"THE MISSIONARY WORK OF THE FIRST ANGLICAN BISHOP OF NATAL, THE Rt. REVEREND JOHN WILLIAM COLENSO D.D., BETWEEN THE YEARS 1853-1875."

A thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts, by Reverend E.B.Burnett B.A., L.Th. in December 1947.

CONTENTS :

Maps.

Abbreviations.

S.C.	Shepstone Collection.
Colenso Col.	Colenso Collection.
lib.	library.
S.N.A.	Secretary for Native Affairs
G.H.	Government House.
Com.Ep.Rom.	Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans

Preface.

At the outset it had been my intention to make only the slightest of references to the Church Controversy in which Bishop Colenso was involved, and to have touched only lightly on his theological position. Apart from anything else I hesitated to enter the arena in which so many had already collided violently and where my own prejudices might be enlisted on one side or the other. It became evident however that Colenso the Controversialist, the Theologian could not be dissociated from Colenso the Missionary, without giving an inadequate, and even misleading history of his missionary activities. The Controversy had a serious and deleterious effect upon his missionary work, and no estimate of the value of a missionary's labours would be valid without some consideration of his teaching, more especially when his orthodoxy is suspect. I have therefore dealt as briefly as I could with these questions in Chapter V because of their relevance, and because to produce a work on an ecclesiastic without some reference to his tenets would be like writing a biography of Louis Botha without any allusion to his political 'faith', or of Wellington without any mention of Waterloo. It would represent a distortion of history to write about a Missionary Bishop as though he were an amateur politician, or of a Missionary as though he were interested only in finance and administration.

I have not dealt with the Bishop's part in the Langalibalele trial, because he only took up the cudgels late in 1873, and it would have been fruitless to have dealt with an episode in which he was far more deeply involved later on, in a period of his life which falls outside the scope of this thesis.

Finally I must record my gratitude for the assistance which I have received from the Archivist in Maritzburg, the Librarian and his assistants in Durban, the Rev.Canon Inman and the Rev.C.T.Wood who lent valuable books and in particular Miss Millie Campbell who generously allowed me full and constant use of her African Library.

Prologue

John William Colenso was born at St. Austell on January 24, 1814, of Cornish stock. The failure of his father's mining operations when he was only a boy, involved him in a struggle to complete his own education, and at the same time obliged him to contribute to the support of his father and of his younger brother and two sisters. He had been brought up among the Independents, but when he was only seventeen he decided to offer himself for the ministry in the Established Church on the completion of his education. He prayed then, ironically enough, in view of later events, that his preaching of the Gospel might be "unclouded by party principles, unobscured by the impious intrusion of man's own wishes and baneful speculations".[1]

At the age of 18 he served as an assistant in a school in Dartmouth kept by the incumbent of St.Petrox, Mr. Glubb, and there, by dint of strict economy of time, he continued his studies. In 1832, with meagre financial support from an uncle who lent him small sums of money, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, as a sizar. His efforts were soon rewarded by his winning a £20. exhibition at the Christmas examinations, but it was only by fees obtained by taking pupils, that he was able to remain at the University.

In the end he was brilliantly successful. His tutor declared "I never knew a young man of greater promise --- he bids fair to be no less an honour to his relations than to his college and University."[2]. In 1836 he was Senior Wrangler and Second Smith's Prizeman, and in March 1837 was elected Fellow of St. John's.

Two years later, in answer to an advertisement for a master at Harrow, where Dr. Longley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was headmaster, he was appointed mathematics master and ordained deacon. His years at Harrow were marked by financial losses, caused by the destruction of his house by fire, and the depressed state of the school, so that he was obliged to return to Cambridge in 1841 to work as a tutor at his old college. His mathematics text books were published at the same time, in an attempt to wipe off debts that had accumulated.

Colenso spent four years tutoring at Cambridge, and made the acquaintance there of Coleridge and F.D.Maurice, "drawing water with them from the deep well of truth", but in 1846, he resigned the Fellowship in order to marry Miss Sarah Frances Bunyon, and accepted a living in the small country village of Forncett in Norfolk. In becoming vicar of Forncett he had refused a more lucrative post as headmaster of a school in Putney, because a village parish promised more leisure for reflection and study.

From the seclusion of Forncett he was called to more strenuous labours in the mission field, where his searching, active mind involved him in strife and difficulties of which he could have had no inkling when he left the quiet of his little parish church.

1. (Colenso to his Aunt. 1838. - Cox. P.3)
2. (Colenso's Tutor, Dr. Hymers to Colenso's Grandmother March 1835 - Cox. P.9)

Chapter I.

Reconnaisance.

CHAPTER I.

Only fifteen days after his consecration at Lambeth, Dr. John William Colenso set out on a reconnaisance of his new field of work. He embarked, together with the Metropolitan, Bishop Gray, and his wife and a party of clergy which the latter was taking out to his diocese. They sailed from Plymouth on December 15th, 1853 in the steamship "Calcutta".

With admirable thoroughness, the Bishop had decided that since he could get no certain information in England as to the conditions in the Colony of Natal, he would go and see for himself. With steamships on the run to the Cape and the far East, the journey had been considerably speeded up, but it was still tedious and by no means comfortable. It was an unusual step to have taken in those days of slow travel, but the Bishop "felt that it was necessary that I should see with my own eyes, and hear with my own ears, if I would realise the actual conditions of the country and form prudent and comprehensive plans for any future preparations." Only after a preliminary investigation would he be in a position to proceed to the raising of funds for his diocese, and the information that he would be able to give would have valuable propaganda value.[2].

The S.S.S. "Calcutta" arrived at Cape Town on Friday morning, January 20th, 1854 without incident after a voyage of 38 days. But with a passenger list of some 96 souls, all confined in a small space for more than a month, the voyage could not have been without its interests and its trials. Apart from the joy of his "morning hour", which he spent in spiritual exercise and in dedicating himself to the work to which he had been called, the daily services conducted by himself and the Metropolitan, his Zulu studies and the lighter fare of Uncle Tom's Cabin, there were other and less pleasing diversions. There was the frivolous conduct of Bishop Gray's maids, whose every word could be heard through a thin as paper partition in the Bishop's adjoining cabin, and who not only did not rebuff the advances of vulgar officers of the Indian Army, but distinctly encouraged them; the coarseness of loud, goldchained Colonials; and the drunken blasphemy of an Anglo-Indian, whose tiresome behaviour prompted a dramatic scene when the two Bishops refused to sit down at the dinner table with him, and whose "immoral language and behaviour" precipitated his own arrest. "With these exceptions and apart from the storms in the bay of Biscay all has been pleasant and peaceful."[3].

Cape Town, with a South Easterly blowing, was not at its best when the "Calcutta" disgorged its party of clerics and other passengers for the Cape. But the Bishop enjoyed a short respite at Protea before leaving again for Natal and was charmed by the Metropolitical Seat.[4]. He had intended continuing the trip to Natal by sea in the "coasting steamer" that plied the East coast and carried the mails but unfortunately the "Sir Robert Peel" was no longer sea-worthy, and the "Natal", which had been commissioned to replace it on the Cape-Natal run, had not yet arrived from Britain. Although it was not then known, it had been dismasted in a gale off the coast of Portugal, and had been forced to put in to Lisbon for repairs. It was decided however, that the "Calcutta" should carry the mails, and the Bishop was able to complete the last lap of his voyage in that more commodious vessel.

1. (Ten weeks in Natal. P.2)
2. (Statement of funds raised and expended by the Bishop of Natal 1853-6.)
3. (Letters to his wife - Jan. 2nd 1854 ; Jan. 13th 1854)
4. (Letter to his wife - quoted)

In taking a berth in the "Calcutta", he ran the risk of being taken on to Mauritius if the weather happened to make the bar impassible when the ship reached Port Natal. As it happened his gamble came off: the "Natal", the only alternative method of travel, arrived at Cape Town two months later, and at Port Natal in time to carry the Bishop back to Cape Town.

The "Calcutta" left Cape Town on January 23rd, and the Bluff was rounded at 10.a.m. seven days later. A boat was signalled out from the Port to collect the mail and to land the only passenger for Natal and the Bishop was tossed across the bar in a cockleshell of a boat. It was noon when the Bishop stepped out onto the jetty and for the first time stood on the soil of the Colony where he was to be the centre of so many fierce controversies and where he was to end his long life. Others of his persuasion had preceded him:- Captain Gardiner R.N. had flashed through the history of the Settlement, and meteor-like passed out again to end his zealous life with a miserable death by starvation in Tierra del Fuego. In his direct and uncompromising nature and his unpopular sorties into the politics of the settlement, one can detect, perhaps, a likeness to the Bishop who fought long battles against the spiritual and the secular power alike :

Then the Rev. Francis Owen, whose mission to the Zulus had ended after only four months at Dingaan's kraal, with the treachery and tragedy of the Retief massacre: and more recently the Rev. H.H. Methuen,[1] who, following Bishop Gray's instructions, was to have established a station at Umkomaas Drift[2]. with two catechists and an agriculturalist, but who returned to England to care for an ailing wife, before the station had even been established. These sporadic attempts by the Church of England missionaries to convert and civilise the Zulus had produced no perceptible results. It was to be hoped that, with an Ordinary and proper Diocesan organisation, a more worthy effort might be made.

The Colony had not been left entirely without pastoral care, however. The Rev. James Green had been given a cure of souls in Maritzburg in 1848, by Bishop Gray, and in the same year the Rev. Mr. Lloyd ("Parson Lloyd", as he was called in Durban) was appointed Colonial Chaplain by the Secretary for Colonies, Lord Grey. Four years later the Rev. T.C. Pearne was established at Richmond and undertook the spiritual welfare of the Richmond and Byrne settlements. Apart from Methuen, who was already about to leave the Colony, these were the only Church of England clergy in Natal when the Bishop arrived, and none had been appointed for work among the Africans. There was no completed Church of England Church in the land and no vigorous Church community, or adequate body of clergy to use as a springboard for future Missionary endeavour.

What of the Zulus to whom he had come to minister? They had spilled over into Natal during the dynastic confusion in Zululand, which placed Mpande on the throne, and they were now 100,000 strong in the vacuum left by the Boers who had relinquished their Promised Land, rather than tolerate Major Smith, Cloete and the prospect of British rule. Shepstone had grappled with a difficult and unknown situation.

1. (200 years of the S.P.G.)
2. (C.O.3: No.30 1- 14th July, 1852 - Methuen to Pine)

To keep the peace with the smallest expenditure of blood and treasure, and indeed to maintain any sort of authority at all, he had attempted to retain as much of tribal organisation as he safely could, and had settled the Natal Zulus in seven tribal reserves in various parts of the Colony. The Natives were left very much where they had taken refuge in the broken and unproductive parts of the colony, in reserves of an average of 130,000 acres. (From 60,000 and 450,000 acres).[1]. These places of refuge were, at the same time, as the 1852 Commission complained, natural fastnesses and constituted a danger to the Colony. Curiously enough, on the other hand, the Diplomatic Agent Mr. Shepstone, regarded the Native Reserves on the Northern and North Western districts as protective buffers against possible Native incursions from without the Colony: two views that are not easily reconcile[2]. In addition, probably one half of the Native population squatted rightlessly on private or Crown lands.[2]. The 1846 Commission had planned to do more than this. It had, for example, advocated the establishment of Institutions and hospitals for the civilisation and care of the Natives, but when the Imperial Government refused financial backing for the scheme, all that could be done was to remove the Natives into locations and introduce some sort of indirect rule, similar to that more recently employed by Lord Lugard in the administration of Nigeria. Though the Natives were controlled, virtually nothing was being done to civilise them.

In view of the resources of the Colony, this might be considered a tolerably satisfactory state of affairs, but from the point of view of the Church, it left much to be desired. It is true that in 1848 Earl Grey sanctioned a 7/- per annum hut tax to raise revenue chiefly for the purpose of establishing schools and other Institutions for the uplift of the Natives, but the revenue raised in this way was used in the Colony on roads, bridges, and public works and next to nothing was employed in the Native interest. To the Colonial mind Native affairs meant defence rather than Native welfare.

Giving evidence before the 1852 Commission, Shepstone declared that of the £24,000 raised up to date from the Native hut tax, little had been done to establish even effective magisterial establishments in the locations.[3]. Bishop Grey observed after his third visitation, which included a journey through Natal, that the Natives in the Colony were being educated in a certain sense, willy nilly, and not always to the best advantage, simply by living among Europeans "many of whom are practically living in worse than heathenism"[4]. Bishop Grey realised the pressing necessity of wasting no time in the work of Christianising and civilising Natives, and in a private letter to Earl Grey he observes that a great change has already taken place among the immigrant Kafirs and that greater changes could be expected to follow. "The power of the chief, upon which the good government of the people at present depends, will melt away. What moral influence have we at work to supply the place of the failing power of the chiefs, which has hitherto been relied upon for restraining this people? Unhappily there is but little. A few foreign missionaries....."[5]

1. (C.O.4: No. 25: Pine to Newcastle, May 1854)
2. (History of South Africa - Theal Vol. P.74.)
3. (1852 Commission - Part VII P.73-4.)
4. (10 weeks. P.xxvii)
5. (Grey to Earl Grey: June 10, 1849 : Min. Records of C.M.S. P.308)

Bishop Gray, for one, felt that no time should be lost in undertaking the work of civilisation, if a repetition of the weary frontier wars of the Cape frontier was to be avoided in Natal.

A group of doughty foreign missionaries & Wesleyans, had already joined the battle for the King of Peace. American missionaries of various denominations covered the largest field: Adams, Champion and Aldin Grout had pioneered in 1835 and were later joined by Lewis Grout, Lindley and others. Their efforts to gain a footing in Zululand had, like Owen's, been frustrated, but they had 11 one-man stations dotted along the North and South coasts.[1] Inland, there were several Norwegian and German centres of evangelism and Allison had already established Indaleni and moved on to his experiment at Edendale. However worthy their efforts might have been, they could not but be inadequate and they were often not very enlightened. After nearly 20 years in the field the Americans could muster only 166 church members, and when Colenso visited Lindley's mission in 1854 he did not even find an elementary school established there.[2]

A large scale assault on the fastnesses of the heathen remained to be attempted and attempted at a most vital point. For, as Shepstone was not slow to point out in a fulsome communication to the African Institute of Paris which had recently honoured him, Natal was the key to the Black Nations of South Africa, for it is surrounded by numberless tribes of Natives. To these unfortunates in the thrall of heathenism, enlightened government and zealous missionary efforts might appeal "as the bright ultimatum of their hopes."[3]

It was for this urgent task that Bishop Gray had chosen Colenso, confident that when he stepped ashore and undertook the mighty labours that awaited him, new life and energy would be thrown into the feeble infant Church of Natal, and that great reproach that now attaches to us, of having done so little for the myriads of heathen amidst whom we dwell, will be wiped off from us ----"[4].

This was the Natal that greeted Bishop Colenso, and these the hopes. Two sons of the Church were there, too, to meet their first Bishop. Fr. Middleton, the churchwarden of the Durban congregation and Mr. Savory, had ridden down to the customs house on the off-chance that the Bishop would land from the "Calcutta". They had brought a horse for him, and together they rode the two miles through the bush from the Port to Durban. On that half hour's ride the Bishop saw his first Zulus, and heard for the first time the familiar colonial view of missionaries. As far as mission work was concerned their prognostications were of the gloomiest: they had very little confidence in the success of missions among the Zulus, and complained that the missionaries were too familiar with them. "You must never indulge a Kafir", they advised him.[5]

The party proceeded along Durban's sandy streets to the equally sandy market square, and there the Bishop found accommodation at McDonald's Hotel. Here he very soon received

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1. (Lewis Grout - Zulu land. P.225)
2. (10 Weeks in Natal, P. 235)
3. (Letter Shepstone Nov. 10th, 1847 to African Institute of Paris - S.C.)
4. (Bishop Gray's Journal Letter on cessation of his pastoral connection with Natal - Dist.Records of S.P.G.)
5. (10 Weeks.)
6. (10 Weeks. P.8)

a visit from the Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. .. H. C. Lloyd, and was disappointed to hear that the St. Paul's church had not yet been completed. He had hoped to consecrate it on his arrival.

The Bishop spent a busy six days in Durban before proceeding to the capital. He had an interview with His Hon. the Lt. Governor B. C. C. Pine, and met Captain "Nigger driver" Struben, the magistrate of the Klip River division, who advised him at some length on the best method of dealing with the Zulus. An attempted visit to the Mission Station at Inanda, where the American, Lindley, had established himself, was foiled by the Umgeni being in spate and impassable. From the churchmen of Durban he received an address, and he replied, and preached to them on his first Sunday in the Colony. Meanwhile he received visits from prominent men of all denominations.

Having previously despatched his personal effects by mule waggon, the Bishop set out for the Capital on horseback on Monday, 6th February. He was given a good send off from a party of gentlemen who rode out for a few miles along the road with him and he was accompanied by Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Munro of Pinetown. They made good time along the macadamised road to Pinetown, and having rested there at Mr. Murray's Inn and inspected his property, five acres of which he offered to the Bishop for a Church, they pushed on to Stirk's Spruit. They were fortunate to find shelter there before a severe storm broke, and here, later in the evening, they were joined by Rev. James Green from Maritzburg. The next morning Lloyd returned to Durban and the Bishop continued his journey in the company of Mr. Green. They were met by a mounted party of Maritzburg citizens and two Kafir chiefs and their attendants, some five miles from Maritzburg, and yet another address had to be faced before he was permitted to ride down into the town. Here he found the Military Chaplain from Fort Napier, and Methuen's missionary party awaiting him. A service was held at once in the only available Church of England place of worship, namely the Government School room. Rev. J. Green however, had not been idle; a church which was to become the cathedral and the centre not only of the diocese, but of bitter controversy was already rising from the earth.

On the next day the Bishop met the remaining clergy in the diocese - Rev. T.G.Kearns from Richmond and Rev. J.H. Methuen.

One of the most important duties of Colenso's present visit was to fix the site of the Lesser Mission he planned for the diocese. Newcastle had already given instructions that 6000 acres should be allocated to the Church for a Mission to be started by the Bishop of Cape Town. This had, in fact, been done and the land was given to Methuen on the banks of the Umkomaas.[1] Colenso had hoped that work would have progressed sufficiently at Umkomaas for him to have taken over, that they would have gained ground from a small group of Zulus, and made some headway with the tribes of the 6,000 acres which Shepstone had chosen as a site and which the Government had granted as a Mission Area. He discovered, however, that nothing had been done, except that

1. (C.N.S: No. 30: July 1855 : forwarded to Pine.
(C.N.S/2: No. 47: Sept. 1855 : Pine to Newcastle.

.../...

one of the catechists, Mr. Robertson, had acquired a valuable knowledge of the Zulu language and customs. In view of this the Bishop decided to transfer the Mission farm to a site nearer the capital, and the centre of the Diocese. There were some 8,500 acres of crown lands adjacent and to the east of Maritzburg and Dr. Stanger rode out with the Bishop to inspect the land with a view to its transfer to the Mission. When the Mission agriculturalist, Falcomb, had approved it as arable land, the Bishop decided to accept it at the hands of the Government and 6,000 acres were immediately granted for the use of the Church. Since only 2,500 acres of the 8,500 remained after the grant had been made, the Bishop was advised to apply for it as an endowment for the Diocese. This acreage was considered to be inadequate as a farm, and as the Bishop expressed his willingness to pay for it if necessary, the Colonial government made him a conditional grant of the land. To this the Home Government subsequently gave its approval.[1] This land, conveniently abutting upon the Mission farm, became the Episcopal Seat, and was known as Bishopstowe. From it the Bishop could effectively oversee both the European work in Maritzburg, the cathedral city some four miles away, and the institution he hoped to develop on the Mission farm.

Having determined on the site for both his dwelling and the Mission and farm he planned to start, he accompanied Dr. Stanger on yet another expedition to see what had been achieved at Edendale. There he found Mr. Allison,[2] at the time labouring independently of any Missionary organisation, with some 500 to 600 natives on 6,000 acres of ground. This had not been a grant from the Governor, but had been acquired at the cost of £1,800 and was being paid for by the labour of natives living on the land. The property had been divided into a 100 shares at £18. each and plots were bought and owned by the natives. A chapel, school, and mill had been erected and a flourishing native village had grown up where religious instruction was combined with industrial teaching. The Bishop was deeply impressed by what he saw and in some respects the farm and institution that developed at Ekukanyeni resembled this experiment of Mr. Allison's.

He was not content to see only the Port and Capital and their environs. He was determined to go further afield and visit the Zulus in the Umvoti, Umzinyati and Umhlamba locations in Northern Natal, and see something of mission work further from civilisation. He wanted to make the acquaintance of some of the location chiefs, see for himself how primitive tribes lived and, if possible, elicit information on their religious beliefs and customs.[3]

With this end in view he struck out for the north accompanied by Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, of whose vast experience of Native life he had been apprised within half an hour of his arrival in Natal, and whom he had now met in Maritzburg. It is more than probable that Colenso had been previously informed of the support he could expect from the Secretary for Native Affairs. The latter had already made the acquaintance of Gray in 1850 and then had sent his sons to the Bishop's school at the Cape. We find Gray confirming

1. (C. O.5: No.117: March 1856 Russell to Pine)
2. (Mr.Allison's reputation for mission work was remarkable. Governors West, Pine and Scott all mention his work as outstanding (Scotts Despatch, No. 90 1857).
3. (10 Yecks.P.93,129 etc.)

in him his hope that he would shortly be able to divide his unwieldy diocese.[1] Shepstone's diary records the arrival of Methuen and that he accompanied Green to measure the foundations of the first Church at Richmond.[2] It is apparent that he was an earnest Christian and a regular Church goer and fully aware of the value of the missionary calling his father had followed. He was anxious to have the missionaries' goodwill and to give them his. He declared for example that should he encounter any opposition to his proposal to establish a Native state beyond the Umzimkulu, he cared for none except for that of the missionaries'. "I should be sorry" he wrote to his friend Cato, "to come into collision with them, because I like them personally and my inclination is to be rather their friend than their enemy."[3] In the Secretary of Native Affairs, Colenso was to find a staunch friend and a ready ally, an ardent admirer and one whose experience and influence was invaluable.

Almost at once Shepstone placed himself at the Bishop's disposal. He combined one of the innumerable journeys his offices required of him with the Bishop's project of visiting the Northern Native Reserves, and accompanied the latter as guide and interpreter. Few things could be more valuable to a missionary than Somtseu's commendation. This Colenso could always count upon.

With a hired wagon belonging to Shepstone's headman, Ngoza,[4] to carry their effects and to be a shelter if required, they set out on their trek on February 20th. They were accompanied for a part of their way by Mr. Larter, and the Lt. Governor Pine rode out with them for the first few miles. They intended riding across country, while their wagon trundled more slowly along the road, which the Governor reported to Newcastle, had recently been considerably improved.

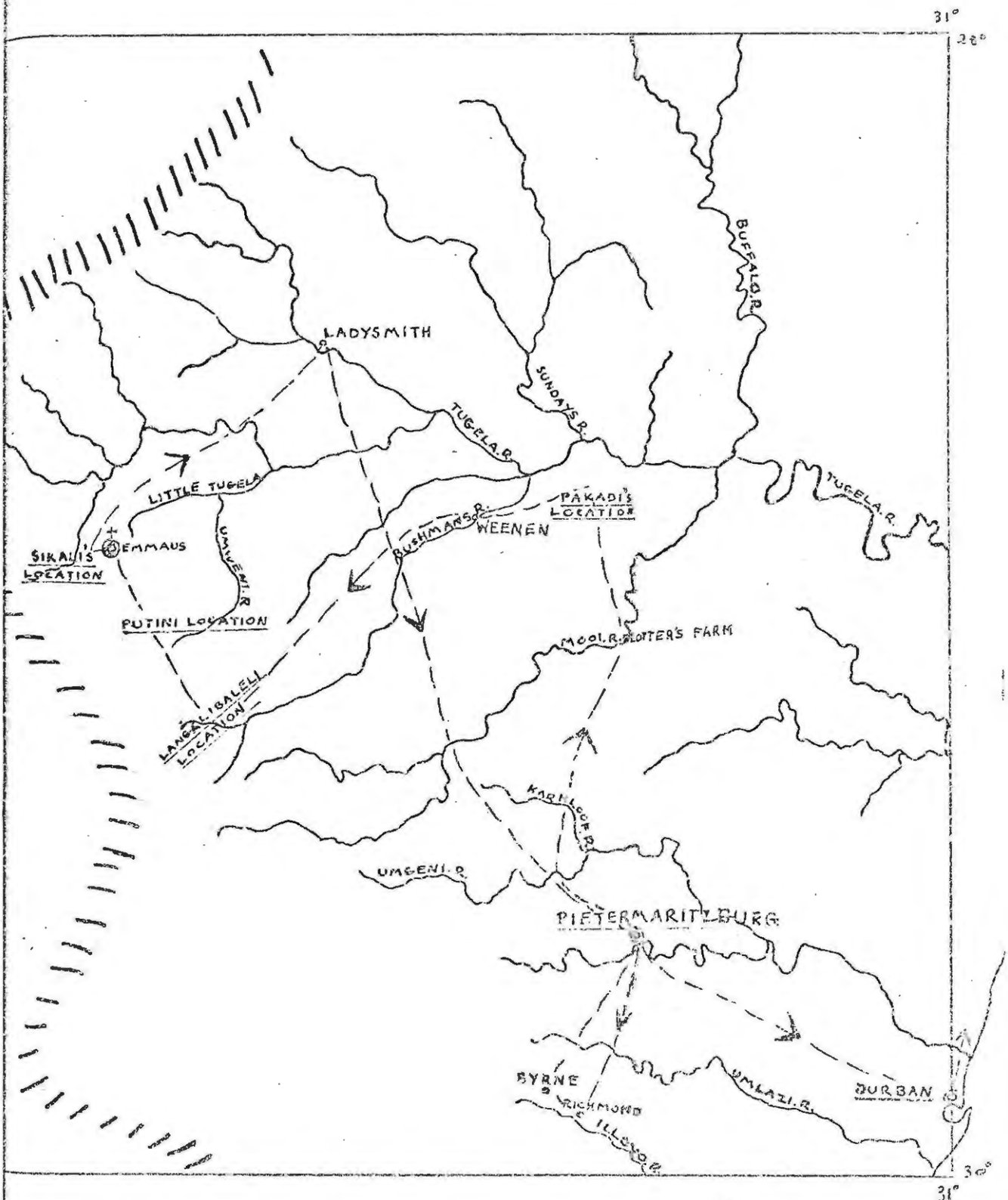
Two hours' riding brought them to the bank of the Umgeni, which they crossed a little way above the Howick Falls, by means of the pile bridge recently constructed and paid for partly by public subscription. Here they were caught in a violent hail storm, which forced them to take shelter at the Archbell's homestead for two hours and when they were able to proceed it was only to find that the Karkloof River was in spate and unfordable. They managed to find shelter for the night at a homestead. On the morrow they found the river easily fordable, climbed out steeply on the far side, and ended the day's trek at Lotter's farm on the Mooi River. It must have been a strenuous and interesting ride to the Bishop. They had a good view of the Karkloof Falls and found the going so steep up the Karkloof heights that they had to dismount and lead their horses. The Bishop nevertheless found time, when the horses were being rested after the strenuous climb, to tackle his Zulu New Testament.

They were forced to accept Lotter's generous hospitality for a far longer period than they had anticipated. The

wagon/...

1. (Gray to Shepstone, (Jan. 17th 1851 S.C.)
2. (Shepstone's Diary 1852 - July 22 S.C.
3. (Shepstone to Cato - March 25, 1854 - S.C.)
4. (One of the chiefs who had wished he accompany Shepstone beyond the Umzimkulu.)

of Natal, between Latitudes 28° S - 30° S & Longitude 29° E - 31° E.



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" - approximately 16 miles = 1 inch.

wagon which they had sent on ahead had not yet arrived at the rendezvous. All had not gone well with Ngoza and his wagon. First of all one of his men had been jerked off the shaft and broken his leg, (on Sunday - a day on which they had been forbidden to travel!) and on Monday he had been involved in a fracas with English traders who were travelling the same road. The incident was provoked by the latter finding a saddle which belonged to them, in the possession of Ngoza. He claimed to have picked it up on the road. The long and short of it was, that the saddle was forcibly removed from the wagon and the contents of the wagon were damaged by being hurled into the road. Then, not content with the recovery of their saddle, the traders and their natives chopped at the body of the wagon with an axe, cut through all the riems and then pushed the wagon off the road, some twenty miles from its destination. As a consequence, it could only be brought on next day, and the Bishop's schedule was dislocated. He remarked in his diary that this, the only act of violence that came under his personal notice, was perpetrated not by "the fierce, untutored heathen savage", but "by educated Englishmen." 1.

When the report of this incident was noised abroad, quite another account of it was related in the Press by friends of the "educated Englishmen" involved. The contents of the wagon had been used to hide the lost saddle, and the former had only been damaged because Ngoza and his men had offered resistance to the attempts of the owner to retrieve it. It was "unfortunate for the Bishop, so lately arrived in Natal, to have such a specimen of kaffir honesty forced upon him..." 2.

Events were thus not slow in introducing Colenso to the nature of race relations in the Colony. But he had too independent a mind easily to accept the Colonists' low estimate of the African's potentialities. He was determined to look for the best in them. He may of course be arraigned for showing the usual missionary gullibility, but even Shepstone must have been taken in in this instance. There is no evidence to show that Colenso was one to pamper and spoil his converts and it is significant that his only criticism of the Emmaus' Missioner - Posselt, was of his lack of severity.

The enforced halt was not wholly wasted, however, because with characteristic diligence the time was spent in useful discussion of the "Kaffir Gospel" and Shepstone's translation of the Lord's Prayer, Creed and 100th psalm.

Their first real engagement was a visit to Pakade at his kraal, fourteen miles from Lotter's farm in the northerly direction. The chief was obviously keenly awaiting their arrival and had already sent two parties to meet them. They learned from these that Pakadi was delaying the celebration of the feast of First Fruits on their account, and not wishing to disappoint him, they set off the same evening in the direction of his location. The next morning - February 23rd - they reached the chief's kraal after a four hours' ride through rocky Mimosa country, and were received with the usual military display. Pakadi was, so the Bishop soon discovered, really far more interested in fighting his neighbour Nodada, than in religion. Pakadi and the Bishop presided nevertheless at the feast of First Fruits, a most

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1. (10 Weeks E. 89)
2. (Natal's Witness, March 16th 1854).

important annual feast, for the celebration of which permission had to be obtained from The Great House (Maritzburg). The Bishop considered that there was nothing obviously unchristian about this festival, which had its counter-part in the Old Testament Jewish practice. (This conclusion was later challenged by Mr. Dohne, a German Missionary and able philologist, however, who declared that the entire ceremony centred around the Chief, as the source of all good things and as the Lord of the Tribe.[1]) But just as the real sovereignty had been transferred already from the chiefs to the 'Great House' by the Shepstone policy, so too the allegiance and veneration of the tribesmen might be transferred from the chiefs to the Almighty One. Colenso believed that the Feast of First Fruits could be lifted to a Christian plane, by the introduction of Christian prayers, and he said the "Laba Wetu" before the feast began. Pakadi thought it a most appropriate prayer and wondered how gunpowder was made!

Colenso suggested that either a commissioner from Maritzburg or himself should go on circuit to preside at this festival and so, using the Zulus' own customs, gradually bring them into a relationship with God. This seems to be an interesting extension into religion of Shepstone's method of retaining as far as possible native tribal law and custom.[2]

Saturday, 23rd February, found them at Weenen, being entertained by the magistrate and most of the inhabitants, of both European Races. The next day the Bishop held a service at Doornkop, to which a party of English and Dutch farmers came from across the Tugela, and impressed them with his kindness and urbanity.[3] Thence they were conducted by the magistrate of the Kahlamba location on a visit to Langalibalele. His tribe had been badly cut up by Chaka. The chief had a large kraal, but his people were dirtier and dingier than Pakade's. They were received with the usual military display by the Chief, whose later career was to be the cause of a serious breach in the close friendship which developed between Shepstone and Colenso.

Putine, Langalibalele's neighbour, was the next to be honoured, and from there, they rode on to Emmaus, a station of the Berlin Missionary Society.

After a fatiguing ride they were received by Rev. C.W. Posselt and Mr. Zunkle and spent an instructive day on the mission, which ajoined Zikale's reserve. They discussed missionary methods and missionaries' attitudes to the Baptism of Polygamous converts and found that they had much in common.

After a visit to the dissipated chief Zikale, the party rode on towards the Tugela, stopping at homesteads on the way. Then crossing the Tugela, they returned to Ladysmith, a mere hamlet of 23 houses, on March 3rd. From here the Bishop had intended visiting Mouada, and Matyana some twenty miles away, but several considerations led him to alter his plans. His horses were weary and he was afraid of their contracting the horse sickness, which was prevalent there. Besides, the chiefs lived in an inaccessible part of the country, and a visit would require 24 crossings of the Sundays River, which was often in spate at that time of the year.

(Witness - Jan. 20th, 1855.)
(See Chapter II.)
(Witness - March 1854).

His Lordship therefore confined his ministrations to the European population in Ladysmith, baptising seven of their infants and confirming a Mr. Lottering and his wife.

He left for the Capital on Tuesday 7th, without Mr. Shepstone. One of his native attendant's horses had already died and he was anxious about the condition of the remainder. But the next day he managed to cross the swollen Tugela and reached Maritzburg on the 9th without further incident, after a valuable nineteen days' excursion.

At each and every kraal the Bishop visited he submitted the natives to a searching enquiry as to their beliefs, and especially those concerning the Creator. His investigations, and Shepstone's opinions[1], led him to conclude that the nearest equivalent to God, the Creator, in the Zulu mythology was Umkulunkulu. He had, so Langalibalele's people assured him, created the world, but they were unfortunately unable, so they said, to give him any details as to how he had done it, because their old men had all been killed in the wars. They also informed the Bishop that their feast of First Fruits was a festival of Thanksgiving, but that they had forgotten to whom they gave thanks. They had heard of U Tixo from the Europeans, but had not connected him with Umkulunkulu. The Bishop lost no time in telling them that they were, in fact, one and the same, and that previous missionaries had not known that they had their own name for the diety. There can be little doubt that the Bishop was guided by the knowledge of his companion, Mr. Shepstone, not only in the Zulu mythology he related in his 'Ten Weeks', but in the adaptation of native words and customs for Christian use."[2] The impression which this trip made upon Colenso's mind must have been a deep one, for he altered the views then formed very little in later years.

He next spent nearly three weeks in the capital, visited the European settlements at Richmond and Verulam. Mr. Greentock advantage of the presence of a Bishop to present him with a number of candidates, whom he confirmed. He also ordained Mr. A. Robertson (one of Newman's catechists) deacon, before proceeding to Durban on March 26th.[3]

Of the missionaries already established in the Colony, Colenso had by now made the acquaintance of two of the Berlin Society men, Dunkle and Forcelt, but had not met Rhine. He had met one of the Norwegians, Ottesen, who was settled at Empangeni, and whose fellow countryman Shreuder was already in the heart of Zululand at Panda's kraal. He had seen Edendale, but not Inhlwati and Umvuboni, the other Wesleyan stations, though he had witnessed "the faithfulness and zeal of the Wesleyan Missionaries at Maritzburg, Messrs. Pearse and Thomas." He now wished to investigate the work of the American Missionaries.

With this end in view he set out early in April and made first for Inanda, where Mr. Lindley had established himself, and had gathered around him some 60 souls. The Bishop was clearly not impressed by what he saw. He observed that there were only services on Sundays, and although Mrs. Lindley ran a women's prayer meeting and Sunday School. there was no day school at all for the native children. not only/...

1. (Various Memoranda on Zulu beliefs etc. S.N. Vol 1)
2. (Shepstone to Colenso: Natal Univ. MS.)
3. (10 Weeks. P.185)

only was he critical of the lack of spiritual and educational facilities, but he disapproved of Lindley's attitude towards the natives. The latter's refusal to allow his children to fraternise with the children of the mission surprised him, and Lindley's gloomy prognostication that it would take 500 years to make any impression on the Zulus, was to one of Colenso's enthusiastic nature "somewhat desponding" and lacking in faith. He refused to believe in the utter depravity of the Africans. He also strongly deprecated the negative and often fearful method of preaching the Gospel of salvation that he found current among the Americans. Their teaching on the eternal damnation of the unbelieving heathen, their preaching about the awful fate of the unsaved, with which they either terrified the heathen into belief, or drove them away, throw light on the motives which impelled the Bishop to write his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. He felt that the diocese had already been saturated by what was to him a corruption of Christianity.[1] The preaching of the Americans so it seemed to him was frightening the natives and their teaching was false. Sentiments like one that came to his notice in an elementary catechism - "God said, let them be destroyed; the Son rose up and said, let them be saved, let me die in their place" had to be contradicted. Colenso did so categorically later on in his book on the Epistle to the Romans. In fairness to the Americans it must be said that their methods of evangelism were in keeping with preaching methods in vogue among Evangelicals at the time.

From Inanda, the Bishop was conducted to the next station, which Lewis Grout, an Independent, had established in[4] 1847 on the Umzinduai some fifteen miles from the coast, when he had been forced to flee from Zululand by Zulu hostility.[2] Grout, he found, had made ten converts and his views coincided with Lindley's. From here he passed on to Aldine Grout, who had built up a station at Umvoti, forty miles from the Port and six from the coast.[3] He, like Lindley, was a Presbyterian. The Bishop's most significant comment on the Umvoti station was that he was impressed by "the bright glow of health and activity" there, and was pleased to hear nothing of the utter hopelessness and depravity of the native character.

Despite his very frank criticisms of the Americans in his published diary, criticism which must have come very strangely from one who had had no experience himself of mission work, he never-theless gave the American Missions Board due praise for their exertions on behalf of the Zulus. He considered it particularly praiseworthy that foreigners, who had no responsibility for the welfare of the inhabitants of the colony, should expend both time and money on what should have been done by the British people. They "put to shame the doings of the Church of England", with their twelve stations, which they ran at a cost of £2,300 and their 163 converts, while the Church of England had hitherto done nothing, apart from S.P.G.'s vote of £600 a year for a station which had not yet been started.[4] He also generously suggested that the Americans should be given some security of land tenure as their work was so valuable to the Colony. This was in fact done in 1851, when an ordinance was passed permitting the American Board to hold land.

1. (Colenso to Rev. J.P.Ferguson - August 6th 1859 - Cox.P.119)
2. ("Zululand" - L. Grout.P.217)
3. ("Zululand" - L. Grout.P.214)
4. (20th years of S.P.G.)

Any further reconnaisance was prevented by the arrival, a few days earlier than had been expected, of the "Natal". The Bishop had to abandon his plans of a visit to the South Coast missions and embarking on the "Natal", arrived at Cape Town on April 16th, Easter Day, and just in time to continue his voyage to England on the "Indiana".

The total cost of the Bishop's survey was £500, but the publication of his diary (the famous "Ten Weeks in Natal") together with the information which he was enabled to give to the British public ensured the success of his appeal for funds and raised £10,000 for his project. Thus 10,000 pounds was raised at a cost of 5%, which he considered a most satisfactory return. [1] Quite apart from the financial capital he made out of his visit, he was enabled to embark on the mission in earnest with some appreciation of what had to be imported and what were the needs of his new Diocese. He had acquired a considerable knowledge of Zulu. His discussions with missionaries and colonists, and his visits to mission stations, had helped him to decide on what organisation could most efficiently be employed in the spreading of the Gospel in Natal. Finally he had collected sufficient data to consider seriously, before he undertook the work, the best method of presenting the Christian Faith to Heathen. At a time when there was no training given to missionaries, apart from what they could glean from the mission field itself, Colenso was, in some measure at least, prepared for the work to which he had been called.

1. (Statement of funds raised: Bishops Ledger 1853 - 1863)

Chapter II.

Ekukanyeni.[1]

1 (Place or Home of Light)

CHAPTER II.

In August 1853 the arch apostle of pacification by progress, Sir George Gray, made a visit to the district of Natal, then part of the Cape Colony. That other heir of the Apostles, Bishop Colenso had arrived a few months before at the scene of his life's work, bearing with him the gifts of the Christian faith and of Western civilisation. The glittering prospect of the transformation of the life of the drab and depressed colony by this Peter and this Paul inspired the Editor of the Natal Witness to facetious raptures.

> "Among the natives the "Chnallah" songs and war cries are to be changed for the solemn melody of the Te Deum. The canoe is to be thrown aside for the latest fashioned palatot, and the kraal of huts is to be swept away to make room for the neat cottage, erected on the most perfect principles of architectural design and beauty, surpassing even the elegance of the present Witness office. On every hill and valley is to be written the signs of the times - Native Progress. On every evening zephyr is to be borne the echoes of - Native Progress. Every cloud that floats over the valley is to reflect back the glory of - Native Progress. Every Ten Weeks in Natal is to record with a sacerdotal pen - Native Progress. The Cantineers are to be disbanded -- native industrial schools, native villages, native corporations, native mayors and councillors, native rural deans and bishops are all seen looming up in the future, native reporters to take down Langalibalelli's speech in the legislative assembly Council, and Right Reverend Untundunloovoonl's charge to the clergy of the diocese."[1].

Though Mr. Editor might chuckle over them, there were enlightened and grandiose schemes in the air and on paper, to kill two birds with one stone, by silencing the call of conscience, and the nagging fears of native incursions. The Bishop's plans and achievements in the mission field must be considered against the background of the contemporary scene. His approach afforded so much from the greater part of the Missionary work then being attempted, that some insight into the evolution of his methods would not be without interest. There was little original about his plans, and it is not difficult to reveal their source.

The able but unpopular commission appointed by Sir John West had suggested a solution of the native problems confronting the infant colony in March 1846. Apart from recommending the settlement of the natives in ten locations, it had urged that in each of these there should be a model mechanical school, where the needful arts were to be taught and practically demonstrated, and that there should be agricultural instruction in each. Such institutions were to be government sponsored. On this subject the 1852 Commission made a similar recommendation.

This was, of course, not a new development in the administration of primitive races. Sir George Grey had used similar methods in New Zealand. Moreover the first Bishop of Cape Town on his arrival in Natal on his third diocesan visitation (a march journey which took him to every part of his diocese and also into the Orange River Territory/...

[1]. (Witness Aug. 10, 1853)

Sovereignty) made a similar proposal to the Natal Government. How far Bishop Gray's 1850 plan was inspired by what he had seen, and what had impressed him at Genadendal, and by the 1846 Native Commission, it is difficult to say, but he suggested that there should be an institution in each of the new reserves, with a priest at the head of each, assisted by a school master, mechanic, and farmer, and that there should be an hospital. The natives were to be taught trades, and he hoped that very soon stations of this nature would be self-supporting.

Mr. Shepstone, Bishop Gray writes, approved of the plan.[1] Since the Bishop was unable to finance the scheme himself, he suggested that the Government should assist him from the funds raised from the native hut tax, which amounted to some £8,000, and which Earl Grey had intended should be used for the immediate benefit of those who paid it. The Bishop proposed to start three of his model institutions at once, and asked for £600 a year for five years from the Government, after which time he hoped the institutions would be virtually self-supporting. There was an immediate outcry in the Press that so much of the Colonists' money should be squandered on so unprofitable a scheme, and to judge from the Governor's slowness in relaying the scheme to Whitehall and the niggardly expenditure he sanctioned for such purposes at a later date, he did not regard it with favour. The Bishop eventually attempted to establish one of the institutions he had planned for Natal on the Umkomaas River.[2] It was he who sent out Methuen and his party of missioners. But the work was never really established there, as we have already observed.

What Whitehall's wishes were in this respect is evident from a despatch from Newcastle to Pine in January 1854.[3] The Secretary of State refused to accept the estimates that year because only a little over £1,000 of the £8,000 collected from the hut tax was to be devoted to expenditure in the Native's interest. The Duke proposed that a sum in proportion to the importance of Native education, and to the taxes raised from the Natives, should be made to religious bodies, and that the money should be expended in the maintenance of schools combining mental and industrial instruction.

No sooner had Sir George Grey arrived as the new Governor of the Cape Colony in December 1854, than he outlined his policy in regard to Native affairs. He informed the Bishop of Cape Town, asserts the latter, in that very month, of his plan to expend £46,000 on an attempt to turn inveterate savage enemies into civilised friends. Christian civilization and not bullets was to be his answer to the harassing and wearisome wars on the Eastern Frontier. The Governor therefore called together representatives of various religious bodies and enquired whether they would be prepared to embark on educational and industrial work among the Natives on the Cape Colony's Eastern Frontier. He promised them his help.[4] Again in his speech from the throne at the opening of his first parliament, he described his intention of encouraging the missionaries connected with industrial schools, in which Natives might be instructed and Christianised at the same time. He determined to establish hospitals and other charitable institutions among them, and to employ a number of natives on public works as a means of civilising them/...

1. (Historical Records of the Church of the Prov. of S.A. p.30 Gray to them)
2. (G.H. 3. No.8 : July 1853 - Despatch to Pine)
3. (G.H.4 No. 59 : Jan. 1854 - Newcastle to Pine)
4. (Hist. Records of Church of Province of South Africa.p252)

them. He expressed himself grateful "for the earnestness, zeal, and disinterested generosity with which they have already aided me to introduce this system." 1

Missionary work of this type was not unknown in Natal either. The mission established by Allison at Indaleni which so impressed Governor Pine, was a similar experiment in evangelism and civilisation. His native village was a conspicuous success, and successive Governors commented enthusiastically on his achievement at Edendale in their home despatches.

By the time the new Bishop of Natal began his missionary career, plans for great civilising and evangelising projects were not only 'in the air', but had already in some small measure come to earth. There could be little new in Colenso's own plans for missionary institutions in Natal.

Quite apart from what he observed by visiting mission stations which were already in operation in Natal, he had ample opportunity to evolve a plan of campaign by selecting the most valuable points in the various plans then proposed. He had met Stanger and Shepstone, both members of the 1846 Commission; he had made a tour of inspection of Edendale and had been impressed - as every one else who visited it seems to have been. Sir George Grey's plans were common knowledge. The plan outlined in "Ten Weeks", and which the Bishop attempted to apply at Ekukanyeni, seems to be a compromise between Bishop Gray's plan for institutions in the reserves, and that of Mr. Allison. It seems that, while accepting the Bishop Grey plan of the sort of institution that should be established with its priest, teacher, doctor, agricultural and industrial experts, and its farm which would help support the mission, he was forced by financial considerations to concentrate upon only one highly developed mission station to begin with. It was necessary to be in a position to supervise the establishment of this mission without losing contact with the European church; he determined therefore to start his Master Mission Station outside a native area and in close proximity to Maritzburg. It was in its location and the later attempt to found a model village for converts, that Ekukanyeni resembled Allison's Missionary Settlement. Edendale depended on the Maritzburg market and population to make it a paying proposition. The Bishop hoped that he too, would be able to train domestic servants for Maritzburg homes, and easily dispose of produce on the Maritzburg market. It was also his plan to establish Christian native families on the Mission farm, with decent homes, though there is no evidence that he ever intended, as Governor Pine had hoped, to transfer the land to the latter in freehold. There is no doubt however, that the Mission planned at Ekukanyeni was conceived on a larger scale than any of the stations proposed by the Metropolitan. The latter were to have been established at the cost of £1,000, and far more was required to establish Ekukanyeni. In the native areas the Bishop confined the efforts of the Church to smaller enterprises. It was evident that, certainly to begin with, he favoured a co-ordination of effort under his own supervision. He hoped that once Ekukanyeni was established, it would be a source of light and energy to the whole diocese, and that hence would flow the Catechists, teachers and industrial instructors to feed the institutions of the future, in the native reserves.

1. Witness: report from Governor's Gazette: Ap. 29, 1854)

The methods generally adopted in the colonies the Bishop disapproved of. He believed that scattered one-man missions were both uneconomical and less efficient and that too little could be attempted in the direction of educating and civilising the Africans. Apart from anything else, if the missions were to be widely spread, as those of the Americans were, they would be more difficult to supervise, and they would lack the encouragement of a community life, and be "without the power of mutual co-operation, and the strength and support of united action."

Thus with characteristic promptness, having culled all the evidence that seemed required, the Bishop made his decision as to the nature of the work he was to undertake. He chose to have the Mission and the Bishop's residence contiguous , and so placed that he could be daily in Maritzburg among his white flock. Being thus in daily touch with the Mission, sharing its labours, becoming acquainted with its people, learning their languages and customs, he could be an effective missionary Bishop and discharge "The special missionary work, with a view to which undoubtedly this Bishopric has been founded, better than he could do if the Mission were planted at a distance of 30 or 40 miles from Maritzburg." With his missionary team in which each would provoke the other to good works, he hoped to train natives in various trades, to teach them to cultivate the soil, learn the value of land, and acquire the habits of a civilised life. Plots of ground would be available for couples who conformed to the rules of life on the Mission. Domestic servants trained for service would be able to live on the Mission and leave their families there while they went to the city to work. Although he planned to have a hospital, as well as a school and chapel for his native village, and a hall as a community centre and an orphanage, he was content for the moment that the Mission should be within medical reach of the capital. Last but not least, a Theological College for both Africans and Europeans who were called to the ministry in Christ's Church, was to grow under the Bishop's care. All this was to be situated on a farm, which would not only supply the needs of the community, but be a means of instruction and on which the natives would learn from example.

It is evident that the Bishop envisaged his Mission as a civilising agency as well as a source of the Gospel light. Savages bending to their labour in fields, or learning to wield the heavy hammer in the smithy, would slowly imbibe the spirit of the Christian community within which they were being given a place. They would find themselves drawn into the Christian Church.

Grandiose schemes need money, and men capable of executing them. Having completed his reconnaissance and settled upon a plan of action, the Bishop returned to his base, to collect money, materials, and men. He occupied himself for a year in Britain with preparations. He published in diary form the account of his visit to his new diocese, to arouse interest in the country in which he had been commissioned to launch his missionary attack. Although the Society for the Propogation of the Gospel had promised annual grants to the new diocese of Natal when the original diocese of Cape Town was divided into three in 1853, and Colonial Bishoprics' Fund, with Bishop Blomfield as its originator,

continued/...

guaranteed an endowment of £10,000, Colenso realised that the initial expenses would be far greater than would be covered by the grants he had been promised. More money was essential. He enthused friends with his plans, and preached and spoke on the needs of the mission field, and was constantly at work writing appeals for help. He is found early in 1855 for example addressing a meeting of the Church of England Young Men's Association for aiding Missions at home and abroad, at Liverpool. He described to his hearers how necessary it was, if war was to be avoided, in a colony where 6,000 Europeans lived among 100,000 Natives, to develop civilising missions. He declared that the British Government had not done its duty in this respect, since of the £40,000 collected from the Natives in hut tax "in the way of return in promoting civilisation, Christianity, and Education, we had given back to them the miserable pittance of £50. per annum for the support of the Wesleyan school in the town of Pietermaritzburg." So he wrung the hearts of his hearers with the needs of the African, the iniquities of the Government, and the dangers in Natal, and wrung money from their purses.

His appeals were not unrewarded. He spent £500 on the trip to Natal, (which he declares was chiefly made with a view to raising funds), travelling in England, and the printing of appeals, and raised thereby the sum of £10,000 for the Mission. Apart from this, his friends raised £1,350 for the erection of an episcopal residence in Natal. Over and above this, the Bishop of Cape Town forwarded £4,400 to him, money donated for the new Natal diocese. The financial spring in Britain did not dry up when he left his home shores, and he continued to receive subscriptions. A legacy from a Miss Maurice added another £600, and proceeds from his published sermons £1500 - all of this was devoted to the mission work.

In his choice of assistants the Bishop seems not to have chosen unwisely. The two most prominent members of his Diocesan staff were men of outstanding ability. Dr. Calloway, a one time banker, and a doctor of medicine, he went out at the head of an advance party. Both his qualifications and temperament suited him for missionary work. After three years at Umkungwini on the Umvoti, he planted what became - and still is - the flourishing mission at Springvale, and finally ended his distinguished career as authority on Native languages and the first Bishop of the diocese of St.Johns (Transkei). Dr. Calloway, his wife, and two families which "we believe, are of the agricultural class - the hands being experienced English farmers" embarked on the 'Lady of the Lake' and arrived at Durban in December 1854.[1] The party at once joined the establishment of Robertson, who had taken up his abode in a tent at Umkungwini and assisted him with the spade work at Umkungwini.

What of the Bishop's second in command, the Rev. C.F. Mackenzie M.A. ? He was a Fellow and Tutor of Caius and Gonville College Cambridge, who had been led by the famous

missionary/...

(1. (Witness December 1854)
2. (illegible)

missionary Bishop Selwyn's course of sermons before the University, to devote his life to work in the mission field. (Bishop Selwyn had been a Missionary Bishop in New Zealand). Colenso had chosen him as Archdeacon of Maritzburg, but this able, indeed outstanding, man had not been five years in Natal before he was called to be the first Bishop of the Zambezi - a post which Livingstone had advocated and for which Bishop Gray saw the need. What were considered by the laity of Durban to be High Church tendencies involved him in difficultues there, but his sterling qualities were recognised by those who knew him best and were rewarded.

While the Bishop had been busy in Britain, two men who had originally belonged to the Methuen party had set to work to lay the foundations of his Mission. Robertson, now a deacon, and Balcomb, the farmer, at once began to stock the farm and to plant fruit trees; natives were employed to build cattle kraals, and the zealous deacon attempted to teach them and their brethren in Maritzburg. They started the building work, and before the Bishop took over the Mission in 1865, Callaway and Robertson had expended £1,116 on building. A four roomed cottage and sundry buildings awaited him. After the arrival of Dr. Callaway, a water course was constructed, a forge rigged up and further stock accumulated. And before Callaway relinquished his post as head of the Mission, he had spent the considerable sum of £870 on farming at Ekukanyeni. The work had begun. The Bishop's project was taking shape. The Light was beginning to shine in the Darkness.

At the end of a year the Bishop was satisfied that his resources were now sufficient to pay for the passages, and the equipment of his missionary party, and for the tools and instruments required. He had the capital he needed for farming and building. He therefore chartered a 250 ton vessel - "The Jane Maurice" - for the missionary party of clergy, teachers, mechanics and farmers and their families, and after assembling for a farewell service at Holy Trinity Church, Birkenhead, they embarked at Liverpool on March 7th.

All in all the Bishop's group numbered forty souls, and with more kindness than wisdom, he permitted six or seven other passengers to take ship in the tiny "Jane Maurice". There was in consequence a considerable amount of discomfort due to overcrowding, and some friction aboard the vessel as the result of having folk aboard who were not in sympathy with the missionary enterprise. The passengers were certainly a mixed bunch - the Bishop and his family, the Archdeacon and his energetic sister Alice, a priest, and a deacon, two students for Holy Orders, a linguist - Dr. Bleek - several lady workers, a farmer and his family, artisans and labourers for general employment at the Mission. It must have been a tedious and trying trip. Besides being too small for comfort, the vessel was badly provisioned, and overrun with rats. Heavy seas were encountered in the Bay of Biscay. After the passengers had recovered from these tossings, daily services became a feature of the life on board, and each morning the Bishop, who was writing a commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, prepared his flock for their work in the Mission field by a daily exposition from the epistle, especially emphasising its revelance for that work. It was this book which was to embody the doctrinal principles which underlay his approach to the evangelisation of the heathen, and which caused no little stir when it was eventually published. Nor was the Bishop

Incorrect/...

language neglected. There were daily classes of instruction, in which St. Matthew's gospel was translated.

After a voyage of 72 days, the Natal coast was sighted at last on May 19th, 1855. The first Sunday after the Feast of the Ascension found the 'Jane Maurice' in the roadstead outside Durban, and the mission party had a service of thanksgiving to Almighty God, who had brought them all without mishap to their destination.

The Bishop alone disembarked, to preach again in St. Paul's, which was now completed, apart from the unsightly calico covered windows. It was a very plain building, but it had the distinction of being the first Anglican Church to be finished in Natal.

On the next day the rest of the party landed. But the delights of the Royal Hotel and Mrs. Elliot's Temperance Boarding House - where the ladies were accommodated - did not long detain them in Durban. Those of the party who were bound for Ekukanyeni left the port in half a dozen hired waggons on their five day trip to the Capital where their advent, together with that of the President to be of the Free State Republic - M. J. Boshof, who was returning from a trip to the Old Colony, was heralded as the principal incident of the week.[1] The Reverend Mr. James Green and his two church wardens met the cavalcade some miles from the outskirts of the town, and the Hon. the Recorder presented the Bishop with an address.

That the arrival of the mission party was regarded in the colony as a matter of considerable significance, was not surprising. For the sixty persons comprising the Mission represented a considerable addition to the European population of the Colony. An official estimate put this at 7,629 in 1853.[2] And the editor of the Witness observed, in reviewing the general situation in Natal, "The failure of Byrne's scheme threw a dismal haze over our social prospects. The emigration from our Colony to Australia blackened this cloud of despondency. Since then the Bishop's party is the only grounds for the resuscitation of our Lopes, that Natal will be replenished within a reasonable time".[3] From the financial point of view too, the arrival of the Episcopal missionary team must have been a not unwelcome asset. At a rough estimate Bishop Colenso spent about £35,000 between 1853 - 1861.[4] The greater part of this was spent in the Colony on building, road making, cartage, stipends, printing, running expenses, and implements of various kinds. This is a considerable sum of money in view of the fact that the total government revenue for 1857 was £56,700.[5]

But if the arrival of the Bishop and his sixty stalwarts added a silver lining to the dark cloud of the Editor of the Witness's despair, and silver coin to the colonial revenue, and if the Anglican laity had "the fullest confidence that under the blessing of God, Your

Lordship's/...

1. (Witness Supplement June 1st 1855).
2. (Brit. Parl.Papers: Rets to Addresses: July 1854 . Vol. 1853)
3. (Witness, August, 1855 Ed.)
4. (Computed from Colenso's Ledger 1853-1861)
5. (Brit. Parl.Papers: 1857 Sess. Sess. to Lieutenant: Oct. 1857)

lordship's presence among us will be attended with great and happy results", there were others, and some very different, sentiments expressed. To some, the arrival of the "Church" itself in Intombini the happy presence, in an outlandish outpost of the Empire, of a cherished part of Old England. So Mr. Arthur Miller in moving the adoption of the address of the laity to the Bishop expatiated, with lyrical and nostalgic eloquence, on this joyous advent. He could picture again the village church spire at home, the mellow organ, and "I see the village parson and the village parishioners, so - " at shall I say - English."[1]
If the real reason for the Bishop's coming was not appreciated fully by colonists, it was certainly not approved by non-conformists, who had no love for the established Church in England, and were apprehensive of its activities in the Colonies. They did not welcome its intrusion, with the possibility of its old exclusiveness and arrogance. The comely declared that "of the Colonial Bishops, we have an opinion which does not allow us to rejoice in such an appointment or to offer congratulations to the appointed"[2].

The Bishop was likely to have only the very slightest support for his mission work from the colonists, and by no means unqualified support from the Colonial Government. The had a not very exalted opinion of missionaries, unless they strictly limited their activities to reforming the Government of the duty of educating the savage inhabitants of the colony. He had not even forwarded Bishop Grey's plan to the Colonial Secretary and Grey found the latter unapprised of his project on his arrival.

He approved of the excellent Mr. Allison, but for the rest their "purity and simplicity of character" which render them the best of teachers of Christianity, unfits them to cope with the subtlety of the savage". He protested strongly against the action of his predecessor in appointing two missionaries to the Kafir Commission.[3] His past experience had given that colonial Government schools were not very successful, and he advocated a the subsidies of existing missionary schools as more effective, and less expensive. [illegible] how little he was, in fact, willing to implement this policy was only too evident from a despatch of his successor, stating "Governor Grobler (sepcy) Keppel had introduced a bill for [illegible] the education of coloured youth in the district of Natal". The Governor said the circumstances were so unfavourable effectively on this task, and he observed, that while one third of the Colonial Revenue was raised by [illegible] - £9,000, and much more by indirect taxes paid by natives - the "whole of the expenditure of the country, including the pay of the clergy and native police, in addition to the establishments of the secretary to the Government for native affairs, costs no more than £5,000 per annum." [illegible] "Life is [illegible] and in contributed in any way to schools was coupled with the teaching of natives" [illegible] which line had been chosen also neglect of the native [illegible] education by [illegible], he had motion of education that the European community had also an [illegible] to the natives in the country, [illegible] close [illegible] aware [illegible] there were no natives who were civilized or educated to profit by education in a European school [illegible] their presence have been tolerated. [illegible] for [illegible] to make an honest attempt to provide facilities for native

[illegible]/...

1. (Witness February 17th, 1854)
2. (Witness, February 17th, 1854 - quoted in "Ecclesiastical")
3. (C.O. 879: No. not [illegible] 1854 - [illegible] to Grey.
4. (C.O.879: No. 5; May [illegible] to Labouchere)
5. (C.O.879: Jan. 1856 No.4: Cooper to Labouchere)

education, and his bill proposed that a sum not exceeding one fifteenth of the revenue should be applied to this purpose. (i.e. about £2,000 at that time).

In spite of Pine's shirking of the responsibility for native education and civilisation, he held wise views about the valuable results of granting freehold properties to the natives. This, together with industrial training he held would produce the best results in civilising savages. Thus would they be taught to be responsible and skilled land owners. He appears to have done little to implement this, however, apart from sanctioning the grant of land in freehold to a handful of natives near Aldin Grouts Station.[1] Pine's views on Native Affairs and missionaries were very close to those of the Colonists themselves in many respects. - He proposed that any assistance to missionaries should be conditional on their not meddling in any way with the civil government of the natives, and he concurred with the opinion of the 1852 Commission that "the exertions of the missionaries in this district, have not been attended with success". - His estimate of the native character was, like that of the Colonists, that he was a base creature, and he held that falsehood was the diplomacy of the savage.[2] On the other hand, however, he testified generously to the fact that the missionaries in Natal had on the whole abstained from interference in Natal governmental affairs. If he neglected native education on the one hand, strangely enough on the other he encouraged the learning of the Zulu language by appointing a commission composed of the best Zulu scholars, for the purpose of compiling a Grammar and a Dictionary, and he promised pecuniary aid for the completion of the project.[3] It was not to be expected that Colenso who invariably looked for what was good in the African and his institutions, and tried to cultivate it - would have much in common with the Governor; their race attitudes were too different for that. There is no doubt that they were not the best of friends, for Colenso was very distressed to learn of his reappointment to the office of Governor, and expressed himself vigorously in this strain in letters to the editor of the Colonist, and to Dean Stanley. This estrangement may have been partly attributable to Pine's alleged enormities in the West Indies.[4]

It was clear that the Bishop could not look for any real sympathy and active support, of the sort that he was to receive from Sir George Grey, from the Natal Governor. Nor did he expect to be likely to fare much better with Pine's successor. As far as the mission work was concerned, "the change of Mr. Pine for Mr. Scott" he thought "is the old story of King Stork and King Log".[5] There was, according to the Bishop, no great cordiality on the new Governor's part towards the Church of Maritzburg Mission - though Scott reported well of the work undertaken by the Bishop in his despatch to the Secretary of State.[6] The Bishop on his side, felt that the assistance he received from the Government for Umkanyeni was out of all proportion meagre, considering the progress of

the/...

1. (C.O.271: No. 47 : Sept. 13 1852 - Pine to Newcastle)
2. (C.O. 271: No.58: Sept. 1854 - Pine to Grey)
3. (C.O.271 No. 45: March 1851 - Pine to Newcastle)
4. (Col: C.Colenso to Sanderson 1875)
5. (Colenso to Allnutt - June 1853 - Ker. P.10[illegible])
6. (C.O.273: No.55 : July 1853 : Scott to Stanley)

the Mission, and the number of souls he was supporting there. He had hoped for a grant of £700 and also £300 per annum. He only got the latter and felt that that was only because of the good offices of his friend Shepstone.[1] To judge from the way in which Scott administered the Native Reserve fund, however, he was in no way antagonistic towards the Bishop and the Missions of his clergy, and the money seems to have been wisely and sympathetically administered.[2] The Governor adopted the system of allocating grants to individual members and not to denominations, and Church of England missionaries seem to have had a fair share of the money set aside for educational purposes. Dr. Callaway[3] was receiving £200 per annum, St. Mary's night school in the city £50, and the Bishop another £120 for three years for appentices placed in Maritzburg. In 1858 Umlazi Mission was receiving £50 and an additional grant of £20. to complete arrangements for the introduction of cotton on the Reserve.[4] Over and above this, Scott was endeavouring to improve agricultural methods among the natives by a supply of ploughs to responsible natives, and by the appointment of John Shepstone as a travelling instructor in the cultivation of cotton.[5.&6.] If anything, Missions of longer standing than the Anglican ones might have had cause for complaint. Allison's grant was only £200 in 1858 with sundry additions the next year, and no other individual station seems to have been in receipt of more than was expended by the Government at Ekukanyeni.[7.] Indeed the Bishop's hope that he would receive £1,000 in [8] 1858 can only be explained by an inability to appreciate what other people were achieving in the mission field, matched by a very healthy appreciation of his own achievements. That he should have received one fifth of the Native Reserve Fund, which was not only used for Mission and educational purposes but also for Native administration, would have meant starving other missionaries of funds. The Bishop seems even to have been a little jealous of Callaway's grant of £200, which he considered to be out of proportion to what the latter had to maintain. There appears to have been some grounds for the suspision that Colenso would receive more than his share of the £2000, which was set aside for Native Education by Cooper's ordinance "for promoting the education of Coloured youth in the district of Natal".[9.] There had been considerable sectarian feeling shown because Colenso's name had been connected with the ordinance and fears had been expressed that the Episcopal Mission would be favoured to the exclusion of others.[10.] He seems to have been inclined to allow the importance of the work he was doing to blind him to the efforts of other Shepherds of Christ's Flock.

(Colenso to Allnutt - June 1858 - Cox, P.169)
(G.H.272: No.113: Dec. 1858: Scott to Newcastle)
(G.H.272: No.10 : April 1859: Scott to Lytton)
(G.H.272: No.71 : Nov. 1859: Scott to Lytton)
(Op cit;)
(£79 spent at Zwartkops on the Government cotton scheme and £28. for supervision in 1858: £500 was spent on cotton culture in 1861 - c.f. O.E.Emmanuelson - "History of Native Education in Natal 1837 - 1937" Thesis for M.A.D.
(In 1858 of £1,660.16. 2. spent by the Government on Industrial Institutions £600 went to Anglican Institutions, £300 to Wesleyan Mission - £100 to Moravian Missions - from C.E. Emmanuelson's Thesis "History of Native Education in Natal 1837-1937, and verified from various sources).
(Colenso to Allnutt, June 1858 - Cox. P.169)
(G.H. 272: Jan. 1858 : No. 8 : Cooper to Labouchere)
(Witness Dec. 21st 1858 and Jan. 1859).

Between 1855 and 1858, Sir George Gray contributed £4,550 - no doubt from the Imperial Grant - towards various of Bishop Colenso's mission expenses[1]. Whitehall could generally be depended upon to recognise the importance of establishing Educational and Missionary work among the native peoples.

Newcastle had given instructions for the grant of land at Ekukanyeni, and he refused to sanction the Colonial estimates in 1854 because too little had been allocated for native purposes.[2] Had it not been for the Native Reserve Fund which was placed outside the control of the Legislative Council by the Charter in 1856, it is more than doubtful whether what financial support was accorded Colenso's efforts, and those of other missionaries, would have been so generous or so consistent.

There was no doubt that the Bishop had the valuable and staunch support of one of the Church Wardens of St. Peter's. Theopilus Shepstone, said his brother J.W.Shepstone, and the Bishop were "like brothers - always discussing affairs. My brother would wait for him after Church - walk home together - always dine with him on Sunday"[3]. It was a valuable friendship because it assured the Bishop of financial aid for his institutions, although they did not always fall within the limits of that type which was to benefit from the Native Reserve Fund.[4]

Shepstone was moreover generally acknowledged to have a vast knowledge of native customs and languages, which could not but be of great value to a missionary newly arrived in a strange country. There can be little room for doubt that Colenso's philological researches and his attitude to certain Native customs, must have been strongly influenced by the Colossus of Native Affairs in Natal.

The Diocese also had the limited support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and when the Diocese was founded, S.P.G. voted £500 towards it. Other grants were added till the Bishop was in receipt of £1,891 in 1859. In comparison with the Diocese of Grahamstown founded at the same time as the Natal Diocese, the latter was something of a Cinderella as far as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was concerned.[5] In 1853 Grahamstown was receiving £1,145 and by 1859 - £3,467. During the period 1850-61, that is, including the grant to Lethuen's party, the Natal Diocese was in receipt of £8,792 from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[6]

(Bishop's Account Book, 1855 - 62)
(Desp: No. 59 Jan. 1854 - Newcastle to Pine)
(Reminiscences of J.W.Shepstone, collected by and written down by Late James Stuart, 16th April 1913 - Campbell Lib.)
(Letter from the Secretary of Native Affairs to Colenso, May 23th, 1856 - Col. Col)
(Amounts received by Natal and Grahamstown.

	Natal.	Grahamstown.
1855 ...	£[illegible]	£1,145
1856 ...	£[illegible]	£1,533
1857 ...	£[illegible]	£2,692
1858 ...	£5,413	£6,345
1859 ...	£3,291	£3,467 - Figures from Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Records).

(S.P.G. Minutes of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1850-1860)

No missionary could ever be satisfied that his treasury was adequate for the work to which he had been called. To judge from the expenditure of the American missionaries in the Colony, Colenso's financial resources were considerable. It is true that he raised a great part of the money himself, but how invaluable the regular annual grants from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were, he realised when he was later without them.

It very soon became apparent that, in the tiny colony tucked away on an African shore, the Cambridge Don in lawn sleeves was not going to have it all his own way. The echo of address, official welcomes, state banquets, had barely died away when sounds of a different nature were heard from several quarters. What could safely be said away in Britain was dynamite in the Colonies. Copies of the Bishop's "Ten Weeks" visit to Natal had now appeared there. The Bishop's excursions into the fields of philology, anthropology, and his apparently authoritative conclusions after so brief a sojourn in the country, provoked an immediate outcry in the press. The Witness columnist on Native lore and language, wrote pointedly on the real meaning of the native words, Umkulunkulu and Umvelenqange. Dr. Faure took the Bishop to task for asserting, on the authority of the farmer Lotter with whom he had spent some time on his tour of the Klip River division, that the Dutch Reformed Church did not recognise the Apostle's Creed, for alleging that the Transvaal Boers kept slaves, and finally for asserting that the Episcopal Church was the truly Apostolic one. The Rev. W. Campbell sprang to the defence of Presbyterianism. "Presbyterian Bushman" castigated the Bishop in a sneering, vitriolic, letter, for his "assumed arrogant supremacy" where there was no established church. More effective was "Theophilus Thinker's sniping at the Bishop for his rapid decisions and immature judgments, in matters with which missionaries on the spot had been engaged for many years. Meanwhile, others saw the cloud of religious intolerance overshadowing the colony, when the Bishop who had been invited to be present at the dedication of the foundation stone of a Congregational Chapel, refused, frankly declaring that in his opinion such a building would not be conducive to the spiritual welfare of the Colony,[1].

There were, it seems, a few compensating features in the new Bishop's make up.

The very Protestant Society of Natal was gratified that he had clearly shown himself "in opposition to the narrow and arrogant views of the tractarian party", and that he had - despite the slightly tactless Congregationalist Chapel incident - shown a spirit of good will towards the missionaries of other denominations. He had even declared to the good Dr. Faure that though they might disagree about episcopacy, that "I desire heartily ... to embrace each brother man ... whom I have reason to believe a sincere and devout Christian .. as a fellow servant of Our Lord on earth, and a fellow heir of glory in heaven".[2]

1. (Witness July 15, 1853 - Quoted from the "Natal Commercial Advertiser".

2. (An astute salesman used the ecclesiastical prejudices and jealousies, and fanned their competitive spirit, by advertising his property as ideal for a mission settlement which was evidently so necessary "since the bold enterprise of the Bishop of the Episcopal Church has brought to light the smallness of the "talent" that has as yet been made on the mass of barbarism in this settlement." - Witness March 1853)

It is almost as though, in spite of polite addresses of welcome, the Bishop was in fact welcomed with catcalls and abuse from men predisposed by virtue of different traditions and outlook to disagree with him. He was met with disapproval from both left and right. Only a man of exceptional tact, it was clear from the outset would be able - in the Bishop's position - to avoid bickering and undignified squabbles. It was in this trying and unpleasant atmosphere that Colenso settled down to his life's work.

The mission at Umkumyeni appears to have been a well planned and well equipped one. The Bishop imported a considerable quantity of farm and school apparatus from Britain, and acquired livestock from the local market. In 1857 he imported £147 worth of ploughs and iron, and the next year 12 more ploughs and six cotton gins. He received, in 1856, £151 worth of "philosophical apparatus" for the institution, and at various times a corn mill, washing machine, lathe, chaff-cutter, harness, and, quaintly enough, an India rubber boat. The most costly of all the equipment was the printing press and accessories, which cost him £361.[1] For the time being, at least, the Bishop must have been immersed in planning and building and must have enjoyed the thrill of achievement.

Before the main mission party had embarked in their cockle shell of a ship, the building and farming operation had begun on the land granted by the Government. Farm and mission buildings to the value of £1,110. had been erected by Mr. Fulcomb, the builder. After the main mission party had lumbered up the, to them, strange road to Pietermaritzburg, and had settled in, farming and building efforts were redoubled. One by one Robertson, Callaway and Pearne were removed to other fields of labour, and the Bishop took over the reins himself. The work undertaken was considerable. In the two years, 1855 and 1856, missionary expenses, farming, and building costs were £3,341. The work went on steadily, in spite of a temporary set back in the way of a fire which destroyed half the farm buildings. By the time the Bishop returned to England in 1861, he had spent on farming, building and general mission expenses at Umkumyeni, £11,371.[1]

Long before the buildings were completed or even adequate, the work of teaching and evangelising was undertaken. It seems that at the time of the native revolt at Table Mountain, when Sir George Grey had visited the Colony in November 1855, he had promised to establish an institution among Ngoza's people.[2] Ngoza was a petty chieftain living near Table Mountain, one of Shepstone's 'appointed' chiefs, who had expressed his willingness to follow the diplomatic agent to his proposed home state beyond the Umzimkulu. The Bishop had fully intended establishing a mission among the people under Ngoza's authority, a tribal oasis of white people slowly leaven the lump without violently alienating the tribal organism. Together, with two catechists, an agricultural instructor and a carpenter he would go to the tribe on the banks of the Umgeni and the heathen would be called around as in the better cultivation of their land, which the Bishop wished him

1. (Colenso's Ledger 1853-62
2. (Letter to "The Natal Mail" - July 1855 - Colenso.)

they might eventually lose unless they made full use of it. He calculated optimistically that within ten or twelve years they would be able so to raise the character of the Native population that they might be recognised as "industrious and improving" tillers of the soil, and he looked forward to the day when natives would occupy the land there in freehold.

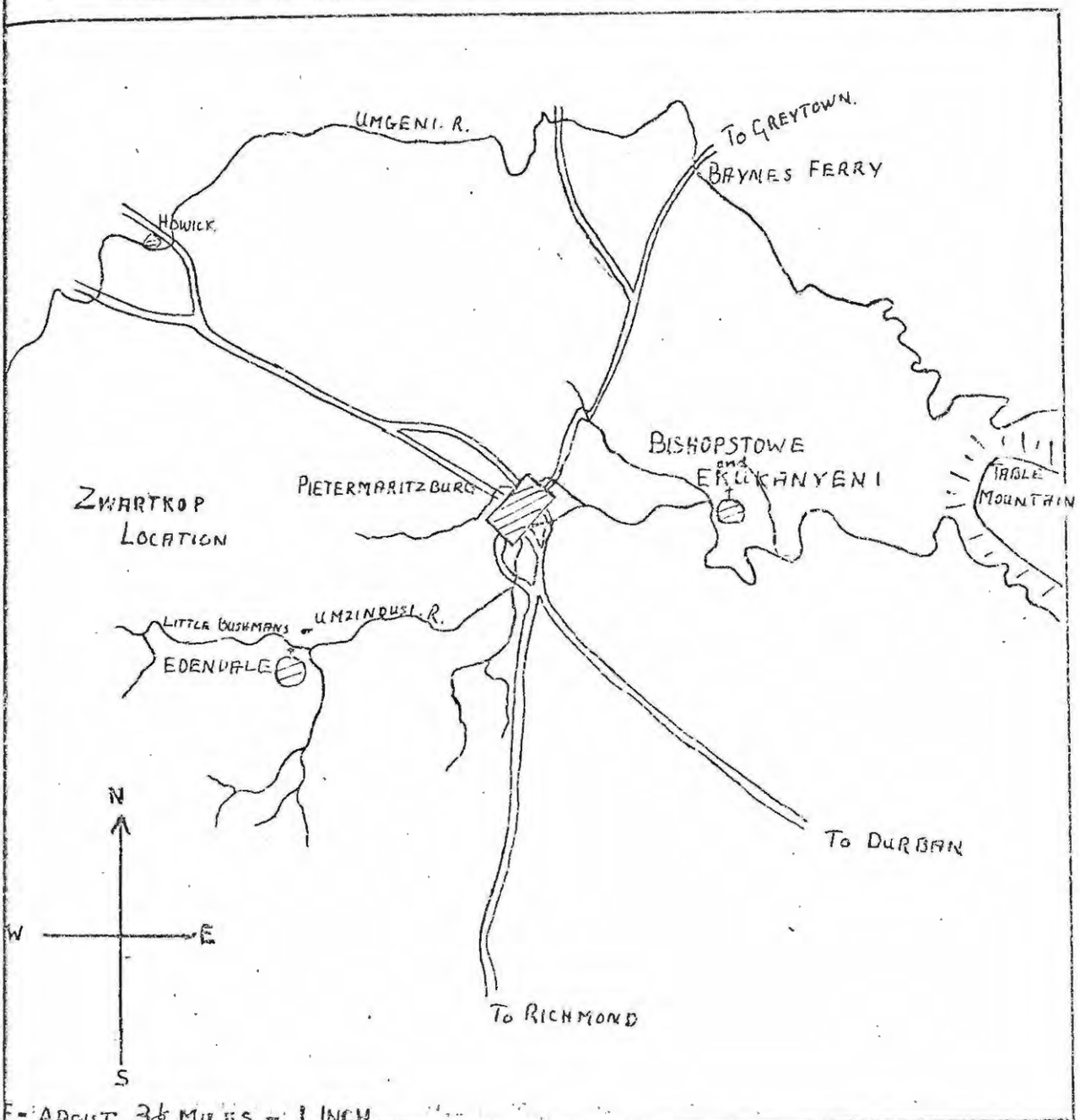
He had planned himself, to plant the Mission and nurture it for the first months of its life. He found, however, on a closer examination of the terrain, that the country was far too broken and bushy for effective development and he abandoned the project in favour of another which Shepstone appears to have suggested.[1] So he decided to embark on the plan which "would eventually be of far greater importance both to Ngoza himself and to the Colony."[2] Together they entered upon a scheme very like that of Sir George Grey and the Bishop of Cape Town, who coaxed 30 sons of chiefs from their kraals on the Eastern frontier, to Zonnebloem at Cape Town. There they were to be educated, and then returned as the educators of their people.[3]

Shepstone sounded the Chiefs and principal men of the district and urged them to send their sons to the school that was to be established for them at Ekukanyeni. He "gave it out among the natives that Colenso was a Great Missionary of the Church, and gave him the name of Uyise wa bantu - u Sobantu"[4]. There were long and earnest debates among the tribesmen. Ngoza and Zatshuke after discussing the matter with their headmen, declared their intention of sending at least their own sons to be illuminated at Ekukanyeni. The fears and prejudices of the natives, who were even apprehensive lest their sons should be whisked off to England, induced them to hold their hand for some time longer. As day after day passed it looked as though their fears had got the better of them and laymen and missionaries alike pronounced the whole scheme a failure. Nothing like it had happened before among the tribes in South Africa .. Ngoza and Zatshuke had lied and deceived as usual.

In the end Shepstone's "mild but powerful influence on the native mind" prevailed, and at last on February 1st, 1856, in the presence of Shepstone, nineteen boys were formally handed over to the Bishop for five years. All the boys' families gathered at the Mission, and there was a prolonged indaba. After the indunas had delivered themselves of their eloquent best, the boys were received, washed at once, and clothed in dresses and flannel petticoats! Most of the boys were of the 8 - 12 age group. Thus did what the Bishop was pleased to call his Native Harrow have its beginnings. The Rev. W. Fearne was summoned from his Richmond parish to act as Chaplain to the school, and the Bishop arranged for the assistance of two catechists. There were now scholars and teachers, but no school buildings. The nineteen recruits were crammed into one room, which had later to be enlarged to become the Mission Kitchen, and as soon as the chapel had been completed they were moved into it lock, stock and barrel. By 1857 there were 24 boys eating, sleeping, studying and praying in the Mission chapel.

1. (Witness Feb. 1856 and "The Mission Field" 1856)
2. (Natal Journal 1857)
3. (Rts. Records Church of the Province of South Africa. P.[illegible])
4. (J.W. Shepstone's Reminiscences)

MAP to show POSITION of the EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE & MISSION



E - ABOUT 3½ MILES = 1 INCH

What would have met the eye of a visitor to the Episcopal institution in 1859-60? The chief mission of the Church of England was situated some 30 to 40 minutes ride from the capital, out beyond the commonage, in an easterly direction. As one approached over a crest of a hill that hid the mission from view, the first object to strike the eye would have been a white cross on the chapel roof. The latter which shone fittingly, like a light in the sun, was a temporary wooden structure, with a gothic porch and thatched roof, and the walls were painted white. Then the mission house with its two gabled ends would have come into view. Following the pathway down the slope one would have passed one of the European farmer's cottages and its 40 acres fenced off, before approaching the stone built mill over a substantial causeway. This served the double function of a bridge and as the dam wall for the mill pond. Not far from the mill might have been found the shed, where the brickmaking machine was housed. One might have observed also several native dwellings of the better sort on various parts of the farm, with upright walls following the European pattern.1

At the mission itself one would have found the boys, now 42 in number, reading under the supervision of Archdeacon Grubbe or Miss Alice Mackenzie, or learning drawing with Mrs. Colenso. If it had been out of school hours they might have been employed in the fields, or would have been learning to use the printing machine.

By now there was not only a boys' school, but a dozen girls were being instructed in needle-work and other useful arts, by Miss Baker. Beside these several European girls from the city were living at Bishopstowe and being instructed along with the Colenso children, by the mission staff.

To judge from Miss Mackenzie's time table and her account of missionary activities, Ekukanyeni was a veritable hive of industry. At the centre of it the Bishop stood out as the director and master mind, relied upon by all and revered by his staff. Of the Bishop's hard work and application, there can hardly be any doubt. He seldom left his study and his writing, when he was at the Mission. It would have been difficult not to have had one's heart warmed by his missionary zeal. He appeared to one of his staff as "a strong clever man and yet gentle and courteous to every one, all the time holding the reins firm in his own hands ... able to give anyone a check at any time his quick clever eye sees occasion."2. To the Bishop's zeal, resolution and perseverance Lewis Grout the Independent Missionary also bears record, and this in a situation not altogether devoid of difficulties.

But for the missionary far surpassing the pleasure of achievement in construction of building and farming the soil, or even instructing youth in the three Rs, is the baptism of converts.

1. (Witness August 1860, Natal Journal 1857).
2. (Alice Mackenzie - letters)

At Ekukanyeni the two first converts were domestic servants. One, Ujojo, was baptised on Easter Day 1857, soon to be followed by his companion Umkhashi. They were both confirmed on the following Whit Sunday, and were followed soon after by another of the Bishop's employees. In 1857 the first of the boys to ask for baptism , Undiane - son of Chief Zatshuke - and Umgekela were received into the Church after their parents' permission had been given. By 1858 another of the boys had been baptised, and two of the girls were being prepared for the rite.[1]

A distinct settlement was established for the Bishop's converts, "that they may at once engage in labour and obtain an independent position, such as may induce a suitable degree of self respect and self dependence."[2]. Fifty or sixty acres were already by 1858 brought under cultivation in this way.

About this time the Bishop made the acquaintance of a character who was to play a considerable part in his affairs. When he first settled at Bishopstowe he brought with him one of Robertson's converts, Umbate, as a personal servant and in order to have an intelligent African near at hand, who could be questioned on the finer points of the Zulu language. Umbate pined for Umlazi however, and the Bishop felt bound to let him go. The Bishop replaced him with one William Ngide, who was at that time employed as a wagon driver on the Mission. He had been trained by "an excellent American missionary, Mr. Marsh"[3]. The Bishop found in him a Zulu of great intelligence with a thirst for knowledge and one who was himself interested in the niceties of the Zulu language. He was an invaluable help to the Bishop in his work of translation and was soon able to help him with the printing too. He seems to have been of quite outstanding ability and integrity[4]. William became a catechist, and accompanied the Bishop on his Diocesan visitations. It was he who set alight the train of thought that led the Bishop to his researches on the Pentateuch. William was the famous "intelligent Zulu", who 'converted' a Bishop.

An incident which was to have some slight political significance was the giving of asylum to Mehlungo, the brother of Umbulazi, who had lost an inheritance and his life in a bloody battle with Cetywayo, now asserting his superiority in Zululand. After the battle of the Princes

1. (The Mission Field. Sept. 1857 and 1858)
2. (S.P.G.Report. 1856)
3. (The Mission Field - July 1857)
4. (Literal translation by the Bishop of Hymn in Zulu by William - quoted in Mission Field 1860 - there were 6 stanzas - here is the first.

   My Brethren let our weapons
   Our warlike weapons all
   Be beaten into ploughshares
   Wherewith to till the soil;
   Our shields, our assegais of battle,
   For pruning-hooks they serve;
   And Peace, both North and Southward,
   Be shouted loud around.)

in 1856 Umkungo, who was considered to be a rival to the throne, escaped, together with a bodyguard of Indunas sent by Panda to accompany him and to take the boy to the "Great House". On crossing into Northern Natal the party was intercepted, according to the Bishop, by a Boer farmer, who in turn handed the boy on to one Hans Stein, a neighbouring farmer. Their purpose , so the Bishop thought, was to use him as an excuse for fishing in troubled waters in Zululand later, or simply to enslave him. The Bishop was convinced of the fact that the Boers in the Transvaal, and even Northern Natal kept slaves, and on several occasions declared this to be his belief. The nearest magistrate, hearing of the presence of the refugee boy, sent police to demand him from Stein, and he was finally handed over by the Government to Colenso, to be cared for and educated at Ekukanyeni. He found him an intelligent, sturdy lad.[1] There were those who also thought that Colenso intended to use the boy to further the ends of the Faith in Zululand. Both Bishop Gray and his brother-in-law Charles[2] were afraid that this might be the case, but the Bishop assured them that it was not so. His relations with Zululand, both then and later, amply proved that their fears were groundless, but the suspicions of the Cetewayo faction were difficult to allay and was one of the reasons that convinced the Bishop that the time was not ripe to establish a Bishopric at the Royal Kraal.

Quite apart from the initial labour involved in establishing a mission of this nature, and the administrative work involved in the running of the entire diocese, Colenso had to contend with the fire of 1858 and the loss of two thirds of his 150 cattle from Lung Sickness in 1857. To add to his difficulties on the spot, the Bishop found the S.P.G. at times uncooperative. The support "The Incapables of Pall Mall"[3] were willing to give him he felt to be totally inadequate for his needs. He was getting much less than the neighbouring Grahamstown diocese was getting, and he remarks that among 70,000 natives in New Zealand the S.P.G. was spending £11,000 per annum, while he was allotted a miserable £1,500 in a diocese in which were living 120,000 savages.[4] With the money he was receiving he was in a position to run only four stations, when he needed money for 10 at least. However trying it must have been to have felt that he was not getting the assistance that he might have been given, and although the S.P.G. showed an astonishing and irksome lack of faith in the Bishops of the Church in the conditions on which grants were made, their grants were indispensable. After his excommunication he complained bitterly at being denied this source of income. Apart from the amount granted, the S.P.G. system of supporting an imported missionary for three years only was, he felt, absurd, since it took a man all that time to be trained for work in the mission field.[5]

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1. (The Mission Field - Feb. 1858)
2. (Colenso to Charles Kenyon - Nov. 1859 - Col. C.)
3. (Colenso to Allnutt: April 1st 1858 - Cor. P.95)
4. (Colenso to Allnutt. July 7th 1857 - Cor. P.93)
5. (Colenso to Allnutt. Jan. 15th 1857 - Cor. P.94)

Added to all this his inability to procure a satisfactory farm overseer necessitated constant changes in the farm management.

The Bishop permitted himself to entertain great hopes for the future of the school. The experiment was of considerable importance for the future. He was prepared to take 50 boys at the moment, but looked forward to the time when there would be 500. It was his deliberate policy to concentrate on his "Kaffir Harrow" at first rather than upon his industrial institutions.[1].

If, however, the Bishop had aimed at establishing an institution on the lines of Bishop Gray's with its preacher, teacher and healer, he seems to have succeeded only in part. He was never able to establish a hospital on the Mission, though it is true the Bishop took care to have a physician close at hand and took steps himself to acquire a knowledge of Medicine. There was first Dr. Calloway on the Mission (and later in Maritzburg till he moved away to his new Mission at Springvale) and then Dr. Mann, who was brought out by the Bishop to Maritzburg. He became a well-known figure in the colony as the first inspector of schools and president of the library in the capital.

But there is no doubt that the Bishop believed in the value of industrial training for the Africans. It was his avowed policy to teach them to farm properly, to grow cotton, coffee, sugar, oil-flax, hemp, and indigo, and to induce the men to labour instead of relying on their numerous wives. They must be convinced of the advantages to be gained from soil cultivation, as opposed to a reliance on cattle. He believed that this would not only increase their wealth but also help to do away with the lobola system and polygamy. With this end in view he actually experimented with Sea Island Cotton, but found that this most delicate species could not stand the cold. He also experimented with an indigenous plant, sesamum indicum, with a view to its use as an oil-producer, but results did not encourage the Bishop to continue the experiment. Meanwhile the farm carried the usual crops of potatoes, mealies and forage. There was assuredly a measure of industrial training at Kilkenyeni.[2]. Apart from farmwork there were opportunities for the boys to work in the smithy, carpenter's shop and brick shed, when they had been thoroughly grounded in their schoolwork, and they did, in fact, plant trees on the Mission.[3]. The Bishop was not averse to brandishing the birch when boys jibbed at their farm work,[4]. or to demonstrating the dignity of labour to a superior Catechist by himself removing his jacket and laying bricks[5]. He could certainly claim that a measure of practical training was given to his Mission natives. By 1862 he had four good printers, four youthful carpenters and eight or ten agriculturalists. John Shepstone, who did not hold the Bishop in very high esteem, disliked

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1. (Witness Report of the Bishop of Natal's Report to the General quarterly meeting of the Society for Promotion of Christian Missions at Cape Town - Sir George Grey in the Chair. - culled from Ecclesiastical Gazettes, June 4th, 1856).
2. (G.H. 8/1 Dec. 1862: Scott to Grey).
3. (Natal Journal 1857)
4. (Alice Memorials Letters).
5. (Letter Mrs. Colenso, [illegible] - Ven. p.79)

the work at Ekukanyeni with the assertion "they learnt to play the piano and organs and subsequently went back to their kraals and never did any good." [1] In view of the Bishop's scheme and the Government's grant for his 10 apprentices in Maritzburg, it is evident that this is an unfair estimate of the work Colenso embarked upon, but it may be in some measure justified by the fact that the work at Ekukanyeni virtually came to an end in 1861 and must have left most of the boys to confront the heathenism of their forebears at too early an age. There is no record of any instructors for other Church missions having been produced by the Bishop's Mission but that 1861 virtually ended the Mission School, was an accident of history which could not have been foreseen.

Ekukanyeni, however, never seems to have quite reached the status of an industrial institution. The avowed intention of using the mission to civilise future key men, by educating the sons of chiefs and headmen to teach their people, altered the nature of the institution as he had first conceived it. Certainly the Government did not regard Ekukanyeni as a real industrial institution of the type which it was its policy to support. The Governor sanctioned a grant from the Native Reserve Fund, of £300, because although the Lt. Governor as a rule, exacts thorough industrial training in every establishment for the education of native youth to which a Government allowance is made, he considers that an institution such as the one at Bishopstowe, under the immediate supervision of your Lordship, need be so only to a certain extent, trusting as he does, that it may prove the training school for teachers of a class capable of being so useful in new institutions." [2] It is evident that the Governor thought highly of Colenso's ability and of his achievement, although Lewis Grout, who visited the station in June 1859, was of the opinion that the Bishop had found the work more difficult than he had supposed, and that he could only be said to have begun to put into operation his plan. [4]

The Mission work was not entirely centred in Ekukanyeni. Though the Bishop was chiefly engrossed in his enterprise at Bishopstowe, he had plans for the extension of the Church's Mission work in detail.

He had sent the Reverend J. Robertson and his wife to plant a Mission Station on the banks of the Umlazi River. There the Government had generously granted 500 morgen to the Mission and the 3,000 morgen around it might be granted in small freehold plots to such natives as the Missionary should recommend. The Bishop intended that an industrial school should be started here. Robertson was at the time a most valuable missionary for he was one of the few Europeans who had mastered the Native language. [5] When the Bishop visited the station on his 1857 visitation a school chapel had been built. There were already several converts for him to confirm and an elementary school had

1. (J. Shepstone's Reminiscences)
2. (Lieut. Gov. for Native Affairs to Colenso 4 Sept 18, 1855. Col. O)
3. (C.O. 179: No.18: Only 1855 Reports to Natal)
4. (Grout: Zululand, p.250)
5. (Mission Field, July 1857)

been started.[1] The next year an outstation was established at Enwabi and Robertson was not slow to introduce to the Natives around the station the cultivation of cotton.[2] When, after three years' spadework at the Umlazi Mission, his Ordinary required his experience for the establishment of a new outpost of Christianity in the heart of Zululand, Robertson left Umlazi, and Archdeacon Grubbe became the Missioner there.

In Maritzburg, Callaway had established a flourishing night-school for Africans at St. Andrew's Church, before he embarked on his project at Springvale. It was not long before he found himself in disagreement with the Bishop both as to the best locality for the Easter Mission of the Diocese, and also about certain features of his Zulu translations. Disgusted by what he felt was the Bishop's mismanagement of affairs[3], Callaway struck out on his own and established beyond the Umkomaas River what soon became a flourishing Mission, in a territory thickly populated and some distance from European settlement. The Bishop seems to have had nothing to do with the establishment of this station and Dr. Callway became financially independent of him in 1858. Though the 2,000 acres had been procured by Dr. Callaway himself from the Government, the Bishop as Ordinary must ultimately have been responsible for the spiritual welfare of the growing Christian Community there. It grew very rapidly to 80 native Christians by 1860, and the work of education and translation of the scriptures went on apace.[4]

Work in Maritzburg was not altogether abandoned on Callaway's departure. Native work was concentrated at St. Mary's, where a night-school was run with Government assistance. Nor was this all, for the Bishop apprenticed ten of the boys from his institution with master tradesmen and artisans in town, in order to complete their industrial training. They lived with a clergyman in town who carried on their schooling at night. The Government provided its assistance for three years at £120. per annum for this very valuable and sensible undertaking.[5]

Work of a similar nature to that being undertaken by Baugh at St. Mary's was being carried on at Ladismith by the zealous Deacon, Mr. Parker. He visited neighbouring kraals as well as attending to the needs of Europeans, and had a school of 90 catechumens. Lack of money seriously hampered his efforts and it seems to have been discontinued when he left Ladismith in 1861.

During his visitation of 1857, when the Bishop visited the scattered anglican families and communities along the North and South coasts, he was much impressed by the need for a Mission Station somewhere near the banks of the Tugela River. At Umhlali he had seen the numerous

1. (The Mission Field. Jan. 1857.)
2. (G.H.572: No.71: Nov. 1856 : Secks to Lytton)
3. (Benham - Life of Callaway. P.56)
4. (The Mission Field - Nov. 1860)
5. (G.H.572: No.118: Dec. 1858: Scott to Newcastle)

refugees who were constantly escaping from Zululand over the Tugela and he decided without more ado to start a station on the banks of the Nonoti River, which, it seemed to him, would be a strategic point and where refugees could easily be cared for and absorbed into the Church.[1] There is no record of this station ever having been established and it is more than likely that what little money the Bishop had in hand was diverted to the establishment of his Zulu Mission.

Before the Bishop returned to England in 1861 he and his clergy had together established the three Mission Stations of Ekukanyeni, Umlazi, and Springvale, and Mission schools were established in Maritzburg and Ladiesmith. In addition the Rev. Tonnesen was sent from Ekukanyeni to begin work among the Umzini tribe on the Bluff, shortly before the Bishop's departure.[2]

The "Kafir Harrow", which had been started with so many high hopes and which had shown healthy signs of growth, was brought to an abrupt end in 1861.

Soon after his journey to Capetown for the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie for the Zambezi Mission, it became clear to Colenso that his approach to the books of the Pentateuch had been revolutionised and was clearly abhorrent to the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Grahamstown, and would be opposed by many of the orthodox. He was aware too that his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans had seriously disturbed the minds of his brethren. There were bound to be serious repercussions. He therefore considered it would be expedient to return to England, whence Grey had preceded him, to face the music, and he made plans accordingly. That he thought he might have to resign his See and might be leaving the scene of his labours for ever, is suggested by his having booked a passage for his entire family on a ship leaving Natal in March or April 1862.

Coinciding with his decision to return to England, there occurred an incident which sealed the fate of his school. The "Zulu Panic" of 1861 so alarmed the Governor that he advised the Bishop to take refuge in the Capital with his family, as it was thought that one of the objects of the impending attack was to murder Umkungo. Bishopstowe was therefore considered to be a special point of danger. In the ensuing panic all the boys scattered to their homes. It would have been possible to have recovered them through Mr. Shopstone's good offices, but in view of the ill health of the only remaining master and the fact that the Bishop had no other teachers for the young women of his household and Miss Mackenzie were also leaving the Colony, - this course was not pursued. The Mission, bereft of its director, and finally abandoned by Grubbe who was appointed to supervise it in the Bishop's absence, was a mission only in name. It is difficult to understand how Colenso could have allowed the fruit of his labour there to slip through nerveless fingers. Whatever his own future, he should have secured the future of the Diocesan Missions, on the establishment of which he had worked so hard and had spent so much money. It was as though a new passion had seized him - a new purpose impelled him.

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1. (The Mission Field, Feb. and March 1857)
2. (S.P.G.Report - 1860)

He abandoned Ekukanyeni for the new light of Biblical Criticism. Only because he had found a new love, surely, could he have left the Mission with merely a pious and ineffectual observation. "Let us hope that the education which they have received will not be lost upon them in after-life." ( )

In this dramatic way was the light suddenly snuffed out at the Place of Light - snuffed by the baleful effects of religious controversy and threats of heathen darkness and violence from beyond the Tugela.

1. (Colenso to Allnutt - September 1861. P.127. Cox)

Chapter III.

Words and Deeds.

CHAPTER III.

Like every other missionary, Bishop Colenso was obliged to acquaint himself with the language of the people to whom he was commissioned to preach the Gospel. He applied himself to this task with zeal, and lost no time in attempting to master the Zulu tongue. Already on his first voyage to his diocese he had worked through an elementary grammar three times. He was fortunate enough to have on board an Eastern province colonist who assisted his linguistic studies, so that before he landed he could "enter somewhat into the mysteries of the language, and translate without much difficulty".[1] On his journey to northern Natal with Shepstone he improved his Zulu by reading the American Missionaries' translation of St. Matthews' Gospel when ever he had time on his hands - when the horses needed a rest, or the wagon was outspanned.

That he was fully aware of the importance of forging a linguistic link for the transmission of civilization and Christianity, is evident from the immediate plan to import a printing press for Ekukanyeni, and from his attempt at once to introduce his missionary party to the native language, which he did during the voyage of the Jane Maurice. Nor was he slow to produce his first printed works in Zulu. Little more than three months after his arrival in the Colony there appeared advertisements for "A Kafir-English dictionary as spoken by the tribes of the Colony of Natal", an "Elementary Grammar in the Zulu Kafir language" and "The Gospel of St. Matthew in the Zulu Kafir language". The latter was a revision of the American Missionaries' earlier translation. So this "very zealous, bustling man", as one of his Presbyterian brethren called him, believing, as he did, that the missionaries who had gone before, had "done very little indeed towards laying down the language for other teachers, or preparing books for the use of the natives"[2], rolled up his sleeves, and got down to the spadework himself. He was soon able to assure himself that the Church of England in Natal was far in advance of other missionary churches in this respect, and he was satisfied that a sound linguistic bridge was being thrown across, whereby Christ's soldiers might cross to the conquest of the heathen multitudes.

What the Bishop achieved in this field in the first seven years of his work in the mission field is astonishing, and when one considers the time also required for the establishment of a new mission station, and the administration of a diocese, this achievement is the more remarkable. Certainly, he far outstripped the missionaries of other denominations in quantity, and there is no suggestion that his work was shoddy or imperfectly done.[3]

1. (Colenso to his wife from boardship - 384 miles from CT - Jan. 16, 1854).
2. (Letter to Rev. F. Rose, Rector of Dunstable - July 4 1853. Cor. pp.)
3. (Jan.22 1855 Witness records :- Produced by American Board: Small spelling book. extracts from the Old Testament. Extracts from the New testament. Small hymn book (16 pages) and an enlarged edition (64 pages). Natal Arithmetic. Rules. St. Matthew's Gospel. Epistle to the Romans. St. Luke's Gospel. Several tracts. Morning Star (3 monthly numbers.)
Produced by Colenso: Gospel of St. Matthew's Gospel. Elementary Kafir Grammar, Dictionary (Zulu - English, and English - Zulu) four reading lessons. The Acts of the Apostles. Portions of the Gospels, or Life of Christ. Tract on the Sabbath. A second edition of the Acts. A spelling book. Enlarged edition of the grammar ready for the press.

By 1858 his production of works in Zulu had equalled those of the most influential missionary body in the Colony, and one which had been active in Natal for many years before his advent.

The Bishop was constantly employed at the task of sharpening his linguistic weapons. He often discussed Zulu words with William his interpreter, and with his fellow missionaries, and there is no doubt that much of his ability and self assurance in his linguistic enterprise must have been produced by his close friendship, during these years, with Theophilus Shepstone. He records that the latter revised the first edition of the translation of parts of the Prayer Book which he was printing in 1856.[1.] It is difficult to evaluate the assistance given him by William, but it must have been considerable. He accompanied the Bishop on his tours of visitation, and we find the two of them improvising a translation of the Confirmation Service for use at the Umlazi Mission in 1856. All the Bishop's biblical translations were sieved, so to speak, through the Native mind of his able catechist.

It is not easy to assess the quality of the Bishop's work as Zulu scholar and translator. When he arrived in the Colony, the Missionaries, Lonne, and Lewis Grout were considered to be in the first rank of Zulu scholars, and were commissioned by the Governor in 1856 to produce a Zulu Dictionary and Grammar.[2.] When the Commission was appointed, Bishop Colenso could hardly have been considered eligible for a seat on it as an expert in the Zulu language, but it is significant that the dictionary, on the production of which he worked during 1861 and 1862 was subsidised by the Government to the extent of £100.[3.] It is not likely that he would have received a Government grant, had he not been considered to be in the first rank of the Colony's Zulu scholars. It looks rather as though Lonne's work was not by that time considered to be adequate.

The Zulu orthography has altered considerably since these days so that the works of the pioneers is not of very great value today. The fact remains, however, that the work they did was invaluable at a time when it was most necessary, and represented an important stage in the committing of the language to writing. Certainly some missionaries still have a high opinion of Bishop Colenso's work, and the Bantu Church[4.] still uses his prayerbook translation and his hymnal.

The ground that he covered in this field was immense. When he left the colony to return to Britain after seven years in the mission field, years crowded with activity of every sort and description, he had translated the entire New Testament, and the Books of Genesis, Exodus and Samuel

1. (The Mission Fields: Jan. 1857)
2. (Witness Nov. 20, 1857, editorial. Commission consisted of Revs. Lonne, Lewis Grout, Posselt, R. A. Wilder, J. J. Davis. Note: It was only with the Rev. Grout that eventually made possible the publication of Lonne's Dictionary.)
3. (Financial Statement from the Bishop of Natal's Letter 1861-62.)
4. (The African body that remains outside the Church of the Province of S.A.)

in the Old Testament. He had published with Government aid a dictionary of 552 pages, various reading books, a Zulu liturgy, a tract on the decalogue, and readers in Geography, Geology, History, and Astronomy, apart from sundry grammars - a truly Herculean labour.

Bishop Colenso had become the target for disapproval almost from the first. He was sniped at for being at one and the same time a Tractarian and a Latitudinarian, for being a Bishop at all (a title which was to some synonymous with arrogance), and he had added this above all to his many shortcomings, that he plunged too zealously and too hastily into the philological questions of the day. He summarily discarded the conclusions of his forerunners in the mission field, felt it necessary to revise their translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, disputed the word they used to express Divinity, and finally, fell foul of missionary opinion on the vexed question of the baptism of polygamous converts.

From the first Colenso had disliked the word in use in the Colony to describe deity. The missionaries had imported the word UTixo, which was being used by the Cape missionaries, and was probably of Hottentot origin. Not only did the Bishop dislike the disagreeable click, but believing, as he did, that God has not left Himself without witness even among barbarian tribes, and that much of their manner of life was worthy of preservation, he considered it far more sensible to use the Zulu's own word, if he could find one. On his trip to Northern Natal with Shepstone, he had spent considerable time in an attempt to extract from the Zulus their concept, if any, of the nature of God, and he had soon come to the conclusion that either the word Umkulunkulu or Unvelangange should be used rather than UTixo, which was entirely foreign to them, and meaningless. He was convinced that, on occasion, the Zulu offered little intercessions to Umkulunkulu.

When he published the fruits of his researches in the 'Ten Weeks' he was strongly criticised. It was conceded that Umkulunkulu corresponded to Maximus, and Unvelangange to Primus, but it was maintained that these terms were always applied to human creatures. It was necessary, it was claimed, to introduce a new word without all the associations of Zulu words, or the natives would form a very low estimate of Christ and His Salvation. To represent Our Lord as the only begotten Son of Umkulunkulu, they said, was ridiculous.[1] The gravest danger would be incurred by linking up the Christian concept of God with Zulu crudities. One correspondent commented waggishly that "some of them (i.e. Natives) are surprised to find they have been under Divine instruction so long, and are much gratified with the rank they have attained."[2]

The Bishop stuck to his guns, however, as far as the use of UTixo was concerned. On the other hand, there was opposition among his own clergy to the use of Umkulunkulu. Dr. Callaway, who was later to be recognised as an authority on native language and customs, disagreed on the grounds that Umkulunkulu was a proper name, and did not

1. (Witness Aug. 1855).
2. (Witness Sept. 1855).

express the idea of Divinity. He advocated the use of Deus or God. He argued that to have used Umkulunkulu would have been as unwise as to have used Wodin or Jove centuries before.[1] Another authority on the Zulu language, the Norwegian Missionary Schreuder, in Zululand, where the Native's language and traditions had not yet been influenced by missionaries' views, invariably used Umkulunkulu as the Native word for God.[2] In fact a compromise seems to have been reached. It was decided to use U Dio in translations, but frequently to couple Umkulunkulu with it.[3]

Time has completely vindicated the Bishop in this respect. Throughout Natal and Zululand it is Umkulunkulu that is used by the Church of the Province of S.A. missionaries today. Uliku remains in use among the Xosa.

War was waged most fiercely over the thorny question of the missionaries' attitude to the baptism of Polygamists. The Bishop's views in this respect were constantly and violently assailed, by "any person who thinks he can connect two sentences of English, Dutch or Kaffir, or with the three make a heterogeneous compound, on any subject."[4]

The Bishop was immediately confronted with the issue on his first missionary journey with Shepstone. He discussed the matter with Pastor Posselt, a Lutheran Missionary, who had recently baptised a polygamist, and who was deeply impressed by the hardship entailed in enforcing monogamous marriage upon native converts, when they were already polygamists. The cry of the hapless maiden whose husband had been converted to the White man's religion, and who had been 'put away' in consequence 'You have not only taken my husband from me, but you have taken my child also', rang in his ears. He felt impelled to denounce enforced separations of this nature as "Quite unwarrantable, and opposed to the plain teaching of Scripture." [5]

Those who opposed him, claimed that this was opposed to the plain teaching of scripture, and charged the Bishop with watering down the truth, with crying 'Peace Peace, where there is no peace'. What, they demanded, would be the fate of the Christian faith if the Holy Law of God were accommodated in this way to the customs of the heathen? The Bishop maintained a dignified silence as far as the press was concerned, but he was not content to leave his views undefended. In October 1856 the press advertised the impending publication of a pamphlet on the vexed subject of polygamy from the pen of the Bishop, and predicted that it would create considerable comment. This prognostication was amply fulfilled. A minor pamphlet battle ensued.[7]

1. (Calloway: March 1856: Benham - Life of Calloway. P.55)
2. (The Mission Field Jan. 1857)
3. (The Mission Field, Jan. 1857)
4. (Witness Oct. 1856)
5. (Ten Weeks. P.140-
6. (Witness ..., 1856)
7. (Colenso's 'Remarks' 1856. Reply to Colenso's Remarks by ... Durban June 1856. Apology for toleration of polygamy in converts from Heathenism, by a Presb. Minister. 1856. Colenso's letter to the Rev. the Archd. Irlam of Pietermaritzburg 1.10 Polygamy - a term to understand to the Christian Convert. That Bishop of ... to answer to Colenso's 'Letter' on Polygamy - by an ... Missionary in answer to a Letter of ... Durban 1856.)

It might appear at first sight that the stand the Bishop made was dictated by a sentimental regard for the ill used wives of polygamous converts. In fact, both now and later he produced powerful and convincing reasons for his position, and found support for his views among a limited number of his own missionaries, and from Theophilus Shepstone. His policy in this respect followed naturally from his approach to the mission field and from certain of his theological presuppositions.

He pointed out that although Polygamy was forbidden directly by the spirit of Christianity, and indirectly by the letter of the New Testament, in the Old Testament eminently pious men, though they were Polygamists, had been singularly blessed of God. He maintained, and here he had the firm backing of Shepstone, that polygamous unions were lawful according to native law, and must be accepted as a contract as binding as any other, just as they had been among the Hebrews. He pointed out that the choice lay between two evils. Either one broke a lawful union, or one tolerated a controlled polygamy, naturally forbidding its increase. To the Bishop, the baptism of polygamists was the lesser of the two evils. He found support for his contention from the Epistles of St. Paul. The latter returned a runaway slave, Onesimus, to his owner, whom was not bidden to set him free, but to treat him well. Just as the Church did not refuse to recognise a man as a Christian then, who did not at once free his slaves, when the law recognised slavery, so polygamy should not absolutely prevent a man from becoming a Christian. The polygamous convert would be expected to behave in a Christian way towards his wives, just as the owner of slaves was expected to treat his slaves in a Christian way. A man must become a Christian, before he can become a better Christian.

The influential Warden of St. Peters, threw his weight into the scales on the Bishop's side. Shepstone pointed out that Missionaries had often misunderstood the nature of Native marriage customs, and that a Polygamous marriage was, in fact, a carefully balanced contract, signed by lobola, with duties and privileges involved. He deplored the suggestion that children should be bastardised by the putting away of wives. Such a policy could only set adrift women bereft of self respect, and would merely encourage licentiousness.[1] Indeed, with Shepstone at the helm of Native Affairs, the Natal Government found itself officially tolerating, even legalising, polygamous marriages.

Christians in Natal were very much divided on the issue, with the majority opposed to the Bishop's view. To the Metropolitan and the redoubtable Dean Green, his views on this matter were as horrible as his theological enormities. Bishop Armstrong, the first Bishop of Grahamstown, was inclined to agree with him on the polygamy question, according to Colenso. Canon Grubbe, who left Ekukanyeni to take over Umlazi mission, and the Rev. Robertson, were of one mind with the Bishop, but Dr. Calloway dissented strongly from his views of his Colleague. [2].

1. (Colenso's letter to the Archb. Bishop of Canterbury 1861)
2. (Calloway's pamphlet - 'Polygamy, a bar to admission into the Christian Church' written in reply to the Bishop's Letter to the Archbishop.)

Outside the fold of the Anglican Communion the Bishop found support in the line taken by the Superintendent of Lutheran Missions in Natal and Zululand, the Rev. Dr. Auguste Hardelard. To the American missionaries, however, plygamy was a detestable work of the devil, the product of lust, and the cause of tribal warfare and they reminded the Bishop of the vices of the heathen enumerated by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans.[1] Nor was the controversy confined to the clergy. Laity entered the lists and tilted for both sides.

It is clear that, on this issue, the Bishop was not merely a benevolent crank, as some have supposed. He championed a well argued cause, and he did not stand alone. It was one of those important issues on which sincere Christians differ from time to time, and Callaway confessed that 'there was clearly room for a difference of opinion as to what ought to be the conduct of the Church.'

Although the Church finally accepted Colenso's view in respect to the name for God, it has never officially accepted or approved his polygamy policy. Indeed, the attitude of the Church seems to have hardened further against his views. Not only may a Polygamous male not be baptised, (though a Guild for the instruction of polygamous converts is recommended till they can accept Christ) but wives may not be brought to baptism either, without the Bishop's consent.[2] In Colenso's time it was generally agreed that there was no bar to the Baptism of the wives of Polygamists. Colenso's views on the baptism of polygamous converts are not without their modern advocates. Mr. Denys. T.T.Shropshire C.R., D.Litt, D. Phil., a missionary of wide experience, especially among the tribes of Southern Africa, has exactly the same point of view as the Bishop's, and uses the same arguments. There is no reference, however to any of Colenso's works in his bibliography, so that they seem to have reached their conclusions independently. Like Colenso he declares "in village life --- the Church has a great opportunity of preserving the best traditional values of enhancing all the religious ceremonies - First fruits, harvest, pastoral, hunting - of the whole social life."[3].

The Missionaries were not the only body of people disturbed about polygamy among the Zulus. The legislative Council was itself sufficiently concerned to have appointed a commission under the able chairmanship of Bergtheil in June 1861, for the purpose of collecting information on this pernicious custom, with a view to the initiation of a policy to eradicate it. Magistrates, missionaries, and prominent colonists gave evidence. The report of the commission shows that also in the means to be used in the suppression of polygamy, Bishop Colenso differed from most of his missionary brethren. Along with almost all the Magistrates, and three other missionaries (among them Allison and Aldin Grout), Colenso declared against the introduction of legislation, and was of the opinion that the attempt to enforce a law introducing monogamy among the Zulu would be imprudent and dangerous. The majority of the missionaries giving evidence were in

1. (An answer to Dr. Colenso's book on Polygamy - by an American Mi
2. (Constitution and Canons of the church of the Province of S.A. p.136 1939.)
3. (Shropshire. The Church and Primitive People, p.145)

favour, on the other hand, of establishing European law in this respect, and at once. The Bishop was certainly more in touch with the realities of the situation, and he showed wisdom and moderation in his evidence. He used the opportunity to impress on the commission the need of education, which would in the long run be more effective than legislation. Conscious of the urgent need for educational facilities among the natives, he asked that in addition to the £10,000 from the Native Reserve Fund, £5,000 should be allocated for the development of Government and missionary schools. Education and moral regeneration would transform the more depraved heathen customs.[1]

Colenso's views on the question of the baptism of polygamists were the logical outcome of his approach to the mission field, and it is not surprising that there was so much in common between him and Shepstone in this matter. The latter's system of indirect rule, whether an improvisation or policy, his retention of native law, when Cloete, in particular, advocated its disuse, dovetailed perfectly with the Bishop's view that native customs should be retained if possible and welded into the fabric of a Christian society. Not only were the greater number of missionaries opposed to the Bishop's views in this matter, but administrators and colonists also advocated detribalisation. Pine for example, was convinced that without the dissolution of tribal ties, and the tribal system of land tenure, there was little hope of a successful offensive against heathenism and aboriginal depravity. The difference between these and Shepstone's views was that the latter proposed to retain the system, at the same time transforming allegiance from the hereditary chiefs to the Great House.[2] It was Colenso's constant practice to attempt to establish contact with the heathen where he was at his best, and he always looked for the best in native law and custom. His latitudinarian mind made it easy for him to see, even in barbarian customs, the work of God. Unlike the majority of missionaries, Bishop Colenso was no iconoclast attempting to wipe out the natives' past, involving them in a violent psychological revolution, neither necessary nor desirable. He was not short-sighted enough, for example, to destroy the strong social sense of the African, which could so easily be incorporated into the Fellowship of the faithful. With the natives' strong sense of being members one of another ready made, he was prepared, like a 19th century St. Augustine (who with his monks brought Kent into the Fold of Christ) to accept the conversion of whole tribes to the faith. That he thought in terms of the conversion of multitudes, the Christianisation of a whole people, rather than the conversion of a handful of detribalised refugees, with which his fellow missionaries were occupied, is clear from his letter to the Arch-Bishop in 1861. This is equally evident from his intention to establish a Mission Station among Ngoza's people, where they could be instructed without withdrawing them

1. (Report of the Select Committee: "Questions offered by and replies transmitted to the select Committee of the Legislative Council of Natal -- to collect information on the subject of polygamy -- with a view to the initiation of a policy for the suppression of that same.)
2. (C.O.179 No.35 May 1861 Pine to Newcastle).
(C.O.179 No.60 Oct.1861 Pine to Newcastle.)

from their families and regular occupations.[1] He held to this wise course in spite of a most inadequate sense of the Church as the Body of Christ - the Divine Community of believers, - and some would not be slow to point out that he perversely did the right thing for the wrong reason.

The Bishop's plan to bring a whole people with their indigenous customs into the bright orbit of Christendom, transforming them by a new spirit infused, was poles apart from the traditional method of the conversion of one or two individuals, who must needs be withdrawn from the seductions of tribal life with all its evil associations for their souls welfare. Colenso's policy has a peculiarly modern ring about it, and there may be much to commend it. His ideal, which was never realised, might have welded the strong tribal social sense into the fellowship of the Catholic Church, and have avoided the extreme individualism that characterises many Protestant sects, and has found expression in innumerable Native ones at the present time; an individualism that is less in accord with the Gospel than with Western Civilization.

A modern missionary and anthropologist has remarked that "the first essential for the missionary, is a strong belief in the general orientation of Bantu culture towards the good."[2] If this is true, then Colenso was possessed to a singular degree of that first essential. He would graft the Christian faith on to what ever was strong and good in the African. He was constantly seeking for points of contact, noble sentiments, filial love, sensitive feelings, to which he felt the Christian Gospel would appeal, and which, in turn, would be enhanced and employed in the Christian life. At times, unfortunately this degenerated into a gospel of moral uplift, but, at a time when the gospel was rather crudely presented as merely an escape from the belching flames of all engulfing Hell, his was a refreshing approach, and a salutary balance to an unfortunate conception. Though it may not have been adequate, yet there was much to commend it.

To missionaries of some experience in Natal, this Bishop who, in ten weeks as it would appear from his journal, Came and Saw and Conquered, was dangerously confusing the minds of their hard won converts by what seemed to them to be hastily and unilaterally formulated policy on various important issues. The mitred arrogance, which they expected from a Bishop of the Established Church, revealed itself in an assumption of omniscience and a contemptuous refusal to be guided by the experience of those who had preceded him. The Bishop committed the sin of applying a fresh, energetic and independent mind to the problems of the mission field. To his enemies, his energy and independence were the expression of his pride, and his ardour and enthusiasm were "the pink spectacles of youth", or the "exuberance of holiday spirits" which would soon be dissipated.[3]

1. (Witness Feb. 1856 and S.P.G. Records).
2. (Shropshire. The Church and Primitive People. P.125)
3. (Witness August 1855 Correspondent).

He had to contend with the sort of opposition that an innovator or a man with large plans and vision often encounters; an opposition wrung from some by the stigma of failure implicit in his very success. And so Colenso was accused of condoning the evils of native life, of favouring the retention of polygamy. He was a Judas, a mischief maker. Finally the more substantial handle of his theological eccentricities was attached to the whip for his more effectual beating. This was not the whole story, however. There were able and farsighted men, like Dr. Callaway, later to become the first Bishop of Kaffraria and Aldin Grout who also disagreed with the Bishop on almost every point of contention.

Colenso's singularly independent mind did not seem to be capable of the statesmanship and the tact that would have submitted the polygamy issue, for example, to the Mother Church for a ruling, or would have conferred with missionaries of other denominations with a view to hammering out a common policy, before rushing into print, and showing doubts in the minds of converts, and dissensions among Christians.

Chapter IV.

First Steps of the Zulu Mission.

CHAPTER IV.

From the first it had been the ambition of missionaries in Natal to make an assault upon Zululand, which appeared to them as the very bastion of heathenism. Americans, Anglicans, Norwegians and Hanoverians had all aspired to kindle the light beyond the Tugela, but for many years political upheavals, and the whims of swarthy Potentates effectually obscured the first gleams of the Gospel light, and at times extinguished it altogether.

Zululand had not been an easy territory to evangelise. The Americans at Ginani and Hlangezwa had hastily left the country when Owen had withdrawn. One of them, Aldin Grout, had returned in 1841, but the royal disfavour made it inexpedient both for himself and his converts to remain. Schreuder, the Norwegian, was permitted to establish himself near the royal kraal in 1851, after a refusal three years earlier, and then only because his medical skill was prized by the ailing king. By the time the Bishop arrived, the Norwegians had three men at work in Zululand. The Hanoverians had followed on their heels, and had a mission planted on the Umlalazi River not far from the coast.

Since the failure of the Church Missionary Society sponsored mission under Owen, the Anglicans had been inactive in this particular theatre. By 1858, however, the Church of England had sufficiently established itself in the Cape and Natal to consider another assault on Zululand. Bishop Gray, the Metropolitan, was convinced that the most effective method in the mission field was the sending out of missionary bishops, with all the requisite spiritual powers, and the ability to inaugurate regular diocesan organisation. He now proposed to send a Bishop to the Zulus. It was said that Sir George Grey was very anxious to see a missionary Bishop in Zululand, (1) and Gray may have been encouraged by his support. At all events, Bishop Grey took the first steps to this end when he was in England in 1858.

He was unwilling to proceed without the good will and sanction of the Secretary of State, and he wrote to Lytton to ascertain what the legal position would be, if a see were established outside Her Majesty's dominions, and whether Her Majesty's government would disapprove of his sending a missionary Bishop to Zululand. (2) Gray did not wish to seem to violate his duty to the Crown. After consultation with authorities in England and in the Colonies of South Africa, the Secretary of State declared that the consecration of a Bishop for Zululand would not be illegal, if it were done by His Lordship and his suffragans outside the British Isles. Her Majesty's Government in no way opposed the Metropolitan's scheme.

As a matter of fact, the Lt.-Governor of Natal had objected to the scheme. He was of the opinion that it was politically inexpedient, and would inevitably involve the Government of Natal in Panda's affairs. (3) But Scott's objection seems to have been entirely ignored.

Without delay the Metropolitan decided on the man most suited to the enterprise, and he wrote to the Bishop of Natal asking him whether he could recommend Archdeacon Mackenzie for the new episcopal appointment. Colenso willingly commended the Archdeacon in view of his many excellent qualities. No sooner had he done so, however, than serious dissensions broke

(1) Colenso to Shepstone - May 11. 1858 (S.N.A.)

(2) G.H.8: Nos. 32 & 55. 2nd Sept.1858. No.24 Lytton to Scott, enclosing Grey's letter.

(3) G.H.273. No.77. Dec.1858, Scott to Lytton).

out between the Bishop and a group of his clergy. Mackenzie ranged himself on the side of the Bishop's opponents. The Bishop thereupon felt no longer able to recommend a man for the high office of a Bishop who was associated with Crompton, a priest who defied and flagrantly disobeyed the Bishop of the Diocese, and one who 'followed the Dean through the mud wherever he dragged him.'(1) Colenso felt obliged to withdraw his recommendation until such a time as Mackenzie should acquire the experience and judgment necessary for so responsible a position.

Events took a surprising turn. Instead of the Metropolitan looking elsewhere for his new suffragan, he determined to send Mackenzie to Zululand in spite of Colenso's opinions as to his fitness for the office. Together with a companion who had offered himself to Gray for the work, he would go, not as a Bishop but as a missionary under the superintendence of the see of Cape Town. Gray wrote to both Mackenzie and the Bishop by the same mail, offering the post to the one and informing the other of the step he had taken.

A development of this nature could not but be most distasteful to Colenso. It is true that in writing to the Metropolitan he had suggested that, although he could now not recommend the Archdeacon as a missionary Bishop, the latter should be sent merely as a missionary. He assumed, naturally enough, that Mackenzie would go under his direction. He had fully intended to keep an eye on his work in Zululand. For the see of Cape Town to direct mission work in a territory adjacent to Natal appeared to Colenso to be absurd. It was obviously more practicable to launch mission work in Zululand from the Natal diocese Gray's proposal might easily have been interpreted as a declaration of no confidence in Colenso. Nor could the latter, to whom the Tractarians were by now enathema, watch with equanimity an extension of their authority and influence beyond the northern borders of his diocese. To have Gray's missionaries in Zululand, to have Mackenzie there under metropolitical direction, soon, no doubt, to be elevated to the episcopacy, would have meant being outflanked by the Tractarian party. Quite apart from his feelings towards Bishop Gray, Colenso was deeply grieved that the Archdeacon should have acquiesced in the plans of the former, when he was well aware of the strong feeling of his own bishop on the advisability of the Zulu bishopric being launched from Natal.

If it had not been evident to Colenso before, it must have been quite clear now that Gray and Green were in fact of the same dye - that they were united in their opposition to himself.

So strenuously did John Willism, Natal, object to the Metropolitan's plan that he wrote withdrawing his objections to the consecration of the Archdeacon. He was aware that the latter would become Bishop of Zululand now whatever his objections might be, and he might as well be consecrated at once, without any meddling by Gray in Zululand. To his brother in law, who had some influence at S.P.G. headquarters, he wrote urging that Mackenzie should either be sent out as a Bishop with S.P.G.money and as one of Gray's suffragans, or go to Zululand as an S.P.G. missionary under the see of Natal. "There is no reason" he added, "why the church represented by the Archbishops and the bench of Bishops (I suppose), should not request me to regard the Zulu country as an Archdeaconry attached to my See, until a Bishop is appointed." (2) Something might yet be done in England to thwart the Metropolitan's purposes.

No sooner had he made up his mind than he changed it again. Three days after writing to his brother in law, he communicated

(1)(Colenso to C.J. Bunyan, May 5. 1859. - Corr. P. 116)

(2)(Colenso to Bunyan May 9. 1859 - Corr.P.117)

/P.S.

to his friend Shepstone his purpose to go himself as Bishop of Zululand. He was supported by his wife, who expressed herself perfectly willing to accompany him to the discomforts of life in Zululand.(1) He intended now to return to England to raise funds for his new venture. He proposed taking four of his mission boys with him, presumably for their edification and for their propaganda value. At the same time he would apply for assistance from S.P.G. He planned to raise £500 per annum as a regular income, a grant of £500 for missionary operations, and a further capital of £5,000 which he would invest. There is little doubt that he would have been able to collect these sums, for he had already collected over £10,000 for the Natal diocese, and was destined to collect a good deal more.

Colenso quite clearly expected the support of the Secretary for Native Affairs for, having outlined his financial requirements he added, "Now would that income suffice for your purposes? And would you feel it a call to go and do your best for that land - if all this comes to pass?" It is almost as though he had already discussed the possibility of co-operating in a project of this nature. They were already closely associated of course, for quite apart from Shepstone's Church allegiance and his help in founding Ekukanyeni, they were joint trustees for the Umnini and the Nonoti native trust lands. It would have been impossible for Shepstone to have been involved deeply in the Bishop's Zulu enterprise, without abandoning his official position in Natal. If the two of them had planned anything together, there is no record of their plans ever reaching an advanced stage.

Meanwhile, the S.P.G. while cautiously abstaining from expressing an opinion as to the prudence of the plan proposed, resolved to support the Bishop in the event of his embarking upon the enterprise. For this "noble and disinterested scheme" of the Bishop of Natal to "go forth as a missionary Bishop accompanied by his fellow labourers, to plant the Gospel in the heart of the heathen land," the Society promised a "liberal grant."

Thus was the Zulu mission conceived. It is difficult to unravel all the motives that brought the project to birth. That it was no part of his own original scheme of mission work, the Bishop freely confessed (2) and it is probable that he was induced to take the step because it would otherwise have been taken in a way of which he could not approve. Possibly the prospect of a diocese free of tiresome clergy and difficult laity attracted him. (Sympathising with his suffragan during the St. Paul's dissensions, Bishop Gray had referred to the latter as the scum of the little sea port town). Another motive is suggested by his determined opposition to Gray's claim, that Mackenzie, who was to be consecrated to the Zambesi Bishopric in 1861, should be one of his suffragans.(3) In a territory beyond the Queen's dominions, Colenso might have looked forward to a diocese detached from the See of Cape Town. He may, on the other hand, have felt that such a step would calm the storms in the sorely divided Natal diocese, and at the same time leave him free to pursue the work of God in Zululand undisturbed. However mixed his motives were, the sacrifice he contemplated making was considerable.

In several quarters fears were expressed that there might be a political twist to the Bishop's new missionary drive. Both Charles Bunyon and Gray were apprehensive lest Colenso should endeavour to secure the succession of Umkungo, who was his ward at Ekukanyeni, to the Zulu throne, to the exclusion

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(1) (Colenso to Shepstone, May 11. 1859, S.C.)

(2) (Colenso to C.J. Bunyan: Nov.9. 1859 - Cox. P.120)

(3) (Colenso to G.S. Allnutt: Feb.4. 1861 - Cox, P. 125)

of Cetywayo. With the Zulu heir trained at a mission station, the prospects for the Church in Zululand would be bright. (1) That there were those among the Zulus who were also apprehensive is clear from the wild rumours that preceded the Bishop into Zululand. The Usutu faction was genuinely concerned as to the possibility of the Bishop's having come to enforce Umkungo's succession. The behaviour of Panda's indunas towards Colenso spoke eloquently of this fear. The latter categorically denied that he had any such intention, but his deep interest in the welfare of Umkungo must have been difficult to explain in any other way. He wished to have him educated in England, and endeavoured to induce Panda to agree to this step. The request was for the time refused, but before they parted the king hinted that something might be done in this connection, for, said he, "There is no wild cat that has caught a rat by sitting still." Knowing the unsettled state of Zululand, it is possible that he contemplated training his ward for some future eventuality. As it happened Umkungo spent an uneventful and undistinguished life in the Colony (2).

At the same time Colenso confessed that so far was he from pressing Umkungo's claims, that his intention was to endeavour to bring the old king to acquiesce in the wish of the Zulu nation, and to recognise Cetywayo as his heir. If that were done he hoped much could be accomplished for Zululand. He was only restrained from dabbling in the Zulu political situation by the arrival of Shepstone's emmisaries with a letter from the latter, requesting him in no way to become involved in Zulu politics. Though he was convinced that it was his Christian duty to labour for peace, if that were possible, and more especially when it meant a reconciliation between father and son, he declared that "Somseu's council is sufficient to determine my conduct in this respect; I shall if possible abstain to the end from any reference to the political state of the country." (3) He kept his word in this respect, and seems to have conducted himself with great discretion during his Zulu expedition.

The call of the Macedonian had come to Colenso, the call to 'come over and help us' in Zululand. With characteristic energy and promptness, the Bishop of Natal, having finally made up his mind about the necessity for his extending the work from Natal, planned an expedition to the Zulu territory. The purpose of the journey was to persuade Panda of the value of a mission in his territory under the Bishop's guidance, and to induce him to make a grant of land for the mission site.

The second half of 1859 was not altogether a propitious moment for Colenso to have chosen for his journey. The Colony was gripped by one of its periodic attacks of Zulu jitters. Panda was known to be supporting the Umbulazi faction and to be opposed to Cetywayo's succession. Rumours were rife. Cetywayo would do away with his father. Refugees were constantly pouring across the northern frontier, and there were border incidents. Shepstone sent disquieting despatches from the Buffalo river. It was feared that Cetywayo planned an attack on the Colony. The "Well drilled Zulu tribesmen" might swarm into the Colony so meagrely equipped for its defence. A Colonist in the press urged "a policy at once vigilant, cautious and energetic during the present critical period." (4) Another, writing from the Biggarsberg, enquired indignantly whether the Klip River county would "be handed over as residence or

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(1) (Letter to Bunyon, Nov. 8. 1859. - Cox . P. 120)

(2) ("No one can say what Umkungo's position may be hereafter, but I have not and never had any intention of putting in a claim for him now." See above.)

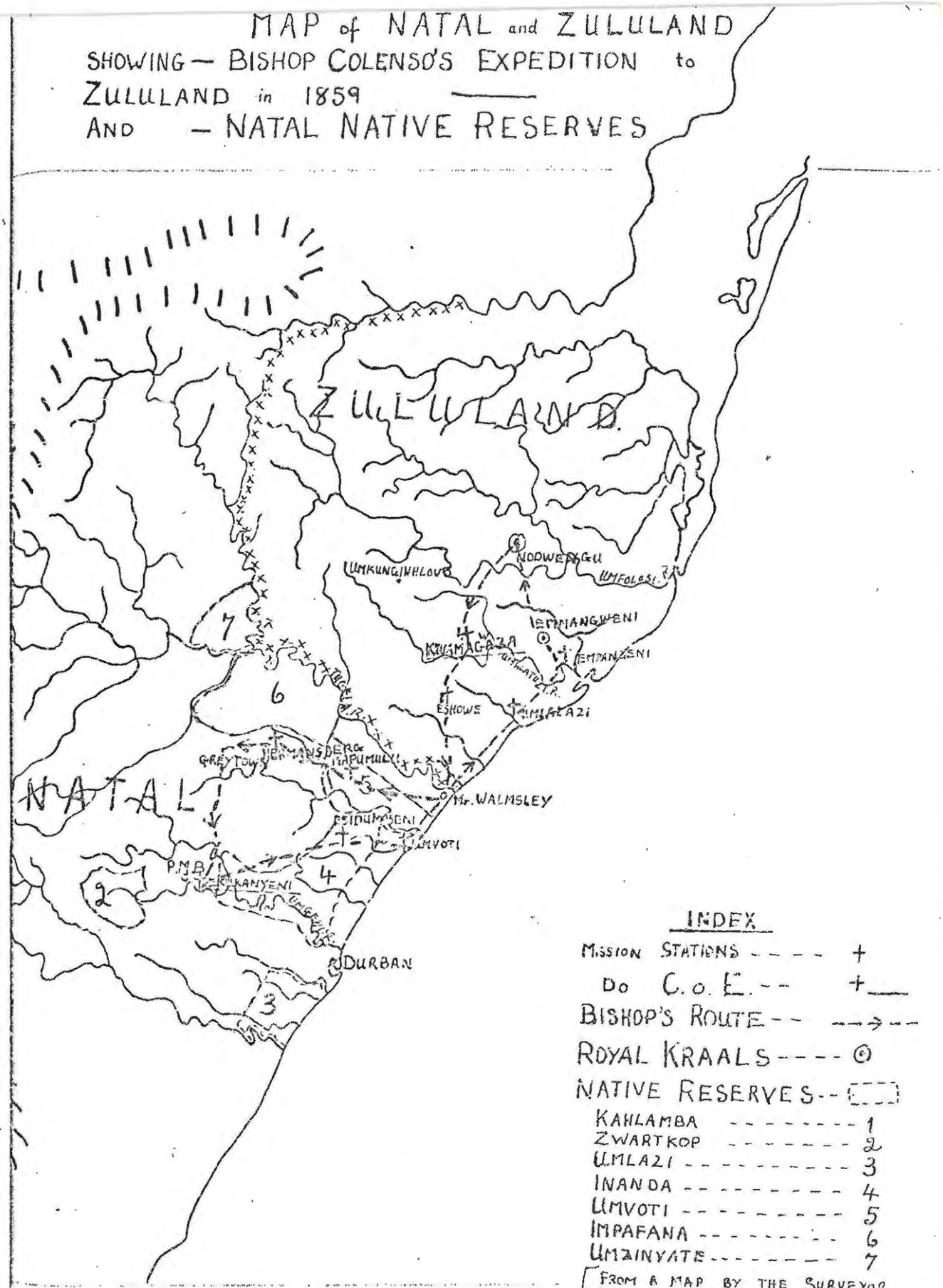
(3) (First Steps of the Zulu Mission P.98)

(4) (Letter - Mercury, Sept. 8. 1859)

MAP of NATAL and ZULULAND

SHOWING — BISHOP COLENSO'S EXPEDITION to ZULULAND in 1859

AND — NATAL NATIVE RESERVES



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[FROM A MAP BY THE SURVEYOR GENERAL — W. STANGER — SEPT. 1850]

ZULULAND BORDER - - - - ××××

N

W — E

SCALE — 32 MILES = 1 INCH.

battlefield for the disorganised or discontented tribes of the Zulu country." (1)

It was not surprising, therefore, that Shepstone was apprehensive about the consequences of the Bishop's visit. It was not likely that his person would be molested, but if the danger to the Bishop was not considerable, the consequences of unwise episcopal diplomacy might be far reaching, in view of existing tensions in Zululand.

June 1859 found the Bishop, who was on a visitation of the northern part of his diocese, crossing the Tugela with an experienced English trader, on a reconnaissance. He penetrated some 30 or 40 miles to the recently established Hanoverian mission station on the Umlalazi River. On his return to the Port, he found that the financial assistance for which he had applied to S.P.G. could be relied upon. He resolved at once to undertake a journey to Panda. Diocesan business prevented an immediate departure, however, and he was delayed until Sept. 12th.

On that day there set out from 'the place of Light' a party of Christian Natives, one or two heathen, and the Bishop at their head. Fully aware of their divine commission, one of the youths trained at Ekukanyeni, in his diary recorded that they set out "according to that which we have been ordered in the Holy Book - 'Go ye, go into all the world, and tell all nations that which you have been given through the mercy of your Father who is in heaven.'" (2) The Bishop's little crimean waggon and a larger one lumbered over to the Believers Village for a service of farewell. The indispensable William Ngidi accompanied the Bishop on horseback, and to the salutation "Go in peace, people of ours; by and by come back again in peace," the caravan moved off on its mission to the restless country of the Zulus.

Instead of taking the high way to Durban and then following the North coast road, the party cut across country from Ekukanyeni, with the intention of meeting the coast road near the Zulu border. This meant crossing the steep Noodsberg, an operation which was carried out only with great difficulty. The waggons were unloaded and the baggage carried up the hillside. In spite of the strong differences between the Bishop and the American missionaries, the former enjoyed their hospitality on two successive nights. He was entertained by Tyler at Inadumbini, and then by one whom he generously called that "admirable missionary, the father of all missionary work to the Zulus," Aldin Grout, at Umvoti. (3) After a last outspan in Natal beside Walmsley's homestead, the Tugela was forded. Pushing on to Umlalazi they found Robert Robertson, who had come up the coast road from Umlazi to join them, awaiting their arrival. In spite of almost constant rain, Sept. 22 found Colenso at Ofterbro's mission at Empangeni, preparing to pay his respects to Cetywayo.

They found his kraal, Emangweni, to be one of considerable dimensions, and that Cetywayo was an admirable looking prince. The latter had postponed a hunting trip to see the Bishop and his welcome, though not cordial, was not unfriendly. The Bishop described him as a 'fine handsome young man of about twenty-nine or thirty years of age, tall and stout limbed, with a very pleasant smile, a good natured face, and a strong deep voice. He was perfectly naked except for the usual tail appendages and a necklace of tigers claws, rings of brass wire below the knees, and some white metal about the wrists. He drew himself up now and then with an air of dignity, but altogether the

(1) (Letter from Elliott in the Mercury Aug. 10, 1859).

(2) (Undiano: First Steps of the Zulu Mission. P.16)

(3) (First Steps of the Zulu Mission.P. 28)

impression he made on us was very agreeable; one and all commended him as a pleasing young prince." (1)

Naturally enough the subject of Umkungo was avoided by the Bishop, but the prince guilefully suggested that the lad should have been brought to pay him a visit. A presentation of blankets and peacock feathers concluded the interview, and in return the Bishop was presented with an ox to slaughter for his party.

Leaving Robertson to bring up the waggons, Colenso accompanied only by William, hurried on to Nodwengu, the Royal kraal. No time could be lost because the Tugela might come down and hinder his return to the Colony; and the lung sickness that was carrying off the Zulu's cattle might affect his also. He wished to return before the incubation period could elapse.

On Wednesday 28th, he prepared for his interview with the king, and "for the last time made a supplication for him before entering his presence." He found it difficult to gain admission to the royal presence. The indunas protested that the king was unwell. The Bishop had been warned that the obese Panda, further immobilised by gout, was surrounded by indunas of the Usutu faction, who would doubtless attempt to prevent the approach of one whom they feared came in the interest of their rival. Persistence prevailed, however, and the Bishop was escorted to the enormous royal hut. There he found Panda, naked but for a cincture around his loins, and a blue blanket about him. The king was deeply moved by the salutation which the Bishop brought from Monase, his wife, and Umkungo, from their refuge beyond the Tugela. He wept over a photograph of his son. The reason for the Bishop's coming was revealed at this the first interview, but no discussion ensued. He took advantage of his next audience to discuss the advisability of sending Umkungo to be educated in England, but it was not until Sunday October 2nd that the Bishop was able to get to grips with the king on the matter of the site for a mission station. The old hunter and trader, Ogle, who happened to be at Nodwengu at the time, suggested to the Bishop the site of old Umginginghlove for his station. The idea of building on the site occupied by Owen appealed to him, and as it was only a day's ride from the royal kraal, he resolved to ask for it. The King had been considering thematter, however, and had other plans. Umginginghlove was too near five military kraals, and there would be too few children and young men available for instruction. He suggested instead that the mission should be established at Kwamagweza, which was a well peopled district, and where wood was plentiful for building operations. He himself would see to it that parents sent their sons to the Bishop's school. The interview was terminated and the king's offer clinched with gifts of blankets, a Chinese umbrella, and a piece of matting. The Bishop's last minute attempt to induce Panda to agree to his plans for Umkungo only produced a hint that he might agree at some future date, but the old king wept once more at the thought of his exiled wife and son. Colenso was much impressed by his warm feelings towards these members of his family. He found Panda both intelligent and kindly, and by no means the weak idiot that some were inclined to regard him. It is difficult to reconcile the picture of the benevolent father with "the feeling of disgust at Panda's cruelties," that revolted even the Zulus themselves during the earlier years of his reign. (2)

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(1) (First Steps of the Zulu Mission .P.53)

(2) (Shepstone's Diary 1853. S.C.)

The Bishop's estimate of the political situation in Zululand was accurate, and substantiated by later events. He was of the opinion that though Cetywayo held the whip hand, Panda was still recognised as paramount, and that it was not the intention of the prince to dispute his father's supremacy, but to secure the succession. He quoted instances of Cetywayo having accepted his father's authority. Shepstone had formed much the same opinion; Cetywayo was more interested in removing any brothers who might dispute his succession than in grasping the royal power. (1) In his handling of the Zulu situation the Bishop showed remarkable acumen and a nicety of judgment rare in one of his impetuous nature.

Not satisfied with achieving his primary aim, he found time, despite the heat and the fatigue of primitive modes of travel, and the wearisome negotiations with savages, to begin the work of translating the Book of Exodus, with the assistance of William. He revised, too, the proofs of a Zulu reader, and composed a prayer of thanksgiving for the safe return of his expedition. Nor was he unmindful of his obligation to the heathen of his own party, for he spent time in teaching them. The indefatigable Robertson, meanwhile, visited every kraal they passed, sleeping in them at night, and endeavouring to win the confidence of the people among whom he was destined to labour for so many difficult years.

Kwamagwaza was found to be a delightful spot. Timber and game there were in abundance, and several kraals nestled among the hills conveniently near at hand. A site was marked out for the station on an eminence commanding a fine view. This was where Robertson, in the Bishop's opinion his best missionary, would start the station. The Episcopal mission at Kwamagawza had started on its chequered career.

From here the Bishop sent messengers to Cetywayo. He was unable to return to his kraal, because he was anxious to cross the Tugela before the river came down in spate, but to allay any suspicions that the prince might have harboured he thought it expedient to inform him of all that had transpired at Nodwengu. It would be most unwise to upset the Usutu faction. To do so might prejudice not only the future of the station, but possibly even its very establishment.

Once safely across the Tugela with his natives, the waggons were left to the care of William, and the Bishop pushed on alone with a guide from Mr. Walmsley. He chose a route via. Hermannsburg and Greytown, was ferried across the Umgeni which was in flood, by means of Baynes ferry boat, and arrived at Ekukanyeni on Sunday morning, October 16. The mission folk were all in chapel at the time, and he joined them there to give thanks to God for a safe return and a successful mission.

The Zulu expedition had been crowned with complete success. On the other hand it had convinced him that Scott's advice to Lytton about the inadvisability of establishing a see in Zululand, was, at least for the time being, worth following. Colenso returned to Natal convinced that unless Panda could be brought to accept the claims of Cetywayo to the succession, there could be only unrest in Zululand, and that a resident Bishop would be in danger there. Soon after his return he confided to his brother in law that he did not think the country ripe for a Bishop "until the succession be settled," and, he added prophetically, "which may be soon or may be delayed a year or two - (2) I think that mission work can better be

(1) (Memorandum S.C. 1859 May.)

(2) (Cetywayo was formally acknowledged heir by Shepstone in 1861.)

overlooked by a Bishop here, than by one on the spot." (1)

He did not abandon his purpose, however, and he expressed himself ready to go to Zululand whenever the Church called him to the task. Early in 1860, we find him endeavouring to secure the services of an able medical man for his mission to Zululand, and he sees a medical school arising on that savage soil. The Rev. M. Robertson lost no time in removing from Umlazi to take up the work at Kwamagwaza. Before the end of the year he and his wife, with their adopted family of eight black and white children, arrived at the site the Bishop had marked out as a site for a central station, from which it was hoped outstations would develop. Colenso was never able to follow up the advance guard he had sent across the Tugela. Controversy burst upon the infant diocese of Natal, and he had other battles to fight. The assault on heathen darkness must be halted while Christian obscurantism was attacked and destroyed. Zululand was denied its Bishop and episcopal government until 1870.

There is no doubt whatever that, but for Colenso's offering himself to go to Zululand, Mackenzie would have been sent there in 1861 instead of on his ill fated expedition to the Zambesi. Zululand would have had the advantage not only of the services of a Bishop, but direct supervision and planning for the work of the Church there. Instead of that. Robertson was left to work on alone for ten years. Colenso never established any direct mission work in Zululand apart from Kwamagwaza, and after his deposition that was also lost to him. In later years he did indeed lay claim to the station, and threatened to take possession of it himself, but to this challenge Robertson replied that, if any attempt were made to occupy the station, he, its builder, would burn it to the ground. He himself would kindle the flames.

Thus did the Zulu bishopric elude the Bishop. His project conceived and framed for reasons only partially disinterested, won only a small measure of success. All that he could claim was that he had established a bridgehead. But it was to be a bridgehead without support from the rear, and when the time came for the advance it was the Church of the Province that took the initiative in Zululand.

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(1) (Colenso - C.J. Bunyan: Nov.8. 1859. Col.C.)

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Chapter V.

New Wine in Old Wine Skins

or

The Clash of 'Freedoms'

Chapter V.

The Bishop, so often embroiled in controversies of one kind or another, was now to be involved in a situation that threatened to upset the work he had begun to do in Natal. He had been implicated in disputes ever since he had returned to the Colony in 1853. But now in the early sixties, what were his - to his contemporaries - daring speculations and new theological interpretations were to carry him into a far wider, indeed a world wide, arena. He was to be one of the principals in a dissension that threatened to split the infant church in S.Africa from top to bottom, and the consequences of which are still discernable. The newly born diocese of Natal was to be dragged into the current of conflict between various church parties and trends of the entire Anglican Communion.

In Natal, the whole future of his converts was at stake. Would they become members of a schismatic body disowned by the Church in England and the Church in South Africa alike? Would they be built into the world wide Anglican Communion, or remain a splinter sect in South Africa: Would the Bishop be permitted to return to Natal and build up a local church with a 'Colenso' theology?

That which has come to be known as the Colenso Controversy, can only properly be understood within a wider setting than the South African Church scene will allow. It was not something that grew in a day. It was not a storm that blew up out of a clear sky. Colenso was not merely a difficult man who went too far and had to be brought to book. Obviously, both he and his opponents were the product of the times, children of their environment. In our attempt to appreciate the unfortunate quarrels that dogged Colenso for the rest of his life, and marred his mission work, we will launch out into the broader current of the life of the Anglican Communion at about the middle of the nineteenth century.

The history both of thought and institutions can be observed as the interesting process of new wine being spilled into old wine-skins. Either the old skin disintegrates and a new one must be made, or a new coat is wrapped around the old and it is retained in a modified form. The political life of the mid 19th century England was characterised by a ferment of new political demands, and adjustments to the institutions of government had to be made. The Church was involved in this process, but she was also confronted by other conflicting trends in the national life and by situations which demanded some re-organisation of her own life. First of all, existing conditions within the state and within demanded a revision of the relationship between Church and State, and secondly the Church had to grapple with the challenge of new thought - the new biology and geology and the new methods of historical criticism.

The Church was in a far from satisfactory condition. She was honey-combed with nepotism, by pluralities and non-residence. She was disliked by many for the opposition of part of the Church to Catholic Emancipation and above all for her strong Tory vote in the Reform Bill issue.[1] There was a distinct dislike of Prelacy among the non-conformists. The fact was that the Elizabethan Church - a beta creation had not worked out. The Hooker ideal had not been realised, and Arnold's "undenominational" solution could satisfy very few. The Repeal of the Test was merely acknowledged as a vested position, but the Church of England remained the state church though England was far from being wholly Anglican. This anomalous situation was

1. (Carpenter: Church & People. P.53)

further complicated by the Royal Supremacy, which in effect meant neither more nor less than that in religious matters Parliament, composed of members who might not be Anglicans at all , was supreme legislator and Court of Appeal for the State Church. Moreover, since the Houses of Convocation had been suppressed, the Church was virtually tongue-tied.

There were many who found this situation intolerable. The relation between the state and the established church, they felt, would have to be defined anew. In the Colonies, where, after a measure of self-government had been granted, there was no established church, this question would have to be faced too. The solution was found in the Church declaring itself in the Colonies a voluntary association in communion with the Anglican Church in England, And in so doing was the scene of a collision between the Catholic claims for the Church asserted by Gray and the Protestant Principle of "Ejus regio cujus religio," held by Colenso.

Two principles of Church government were involved in the Colenso Controversy, which the Church, transplanted, carried within its various church parties to its new home. There had always been different parties within the Church and the nineteenth century was no exception. There were three very clearly defined groups. First of all there were the Evangelicals, a party not much involved in the disputes in the Province of the Cape. After the great effort that culminated in the abolition of slavery within the British Empire, they had lost much of their fire. The embers still glowed strongly, but in spite of their great experience of the Saving power of the Gospel for individual souls and their deep moral earnestness and philanthropy, their lack of any real theology and in particular of any concept of the Church, left them in no position to grapple with the problems confronting it. It is true that Lord Shaftesbury carried on the tradition of piety and social service, but the party which had never been large, and which had always been looked on askance by the larger part of the Church which distrusted its enthusiasms, was now somewhat ineffective in its councils. The Evangelicals remembered Romans, but forgot Ephesians. The second party apparently forgot them both. If the Evangelicals preached a gospel without a Church, it appeared that the Broad Churchmen preached in church without a gospel. Their view of the established Church was that it was the State at worship. The Church was a department of the State. They were in the main faithful to the Establishment and because of a distinctly Protestant bias they were nearer the Evangelicals than the Anglo-Catholics in their thinking about the nature of the Church.

The Broad Churchmen championed no closely defined system of doctrine, like the Evangelicals or Anglo-Catholics, nor were they sacramentalists. Many of them were the sons of Tillotson, Butler, Burnet and Stillingfleet, nineteenth Century Latitudinarians. They would bring all to the test of reason, and advocated a free inquiry in theology. They were not unduly disturbed by a deflection from orthodoxy, and had a wide influence in the Church. Most of the Bishops were Broad-churchmen. The gospel of many of them was little more than the religion defined by Mathew Arnold as "morality tinged with emotion."

The Anglo-Catholic party or Tractarians, spiritual sons of the Non-Jurors, was the right wing. They based their Theology on the belief that the Anglican Church was continuous in spirit and doctrine with the primitive and undivided Church of the Patristic Age, and that Episcopal government was of the

"esse" of the Church. They often confused Catholicity with nineteenth century Roman practice, but they had the exalted view of the Church as the divine instrument for the redemption of the world. Numerically they were a minority group which had only recently received a new lease of life, and they were looked upon with disfavour by both Evangelicals and Broad-churchmen for their Romanist tendencies, but they exerted an influence far beyond their numbers in the Church. This was quite evident at the first Lambeth Conference in 1867 (1). It was through their efforts very largely that synodical church government was revived in the Anglican Communion. Royal licences were issued in 1852 and 1861 to authorize the Convocations of Canterbury and York to resume active business after nearly a century and a half of silence. They were also prominent in undertaking missionary work in the Colonies. They were no lovers of an establishment in which atheists and Nonconformists might legislate for the Church.

Bishop Colenso belonged to the liberal wing of the Broadchurch group. While Gray moved in the theological atmosphere of the fourth century, Colenso had inherited something of the latitudinarian approach to religion, which divested it largely of mystery and replaced revelation with morality, answering the voice of conscience and keeping the laws of nature.

He moved perhaps unconsciously in the intellectual atmosphere of philosophy rather than of theology, of Locke and Hume, rather than of Hooker or Waterland, of Reason rather than Faith. He was in a real sense more typical of his age than his opponent Gray. He was soon to join forces with the German Biblical critics who were using the newly forged weapon of historical criticism to scrutinise the Word of God itself. Whereas Gray's faith, within its bastions of revealed religion, could remain comparatively unperturbed by the discoveries in the realm of the analytical Sciences and by the implication of Biblical criticism, Colenso, taking his stand on conscience and reason, as well as inspiration, was forced to rethink and modify his theology. Colenso saw the National Church, as he called it, as the whole community in its religious capacity, and looked to it for the protection of religious liberties. Gray saw the Church as a Divine Community, and sought for its liberation from state bondage.

Although Colenso was not in the first place prompted to undertake his Biblical criticism by the German school, his methods were similar and so were his conclusions, and he was at once associated in the minds of those who were fearful of the consequences of the German critics' work, with the enemies of religion. Many a Churchman was apprehensive of the apparently destructive powers of the New Biblical criticism and much of the theology from the country that produced "Leben Jesu" (2) was suspect. There was already considerable prejudice built up against anything German at the Universities. At Oxford, the 1850 Commission was charged with Germanising and its activities prompted sentiments like those of Mansel, who deplored the secularisation of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He wrote a fragment of verse he called "Phrontisterion or Oxford in the 19th Century."

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(1) (Lambeth - Curtis.)

(2) (Strauss - Leben Jesu.)

"Tell them
"Of institutions free to all religions
Where Jew Turk, infidel and heretic
May sit like brothers studying modern science;
They say the experiment's too dangerous
For old-time honoured bulwarks of the Church,
And bid us try Stinkomalee.(1) The Bigots!
I'll tame their pride and open all their ports."

These words were put into the mouth of the M.P. for North Lancashire, who prompted Lord John Russell to appoint the Commission. The chorus sings -

"Theologians we,
Deep thinkers free,
From the land of the new Divinity;
Where Strauss shall teach you how martyrs died
For a moral idea personified,
A myth and symbol, which vulgar sense
Received for historic evidence.
Where Feuerbach shews how religion began
From deified feelings and wants of man,
And the Deity owned by the man reflective.
Is human consciousness made objective.
Presbyters bend,
Bishops attend;
The Bible's a myth from beginning to end,
With a bug, bug, bug, and a hum, hum, hum,
Hither the true theologians come." (2)

The censures of Colenso's work were the more severe because the Church, or certain parts of it, were on the defensive against a formidable pincers movement. On the one hand Biblical criticism demanded a re-examination of the whole concept of revelation.(3) On the other hand the publication of Sir Charles Lyell's "Principles of Geology" (1830 - 3) wherein views in conflict with the Mosaic Cosmogeny were expressed, and Darwin's "Origin of the Species" (1859) seemed to threaten the traditional orthodoxy. This double pronged attack was viewed with consternation by the conservative Churchmen, and especially by the Bishop of Oxford, and the Tractarians. When George Eliot translated "Leben Jesu" in 1846, in which the Christ of the gospels was pictured by Strauss as the unintentional creation of the Early Christian Messianic expectations, their worst fears were realised, and it was only too evident that radical German critics were undermining the very fundamentals of the faith. Colenso's theology seemed to be tarred with the same brush. The whole weight of the orthodox was therefore thrown against him.

The matter did not rest with the Odium Theologicum. It was carried further, for the Church's attempt to condemn the new tendencies brought it sharply up against the Royal Supremacy, and decided many that a revision of the Church-State relationship was necessary.

The Colenso Controversy was another round in the struggle of liberal theology for freedom of thought on the one hand, and of the conservative churchmen - especially the tractarians - for a Church unfettered by State control, on the other. In each instance it was a matter of new wine in old skins, for the

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(1) (University of London).

(2) (Carpenter: Church and People P.185)

(3) (Liberal Broadchurchmen were ready to attempt a revision of Biblical interpretation in the light of the new critical methods.)

Conservative theology could not contain the new, nor could the accepted view of the establishment satisfy the aspirations of Tractarians.

The first round had been played out in the cases arising from the publication of the volume called "Essays and Reviews"(1) in 1860, in which were included seven essays by liberal churchmen of the day. All but one of those was a beneficed clergyman, and several, prominent men. These liberals looked upon Revelation as being in the same category as discovery in the scientific field, and of the same kind as the inspired creative genius of the poet and artist. Revelation was not something final, for truth was something always being discovered. The Bible should be re-interpreted and the creeds broadened to contain newly discerned truths. They approved the German Biblical criticism, and tended to treat Christianity as a system of ideas - an ideology - rather in the Hegelian sense. To them many facts in the Bible were regarded not as such but merely as embodying ideas. (Strauss had taken this approach to its logical conclusion).

The essay by Rowland Williams, D.D. was deeply resented. His thesis was that the supposedly supernatural was simply a special and as yet not well understood phase of the natural. His somewhat destructive and aggressive language and flippancy outraged the feelings of the orthodox.

The essay on 'The National Church' claimed freedom of thought for the clergy, and argued that subscription to its formularies should no longer be required. The essay on 'Mosaic Cosmogony' declared that the Mosaic account of the creation was merely a human utterance without Divine sanction.

The Archbishops and Bishops were driven to action because of the popularity of the volume, a popularity partly attributable to the review given it by the positivist Frederic Harrison, who dubbed the theology of the Essayists 'Neo-Christianity' They met at Fulham in 1861 where the two Archbishops and 24 Bishops signed an Episcopal circular expressing disapproval of the publication. The lower house of Convocation had already expressed its disapproval of the views of the essayists (2)

It is not necessary to describe the course of the two lawsuits that followed, - those of the Bishop of Salisbury v. Williams (who was in the Bishop's diocese), and that of Fendall v. Wilson, another of the essayists. It is enough for our purpose to know that both the defendants were found guilty of holding and proclaiming views contrary to the 39 Articles, by the Court of Arches. They were sentenced to 'suspension ab officio and beneficio for the term of one year' with costs, and the right of appeal to the Privy Council. They won their appeals, however, for the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on which laity outnumbered clerics, reversed the decision of the Court of Arches. The Bishop of London, Tait, voted with the laity.(3) This reversal of the verdict produced an immediate outcry from the orthodox. An orthodox declaration was signed by 11,000 of the clergy, and 137,000 of the laity presented an address of thanks to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his opposition in the Privy Council judgment.

(1) From Review of the Essayists in 'Church & People' by Carpenter, and 'Lambeth' by Curtis.
(2) Lambeth - Curtis.
(3) Church and People - Carpenter. P.511)

The liberals on the other hand rejoiced at the victory for the principle of free thought for the clergy. The houses of Convocation of Canterbury passed votes of censure on the views propounded in 'Essays and Reviews' though in the Upper House the Archbishops' casting vote was needed to pass the motion. Evidently there were a large number of Liberal and Erastian Bishops.

Here the matter rested. Although the Church, represented by its clergy, had condemned the theology of the Essayists, it had no means of enforcing the decision. Those who believed in the Church as the Body of Christ felt that the establishment sat even more uneasily on their shoulders. They petitioned the Convocation of Canterbury to set up a new Court of Appeal in Ecclesiastical cases. If something of this nature were not done the German unbelievers, the Bauers, the Strausses and the Renans with their pale pink disciples in England would destroy the faith of the Church while her hands were tied behind her back, by the Royal Supremacy.

Thus was the stage set for that clash of aspirations and principles in the Colonies, where the Church of England was no longer the Established Church. The Royal Supremacy could be challenged, and orthodox and liberal Churchmen could fight it out without the State referee's effective control. In South Africa the opposing champions were to be Gray and Colenso.

It is not easy to understand why Bishop Gray chose the Vicar of Forncett as his suffragan. He had been recommended by the Bishop of Norwich as being particularly interested in missionary matters, but it is difficult to believe that Gray did not know his sympathies before he was consecrated. While he was a tutor at St. John's College, Cambridge, he had met F.D. Maurice who was then the Professor of History and Literature at King's College, and had become his admirer.(1) In his book 'The Kingdom of Christ' Maurice had repudiated the orthodox doctrines of everlasting punishment and the atonement, and he was dismissed from his professorship in 1857 in consequence. Some weeks before his consecration, Colenso, who wished to show his sympathy for Maurice who was then being attacked by the orthodox, published a volume of sermons with a dedication to him. Even if this did not mean a complete identity of views, it shows that Colenso's sympathies lay with free thought in theology. In any case, there was so close a resemblance between some of Colenso's views on Redemption in the Commentary he produced on the Epistle to the Romans, and Maurice's in his 'Theological Essays' (1853) that it could not have been accidental It is fairly evident that Maurice's essays on "On Justification by Faith" and "On the Sense of Righteousness in Man and their Discovery of a Redeemer," were either the source of Colenso's errors, or expressed what was already in his mind. Moreover, preaching at Oxford in 1853, he had shown a tendency for a liberal treatment of the Bible.(2) His reaction in the Gorham case showed that he was not much in sympathy with the Protestations. Although he disapproved of Gorham's views he declared that 'I detest the malice and spite and slander of his enemies' (i.e. High Church party. (3)

It is quite true, of course, that the new environment in Natal demanded a new approach to evangelism. His attempt at

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(1) (Life of Colenso, Vol.I. - Cox. P.31)

(2) (Reminiscence of Dore Doctrine of Penwith - quoted - Church and People . P.504)

(3) (Colenso to Rev. T.P. Ferguson 1850 - Cox . P.45)

reorientation together with the New Theology and the New Science, forced Colenso's restless mind into a restatement of his theological position. But his mind was already moving in the direction in which it was later to travel more decidedly, before he left England.

The new Bishop was almost at once involved in squabbles within his diocese. His whole episcopate was taken up with a running fight, first with a group of his own clergy, and later with the Church of the Province of South Africa. It very soon became clear that he was not acceptable in certain quarters within his own Church, namely among those with Tractarian sympathies. He came to a somewhat inflammable situation, for the general atmosphere in Natal was such as would fan rather than allay dissensions. The spirit of controversy is copiously expressed by almost every issue of the Colonial press. The Church was no stranger to that spirit either.

Colenso was not the man to pour oil on troubled waters. He was essentially an 'angular' personality, whose incisive thinking and uncompromising nature soon exacerbated the feeling of local worthies. The extent of the general opposition to him in the Colony may be gauged from the fact that an educational Bill in the Legislature was in danger of being rejected because Colenso, whose name had been "magnified into a monster, equal to all the seven lean kine in Pharoah's field, who was to eat up the other seven fat and flourishing sects of religionists,"[1] had some slight connection with it. He was the target for sectarian opposition, which he very largely ignored. But what was really more serious, and what he could not ignore, was the opposition of his own clergy.

Fuel was added to the flames by the fact that there was a large body of the laity very suspicious of Tractarianism. Feeling in religious matters was then much more intense than it is now, and the 'detestable enormities' of Rome were heartily disliked in many quarters. The Tractarians, who flirted with the scarlet woman, were regarded as traitors to Protestantism. Several of the Natal clergy showed themselves to be Tractarian in their sympathies.

Although the Natal Church Controversy was essentially a collision of beliefs and ideas, the personalities involved on both sides did not encourage a happy solution. Both Colenso and the Dean of Maritzburg, who were the principal actors in the drama, were uncompromising in their views.

The Colenso of the first period of his episcopate in Natal, and Colenso of the second period, were almost totally different persons. The blight of controversy had left its mark. The whole tone of the Bishop's letters altered. The earlier warmth and zeal, and the devotion to missionary enterprise, were replaced by a harsh, and sometimes bitter spirit. His missionary work suffered from this rancour, as it did later from lack of means. The controversy has too often been lifted out of the sphere of history, by the protagonists on both sides, into the realm of what is really a mystic conflict between devils and Angels. Dean Green has been elevated to superhuman stature by 'historians' of the Church of the Province, and Colenso has become a sort of modern Dr. Faustus. At the same time Colenso's partisans found it easy to detect the cloven hoof of Roman devilries peeping from under the worthy Dean's cassock. It is easier to believe that it takes two to make a quarrel, and that both parties share the blame for what happened, than to believe that here was a conflict between demons and demigods.

[1] (Witness: Jan. 6: 1854)

If Colenso was impetuous, James Green was no less impetuous. Both were possessed of a dogged courage and determination. The latter, who was doubtless endowed with many excellent qualities, has been characterised by Church of the Province historians as the unsleeping guardian of the faith and the saviour of the Church; but at least to some he seems to have been the violent protagonist of a party within the Anglican Communion. There are different ways of doing the same thing, and the Dean might have conducted himself with greater dignity and calmness. It is as well to remind ourselves, if we think of him as a paragon of virtues, that he was not so highly thought of in all quarters. In 1853, when Military Chaplain to the troops at Fort Napier, he was involved in a sufficiently serious incident for him to have been reported by Major Preston to the Cape Governor, then Sir George Cathcart, who in his turn referred the matter to Newcastle. The executive Council in Natal suggested the removal of the offending Chaplain, but the Secretary of State decided that that would not be necessary, though, he said, "the unbecoming behaviour of the clergyman in his church, and such forgetfulness of his duties and position as was evinced by him on this occasion, could not fail to produce many of the consequences that have followed"(1).

An impression of the Dean's fiery temperament is given us by a terse but eloquent entry in Theophilus Shepstone's Diary of 1853. It reads "Sunday 5 June - Revnd. Mr. Fern preached - sensation - Mr. Green preached a counter sermon in the evening."[2](Shepstone's Diary 1853. S.C.) On another occasion, alluding to Shepstone and others by name, he denounced them from the pulpit in St. Peter's in no uncertain terms for supporting the Bishop.[3](Shepstone's Diary 1865 S.C) It could not have been easy to 'get on' with Mr. Green if one happened to hold different views.

His behaviour during the Eucharistic dispute was, to say the least, extraordinary, and to many it must have appeared unjust and uncharitable. Having accused his Bishop of holding heretical views on the Eucharist, he forthwith refused to communicate at the same Altar with him, and he remained seated in the choir before the entire congregation of the Cathedral, rather than do so. This he did before he had received any judgment on the matter from the Metropolitan. This is the sort of behaviour that breeds bitterness, and the sort of controversial spirit that Callaway called the 'food of irreligious minds.'[4](Letter from Callaway in Hist: Recs. of Church of the Province of S.Africa).

Enough has been said to show that the Bishop had a difficult man to deal with, and to dispose of any tendency to heap all the blame for the Natal controversy upon Colenso, though he too must share the responsibility for it, as we shall see. In his judgment on the Eucharistic dispute, the Metropolitan administered to Green a sharp rebuke for presenting his Ordinary without sufficient cause, and declared that the Bishop's views 'could be construed consistently with the formularies of the Church.' Nevertheless, as he admitted later, Gray's real sympathies lay with the Dean. Colenso must have become aware of it at an early date. Behind Green he knew stood the much larger figure of Gray, more conciliatory, more statesmanlike, but no less determined to uphold what he believed to be the faith.

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(1) (G.H.3 - 1852 Newcastle to Pine).

The breach between the Bishop and Dean Green and Canon Jenkins who had acted with him in this matter, soon showed itself to have remained unbridged. The calling of the First Church Council touched off once again the inflammable material in the Natal Church. The Bishop in order, as he put it, 'to change the Government of the Church in this diocese from an apparent despotism - to one of orderly constitutional rule'(1) convened a Council of Clergy and laity to advise him on the matter of calling a Synod in Natal. It was decided by the Council that the clergy and laity should vote as one house. The laity insisted on this because some of them were apprehensive of clerical High Church domination, and they appear to have been supported by the Bishop. The clergy not unnaturally objected that this was contrary to normal church practice. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Durban delegates had been charged to vote against the erection of a Council or Synod, in which voting was strictly 'by orders.' Such an attempt by the laity, who would always be in the majority, to dominate the clergy, was bound to be resented. The upshot was that Green, Jenkins and Robertson refused to participate any further in the activities of the Council. The report of the committee of the Church Council, which was appointed to report on the incident, censured the Green faction for their 'Hildebrandine highhandedness' and for their disobedience to the Bishop.

It is extraordinary that Colenso should have permitted such a situation to have arisen. Possibly after the recent squabble with the Parish of St. Paul's he wished to conciliate the laity, but it is more likely that he counted on lay support as likely to be more liberal in opinion than that of the clergy. It is notable that his works on Biblical criticism were written specifically to appeal to the laity. It shows both poor judgment and poor diplomacy that this fracas was allowed to occur, and that having occurred it was not wisely dealt with. There is no trace of any attempt to compromise and so 'keep the unity of faith in the bond of peace.' It is fantastic to suppose that the Natal clergy could for long have accepted the proposed constitution for the Church Council. In expecting them to do so, and in departing from ancient precedent, the Bishop was asking for trouble.

Trouble, not all of his own making, continued to pour in upon the Bishop. In the same year as the Council's debacle, namely 1858, a certain unlicensed clergyman, Crompton by name, having been forbidden to minister in the diocese, continued in defiance of the Bishop's order to perform priestly functions at Pine Town. He offended the Bishop further by wearing vestments, and attempted to justify himself by declaring that Colenso's spiritual authority was in abeyance, in view of certain orders issued by him concerning the offertory. He then wrote to the Bishop of Cape Town(2) presenting Colenso as a schismatic. He was rebuked by the Metropolitan but continued to officiate and, if we are to believe Cox, consorted with the Dean. To make matters worse, the Archdeacon now threw in his lot with the Dean's faction. The factiousness of the St. Paul's laity was deplorable, but far more culpable was the behaviour of the Natal clergy. Callaway bore witness to the party spirit that prevailed among them. In a letter to a friend in England, he declared that he was "bound to support him as Bishop and to oppose the partisan spirit which was causing him trouble." (3).

Calleway took this line in spite of his strong disapproval of the Bishop's theology and parts of his Zulu translation work. He eventually was drawn into the controversy, and

(1) (Letter in Cox p.103 - no address).
(2) (Life of Colenso. Cox Vol. I. P.107)
(3) (Calleway to Hanbury June 15.1859. Life of Calleway. Benham P.87)

abandoned his neutral position because of what he considered the bad behaviour of the High Church clergy. Later he declared frankly that he believed that Colenso's conduct had been much misrepresented, "and it is this misrepresentation which, looking at what is passing around me, appears to me like intentional lying, or that kind of gross exaggeration and mis-statement of facts that is just as mischievous - that disgusts me with the Natal Cape party- " (1) These are illuminating comments by one who attempted to remain neutral during the conflict, and who eventually accepted the constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

Officially, Bishop Gray supported his suffragan until the appearence of the Epistle to the Romans, but that he disapproved of much that his brother in Natal was doing is clear from his published correspondence. But Gray's position was not easy. In Churchmanship he sympathised with Colenso's enemies, but he felt bound to uphold his episcopal authority, until he dared no longer do so. There had for some time been an undercurrent of tension between Colenso and the Metropolitan. In 1855 there had arisen a sharp difference of opinion over the Bishop of Natal's attitude to the baptism of Polygamists. The Metropolitan had taken the traditional view. Moreover, he believed that Colenso had brought too large a band of workers, when operations had scarcely begun in Natal, and that some of them were ill chosen. In addition, he felt the Bishop of Natal had acted unwisely and unilaterally by his omission of portions of the liturgy and the additions of other portions. He had not been able to approve of the constitution of the Church Council. (2) The difference between the two was sharply thrown into relief by their reactions to the result of the Long Case. While Gray regarded the verdict as showing that the Church in South Africa was a voluntary association, and would have to legislate for itself, and make its own disciplinary enactments, Colenso regarded it as showing that the Metropolitan had in fact no legal jurisdiction over him at all. The stage was now set for a collision between the Metropolitan and his suffragan in Natal.

The squabbles in Natal were the skirmishing action of the vanguards of two opposing factions. With the publication of Colenso's 'Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans' the main forces came into collision, and the battle was joined. Colenso was concerned, and rightly, to interpret the Gospel intelligibly to the heathen. To preach to his congregation in Ferncett was one thing, to preach the Gospel where it had never been heard and to a people with different traditions and a wholly different outlook, was another. His answer to the question - 'How present the Gospel to the heathen?' was the Epistle to the Romans.'

To prepare his missionary party for their new field of labour, he had worked through the Epistle to the Romans on the voyage from Britain, and now, after seven more years of missionary experience and study of the epistle, he printed his commentary at Ekukanyeni in 1861.

Gray felt that many of the views expressed in the book were unsound, and entreated its author to defer publication and consult with his friends about it. The appeal appears to have gone by unheeded, however, and soon copies were in circulation in Cape Town. A serious situation could not now be avoided. Gray referred the matter to the Primate, and asked whether the doctrines were not so erroneous as to merit a synodical

(1) (Callaway to Hanbury, Aug.1, 1858 - Life of Callaway, Benham P.119)

(2) (Life of Gray, Vol. II. p. 393-396).

condemnation or a trial. Colenso was supplied with the contents of this letter. Gray was aware of the difficulty of proceeding in the matter, for he must have felt sure that Privy Council would not condemn Colenso's views. Writing to that doughty champion of conservative theology, Bishop Wilberforce, he suggests that if the Convocations would declare the Bishop of Natal's books to be heretical, and thus give him assurance of their moral support, he could then proceed with a trial together with other Bishops of the Province. (1) To carry the issue to a Court constituted in a Colonial Province would raise the whole issue of the status of the Colonial Church in relation to the Mother Church, and the Privy Council.

In May 1862, the English Bishops considered the matters raised in the Metropolitan's letter, and they declared that the book was unsound. They did not publicly condemn it, however, because they believed that the Archbishops would have to give judicial utterance on the matter at a later date. (2)

By August 1862, both Gray and Colenso were in the English arena. By October Colenso had delivered himself of his second enormity. The Orthodox were horrified by the publication of the first part of his 'The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined.' The fight was on.

In the introduction to the first volume of his Old Testament criticisms, he declared that it was his experience as a missionary that forced him to embark upon the enquiries from which he would gladly have turned away if his conscience would have permitted him to do so. "I have become engaged in this enquiry, from no wish or purpose of my own, but from the plain necessities of my position as a missionary Bishop. I feel, however, that I am only drawn in with the stream, which in this our age is setting steadily in this direction, and swelling visibly from day to day. What the end may be, God only, the God of truth, can foresee." (3). Thus the Bishop's Biblical criticism that shocked his fellow Churchmen, arose from an honest attempt to translate the Old Testament into the Zulu language. The jibe that he had gone to Natal to convert the Zulus and had instead been converted by them, had a strong element of truth in it.

In the work both of translation and printing of the Old Testament for the use of his converts, the Bishop had been assisted by Zulu Catechists, among them one William Ngidi by name. The questions they asked brought him face to face with problems in the scriptures, which he had glossed over before in the busy life of school master and Parish Priest. His belief in the general spiritual value of the Bible had satisfied him then. Now, however, he was directly challenged by another, and felt in duty bound to find and speak the true answer.

This commentary was also an avowed attempt to rectify certain tendencies current among missionaries in Natal. It was an antidote to the sort of teaching which he found in the catechism of an American missionary. This declared that

(1) (Hist: Records C.O.P.S.A. p. 166)

(2) (Curtis - Lambeth).

(3) (Pentateuch Vol. I. P.3)

'God said, let them be destroyed: the Son rose up and said, let them be saved, and let me die in their place.' To the Bishop this was an unholy corruption of the gospel, and was contrary to the Gospel of St. John which records "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He first loved us and sent His Son ...' (1) Often in the past Christians have fallen into heresy in an attempt to refute the errors of others, by going to the opposite extreme. This, alas, was to be Colenso's fate. In destroying one error, he fathered another.

In the Preface to the first part of the book on the Pentateuch, he declares that 'amidst my work in this land, I have been brought face to face with the very questions which I then put by. While translating the story of the Flood, I have had a simple minded, but intelligent, native look up and ask 'Is all that true? Do you really believe that all this happened thus, - that all the beasts and birds, and creeping things upon the earth, large and small, from hot countries and cold, came thus by pairs and entered into the ark with Noah? And did Noah gather food for them all, for the beasts and birds of prey, as well as the rest?' My heart answered in the words of the Prophet, 'Shall a man speak lies in the Name of the Lord?' Zech. XIII,3. I dared not do so. My own knowledge of some branches of science, of Geology in particular, had been much increased since I left England, and I now knew for certain, on Geological grounds, a fact of which I had only had misgivings before, viz. that a Universal Deluge, such as the Bible manifestly speaks of, could not possibly have taken place - -."

He found, moreover, that some of his converts to whom he had spoken of the 'Great and Blessed God, the Merciful Father of all mankind' were surprised and astonished by some of the passages in scripture that seemed to speak of a savage God (e.g. Ex.xxii 20-21: xxi 4.) He came at once to the conclusion that the gathering in of the almost unlimited harvest of heathen could only be impeded if the Church asked them at the outset to believe, without reservation, in stories that could be matched by their own traditions. If a Zulu could perceive the inconsistencies and unethical nature of some of the stories, much more so could a learned Hindu. He became convinced that a more liberal presentation was essential in the mission field, and, having embarked upon his investigations, he wrote to friends in Britain to send him the works of German scholars in the field of Biblical criticism. He read not only exponents of the liberal view, but also Kurtz and Hengsenburg who defended the conservative one. He was unconvinced by the works of the latter, and devoted a considerable amount of space in the first volume of his Biblical criticism, to exposing their weak points. (2)

He found the work of Ewald, De Wette and Bleek more satisfactory and more in conformity with his own investigations. That his work was not merely a re-hash of the German critics is evident, for he had written the greater part of his first volume before reading De Wette and Bleek, and in many respects his conclusions differed from those of Ewald (3)

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(1) (Colenso to Rev.T.P. Ferguson - Cox P.119)

(2) (Ref:Hengstenberg's 'Psalms' & 'Christology of the Old Testament,' Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch: Kurtz 'Hist. of the Old Covenant.' He later read Havernick's 'Introduction to the Old Testament')

(3) Ewald: Geschichte des Volkes Israel, 7 Vols. De Wette: Einleitung. Bleek: Einleitung in das A.T. Kuenen: Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek. He only read Kuenens work after his return to Britain (Pub.Sept.1861. Leyden). (Pentateuch Vol.II.)

The more he poured over Kurtz and Hengstenberg, the more convinced he became of their helplessness in the face of the new Biblical criticism, and the more certain he became of his own ground. The last three of his four volumes on Old Testament criticism show much more the influence of the German scholars. In the first he had confined himself chiefly to 'showing up' discrepancies in the Old Testament records. He went on to show the composite character of the Pentateuch, and dealt with the pivot on which so much of the criticism moved, namely the Name of God. He attributed the Elohistic narrative to Samuel.

He had been much disturbed by the fact that he could not, in fairness to the Native Catechist William who had helped him to translate the whole of the New Testament, ordain him to the diaconate, because it was required of him that he should 'unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures.' It is clear, moreover, that before he left for Britain he contemplated resignation, because he could not see how he could retain the Episcopal office and require from others this same declaration. It was this uncertainty as to the future that induced him to return with his entire family, and certainly to Mrs. Colenso it seemed that they might be leaving the shores of Africa for ever. (1)

His mind was soon set at rest on this score, however.

Before his first volume was published, and before he took the final step of resignation, the case of the Essays and Reviews was decided, and he now felt assured that he had not in any way violated the laws of the Church of England. Moreover, in England there was some vigorous support for more liberal views. The Bishops of London and St. Davids were inclined in this direction, and Dean Stanley was more outspoken than any. He declared it a shame 'that truth is tolerable everywhere except in the mouth of the ministers of God of Truth - that falsehood, driven from every corner of the educated world, may find an honoured refuge behind the consecrated bulwarks of the sanctuary.' (2)

He was not long left in doubt therefore as to what course he should take. He soon saw himself as one of the Apostles of free thought for the clergy. He began to see it as a duty to remain at his post and claim for both clergy and laity the freedom of thought which to him was of the very essence of the Protestant religion (3). Without it in the age of progressive science in which he lived, he believed Britain would be "A mere dark prison house, in which the mind of both the teacher and the taught would be fettered still with the chains of past ignorance, instead of being the very home of religious liberty." (4)

Just as he had perceived the necessity for a restatement of the Church's doctrines of inspiration, if the spread of the Gospel were not to be impeded, so now he saw equally clearly that, in the face of the new critical methods and new fields of scientific discovery, the Church would have to restate her faith and doctrine, or suffer grievously from them. He believed that a timely reception of the truth by the Church, the adoption of wise and liberal measures in altering Church

(1) (Mrs. Colenso: letter: no address - Cox Vol. I. P.171)

(2) (Edinburgh Review, April 1861. - Cox p.492.)

(3) (Pentateuch, Vol. I. P.xxiv,xxxiii)

(4) (Op. Cit.).

formularies in order to measure them up to new mental horizons, would save a great falling away from the Church. He urged that the Church should at once disclaim any infallibility for the Bible in matters of History and Geology, and Geography, etc., and teach men to seek in it for what is Good, Holy, Loving, and to let the Holy Spirit speak to their Consciences. (1)

It is not necessary for the purposes of this work to describe in detail the course of events in England after Colenso's return. It is enough to remark that the Bench of Bishops in England passed a resolution denying the Bishop of Natal the right to minister in Word or Sacrament in their several Dioceses, until he should have cleared himself of the scandal in which he was involved.

Two days later, on February 6, 1863, almost the entire English Episcopate, as well as the Colonial Bishops, passed an address signed by all except the Bishop of Cape Town and the Bishop of St. Davids, calling on the Bishop of Natal to resign. In this address the Epistle to the Romans was not mentioned, possibly because it had not been sold in England, but the views propounded in the 'Pentateuch Critically Examined' were held to be incompatible with his office in the Church. (2)

Both Houses of Convocation condemned the book, although the Bishop of St. Davids spoke boldly in favour of freedom of thought for the clergy. The Bishops in England, however, felt themselves unable to bring to trial a Bishop who belonged to a distant jurisdiction. Probably any formal charge against him would have had no more chance of succeeding than the charges brought against the Essayists.

It was sufficient for Bishop Gray that Colenso's liberal views should have been condemned by the Mother Church. He returned to Cape Town in April 1863, having taken both ecclesiastical and legal advice concerning the advisability of proceeding to try formally his suffragan. A month later the Bishop of Natal was presented for heresy by Dean Douglas of Cape Town, Archdeacon Merriman of Grahamstown, and Archdeacon Badnall of George. The Metropolitan cited him to appear before himself and two assessors (the Bishop of Grahamstown and C.F.S.) to answer the charges preferred against him. Colenso had already made it clear that he did not recognise the Metropolitan's jurisdiction as final, and claimed the right of appeal to the Archbishop's Ecclesiastical Courts in England. He denied that his oath of canonical obedience bound him to obey the Metropolitan in what was not lawful. In adopting this attitude he was not merely being fractious. He was not merely the self-willed schismatic that some of his detractors would like us to believe. He acted consistently and followed certain precedents, and in a very real sense he was right to have regarded Bishop Gray as an innovator. In the action which he took, the Metropolitan claimed primitive precedent, but to the contemporary Church of England it was somewhat startling to have a Metropolitan do what even the Archbishop of Canterbury could not do, namely try a Suffragan, without right of appeal to the Crown. In this respect, Gray was as much of an innovator as Colenso was

(1) (Pentateuch. Vol. I. p.153)

(2) (Curtis - Lambeth)

in another field. Colenso was convinced that to refer - as Gray was inclined to do - to the Canon law and the Oecumenical Councils was the sheerest nonsense. As a Bishop of the Church of England he must be tried by the law of the Church of England. He had never recognised any other law. To Colenso it was the wildest innovation for the Metropolitan to claim a spiritual authority when he had been denied any temporal authority, which he had been, by the decision in the Long case (1). Had the Bishop of Salisbury ventured to suspend Dr. Williams by his spiritual authority, when the decision of the Archbishop's own court was overruled by the Privy Council? (2) Gray, Colenso roundly declared, was the schismatic who, consecrated to be a Bishop of the Church of England, refused to accept the jurisdiction of the Court of Arches and the Privy Council. (3).

In reply to the charge that he was dishonest in refusing to be bound by his oath of canonical obedience, he declared that he assumed Grey's Letters Patent would be like his own. (He never saw Gray's which were issued 15 days after his own). In his no mention of Gray's jurisdiction was made. No such power was possessed by the"Archbishop of Canterbury, whose authority over his Suffragans was expressly laid down in my patent, as the type of the Bishop of Cape Town's over myself."(4 Moreover the law of the Church of England demanded obedience only in all things lawful. Colenso, supported by the Privy Council in Britain, deemed that Gray had not acted lawfully.

Legally, Colenso's position was unassailable, but in view of the fact that Gray's Letters Patent had been declared invalid, and the Church in South Africa a voluntary association, Bishop Gray had no alternative but to fall back on his spiritual authority. Both from the point of view of the Universal Church of Christ, which is unlimited by national boundaries and is bound by no law in spiritual matters, but the law of Christ, and from the point of view of the necessity for removing scandal from his Province and maintaining a decent order in his Province, Gray acted in the only way possible.

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(1)(The Reverend Mr. Long, Vicar of Mowbray, challenged his Metropolitan's right to call a Synod in his Diocese, on the ground that it would be contrary to the laws and customs of the Church of England. He refused to attend the Synod of 1861 on being summoned, and after ignoring the Bishop's Court sentence of 3 months suspension was deprived of his benefice. When he appealed to the Cape Supreme Court for an interdict to prevent his removal from his parish, he lost his case. But on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1865 the Supreme Court's judgement was reversed. "The Judges of the Privy Council decided that all jurisdiction given to the Bishop by letters patent of 1847 ceased by the issue of new letters Patent in 1853, and that the letters Patent in 1853, being issued after a constitutional government had been established in the Cape, were ineffectual to create any jurisdiction within the Colony" (a) Where there was no established Church of England, Church members organised as a voluntary association would have to draw up their own disciplinary code. (a) Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa - Long v Bishop of Cape Town)P.155)

(2)(A letter to the members of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Natal).

(3)(A letter to the members of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Natal).

(4)(A letter to the members of the United Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Natal).

It was most unfortunate, however, that the man who had been Colenso's accuser in England now sat as his Judge in South Africa. Colenso could justly complain that the case had been prejudiced, that the rule of law had been abrogated, and disobedience invited. On the other hand, it is difficult to see how Gray could have acted otherwise. He had been fully assured of the moral support of the Church of England before he took the final step and he was assured of it thereafter at the first Lambeth Conference in 1867 (1). Only two Bishops were not invited to the Conference; Bishop Colenso was one of them (2).

To have appeared before the Metropolitan in Cape Town, or to have accepted the offer of appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, would have been an acknowledgment of Gray's jurisdiction. Colenso, therefore, refused to appear in Cape Town, and deputed the Lutheran Curator of the Grey Library to read a letter from him to the Court, protesting against its legality. He was thereupon tried in his absence and convicted on all the nine charges preferred against him. In coming to his decision, Gray was guided by the Articles and formularies of the Church of England. He sentenced Colenso to deposition from his Episcopal office, and prohibited him from the exercise of any spiritual functions within the Metropolitan Province of Cape Town. The sentence was suspended till April 16th, 1864, in order to give time for an appeal to the Primate. This Colenso refused to do.

Quite apart from the legality of this sentence, it must be determined if Colenso can fairly be judged to have held heretical views. In any assessment of the value of his work as a missionary, it is of the utmost importance to ascertain whether he was a heresiarch. Obviously his work must have been seriously impaired if this can be maintained. So often has he been condemned without any real knowledge of his supposed heresies, and championed without any acknowledgment of his errors, that one dare reach no conclusion without a thorough examination of the charges against him.

In coming to a verdict it is essential to show beforehand what principles of judgment are being employed. The ultimate source of Christian doctrine is the Holy Scripture in the Church. "Holy Scripture", says the sixth of the 39 Articles of Religion, "containeth all things necessary to Salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation." Even the decisions of the Oecumenical Councils must be measured against the Apostolic testimony in Holy Writ.

Let us discuss the nine charges made against the Bishop of Natal in the light of the Scriptures, the thirty-nine Articles, and Church formularies, - that is to say by Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Church of England.

Five of the nine charges arose from the Bishop's Old Testament criticism. The first of these was that in asserting that the Scriptures contain the Word of God, but are not the Word of God, he was maintaining a view contrary to Article 6, which has in the main been quoted above. (3). The sentiments objected to are of the following nature :

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(1) (Lambeth - Curtis).

(2) On the other hand although the burning question of Bishop Colenso's position was the subject of prolonged debate at the first Lambeth Conference, "The Archbishop declined to allow any distinct Resolution of Condemnation to be put to the Conference and he ruled out of order a motion to that effect which was proposed by the Presiding Bishop of the American Church".
(The Lambeth Conferences 1867, 1878, 1888 - R.T. Davidson).

(3) (Pentateuch, Vol. II, p. 383).

"The Bible is not itself God's Word but assuredly 'God's Word' will be heard in the Bible by all who humbly and devoutly listen for it." "While showing itself defective in ancient days, - with respect to all matters of science, art, literature, and general politics, yet has the Hebrew race been quickened from the first, more than all others, with higher spiritual life, and endued with special gifts for the purpose of propagating that life to others. Throughout the Scriptures is this wonderful power exhibited, by which the whole inner man is stirred, and we 'taste the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come.'(1) Then he goes on to show how in the denunciation of one of the Prophets, the Word of God is relevant to the present sinful world.

The vast majority of members of the Anglican Communion today find no warrant in Scripture for using the Old Testament as an incontrovertible authority as to Scientific or Historical facts, and they would not hesitate to adopt Colenso's approach to the Old Testament as their own. It is difficult in any case to see how he could have been condemned for overturning the 6th Article. Nowhere does he assert that the Bible is not sufficient for salvation. Though they were fallible men who wrote its books, holding contemporary views of the cosmogony, yet through its pages the Holy Spirit speaks though He 'be clothed in the outward form of a law, or a parable, or proverb, or narrative.'

The next charge was that he treated the Bible as merely a human book, and that in so doing he was ignoring the Ordination promises, and the Prayer Book services, in which scripture is quoted. What Colenso does in fact say is that God's revelation is not limited to Holy Scripture, though he never denies that the latter was not sufficient for Salvation. He finds comfort in the thought that -"not in the Bible only but out of the Bible, - not to us Christians only but to our fellow men of all climes and countries, ages and religions, - the same Gracious Teacher is revealing, in different measures, the hidden things of God." In the words of Cicero in Lactantius, in the Fifth Colloquy, 'the same Divine Teacher' was revealing His great truths (2). He does insist, however, that "by the special working of His Spirit" on the minds of its (The Bible's) writers, it has been "the means of revealing to us His true name, and has been all along, and as far as we know will never cease to be, the mightiest instrument in the hand of the Divine Teacher for awakening in our minds just conceptions of His character, and of His gracious and merciful dealings with the children of men (3). The Ordination formularies demand that the Scriptures be accepted as sufficient for Salvation. Colenso does not suggest that they are entirely human products, or that they are insufficient for Salvation. There may be room for censure in that he confused inspiration and revelation, and so denied the uniqueness of the Biblical revelation and undermined the authority of the Bible. But modernists in the Church today hold this, to some, inadequate view of the nature of Biblical revelation. There is no explicit and comprehensive definition of the nature of revelation in the Church of England formularies.

That Colenso's somewhat inadequate views on the nature of revelation (i.e. that inspiration and revelation are the

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(1) (Pentateuch Vol. II. p.353)

(2) (Pentateuch Vol. I p. 154f)

(3) (Pentateuch Vol. I.p. 13).

same) are widely held today, cannot alter the fact that his theology in this respect was inadequate. He can be no more defended on this account, than he can be on the argument that his predecessors in the Church, the Latitudinarians, had virtually discarded revelation and miracle altogether. Ultimately, Colenso's view of revelation is inadequate, but it is one that has been, and still is, tolerated in the Church to which he belonged.

The next charge brought against him was that he had denied the authenticity of certain of the Canonical Books. He had, of course, denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He was also charged under this head with having impugned the truth of certain books and having denied their historical and scientific exactitude. In this respect the Church has accepted the verdict of criticism, and very few Anglican clergy hold the view that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. No ecclesiastical Court would convict a man on this count.

Then he was charged with having declared that Our Lord was in error concerning the authorship of the various parts of the Pentateuch. He denied, therefore, that Our Lord was God and Man in one person: in short, he was a Nestorian. In fact he was no more a Nestorian than the supposed founder of that heresy. He hoist Gray with his own petard later by his reference, in his well argued 'Letter to the Members of the united Church of England and Ireland in the Diocese of Natal,' (1) to the Fathers, in support of his contention. He quotes Athanasius as having said 'as on becoming man he hungers and thirsts and suffers with men, so with men as Man He knows not.' Colenso next turns to accuse his accusers of Eutychianism, perhaps with more justification than they had had in labelling him a Nestorian. No Anglican Court would dream of bringing this charge before one of its adherents now.

The last charge was that the Book of Common Prayer, and particularly portions of the Ordinal and Baptismal service were impugned by his Biblical criticism. He had contended that the Old Testament references in the Prayer Book Baptismal service were not historically accurate, and yet at the Ordination of Priests he had declared he would 'always so minister the doctrine and sacraments, and discipline of Christ, as this Church and realm hath received the same.'(2) Colenso proposed to omit the offending passages. Unilateral action of that nature was indefensible, but it should be remembered that the Prayer Book has been revised and altered in this respect. Fundamentally, this charge was of the same kind as the first two considered.

In the field of Biblical criticism Colenso showed himself to be endowed with a remarkable devotion to the Truth, and considerable resources of courage. He saw the need, before many of his fellows, of a restatement of the Church's theology in relation to new discoveries in the scientific field. And boldly did he support the contention that in the Bible Christians should not look primarily for historical and geological exactitude, but for the Word of the Living God. That he propounded views in the field of criticism that are not

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(1) (Letter circulated in 1866.

(2) (The Ordinal, Book of Common Prayer).

accepted today, and that his work was in many respects imperfect, was only to be expected of one who, first alone, and then with others, was feeling a new way forward.

But having said this, it must be added that a Bishop immersed in the labours of Biblical criticism, grappling with doubts and uncertainties, was not a suitable man for the Mission Field. Quite apart from the time necessary for such labours, a missionary should not surely be involved in theological controversies, and it would have been far better for him to have retired from the Mission Field at least for a time.

The charges arising from the Epistle to Romans, to which his contemporaries paid less attention and by which they appear to have been less shocked than by his Biblical criticism, were in fact far more serious. Even Gray was more concerned to refute Colenso's Biblical criticism than his doctrinal vagaries. (1). Of the charges arising from the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, the first was that he had expressed views on the Atonement at variance with Articles 2 and 31. He had denied that Our Lord died to reconcile God to man. Colenso with his intense preoccupation with the Love and Mercy of God, could not hold that God needed to be so reconciled.(2) He was aware that somehow a way had to be made through the wrath of God that divided him from sinful men. But he believed God Himself had made that way in the Atonement, so He did not need to be "reconciled" to man, and certainly there was no "payment" made by Christ's death to satisfy an angry God. That the perfect rightness of Christ availed to make a way for man, Colenso held most assuredly(3). In his revulsion from the theory of Penal Substitution he at times fell into Abelardianism. However, if in one place he speaks as though the incarnation were merely an exhibition of God's love and mercy - an assurance of His love and solicitude for us - yet he says in another "and now that He, our Head, has paid that debt - i.e. the debt of nature, which sin had the right to demand of Him, if he was really willing to be a true Son of Man, we are free. We are made partakers of His death, are reckoned to have died and to have paid this death to sin, because He died. This is the doctrine of St. Paul. We all die indeed, still, but no longer as paying a debt which we owe to Sin, no longer as incurring a part of the curse of our fallen nature. The sting of death is taken away from us." (4)

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(1) Lambeth Conference, Natal Question.

(2) "It is not He who needs to be reconciled to us; for He loves us all along" (Com. Ep:Rom: 97 and 112). "The Apostle does not say that God is reconciled to us by the Death of His Son, but that we are reconciled to God. It is our unwillingness, fear, distrust, that is taken away by the revelation of God's love to us in His Son. There is nothing now to prevent our going, with the prodigal, and throwing ourselves at his feet and saying "Father I have sinned, but Thou are love." (This alone is sheer Abelardianism, but compare Notes 3 and 6)

(3) And again he says "We shall be saved through His life, His ever living to appear in the presence of God for us, from that wrath which is revealed from God upon all wilful evil. His perfect obedience is what God looks at, and in Him is He well-pleased, and with us in Him. (Com: Ep: Rom: 94)

(4) Commentary on Epistle to Romans. P.97.

That Colenso believed in an essential atonement there is no doubt. He discarded a theory about it. Probably his view of the Atonement was not so much erroneous as inadequate, for he almost entirely ignored the wrath of God. "God indeed is love, but He is holy love, and such love when faced with sin can only issue in active antagonism. Christ on the cross is not only the patient sufferer, but, by His acceptance of death, acknowledged the justice of the divine wrath. The death of Christ had a Godward as well as a manward aspect, though we may find difficulty in entering into its meaning." (5)

It is true that Colenso does contradict the language of the second Article, which declares that Christ died "to reconcile His Father to us." Put thus, baldly, this smacks of penal substitution, and is probably derived from the Augsburg confession. Yet, although he was deficient in his apprehension of the righteousness of God, he did hold the fundamental doctrine that "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself." (6) Moreover, in Scripture the emphasis is on man's reconciliation to God - "With His stripes we are healed." "His own self bears our sins in His body." (7)

The next indictment is the most serious. "The charge preferred is that - the writer maintaining that justification is a consciousness of being counted righteous, and that all men, even without such consciousness, are treated by God as righteous, and counted righteous, and that all men as members of the great human family, are dead to sin and risen again unto righteousness, denies that men are justified by faith, and impugnes and contradicts the Catholic faith." (8) Colenso was confronted with the problem of the fate in eternity of the virtuous heathen. He could not find it in his heart to accept the view that the virtuous heathen has no place in the kingdom of Heaven, and much less that he would perish everlastingly. So he evolved the doctrine, supposedly derived from the Epistle to the Romans, that the atonement of Our Lord availed for all who conscientiously lived up to the best they knew. It did not matter whether or no the name of God had ever been heard by the heathen if they obeyed the voice of conscience, which was God speaking in them, they would be accounted righteous. That is to say, the Atonement, which was real enough, automatically availed from all ages to all ages. He maintains that we "as members of the great human family" "have already died unto sin, and risen again unto righteousness, in our very birth hour through the grace of our heavenly Father." (9)

He says in another place "And all of them (Jews, Christians, or Heathen) as St. Paul plainly teaches afterwards, are counted as righteous creatures though they may not know it, through the grace of God bestowed upon the whole human race in His own dear Son." (10).

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(5) Bicknell - Thirty-nine Articles, P.118)

(6) (2 Corinthians, verse 18) (Yet in another place in his commentary he declares in discussing Romans Chapter iii, 24, when Christ is described as a Propitiation "whom God sent forth," he says "that is to say - as one through whom God will smile graciously upon us as our Father, notwithstanding our own sinfulness. In Him the Father was pleased and with us in Him." Christ's holy obedience was an expression of perfect righteousness and "He graciously accepted us all in Him"). (Com: Ep: Rom: p.66).

(7) (I Peter, ii, 24.)

(8) (Articles 11 and 18).

(9) (Com: Ep: Rom: 114).

(10) (Com: Ep: Rom: 75).

Colenso was in full revolt against the doctrine that the Heathen and unbelievers perished everlastingly. He had approved of Maurice's work in this respect, and had reacted strongly against it when he was confronted by it in the missionaries he found in Natal during his ten weeks' visit. In doing so he embraced a doctrine of complete Universalism - Justification without faith in Christ (though he would probably have said the heathen in following Good were belivers in the All Good One). What Colenso's doctrine amounted to in this respect was, that by virtue of Christ's atoning sacrifice, all men who obeyed the dictates of conscience, or made a real attempt to do so, were accounted righteous. That Colenso was able to produce his theory on Justification from the Epistle to the Romans, the bastion of Reformed Theology of Justification by Faith, showed him to be possessed more of a sort of tortuous ingenuity than of theology.

Nevertheless, a theologian of considerable reputation and ability expressed very much the same view in the Croall Lectures 1942-1943. Leonard Hodgson D.D.(Oxon,) Hon.D.D. (Edin.) Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church, in his "The Doctrine of the Trinity" in appendix 1, writes "The case is altered if the Christian acceptance of revelation is regarded as the recognition in Jesus Christ of God in action rescuing His world from the powers of evil. This implies the recognition of sin as the root of evil, and thus affirms the prophetic proclamation of God as the Righteous One who looks primarily for righteousness in His worshippers. But if this be so, then the fundamental act of faith in God is for a man to try to do what he honestly believes to be right and to trust the Power behind the universe to support him in the effort. Thus the heathen or atheist who is trying to do what he honestly believes to be right is therein actually manifesting faith in the God made known to us in the biblical revelation. On this view of revelation there is no need to seek to determine the minimum content of intellectual belief which is required for justification; what is looked for is not some lowest common measure of propositional statement but the moral "set" of a man's life. On this understanding of revelation the uniqueness of Christianity derives from the once-for-all character of the divine activity. This is incompatible with "subjective" doctrines of the atonement of the Abelard-Rashdall type. But given belief in the atonement as an objective divine accomplishment, in virtue of which forgiveness is ready and waiting for penitent sinners, it is possible to regard its benefits as extending to all who are trying to do their moral best, and to regard them as justified through the death of Christ even though they may never have heard of Him, or may have found themselves unable honestly to accept what they have been told of Him." (1) There is no suggestion of censuring Dr. Hodgson.

The next charge is fundamentally the same as the first two. His exposition of the doctrine of Justification conditioned his approach to the two Gospel sacraments. He was declared to have contradicted Article 27, the Nicene Creed, the form for the service of Baptism in the Prayer Book, and the Catechism, by asserting that all men before baptism, and simply by virtue of belonging to the human race, were regenerate. He had also declared that all men received 'daily supplies of mercy for body and soul, by virtue of His body and blood' (2). And by

(1) (The Doctrine of the Trinity - Leonard Hodgson, D.D.P.214)

(2) (Com: Ep: Rom: 116)

holding these views had turned the sacraments into mere pledges of a Recreation automatically bestowed on all mankind at birth. The sacraments were therefore no longer 'generally necessary for salvation.'

In a letter to Maurice on this subject he calls the Eucharist 'the appointed means for keeping us in mind of the real presence of Our Lord with us at all times.' He wrote this before the publication of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, in which he goes on to assert that every man everywhere is partaking of the spiritual gifts signified by the body and blood, at the Eucharist, 'though he may not know what the Word made Flesh has done at His Father's bidding for the children of men' (1). Approached in this manner, the sacraments become merely an assurance to fearful men of the benevolence of the Creator.

Lastly he was charged with asserting that he couldno longer hold 'the doctrine of the endlessness of future punishments.' In so doing he had impugned the Athanasian Creed, the Catechism, the Service for the burial of the dead, and the Commination Service. In holding these views Colenso was merely carrying his 'universalism', in respect to justification and redemption, one step further. He shrank from the belief that a God of Love and Mercy could do what a human conscience could never do. And he roundly declared that when the dictum of the Church or the supposed teaching of Holy Scripture contradict 'the Law of Life' - (The Light which lighteth every man) - set within the heart of man, it should not be received as true. He claimed, moreover, that the whole tenor of scripture, which spoke of a God of Love, was against the doctrine.

In this, as in other respects, he carried the individual judgment to an extreme, but it is impossible for a pioneer to avoid this. There is ultimately nothing more a man can do if he believes a doctrine to be faulty, than to reject it. He was in full revolt against the somewhat crude exposition of the consequences of the wrath of God. Nothing would make him pray the prayer printed for a Church of England Missionary Institute - "O Eternal God, Creator of all things, mercifully remember that the souls of unbelievers are the work of Thy hand, and that they are created in Thy resemblance. Behold, O Lord, how hell is filled with them, to the dishonour of Thy Holy Name. Remember that Jesus Christ, Thy Son, for their salvation, suffered a most cruel death. Vouchsafe to be propitiated by the prayers of Thy church, Thy most holy Spouse, and call to mind Thine own compassion." (2). To him these words were little short of blasphemy.

The Bishop's views in this respect are best understood as a rejection of the doctrine of Everlasting punishment as it was then understood and expounded. He admits, 'If, indeed, the eternal fire be the everburning wrath of a Holy Being against Sin, as long as that evil continues to exist, it is conceivable that they may alike be subjected to the vengeance of that fire.' (3).

No one would trouble to make a charge of this nature against a clergyman today.

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(1) (Com:Ep: Rom: P.115)

(2) (Com:Ep: Rom: P.191.)

(3) (Com:Ep: Rom: P.193.)

It is difficult not to conclude that on the second and third charges arising out of the Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, the Bishop of Natal was seriously at fault. On all the other points he had offended the Church of his generation but he would leave the Church of England today unmoved. Even in respect of the views he held regarding justification, there are some who in fact hold very much the same position, though they do not carry their views to the logical conclusion as Colenso did. Another Missionary Bishop, the Bishop of Corea, writes "As one lives among many of these non-Christian folk and studies their history and realises how many noble and lovable characters their old world culture or religion has produced, one cannot but find oneself indefinitely extending the range of the uncovenanted mercies of God and indulging in the larger hope for those whom lack of opportunity or invincible ignorance have kept outside the City of God. Moreover, it is surely a very poor appreciation of the Gospel of the Incarnation which represents it as an offering to one here, another there, - as brands snatched from the burning - merely individual and negative gift." (1)

Colenso's thinking is inclined to be shallow, and his theology 'amateurish.' He was not a trained theologian, but then neither was Bishop Gray. He seems, moreover, not always to be very consistent. But it should be remembered that the questions which were raised were many of them being raised for the first time, and that Colenso was wrestling with new problems, which have since been thoroughly thrashed out. The work of Westcott and Hort was yet to be done. Nevertheless, it is remarkable how seldom he refers to earlier theologians of repute, and how often he relies entirely upon his own insight. A wiser man would have read more widely than Colenso did before committing himself to an irrevocable course.

In the main, the Dean of Cape Town's summary of the Bishop's errors and their source in his over emphesis of the Love of God to the exclusion of His righteousness, was correct, though his claim that Colenso denied the Propitiatory nature of Our Lord's sacrifice is not borne out either by the latter's works or by his letter read out during the course of the trial in his defence. The Dean pointed out that the 'infinite benevolence' that the Bishop so often spoke of was 'another name for amiable weakness.' He could see God only in this light 'and it was in accordance with this, his fundamental view, the Bishop puts forth a scheme of opinions - doctrines I cannot call them - which removes faith from the position it holds as the introduction to a state of Salvation; takes from the sacraments all use and virtue, and denies the existence of the Church, and does away with Hell. Upon the plea of showing forth the love of God our Father, the Bishop has put forward a wild though mystic and alluring scheme of blind benevolence, which is subversive of all that is generally known as Christianity.' (2)

Even when we have taken into account the Bishop's revolt against certain crude and unsatisfactory statements of theology, and his pioneering work in the field of Biblical criticism, and the fact that there was at times a certain element of Party persecution involved in these squabbles, it still remains true that in certain important respects he was theologically unsound.

(1) (From 'Feed My Sheep' 1927. The Essay on Foreign Mission by the Right Rev. Mark Napier Trollope D.D. A book produced by the Tractarian Wing of the Church, to which Bishop Gray belonged. P.252)

(2) (Argus account of Colenso's trial. P.45)

Nor does it excuse him if some of these views are held today by members of his own communion. They remain poor theology, and he is a poor theologian.

We are now in a position to assess his value as an evangelist, as a minister of the Apostolic testimony, as a missionary to the heathen (Of his deep abiding love for the heathen, a love not spoiled by sentimentality, there is ample evidence) But Bishop Colenso could not really fulfil the functions of a missionary of the Communion to which he belonged because of a fundamental flaw in his orthodoxy (1). His teaching on justification and redemption had torn the very heart out of Christianity. He had in fact done away with Christianity without being quite aware of it. He could not have been a true representative of the Christian faith as held by the Church of England, and as a missionary bishop would have built up a Church with an important doctrinal variation. As a matter of fact the Colenso or Sobantu Native church, which survived the squalls of the last century, still clings tenaciously to Colenso's translation of the Prayer Book, and remains a small sect confined to Natal. It refuses even now to accept the formularies of the Church of the Province of South Africa, and the memory of its founder is a potent influence among its adherents.

It was a great misfortune for his missionary diocese that this conviction of his being a warrior in a crusade against obscurantism and bigotry, impelled him to stand his ground, and return to Natal. To have forfeited his diocese would have been an admission of the unworthiness of his cause, an admission of defeat. He returned, therefore, to continue the battle in Southern Africa, no longer so much a missionary at heart as a controversialist.

Let us give Colenso his due as a fearless lover of the truth, one who made a valuable contribution to Biblical(2) criticism in the face of great opposition, but let us at the same time confess that he was not the man to preserve and hand on the Apostolic testimony. If he saw himself as the champion of freedom of thought for the clergy, and as a crusader in the enterprise of saving the Church from obscurantism and destruction in its clash with science, the mission field was no place in which to wage the warfare.

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(1) (There is a commonly held view that Bishop Colenso was a Unitarian, but there is no evidence for believing this to have been the case. The Natal Sermons and the Commentary on Romans constantly speak of Christ as truly God. The misconception has probably arisen from the Bishop's insistence on addressing prayers, and his hymns, to God the Father. This is generally considered to be liturgically sound. In the Holy Communion Service, the Church addresses the Father, through the Son, and by the Holy Ghost).

(2) Archibald Duff D.D., LLd., in his "History of Old Testament Criticism" quotes an eulogy by Professor A. Keunen of Leyden University, a contemporary scholar of no mean reputation, to the effect that "His (Colenso's) creative touch is on the Old Testament for all time....it was Colenso who let us have the proofs, not indeed clearly realised by himself that the narratives in P. must be regarded as inaccurate...." Moreover said Keunen his "relentless thoroughness" showed previous critics that they had stopped half way.

Chapter VI.

'The Fruit of Controversy'

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'The Fruit of Controversy'.

The Bishop returned to the land of his adoption late in 1865. The years that followed were a melancholy commentary upon the effects of controversy within the Church of Christ.

Colenso had spent the years in England writing the first five volumes of the 'Pentateuch Critically Examined', and in a further study of the German critics. He had visited the Fatherland of criticism, and made a friend of Keunen; he had fought for freedom of thought for the clergy of the Established Church, and had attempted to establish the findings of his Biblical research. He appealed in particular to the intelligent layman, who, he hoped, would be less hidebound by tradition than his clerical brethren. If he was severely criticised by the majority of the Bench of Bishops and by the Clergy, there were quarters in which he was lionised. Those to whom Gray was merely another 'turbulent priest', a presumptious and ambitious prelate, and, to boot, a Romanist, sympathised with the Bishop of Natal in the constitutional struggle in which he was involved. They had no appreciation of the magnificent conflict the Bishop of Cape Town had carried on in order to release the South African branch of the Church Catholic from State control, to free the 'Bride of Christ' from an unholy alliance. Those also who had read the Essays and Reviews with approval, and were in the vanguard of the Liberal movement in theology, arrayed themselves on the side of Colenso. If pulpits were denied to him in England, and his name was struck off the list of SPG Vice-Presidents, he was honoured by being admitted to the celebrated Athenaeum Club.[1].

To those who supported Colenso despite his heterodoxy, and those who supported him because of it, the Bishop of Oxford's energetic championing of Gray was as infuriating as Colenso's 'errors' were baneful to his opponents. They expressed their dislike of the Tractarians' 'sacerdotal arrogance', or their approval of the New Theology, in a most practical way. The energy of the Bishop of Oxford had induced the Trustees of the Colonial Bishopric's fund to stop all payments to the deposed Bishop of Natal. His friends thereupon subscribed £5,300 towards his stipend to support him when he returned to his diocese, in defiance of the ecclesiastical censures of Cape Town. Among those there were a number of prominent men. The subscription lists held the signatures of a former Bishop of Norwich, of Dean Milman and Dean Stanley of St. Paul's, Dr. Temple of Rugby and Prof. Jowett, besides those of about 40 priests and deacons of the National Church.

Colenso seems to have conducted himself well in England, and his supporters, at least, claimed that he had "attained a great victory over his foes, both in policy and spirit, in openness of dealing and Christian spirit--" and his address to his generous friends who had subscribed towards his stipend, was described as "a model of manly, and temperate speech and Christian feeling".

1. (Colenso to T.Shepstone - March 2 1863 - Cox Vol. 2. P.236)
2. (Spectator: Quoted in Mercury, Oct. 19 1865)

At all events he was rewarded by a favourable judgment from the Privy Council on his appeal against the Metropolitan's Judgment. His appeal to the Crown had been referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which on March 20, 1865 had declared that Bishop Gray's Letters Patent had no effect in a colony with an independent legislature, and that the Bishop of Cape Town, having no jurisdiction by law, had none by contract or submission. His sentence pronounced on Colenso was therefore null and void.

With his position in Natal legally secure, Colenso was prepared to return to his post. He could return in triumph, vindicated. But he came in a very different mood from that which had been his when he first reached the shores of South Africa. Then he had come as a Missionary Bishop supported by SPG, and full of fervour for the proclamation of the Gospel to a savage people. Now, it was as though he had been sent by Intellectuals, Erastians, and Liberals, whose chief interest lay in the theological and constitutional issues that were still to be fought out. On the voyage out in 1855 Colenso was studying the Epistle to the Romans so that he could interpret the Gospel to the heathen, ten years later he spent his time on board the Verulam composing the sixth volume of the 'Pentateuch Critically Examined', which dealt with the authorship and authority of the Book of Exodus. Whereas on his arrival in the colony in 1855 the local press had embarked upon a consideration of his missionary plans, and public opinion had fastened upon certain of his apparently revolutionary views on matters vital to the mission field, in 1865 "to give appropriate scope for the discussions of the events and controversies of great interest, for which his (Colenso's) return to the diocese will probably be the signal", a special Church Chronicle Supplement was to be published by Durban's foremost newspaper.[1]

Colenso the missionary had been superseded in men's minds by Colenso the controversialist, and the infant church in Natal was about to throw itself energetically into the battle that raged about his name. For a number of years due attention could not be paid to the work of saving African souls, the very purpose for which the diocese had been originally founded.

Not only was the Bishop's mind preoccupied with his Biblical criticism, but he was also concerned to secure the backing of churchmen in Natal. He seems to have been accorded a considerable measure of support from the laity, at least, on his return. He had foreseen that British love of 'fair play' whatever his theology might be, would rally the laity to his side, and so it turned out. The Editor of the 'Mercury' promised the Bishop a good reception in Durban, "simply expressive of an English hatred of anything that seems like one-sided treatment, rather than approval of Dr. Colenso's Biblical crotchets."[2]

1. (Mercury Oct. 28 1865)
2. (Mercury Oct. 31 1865)

What might be described as the Protestant conservatism of most Englishmen at the time were suspicious of Gray's 'New Church' and of his High Churchmanship. Their opinion of the Church of the Province was similar to that of the editor of the Times who remarked scathingly that Gray's Church bore "about the same relation to reality as South African sherry to the genuine article",[1] and when Gray's sentence of deprivation was read in St. Paul's, Durban, the laity protested and asked for a Vestry meeting to discuss the matter.[2]

Even lay opinion was divided, however, and, although it might not approve of Gray, a substantial part of the laity cautiously abstained from committing itself to Colenso's cause. Of the clergy, on the other hand, there was only one who at once declared for Colenso. This was Tonnessen, who had come over to the Church of England from the Norwegian body of missionaries and even he had repudiated Colenso along with all the other Natal clergy when the Metropolitan had visited the diocese and they had signed an address declaring that their erstwhile Bishop lay under a righteous sentence of deposition.[3] Even his friend Newham, who had recently returned to the Colony remained aloof.

The arrival of 'the Verulam', with the Bishop and his family aboard, after a long voyage of 77 days, was the sign for the presenting of addresses of welcome, and the drawing up of remonstrances, petitions and counter petitions. These tiresome exhibitions of partisanship did not end with the disembarkation of the Colenso family, but continued to be a feature of the life of the Natal Church for years to come. To the Bishop, his reception seemed to be cordial enough. A Congratulatory address signed by 143 of the Port's citizens was presented to His Lordship at Belgrave House, by a deputation of sixteen gentlemen, among whom was the Mayor, Mr. John Hunt. Colenso replied with a long statement of the course of events in England, but any future plans for the diocesan missions received not so much as a mention.

The Bishop next proceeded to preach in St.Paul's Church on his first Sunday in Durban, despite the protests of the incumbent and of both the churchwardens. The battle had begun again in the Colony, but the cudgels were not taken up in earnest until his arrival in the capital, where Dean Green awaited his ex-Bishop, resolute, and determined not to concede him an inch if he could help it.

What had happened to the mission work that Colenso had already started in Natal while he had been absent from the diocese? No enterprise can for long be without its director without suffering grievously in consequence, no diocese can be without its bishop for more than three years and not suffer for it. While Colenso concentrated his energies on writing books in England, the mission work in Natal had to mark time. Already, in 1864, when he had left for England, his Zulu Grammar had virtually ceased to be.

1. (Mercury Nov.11 1865)
2. (Hivett: Ten years church work in Natal. P.205)
3. (Hivett: Ten years church work in Natal P.225)

He had commissioned Archdeacon Grubbe to carry on at Ekukanyeni, with eight to ten lads who would attend his school. But in May 1864 when the Metropolitan visited the diocese in order to take charge of it once more, after deposing his suffragan, he was depressed by the air of neglect that prevailed at the Episcopal residence and mission. He found that the only real mission work being done in the colony by an Anglican was being done at Springvale by Callaway. Mr. Baugh, recently ordained, struggled despite ill health, to keep the mission alive at Umlazi, but since the Robertsons had left, taking with them a number of their converts, the mission had not prospered. At Nonoti, the work which had been planned long before had not yet been taken in hand.

At Ekukanyeni, the light flickered only fitfully. When Gray and Robertson had visited it in 1864 they found that Grubbe had left, and that there was no school for native children at all. The only signs of life were the faithful William Ngide, employed in printing part of the New Testament, and two catechists carrying on Sunday services for some 30 natives. A Mr. Foster was in charge of the property, and a large number of heathen natives were 'squatting' on the episcopal farm. There was very little to show for ten years' mission work in Natal. There was now no whisper of a large scale and thoroughly planned drive against heathenism. There remained only a small body of converts at Ekukanyeni, St. Mary's and Umlazi, and the daughter mission in Zululand and Callaway's independent station. Of these, the two latter never again acknowledged the bishop as head. There were only the permanent buildings at Ekukanyeni, and St. Mary's church. The fruits of his translation work remained, but even they were not everywhere acceptable, and already in 1864 there was talk of producing in conjunction with the Americans, Germans and Wesleyans another translation of the New Testament which would be universally received.

Missionary work never again found a worthy place in Colenso's programme though he always remained a stalwart champion of the rights of the African. There were many reasons for this state of affairs, some of which have already been revealed, but apart from his preoccupation with his scriptural investigations, and the somewhat presumptious assumption that the whole future course of English religious thought depended on the way in which his works were received, there were more obvious reasons.

For a number of years he was constantly involved in lawsuits.[1] Dean Green, who had built the cathedral and

1. (In January 1867, Dr. Colenso entered an action in the Supreme Court of Natal, claiming the trusteeship of the ground on which the cathedral was built, and which originally stood in the name of the Bishop of Cape Town, before the see of Natal was founded. Judgment was given in his favour, one judge dissenting. Against this decision an appeal was made to the Privy Council, which in 1869 confirmed it and gave to Dr. Colenso the sole use of the Cathedral. Dr.Colenso also wished to exclude the Dean and all the clergy who acknowledged his deposition from the use of the church buildings and property vested in him as trustee. He therefore cited Dean Green, Archdeacon Fearne, and the Rev.J.Dalton of Pinetown to appear before his court, which he held as a "lettere patent Bishop", to deprive them of their offices, and then by means of the civil courts deprive them of the use of church property. The sentences were passed, and the Dean was deprived of his office and the other two of their incumbencies". (Hist.Records of Cape . p 385.)

started the work in Natal, refused to resign the Church's property to one whom he regarded as a schismatic and heretic, until judicial decisions forced him to acquiesce in its loss. There were stormy scenes at the cathedral, and at St. Mary's native church, and finally Green read the Metropolitan's sentence of excommunication after the Nicene creed in St. Peter's on Jan. 5th 1866. Only after Colenso had been declared the legal trustee for Natal Church property was some semblance of decent order restored.

But even when the legal issues had been settled, Colenso's lack of able clergy forced him to be so often in Maritzburg himself that his work was hampered. He was there almost every Sunday to preach at St. Peter's, so that services at Ekukanyeni were left to catechists. It has already been remarked that the clergy on the spot did not rally to the Bishop on his arrival. Tonnesen had declared for him and early in 1866 the military Chaplain in Maritzburg gave him his support but the strain of carrying on the pastoral work of the diocese must have been considerable and could have left him no time at all for missionary work. In May 1866 he complained that there was not a single English clergyman in the diocese whom he could put in the Cathedral pulpit, and that it was impossible for him to leave Maritzburg to visit other parts of his diocese in consequence.[1] Three years later he had managed to gather together in all nine priests and deacons. (Of these, two were Colonial chaplains and one a Military chaplain, appointed by the Colonial office, and therefore bound to support the legal Bishop on pain of being deprived of their stipends. Even the recalcitrant Lloyd was brought to heel when confronted with this situation.) But although he vigorously denied the allegation that his clergy were the riff-raff of other dioceses, "if we are to judge by the men whom he appointed to the most important living in the diocese the charge could not have been far wrong. Three of his Deans let him down badly. The first, Dean Green's successor, was one Canon Gray, who had left the diocese of St. Helena not altogether of his own volition and his services were dispensed with on account of his sheer laziness. The St. Peter's congregation refused to pay his stipend, and he was arrested for his inability to meet his debts. A second, Dean Donavan, was involved in a divorce suit of a most unsavoury nature, and charged with adultery. Later, a third was removed for his inability to perform the duties required of him. With men of this nature to support him, Colenso had to take on his own shoulders a great deal of pastoral work, that normally would not have been his. His wife also deplored the fact that his time was wasted by the doing of work that he ought to have had clergy to do, declared that his very life was endangered (he had rheumatic fever at the time) because "he has worked so hard both at his desk and in the pulpit here, having so little help for so long in his manifold occupations...." [3]. The overall development of the diocese was held up, and with it the missionary work too.

1. (Colenso to Denville - May 1866 - Cox, P.35. Vol 2)
2. (Colenso to Sanderson - 1869 Colenso Col.)
3. (Mrs. Colenso to Denville - May 1869 - Colenso Papers - Campbell lib.)

He must have sighed for clergy of the stature of Callaway, Mackenzie, or Robert Robertson, the original partners of his labours, but it seems that most of the best clergy were disposed to accept the validity of Bishop Gray's spiritual jurisdiction.

Another obstacle that Colenso found well nigh insuperable was the difficulty of raising enough money to administer the diocese. With the best will in the world, and the best laid plans, his work of evangelisation must have been hopelessly restricted by this lack of funds. It is not easy to form a clear picture of diocesan finance from Colenso's ledger[1] because much of it is carelessly kept, and parts are chaotic. One point emerges quite clearly, however, and that is that he was no longer supported by the SPG. Queen's Bishop though he was, supported by Privy Council decisions and later by the Romilly Judgment, SPG refused to be either frightened or persuaded into supporting him. Fulminate as he might against the wrong that was being done to him by the Society which actually afforded support to the opponents of the Queen's appointed Bishop, that Society refused to relax its stranglehold. While the Church of the Province in Natal was in receipt of annual grants in the region of £2000 - £3000, SPG. would not even support one of Colenso's catechists.. The most the Society would do was to grant the Rev. Mr. Tonnesen one year's salary before striking him off their list for supporting the deposed Bishop. The SPG. was thus a powerful weapon in the hands of his opponents. Colenso complained that Dean Green, who administered the Society's funds in Natal, was using SPG. as a tool "to check and suppress the least sign of a tendency towards a recognition of the Queen's supremacy"[2] and was hampering the missionary efforts of the true Church of England.

The Bishop who had embarked so hopefully upon great missionary projects was now obliged to scrape together money to carry on the trifling amount of mission work that he was able to afford. The Natal Clergy Fund, which was raised by friends in Britain, brought him in a paltry £200 a year, and was used entirely to support clergy for European parishes. His own stipend had only been assured when the Romilly Judgment forced the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund to continue its payments to him.

He had no intention, however of allowing the missionary work at Ekukanyeni and in other parts of the diocese to remain entirely neglected if he could help it. Within a month or two of his return to the Colony he applied for a renewal of the grant from the Native Reserve Fund for his work in and near Maritzburg. He proposed to give Tonnesen the charge of St. Mary's in the City, where he would be expected to run the night school for natives employed there. For the continuance of this school he asked for the £50. which the Government had previously granted for this purpose. Over and above this he applied for assistance

1. (Colenso ledger - 1862 - 1883)
2. (Colenso to Cox March 1866 - Cox. Vol 2, P.23)

to carry on the work at Ekukanyeni. The Superintendent of Education, Mr. Mann, in reporting of this matter to the Secretary for Native Affairs, supported the Bishop's application, and recommended that £150 should be granted "for general Educational purposes" and "might fairly be made to him on the ground of his position in the Colony, and on the condition of showing good work for the grant."[1]. He also recommended the continuance of the grant to St. Mary's. These recommendations were endorsed by the Secretary for Native Affairs.

On the strength of this support for his plans, the Bishop engaged teachers for his Kafir school at Ekukanyeni, but although there were sufficient funds available out of the reserve fund the Governor found himself unable to make him an immediate grant on account of the depressed state of the General Revenue.[1a] His promise to refer the matter to the Executive Council bore no fruit, and Colenso was obliged to apply again in June 1867.[2]. He had been compelled in the interim to bear the cost of educational work at Ekukangesi himself. His application was finally successful and the Executive Council sanctioned the payment of his £200 per annum as from New Year's Day 1866.[3].

Nothing very remarkable was being achieved on the Episcopal estate however. The catechists were still at work, and there was a Sunday-School for the children, a small Day School was in existence and Mr. Jones was paid with the Government grant to teach in it. That the educational work accomplished was very limited is evident from the Acting Superintendent of Education's report of 1867. He pointed out that 'with many demands on him and without means, His Lordship has not been able hither to reconstruct a day school, such as I am informed, was in existence before his last visit to England".[4].

Although Ekukanyeni could not lay claim even now to being an institution of the type normally subsidised by the Government, a certain amount of 'industrial' activity continued. The printing Press never ceased to function, and three natives worked it, supervised by a European Printer, and farming under the direction of a European overseer continued. When we reflect that Adam Grout at Umvoti and another American at Umtwalumi established a Sugar Mill run by natives to crush their own cane, the Bishop's achievement in this field pales into insignificance. Nevertheless, he continued to receive as much as any other native institution from the Reserve Fund for Ekukanyeni. The maximum grant appears to have been £250 per annum for an industrial training school and £50. for a common school.[5]. It is difficult in view of the small amount of industrial training given at Ekukanyeni, not to conclude that the good offices of the Bishop's friends in high places, coupled with his own exalted position in the church, ensured a greater measure of Government support than was in fact merited.

1. (Report from Mann to Shepstone, SNA 11 15 Dec. 1865)
1a. (Colenso to Secretary for Native Affairs: SNA 11 15: June 1867)
2. (op cit.)
3. (Order sanctioning grant signed D.L. Erskine: SNA 11 15)
4. (Report of J. Sarwick Brooks to the Sec. for Native Affairs. Sept. 3 1867. SNA. 11 15)
5. (op cit).

Of the actual farm work which was carried on at Bishopstowe and the mission there, there is very little record. The scraps of information which can be gleaned from the Bishop's diaries give nothing like a coherent picture of his pastoral and agricultural pursuits. Of the earlier experiments with cotton and oil producing plants there is now no word. The largest source of income appears to have been derived from sheep rearing, which he embarked upon in earnest in 1867. Between January 1867 and February 1868 he purchased 957 sheep and 20 rams at a cost of £600, and in November 1868 he sold his first lot of wool. Within four years the sale of wool and sheep had brought him in £216 which amounted, apart from running costs, to 9% per annum on £600, and made of it a fairly good investment. Apart from sheep, he sold small quantities of mealies and potatoes in the City and raised money by letting part of the Episcopal property to European farmers and a larger number of Native squatters. The urge to experiment had not died in him, however, and in September he is found preparing to receive a consignment of ostriches and their eggs were later sold in the City at a very good price. In spite of his ostriches, the Bishop's operations do not appear to have paid their way. He recorded that in 1870 running expenses came to £556 after deducting all income for the year, and in the following year the deficit was over £100 more. It is not clear unfortunately whether these figures refer to Bishopstowe or Ekukanyeni, or to both, but since the sum of money involved is considerable, it is likely that the books for the two estates were kept together.[1] In any case, it is impossible to say, from the figures available, whether the farming on the Bishop's estates was being conducted profitably or not, because the running costs of the Mission cannot be separated from those of the farming.

Colenso was given a great opportunity for the extension of missionary work when he was appointed trustee for certain native reserves in the Colony, with the understanding that the Church to which he belonged would have a free hand to evangelise the natives. This A Method adopted by the Colonial Government for the assistance of Missions in civilising natives was a partial implementation of Bishop Gray's suggestion of missions in the reserves, though Shepstone attributed the idea to Sir George Grey.[2] In pursuance of this policy, small Native reserves of from 5000 to 10,000 acres were set aside as mission reserves, and were administered by trustees, one of whom was always

1. (Bishops Ledger 1862 - 1883; Colenso Col.)
2. (Memo by Shepstone re Bill introduced in the Legislative Council 1887/8 'to provide for the resumption in certain cases of lands granted or reserved for purposes of Native Reserves.' S.O.)

the Secretary for Native affairs, while the other was a representative of a religious body. Within, or adjacent to reserves of this nature, the Government made outright grants of 500 acres or so as a glebe land for the establishment of a mission station. Within the reserve the missionary had no authority, but the right to labour there unhindered, and the advantage of a fixed and settled Native population to evangelise.

The first of these lands to which Colenso was appointed trustee together with his friend Shepstone, were the Umnini lands, which became trust lands when chief Umnini was removed from the Bluff in 1858. A little later he became a trustee for the Nonoti reserve, and finally in 1862 the co-trustee of the Umlazi reserve. With land given to him for missions, Government support for industrial institutions, and a free hand in three reserves, the prospects for the Church missions might have seemed fair indeed. In fact, the Bishop was never able to make anything like full use of his opportunity, and the only work that was done by him in the reserves was financed from the meagre rents obtained by alienating parts of the native lands.

The Church of England had already started a mission at Umlazi, which, as we have observed, was being carried on by Mr. Baugh when the Bishop returned from overseas. When the Supreme Court assigned the Church of England property to Colenso in 1863, Baugh, whose sympathies were with the Church of the Province of South Africa, was obliged to relinquish his post. The work was subsequently shouldered by Mr. Webster, a European catechist, who was supported from Umlazi rentals.

At Nonoti no mission ever took shape. This may not have been entirely Colenso's fault, however, for having promised in 1856 that the Church of England would be granted 500 acres adjoining the western boundary of the property Mr. Walmsley R.M. and that 5000 acres would be earmarked for occupation by Natives, the grant to the Bishop was never actually made. A native Reserve was marked out, and Colenso became one of its trustees, but as far as the glebe land was concerned it was necessary for him to communicate once again with the Government on the matter in 1869. On this occasion Erskine declared that it only remained for the Bishop to select the land, pay the survey fees, and the title deed would be prepared for signature. But three years later on the enquiry of the Finance Board of the Diocese, the reply was received that the Surveyor General had been instructed to prepare the title deeds. It is quite evident that even then the matter was not clinched, for the Bishop's daughter, Miss F.E.Colenso, was obliged to write in 1873 to Colonial Secretary C.B.Mitchell and received again the reply that the grant would finally be arranged.[1] In fact the Government never honoured its word in respect of the Nonoti glebe land, and this in spite of the fact that the Bishop had actually paid the survey fees required of him.[2] It is certain that no missionary work was undertaken by the Bishop among the natives of the reserve, but whether this failure should be attributed,

1. (From Copy of the correspondence between Colenso and William Sargeaunt, D.Erskine, J.Ayliffe, and C.B.Mitchell (taken from C.O.N. 117/1869;881/1872; 911/1873) in Colenso Col.)
2. (Copy of correspondence: op cit & letter from Guardian of the Church of England property in Natal - presumably to the Executive Council July 1867).

as the Curators of Church property held, to the hesitation on the part of the Government to fulfil its pledge, or to the fact that the Government was unwilling to make a grant when there was little prospect of any real development of the land, that is to say on account of Colenso's inability to make use of it, it is difficult to say. The outcome of it was that apart from visiting the Reserve and attempting to preserve the lands and woods, by controlling the influx of natives who were attracted by the prospect of free land tenure from surrounding countryside where they had to pay rentals for the privilege of squatting, nothing was done for the Nonoti natives at all.[1].

If Colenso's Nonoti mission was stillborn, and if the work at Umlazi languished without a priest and adequate financial backing, he was able, at least, to go forward with mission work among Ummini's people. In this case the Trustees alienated a part of the Reserve to European sugar farmers, and used the rentals that accrued to pay a missionary and erect buildings in the Reserve. Mr.Tonnesen, who apart from his linguistic abilities was a good carpenter and handy man, was despatched to take up the work in 1867. His resources were never very large, however, and in the period August 1867 to December 1869, there was a deficit showing in the Ummini Trust account of £143 and this after Tonnesen's stipend had been paid only and small amounts spent on building. Thereafter the amount brought in by rentals showed a marked increase to £471 in 1872, but there is no evidence that permanent buildings were erected, or that a lasting work was established.[2]. At least, however, it could be claimed that here the field, over which he had the oversight, was not left to lie fallow.

Colenso's record as trustee was not an impressive one. In later years he was involved in a sharp exchange of notes with Sir Henry Bulwer over the haphazard manner in which the Trustee's accounts were kept.[3]. The first accounts rendered to the Governor were those he had asked for in 1877, and although the Trust Deeds were dated May 1858, the first entries were made in 1867 and covered more than two years' rents. Sir Henry remained unimpressed by the Bishop's rejoinder that he was not the 'chief trustee', refused to allow censure to be shifted to Shepstone who was away in the Transvaal at the time, and remained highly displeased with the way in which the affairs of the Ummini Trust had been conducted.

Undoubtedly a great opportunity slipped through Colenso's fingers when he was unable to develop missionary work in the Trust lands. When the Legislature proposed that certain of these, among them Umlazi and Nonoti, should revert to the Crown.[4]. the Curators of the Church of England property admitted freely that nothing had been accomplished at Nonoti and little at Umlazi, but held that it would be wrong to penalise the reserve dwellers for the failure of the Church to fulfil its part of the bargain.[5].

1. (Colenso to Shepstone Nov. 30, 1869. S.C.)
2. (Ummini Trust account. Colenso's Ledger 1862-82.Colenso Col.)
3. (G.H.337: No.337: Jan. 1877: Bulwer to Colenso)
4. (Bill 'to provide for the resumption in certain cases of lands granted or reserved for the purposes of native missions'. 1887/8)
5. (Copy of letter from Curators of the Church of England property July 15, 1887: Signed by Shepstone and in his handwriting S.C.)

No further evidence is needed to reveal Colenso's melancholy failure in this theatre.

Although there is a most significant lack of any reference to missionary work in the Bishop's diary, there must have been some steady catechising going on in the diocese. There are occasional records of Africans being baptised and confirmed, chiefly at St.Andrews and Ekukanyeni, and a memorial to Priest, whom the Sobantu Church begged to come to Natal as its Bishop showed that there were 24 congregations in 1901 and over a thousand church members.[1] The work of translating the scriptures continued too. When there was any leisure after the preparation of further volumes on the Pentateuch, Lectures on the Moabite stone, and the Natal Sermons, William and his assistants were kept busy with the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, and the two books of Samuel.

When we reflect upon Colenso's grand vision for the conversion of the Zulus, his undoubted ability, his energy, and his enlightened approach to the mission field, the meagre fruit that he could show after twenty years' work in a diocese to which he came primarily as a missionary is the more regrettable. In assessing the value of his work in the mission field, the evil effects of the controversy in which he was one of the principal actors on the Church's missionary effort must be taken into account. Firstly, his determination to go as a missionary Bishop to Zululand in spite of, or because of, Gray's plans for the territory, followed by the controversy in Natal, and the necessity for the support of Bishop Macrorie, who was consecrated Bishop of Maritzburg by the Church of the Province in January 1869, meant that the work in Zululand was held up till 1870.[2]

Secondly, his retention of church property, when he had not the means of developing it, coupled with the wastage caused by dividing the effort of the Church in the diocese, seriously impaired the missionary activities of both the Church of the Province and the Church of England. Of course, Colenso cannot alone bear the blame for the baleful effects of the Church Controversy on its mission work, and naturally enough he and his supporters laid the blame for the sorry state of affairs at the door of the Church of the Province. Meanwhile, from the point of view of the new Bishop of Maritzburg and his adherents, it was Colenso who had hampered the work of Salvation. In a situation in which two honestly held schools of thought clashed,-the one upholding the principles of freedom of thought, the other that of spiritual freedom - it is impossible to apportion the blame, without appearing to be partisan and the Judgment can more safely be left to the Angels.

One of the west windows recently erected at St. Paul's Church in Durban, shows the first Bishop of the

1. (Address to Rev. W.Ayerst - elected Bishop by the Church Council Sept. 1901 Colenso. Col.)
2. (Progress in other parts of South Africa was held up too, because in order to support Macrorie in Maritzburg, funds raised for the endowment of the Diocese of George were diverted to Natal, and they were tied up until the passage of the Church Property Act in 1910. As a result, the diocese of George was not established until 1911.) (Hist. Records of C.O.P.S.A. P.736)

diocese, who was also a benefactor of that church standing robed, and with his shepherd's crook in his hand; above his head in a circular medallion Colenso is portrayed seated and engaged in instructing a group of scantily clad Zulus. At the foot of the picture there is inscribed - 'Sobantu, Father of the People.' That he was revered and loved while he lived by the Native people with whom he came into contact, there is no doubt, and his name is still held in veneration by Africans who do not forget his championing of their cause, and his frank and brotherly relationship with them. His vigorous demand for an investigation into the Langalibalele Trial, in spite of his friend Shepstone's implication in the matter, in particular, marked him as the African's friend and protector.[1] He was prepared to make the long trip back to England in order to gain Carnarvon's ear and ensure that justice was done.[2] Indeed if Colenso stood out as the enterprising missionary during the first years of his episcopate and as the critic and controversialist during the sixties, then he stands out pre-eminently as the champion of Native rights during the last years of his life.[3]

It is tempting to allocate to him a niche among the great missionaries of his Church, but if that be done it must always be with reservations. Had he been placed in different circumstances, he might indeed be known now as a renowned missionary Bishop. He was loved and respected by the people whom he came to convert and civilise, and was therefore the more likely to be able to lead them. He was a good linguist. He was adaptable and prepared to launch out boldly with great enterprises. He had all the thrust and vigour of the self made man and a readiness to employ new methods in the mission field. Even his enemies confessed that this indefatigable worker with his strong streak of individualism that bordered at times on egotism, was a warm hearted and kindly man.[4] His was a zealous nature that responded well to sympathetic surroundings, but which was soured by hostility and determined opposition. It was his misfortune to be placed among intractible churchmen of another school, and the struggles in which this involved him transformed him into something of an habitual controversialist. Some of his later letters make sorry reading. He writes to the editor of the Colonist who was one of his adherents suggesting how he might most effectively flay his 'enemies'. He referred harshly to 'Macrorie and Co.' as contemptible and 'shuffling Jesuits'. He appears in this correspondence as one who is concerned first and foremost to vindicate his position and tenets, sometimes at the expense of charity and a becoming humility.[5]

But quite apart from the circumstances that were calculated to hinder his missionary work, quite apart from his having become involved in a constitutional struggle of the first magnitude in the church, quite apart from the painful duty of revealing the generally accepted literal

1. (C.H. 22: No.51: May 1874: Carnarvon to Pine.)
2. (C.H.22 : No.133: Nov.1874:Carnarvon to Pine.)
3. (This period of his life falls outside the scope of this thesis)
4. (Life of Dean Green. Bright. P.25. Vol 1)
5. (Colenso to Sanderson Oct. 1873 March 3, 1866: & others: Colenso Col.)

inspiration and interpretation of scripture, as the phantasy of ignorance, and apart from the spoiling of his character that all this seems to have involved, his reputation as a missionary must always rest on the sandy foundation of unorthodoxy. His Gospel was not the Gospel of Redemption of the New Testament, but an ingenious travesty of it, and although he cannot fairly be accused of Unitarianism (for even those passages in the Natal Sermons which smack of Unitarianism, are offset by others in which Christ is referred to as 'that Living Word - that Divine Lord.' -)[1] it would not have been difficult to drift into it from the theological position he had adopted.

If Colenso's achievements are weighed in the scales of solid achievement, they do not amount to what one might have expected from this able fellow of St. John's, for the promise of great achievment which was given in the first seven or eight years of his episcopate, was never realised in the mission field, where there was actual retrogression. He was indeed 'persistent to the point of obstinacy in pursuit of objects which appealed to his generous nature'[2]. but whereas his persistence spelled victory for him in the pursuit of Truth in the field of his Biblical researches, and at least a temporary victory in the Constitutional issue, it was this very persistence that spelled the doom of his grandiose schemes for the evangelisation of the Zulus.

Whatever his achievements in other respects, one cannot leave a consideration of Colenso's achievement in the mission field, without a sensation of profound regret that what might so easily have been a mighty work for the Kingdom of Christ was spoiled by his own sins and the sins of the Church to which he belonged.

1. (Natal Sermons. Vol. 1. cf. 'The Second Coming of Christ' P.72 and 'The Joy of Christmas'.P.87)

2. (H. Easterley - Pietermaritzburg Panorama. P.58)

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" "	C.H. 4	.....	1854 Jan.- Oct.
" "	C.H. 5	.....	1854 Nov.- 1855 Dec.
" "	C.H. 6	.....	1856 June- 1859 Aug.
" "	C.H.22	.....	1874
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" "	S.N.A. 118	.....	1856 - Material not l
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