslims, and in particular black Muslims from Zanzibar, practised. Such tricks were also greatly feared by coloured Christians. This fear was aggravated by the dismissive attitude the white community workers had towards them. They failed to understand a real fear which existed among the Christian neighbours of Muslims.¹⁷ Miss Adams requested that a male priest be employed as he would be required to prepare Muslim men for baptism, a task which the women workers could not do because of the cultural constraints from within Islam.

In an attempt to educate Christian women into a greater understanding of Muslim culture, Miss Adams wrote a two and a half page article describing the way of life of Muslim women at the Cape.¹⁸ She acknowledged the diversity of beliefs in the different rites and ceremonies of Islam. In particular the use of the veil varied according to the strictness of the women involved, as did the teaching of women by men other than their husbands. Miss Adams describes these and other cultural differences and what she considered quaint and exotic customs which would be of interest to her readers.

¹⁶ Hilda Adams, 'Mahomedan Mission' in *SWM Quarterly Journal* Vol #14, May 1924 p.4.

¹⁷ Rosemary Ridd, *Position and Identity in a divided community: Colour and Religion in the District 6, Walmer Estate, Woodstock Area of Cape Town*, unpublished PhD Thesis, Oxford University, 1981, p.382.

¹⁸ Hilda Adams, 'Moslem Woman in Cape Peninsula' in *SWM Quarterly Journal* Vol #14, May 1924 pp.10-12.

In the May 1925 edition of the *SWM Journal*, Miss Adams attempted to face the problem which missionaries to the Muslims had had to face right from the inception of the mission: 'people said "Leave them alone: go to the heathen, the Mohammedans are such good religious people and so law abiding"'.¹⁹ This was one of the reasons that so few attempts were made at converting the Muslims during the Dutch East Indian Company period. To counteract this argument, Miss Adams suggested the reader look at the daily papers where a large number of coloured people with 'Malay' names appeared before the courts. However, this was a baseless argument aimed at racial emotions. She presented no per capita proportional figures for members of the Christian and Muslim faiths making court appearances.

The mission shifted to a more educational approach. The policy was to teach the Christian population more about their own faith. Miss Adams quotes a local imam who said that,

he knew of no Christian turning Mohamedan who thoroughly knew his Bible, if he knew his Bible well it would be impossible for him or her to turn.²⁰

Miss Adams therefore viewed her work as being the education of those Christians who were ignorant of their own faith. The method she used in the Claremont area was a well-run Sunday school and Bible class and the establishment of girls' clubs for possible inter-faith contact between Christian and Muslim girls. The Claremont Girls' Club was established in 1922. Within three months the membership was eighty. Although Miss Adams hoped to attract the girls who were in domestic service, the mistresses as well as the girls remained suspicious of the motives for the formation of the club. The club initially used rented accommodation, including a shop and a house. By 1928 the membership was 140 and the

¹⁹ Hilda Adams, 'Mahomedan Mission' in *SWM Quarterly Journal* Vol #16, May 1925 p.14.

²⁰ Ibid

rooms previously let in the house were taken over as classrooms for the club and as a flat for the worker. Classes included needlework, cooking, first aid, handicraft, singing and games. A company of the Church Girls Brigade and the Wayfarers Club²¹ also took place in the club house. Morality was emphasised. Consistency in service was encouraged by the reward of a watch, given to those girls who stayed in service with one employer for more than five years. Some eight girls had obtained their watches by 1929. Miss Adams reported only 'one moral lapse'.²²

Here a further a shift in emphasis in the work can be detected. Although education of Christians in their faith was continued, it was continued within the frame work of the upliftment of the poor in general. At the Cape, the majority of the poor were coloured and a large percentage of these were of the Muslim faith.

In 1930 Miss Mary Attlee²³ replaced Miss Hilda Adams as full-time worker at Claremont. Previously she had worked at the native women's

²¹ The Church Girls Brigade was a uniformed youth organisation. The Wayfarers Club was also a Anglican Church youth organisation.

²² No details of this 'lapse' is given. Hilda Adams, 'Cape Town Diocese: Claremont Girls Club' in *SWM Quarterly Journal* Vol #24, 1929 p.3.

²³ Miss Mary Ann Bravery Attlee (1875-1956) was the sister of Clement Attlee who was Labour Party Prime Minister of Britain from 1945- 1950. Miss Attlee came to South Africa in 1910 and worked in the Transvaal for the Church of England Railway Mission. During the First World War she returned to England. In 1920 she continued missionary work in Swaziland. After working for the Cape Town Diocese Mission to the Muslims from 1930-1940 she remained in Cape Town, founding the Cape Flats Distress Association (CAFDA) in Retreat and the Janet Bourhill Institute in Claremont. Both these organisations worked for the upliftment of the coloured people on the Cape Flats. She returned to England in 1950 and died in Salisbury, England in September 1956. She was an ardent opponent of the colour bar in South Africa, giving numerous lectures in England to show the need for Christians to oppose it. Anon. 'Obituary' in *South African Outlook* Vol 86: 147 October 1956. Mary Attlee, 'The Coloured People of South Africa' in *African Affairs* 46:148-151 July 1947.



Fig 29. Miss Kettlewell with Muslim Girls Club

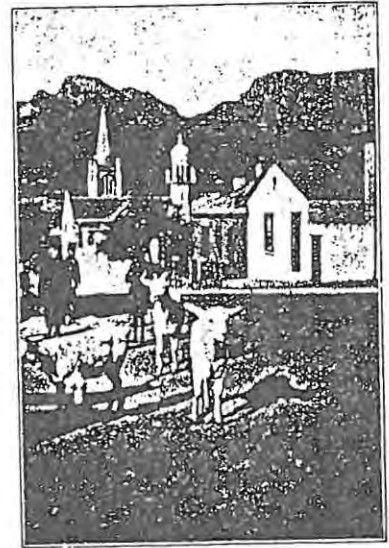


Fig 30. Mosque and Church



Fig 31. Miss Mary Attlee

Fig 33. Pamphlet *The Approach to Moslems in Cape Town*



Fig 32. Boys Club with the Rev Hampson

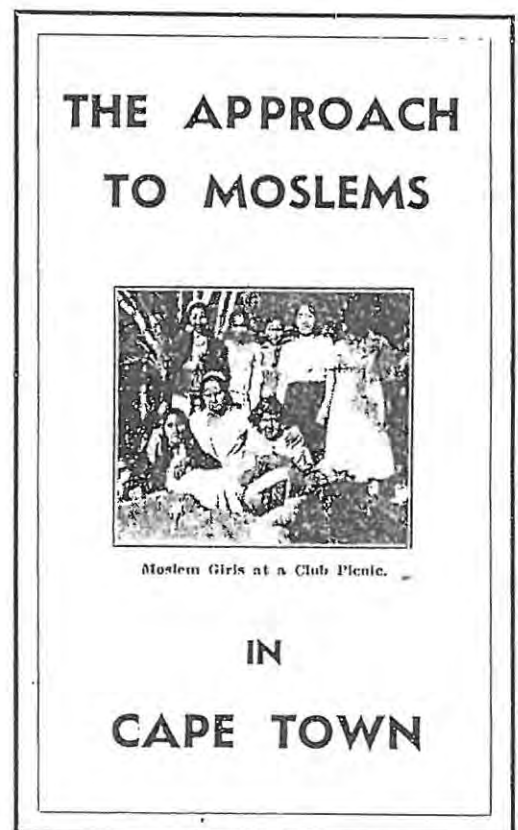




Fig 34. Archbishop Joost de Blank

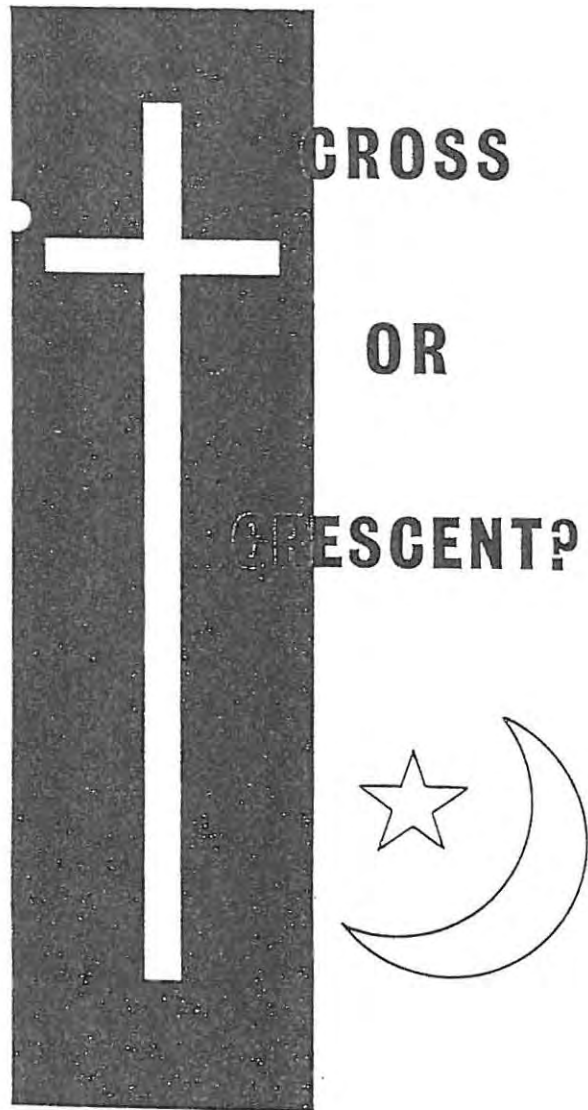


Fig 36. Pamphlet *Cross or Crescent*



Fig 35. The Rev Albert Redvers Hampson

hostel, St Clare's Hostel, Zonnebloem (see Appendix 4). In 1940 Miss Attlee described her work in an article in the *SWM*.²⁴ Her work divided into four areas: Sunday School work, Social work, Clubs for young women, boys and girls, and evangelistic work among the Muslims.

Miss Attlee lived in Herschel Road Claremont until 1935 when she moved to Newlands. Here she established the 'Janet Bourhill Institute' in a garage and two cottages. The Institute worked for the upliftment of coloured people who lived in the Harfield Road area of Claremont.

The Sunday school work was both the supervising of St Matthew's Sunday School and the training of Sunday school teachers from other disadvantaged parishes such as Good Shepherd, Kensington and St John's, Long Street. The social work, Boys' and Girls' Clubs, and evangelisation of Muslims tended to be so intermixed that it is hard to describe them separately. Miss Attlee worked to establish 'a real community centre for the coloured people of Claremont and the Flats'²⁵.

Miss Attlee stated that 'there are few listeners now on Sunday out in the open'²⁶. Thus presumably she had previously run some 'market place' evangelism. The number of Muslim listeners had dropped because the local Imam had told them not to listen as he considered it 'dangerous'. Miss Attlee reported that over the ten years from 1930 till 1940 she had brought only six Muslims to baptism. Although she was now retired she was still in close touch with all six and one in particular played a major

²⁴ Mary A B Attlee, 'Cape Town: Work among the Moslems' in *SWM Journal*, April 1940 p. 16-18.

²⁵ Attlee, *Work among the Muslims*. p. 18. The 'Janet Bourhill Institute' was established in the 1930s at Claremont. A Community Centre called the Mary Attlee Centre was also built at Retreat.

²⁶ Ibid p.17.

role in encouraging enquirers and bringing back to Church 'several careless Christians'.

Miss Attlee used the sewing class for Muslim girls as an opportunity for friendship and instruction. At these classes and at the Young Women's Club she would read 'the "Eagle Books", published by the Edinburgh Press'. These were true stories of the Gospel in action and Miss Attlee found them of tremendous value, where 'discussion was provoked and interest and wonder aroused'.²⁷

It was Miss Attlee who, during one of her visits to England, managed to convince Father Albert Hampson to come to this country as priest-in-charge of the Mission to the Muslims. Through her guidance, her influence and some financial support, Hampson was able to do a special course in England for his work, before he came out to this country.²⁸ Hampson's tenure as director of the Mission will be discussed in Chapter 11.

Miss Attlee brought to the mission to Muslims a programme of social upliftment. The direct confrontational attacks between Christians and Muslims, which her predecessors seemed to encourage, were being avoided. In her obituary in the *South African Outlook* it stated 'Her concern for the coloured people led her to inspire the formation of Christian Unity, a society the aim of which is to work for closer understanding among people of different colours and creeds.'²⁹ It is doubtful that the term 'other creeds' can be taken to mean other faiths, for

²⁷ Ibid p. 17.

²⁸ Private interview with Canon Chaffey. Father Hampson obtained a MA(Dipl in Arabic) in 1931.

²⁹ Anon., 'Obituary' in the *South African Outlook* 86:147 October 1956

at a lecture given in 1947 and partially quoted in *African Affairs*, she says that the answer to all the colour bar problems and difficulties 'is to be found in Christ and only in Christ'. However, in the discussions afterwards she constantly praises the Communist Party and its newspaper, *The Guardian* for supporting the coloured peoples' standpoint.³⁰

Bishop Lavis³¹ involved the Church generally in the social upliftment of the coloured population of Cape Town, whether Christian or Muslim. Contact between leaders such as Lavis and Dr Abdullah Abdurahman³² were on-going in the 1930s. Their aim was the upliftment of the coloured people, educationally, socially and politically. As Lavis and the APO were also promoting the unity between the different people making up the coloured race, less attention than before was paid to the religious differences by these leaders. Many of the clergy who came from overseas, however, had no experience of the unique cultural ethos of the Cape and continued with the more confrontational approach.

Women had always played a role in the mission but from 1920 onwards they were treated on a more equal footing with the priests. During the 1950s the entire work of the mission was done by two women, Miss Leslie and Miss Manning. This will be discussed in Chapter 12. Voluntary and fulltime women workers had kept the Mission functioning during the

³⁰ Mary Attlee, 'The Coloured People of South Africa' in *African Affairs* 46:148-151 July 1947.

³¹ Bishop Lavis was consecrated Co-adjutor Bishop of Cape Town in 1931

³² Dr Abdullah Abdurahman became President of the African Political (later People) Organisation (APO) in 1906. The Cape Muslim population had supported the APO from its inception. Abdurahman was a moderate politician who accepted white rule as the best means of achieving equality. He belonged to the Unionist Party and was elected a Cape Town City Councillor in 1910. (Achmat Davids, 'Politics and the Muslims of Cape Town' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town Volume 4* Cape Town: UCT Centre for African Studies p. 194-197.

financially difficult times of the Great Depression and during the war years when male priests were not available. Women were seen as stop-gap workers until fulltime priests could be afforded, yet they still played an important role in changing the missions policy. Because the women workers came into direct contact with Muslim women and girls seeking social assistance rather than conversion these workers were instrumental in the gradual change of the policy of the Mission from theological confrontation to caring, Christian witnessing.

Chapter 11

The Mission to Muslims from 1932 to 1939 and during the 2nd World War.

The Rev Arthur Blaxall, who was Secretary of the Diocesan Mission Board (DBM) as well as priest-in-charge of the Mission to Muslims from 1928, left to become Superintendent of the Athlone School for the Blind at Faure in 1932. He was succeeded as Priest-in-charge of the Mission to Muslims by the Reverend Albert Redvers Hampson. Hampson, although trained to speak Arabic, was English born and trained. He viewed his life at the Cape as overseas service, not fully identifying with his country of residence nor the cosmopolitan population which made up the citizens of Cape Town. His approach to mission was similar to an urban parochial outreach in the industrial north of England (he came from Newcastle). His method included Boys' and Girls' Clubs, special services and street preaching. Such methods were regularly used in the industrial cities of England.¹ In England he would have attempted to reach the unchurched Christian population; while in Cape Town he was attempting to reach Muslims. His 'ex-patriot' attitude counted against him as his colleagues doubted his commitment to his country of residence.² He was typical of many English clergy of that time period, who patronisingly came to work in 'the colonies'.

Albert Redvers Hampson

Albert Redvers Hampson completed his training at St Boniface Missionary College, Warminster in 1929. He served his diaconate in the Diocese of

¹ See Dieter Voll, *Catholic Evangelicalism*, London, 1963.

² Personal conversation with Canon Kenneth Chaffey, June 1996.

Newcastle and was ordained priest in 1930. In 1931 he came to the Cape where he worked as a curate at St Matthew's Church, Claremont. He was Priest-in-charge of the Muslim Mission from 1932-1938. He became Rector of St Anne's, Maitland (1938-1947) and St Thomas's, Rondebosch (1947-1970).³ During this time as Rector of these parishes he continued to take an interest in the Mission to the Muslim and served on the Mission Board until his retirement and return to England in 1970.

Hampson obtained a MA (Diploma in Arabic) from Durham University's School of Oriental Studies in 1931 under the sponsorship of Miss Mary Attlee.⁴ In 1938 he obtained a BA (2nd Class in Theology) from Hartford College, Durham.

Although Hampson spent practically all his ministerial life at the Cape, it was for him 'a foreign land' and he was continually looking forward to returning 'home to England'.⁵ This perspective influenced the way he approached the work of the Mission.

Mission to the Muslims under Hampson

According to the 1933 Synod Report, Hampson continued with parochial duties at St Matthew's on Sundays, while being priest-in-charge of the Mission on weekdays. He instructed Christians through sermons and lectures, and pointed out that the Mission's aim was to thank God for all that was good in Islam, but acknowledge its denial of and opposition to the specific doctrines of the Christian faith. Although this statement might

³ *Crockford's Clerical Directory 1957.*

⁴ Personal interview with Kenneth Chaffey, June 1996. Crockford's does not give the University where he obtained 'MA(Dipl in Arabic)' but it seems likely that this was Durham University because of its excellent School of Oriental Studies and the fact he later obtained his theological degree there.

⁵ Personal interview with Kenneth Chaffey June 1996.

make his view appear fair and balanced, he concluded that the Mission must proclaim to the Muslims 'the Divine redemption which is in Christ alone'.⁶

Miss Attlee (see Chapter 10) had left for England in 1932 (she returned to the Cape in 1935) and had not been replaced in Claremont. In Cape Town the Boys' and Girls' Clubs continued to run, but Hampson hoped that more coloured Christians could be trained to be voluntary or full-time workers. In a pamphlet entitled *The Mission to Moslems in Capetown*. Hampson stated:-

When Coloured people are properly trained for the work they will get far nearer to the Moslem than the European can. The mission will then become indigenous and not 'foreign' - respected both among Christians and Moslems, not only for its devotion, but for its specialised knowledge of a particular work.⁷

In this statement Hampson showed tremendous insight where the building up of an indigenous church was viewed as the best way of reaching local people. What Hampson meant by 'properly trained' would also have influenced the success of such a scheme. If his training simply made locally born coloured Christians more like the English immigrant priests, taking from them their cultural understanding of the Muslim which had developed because of their common community life, then little would be achieved except continued confrontation.

Other missiological methods carried out by Hampson were pamphlets, street preaching, Girls' and Boys' Clubs and prayers from many supporters

⁶ 'Report of the Moslem Mission' in *Diocese of Cape Town Synod Report* 1933. p.22. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

⁷ Albert Redvers Hampson, *The Mission to the Moslems in Capetown.*, Cape Town, undated, p.8.

of the Mission. These prayers took place in the Cathedral on Fridays at noon, the time Muslims normally prayed at the mosques.

Pamphlets and publications.

With co-operation from Mary Attlee, who had returned to England in 1932, Hampson was able to produce pamphlets aimed at keeping the supporters of the Mission who lived in England informed of the situation.

Two pamphlets, entitled *Some glimpses of Moslem life in the Cape Peninsula I and II*,⁸ were published for the 'Capetown Diocesan Mohammedan Mission' by Miss Attlee. Pamphlet No.I gave a picturesque account of life in the 'Signal Hill District' (later called the Bo-Kaap or the 'Malay Quarter'). Between the descriptions of 'Malay' weddings and festivals, Miss Attlee was able to describe the poverty in the district and the work the mission was doing to alleviate this as well as spreading the Gospel through centres such as St Monica's Maternity Hospital. The second pamphlet, No.II, gave an excellent description of the work in the boys' and girls' clubs. This will be discussed below.

Another leaflet, entitled *Mohammed or Christ?*,⁹ gave an historical account of the founding and spread of Islam. As can be expected in a two and a half page tract, the theological truths are selective, enhancing Christianity and belittling Islam. Under the heading *The Teaching of Mohammed*, Hampson stated that:-

the rapid rise of Mohammedanism is in part accounted for

⁸ Mary Attlee, *Some glimpses of Moslem Life in the Cape Peninsula*, Oxford, undated.

⁹ Anonymous, *Cape Town Leaflet No1 : Mohammed or Christ?*, Cape Town, undated. The title of the publishers was according to the 1933 Synod Act and the spelling of 'Moslem' was similar to that used in the 1930's. After the 2nd World War it was spelt 'Muslim'.

by the ease with which one becomes a Mohammedan.¹⁰

Although this may be true, no mention is made of the other factors, such as the identification by the Muslim missionaries with the black and the coloured community from whence they themselves came. Similarly not mentioned was the acceptance of Christian 'sinners' (especially unmarried pregnant women) into the Muslim community because they had been rejected by their own Christian community. Cultural differences between the coloured population and the white Christian missionaries were not acknowledged and racial and segregational pressures from the white controlled government aggravated the situation.

Hampson made much use of the fatalistic attitude of Muslims, attributing this to Allah who was seen as a God of Force; 'God leads astray whom He pleases and guides whom he pleases'. Under the heading *The Weakness of Islam* many sweeping statements are made which are not substantiated. For example:

The Moslem God is a God of Force and Will ... actions are right or wrong according to God's decree ... not according to the nature of the act. Allah can make actions legitimate by His decree even for the Prophet himself... and so Mohammed was permitted to marry the divorced wife of his adopted son Zaid.¹¹

In this statement Hampson seemed to imply that Christians are judged according to their acts which would, according to the Bible, legalistically be defined as a sin. In doing this, he seems to make Islam less of a legalistic faith than Christianity.

Other examples:-

Lying is permitted in the Koran in three cases ... in War ...

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ The dotted spaces, implying material omitted, occurs in the original.

to women ... and to reconcile friends!

Hampson gave no further comment, presumably implying that in Christianity lying is never permitted thus making Christianity the better religion.

Abstinence from wine is enjoined ... probably because drunkenness had interfered with the right posture in prayer ...a most important matter to the Moslem.

Once again Hampson, by omission, implied that morality played no part in the Muslims abstinence from alcohol and that personal relationships which might be damaged by alcoholism were less important to the Muslim than his posture during prayers.

Polygamy and divorce are sanctioned by the Mohammedan religion. Islam becomes a cloak for sensual indulgence.

Here Hampson, by placing these two sentences together, implied that monogamy had no 'sensual indulgence'. Polygamy is a cultural norm among many non-Islamic peoples just as monogamy is the cultural norm among Christians. Hampson imposed Christian moral norms on a different culture and judged them by these Christian criteria.

Pamphlets such as *Mohammed or Christ?* merely led to a greater feeling of divergence between the members of the two faiths who together were facing the problems of poverty and racism imposed upon them by many of the whites of Cape Town.

Hampson used every opportunity to publicise the work of the Mission. Two articles appeared in the 1935 and 1937 *SA Church Year Book*. Writing in 1935, M T Hampson (wife of Albert Hampson) spoke of the danger of the spread of Islam in Africa. She quoted a Muslim from Cape Town who viewed 'the great struggle' to be that between Christianity and Islam and that the battlefield would be Africa. Having shocked her readers by this statement, she continued to show how the 'raw native' was

attracted to Islam because it offered the continuation of polygamy and the intermarriage between Muslims and the African was more readily accepted than between the African and Christians (especially white Christian missionaries). She then suggested that Christians were justified in running missions as a means of self-defence in order to prevent Christian girls becoming mothers of Muslim children through marriage with Muslim men. She also criticised the white Christians for viewing the Muslims not as a threat but as 'picturesque and better servants' than the coloured Christian:-

An awakening of the European mind to the essential and grave danger constituted by Islam would be an all important factor in determining the success or otherwise of any venture purporting to evangelise the Moslem.¹²

She pointed out that the Mission to the Muslims in Cape Town was the 'only direct mission to Moslems in South Africa' and that this mission was in need of both financial and prayer support.

Mrs Hampson's article contained many alarmist attitudes to what she viewed as the Muslim threat. Her justification of the Mission's activities was aggressive but cloaked with fear, which is strange coming from a city which had a Christian majority.

The writer of the article in the 1937 *SA Church Year Book*¹³ is unnamed but by the opinions expressed it can be concluded that it is Father Hampson himself. After giving a brief paragraph to the history of the Mission, Hampson describes the work, especially in the clubs. The statement that no Church was in connection with mission and that

¹² M T Hampson, 'The Problem of Islam' in *SA Church Year Book*, Cape Town, 1936, p. 54-57.

¹³ A R Hampson, 'The Cape Town Diocesan Mission to the Moslems' in *SA Church Year Book*, Cape Town, 1938, p. 99-100.

converts, (described as 'several annually') attended their own parish church after conversion was a significant comment for that time. Here again Hampson was emphasising the importance of the local church over the external mission church. This concept was also emphasised at the 1935 synod report which Hampson ended by saying:-

Moslem evangelisation must not become dissociated from parochial thought and relegated to a very small Mission which cannot possibly be responsible for Moslems everywhere. The matter is largely a parochial concern, resting upon the conscience of both priest and people. The function of the mission is to help the parishes with this problem, to assist the priest with the Moslem side of his parish work.¹⁴

In spite of this plea, some thirty years later Father George Swartz found that parish priests referred all possible Muslim converts to the Mission. The reason for this was that the majority of parish clergy in Cape Town were born and trained in England and thus had little or no knowledge or experience at missionary work to members of other faiths.¹⁵ After the disbanding of the mission in 1976, the parish priests were forced to deal with all missionary situations themselves. The usual progression of possible Muslim converts was either to approach the local parish priest who referred them to the mission where the actual conversion counselling took place or to approach the mission directly. Once baptised, usually in their local church, the newly converted would become a full member of

¹⁴ 'Report of the Board of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in Synod Reports, Diocesan Synod, 1935. MS AB1599, CPSA Archives Witwatersrand University.

¹⁵ The only South African theological colleges at that time were in the Eastern Cape, well away from the centres of the Muslim population. The Cape Town Muslim mission was the only one in South Africa. When the Cape Town Diocese started its own clergy school, Hampson was used as a lecturer on mission to Muslims. Personal interview with Father Beverley Johnson, October 1997. Johnson was a student at the Robert Gray Theological College in the 1960s.

that Church. It was only after 1976 that the parish priest was forced to be the evangelist and pastor of any Muslim showing interest in the Christian faith.

Street Preaching and Boys' and Girls' Clubs

In the early years of his tenure, Father Hampson makes mention of 'Street Preaching... with a lantern and slides on Summer nights'.¹⁶ Hampson's use of this innovative way of street-preaching must have attracted many curious Muslims. Miss Attlee, reporting in 1940, stated that such preaching had been abandoned because the imams had instructed their people 'not to listen which shows it is considered dangerous'.¹⁷

In the pamphlet *Some Glimpses of Moslem Life in the Cape Peninsula II*, Mary Attlee gives a very vivid description of a boys club at St Matthew's, Claremont. She described how in Cape Town there always seemed to be a large number of coloured boys, half of whom would be wearing a red or black fez indicating that they were Muslims. She had established two clubs for Muslim boys in Claremont, in a wrought iron hut purchased by the South African friends of the Mission and placed on waste ground behind St Matthew's. St Matthew's was in the centre of the coloured community of Claremont and therefore the available space behind the Church was ideal for the mission hut. The boys who were aged between six and eleven, were very mischievous and rowdy. Miss Attlee was a trainer of Sunday School teachers and therefore had experience in working with children and in children's education. The meeting began with handcraft, fretwork, plasticine modelling, raffia and woodwork, but because of the undisciplined nature of the boys they spoiled the tools and not much was achieved. 'Handwork was followed by ten minutes of drill and then games of which "bean-bag" and "fish-pond" were the most

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Mary A B Attlee, 'Cape Town: Work among the Moslems' in *SWM Journal*, April 1940 p. 16-18.

popular'.¹⁸ After the rowdy games the boys always became quiet for the telling of a New Testament story and often the meeting would end in a prayer. The clubs had barely been running a year when the local Imam began classes for boys at the same time as the club hour. This seemed to be a direct attempt by the Islamic religious authorities to remove the threat of Christianity making inroads among Muslim children. Miss Attlee was 'confident that it was an attempt on the part of the mosque authorities to counteract our [the clubs'] influence.'¹⁹

Miss Attlee noticed that one of the boys was more well-behaved than the rest and after visiting his home she discovered the reason:-

The countenance of his mother showed that she had once been a Christian; though now a middle aged women she had been a Christian till she was twenty when she 'turned Malay' as they call it, to marry the boy's father.²⁰

Miss Attlee continued with the provocatively biased comment

It was one of the great witnesses to the power of Christ, this something that cannot be mistaken and that shows in the face of her who was once Christian, and which gives her away!²¹

Miss Attlee stressed that the Muslim parents were aware of the importance of education and thus were happy to send their children to Church schools if that was necessary for them to be well educated. For this same reason and in spite of the imams' opposition, they were also happy to have them attend the Christian clubs. The pamphlet continued to express the hope

¹⁸ Mary Attlee, *Some glimpses of Moslem Life in the Cape Peninsula*, Oxford, undated.

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Ibid

that boys who attended the clubs would not develop 'the gang spirit' which often 'degenerated into mere hooliganism' and their sporting interest developed into gambling. This concern showed that the Mission often felt that upliftment of coloured youths, whether Christian or Muslim, was just as important as conversion.

Hampson's organising skills could be seen in the attempts he made to make the Mission financially independent. He, together with Miss Attlee while she was living in England, began an 'Association of Friends of the Mission'. Miss Attlee brought out a leaflet seeking donations to the Cape Town Diocesan Association:- 'To support (1) The Mohammedan Mission (2) The Archbishop's Discretionary Fund.' In this leaflet Miss Attlee gave a brief outline of the work needed to be done by the Mission and showed how the shortage of money had forced the Mission to reduce its staff and had made the post of priest-in-charge precarious. In the 1933 synod report, Hampson spoke of the possibility of the Mission to Muslims becoming properly constituted under a Synod Act and this occurred at that synod. Thus the Mission to Muslims no longer fell under the Diocesan Mission Board (DMB). It became the *Board of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems* and it continued under this name (with slight variations of spelling) until it decided to change its name in the late 1960s.

The reason for this separation was aimed at financial independence. The Mission also had been the only mission project under the control of the DMB which was within the Diocese itself. The main thrust of the DMB's work was giving to mission worldwide and in particular the support of the Anglican mission at St Mary's, Ovamboland. The Muslim Mission's task was the initial conversion of Muslims to Christianity. After this the newly converted would become part of the parish where they lived. The Mission Board therefore had a closer connection to parish evangelism than to 'mission' as it was understood at that time. The close connection between

the Mission Board and parishes can be seen in the fact that nearly all the priest-directors of the mission had additional duties within a diocesan parish - e.g. Hampson besides being Director of the Mission was also Priest-in-charge of St Matthew's, Claremont.

In 1938 Father Hampson was appointed Rector of St Anne's, Maitland, and the following year Father W R P Evans²² became Priest-in-charge of the Mission. Hampson continued to show an interest in the work of the Muslim Mission Board and served on the Board until his retirement.

W R P Evans

Evans's tenure at the Board was short lived as he joined the South African Defence Forces as Chaplain in 1940. On his return to South Africa he moved to the Diocese of Natal. No priest successor was appointed until George Swartz in 1961.

The War Years

The War brought many difficulties to the mission. These included the absence of the priest-in-charge, and numerous changes of staff among the women workers, many of whom returned to England. Most important was the loss of the SPG grant of £100 and the loss of use of the Hall in District Six which the Mission had used as headquarters. For all this the synod report of 1942 stated:-

the work has been continued whenever and wherever possible with great enthusiasm and has met with considerable response.²³

²² William Reginald Parker Evans obtained a BA from Leeds University and was made deacon in 1933 and priest in 1934. He was curate in Romford (1933-1935) before becoming assistant priest at St Paul's, Rondebosch, (1935-38).

²³ Report of the board of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems in Synod Reports of Cape Town Diocese, 1942. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand

However, the Mission gradually became 'dormant but expectant'²⁴ until the appointment of Miss J K Leslie in 1945.

It is difficult to assess the reason and the impact of not appointing a priest as the Director of the Mission Board. Three factors could have influenced this decision. Firstly, the attitude and policy of the diocesan bishop (in this case the Archbishop of Cape Town) towards other faiths. Secondly, the fact that the task was being adequately undertaken by lay women already, and thirdly the perennial problem of finance. The Mission was dependent on overseas grant money from the SPG (later the USPG). During the war this money had dried up and with the post war depression in Britain it would take many years before it returned to its pre-war levels.

In spite of the Board's financial independence from the diocese, any clerical director appointed by the Mission Board would still require to be licensed by the Archbishop. Archbishop Clayton, who was elected Archbishop in 1948, appeared to be a conservative Anglican of the Anglo-Catholic tradition who felt that in Christian unity no negotiations should take place without the presence of the Roman Church. Thus he felt that the Anglican Church should not be too involved in ecumenical endeavours.²⁵ His attitude to interfaith dialogue or mission could similarly be viewed as having low priority. This was especially true when the task had been more than adequately undertaken by two lay women for the previous three years. His comment in 1934, 'But every Christian, because he is a Christian, must desire that men of all races should be brought into

University.

²⁴ Report of the Board of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems in Synod Reports of Cape Town Diocese, 1946. p.18. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

²⁵ Alan Paton, *Apartheid and The Archbishop*, Cape Town, 1973, p.193.

the Christian Church',²⁶ indicated that he was not accepting of other faiths without at least some attempt at conversion. Archbishop Clayton came to Cape Town just as the National Party came to power. With the concerns which this threatened to bring it was natural that he should leave alone something that was working well. Miss Leslie, the lay worker, was assisted by Miss Manning, a Cape Town-born coloured social worker. This is the first occasion of a coloured person, male or female, being used as a paid official of the Mission. While in Johannesburg, Clayton had ensured that the work among Africans was no longer considered 'Missionary Work'. Perhaps he viewed the Muslim Mission Board's use of a coloured woman worker as the direction in which the Board had to move. At that stage there were very few coloured priests in the Diocese and if a priest were appointed, he would have been a white, and most probably English born, thus continuing the 'missionary' concept. The Mission's work was primarily among women, a priest being required only for the few male inquirers and for the sacrament of baptism. Thus, in the long run, it was better for the Mission to operate with its lay women workers especially as one these was a coloured woman, born and brought up in Cape Town.

²⁶ Alan Paton *Apartheid...* p.65.

Chapter 12

The Mission to Muslims 1945-1961: Miss J K Leslie.

As outlined at the end of Chapter 11, after World War II the Muslim Mission Board which had been 'dormant but expectant'¹ began to come to life again with the appointment of Miss J K Leslie in January 1945 as a fulltime worker for the Mission.

Miss J K Leslie ²

Miss Leslie had been trained by the CMS for work among Muslims and had had experience of this work in the Middle East. Her desire to 'bring the Gospel to the heathen' (among whom she included the Muslims) demonstrated her evangelical background.³ She had had little preparation for work at the Cape, where the situation differed greatly from the Middle East. In Cape Town she was engaged in more social work than evangelism. She was ill-prepared for the cultural and racial similarities between Christian and Muslim coloureds as well as the Muslims' openness to outsiders, which was absent in the Middle East where they were in the majority and the dominant faith.⁴

At the Cape, Miss Leslie appeared to be quite a lonely figure, a devout Christian, living frugally without worrying too much about her own comfort. Canon Chaffey described her as being 'of the older English

¹ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1946*, Cape Town, 1946, pp. 18-20.

² This description of Miss Leslie is from a personal interview with Canon Kenneth Chaffey, Secretary of the Board of the Mission to the Muslims from 1940 until 1968, June 1996.

³ Personal interview with Canon K Chaffey, June 1996.

⁴ Canon Chaffey speaks of unpreparedness on her arrival here but also how she quickly adapted to the Cape Town situation with help from Miss Manning who knew Cape Town well.

tradition of missionaries, the English Lady going out to spread the Gospel'.⁵

Miss Leslie was supported by the wealthy philanthropist, Doris Syfrets, the founder of the Service Dining Room⁶ in Cape Town, as well as Sister Smith, a Church Army Sister⁷ from Emmanuel Church, Wynberg, which was part of the evangelical parish of St John's Wynberg.

Miss Leslie's work at the Cape

Miss Leslie continued the Mission's work in the hall of The Society of Friends in Green Street. She requested the 1946 Synod to find more convenient and suitable accommodation for her needs as the hall was frequently needed by the Friends themselves.⁸ By the 1949 Synod the Board's vice-chairman (Bishop Lavis) reported that a house at 4 Ivy Street, Observatory, had been purchased. This house became the headquarters of the Mission and the home of its director until 1961 when Father George Swartz was appointed.

The Synod report of 1949 also told of the on-going training Miss Leslie was giving to Miss Manning. Miss Manning had easier access to the homes of Muslims on the Cape Flats and brought many cases to Miss Leslie's attention. By 1948 Miss Attlee had also returned to the Cape. She resumed her work as a voluntary worker in the Mission.

⁵ Personal interview, June 1996.

⁶ The Service Dining Room in Cape Town was originally established after the war to feed out-of-work de-mobbed servicemen.

⁷ The Church Army is an Evangelical Anglican organisation for lay workers founded in 1882 by Wilson Carlile in Westminster. Modelled on the Salvation Army, its activities included moral and social work among the poor. Women bore the rank of 'Sister'.

⁸ Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1946*, Cape Town, 1946, pp. 18-20.

Once again the Mission's attention was focussed on apostasy, those Christians who had lapsed. At the 1949 Synod Miss Leslie stated that a large portion of her time was spent 'among Christians who have apostatized, usually through marriage'.⁹ She added that 'two of our saddest cases [were] Europeans'. She did not elaborate whether this implied that their cases were 'saddest' because of their particular circumstances or because they were white. But if the latter then the racial and paternalistic prejudices demonstrated by many overseas-born workers was continuing. Her other work consisted of visiting the girls at St Monica's Home, speaking at Mother's Union meetings, Missionary Guilds, Church of England Men's Society and confirmation classes. She ended off her report by reviewing the mission to the Muslims worldwide and particularly in Africa and asked the Synod:-

How can the Church best equip her people to meet this growing challenge? How can she best win the Moslem?¹⁰

The Board's financial state was precarious. The Board had been forced to draw on the capital of £2300 collected by Archbishop West Jones and only £350 remained. Normal sources of income gave about £375 a year while they were budgeting for £650, leaving a shortfall of £275. Miss Leslie's report stated that an assured income of £750 was essential if the work of the Board was to be maintained.

The Board continued to hold Quarterly Services where interest in the mission was generated. Many of the sermons preached at these services were published. Other tracts previously published by the Board or from missions overseas were updated and adapted for publication at the Cape.

⁹ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1949*, Cape Town, 1946, pp. 23-25.

¹⁰ Ibid

Sermon and Pamphlets

A copy of a sermon preached at Quarterly Service as well as two pamphlets published by the Muslim Mission Board during this period are still extant in the CPSA Archives at the Witwatersrand University. Both the pamphlets and the sermon were aimed at Christians and not at Muslims. Therefore they attempted to instruct Christians on what the writers viewed as the dangers of Islam. Most of the clergy in Cape Town were of the Anglo-Catholic tradition and conservative in their theology yet liberal in their attitude to people of other races. These pamphlets and sermon conveyed this attitude.

The Rev E H Roseveare¹¹ was the preacher at the Quarterly Service at St Michaels and All Angels, Observatory, on 15th July 1946. His sermon was later published.¹² He pointed out in his sermon that Islam was not only non-Christian but also anti-Christian. Because of the missionary zeal of the Muslims, Christians had to understand fully the differences between Christianity and Islam. This shows the continuing concern the Anglican Church in Cape Town was feeling towards the missionary endeavours of the Muslims. With a fuller knowledge of their own faith Roseveare felt that they would be less likely to convert to Islam. The differences Roseveare gave in his sermon were similar to those listed in earlier published pamphlets of Hampson and included that Allah could not be viewed as a Father God, that Allah was all powerful and that Muslims became fatalistic in their lifestyles, submitting themselves to the whim of

¹¹ Edward H Roseveare, educated at St John's College, Cambridge (MA 1926) did his curacy in England (St Pauls, Kings Cross) before coming out to South Africa to be Sub-Warden at St Paul's, Grahamstown (1928-1934) and Warden at St Matthew's College (1934-40). In Cape Town he was Rector of St Philips's ,Chapel Street, Holy Redeemer, Sea Point and Christchurch, Constantia. (*Crockfords Clerical Directory 1957-58*).

¹² E H Roseveare, *Cape Town - Christian or Moslem?-A Sermon preached at the Quarterly Service of the Diocesan Mission to the Muslims.*, Cape Town, 1946.

an all powerful God - the word 'Muslim' Roseveare translated as 'a submitting one'. When looking at Man [sic], Roseveare said the Muslims' view of God influenced their attitudes to one other. They were merely slaves in God's domain and this led to the view that 'might was right', the most powerful was therefore also the most moral. Muslims, he therefore claimed, had no morals except those laid down by the most powerful. This concept was borne out in the way the more powerful male was dominant over females, allowing for polygamy and easy divorce.

After explaining the Muslims' beliefs concerning Jesus, Roseveare then asked whether Islam was true or false, and criticised 'those in the Cape-University Professors amongst them-' who lectured and wrote books romanticising Muslims and their religion. Roseveare stated that the Christian had to decide 'either God is our loving Father or He is an arbitrary despot who deals with us ruthlessly according to the whim of the moment. He cannot be both.'. For Roseveare and for the Christians of Cape Town the challenge was

'not only to hold fast to the Christian faith but also to proclaim its Truth with all our might to those who have been deceived by false prophets.'

If this sermon was typical of the type preached at these Quarterly Services, then it promoted confrontation rather than reconciliation. This kind of attitude was to make it difficult in the years to come for any kind of contact or inter-faith action to take place when the National Party government threatened to take away the coloured franchise.

A pamphlet¹³ by Canon R H Birt¹⁴ presented a more academic and less emotional view in its arguments but encouraged a more 'boldly aggressive policy' from the Mission. What was significant was Birt's comment (quoting an Orthodox priest from Jerusalem) 'There is only one way of converting Moslems. That is to live with them and to show them the Christian way of life.' This is a profound comment and was to become the policy encouraged by the Board in the late sixties and early seventies.

At that time the Anglican Church congregations viewed mission not as something done locally within their own city. For the majority of white Anglicans of Cape Town, the 'Malays' were merely seen as part of Cape Town's colourful populace and not a threat to the Christian faith.

Birt points out that many Christians lived in the same streets as Muslims and so the opportunities to witness were there, but that Christians 'often have little understanding of the great differences between Christianity and Mohammedanism'. He concluded that the Mission at the Cape was not only in need of more money and staff but 'a deeper conviction and a fresh and more aggressive policy which will affect non-European even more than European members of the Church'. If this meant that the policy was to be more aggressive in its education of non-white Christians and that these Christians were then to be witnesses by their lifestyle, then Birt was showing missiological views which only became the accepted norm towards the end of the 1960s.

¹³ R H Birt, *Win our Moslems to Christ! A challenge to our Church People at the Cape*, Cape Town, Undated. The approximate date of publication is 1950/51. In the pamphlet he mentions the war between the State of Israel and Jordan (1948) as being 'two years ago'.

¹⁴ Roderick Harold Capper Birt, graduated from Oxford and Cuddesdon and served as principal of Diocesan College, 1918-43. Birt became a Canon in 1940 and retired from the Headship of Bishops in 1944. He then became curate at St Saviour's where he must have experienced Muslims living within his parish.

A third pamphlet issued by the Board during the 1950s was *Cross or Crescent?*¹⁵. This pamphlet was viewed by the Muslims of the Cape as very controversial. It was re-issued in 1963 and the response to it was one of the issues which caused the Mission to re-assess its policy (see Chapter 13 & 14). The heading on page two of this pamphlet 'What Christians should know' shows that it was aimed at educating Christians and not at converting Muslim inquirers. The same could be said for Birt's Pamphlet and obviously the sermons preached at the Quarterly Services. This demonstrates that the policy of the Board had become more educational, teaching Christians a greater understanding of their own faith and its differences from Islam.

The Mission by now had come to realise that it could do very little with its small funding. By showing the people who lived in the same street as Muslims the difference between Christianity and Islam, as well as the basic tenets of Christian faith needed to be shared in a witnessing situation, the Mission hoped that 'missionaries' witnessing to the Christian faith would increase dramatically.

This is confirmed in a Memorandum by Miss Leslie in 1951¹⁶ where she stated 'The policy of the Mission is to be a 'Teaching Mission'' and went on to describe her work of teaching through individual contact with possible converts, at parishes and at the Mission Centre (Ivy Street, Observatory), at confirmation classes and guilds, among lapsed Christians as well as parents and others responsible for young Christians. She also emphasised the challenges which the Mission faced over the concept that Islam was a 'Black Man's Religion'. She reported that the paternalistic

¹⁵ Anonymous [presumably A R Hampson], *Cross or Crescent?*, Cape Town, 1959.

¹⁶ J K Leslie, *Memorandum - The Cape Town Diocesan to Moslems* (unpublished typescript) MS AB1599 CPSA Archives, Witswaterand University.

attitude of the mainline church towards Africans had driven many of the sons and daughters of African church workers to become Muslims.

Finance and the Mission Work

Finance, however, was an on-going concern. At the 1951 Synod Miss Leslie complained about the small number of parishes who supported the Mission.

Year	No. of Parishes	Pounds
1949	26	£309
1950	28	£277
1951	16	£180

Table 1 Giving per year per Parish

Given each year for the last	Parishes giving to the Mission
Five	7
Four	15
Three	16
Two	24
One	39

Table 2: Giving of 39 Parishes over the last 5 years

Miss Leslie concluded that too few parishes showed interest in the Mission. This state continued until a priest was appointed as director demonstrating an on-going Anglican attitude of only trusting and supporting work done by (at that time) a male priest. With Father George Swartz in charge of the Mission no great financial shortfall was mentioned even though the actual necessity of the existence of the Mission was queried. This was because a licensed priest's stipend could be paid out of

Diocesan funds especially if he also was licensed to work within a parish. Furthermore, a priest seeking financial support from Diocesan Synod was more likely to be successful than a lay person and especially a lay woman who until the late 1950s could not even be a synod representative.

In June 1952 Miss Leslie wrote notes on the subjects discussed in the Report of the Council for the Moslem World¹⁷ and submitted them to the Archbishop. Miss Leslie analysed Dr Montgomery-Watt's¹⁸ comments in the light of the Cape Town Mission. Among the points brought up were:-

1. Literature - More books should be available for converts most of whom were not very literate and had little knowledge of the Quran and Islam. By this statement Miss Leslie acknowledged that most converts were from the less educated and less committed section of the Muslim population. Books most suitable for such a cross section would be simple, comic-type picture books. Although such books are fairly common in the education of the poorly educated adult today, this was not the case in the 1950s.
2. From Dr Montgomery-Watt comments Miss Leslie could report that
 - a) Failure of Christians to remain faithful was usually due to ignorance among weaker Christians who did not realise that they were denying Jesus by becoming Muslims. But it could also be due to the erroneous idea amongst

¹⁷ No information could be found in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (ed. Hughes) about 'The Council for the Moslem World'. In the *Concise Dictionary of the Mission* (ed. Stephen Neill) mention is made of national or international councils of missionary co-operation. Presumably this was such a council covering Christian mission work among Muslims.

¹⁸ Dr W Montgomery-Watt was an author quoted in the bibliographies of many authors writing on Islam during the 1950s. These included Kenneth Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret*, New York, 1956, p.364.

Christians that 'Moslems were a very fine set of people'.¹⁹ By this comment Miss Leslie was implying that just because Muslims were 'fine people' it was not adequate grounds for Christian girls to decide to marry them. This belief was a continuation of the paternalistic and patronising attitude of many Christian missionaries of the nineteenth century who, so blinded by their own Christianity, failed to see any good in any other faith.

- b) A vast amount of Muslim propaganda was being issued by the Islamic International Union of Islamic Services based in Durban and Miss Leslie felt the mission had to make a stand against this spread. This was especially important in the Western Cape where in 1951 one in every six persons was a Muslim. This was done through the Mission Board issuing its own pamphlets and tracts (see above).
- c) Christians were in constant contact with Muslims. The housing shortage made Christians and Muslims share houses and there was hardly a coloured family without some Muslim relatives. Interfaith marriage was thus very frequent. If the Mission was going to prevent Christians converting they had to do this through working in had four different spheres:-
1. Interesting Christians in the work;
 2. Helping Christians to realise what apostasy means;
 3. Winning back the lapsed;
 4. Winning the Muslim and preparing the converted for baptism, confirmation and Holy

¹⁹ J K Leslie, 'Notes on Subjects discussed in the Report of the Council for the Moslem World... April 3rd 1952' MS AB1599: CPSA Archives: Witswatersrand University.

Communion;

- d) Miss Leslie thus proposed that the total staff of the Mission should be twelve workers, men and women, under a priest who besides having a specialised education, should be of senior standing in the Diocese.

With its financial problems it was unlikely that the Board could envisage such an increase in staff. By the 1954 Synod the Board reported that most clergy and lay workers in the Peninsula were dealing with the mission's work daily, in the performance of their parochial duties.²⁰ That a great deal of the Mission's work could be done by parish clergy was not an option pursued until after the Board was disbanded in 1976.

A first priority should have been the education of the clergy in the understanding of Islam. As a means towards introducing some kind of interest the Board offered a small cash prize for the best essay from theological students at the national theological colleges in Grahamstown and Umtata. Here, however few students had any understanding of the interfaith situation at the Cape. The response to the competition was always weak and it was abandoned after a few years.

In the 1960s Father Swartz reported that all potential conversions were still being referred to the Mission by the parishes.²¹ Such were the demands on the staff due to the financial crisis that Miss Leslie referred to her work as being 'like an ambulance'²² - only having time to deal with each emergency as it arose.

²⁰ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1954*, Cape Town, 1946, pp. 11-12.

²¹ Personal interview with George Swartz August 1995.

²² 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1956*, Cape Town, 1946, pp. 16-18.

Miss Leslie's hard work and frugal life style brought about ill-health during most of 1958 and 1959. The new Archbishop, Joost de Blank, was interested and concerned about the number and influence of Muslims. He appointed an Action Committee to investigate what the church could do against what the Mission felt was the 'Shock Tactics and Counter-propaganda from the Muslims'. The report stated:-

We on the Board of Missions need the support of all our fellow Christians. Parish congregations must be awakened to the Moslem menace. Only the clergy can rally them. Don't be misled with enemy slogans such as 'Islam knows no colour-bar'. We know that He is our Peace who will break down all barriers of Race and Class.²³

After many years with numerous bouts of illness Miss Leslie decided to retire to England. She was succeeded by Father George Swartz. The 1961 Synod heard how the Mission would be 'put on a much more elaborate footing' requiring 'greatly increased financial support'.²⁴ That the Board should think that the work of a priestly Director was more elaborate than a lay woman, demonstrates the ongoing over-emphasis on the role of clergy in mission and pastoral work by the Anglican Church. Father George Swartz, being South African born, was to bring a new ethos to the Mission but this occurred at the expense of the fairly successful work among the Muslim women by women workers.

Miss Leslie's tenure as head of the Mission to Muslims appears to have been crippled by the financial constraints. Factors affecting the Diocesan Synod from budgeting more finance for the Mission's work included Miss

²³ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1959*, Cape Town, 1946, p. 22.

²⁴ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1961*, Cape Town, 1946, pp. 14-15.

Leslie's own personality - the 'traditional English lady missionary'.²⁵ her lack of understanding of the multi-cultured Cape Town population, the ongoing paternalistic attitude and the indifference of the Church to the situation of the coloured Anglicans living in slum areas of the city and those in the outlying suburbs (which would later become the townships developed by the actions carried out under the Group Areas Act).

²⁵ Personal interview with Canon Kenneth Chaffey, June 1996.

Chapter 13

George Swartz and the Mission to the Muslims (1962-1967)

After the Second World War the work of the Mission to Muslim Board continued through the women missionary workers, Miss Leslie and Miss Manning, at 4 Ivy Street, Observatory (see Chapter 10 and Chapter 11). Some work was also done in the parishes by the parish priests. In the 1950s more and more coloured and South African-born men were being ordained. Born and brought up from within the multi-cultured communities of Cape Town where Muslims and Christians were neighbours, they brought fresh insight to what they believed the Anglican Church's approach to Muslims should be.

An incident within the typical pastoral situation of the Reverend George Swartz¹ is an example. It prompted him to write to the Archbishop seeking advice.

When I was in Veldrif, in the Parish of Laaiplek, one of my parishioners, a nurse who worked at the Brooklyn Chest Hospital, got herself pregnant from one of her Muslim patients. I realised that he was going to try and make her become Muslim so I wrote to Archbishop de Blank and asked him what should I do in this situation. If I remember rightly, he advised me to counsel her and get her to have the baby, an illegitimate baby, rather than to marry a Muslim, because inevitably if she married, she'd become a Muslim. So I tried to do this and the boy's parents came

¹ George Alfred Swartz, after obtaining a BA at the University of the Witwatersrand, studied theology at Mirfield. He was ordained deacon in 1954 and priest in 1955. From 1952 until 1956 when he became Priest-in-charge at St Helena Bay (which includes Veldrif and Laaiplek) he worked at St Pauls, Bree Street. (*Crockford Clerical Directory 1959*)

to Veldrif to see the girl's parents and in my presence, they said that if they married, she may remain in her religion, and he will remain in his. But this sort of thing was an on-going thing, a tussle between the families of the two faiths when there was inter-faith marriages.²

George Swartz's response in this pastoral situation may have been what prompted the Archbishop to consider using Swartz as a full-time missionary to the Muslims. He subsequently asked Swartz if he would consider taking charge of the Mission when Miss Leslie retired and returned to England. At first Swartz said that if ordered to do so he would obey, but he would not volunteer to do this task. However, while on his annual retreat in January 1960 he was led to believe that he should do the mission work. 'So I wrote to the Archbishop and accepted.'³

Swartz's training overseas

In June 1960 Archbishop de Blank sent Swartz to St Augustine's College, Canterbury, where Canon Kenneth Cragg⁴ was the sub-warden. Canon Cragg directed Swartz's reading in the area of Islamic studies. Swartz found him 'an amazing man' and he believed he learnt more doctrine from him in one year than he had learnt in two years at Theological College.⁵ During the summer vacation Canon Cragg arranged for Swartz to visit Jerusalem and attend a Summer School there. He was also exposed to Anglican parishes in the Jerusalem Diocese which were in the midst of

² Personal interview with Bishop Swartz, August 1995.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Kenneth Cragg, later Assistant Bishop of Jerusalem, was the Professor of Islamic Studies at Hartford University in the USA and had worked in Beirut and in Jerusalem. He is the author of many books dealing with Christianity and its relationship with Islam.

⁵ Personal Interview.

Islamic communities. He was recalled to Cape Town in the December 1961, after the first semester of his second academic year at St Augustine's.

George Swartz was commissioned as director of the Mission to Muslims at a service in St George's Cathedral on 1st February 1962. Many parish clergy were present, which Swartz found very supportive for he felt that without this support 'the work of the mission cannot hope to prosper.'⁶

In April he reported to the Mission to Muslims Board (MMB) on some of the work he had undertaken since his arrival. The work he did during this period was to be typical of the model he continued to use while head of the mission. He pointed out that from his arrival his work had been almost entirely addressed to Christians. He had preached about Islam at UCT and Stellenbosch Universities, as well as in numerous parishes. He had slides of the Holy Land and the great Mosques of Istanbul and had hoped that these would attract Muslims. However, this was not to be the case.

As Swartz's ministry continued it developed into the dissemination of information to Christians about Islam rather than an attempt to convert Muslims themselves. The MMB continued to hold quarterly services and meetings where speakers addressed the friends of the mission. The strong sense of community solidarity made it difficult for Swartz or any other Christian minister to make converts among Muslim believers. Swartz continued to use this model, hoping that a better educated Christian population would lessen the flow of converts from Christianity to Islam. This flow usually occurred when young Muslims and Christians wished to marry. The Anglican Christians seeking to marry into a Muslim family were sent to Swartz for counselling.

⁶ George Swartz, Report to Muslim Mission Board, April 1962. MS AB1599 CPSA Archive, Witwatersrand University.

In Swartz's first report (April 1962) he related that he was instructing four Muslims for baptism. All of these were from inter-faith marriages where the Muslim spouse wished to become a Christian.

Work was also required in the caring for converts. He reported that a Muslim woman whose Christian husband had deserted her was now in great distress. She sought financial help from the Mission.⁷ Swartz, in the hope of converting her to Christianity, gave her pastoral aid by arranging the purchase of a sewing machine to assist her, thus 'giving her a fishing rod instead of a fish - but I think she sold the machine and dropped off the scene.'⁸ Swartz complained of other 'rice Christians', who during Miss Leslie and Miss Manning's time would feign interest in conversion in order to get hand-outs. These dropped off during Swartz's tenure because he took a much stronger line than Miss Leslie on the matter. He was concerned, however, that he should have a pastoral programme ready for the ongoing care of converts even though these were small in number, being only those seeking marriage with Christians.

In the July 1962 report, Swartz mentioned contact with Ds C Greyling of the Dutch Reform Mission Church. Greyling had been appointed to work among the Indians in Johannesburg but felt more and more called to work among Muslims at the Cape. Ds Greyling and the Anglican MMB continued contact until the Mission ceased to exist (1976). In 1969 contact was made with the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the Cape Peninsula Council of Churches (CPCC) in an attempt to involve other denominations in the mission work. By this time the mission was re-assessing its own missiological standpoint, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Personal interview, Aug 1995.

Swartz also conducted direct dialogue with a number of Muslim families. These took place in a very amiable atmosphere. In December 1962 he reported that he met regularly with six Muslim families and although there was not much chance of conversion he was gaining their friendship and confidence. In this dialogue Swartz differed from his predecessors, who had tried to persuade individuals into Christianity by argument. This new style of interfaith conversations was what Dr Cragg, Swartz's teacher, recommended in his book *The Call of the Minaret*

Not to care about Islam would be not to care about Christ.
To hold back from the fullest meeting with Muslims would
be to refrain from the fullest discipleship to Christ.....
There are wide areas of possible mutuality which it is a joy
to explore and enlarge.....⁹

Swartz commented on this dialogue:

... and then there was direct dialogue with Muslims. Now this was very slow work. I used to visit Muslims in their homes. I use to sit up to the small hours discussing Christianity and Islam. I didn't make a single convert, but hopefully I sowed some seeds.¹⁰

An example of this 'seed sowing' occurred at St Philip's when Swartz became rector in 1963 (see below). Swartz was very open to Muslims who attended funeral services. The mother of one of his sidesmen had been widowed and had married a Muslim. The son of this marriage had been brought up as a Muslim. When the mother died the funeral took place at St Philip's. The sidesman's half-brother contacted Swartz and said that he was so impressed by the service, 'the way the whole thing had been conducted and the way his Christian half brother had handled the issue of death' that he would like to become a Christian. He himself had

⁹ Kenneth Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret*, New York, 1956, p. 179.

¹⁰ Personal interview Aug 1995.

married a Christian woman and she had become a Muslim as had their children. Swartz went to their house and instructed the whole family. The couple asked if they could be married again in Church and they were all baptised (except the wife who was already baptised before her conversion to Islam) and they were also all confirmed together. The husband told Swartz that from the time they began to receive instruction in the Christian faith, he and his wife had not slept together. Swartz told him that they were legally married but the husband said he still did not feel that it was right until they were married in the Christian church. George Swartz commented 'I think that was a lovely touch. It shows how seriously they took this whole business'.¹¹ In this case perhaps the dynamics involved in the marriage of a Christian and a Muslim played a greater role than the Church's witness or Swartz's missionary endeavour in the small hours of the morning.

The MMB also prepared two lessons to be included in Confirmation Classes in all parishes. In the synod report of 1964 Swartz commented, 'it is hoped that by this time all the parishes and especially those with a predominantly coloured congregation have made use of them.'¹² The first lesson dealt with the origins of Islam, how 'Muslims must try to be like Mohammed, Christian must be like Christ',¹³ the five Pillars of the Faith and the principle differences between Islam and Christianity. The differences were summarized in the statement:

- a) In Islam God's revelation is in a book. In Christianity
God's revelation is in a person.

¹¹ Personal interview Aug 1995.

¹² 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1964*, Cape Town. Personal Note: I was confirmed in a predominantly white parish in 1964. No lesson in the Confirmation Classes touched on any other faith and their beliefs.

¹³ Lessons for Confirmation Classes, MS AB1599 CPSA Archive, Witwatersrand University.

b) Islam's Holy Scripture is the Quran dictated word for word by God and recited by Mohammed. The Christian's Holy Scripture is the Bible which is the story of Creation and the records of God's dealing with men (sic), which includes the record of the birth, ministry death and resurrection of His Son Jesus Christ.¹⁴

The second lesson continued to deal with the differences between the two faiths. In discussing the different beliefs about God, the lesson stressed that Christians and Muslims worship the same God,

They call Him Allah and we call Him God but He is the same. It is our understanding of the One True God that is different.¹⁵

This statement shows that Anglican Church's Muslim mission had entered a new era of dialogue and acceptance of the Muslim faith having the right to exist alongside the Christian Church. This is so different from the more Christian fundamentalist approach of certain other Churches and from the earlier Anglican attitude. In a pamphlet *Do you know your Moslem* (sic) *Neighbour*, issued in 1980 (sixteen years after the publishing of the Confirmation lessons) by Life Challenge, a branch of the interdenominational fundamentalist group called 'The Bible Band', it was stated 'Do not believe that the Moslem believes on the "same God" as we do.'¹⁶

The second confirmation lesson also covered different beliefs about Jesus, about the Holy Trinity and about Salvation. The difference between the Muslim and Christian concepts of an ideal marriage were also given. The Muslims' view of marriage as a contract that can be broken at will was

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Anonymous pamphlet, *Do you know your Moslem neighbour?* (Claremont: Life Challenge) 1980.

contrasted with the Christian concept of marriage as 'an estate, a relationship which is only broken when one partner dies.'¹⁷

The final part of the lesson once again showed the desire for interfaith dialogue. The lesson stated that Christians must love Muslims because they too are the children of God and Christ died for them as well. Reminding the confirmation candidates that all Christians must be missionaries, the lesson concludes with an exhortation that Christians must help Muslims to understand that God is a loving Father and that the real Jesus can be found in the Gospels and not in the 'shadowy picture of Jesus' as found in the Quran.¹⁸

In May 1963 the Archbishop asked Swartz to become Rector of St Philip's, Chapel Street, Woodstock. At first Swartz felt that he should not accept this appointment because the church had gone to great expense to train him as a specialist missionary to the Muslims. The Dean, Edward King, approached him personally and pointed out that St Philip's, through Government action under the Group Areas Act and the industrialization of the area around the church, was a dying parish. King thought that the parish work would not be too onerous. However, Swartz later admitted that when he started as Rector of St Philip's, he spent 80% of his time as Muslim Missionary and 20% as Rector. By the time he left St Philip's for Bonteheuvél in 1970, he spent 90% of his time as Rector and only 10% as missionary.¹⁹

In 1964 the MMB agreed to Swartz's recommendation that changes be made to its programmes. It abandoned its Quarterly Services and

¹⁷ Lessons for Confirmation Classes, MS AB1599 CPSA Archive, Witwatersrand University.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Personal interview August 1995

meetings as it felt that it was 'getting into a rut with these meeting'.²⁰ It decided to hold two major meetings each year with instructive workshops. Examples of such workshops were 'An Islamic Brains Trust' and the 'Muslim concept of God' where the Islamic faith could be discussed by the Anglicans attending the workshop. These meetings differed from the quarterly meetings as they were more intensely educational. Previously the Quarterly Service had consisted of a service followed by a lecture. As Miss Leslie pointed out in the 1950s (see above) the Mission continued to be a teaching mission, mainly teaching Christians about Islam. These meetings were primarily attempts to give resources to those who came into contact with Muslims, enabling them to witness to the Christian faith. The apathy among the most of the laity led to these workshops gradually returning to the old pattern of service and lecture. The matter of evangelizing the Muslims was left to the few concerned clergy or simply placed in God's hands in the prayers at the services.

In 1964 Father Swartz gave a course of six lectures to the senior girls at St Cyprian's School (a private Anglican Church school for girls). It is curious that he should be asked to address these girls who at that time, because of Government policy, would have been exclusively white and probably from wealthy backgrounds - neither criteria for possible 'lapsing' to the Muslim faith.²¹ Father Swartz also spent time in perhaps more relevant parishes such as St Luke's, Salt River, where he gave a series of six sermons and also country parishes such as Paarl, Stellenbosch, Laaiplek, Hopefield and Robertson. A total of thirty two parishes were

²⁰ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1964*, Cape Town.

²¹ It is interesting to note that a *kramat* (a tomb for a holy man, Tuan Shams al-Din) is found in the grounds of St Cyprians School. This is one of the tombs which make up the Holy Circle of Tombs around the Cape Peninsula. Mansoor Jaffer (ed) *Guide to the Kramats of the Western Cape*, Cape Town, 1996.

visited. None of Swartz's sermons are extant but from personal interviews it can be accepted that these sermons were primarily informing the congregations of the difference between Islam and Christianity, following the scheme used in the Confirmation Lesson discussed above. This was aimed at preventing Christians thinking that conversion to Islam was similar to a change in Christian denominations.

A second purpose of these sermons was to equip the hearer to go out and talk about his or her faith with Muslims. Swartz referred to this style of evangelism as 'Friendship Evangelism'. He stressed the necessity of respecting the Muslim's faith. For example although Christians could not accept Mohammed as a prophet, they were not to treat him derogatively in any way. Muslims frequently attended Swartz's lectures. He remembered that after the lectures they questioned his interpretations of the Islamic faith but never in a confrontational manner. The exotic and colourful nature of the Muslim population of Cape Town made Swartz's sermons and addresses an attraction, especially for the white Anglicans who did not have Muslims as neighbours. It is doubtful whether the sermons and addresses achieved Swartz's aim of equipping Christians for witness and dialogue with Muslims but merely informed them of the exotic nature of sections of the population at the Cape. As Swartz put it,²² there was no empirical way of measuring his success in the prevention of Christians 'falling into Islam'.

In the synod report of 1964 Father Swartz expressed concern at the influx of Islamic propaganda pamphlets which extolled the Islamic Faith as being the only religion which 'offered brotherhood and peace'.²³ These pamphlets, he felt, were often subtly and sometimes not so subtly directed

²² Personal Interview, 18 July 1997.

²³ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1964*, Cape Town.

against Christianity. They found their way into the hands of 'gullible Christians' who knew so little about their own Christian faith that 'seeds of doubt were sown'.²⁴ The situation was perhaps aggravated by the actions of the government of the National Party. These actions included the passing of the Group Areas Act which segregated communities on racial lines, separate education facilities for different race groups and the gradually disenfranchised the previously enfranchised of coloured voters.

Islamic protest actions against the government came from the young *Ulama* (theologians) as the older generation of theologians were conservative and renowned for their narrow orthodoxy.²⁵ Imam Abdullah Haron, who died in police custody in 1969, took a strong stand against the National Party government.²⁶ Imam Haron emphasised that apartheid was contrary to Islamic teaching of racial equality and social justice.²⁷ The emphasis on equality and justice, together with the central role that the Muslim faith played in all areas of society and the fact that most (if not all) Muslims in Cape Town belonged to the oppressed races, led to Islam appearing as an attractive alternative for Christians.

A pamphlet, *Cross or Crescent?*, previously issued by Father Hampson in the 1950s (see Chapter 12), was revised and re-issued 1964 to

²⁴ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Moslems' in *Synod Reports of Diocese of Cape Town 1964*.

²⁵ Fatima Meer's Introduction to Faried Esack, *But Musa went to Firaun!*, Cape Town, 1989.

²⁶ Anonymous, *Remembrance of a Martyr Imam Abdullah Haron*, Cape Town, 1994.

²⁷ Abdulkader Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement*, Cape Town, 1995, p.84.

counteract the aggressive pamphlets issued by Sheik Achmat Deedat.²⁸ Deedat was the founder, in 1957, of the Islamic Propagation Centre in Durban. He became famous for his criticism of Christianity and, in particular, the Bible. His purpose was to prevent Muslims converting to Christianity. His pamphlets stressed that Islam was a rational and modern religion while Christianity was irrational and inconsistent.²⁹ These pamphlets attacked Christianity by using selected biblical verses taken out of context and literally interpreted.³⁰

Father Swartz admitted that *The Cross or Crescent* pamphlet was aimed at instructing Christians and not meant to be a Christian evangelical tract aimed at converting Muslims. It did, however, produce an aggressive response locally and abroad. Locally, the Muslim Judicial Council re-issued Shaykh Ahmed Behardien's 1961 response. In this response Behardien criticised Hampson for paternalistically thinking that there was no Muslim sufficiently learned to respond. Hampson had claimed that Muslims deny Jesus, Behardien pointed out that this was false. He also pointed to the inconsistencies within the Bible and called it 'false' because of these inconsistencies and the fact that it was composed over so many centuries.³¹ When compared to the Quran the Bible had no standard text. The Torah, Vulgate and Septuagint all varied greatly. Behardien, quoting Anglicans and other Christian scholars, argued that the Christian Church did not follow Christ's teaching but rather that of Paul. The original faith of the Church had changed so much that by the seventh century it required the arrival of Islam to bring the people to a better understanding of God.

²⁸ In 1957 Sheik Achmat Deedat founded the Islamic Propagation Centre in Durban. This centre continues to use pamphlets, tracts and billboards as a method of Muslim mission.

²⁹ Abdulkader Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa...* p.98.

³⁰ Achmat Deedat, *Crucifixion or Cruci-Fiction?*, Durban, 1984.

³¹ Ahmed Behardien, *A reply to the Rev A R Hampson*, Athlone, 1961.

He also ridiculed the teaching of the Trinity by showing that it does not obey the Laws of Mathematics ('one plus one plus one = one'). Behardien viewed the 'Anglican Church's Mission to the Muslim (sic)' as an attack on the Muslim faith. Muslims, he said, had the right to defend their faith.

Attacks on *Cross or Crescent?* from overseas came from The Living Word Islamic Propagation Centre, based in London. This was an organisation founded by a former Christian minister, R J Flowers, who signed his letter to the Archbishop as Brother Farouk Flowers.

Flowers complained about the *Cross or Crescent?* as being 'a mass of fabrication and distortion of TRUTH (sic)'. Stating that Christianity was merely Pauline Scripture and not the teaching or the essence of Jesus, he attacked the Bible as being 'historical rot and infamy'. He said it was not worth reading and especially degrading for a holy book were the 'homosexual stories and those of such feasts (sic)'. He continued by challenging the Archbishop of Cape Town, to whom the letter was addressed, to a public debate on these issues on radio, television or in the Albert Hall. He claimed he was the founder of The Living Word Islamic Propagation Centre. No mention of this organisation appears in the Encyclopaedia of Islam and it is hard to know how significant this organisation was in the Islamic world, based as it was, in England. The tone, style and appearance of the letter gives the impression that Flowers was an eccentric fanatic for the Islamic cause.

The *Cross or Crescent* pamphlet had offended the Muslim population of Cape Town and in 1968 was considered by Jeremy Peake to be one of the major stumbling blocks to the possibility Anglican-Muslim dialogue.³²

³² The Reverend Jeremy Peake and his role in the mission will be discussed in the next chapter.

With increasing responsibility as Rector of St Philip's, Swartz spent less and less time on the mission to the Muslims. The major part of the work was preaching in parishes where mixed Muslim-Christian populations lived. This enabled Anglicans to have a deeper knowledge of the differences between their own and the Muslim faith. He also held training days where interested people were taught about Islam. According to the synod report of 1967 an average of 30 persons from sundry parishes attended these sessions. Swartz hoped that he could build 'a nucleus of a band of missionaries to the Muslim' from those who attended.³³ These workshops trained people to carry out the 'friendship evangelism' which Swartz considered to be the best method of evangelising Muslims.

Like many of his predecessors, Swartz, having been specially trained and appointed director of a specialist position within the Church, was appointed to an additional post of parish priest. This reduced his effectiveness as a missionary to the Muslims. Swartz's training was under Bishop Kenneth Cragg and he also used the methods recommended by Bevan Jones, a renowned author of books on Islam. The areas where Jones and Cragg worked were, however, predominantly Muslim. Cape Town presented a unique situation where Muslims were in the minority and relatively integrated into the general life of the community.³⁴

The Group Areas Act sent Muslim and Christians to live together in townships and suburbs widely spread all over the Cape Flats. Those Muslims who were on the population register as 'Malays', were sent to areas allocated for Asians (for example Gatesville) or they could remain

³³ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Muslims' in *Synod Reports of the Diocese of Cape Town, 1967*.

³⁴ Many coloured Christians and Muslim witness to this fact by telling of how Christian attended Muslim School with their Muslim friends and how Muslim children would help by singing in the Christian Church choirs.

in the area known as the 'Malay Quarter'. Those Muslims registered as coloureds remained within the coloured community. This re-distribution of the population made the missionary work too diverse to be done by one man. Swartz's idea of training parish laity and parish clergy had now become essential. The witnessing to, converting of, and teaching of possible converts (either from Christianity to Islam or vice versa) was becoming the task of the local parish priest and people.

The more liberal members of the MMB wanted the board to become a representative body for the Anglican Church in interfaith dialogue with Muslims. It was hoped that board members would be available to represent the Anglican Church at a level where theologians of both faiths could dialogue. From 1966 until the cessation of the Board's operations in 1974 attempts were made for this dialogue to take place but this never occurred.

This shift towards an attitude of dialogue was quickly recognised by the younger members of the board, especially the coloured members, as the way forward. It was a phenomenon which was occurring in the missiological field worldwide. The shift in attitude began as early as the Edinburgh conference of 1910, where 'on the ground' missionaries were more accepting of other faiths³⁵. At the Second Vatican Council (1963-65) the conservative Roman Catholic Church declared that there was salvation outside of the Church and in documents such as *Nostra Aetate*, *Ad Gentes* and *Lumen Gentium* the triumphalism and superiority of Christianity was moved to the background and the Catholic Church accepted 'that which is true and holy'³⁶ in other religions. In the Anglican

³⁵ Kenneth Cracknell, *Justice, Courtesy and Love: Theologians and Missionaries encountering World Religions 1846-1914*, London, 1995.

³⁶ Quoted from *Redemptor Hominis* by John Hick in 'The Non-Absoluteness of Christianity' in *The Myth of Christian Uniqueness* (ed. John

Church in Cape Town the coloured clergy in particular realised that to win a theological dispute with a Muslim did not lead to conversion but to rejection and loss of face by the Muslim. These clergy viewed dialogue and acceptance of each other's position as the only way forward.³⁷

During the late 1960s, the Anglican mission to the Muslims of Cape Town had to face these new challenges coming from both within the organisation and from the worldwide church. Its slowness to respond to the concept of change is one of the factors which led to its own demise within a decade.

Hick & Paul Knitter), London, 1987, p21.

³⁷ Personal Interview with Clive MacBride 21 August 1997.

Chapter 14

From 'Mission' to 'Relations': Anglican-Muslim Relations 1966-76

In September 1966, at the Annual General Meeting of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Muslim Board (MMB), Father Jeremy Peake¹ preached a sermon which provoked much discussion. He suggested that the approach of the Mission Board should rather be one of dialogue than conversion. This recommendation was not well received by all the members of the Board and their supporters, especially those Board members who were born and trained overseas. Particularly, the more conservative evangelical clergy from St John's Parish, Wynberg, opposed what the liberal-minded Peake had to say. Their approach to mission did not accept any dialogue with other faiths. At the Board's meeting on 29th November 1966 it was minuted:

The board felt that in future priests invited to preach at the [AGM and Supporters'] Meetings should be more sympathetic to the work of the Mission.²

During 1967 much discussion took place on this issue. By the time the programme for 1967 Annual General Meeting was being discussed, members of the Board were divided over the direction the Mission should take. Father Clive McBride³ suggested that the Mission needed to be

¹Simon Jeremy Brinsley Peake obtained a MA at Worcester College Oxford in 1954 and his theological training at St Stephen's House, Oxford. After serving his curacy in Eastbourne he came to Cape Town and served in various parishes (Claremont, Roodebloem and Maitland) until 1969 when he moved to Kitwe, Zambia where he became Dean in 1971. He subsequently served as Chaplain at the British embassies in Athens and Vienna. *Crockfords Clerical Directories*.

² *Minutes of the Meeting of the Mission to Muslims, 29 November 1966*. MS AB1599: M19- Diocesan Board of Muslim Relations - 1911-70. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

³ Clive McBride was born in Johannesburg and trained at Robert Gray Theological College Cape Town. He was made deacon in 1958 and priest in 1959.

understanding and ready for dialogue with Muslims, in contrast to the idea that the Mission was out to condemn Muslims and convert them to Christianity. McBride's position was based on that of the Roman Catholic Church which had debated these issues at Vatican II. He suggested that conversion could be achieved through the Anglican's tolerance of other faiths, the need and desire for dialogue and by the example of the way in which Anglicans lived their lives.⁴ The Board then suggested that Fr Peake be approached to propose ways and means of implementing the concepts he had preached about the year before.

While the Board awaited Fr Peake's proposals it continued with its work in much the same way as it had since the appointment of George Swartz in 1962. In July 1968 a Quarterly Intercession Service and a workshop on 'Marriage in Islam and Christianity' were held. The priest-in-charge of St Faith's Church Epping Village, The Revd J A Smart⁵, attended his meeting. He was concerned that in the workshop:-

objections to marriage with a Malay, and even the act of becoming a Moslem, didn't seem to be at all well understood....only towards the end did the matter of apostasy from Christ really come out..... The Christian who turns must have been very nominal before.... it is hard to

He served in parishes on the Cape Flats at Kensington and Fractreton. He later became chaplain to Valkenberg and Lentegeur Psychiatric Hospitals.

⁴ *Minutes of the Meeting of Mission to Muslims, 13 September 1967.* MS AB1599:M19 -Diocesan Board of Muslim Relations -1911-1970. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

⁵ John Albert Smart, trained in South Africa where he was deaconed in 1939 and priested in 1940. He was curate in Salt River, Rondebosch and Port Elizabeth. He was Rector of Clanwilliam, Calvinia and St Helena before returning to Plumstead and Epping Village in Cape Town.

think that a convert ever was a Christian internally.⁶

Here, as in the case of Arnold (see Chapter 7), the Anglican priest cannot understand how anyone, having once read the Bible and accepted the Christian faith, can convert to another faith. These comments also demonstrate the complexity of issues facing Swartz. On one side he had theologically liberal priests wishing to be in tune with current missiological thinking and keen to dialogue with other religious faiths. On the other, he had conservative evangelical priests who viewed the conversion of the Muslim as the most important (and perhaps only) task of his Board.

Swartz's monthly reports to the Board tell of training days held at the Marion Institute and Emmanuel Church, Wynberg, and of the instruction of few possible converts done on a one to one basis by Swartz. These converts were Muslims wishing to marry Christians by the Christian rite.

Jeremy Peake's first Memorandum

At a board meeting held on 18 September 1968, Jeremy Peake presented his memorandum *A criticism of the present policy of the C.T. Diocesan Mission to Moslems and some suggestions for radical change*.

In the introduction Peake expressed the view that there was some disquiet over the present policy because of the new insights into missionary theory and practice which had occurred over the previous few years especially in view of the 'aggiornamento' outlook⁷ recommended to the Christian Church by the late Pope John XXIII.

⁶ The Rev. J A Smart to the Rev. G Swartz, 24 July 1968. MS:AB1599 CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

⁷ "Aggiornamento outlook" was a term closely associated with Pope John XXIII denoting a fresh presentation of the faith together with a recognition of the wide natural rights of man and a support of freedom of worship and the welfare state.' *The Dictionary of the Christian Church* edited by F.L. Cross (Oxford: OUP 1974) p. 24.

Peake complained of the name of the Board. The name used was 'unsuitable both in the modern missionary context and particularly in terms of the contemporary South African situation'.⁸

- ▶ Jesus' great commission was to teach ALL nations and thus he felt that it was wrong that Muslims were singled out for special missionary effort. This created an impression that the Muslims were a particular menace to Christianity. The logical continuation of this view was the 'idea of the *laager* defending itself against all sorts of *gevare*'. It was a reflection of the fear and uncertainty of the South African scene at that time and not the 'lively hope' which should be the result of Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead.⁹
- ▶ The Muslims of the Cape generally belonged to the under-privileged group and the word 'mission' under these circumstances, Peake viewed as paternalistic, patronising and an outmoded attitude from the nineteenth century.
- ▶ On the policy of the Mission Board, Peake criticised the 'present policy of the Christian versus Moslems apologetics with which is associated the campaign for individual conversions'. Peake criticised the pamphlet *Cross and Crescent* and the Confirmation lessons written by Swartz for the Mission Board - *What you should know about Islam*. He felt that these 'fell short of the absolute standard of objective truth without which Christ is absent'. He did

⁸ *A Criticism of the present policy of the C.T. Diocesan Mission to Moslems and some suggestions for radical change: a memorandum by S.J. Peake* MS1599 Cape Town Mission to Muslims. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

⁹ Peake Memorandum

acknowledge that this fault also lay with the pamphlets issued by Muslims. Both Christian and Muslims were ignoring the features common to both religions in order to score points off each other.

Peake gave the four principles which he felt should underlie Christian policy towards Islam.

- ▶ First, 'conviction that the Christian faith as revealed in the Scriptures contains a unique account of God's revelation of himself through Christ to man and to the world.'
- ▶ Second, that the community of Christ 'was not confined to the visible Church' but extended to wherever the same values are recognized and cherished 'even if only implicitly'.
- ▶ Third, the truth must be sought 'fearlessly and honestly' before a religious system was defended. This meant that truth in Islam had to be recognised and respected. It also meant that where Christian truths were inadequate Islamic truth might have to be accepted and the presentation of Islam from the Islamic point of view had to be listened to willingly and without prejudice.¹⁰

Peake felt that the Mission's policy was not complying with the criteria given above. In addition to Pope John's view, a similar view had been expressed by the Anglican Bishop and expert on missiology, Stephan Neill, when he visited Cape Town in 1967. Peake felt that the current methods had to be changed because attempts at individual conversion were inadequate and ineffective, besides being morally questionable. Only the fringes of society were touched - where intermarriage had taken place; the theologians and thinkers 'were not touched at all.' Peake felt that closer contact and dialogue with Sheiks and Imams might produce some surprising results. Finally he concluded that charity and truth were

¹⁰ Peake Memorandum

prejudiced by the system in use up to that time.¹¹

Peake then suggested four reforms:-

- ▶ that the name of the MMB be changed. He suggested 'The Diocesan Council for Muslim Relations'.
- ▶ that the individual approach be abandoned and with it the production of polemic or apologetic literature. The subjective lecture courses should also cease.
- ▶ that the opening up of relations with 'our Moslem brethren' begin by inviting Muslim theologians to speak on every facet of Islam, including Sufism, with the hope that a reciprocal gesture would be forthcoming from the Muslim side, but that this should not be made a condition. Co-operation in social, political and educational spheres should occur on all levels (parochial as well as diocesan) should be encouraged. He quoted an example of Clive McBride who had loaned a church hall for a Muslim school.
- ▶ that Christians be encouraged to read about Islam by Islamic authors and to promote and encourage the unprejudiced study of these works.

He concluded that it was only through contact between members of the two religions that anything positive would happen.

Peake's presentation provided a great deal of discussion¹².

¹¹ Ibid

¹² *Minutes of the Meeting of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to the Muslims held on Wednesday 18th September 1968.* MS1599 CPSA Archives. Wits. University. The following comments on the discussion are taken from the

McBride gave 'whole-hearted support to the memo' speaking of 'convergence rather than conversion' stating that 'We should be more ready to listen and proclaim less'.

Hampson stated that historical conditions in South Africa had governed the policy of the board to some extent. He stated that 'the educated Muslim was very rare to find' in Cape Town. He does not clarify in what sense 'educated'. In Cape Town there were many highly trained in Islamic Studies but not academically educated in the Western European sense.¹³ Hampson felt that it was the Board's duty to stand by those Christians who, through lack of education, saw little difference between Christianity and Islam. He acknowledged that there was much to appreciate in Islamic Spirituality but such an appreciation would come through dialogue and a willingness on the part of Christians to listen and learn.

George Swartz, attempting to defend the Board's approach, stated that it was not policy to attack Muslims. He felt that there were certain wrong assumptions in the memo. The pamphlets issued by the Mission were aimed at Christians and not attacking Islam. He agreed that dialogue was necessary but not only between the educated but also with the ordinary Muslims. The training sessions were to equip Christians for this dialogue by teaching them an understanding of Islam and a deeper understanding of their own faith.

Archbishop Selby Taylor, who was chairing the meeting, outlined two tasks he felt the Mission should be tackling.

- ▶ To help those Christians who came into contact with Muslims and

minutes of the Board Meeting.

¹³ Numerous examples of educated Muslims as well as many who support Islamic education locally are given in *Pages from Cape Muslim History* (ed. Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids) (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter) 1994.

were for one reason or another drawn to become Muslims

- ▶ To have meetings with the Muslim leadership, which he felt had not really been done before. The Board's task was to discover what Muslims had to offer.

Canon George Wakeling,¹⁴ moved an expression of confidence in the leadership of the Board's director (George Swartz) and stated that the Board's job was to seek the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. He suggested that name change to 'Board of Muslim Relations would make people think that it was a board for those who had Muslim relations'.¹⁵ He emphasized that a special approach was necessary for Muslims 'because of the challenge of the Gospel' and he asked 'Must conversion be sacrificed for the sake of dialogue?' Special training was required for the dialogue but the aim must remain conversion.¹⁶

This evoked a variety of responses from the members of the Board. There is an interesting correlation between the individual responses and the background of each Board member.

Jeremy Peake was a relative newcomer to South Africa, having been born and trained in England. George Swartz described him as 'a young man ...a

¹⁴ Stanley George Wakeling obtained his degree from Cambridge and his theological training from Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. After working in numerous parishes in England including sometime with the CMS, He came to South Africa where he was Rector of St John's, Wynberg. The Wynberg parish was an evangelical stronghold in Cape Town.

¹⁵ *Minutes of the Meeting of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to the Muslims held on Wednesday 18th September 1968*. MS1599 CPSA Archives. Witwatersrand University.

¹⁶ *Minutes of the Meeting of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to the Muslims held on Wednesday 18th September 1968*. MS1599 CPSA Archives. Witwatersrand University.

good parish priest but very liberal and he felt we must be fair and he saw lots of what we were trying to do as attacking Islam'.¹⁷

Clive McBride was a coloured priest, born and trained in South Africa. Originally from Johannesburg, he came to the Cape and worked in what were then coloured parishes where a large percentage of the population were Muslims. The day-to-day contact gave McBride a more pragmatic approach where dialogue was preferable. He also sought an understanding why both his and the Muslims' forebears had come from the East, yet his forebears had become Christians. He was seeking an understanding of his own 'roots'.¹⁸

George Swartz was from a similar background to McBride. Swartz had been trained under Kenneth Cragg and as director of the Mission was instrumental in formulating the Mission's policy. He felt that Peake's memorandum had misrepresented this policy which was attempting to carry the very changes Peake's memo suggested.

Albert Hampson was a much older man who had spent many years in South Africa including sometime as the Director of the MMB (1932 - 1938). During this period he published many polemical and apologetic tracts and pamphlets. His neutral, even slightly approving, attitude to the suggested reforms appear out of character. However, Rowan Smith, a member of the board from 1968 until 1974, states that Hampson had shared with him how Kenneth Cragg's *The Call of the Minaret*¹⁹ had changed his attitude towards missions to Muslims.²⁰ Hampson statement that the educated

¹⁷ Personal Interview, August 1995.

¹⁸ Personal interview, August 1997.

¹⁹ Kenneth Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret* (Oxford: OUP, 1956)

²⁰ Personal interview with Dean Rowan Smith, February 1997.

Muslim was rare shows, however, a typical Eurocentric attitude of the more traditional missionary.

Canon Wakeling was born and educated in England. He was from the evangelical wing of the Church of England. This can be seen in the fact that he trained at Wycliffe Hall, worked for the CMS and was Rector of St John's Wynberg, an evangelical parish which at that time had a tenuous link with the Diocese of Cape Town. The parish of St John's feared the strong Anglo-Catholic leanings of the Church of the Province. Wakeling's strong evangelical views would naturally make him opposed to the more liberal missiological theory proposed by Peake.

During this period Archbishop Robert Selby-Taylor stressed that the differences between the Muslim and the Christian Communities, as well as the Jewish Community, should be put aside as the oppression of apartheid became greater and greater. He believed that the religious forces opposed to apartheid needed to co-operate and take a united stand. Thus for him dialogue rather than confrontation was the way forward. In one of his sermons in the Cathedral he made a strong plea for a united front against the apartheid forces which were driving the different sections of the community apart.²¹

As pointed out above (see Chapter 12), the situation was unique in respect of the cultural, social and political intermixing of Muslims and Christians in the coloured community of the Cape. In communities in other countries, Muslims tend to segregate themselves from others. At the Cape because of skin colour, common origins, common economic situation and the united struggle against apartheid, there was much co-operation in the cwhiteoloured community between the Christians and Muslims. Examples

²¹ Private Interview with Canon Kenneth Chaffey, 4 July 1996.

of this co-operation can be seen in sports teams made up of both Christian and Muslim members, participation by both Christian and Muslims in the 'Cape Coons' and the more sophisticated 'Christmas Bands'. Besides these more conspicuous examples, there was the close co-operation and tolerance between Christian and Muslim neighbours.²²

Father Peake's second Critique

The agenda for the December meeting included proposals from the Director (Swartz) to reform the Mission policy. These included:-

- i) change of name.
- ii) abandonment of a drive for individual conversion, and the holding of lecture courses which would give a greater stress to the understanding of Islam. The post of the director would also be under discussion as the changes could mean that the Board in its entirety should carry out the tasks.
- iii) opening up relations with Muslims which would include:-
 - a) inviting Muslim theologians to speak
 - b) co-operation in social, education and political matters
 - c) breaking down present confrontation between local priests and imams
- iv) encouraging the reading of Islamic literature by Christians so as to obtain a Muslim perspective on Islam.

In support of these proposals, Swartz said that 'Christianity means contact'.

²² This co-operation can still be seen where Muslim delicacies such as *samoosas*, *rhotis* and coconut covered *koeksuster* are served at tea after Anglican Church services.

He emphasized the need for contact, with 'brotherhood' as the common goal.²³

At this meeting Father Peake submitted a further critique for discussion.²⁴ He introduced his proposals by making it clear that his criticism was not of the Director but the policy of the mission. He indicated that the proposals were for more dialogue and for less confrontation. The Archbishop, who was chairing the meeting, suggested that a two hour meeting was required to discuss the proposals fully before a memorandum could be submitted to Synod for approval. Furthermore, the Archbishop felt that the presence of Albert Hampson, a former Director of the Mission to the Muslims, who was absent that day, would be helpful to the discussion.

On 22nd January the Board met again to discuss Peake's critique. The document was similar to his first memorandum except that he backed his argument with quotations from well known missiologists such as Dr Adrian Hastings, the well-known Catholic missiologist, Canon John Taylor, and Dr Geoffrey Parrinder. Peake began by stating that the existing policy of the Board was 'defensive and negative in its approach and not influenced at all by the new Missionary attitudes'.²⁵ Once again he suggested dialogue to replace confrontation and quoted Kenneth Cragg's aims for dialogue:

1. there must be seriousness on both sides
2. there must be respect for the other man, **not** just a desire to convert him
3. there must be a willingness to listen - 'Listen more and preach less'

²³ Agenda for Meeting 11 December 1968. MS AB1599. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University

²⁴ Jeremy Peake, *Critique of present policy of mission to Muslims*. MS AB1599, CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

²⁵ Peake, *Critique*

4. we must be prepared to accept what is true in Islam

He quoted from Adrian Hasting's book, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa*:

The work of evangelisation must grow out of one of interpretation, of dialogue, of contact of minds.

He also quoted from John V Taylor's *Primal Vision*:

So long as the missionary encounter is conceived as a dialogue one will have to "cede to the other". But may it not be truer to see it as a meeting of three, in which Christ has drawn together the witness who proclaims him and the other who does not know his name, so that in their slow discovery of one another, each may discover more of him?

And from Dr Geoffrey Parrinder who, in a study over the 'Honest to God' debate entitled *Light from the East* (published 1966), said:

The meeting of Christianity with some of the great world religions is going to bring about a Third Reformation. This Third reformation is like the release of Classical Knowledge at the Renaissance, for the East is now the West.....What is needed is more factual knowledge of their teachings, fair appraisal and comparison with Christian teaching, and mutual learning.

Parrinder saw the universality of all faiths and felt that Christianity had to inculturate teachings from other religions especially those from the East. Peake believed that Christians had to accept what was 'Truth' in Islam and only reject that which was false.

Peake then submitted 'for serious consideration' changes of policy the Mission to Muslim Board needed to undergo.

1. Change of Name. He pointed out that 'the name itself acts as a barrier to outreach and dialogue'.

2. Literature. Peake had spoken to Sheikh Dien who was perhaps the most learned and eminent Muslim theologian in Cape Town. He told Peake that the publication of the pamphlet *Cross or Crescent* had the most terribly harmful effect on Muslim attitudes toward Christians and caused a major setback in relationships between the two communities.

3. Lecture Courses. These Peake felt would seem to run counter to the spirit of dialogue where:- 'listening to the other man's point of view is more important than listening to what you think that point of view is.'

4. Theological Discussion Groups. Peake said that discussion groups involving uninformed Christians and Muslims would be unproductive but discussion between theologians would be helpful. Sheikh Dien had assured him that if Christian initiated dialogue there would be a 'warm response from the Muslims.' Peake suggested that if dialogue was initiated then the structures of the Board would have to be dismantled. The Sheikh denied that there was any anti-Christian literature produced by orthodox Muslims though the *Ahmadiyyas*²⁶ had produced some, but they 'were essentially a non-Islamic movement'.

5. Conclusion. Peake concluded his suggestions of change by quoting Hugh Montefiore²⁷ book of Confirmation Lessons. Montefiore

²⁶The Ahmadiyyah Movement developed in India in the last quarter of the 19th Century. They were prominent in the criticism of Christianity, going much further than orthodox Islam. It believed that Islam had to be more militant and assertive. Kenneth Cragg, *The Call of the Minaret* (New York: Oxford University Press 1956) p. 249.

²⁷ Canon Hugh William Montefiore was Rector of St Mary the Great, Oxford, and later Bishop of Birmingham.

reviewed the approach to other religious and concluded that:-

Christ fulfills all that is good and true in other religious and that Christian Mission is not to engulf all other religions into 'Churchianity' but to find within them the hidden Christ and to help them to recognise him in all his fulness.

Peake, in his *Critique* and proposals, took an inclusive stand on the uniqueness of Christianity.

Swartz was asked by the chairman, Bishop Philip Russell,²⁸ to respond. He stated that he followed the same policy as Peake desired, making contacts and breaking down misunderstandings. Since his appointment as Rector of St Philip's there was little time for him to make lengthy contact with Muslim theologians. The work of the mission was therefore merely ticking over until he could train lay people to help.

Bishop Russell had not been part of previous discussions and asked for an explanation on the current situation. Peake felt that the discussion had arisen because the work done by the Mission was 'defensive against the 'Muslim monster' and that Christian leaders did not know the Muslim leaders'. Swartz saw that while both he and Peake desired dialogue, they differed over the level. Peake thinking it should be between leaders, while Swartz preferred a more grass-roots approach.

Father Hampson posed three questions:

1. Did the church really want a Mission to the Muslims?
2. What was visualised by the word 'mission'?
3. If the aim was not conversion then what was the purpose of the dialogue?

He agreed that one part of the mission work should be dialogue on matters

²⁸ At that time Suffragan Bishop of Cape Town. He was later to become Archbishop (1981).

which Christians and Muslims had in common but it was also necessary to recognise the 'points of flat contradiction'. Another part of the Missions function should be educating 'those Europeans who see no need for dialogue because they are ignorant of Islam'. Some sort of renewal of understanding was first needed from the church. He felt that if Christianity was true, Christians had to stand by it and not sacrifice it in the interest of dialogue and reconciliation.

Clive McBride responded that Christians had no desire to abolish the Cross but in our search for the truth Christians had to talk with Muslims who were likewise searching. The mission was not to take up the sword and oppress Islam.

Swartz stated that the Mission's work 'was not to tear down Islam but to instruct on the Gospel'. The Mission's pamphlets were meant for Christians readers and not for Muslims.

The Archbishop who had arrived late at the meeting and was now in the chair proposed that they should look at what they could do about the name and making contact with Muslim leaders.

Bishop Russell clarified the four areas as follows:

1. Name Change:

This would have to have synod approval. Canon Wakeling felt the name was condescending and pointed out that the Mission to Jews in England had changed their name to Mission *among* Jews. He felt *Evangelisation among Muslims* was a less offensive name.

2. Dialogue and at what level:

Peake was adamant that dialogue should be at top level only. Interest in dialogue had been shown by an eminent Sheikh he had visited. Albert Hampson asked about the involvement of other

denominations in dialogue with Muslims. Swartz said that the DRC attitude was the very one deplored by Peake. Hampson was asked to pursue the idea of other Christian denominations joining with the Anglicans in interfaith dialogue. The part they did play will be discussed below.

3. Clergy Interest:

Mr J Langeveldt, a lay member, expressed concern at the lack of interest in the MMB by clergy. McBride said that Muslims believed that those who became Christians only did so because of ignorance of Islam. Similarly, Christians who become Muslims were ignorant of the Christian faith. He believed that it was Christians' lack of *koinonia* among each other which was the greatest problem. Muslims were pragmatic and viewed Christians as being too idealistic. The Archbishop and the Board had attempted to encourage knowledge and interest in Islam by including it in the theological colleges syllabus and by sponsoring an essay competition. However, this had been abandoned because of a lack of interest.

Many of the clergy were viewing the MMB as redundant. The reasons for this attitude were varied. Some parochial clergy were attempting to do the Mission director's work themselves, as he was involved fulltime in his own parish. Other clergy felt that conversion of Muslim was too hard a task to waste their own and the church time and money on. There were other areas of evangelism and social justice which required more urgent attention. Many felt that Christians seeking marriage with Muslims were going to convert regardless of any attempt to stop them. Some clergy were questioning the commitment of Swartz himself. Swartz was by character a peacemaker. He attempted to keep the peace between those Board members who wanted head-on confrontational

evangelism and those who sought dialectic, friendship evangelism. In doing this he was attempting to satisfy both parties. The result was that neither knew his stance on the matter and therefore did not support him as strongly as they could have.

Albert Hampson suggested that the Clerical Society be approached to arrange a meeting between Islamic theologians and Christian clergy. Swartz expressed the view that a group of Imams would keep together and fear a loss of face. A single Muslim might concede certain points but certainly not in public. Thus the choice of with whom and where the dialogue should take place had to be more social and informal. Canon Wakeling suggested that such dialogue should be on ecumenical lines and this was agreed to by all. (See below for the development of this idea).

4. Difficulties of the Director:

Father Peake pointed out that it was pointless having a director if he did not have the time for the work. Swartz repeated that it had been unreasonable after his special training abroad that he should be put in charge of a parish after only fifteen months as Director of the Mission. This was the constant complaint of those clergy in charge of the mission. No sooner had they got the work off the ground than they would move or asked to take additional parochial or pastoral responsibilities.

Father Hampson pursued the idea of making the dialogue an ecumenical concern at the next meeting of the board on 12 March 1969. He began by praising Fr Peake's critique. He hoped that the dialogue would be bigger and more inclusive. He visualised a Department of Inter-Religion starting with Christian-Muslim dialogue but later including Hindus and Buddhists.

It was suggested that the Cape Peninsula Council of Churches be asked to support this proposal. Swartz suggested that it should be a national initiative and so the South African Council of Churches should be approached. Bishop Russell reported that at that time, the University of Cape Town was investigating the possibility of a Department of Comparative Religion. When asked how he viewed the demise of the Anglican Mission to the Muslims, he said that he felt the Board should remain as a resource body.

Letters were written to the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the Cape Peninsula Council of Churches (CPCC). Bishop Bill Burnett²⁹ responded from the SACC asking for more information but basically suggesting that any such initiatives must be started by the Anglican Church itself although the SACC would support it.³⁰ The Revd Theo Kotze³¹ gave a much more negative response, suggesting that the whole matter be held in abeyance until the University of Cape Town had decided on the format of the Religious Studies Department it was busy establishing.³²

In reply to the SACC, the Director reported that the DRC and the Anglican were the only churches involved in the work. The Diocese of Cape Town was only maintaining a priest's travel allowance but no office solely for the mission work, however the Diocese would be sympathetic to contributing to running expenses if a Department of Inter-Religion was established by

²⁹ Bill Bendyshe Burnett, Chairman of the SACC from 1966 to 1969. In 1969 he was elected Bishop of Grahamstown and in 1974 Archbishop of Cape Town. He retired in 1984 and died in 1995.

³⁰ Bishop Burnett (Executive Chairman SACC) to Miss D Playne (Hon Sec Muslim Mission Board), 27 March 1969. MS AB1599 CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University

³¹ The Rev. Theo Kotze, was a Methodist minister who was Director of the Cape Peninsula Council of Churches.

³² Theo Kotze (Director CPCC) to Miss D Playne (Hon. Sec. MMB), 3 April 1969. MS AB1599 CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

the SACC. Swartz suggested that Johannesburg should be the site of the department's headquarters. At that time, he knew of no person in South Africa who would be capable of running a department of this kind.

Although disappointed with this response, Hampson suggested that perhaps a pilot scheme should be established locally. He suggested that contact be made with the DRC missionary to the Muslims and that Swartz should approach other churches to see what their attitudes was towards this interfaith work.

At the 1969 Synod, the Director reported that the policy and the future of the Mission to the Muslims was the subject of much discussion during the previous year. The suggestion that dialogue should be with top level Muslims rather than ordinary Muslims had been 'provoked by two members' of the board (presumably Fathers Peake and McBride). Swartz reported that up to this time dialogue had not been held with any Muslims in key positions in the Islamic hierarchy.³³

In September 1970 Father George Swartz was appointed Rector of Bonteheuwel, a large township parish, whose population was made larger daily by the Group Areas Act removals. The size of the parish prevented Swartz continuing as Director of the Mission after December 1970. The 1969 Synod had elected newcomers to the Board. Father Ian Eve, one of these newcomers, asked whether the Mission was 'with or to' Muslims and what was the aim of dialogue if it was not conversion. He asked how similar problems were handled elsewhere in the world and queried the title of the Mission. The Archbishop answered these queries by stating that:-

dialogue should result in better understanding, especially of why Muslims cannot accept Christ as the final answer.

³³ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Muslims' in *Cape Town Diocesan Synod Reports 1969*.

Canon Swartz reported that the Summer School he had attended in Jerusalem had approved of the personal approach by missionaries. The Board was asked to think seriously on how the title of the Mission could be improved.³⁴

By the November meeting the following names were suggested:-

Interfaith Committee;

Friends of Muslims;

Board for Inter-Church Contact.

The last mentioned had been considered the best as it opened the way to a wider concept of the mission.³⁵

At the 1971 Synod, Father Swartz reported that nothing further had come from the contacts made with the SACC for a wider inter-faith dialogue. The lack of interest in the mission's work had been demonstrated by few people attending the Annual General Meeting and the play, *Confrontation*, written by the secretary Doreen Playne and performed by students from the University of the Western Cape. She had written this play after consulting with Sheikh Dien and the leading role had been played by a Muslim student. The invitation to Sheikh Dien to bring a small group of Muslim clerics to a social gathering where informal talks could take place had as yet received no reply. The change of title of the Mission was awaiting the advice of Canon Kenneth Cragg who had been invited to visit Cape Town by Archbishop Selby-Taylor in August 1971.

Swartz also reported the retirement of Canon Albert Hampson who had served on the board for nearly forty years.

³⁴ *Minutes of Muslim Mission Board* 2 September 1970. MS AB599 CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

³⁵ *Minutes of Muslim Mission Board* 25 November 1970. MS AB599 CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

The visit of Bishop Kenneth Cragg³⁶ was looked forward to with great anticipation. His programme during his visit from 12-19 August 1971 included lecturing and addressing an open meeting at UCT, preaching at Bonteheuwel and the Cathedral, a public meeting in Mowbray, a meeting with the clergy on Christian doctrine and an intensive three-day training course (which was attended by twenty Anglicans, three Dutch Reformed Church members and two Roman Catholics). He would also attend a board meeting with the MMB.³⁷

The Board met, with Bishop Cragg present as a visitor, on 19 August 1971. A new member of the board was Dr J Painter, a lecturer in the UCT Department of Religious Studies. The Archbishop suggested to the board that for the future three possibilities existed. A full time worker, preferably a lay person rather than a cleric, should replace George Swartz who had resigned. Alternatives were the employment of someone to combine the directorship together with a small parish or a team of workers involving many incumbents who are brought into frequent contact with Muslims. The response of the board was that it was not a one-person job, although specialisation was important but not to the degree of singling out one person. The employment of a visiting specialist might be an option. Swartz spoke against the directorship being linked with parish work. Bishop Cragg commented on the loneliness of the work of the director and felt that if it could not be linked to a parish then a team would be the best option. This team would liaise with the Diocesan Board of Education to ensure an understanding of Islam among Anglicans. Educationalists could also arrange dialogue and contact between Christians and Muslims. Bishop Cragg suggested some international contacts to ensure that the Cape Town

³⁶ Bishop Cragg was assistant Bishop of Jerusalem at that time.

³⁷ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Muslims' in *Cape Town Diocesan Synod Reports 1971* p.26.

MMB was kept informed of current trends in Muslim mission work. Bishop Cragg also suggested changing the Board's name to *The Board of Islam Relationship*. Both Cragg and Swartz suggested that the work should spread to cover the whole Church of the Province of South Africa but the Archbishop said that the Diocesan 'house must first be put in order' before the work became provincial.³⁸

The 1972 Synod Report began with the statement, 'There is unfortunately little activity to report since last Synod'³⁹ but it does go on to report the inclusion of Ds Greyling from the Dutch Reform Mission Church on the Board. The change of name of the Board to *The Diocesan Board of Muslim Relationship* had been approved by the previous synod and the Board was continuing its work in co-operation with the Board of Education in lecturing Mothers' Union, Anglican Women's Fellowship, Church Mens' Society and the Youth Council. Father Swartz had also given lectures at St Paul's and St Bede's Theological Colleges.

In 1973 Father Swartz was elected Suffragan Bishop of Cape Town and thus had even less time to do any work for the Board. The minutes for the year 1973 show that most of the work being done by the board was administrative. Bishop Swartz demonstrated this by reporting that for every Muslim convert, nine Christians converted to Islam.⁴⁰

The year 1974 appears no better, although *Two Lessons on Islam* by Dr John Painter had been printed (1000 in English and 200 in Afrikaans

³⁸ *Minutes of Muslim Mission Board* 19 August 1971. MS AB599 CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

³⁹ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Muslims' in *Cape Town Diocesan Synod Reports 1972* p.14.

⁴⁰ Bishop Swartz gives no source of these figures. It is not know whether they were actual or hearsay.

translated by Ds Greyling) and supplementary lessons on Marriage and Islam were written by a convert, Mr A Osman. Once again Bishop Swartz gave lectures on Islam at St Paul's and St Bede's Theological Colleges. At the Synod of 1974 a new set of aims, objects, and constituents of the Board of Muslim Relationship was approved by Synod. The aims of the Board were set out as 'promoting Christian witness among Muslims in this Diocese' while the objects were:-

- a) evangelistic work among Muslims;
- b) the instruction of Christians as to the character of Islam in relation to the Christian faith;
- c) to promote dialogue between Christians and Muslims.⁴¹

During 1975 fewer and fewer members of the Board attended meetings. Bishop Swartz reported to the 1976 Synod that in December only five members (one a co-opted member from the Dutch Reformed Church) attended the meeting.

When only two members turned up for meetings in March and June 1976, the Secretary and I were forced to the conclusion that the board had died on its feet.⁴²

In August, 1976 Doreen Playne, who had been secretary for many years, resigned as 'the board seems to have collapsed and it would be a good time ... to leave the coast clear for some re-organisation.' Miss Playne laid the blame for the Board's collapse on the fact that since 1971 there had been no full-time worker to give the Board direction. At the 1976 Synod, the Diocesan Departments of Education and Mission were combined into one and the Board of Muslim Relations appeared to have been swallowed up into this conglomeration. The Acts of the Diocese, however, still contain

⁴¹ *Acts & Resolutions of Cape Town Diocesan Synod 1974* p.31. CPSA Archives, Witwatersrand University.

⁴² 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Muslims in *Cape Town Diocesan Synod Reports 1976*.

'Chapter 11: Diocesan Board of Muslim Relationship' with a set of eight rules and regulations governing the board. Among rules was the requirement that the accounts for the Board be presented at each synod. These were merely published with the other Diocesan Accounts and showed a balance of about R5000 in 1993.

At the November 1997 Synod of the Cape Town Diocese, a motion was proposed that the Chapter in the Acts of the Diocese dealing with the 'Board of Muslim Relationship' be deleted. After much debate, it was obvious that amongst laity and many clergy the re-starting of the board's activities was sought rather than its official deletion. In an unusual step, the proposer, Bishop Geoff Quinlan, voted against his own proposal and the 'Board of Muslim Relationship' remained as part of the Acts of the Diocese of Cape Town. Later, attempts were made by certain clergy to amend the proposal. These amendments included a change of name of the Board to the 'Board of Interfaith Dialogue'. However as the synod had already voted to reject the proposal of scrapping the Board, this amendment was viewed as *ultra vires* and fell away. From this amendment it would appear that the majority of clergy favoured the re-constituted board adopting a dialogic rather than confrontational approach and that it should broaden its mandate to include dialogue with other faiths beside Islam.

Conclusion

Although the Board had been without a director since 1971, missiological methods had moved on from those offered by the Board, with or without a director.

The struggle against apartheid by the religious forces (both Christian and Muslim) led to the Board being an embarrassment to those oppressed people who were working together. Together they had been moved out of their city suburbs to the Cape Flats township. It appeared wrong to break

this mutual bond of suffering which they had both endured for small spiritual gains.

The Muslim conclave in the Bo-Kaap remained but the townships on Cape Flats had Christians and Muslims living and suffering hardship as neighbours. Differences continued to arise and occasionally to be a point of contention but the struggle was now united against the National Party government.

Practically all the local parish priests on the Cape Flats were born and bred in that community. The unique structure of the Cape society was something they understood and could deal with themselves without outside help from a mission board. Clive McBride gave his own reasons for supporting dialogue between Muslim as Christians. They, like him, had descended from slaves from the Far East. The oppression these slave ancestors underwent made some seek relief in Islam and others in Christianity. He felt he could not condemn those who had chosen Islam but had to hear their viewpoint and to 'let his Christian light shine before all.'⁴³

⁴³ Personal interview with Clive McBride 21 August 1997.

Chapter 15

Overview of the Anglican Mission to the Muslims

The Great Commission of Jesus at the end of Matthew's gospel¹ was the motivating force for those who worked for the conversion of Muslims in Cape Town. Although this commission from Jesus still motivates Anglicans in Cape Town to evangelise all people, the Anglican's attitude and manner of approach to Muslims changed over the one hundred and twenty eight years covered by this study.

One of the major reasons for this was the changing attitude of the clergy over the period from the appointment of the first Anglican missionary to the Muslims in 1848, to the final meeting of the Board of Muslim Relationship in 1976. For the first eighty years of this period the Anglican clergy were exclusively white and almost exclusively born, educated and trained overseas. It was only from the late 1950s that South African-born and trained clergy began to form the majority. In Cape Town many of the South African-born clergy had grown up within the coloured community where Muslims and Christians lived as neighbours and thus were more tolerant towards each other's faith.

Robert Shell² concluded that at the Cape conversion to Islam was for varied, mundane and practical reasons. All slaves, former slaves and free blacks were placed in 'a social and legal limbo' where Christian faith rites were frequently denied them. Islam in its universality was able not only be

¹ "Go therefore to all nations and make them my disciples; baptize them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. I will be with you always, to the end of time." Matthew 28:19 (Revised English Bible).

² Robert Shell, *From Rites to Rebellions: Islamic Conversion, Urbanization, and Ethnic Identities at the Cape of Good Hope, 1797 to 1904*. Typescript D1993/51067 SA Library, 1993, p. 66.

an alternative but also 'allowed for the incorporation of a variety of carryovers from religions as different as Hinduism and Protestant and Catholic Christianity'.³ The slaves and other free blacks were also attracted to the comprehensive network of social, educational and religious institutions that the early Muslims at the Cape had established. Shell concluded that conversion to Islam occurred as a behavioural response to the social oppression carried out by colonial authorities and the rich whites on the poorer black and those white who had insecure social status. Islam at the Cape offered 'first an authentic universalism, a cradle-to-the grave range of social services, then an identity and then an intellectual inspiration'.⁴ Because of these factors the increase of Muslims at the Cape between 1809 and 1840 was greater than the maximum natural increase. This indicated that many of the Muslims at the Cape had converted from other faiths. The conditions which created these factors continued to exist throughout the period of this study (1848-1976) and the flow of Christians to Islam similarly continued at a varied rate depending on the attitudes within Christianity and Islam. Shell states that within Islam conversion was stronger during times of syncretism and lower during times of orthodoxy.⁵

Within the Anglican Church there were five factors which affected the conversion of Muslims. These factors also affected the policy and direction of the Anglican mission to the Muslims in Cape Town. These were:

1. The attitude of the missionaries themselves;
2. The support of the Bishop or Archbishop;
3. The attitude of the Muslims to the Christians' attempts

³ Robert Shell, *From Rites....* p. 66.

⁴ Robert Shell, *From Rites...* p. 66.

⁵ Robert Shell, *From Rites...* p. 66.

- at conversion;
4. The attitudes of local Anglicans to the Muslims of Cape Town;
 5. The worldwide church's missiological practice.

1. The Missionaries Themselves

All of the people involved in the Anglican mission to Muslims brought to their work their own perspectives and backgrounds. Michael Angelo Camilleri (1849-1854) was a former Catholic priest who, having married, was seeking employment. He spent only a short time at the Cape and worked not only as a missionary to the Muslims, but also temporarily occupied other posts such as acting-colonial and acting-military chaplain. The tone of Bishop Gray's letters to him imply that Camilleri was not carrying out his missionary task to the satisfaction of the Bishop. After his return to England in 1855 he became an English country parson, remaining in one parish until his death. This indicates that he was not strongly motivated for missionary work and perhaps was rather seeking secure employment.

Thomas Fothergill Lightfoot (1858-1904) was born in England. Like many missionaries and other clergy in Cape Town, Lightfoot had no experience of working with and living among multi-faith and cosmopolitan populations. Some of his early reports to the SPG indicate this. However, his appointment as missionary to the coloured population and later as priest-in-charge and rector of a parish primarily serving coloured people, quickly gave him experience of what was needed at the Cape. He had the ability to adapt and by the time of his death he was greatly admired by both Christian and Muslim Capetonians.

John Mühleisen Arnold (1875-1881) came from an evangelical background. He worked in African, India and the Middle east. He had

therefore experienced countries where Islam was in the majority. The situation at the Cape, however, was different. Although the founder of the Muslim Mission Society, he had to adapt his own theoretical missionary approach for the unique situation at the Cape where Christianity was in the majority and Islam in the minority. He, like Lightfoot, was not exclusively a missionary to the Muslims but also a parish priest. This gradually took more of Arnold's time. His approach to mission was conservative. His book *Ishmael; A Natural History of Islamism and its relationship with Christianity* was reviewed by the local press soon after he arrived. Both the *Cape Argus* and the *Standard and Mail* viewed the book as being biased and one-sided. This one-sided approach from Arnold continued with the publication of his offensive pamphlet *Abdullah Ben Yusuf: or the Story of a Malay as told by himself*. The influence of this pamphlet is still felt in Muslim-Christian relations today.

The work of the Cowley Fathers amongst the Muslims (1884-1904) was relatively minor but their positive attitude towards the poor and oppressed led to opposition from the white settlers and clergy. Bishop West Jones requested the replacement of Father Osborne for this reason.

The use of Dr Edith Pellat as a missionary doctor (1897-1902) was the first use of a woman in her own right as a missionary to Muslims in Cape Town. Up to then, the only women involved in the mission were wives or daughters of the male missionaries. Now women were working as doctors, nurses and social workers among the Muslims as well as being Christian missionaries.

Stephen Garabedian (1911-1922), as an Armenian, came from a background of oppression by Muslims. He was trained at the evangelical college of the Church Missionary Society at Islington and worked for the the CMS elsewhere in Africa and India. His main concern while at the

Cape was to prevent the loss of Christians rather than attempting to convert Muslims. His concern was for the social welfare of the poor and especially poor pregnant women. This led to the opening of St Monica's Home which was an important centre for the Mission's work. Right until it disbanded the Anglican Muslim Mission continued to be concerned for social welfare among the poorer Muslims.

From 1907 the mission work among Muslims fell under the Diocesan Mission Board (DMB). At the 1933 Synod a Muslim Mission Board (MMB) was elected to assume control of the day-to-day running of the mission.⁶ This gave it financial independence but available funding was minimal. The Board could also appoint its own director but if the director was a priest, he had to be licensed by the Archbishop. Although the mission depended less on the missionary enthusiasm of the Archbishop it still depended upon him for the appointment of priest-directors.

During times of manpower shortage (as for example during the Second World War) or financial shortage (as for example during the depression of the early thirties and the post-war depression of 1950s), lay women served as sole workers of the mission. This caused a shift in emphasis in the work done by the mission. The women worked more effectively among children and women and thus direct evangelism (street evangelism) and work among Muslim men ceased.

In 1962, the first indigenous born director George Swartz was appointed. Once again a gradual shift of policy occurred. Although Swartz attempted to evangelise Muslims in the traditional manner, many of his fellow black priests began to see that apartheid rather than Islam was a greater threat to Christianity in Cape Town.

⁶ In 1974 the Board changed its name to the Board of Muslim Relationship.

2. The attitude of Bishops or Archbishops

The first two Bishops of Cape Town, Robert Gray and William West Jones, were extremely concerned about the large number of Muslims in Cape Town and the possible threat they posed to the Church. It was under their patronage that the first missionaries were appointed. After the establishment of the DMB (and later the MMB) the mission was more independent of the Archbishop and reported directly to the Diocesan Synod. However the appointment of clergy to the mission depended on the approval of the Archbishop. In the synod reports and MMB minutes from 1904 onwards very little mention is made of the role of the Archbishop.

In 1961 Archbishop Joost de Blank asked George Swartz to become the MMB's director and sponsored his training overseas under Kenneth Cragg.

Archbishop de Blank's successor, Robert Selby Taylor, viewed the co-operation of the three largest monotheistic religions in Cape Town (Christianity, Islam and Judaism) as essential in the battle against the oppression of apartheid. He thus encouraged co-operation between the MMB and Muslims. It was under his episcopacy that the name of the Muslim Mission Board was changed to the Board of Muslim Relationship. It was two years after this, in 1976, that George Swartz, then Suffragan Bishop of Cape Town and Chairman of the Board, reported that Board had 'died on its feet'.⁷

The Bishops frequently requested the missionaries to the Muslims to take

⁷ 'Report of the Cape Town Diocesan Mission to Muslims in *Cape Town Diocesan Synod Reports 1976*.

on the additional responsibility of parishes. This was to the detriment of the work among Muslims.

3. The attitude of the Muslims to the Christians' attempts at conversion.

Achmat Davids has demonstrated that a strong degree of religious tolerance existed between Christians and Muslims during the nineteenth century⁸ and this continued into the twentieth century especially in their joint struggle against apartheid. Church leaders such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Alan Boesak both received respect from Muslim believers. Beside Apartheid, the fact that Christians and Muslims lived close together and shared the same difficulties and social deprivations as neighbours helped to promote tolerance for each others' faiths. However there were times when this tolerance was rocked by bigoted statements or pamphlets and other acts of religious intolerance.

Davids admits that these acts of intolerance were by no means only from the Christian side.⁹ These acts were a conservative reaction from religious fundamentalists who could not see the advantage of Muslims and Christians working together for a common objective. In the early days of the Anglican Church's mission, both the Church and the Mosque were engaged in missionary activity to gain proselytes from the same community and thus friction was bound to occur. Missionary tracts issued by the Anglican Church and aimed at Muslims invariably caused frictions. The most famous of these tracts were Arnold's *The Story of Hadje Abdoellah as told by himself* (1877) and Albert Hampson's *The Cross and*

⁸ Achmat Davids, 'Muslim Christian Relations in Nineteenth Century Cape Town: 1825 to 1925' in *Conference: History of Christianity in South Africa: 1792-1992*, Institute of Historical Research, University of the Western Cape, 1992, p. 1.

⁹ Achmat Davids, 'Muslim Christian Relations...', p.2.

Crescent (first issued in 1959, reprinted 1963).¹⁰

The Christian Church, both the London Missionary Society and the Anglican Church, used education as a means of subtle evangelism. Achmat Davids and many Anglican priests, who have worked in parishes where schools are attached to the parish church, tell of Muslim children playing roles in the schools' nativity plays¹¹ and receiving the prizes for Christian Scripture. Davids points out these children never became Christians.¹²

The major factor which assisted in creating tolerance in spite of the racial attitudes of white Christians (which will be discussed below) was the passing of the Voluntary Bill of 1875 which created, at least in legislation, the equality of all religious groupings in the Cape Colony. This bill encouraged a spirit of religious tolerance between Christians and Muslims in Cape Town.

4. The attitudes of local Anglicans to the Muslims of Cape Town

For most white Anglicans, the Muslims appeared to be strange and exotic. Many of their religious rites were seen as bizarre and uncivilised. The reason that there were complaints about the *Khalifa* ceremonies was not only the noise but also the fear of the whites towards the exotic nature of Islam in general. The Anti-Muslim perspective taken during the smallpox epidemic of 1882 and the attempts to close the Muslim burial ground in 1886 were based on racial fears among whites as well as a misunderstanding of Muslim religious rites.

¹⁰ Copies of both these Tracts in the South African Library have been vandalised with the addition of anti-Christian graffiti.

¹¹ Muslim children often play the role of the Angel Gabriel.

¹² Achmat Davids, *Muslim Christian Relations...*, p.28.

The fear of having a black person in the colonial parliament caused the legislature to pass a law which prohibited 'plumping' all a voters votes for one candidate. The result of this was that the Muslim candidate was defeated at the polls. Similarly, the franchise qualifications were continually raised to prevent too many coloured voters qualifying and swamping the white votes. This racial fear even resulted in the Dean of Cape Town suggesting in a sermon that segregated residential areas be introduced for Muslims.¹³

5. The worldwide church's missiological practice.

David Bosch in his *Transforming Mission* demonstrated that there was a shift in the concept of missionary practice during the period covered in this study. This shift was from an Enlightenment Paradigm to a Post-modern Paradigm.¹⁴

The Age of Enlightenment in science was the age when rationalism was emphasised. This rationalism used deductive and scientific techniques both in the study of sciences and the humanities. In the field of missiology books of rational and deductive theories on the science of mission were published. Dr John Arnold's book *Ishmael* is a good example of this. While he was at the Cape the 'general' theory that he had logically worked out in the book for the conversion of Muslims was applied to the 'particular'. Arnold discovered that each 'particular' was unique and thus the application of 'general' theories was not as successful as he hoped.

Arnold, as a man from the Enlightenment Paradigm, believed that non-Christian religions would disappear once their followers came into contact

¹³ Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic pride and racial prejudice in Victorian Cape Town*, Johannesburg, 1996, p.115.

¹⁴ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts on Theology of Mission*, Maryknoll, 1992.

with the rationalism and logic of Christianity. However, rationalism proved to be too inadequate to explain all things. Pressures on society during the twentieth century, such as the two world wars, the threat of nuclear destruction and, in South Africa, the oppression of Apartheid, forced people to seek relief in religion. This led to a worldwide resurgence of all faiths including Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism as well as Christianity.

At the Cape, from 1870 onwards, a resurgence of Islam was seen. This was commented upon by Lightfoot who attributed it to the arrival of Imams from Turkey. During his visit in 1925, Zwemer commented upon the confidence of delegates at the First Muslim Congress held that year in Cape Town. The Muslim press, such as the *Moslem Outlook*, also gave the Muslims of Cape Town a sense of identity. After 1948 the Muslims were in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. They taught that apartheid was contrary to Islamic Law. This anti-apartheid stance enabled people like Imam Haron to proselytize successfully among the Africans in the townships of Cape Town. This led to Haron's arrest and subsequent death in detention.

With the realisation that rationalism was unable to supply all the answers, the faithful Christians began to identify themselves with the myths, legends and metaphors from their own past. This 'looking back to ones roots' can be seen in the comment made by the Anglican priest Clive MacBride. When asked why, as a Christian, he allowed his Church Hall to be used as a *Madrassah* or Muslim School, he replied that he wanted to find out from his Muslim brothers and sisters who had come from the same slave roots as his own, why their ancestors had become Muslims and his Christian.¹⁵

Bosch speaks of people identifying themselves as children of Mother Earth

¹⁵ Personal interview, August 1997.

and thus sisters and brothers to all other human beings. It was natural that acceptance of each other and the working together for a common goal was preferable to ecclesiological or soteriological triumphalism.¹⁶

Thus the shift in paradigm from that of the Enlightenment to that of what Bosch calls Post-modern, was mirrored in the shifting attitudes of the Anglican mission to Muslims in Cape Town between 1848 and 1976.

¹⁶ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission...* p. 355.

Appendix I

The Anglo-Prussian bishopric of Jerusalem¹.

The European powers suspecting that Turkey was about to collapse, manoeuvred themselves to be in a position to make territorial and economic gains in the Levant. Russia and France had for many years used the protection of Christians in the decaying Ottoman Empire as an issue of policy. Russia implied that it was protecting the Orthodox Christians and France, the Roman Catholics Christians. Thus the British and the Prussian, who both had considerable interests in the Middle East, used the protection of the Protestants as an excuse to become involved in the Turkish Empire. The fact that there were only some six Protestants living in Jerusalem as part of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews (LSJ), mattered little to the statesmen.

In October 1841, the British government and the Prussian King together sanctioned a Protestant bishop in Jerusalem. This was at the suggestion of Chevalier Bunsen (Prussian Foreign Minister) who harmonised the various interests and concerns including British power and prestige in the Levant, Prussian power and prestige in the Levant, Prussian desire for Protestant unity, Evangelical Anglican planned conversion of the Jews. These issues coalesced into an Anglo-German bishopric. Michael Solomon Alexander, born a Prussian Jew, professor of Hebrew at King's College, London was chosen. Since the bishopric was not in British territory a special bill had to be passed through Parliament allowing the consecration. An endowment from the Prussian King was matched by an equal English subscription to pay the bishop's stipend.

The first appointee was Michael Solomon Alexander (1841-1845) who

¹ Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church: Part 1*, London, 1966, p.189.

was a convert from Judaism and professor of Hebrew at King's College, London. The newly consecrated bishop was taken to his see by the British warship *Devastation* after he refused to travel in the frigate *Infernal*! There he found he was bishop to a handful of Jewish converts, unrecognised by the local authorities and unsupported by the governments that appointed him.²

There was opposition to the whole scheme from people in Turkey, Germany and England. The Turks withheld their recognition, members of the German Reformed Church refused to go into an alliance with so corrupt a church as the English, and the High Church and Tractarians in England were divided by the issue. Newman had 'a horror of continental Protestants'³ and Gladstone afterwards thought that the Jerusalem bishopric issue might have been a major cause of Newman's departure to Rome. In later years this High Church-Evangelical clash would affect the operation of the Bishop of Jerusalem.

Bishop Alexander died at the early age of 45 years, after only four years of being Bishop of Jerusalem. His episcopacy was made difficult by the many factors including the Turkish government, the cold neutrality of the Eastern Churches who (correctly) feared proselytism, and Anglican and Lutheran clergy who feared loss of their independence if they should fall under his episcopal control. At his death his church, Christ Church in Jerusalem, had sixty members, thirty of whom were Jewish converts, the remainder were Europeans.

Alexander's successor was Samuel Gobat (bishop from 1846-1879). He

² Lyle L Vander Werff, *Christian Mission to Muslims The Record: Anglican and Reformed Approaches in India and the Near East, 1800-1938*, Pasadena CA, 1977, p. 155.

³ Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, p.192.

was Swiss-born and trained at the same college in Basel as was Dr Arnold (see Chapter 7 above). He was a Church Missionary Society missionary and though 'a controversial figure for Anglo-Catholics, was a dynamic, ecumenical bishop intent on reaching all people of the land'⁴. Gobat approached the Eastern Churches with what he called 'qualified cooperation' hoping to reform these churches rather than to proselytize. His approach stimulated a desire for education among the Christianised Arabs and soon he started schools which were the nuclei of evangelical belief with the Eastern Christian communities. His policy was only to admit those evangelical Christians who were excommunicated from the Eastern Churches. He even turned some away. But even this qualified relationship with the Eastern Churches was found offensive by the High Church Party in England.

Gobat's appeal to the CMS to form a Palestine Mission (1851) and this greatly strengthened the Anglican influence in the Near East. The CMS vigorously evangelised the Muslim but this resulted in many Orthodox Christian and Jews being drawn in as well. In spite of support from the Bishop, many CMS churches remained unconsecrated in order to stay free of episcopal control to carry out evangelical outreach to all.

The Bishopric of Jerusalem under Gobat, had many problems which prevented it succeeding. It was, however recognised by the Turkish authorities, the Porte, and had the support of British diplomats and thus could overcome the political hurdles placed before it. By the careful selection of its bishops it could have held together the motley collection of evangelical Orthodox Christians, CMS workers, LJS workers, German, Arab and Hebrew-English congregations. The High-Low church controversies and the Anglo-Lutheran tensions of 1880's began to interfere in its work and when the third Bishop (Joseph Barclay 1879-1881) died,

⁴Lyle L Vander Werff, *Christian Mission to Muslims...* p. 156.

the high church party's influence and the Lutheran's refusal to agree to the Archbishop of Canterbury's sole right of veto, forced Archbishop Benson to dissolve the agreement.

Appendix II

Jerome Xavier.

Jerome Xavier (1549-1617) was born in Spain and entered the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in 1568. In 1581 he went to Goa, in India and between then and 1594 worked at different Colleges and Houses. In 1594 he was chosen to conduct the third Mogul mission to the court of the emperor Akbar in Lahore. He remained there until 1614 before returning to Goa where he died in 1617.

His missionary method, in particular his willingness to be conciliatory is criticised by Arnold but his apologetic approach is grouped together by Lyle Vander Werff with John of Damascus, Ramond Lulle and Henry Martyn ⁵. The last mentioned receives particular praise from Arnold. Taking into account his European, Protestant Lutheran background and the title of the book he wrote in 1851 (*Popish Conspiracy against Civil and Religious Liberty of Great Britain*) it can be concluded that perhaps his criticism is based on anti-Catholic grounds.

Camps, writing in Neill's *Concise Dictionary of Mission* ascribes the success of the third mogul mission which lasted until the last Jesuit died in 1803 to the methods Jerome Xavier employed. This was a four staged method. Firstly, a thorough study of the languages used in Akbar's court as well as the cultural and social environments including religions in the empire, were made. These included the religious and cultural feelings of the population. A preparation of Christian literature in suitable style was an ongoing concern. Further, good relations were retained with the Emperor Akbar. Oral disputes with Muslims were carried out, in the court

⁵ Lyle L. Vander Werff, *Christian Mission to the Muslims: The Record*, Pasadena, 1977, p.33.

as well as at other places. Finally a full display of the Christian religious life through liturgy, ceremonies exhibition of pictures was made⁶

⁶ A Camp, 'Jerome Xavier' in Stephen Neill (ed) *Concise Dictionary of Mission*, London, 1977, p.670.

Appendix III

St Augustine's College, Canterbury⁷.

The concept of a college for the training of clergy for the colonies was first prompted by William Grant Broughton, the first bishop of Australia. He suggested that an institution was required for 'rearing up clergymen for the colonies'.

Initially Oxford was suggested as the possible site for the college, then in turn St Albans, Salisbury, Southwell and Canterbury were proposed. The concept was supported by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York as well the bishops of London, Exeter, Salisbury and Oxford. Archbishop Howley of Canterbury asked Bishop William Hort Coleridge to be its first Warden.

The question of the College site was resolved when Alexander James Beresford Hope, a Cambridge graduate and MP for Maidstone (and later Cambridge University) purchased the ruins of St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury and gave them to the church to found the College. The architect, William Butterfield was entrusted with the restoration and construction of the new buildings. Thus on 29 June 1848, St Augustine's College was opened and the Chapel was consecrated by Archbishop J B Sumner. The day before its opening, the College was granted a royal charter.

⁷ Information in this Appendix taken from F W R Bullock, *A History of Training for the Ministry 1800-1847*, (St Leonards-on-Sea: Budd & Gillatt, 1955) p. 87-88.

From its outset, according to the history of the college by Boggis⁸, it was a 'High Church institution'. The numbers of students were disappointingly small, however, only six at the opening, and a total of 79 in the first ten years of its existence. Bishop Coleridge died in 1849 and was succeeded by Henry Bailey who was Warden from 1850-1878. Bailey was a Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, 'a fine scholar and enthusiastic worker in the missionary cause'. He was the Warden while Thomas Lightfoot was a student at the College. Lightfoot kept contact with the College throughout his life, sending reports on his work and visiting the college when in England. At Lightfoot's death, an obituary by his former Warden Dr Henry Bailey, appeared in *The Cape Church Monthly* in February 1905. In this obituary he related how Lightfoot had 'passed by far the best examination of all the 38 deacons'. The examining chaplain to the Bishop of London, the Reverend A P Stanley was asked by Lightfoot to write to Dr Bailey 'so the praise lauded him might be transferred to the college as proof of the superiority of its courses'⁹

⁸ R J E Boggis, *A History of St Augustine's College, Canterbury*, as quoted in Bullock.

⁹ *The Cape Church Chronicle* February 1905, p. 12-13.

Appendix IV

Africans in Cape Town during the Nineteenth Century¹⁰.

The population of Cape Town in the nineteenth century was very cosmopolitan. Besides those from Europe and Asia, there were also many from other parts of Africa. Of the slave population of 25,000 in 1808 the majority were of African rather than Asian origin. Many of the slaves who had been emancipated in 1832 had come from Mozambique and Malagasy. These people, through miscegenation, made up what became known as the 'Cape Coloured' population. Few slaves had come from the area of what is now South Africa.

In the nineteenth century the African people from the Xhosa and the Mfengu were known as 'Kafir' or 'Caffire'. This name was later extended to include Bechuanas (Tswanas). In the 1830s a group of Mfengu settled in Cape Town. They were driven there by what is known as the *Mfecane* (the upheaval caused by Zulu expansion). In 1839 'a few families of Fingoes'¹¹ were living on the slopes of Table Mountain. They were ministered to in their own language by the LMS Missionary, John Brownlee. In a government report of 1840 this settlement was referred to as 'six or eight huts' housing twenty to forty persons¹².

Shortage of manual labourers ensured employment for most Africans

¹⁰ Unless otherwise stated, the information given in this Appendix was obtained from Christopher Saunders, 'Africans in Cape Town in the Nineteenth Century: An outline' in *Studies in the History of Cape Town: Volume 2* (edited by Christopher Saunders and Howard Phillips), Cape Town, 1980, p. 15-40.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p.19.

¹² *Ibid*, p. 19.

arriving in Cape Town. There was, however, a small permanent African population in Cape Town until 1857.

In 1857 a considerable number of Africans, Xhosa rather than Mfengu, came to Cape Town as a result of the disastrous Cattle Killings of 1856-1857. Many who stole food or cattle in the Eastern Province were transported to Cape Town as prisoners. Theal states that in 1857 alone one thousand four hundred and thirteen Africans were sent from East London to Cape Town and the importations continued into 1858. It is probable that some two thousand came to the city. Special posts of 'Overseer in Charge of the Kafirs' and 'Superintendent of Kafirs in Cape Town' were created.

With representative government, the Cape colonialists had requested the government for more manual labourers to do agricultural work. Many public work projects were carried out by Xhosa labour. These included the South African Library, the Museum in the Gardens, the Harbour (Alfred Dock), Victoria Road towards Sea Point and the first leg of the suburban railway¹³.

Although perhaps unreliable, the 1865 Census listed the 'Kafir' population of Papendorp (Woodstock) as 400, nearly half the population of that village. The Cape Town population of Xhosa was given as 274, the Mfengu being categorised as 'Others'. This census did not include the fairly large transient population made up of prisoners, lepers and mental patients. The sons of Chiefs were also in Cape Town, being educated under Sir George Gray's scheme of 'raising the tone' of future Xhosa leaders. They were educated by the Anglican Church at Bishopscourt and later Zonnebloem.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 21.

The 1875 Census gives the African population in and around the city as under 200. With the Xhosa war of 1877-78 this number increased when nearly 4000 Africans from Ciskei and Transkei were transported to the Western Cape. Lack of employment in the rural areas led to many drifting into the city. After the winter of 1878 most returned to the Eastern Cape but others stayed in Cape Town. The Contracting Officer of the 'Kafir Depot' suggested that a 'native location', under a government official, should be built near the town.

After a letter of complaint from Dr Arnold (see Chapter 7 above) about the overcrowding in Altona House, Roodebloem and elsewhere in Papendorp, the Government allowed the Africans to settle in a 'Location' on waste ground between the Salt River station and the main road to Wynberg.

Other African labour was imported in the 1880 from Damaraland and Mozambique and soon clashes occurred between the Xhosa and the non-Xhosa. When offered accommodation in the 'Kafir location' in Salt River, most Xhosa showed a lack of enthusiasm, 'preferring to live free, rather than be under any possible restraint in a location'¹⁴

From the 1880's the 'Kafir Element' began to be viewed as a problem by the white citizens of Cape Town. The organisation of Papendorp into the separate municipality of Woodstock in 1882 was, in part, an attempt to deal with the 'Kafir Problem'. The stricter control excised by the new municipality led to the Africans moving further from the city to a tract of land between the east end of the city and Zonnebloem which became known as 'the Orange Free State'¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 29.

¹⁵ According to Saunders, no reason for this name is known.

In 1885 the Anglican Society of Saint John the Evangelist, known as the Cowley Father (see Chapter 8 above and Appendix 6) took charge of the mission work among the Africans in and around Cape Town. This was under the parochial care of St Phillip's in Chapel Street. Work included a night school near Zonnebloem and a 'Kafir boarding house' called St Columba's which could accommodate up to eighty African men. Such missionary work encouraged migrants to put down roots in Cape Town and soon a home for African women was also opened (St Clare's Hostel).

By the turn of the century the African population of Cape Town consisted of hundreds of squatters on the slopes of Devil's Peak in the 'Orange Free State', two other large concentrations of Africans close to the city centre, a couple of hundred living in corrugated iron huts on the top of Table Mountain working on the new reservoir and an even larger number working in the docks. Some fourteen hundred Mfengu's were brought to Cape Town as migrant labour by the mid 1890's. Nineteen hundred Tswana captured during the Langeberg Rebellion of 1896-7 were indentured to Western Cape farmers but they soon began deserting the farms for the city. The African population in and around Cape Town stood at ten thousand by 1900 and, through the local press, the idea of creating an official location to house them was vigorously supported and land on the Cape Flats was allocated. This area known as Uitvlugt was later renamed Ndabeni. The 1901 bubonic plague was the pretext used to force the Africans out of the central city into the location at Ndabeni. The Cowley fathers moved their mission to the Africans, St Columba's Mission, to Ndabeni and later to Langa where it now the local parish church.

Appendix V

Armenia¹⁶

Armenia is situated in the southern Caucasus, between the Black and Caspian Seas. An independent kingdom on important trading routes, it was subject to frequent conquest, e.g. by Assyrians, Persians and Greeks. In 300 AD it became a Christian Kingdom under Tiridates III. In 653 it fell to the Islamic invaders from Arabia. In the following centuries it was occupied by the Islamic Persians and Turks, and also later by Russians.

The Christian Armenians continued to suffer oppression not only from their conquerors but also from Kurds who had been settled on Armenian land. Massacres of thousands of Armenians by the ruling Muslim Turks occurred in 1894, 1895, 1896 and 1909. During the First World War the Muslim Turks attempted to annihilate the Armenian population by forced removals. They deported one and three quarter million Armenians to Syria and Mesopotamia during which over six hundred thousand died of starvation or were killed by Turkish soldiers. Many Armenians fled into Asia and Africa, Western Europe and the United States.

¹⁶ Information for the Appendix obtained from entries in *Compton's Interactive Encyclopaedia* (New York: Comptons New media 1994).

Appendix VI

The Society of St John the Evangelist (The Cowley Fathers)

The Society of St John the Evangelist (SSJE) was founded by Father Richard Meux Benson in 1868. It was then just a small community of monks in Cowley, which was then a small village just outside Oxford. This community soon became popularly known as the Cowley Fathers.

The Rule and the Constitution was at first not clearly defined. It was only established in 1884. Two years later the Fathers were freed from perpetual responsibility for fixed pastoral work by the handing over of charge of the parish of Cowley to vicars appointed by the Society, though these were not to be from their number.

Father Benson was the Superior-General until he resigned in 1890 and was succeeded by Father Page. The Conventual Church of the Society was dedicated on 12 May 1896 although at that time incomplete. Work by Society was begun in America in 1870 and in India in 1874. A London house was also established.¹⁷

The Rule of the Society demanded a degree of austerity and unworldliness unknown in the Anglican communion up to that time. Although members of the Society became great missionaries in India, America and South Africa, Fr R M Benson placed greater importance on what the Fathers of the Society were than on what they did.¹⁸ Fr Congreve as a postulant asked Benson:

¹⁷ John Nias, *Flame from an Oxford Cloister: the life and writing of Philip Napier Waggett, S.S.J.E.*, London, 1961, p. 57.

¹⁸ James Schuster (new revised edition anonymous), *Saints and Seasons: Church of the Province of Southern Africa*, London, 1993, p. 32.

“I suppose, Father, that your object in founding the Society of St John the Evangelist was to train the clergymen who join you for work of missions at home, and to the Heathen abroad?’ His answer gave him [Congreve] his first lesson in the alphabet of the dedicated life. ‘No, I do not think the object of our association in a Religious Community is to equip us to go out as missionaries. We do not come into our community primarily in order to convert others, but rather with the desire, first of all, to be converted ourselves. Then, if by God’s grace, we are converted to Him, He may use us in missionary work, or in any other way that he pleases.’

Fr Congreve continued:

‘Christ’s call to the Church to preach the Gospel to every creature had lately reached me and many others with new emphasis; but here I awoke to the urgency of another call, which made even more serious demands than a call to be a missionary: is there some change in myself that I needed to make before God could use me in converting others? I had expected at Cowley we should study theology, improve in methods of teaching, and advance in missionary interest and zeal. But here at Cowley I discovered were men associated for life with the object of promoting their personal conversion, and helping one another to live a converted life. To know God and to walk with God seemed to them enough to live for, for out of this relation all their various interests and activities were to grow. Their personal surrender to God was the primary end of their institute; the work they were called to do, whatever it might be, did not add completeness to that end. If the work should fail and leave them with God, their end would be attained none the less, and this personal dedication to God was the power by which they strengthened their hands to go on a mission or to scrub a floor. For most of us there was no opportunity for

converting souls, but we were learning to repent of our sins, to obey, to work, and to pray".¹⁹

Work in South Africa began in 1883 under Father Puller (see Chapter 8 above).

The Cowley Fathers did their best work amongst the Xhosa in the Eastern Cape especially under Father Geoffery Callaway. Also in the Western Cape they began to concentrate on work among the Xhose migrant workers. This resulted in the other work which the Bishop had requested them to do being neglected.

The Fathers left in South Africa 1960.

¹⁹ M V Woodgate, *Father Congreve of Cowley*, London, 1956, p. 20f.

Appendix VII

The Liquor Laws (1883-1898) and Father Osborne

The Liquor Licensing Act of 1883 was amended in 1885, 1891 and 1894. These amendments were mainly aimed at restricting the purchase of liquor by black Africans from roadside canteens and by curtailing the number of hours which liquor stores were open.

In 1893 Fr Osborne gave evidence to the Labour Commission and he was questioned on the appropriateness of the Liquor Laws at that time. The commissioners sensed that he was on the side of the poor and the black residence of Cape Town and thus asked him what the effect the later canteen opening hour (introduced by the 1891 Amendments) had been on these people. Osborne responded that now more men were found at work each day. Asked if he wished to revert to the earlier opening he responded that he would like to have an even later opening time.

The commissioners continued to question Osborne on the sale of liquor to children. They presented to him a situation where a white employer might only have one servant who was under fifteen years old: how then was this employer to obtain liquor for his own consumption. Osborne retorted that the servant's master must go and buy his own liquor. He had seen too many children drunk. Furthermore he felt that children under fifteen should not be allowed to serve in liquor canteens.

The Commissioners also asked Fr Osborne if he could see the evil effects of alcohol on the natives living in his parochial district. He responded that alcohol affected 'not Kafirs alone but all sorts of men'.²⁰

²⁰ *Report of the Labour Commission* February-April 1893, CPP G.39-1893 Question 1289.

The commission was obvious in favour of establishing a native compound in order to prevent the flooding of the city by the African labourers from the docks. Fr Osborne pointed out that by placing the natives in a compound they could be paid less but would spend Saturday night and all day Sunday drunk on illicitly brewed Kafir beer. The commissioners pointed out that Mackenzie, the Labour Contractor for the Docks found that Labourers living out of the dock's compound were demoralised by drink. Osborne responded by saying that if they lived in the compound Mackenzie could pay them less as their accommodation at the docks was 'a rough place' where they had to sleep on the ground on a sack. Osborne, although show concern for the conditions under which the labourers had to work, did so in a rather patronizing and colonialistic manner as he commented to the Commissioners that the labourers deserved a more civilised home as 'you do not want to send them back as great barbarians as when they came'.²¹

²¹ *Report of the Labour Commission*, February-April 1893, CPP G.39-1893 Question 1305.

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