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The Holy Family in Egypt.

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The story of the Church on the Nile has to begin with the visit of the Holy Family to Egypt, as recorded in Matthew:

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> "Behold, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph in a dream, saying, 'Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word; for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him'. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night and departed into Egypt; and was there until the death of Herod; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, 'Out of Egypt have I called my son'."

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So the picture of Joseph leading a donkey carrying Mary and her child, against a backdrop of the Pyramids, has become part of the long, rich cultural history of Egypt. The picture is symbolic. The Pyramids are the massive symbols of the highly developed skills of a wonderful civilisation, expressing the will of a powerful ruler in his groping after the secrets of eternal truth. And beside them, the Sphinx has watched the playing out of the drama of the life of man in successive generations over a period of 4500 years on the banks of the Nile. It has seen the comings and goings of the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Turks, the French and the British, each representing certain kinds of society, certain concepts of power, and

certain aspects of man's search for truth. Over against all that, in complete contrast, comes into the picture this little peasant family, representing common humanity, but also, in the person of the little child, representing, as Christians believe, God, God become man, the Word become flesh. And the question is: What have they to say to us in terms of our concepts of power, from Alexander right down to Mohammed Hosni Mubarak, how do they compare with the way Jesus has exercised his extraordinary power over the lives of men right down the ages? As men have tried in various ways to create a just society, what relation do these societies bear to the society which Jesus visualised, and can the Church dare to claim to mirror that sort of society in any real sense? And as men have groped after truth, does Jesus provide us with some of the answers?

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There are no records of the sojourn of the Holy Family in Egypt, but certain traditions persist. Tradition claims that the Holy Family, weary after the flight into Egypt, stopped to rest under an Egyptian sycamore, known as the Virgin's Tree, in the district of Heliopolis called Matariya. More importantly perhaps, they are believed to have lived in the shadow of the Roman fortress of Babylon in what today is called Old Cairo. Clearly, this area became a centre for followers of the Christian faith, for here stand ancient churches, among the oldest in Christendom, notably those of St Sergius (Abu Sarga), St Barbara, and Al-Mu'allawa (the Hanging Church), so called because it stands high upon one of the Roman bastions. It is a moving experience to participate in the ecumenical service held every Ash Wednesday in the Church of Abu Sarga, over the very spot where the Holy Family may have lived. The traditional dwelling place is, of course, now well below street level. But the high walls and narrow lanes of the area must be very similar to those which existed in those days. More importantly, the people who live there – their appearance, their occupations, their manner of dress – can have changed little. To step from the busy main road from modern Cairo going south to the suburb of Ma'adi, with its heavy motor traffic, into the narrow streets around the old Roman fortress, with their donkeys, barrows and bright-eyed children, is to go back nineteen centuries. And this too has its significance. The mission of God, if that is what it was, was to the common people. That is where the seed was sown, that is where the movement began, and that is where it continues. Much of this story will be concerned with leading personalities – Viceroys, Pro-Consuls and Bishops. But the abiding character of a nation, not least the nation of Egypt, lies in its common people. There is an amazing vitality about the people of Egypt which bubbles up irrepressibly whatever the political climate. There is a certain cynicism which shrugs its shoulders and says, "Yes,

we've seen it all before over the past 3000 years" and then goes about its business as it has done for centuries. And it was into this strong, swiftly flowing stream of humanity that the divine seed was injected. It follows that it is into this same stream of common humanity that we must look for the Church. It is among the humble congregations – the poor in spirit, the meek, the merciful – of the churches of all denominations, tucked away insignificantly in the side streets of the city of Cairo, or of any great city, that the authentic divine imprint upon humanity is to be found.

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St Mark

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Para 7

The fact that the ancient Roman fortress, in the area now known as Old Cairo, was called Babylon, has given rise to the tradition that St Mark was associated with the founding of the Christian Church in Egypt:

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> "Greetings from her [the Church] who dwells in Babylon, chosen by God like you, and from my son Mark". (I Peter 5.13)

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Some scholars, however, maintain that 'Babylon' here is a veiled reference to Rome, the great metropolis from which Peter is believed to have written.

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Edith Louise Butcher, in her book "The Story of the Church in Egypt"[1], suggests that Mark was originally a native of Cyrene (Kiruan), now part of Libya, a city which for more than two-hundred years had been subject to Egypt, and reckoned as part of the country. When his parents lost a great part of their wealth there, they migrated to Palestine and settled near Jerusalem. So we find the young man John Mark at what became the first headquarters of the early church in Jerusalem, the house of Mary his mother, where "a large company

was at prayer" (Acts 12.12). It has been suggested that in this house was the 'upper room' where Jesus met with his disciples for the Last Supper, and where he appeared to them after his resurrection. The Bible record shows Mark to have been a cousin of Barnabas (Col. 4.10), the companion of Saul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey (Acts 13.5), the cause of a rift between Saul and Barnabas leading to his rejection of Saul, now called Paul (Philemon 24), and the writer of the earliest Gospel record, gained, it is believed, from the lips of St Peter.

[1] *E.L. Butcher, The Story of the Church in Egypt, London 1987, p.33ff.*

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For further evidence of the movements of St Mark we have to refer to secular historians. Eusebius, in his "Ecclesiastical History", writes[2]:

[2] *Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, Vol II, p.16.*

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> "Now it is said that this Mark journeyed to Egypt and was the first to preach [there] the Gospel, which also he had written, and that he was the first to form churches in Alexandria itself."

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Eusebius records that Mark is said to have come to Egypt in the first or third year of the Roman Emperor Claudius, that is in 41-43 AD, or 42-43 AD. He is said to have visited Alexandria again in 61-68 AD, where he evangelised until he was martyred.

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Severus Ibn el Mokaffa, in his Arabic manuscript "History of Patriarchs"[3] states that when Mark first came to Egypt (according to him in the first year of the Roman Emperor Caludius), he discovered to his surprise that there was already a Christian community there. On investigation, it turned out that this Christian community was the result of Pentecost. Certainly Egyptian Jews were among those present on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2.5-10), who heard the Gospel in their own language and carried the good news back to their own country.

[3] *Severus Ibn el Mokaffa, History of the Patriarchs, p.15.*

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Hardy, in his book "Christian Egypt"[4], mentions that Mark's first convert was a Jewish shoemaker named Annianus, or Hannieh, whom Mark apparently cured of some disease which had been considered incurable. Annianus invited Mark to his house, and finally all his family embraced Christianity. His example was followed by others in Alexandria, and the faithful began to meet in Annianus' house, which became the first church in that city. H.B. Swete, in his commentary on St Mark, also refers to St Mark's visit to Egypt in 61-62 SD, when appointed Annianus as Bishop of Alexandria.

[4] *E.R. Hardy, Christian Egypt, Church and People, Oxford 1952, p.13.*

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Another Arabic manuscript, "A Bibliography of the Apostles and Evangelists"[5], states that when St Mark returned to Egypt in 61 AD he found the number of converts had increased so much as to call for the establishment of a catechumenal school, which developed into the famous Catachetical School around the middle of the second century. The same manuscript mentions that Mark also found that they had three churches, including a main church in Baucalia, a place near the seaside. Together with Annianus, he ordained three presbyters: Melius, Kordonus and Primus, with three deacons as assistants.

[5] *A Bibliography of the Apostles and Evangelists, p.164.*

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Thus we may deduce, concerning the beginning of the Church in Egypt, from scripture, from historical data and from tradition, that Christianity had already entered Egypt before St Mark's first visit, but that it was he who first organised the Church in Egypt and laid the foundation of the first theological seminary there.

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The Struggle of Orthodoxy

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When the first Christian converts took their new-found faith back with them to Alexandria, it was not to a spiritual vacuum that they returned. Alexandria possessed a very large Jewish population, so the first encounter was with Judaism itself. Judaism at that time existed in two forms: Palestinian Judaism and a Hellenized version practised in Alexandria. Palestinian Judaism clearly moulded the thought of all the

New Testament writers. There was a strong Judaising strain in primitive Christianity. And although there was soon to be a clean break between the two faiths, Jewish ideas continued to permeate Christian thinking.

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More important was the encounter with the Hellenized form of Judaism practised in Alexandria. When Alexander the Great determined to spread the knowledge of Greek ideas and customs in the East, he built the city of Alexandria and assigned part of it to a colony of Jews. So a large body of people sprang up who, whilst they thought and felt as Hebrews, yet spoke to a great extent in Greek. One result of this was the Greek translation of the Old Testament, known as the Septuagint, which came to be very widely used. Another was the attempt to interpret Jewish theology in terms of Hellenistic philosophy. Perhaps the greatest exponent of this was Philo (30 BC – 45 AD), who was greatly influenced by the ideas of the Greek philosophers, especially Plato. It was Philo who introduced the concept of the Logos, or Word, which was later to be identified with Jesus, the Christ. To Philo, God was utterly transcendent. He is pure being, and as such cannot be included in any of the categories in which we classify finite beings. The Logos, or Word, was God's agent in creation and the means by which the mind apprehends God.

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However, the early Christians encountered not only this Hellenized form of Judaism, but also the ideas of the wider Graeco-Roman world. One of the most potent forces operating at that time was what was known as Gnosticism. Some would say that Gnosticism was a Christian heresy, i.e. an adulteration of the apostolic doctrines with pagan philosophy, astrology and Greek mystery religions. But it probably existed before Christianity, and was in effect the product of syncretism, drawing from Jewish, Christian, pagan and oriental sources, in an attempt to solve the problem of evil and human destiny. Thus we can detect warnings against this powerful heresy in the First Epistle of John and in the Pastoral Epistles. J.N.D Kelly has summarised the ideas contained in Gnosticism in his book "Early Christian Doctrines", as follows[6:]

[6] *J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines, London 1958, p.26.*

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> "1. There is a chasm between the spiritual world and the world of matter which is intrinsically evil.

2. The material order came into being, not by the action of the God of light and goodness but as a result of some primeval disorder, conflict or fall, performed by an inferior deity such as the Creator God of the Jews.

3. There is a spiritual element in man, or in some men, which makes him a stranger to this world and makes him yearn to be freed from matter in order to ascend to his true home.

4. There must be a mediator, or mediators, who descend from heaven to help mankind achieve this."

It is clear that the radical difference between these ideas and orthodox Christian belief lay (i) in respect of the doctrine of Creation, and (ii) in respect of the doctrines of the Incarnation. From within this ferment of religious ideas emerged great Alexandrian Christians who were to play a major role in the clarification of Christian truth and in the formulation of Creeds which were to form the basis of Christian belief down the ages.

Clement of Alexandria (150-215 AD), to be distinguished from Clement of Rome, came to Alexandria to consult one Pantaenus, a convert to Christianity from Stoicism. At Alexandria, Clement found a church on the defensive against Greek Philosophy and pagan literature. Clement himself believed that there was a great deal of truth in Greek philosophy. He was at pains to incorporate Greek thought-forms into his interpretations of Biblical themes. He opposed the Gnostics with his doctrine of Creation, maintaining that all truth and goodness, wherever found, comes from the Creator, and that the good things of the material world were to be used with gratitude and restraint, on conditions laid down from the Creator. To Clement, the Godhead consisted of the Father, who embraced all reality and who can be known only through his Word, or Son, who is his image and his mind. The Son combines in himself the Father's ideas and also the

active forces by which he animates the world of creatures. His generation from the Father is without beginning. He is in the Father, and the Father in him. The Spirit, to Clement, is the light issuing from the Word and which illumines the faithful. Thus we have the beginnings of a doctrine of the Trinity. Clement did his chief work as a layman, working as an independent teacher of 'the Christian philosophy' and instructing his pupils in grammar, rhetoric and etiquette as well as religious matters. He may have been ordained as a presbyter before his death in 215.

Origen was the son of Leonides, who dies a martyr's death during the persecution of the Emperor Septimus Severus (193-211). He always depicts himself as a member of a martyr church and his attitude towards pagan philosophy and culture is less sympathetic than Clement's. For Clement, Plato enjoyed high authority. In Origen's eyes, he enjoyed none. Nevertheless, he too tried to interpret Christian concepts in language familiar to the Platonic tradition. He was a much more formidable character than Clement. If Clement was the quiet teacher who enjoyed exploring the sources of truth and goodness, Origen was the stern disciplinarian, practising high standards of morality, devoting many hours a day to prayer and study, and living a life of unremitting toil. His output was enormous. To Origen, the only source of revelation was the Bible. He completed a vast synopsis of the many versions of the Old Testament called the Hexapla, in order to ensure accuracy and correct interpretation. The prime purpose of Scripture was to convey spiritual truth and most passages of scripture were capable of interpretation at several levels: a literal interpretation first, then as teaching abut the church as a society, and finally as a guide to the relation of the individual soul to God. In this depth of interpretation of the Scriptures, Origen's influence was widely felt in both East and West. Origen's contribution to the doctrine of the Trinity was to maintain that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were three distinct persons from eternity, yet "one in unanimity, harmony and identity of will". The unity between the Father and the Son corresponds to that between light and its brightness, or water and the steam which issues from it. The Spirit is the means of sanctifying those who receive him. "The ultimate ground of his being is the Father, but it is mediated to him by the Son, from whom also he drives all his distinctive attributes." Origen was frequently invited to visit other churches, in Transjordan, Antioch, Athens and Caesarea where he was ordained to the presbyterate. This not unnaturally angered Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, with the result that Origen never returned there, but remained in Caesarea until his death. Eusebius, the church historian of Caesarea, regarded Origen as the

supreme saint and highest intelligence of his age. The monastic movement of the fourth century found in Origen's spirituality a theological basis for their aspirations and their calling.

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Athanasius will be remembered as the great champion of orthodoxy in combating the Arian heresy concerning the status of the Son, and in formulating a theology of the Holy Spirit. Bishop of Alexandria from 328-335, and again from 346-356, he lived to be regarded as a great elder statesman whose authority had been enhanced by his unbending firmness, and whose answer to theological questions were 'esteemed as decisive encyclicals' (Henry Chdwick, 'The Early Church'). The Creed proposed for adoption by the Council of Nicaea (325) affirmed that the Son is 'of one substance with the Father', a belief rejected by Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria with a large following who could not believe that the incarnate Son was one with the transcendent First Cause of Creation. "The Son who is tempted, suffers and dies, however exalted he may be, is not to be equal to the immutable Father beyond pain and death; if he is other than the Father, he is inferior." Over a period of 45 years of intense controversy, Athanasius held absolutely firmly to the doctrine laid down at Nicaea, until, after his death, Arianism was finally defeated at the Council of Constantinople in 381. In answer to similar erroneous theories about the status of the Holy Spirit, Athanasius affirmed that the Spirit was fully divine, consubstantial with the Father and Son. He went on to clarify the doctrine of the Trinity. The Godhead, he affirmed, exists eternally as a Triad of Persons, sharing one identical and indivisible substance or essence. All three Persons are possessed of one and the same activity, so that "the Father accomplishes all things through the Word in the Holy Spirit". "The holy and blessed Triad is indivisible and one in itself. When mention is made of the Father, the Word is also included, as also the Spirit who is in the Son. If the Son is named, the Father is in the Son, and the Spirit is not outside the Word. For there is a single grace which is fulfilled from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit."

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The Copts

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In the Alexandrian Church, we have so far spoken of Jews and Greeks – Hellenized Jews who were present in Jerusalem on the Day of

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Pentecost and returned to Alexandria bringing their new-found faith with them, and others of Greek cultural background who were prominent members of the Christian community in Alexandria.

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The Ancient inhabitants of the Nile Valley were a Hamitic people, quite distinct from the Jews and Greeks, and from the Arabs who followed them. They were known to the Greeks as AIGYPTIOS, to the Arabs in their Semitic speech as KIPT, and to the world at large as Copts. The religions of ancient Egypt had been preserved in the ancient temples of Egypt, and the learning of ancient Egypt was enshrined in the great Library of Alexandria, which existed roughly from 300 BC to 400 AD. This Library contained a remarkable collection of ancient Egyptian manuscripts and was served by a class of native Egyptian scholars and scribes who followed a distinctive Egyptian pattern of thought. The Library, however, encouraged all genuine scholarship, whether pagan, Jewish or Christian, and it was from here that the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament was carried out.

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The distinctive contribution of the Copts to the early Christian Church was a deep spirituality based on the old Christian ascetic principles and expressing itself in monasticism. Father Matta el Meskin (Matthew the Poor), spiritual father of the Monastery of St Makarios in Wadi Natrun, 50 miles along the Desert Road from Cairo to Alexandria, in his recent book 'The Communion of Love'[7], throws interesting light on these first Egyptian Christians. They were for the most part illiterate. Yet, of St Antony, the first of the hermits, who actually came from a wealthy home, Fr Matta writes that he had "understanding, knowledge and recollection of the Bible that astonished the scholars and theologians"; and of the great ascetic Paphnutius, the disciple of Makarios the Great, "That he had the grace of knowledge of the holy books, and was an able expositor, though he could not read of write". Father Matta ascribes this phenomenon, so strange to the modern Western world, but perhaps not so strange to the vigorous young churches of the Third World, to a 'spiritual' understanding of the Bible, as distinct from a purely intellectual approach. He writes: "There are two ways of reading the Bible. The first is when a man reads and puts himself and his mind in control of the text, trying to subject its meaning to his own understanding and then comparing it with the understanding of others. The second is when a man puts the text on a level above himself and tries to bring his mind into submission to is meaning and even sets the text as a judge over him, counting it as the highest

criterion. The first is suitable for any book in the world, whether it be a book of science or of literature. The second is indispensable in the reading of the Bible. The first gives man mastery over the world, which is his natural role. The second gives God mastery as the all-wise, all-powerful Creator … Spiritual understanding centres on the acceptance of divine truth, which gradually reveals itself, rising on the horizon of the mind till it pervades all. If the mind and its reactions are brought into willing obedience to that truth, the divine truth continues to permeate the mind even more, and the mind develops endlessly".

[7] *Matthew the Poor, The Communion of Love, New York 1984, p.16.*

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Thus, St Antony took literally and very seriously the words of Jesus to the young man who had great possessions: "Go and sell that though has and give to the poos, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me", an example followed by generations of Coptic Christians, not least by Fr Matta himself. At the age of 29, responding to the same call, he disposed of his two houses, his two cars and two pharmacies, gave the proceeds to the poor, and became a hermit. He was joined by several educated young men who were attracted by his teaching. In 1969, Fr Matta and his disciples, at the invitation of Patriarch Cyril VI, left their caves and took over the monastery of St Makarios. Here they rebuilt the whole monastery complex, so that it now accommodates a hundred monks and has become a spiritual power house for the whole Coptic Orthodox Church. Fr Matta's book, "The Communion of Love", is the expression of the spiritual power which lies behind and within this movement, a genuine revival, bringing new life to the Coptic Orthodox Church, and a timely message to the flagging and faltering churches of the West[8].

[8] *A recent visitor to this monastery has written: Two days ago we visited for one day Wadi Natrun and the very old monasteries there. One of them is rebuilt and reformed, and the monk who took us round gave us such an overwhelming testimony of his belief in Christ that I will certainly never forget him.*

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St Antony was a true 'athlete for Christ' and his fame spread far and wide. Men flocked to him for spiritual guidance, forming settlements round his dwelling place. These settlements multiplied around other men of great holiness. Later, Pachomius, a converted soldier, used his gifts as an educator and administrator to introduce a rule of life by which every detail of a monk's activity by day and by night was laid down. Celibacy, chastity, poverty and obedience were among the prerequisites of a good monk. The monk had to be a useful human

being, and there grew up communities skilled in farming, weaving, building and other crafts of a practical nature, as well as in scholarship and as copyists of manuscripts. Monasticism spread to many countries of the world and must be seen as one of the great gifts Egypt has given to Christendom.

The reasons for the rise of monasticism in Egypt, however, were complex. The ancient religions of Egypt still held sway in the great temple towns and on the island of Philae, but they were on the retreat in the face of the advance of Hellenism. While it was true that the Church in Alexandria was strongly Greek, the Greeks of the Nile Valley for the most part persisted in their paganism. But the Greeks of the Nile Valley and their ideas held no attractions of the Egyptian peasantry. They took to Christianity in opposition to the religion of their oppressors, the great Hellenic landlords. It was therefore almost inevitable that sooner or later differences would arise between the Greeks and Copts within the Church. The issue which brought things to a head was the theological question of the relation between the divine and the human in the nature of Christ. It is not necessary in this book to go into all the details of the long drawn out controversy. It seems incredible that violence and bitterness could be generated by a purely theological issue. History, however, is strewn with similar tragedies of this sort, not least when theology has been inflamed by a militant nationalism. Drawing a veil over the infighting which took place, suffice it to say that the Council of Ephesus (449) declared in favour of the monophysite view that there was in Christ after his Incarnation only one divine-human nature, but only as a result of pressures brought to bear by a large number of monks brought to Ephesus by Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria. The Council was dubbed a Latrocinium (a band of robbers) by Pope Leo the Great because of the reign of terror which took place there. The decision was reversed by the Council of Chalcedon (451). Monophysitism was declared a heresy, and diophysitism, i.e. the indissoluble but unmixed co-existence of the divine and human in the nature of Christ, became dogma. Greek Christians in Egypt accepted Chalcedon; the Copts rejected it. There followed 31 years of struggle for power in the Church in Egypt until 482, when a monophysite, Peter Mongos, received imperial recognition as Patriarch of Alexandria, a monophysite ascendancy which continued until 536. These and the following years were characterised by fierce religious and racial hatred between Greeks and Copts. The lines drawn were not now between Christian and pagan, but between monophysite and diophysite. In the year 619, the armies of the Sassanian Persians overran Egypt. The Copts saw in this event an opportunity to get rid of their Greek

overlords and supported the Persians. Ten years later the Emperor Heraclius succeeded in winning back the Nile Valley and re-establishing Graeco-Roman rule. In 640, however, Egypt was overrun again, this time by the armies of the prophet Mohammad, and Roman-Byzantine rule in the Nile Valley finally came to an end, having lasted nearly 700 years, leaving the Coptic tradition supreme in the Church in Egypt.

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It has to be added that modern Coptic Orthodox leaders vehemently refute the label 'monophysite'. It is maintained that what took place in the mid-fifth century was merely a semantic affair – that they all believed the same thing but expressed themselves differently. What was at stake was surely not so much a crisis of theology as a crisis of identity. As William Worrell has put it[9]: "Native Egypt was united behind the Patriarch of Alexandria (Dioscorus). National feelings were involved. Then the national church in Egypt began." We may conclude, with A.S Atiya[10]: "The venerable fathers of the Coptic Church, the great theologians of the Catachetical School of Alexandria, the Coptic saints and heretics, the founders of monasticism, all these and other illustrious Copts, made permanent contributions to the establishment of the new faith. Throughout the age of Christian persecutions, Copts fought fearlessly for the faith, and worshipped, not in concealed catacombs or subterranean hiding, but openly on the face of the earth, and invited the crown of martyrdom. They had won many spiritual battles in the past, but the future held for them many more fateful battles of a dogmatic or doctrinal nature with other Christian sects."

[9] *William Worrell, A Short Account of the Copts, Michigan 1945, p.18.*
[10] *A.S. Atiya, A History of Eastern Christianity, London 1968, p.33.*

Reference

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"The chief actor in the historic mission of the Christian church is the Holy Spirit. He is the director of the whole enterprise. The mission consists of the things he is doing in the world."

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J.V. Taylor, The Go-Between God, London 1972, p.3.

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The history of the church and the history of the world are inextricably linked, for the church exists in the world and for the world. In this chapter, we will see how the history of the church is not primarily a succession of events engineered by man but a series of initiatives taken by God. The more difficult task in later chapters will be to see "secular history" in the same light. For the moment, we concentrate on the church.

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If we are to speak of "initiatives taken by God", how do they actually happen? Are they seen to be Tiberius interventions, or are they natural events seen with the eye of faith? The birth of Jesus we believe to be a divine initiative, not primarily because of the supernatural events with which it was by tradition surrounded, but because of the real person who actually grew up and lived and died in Palestine in the reigns of Augustus Caesar and Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being Governor of Judaea. The historic consequences of the life and death of this real person were dramatically magnified by two further events which took place. On the third day after his death, his body disappeared, and fifty days later, on the Jewish Feast of Pentecost, his followers were suddenly energised, electrified, possessed, by what they claimed to be the Spirit of the living Jesus. So real was this experience that It has continued among the followers of Jesus right up to the present day. John Taylor writes, p.18:

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> "But what is this force which causes me to see in a way in which I have not seen? What makes a landscape or a person come to life for me and become a presence towards which I surrender myself? Christians find it quite natural to give a personal name to this current communication, the invisible go-between. They call him the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God … That is the Spirit which Jesus promised to send to his friends, and on the Day of Pentecost that is the Spirit which came and possessed them just as he had possessed Jesus."

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Shortly after the Day of Pentecost, a purely "secular" event took place:

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> "At that time there was a great persecution against the church which was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judaea and Samaria." (Acts 8.1)

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If God took an initiative in the coming of Jesus, its outworking in the life of Jesus took place in the arena of world affairs. There was no dramatic turning to God. On the contrary, there was opposition. The concept of a world saviour was opposed by those who looked only for a national messiah. The concept of the kingdom of God was inevitably in collision with the concept of the deification of the Roman emperor. The result was rejection by crucifixion. But the fact of resurrection reversed apparent defeat into dramatic victory. And it was this triumph of the power of God over the principalities and powers of the world which provided the dynamic of the early church. The triumph was achieved not by the power of the sword but by the power of unquenchable love. Those who were scattered abroad because of persecution therefore "went everywhere preaching the word". That was the manner of working out of the initiative of God in the arena of the world.

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Para 46

Among those who broadcast the good news of Jesus was Philip the Deacon, one of those chosen by the early church to "serve tables". The church, it seems is as difficult an arena as the world in which the initiatives of God are to be worked out. "There arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration." Acts 6.1. The divine provision, the divine method for meeting such situations, was to equip and use "men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom" and that remains the divine method of carrying out the divine initiatives in the church and in the world to this day.

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Whole libraries have been written about what it means to be "full of the Holy Ghost". We may at least assume that it means being "alive to God", aware of the presence of God, sensitive to the leading of God.

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Philip, therefore, may be assumed to have followed a divine "hunch" when he felt constrained to leave a highly successful evangelistic campaign in Samaria and head south for the road that led from Jerusalem to Gaza, It was, of course, a strategic highway, leading from Asia to Africa. We are not told what influenced the Apostles in choosing the direction in which they travelled broadcasting the Gospel. St Paul certainly aimed at strategic centres from which large areas could be served. We have already noted that among those present on the Day of Pentecost were some who returned to Egypt, taking their new-found faith with them. The significance of Philip the Deacon is that he was the first to communicate the faith to an African:

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> "Behold, a man of Ethiopia, an eunuch of great authority under Candace queen of the Ethiopians, who had charge of all her treasure and had come to Jerusalem for to worship, was returning and sitting in his chariot reading Esaias the prophet. Then the Spirit said unto Philip, "Go near and join thyself to this chariot." And Philip ran thither to him and heard him read the prophet Esaias, and said, "Understandest thou what thou readest?" And he said, "How can I, except some man should guide me?" And he desired Philip that he would come up and sit with him … Then Philip opened his mouth and began at the same scripture and preached unto him Jesus." Acts 9.27-35

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The Greek word "Aethiopia", meaning "Land of the blacks", applied at that time to all the territories lying south of Egypt and therefore included the present Sudan. The title "Candace" or "Kandake" was peculiar to the queens of the Meroitic kingdom on the banks of the Nile south of Atbara. The Ethiopian chancellor had probably become familiar with Judaism on journeys to Egypt, where there were colonies of Jews as far south as Aswan. His position would undoubtedly have required a knowledge of the Greek language, which enabled him to read a Greek text of the prophet Isaiah and to be instructed by Phillip in Greek. The record describes how the Ethiopian was baptised and "went on his way rejoicing", thus becoming the first enthusiastic bearer of the Good News to the Sudan in about 37 AD. It would be tempting to complete the story by confirming the tradition that the eunuch became the first bishop and patriarch over all Ethiopia, which he converted to Christianity from the Nile to the Red Sea, but there appears to be no evidence for this. The name of the evangelist, however, lives on in the Episcopal Church of Philip the Deacon at

Atbara.

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There is now a gap of three centuries before we have further evidence of the spread of Christianity to the Sudan. In the fourth century, two brothers from Alexandria, Frumentius and Aedesius, were shipwrecked on the Red Sea coast and rescued by the servants of the Ethiopian monarch of the time. They were taken to Axum, where Frumentius became tutor to the Crown Prince. On coming to the throne, the new monarch declared Christianity to be the official religion of the state. Frumentius in due course returned to Alexandria where he was consecrated Bishop of Axum by Athanasius in 356. On returning to Axum, he proceeded to establish churches in the country. At about the same time, Chisitianity began to penetrate Nubia from Egypt. Persecution drove Coptic Christians into the oases of the Western Desert and beyond the first cataract of the Nile into Nubia. There is archaeological evidence of the presence of Christianity in these regions by the fourth century[1].

[1] *A.S. Atiya, A History of Eastern Christianity, London 1968, p.50.*

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The main thrust, however, of the Christian advance up the Nile Valley came primarily not so much from the church as from the state. The conversion of Constantine in about 313 ushered in the Byzantine church state, which saw, in the eyes of many, church and empire united under the providence of God, with the Emperor himself as the vice-regent of God. The Edict of Milan, 313, marked the end of the era of persecution and the first step towards the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Empire. Imperial patronage began to be showered upon the church, laying the foundation of the church's wealth in later centuries. Christian clergy, once merely tolerated, became favoured and privileged, having civic as well as religious status. Henceforth the Empire was to be Christian, ruled by an Emperor with missionary zeal.

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The experiment of a Christian political order had to be made and it brought to the surface some of the basic issues involved. The identification of Christian dogma with political power leaves no room for deviation. Christian faith, by its very nature, cannot be enforced by law. Any attempt to do so leads to intolerance, the persecution of minorities, and religious wars. If freedom is a value to be cherished, freedom of religion is part of the way of life to be practised. It will be revealing to examine in later chapters how far this was achieved by

British administration on the one hand and Islamic regimes on the other.

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Para 53

It was not until the reign of the Emperor Justinian, 527-565, that missionary expansion actually took place. As part of his desire to put an end to paganism on the fringes of his empire, he encouraged a missionary thrust into Nubia. At the beginning of the Christian era, the Nile Valley to the south of Egypt formed one empire, the kingdom of Meroe, whose capital Meroe was near the modern Kabushiya. The pyramid of the kings and queens of Meroe are still to be seen on a range of hills overlooking the plain to the east of the town. The Queen had the title "Kandake". In the fourth century AD, the kingdom of Meroe was invaded by the kings of Axum, resulting ultimately in the disintegration of the kingdom into three parts: Nobatia, between the first and second cataracts of the Nile, with its capital at Faras; Makuria, covering the third and fourth cataracts, with its capital at Dongola; and Alwa, from the junction of the Nile and the Atbara southwards, with its capital at Soba on the Blue Nile east of Khartoum.

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Para 54

The northernmost kingdom of Nobatia became the target area for the first phase of missionary expansion. The Emperor Justinian wrote a letter to the bishops of Upper Egypt instructing them to direct their attention to Nobatia, in order that the inhabitants might have the opportunity to hear and respond to Christian teaching in conformity with the doctrines laid down by the Council of Chalcedon. An imperial delegation actually left for Upper Egypt bearing gifts and baptismal robes for converts. Justinian, however, had reckoned without his wife. The Empress Theodora, a staunch monophysite, hearing of the Emperor's plan, determined to thwart it. She quickly despatched her own delegation headed by the monophysite monk Julian, with letters to the Governor of Upper Egypt commending Julian and urging him to speed Julian's departure for Nobatia, on pain of dire punishment should he fail to obey. Such was the stratagem which won Nobatia for the monophysite cause. John of Ephesus, in his "Ecclesiastical History" (part III) describes some of the hardships endured by Julian in his mission:

> "The blessed Julian remained two years with them bearing the great heat. He said later that he used to sit from the third to the tenth hour in caves full of water with the people of the region, naked, or better, wearing only a cloth, while he could perspire only with the help of water. He persevered, however, and instructed and baptised the king and his noblemen and a lot of people with them, arranging also to have with him a certain bishop from the Thebaid, an old man by the name of Theodore. After having taught them and having organised the community, he entrusted them to this bishop. Then he left them and came to Constantinople. I was present when the queen received him with great honour and he used to tell many wonderful things about that great people, which things I omit, because they are too many, being content with the few I relate."[2]

[2] *G. Yantini, Christianity in the Sudan, Bologna 1981, p.139.*

The Emperor's delegation, however, finding themselves forestalled in Nobatia, pressed on to Makuria. Little is known of their activities, but a Chalcedonian church was established, and a stone church is known to have been built in Dongola.

When the Emperor Justinian died, the nlarge ite leaders in Constantinople tried to revive the mission in Nobatia. A certain Alexandrian named Longinus was consecrated bishop and appointed to Nobatia. The new Emperor Justin, however, upholding the Chalcedonian tradition and no doubt learning from the experience of his predecessor, had Longinus arrested and clapped in jail. After three years, Longinus escaped and proceeded to Nobatia, where he remained for six years, ordaining clergy, organising the use of the liturgy and setting up institutions. At about the same time, the king of Alwa write to the king of Nobatia asking him to send Longinus to Alwa to evangelise his kingdom. Longinus, however, had left to return to Alexandria. In 580 he returned and proceeded to Alwa. His journey there was full of drama. In order to avoid ambushes laid for him by the king of Makuria, he travelled by desert track via the Red Sea coast with a group of Beja camel-drivers. In due course he reached the borders of the kingdom of Alwa and was received with great honours. From there he was able to write:

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"There are thousands of people who throng here to salvation, to the glory of our common Saviour Christ."[3]

[3] *Ibid p.49.*

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As in Nobatia, he ordained priests and founded monasteries, and tried to bring the liturgy of St Mark into general use. Archaeological sites reveal that pagan temples were changed into Christian churches, inscriptions, crosses and mural paintings being found on the walls.

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Thus, by 580 AD, with the conversion of the kings and nobles, Christianity became the official religion of the three kingdoms of Nubia, though it is questionable how far the faith took root among the common people. Nobatia and Alwa were, it seems, nlarge ite, while Makuria adhered to the Chalcedonian tradition. It is sad to note that even from the earliest times, sectarian differences in the parent churches were perpetuated in the missionary areas. At least it can be said that the unseemly scramble for spheres of influence which took place in the sixth century was to a great extent avoided in the twentieth century, when a wiser administration firmly allocated the Roman Catholics to Bahr el Ghazal, the Presbyterians to Upper Nile, and the Anglicans to Equatoria.

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Bishoprics began to be established as the church in Nubia grew. The Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria consecrated bishops for sees dependent upon his authority, and the Greek Patriarch of Alexandria appointed bishops in areas where the Chalcedonian confession was professed. There were also priests and deacons who were responsible for village churches. These churches were usually Greek in architectural design, with murals depicting Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Apostles, Angels and Saints. A three-aisled cathedral was built at Faras in about 630 AD at the time of the appointment of the first bishop. It was nlargeed in 700 AD by Paulos, the fifth bishop. Two inscriptions, one in Greek and one in Coptic, state that the five-aisled cathedral was dedicated in the eleventh year of the reign of Merkurios, king of Dongola. It is known that by 700 AD the two kingdoms of Makuria and Nobatia had merged into one under the rule of Merkurios, and that during his reign all the episcopal sees of Nubia came under the jurisdiction of the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria.

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In the year 638 AD the Arab army under Amr ibn al As conquered Egypt. A peace treaty was signed with the Egyptians which committed the Nubians to the payment of slaves and horses as "baqt". When the Arab cavalry tried to enter Nubia, however, they met stiff resistance from the Nubian archers, who inflicted heavy casualties. The battle of Dongola ended with a peace treaty whereby the Arabs were to supply the Nubians with wheat, lentils and horses, in exchange for slaves, and with assurance of safe conduct for travellers in both directions. In 835, the young king George of the Nubians travelled to Baghdad to re-negotiate the "baqt" with the Caliph Ibrahim al Mutasim. His progress was impressive. The Patriarch Dionysius of Antioch, who was present, is quoted by Michael the Syrian as follows:

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> "He rode a camel with a saddle quite different from those of our country. An umbrella in the form of a dome covered with scarlet cloth was carried above his head and on top of the umbrella was fitted a golden cross. On his right and left young Nubians marched carrying crosses in their hands. Before him rode a bishop, he too holding a cross in his hand. All these crosses were of gold. The remainder of horsemen and slaves followed behind and around him, all blacks."[4]

[4] *Ibid p.86.*

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No wonder that this encounter brought to all the Near East the knowledge of the existence of a Christian kingdom in Africa beyond the confines of the Islamic Empire.

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Para 65

The period of the Fatimid rule in Egypt (969-1169 AD) was one of good and peaceful relations between the rulers of Egypt and the kings of Nubia. During this period, as many as 50,000 Nubians had been recruited to serve in the Fatimid army. Others had migrated to Egypt seeking employment. The majority of them embraced the Shi'a form of Islam, and this became one way in which Islam penetrated Nubia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. On the other hand, Nubian Christians went through Egypt on pilgrimages to Jerusalem and had a chapel of their own in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre built by the Crusaders.

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In 1163 AD we find the Crusaders attacking Egypt. King Nur ad Din of Mosul sent Kurdish soldiers to support the Fatimid Caliph Al Adid, among them one Salah ad Din bin Yusuf bin Ayyub, to be known to the West as Saladin. Saladin, a Sunni Muslim, determined to eliminate the Shi'a heresy and to create a kingdom for himself in Egypt. The Nubians, however, remained faithful to the Fatimid Caliph and resisted him, looking hopefully to the Crusaders for support. The plan miscarried and in the ensuing battle between Saladin's Kurds and the Nubians, the Nubians were defeated and withdrew to Upper Egypt. A punitive expedition under Shams ad Dawla, Saladin's brother, was sent against Nubia and inflicted a further defeat at Ibrim. Leaving a Kurdish garrison behind him, Shams ad Dawla withdrew to undertake further conquests elsewhere. This breach in Egyptian-Nubian relations effectively cut off the kingdoms of Nubia, and the church in Nubia, from Egypt and the Mediterranean for a hundred years.

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In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the Nubian king Dawud of Dongola carried out two ill-conceived raids which brought about disastrous reprisals, destroying Nubia's independence. The first raid was on the Red Sea port of Aydhah, a key Egyptian outpost on the trade route to India. The second was on the northern border town of Aswan. Whatever the reasons for these raids, the result was catastrophic. The Mamluk Sultan Baybars sent an expedition in 1276 which inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Nubians at Dongola and made Nubia a vassal state of Egypt. Many Nubians became Muslims rather than be subject to the poll tax, or “jizya”, imposed. In 1279, a Nubian succeeded to the throne who was “prouder, more skilful and courageous than all his peers”, Shemamun by name. He survived two further punitive expeditions from Cairo and reigned until 1295. But by this time, the strength of Nubia was declining and it came more and more under the power of the Mamluks. The first Muslim to be king of Dongola was enthroned in 1315, a nephew of Kind Dawud who had grown up in the court of the Sultan Nasir ibn Qalawun. By 1400 the kingdom had disintegrated into many parts with no semblance of central monarchic rule remaining. A document discovered at Ibrim in 1976 mentions the names of Christian kings and bishops as late as 1464. By 1517, however, the northern part of Nubia came under the control of the Turks, who had succeeded the Mamluks as rulers of Egypt, and the southern part came under the rule of the Fung kings of Sennar.

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It is tempting to draw conclusions from the demise of the Nubian

church which would contribute to modern thinking about mission. It is indeed important to learn the lessons of history. But in this particular case the known facts do not appear to be sufficiently clear or convincing to draw firm conclusions. Until the 1960s, it was thought that the church disappeared because it never became truly indigenous. The episcopate, the clergy and the liturgy all emanated from Egypt and never became Sudanised. So under the strain of political change, the church disintegrated and finally disappeared. Since 1960, however, archaeological discoveries have revealed that (i) Christianity probably penetrated into the Sudan at grass roots level before the "official" missions of Julian and Longinus, evidenced by the discover of hundreds of village churches, and indicating a degree of indigenisation greater than had been previously supposed[5]; (ii) there were black bishops in Nobatia in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, as shown by the murals discovered in the cathedral at Faras[6]; (iii) there were small, well-fortified churches built on islands in the Nile and upon hills as late as 1215-1340, after the beginning of Muslim rule, indicating a degree of tenacity and a will to survive more in keeping with a truly indigenous church than one imposed from outside[7]. Why, then, did the church in Nubia disappear, while the church in Egypt and in Ethiopia survived? The answer may be in the sheer inhospitableness of the terrain. The Nubian desert is a very different place from the Nile Delta. The envoy of Saladin reported a thinly populated area confined to a "narrow ribbon of cultivated land", which alone was capable of sustaining life in the Nubian desert. Under similar forms of severe testing, therefore, the church in Egypt managed to survive through sheet numbers and conditions of life, while the church in Nubia perished. W.Y. Adams has written[8] that the series of disasters which befell Nubia caused serious depletion of the local population. He sees the final triumph of Islam in this area as being achieved "not by infiltration of the royal houses, but by driving or starving out the last Christian inhabitants and destroying the sedentary foundations of their society."[9]

[5] *M.L. Prouet, Christianity in Nubia – a Reassessment, paper for the Universities Social Services Conference, Makerere 1971, p.15.*

[6] *Ibid p.16.*

[7] *Ibid p.22.*

[8] *W.Y. Adams, Post Pharaonic Nubia in the Light of Archaeology III, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 52 1966, pp.147-162.*

[9] *Prouet p.24, quoting W.Y. Adams, Continuity and Change in Nubian Cultural History, Sudan Notes and Records XLVIII 1967, pp.1-32.*

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If God is the God of history, what are we to say about the multiplicity of religions in the world? If, as Christians, we adopt the Biblical view that God chose to reveal himself through one nation, the Jews, and through one man, Jesus Christ, what attitude are we to take to other claims to a divine revelation? How do we reconcile our belief in the uniqueness of Jesus Christ with the passionately held belief of others in the validity of their own particular experience of God?

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> "There was the light, the true light, which enlighteneth every man coming into the world" (John 1.8). "From the beginning the true light has shone. Always it was coming into the world; always it enlightened every man in his reason and in his conscience. But God in self-revelation is the Divine Word, who is perfectly expressed in Christ. So it may be truly said that the conscience of man is the voice of Christ within him, though muffled by ignorance. All that is noble in the non-Christian systems of thought, or conduct, or worship, is the work of Christ upon them and within them. By the Word of God – that is to say, by Jesus Christ – Isaiah, and Plato, and Zoroaster, and Buddha, and Confucius conceived and uttered such truths as they declared. There is only one light; and every man in his measure is enlightened by it. Yet this light is not recognised for what it is. If it were, its fuller shining would always be welcomed. But it is attributed by each tribe or group to some historic or legendary founder or pioneer of their own, so that each claims to have a monopoly of the light, which needs all the wisdom of all human traditions to manifest the entire compass of its spectrum. Moreover, it has to shine through veils of prejudice and obsession, so that even the rays received by each group among mankind are not clear and pure in the illumination which they give. So the light itself is unrecognised and when it blazes out more fully, men refuse it, even though it is that by which they already walk. For these reasons it is true both that Christ is the Desire of all Nations, yet that he is always more and other than men desire until they learn of him."

So writes William Temple[1].

[1] *William Temple, Readings in St John's Gospel, London 1947, pp.19-11.*

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Before Mohammad preached among them, the Arabs were mostly said to be ‘animists', believing that spirits dwelt in stones, rocks, trees or wells, beholding these objects as sacred and making gifts and offerings in their vicinity. ‘Animism' is a word derived from the Latin ‘anima', which means breath, breath of life, and hence it carried with it the idea of soul or spirit. In trying to understand the beliefs of so-called ‘primitive' people, it is supposed that single spirits were believed to exist over each major department of nature. So the spirits of rivers would have a major spirit in charge of them, and the same applied to trees, rocks, lakes, etc. So ‘animism' is supposed to have developed into ‘polytheism', and ‘polytheism' into ‘monotheism' or belief in one Supreme God. Animistic beliefs have therefore tended to be condemned by the apostles of monotheism, whether Christian, Islamic or Judaic, as mere superstition or worse, and therefore to be totally abandoned. They have, however, survived, and the question has to be asked if even in them there are traces of “the light which enlighteneth every man”. John V Talor would abandon the use of the word ‘primitive', because it tends to rule out any thought that one may discern the self-revealing Logos and Light of God in the insights, experiences and values of this interpretation of the world. He prefers the more general term ‘primal', in recognition of the fact that traditional beliefs of peoples all over the world contain the universal, basic elements of man's understanding of God and of the world[2]. E.E. Evans-Pritchard demonstrates how deeply religious the Nuer of the Sudan are, with a deep conception of God as Spirit[3]. Godfrey Lienhardt emphasises the importance of the personal encounter between God and men which the Dinka recognise in every aspect of their life[4]. Professor John Mbiti, of Makerere University, Uganda, would say that a great deal of evangelisation, whether Christian or Muslim, has been superficial, because it failed to penetrate this deep layer of traditional belief and relate it to the new message that has been preached[5].

[2] *J.V. Taylor, The Primal Vision, London 1963, p.18.*

[3] *E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Nuer Religion, London 1956.*

[4] *Godfrey Lienhardt, Divinity and Experience: the Religion of the Dinka, Oxford 1961.*

[5] *John Mbiti, African religion and Philosophy, London 1969.*

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There were also in Arabia at that time both Jews and Christians, and it is necessary to try to assess the extent of their influence on Muhammad as he felt himself drawn away from animism and polytheism towards monotheism. Jewish traders had been busy in the

trading cities along the caravan routes in Arabia since the sixth century BC. There has been a large Jewish community in the Yemen from pre-Islamic times until the present century. Awareness of their monotheistic faith is likely to have influence Muhammad. Similarly, there is abundant proof of a Chistian presence in Arabia in the first six centuries of the Christian era. It is known that Christian kings reigned in the Yemen in the third century AD. The remains of Chistian churches are to be found in Southern Arabia, evidence of well-organised Christian communities with their own bishops. Guillaume[6] describes how there were at least two Christian tribes in the Hejaz itself. Almsgiving and fasting were practised, and hospitality was offered to travellers at monasteries. Sadly, the sordid quarrels between monophysites and diophysites spread into the Arab world. The Arab Christians inherited the monophysite tradition, whereas the Greek form emanating from Constantinople was diophysite. There is a record of an Arab Christian king who "tried his utmost to heal the breach in Christianity which kept his countrymen at each other's throats. He went to the Emperor in 580 AD to plead with him to put a stop to the disputes which were ruining Christianity among the Arabs, and he begged for charity and tolerance"[7]. His efforts, however, were in vain. He found himself ,later, his son, in exile. The rule of Christian Arabs came to an end, discipline broke down and heresy became rife. It was into this situation that Muhammad arose as the prophet of Islam.

[6] *Guillaume, Islam, London 1954, p.13ff.*

[7] *Ibid, p.18.*

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Born in 579 AD, a member of the Qureishi tribe, Muhammad was brought up by his grandfather Abd al Muttalib in the city of Mecca. Mecca was on the trade route from Syrian in the north to the Yemen in the south, and its merchants controlled the trade extending as far as Europe in the west and India in the east. The leading men of the city were wealthy traders who had ties of kinship with the nomadic tribes of the desert. The shrine at Mecca, the Ka'aba, was a centre of pilgrimage to the tribes throughout Arabia. It was, we may suppose, the locus of an ancient traditional belief which associated a spirit or spirits with the Black Stone which was the object of reverence within the Ka'aba. It is interesting to note that Muhammad rejected the idolatrous system of worship connected with the Stone but retained the Stone itself as the most sacred shrine of monotheistic Islam, through its legendary association with Abraham.

Kenneth Cragg[8] analyses the four levels at which the story of Muhammad may be told: Historical, Political, Religious, and a fourth level which may be termed Vocational. The historical narrative is well known. At the age of 40, Muhammad began to preach about the unity of God and the judgement of idolatry, with very limited response and not a little opposition from those with vested interests in Mecca as a centre of pilgrimage. Faced with mounting antagonism, he moved with his followers from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD, which marks the beginning of the Islamic era. From Medina he became involved in an armed struggle by which he regained control of Mecca and established a religio-political state throughout most of the Arabian peninsula. Throughout this time, he claimed to have received revelations which laid down patterns of faith and conduct for the new community which came into being. After his death in 632 AD the new faith spread dramatically as far as Spain in the west and India in the east, until, in the present day, it has become a major world religion with a following of one-sixth of mankind. Politically, the message of the unity of God provided the clue to the quest for human unity which had hitherto always succumbed to the divisive tribalism of the Arab world. Inevitably it came up against the powerful vested interests associated with the worship at the pagan pilgrim shrines. But the ultimate triumph of Muhammad and his followers established the new principles of the priority of faith-allegiances over blood relationships. It was this that established Islam as a world force in the political sense. In the religious sense, the character of the new faith was largely determined by Muhammad's conception of prophethood and how it was validated, especially in relation to the ‘mystery of antagonism'. As he was faced with opposition, he came to the conclusion that a prophet's vocation was validated by success and response, and therefore involved overcoming opposition, if necessary, by force. In this the way of Muhammad contrasted sharply with the way of Jesus, which remains incomprehensible to Muslims to this day. But there still remains the question of the dynamic which fired Muhammad. What was the secret of his sense of vocation? The Qu’ran refers to Muhammad as ‘the enmantled one' in the same way as Elijah and Elisha were ‘enmantled ones', that is to say, anointed, chosen, commissioned by God to bear his message to his people, the mouthpiece of God himself, whereby his word would be enshrined in Scriptures which would be authoritative. This sense of divine vocation was the ultimate factor which inspired Muhammad and convinced his followers.

[8] *Kenneth Cragg, The House of Islam, Belmont, California 1969, pp.20-24.*

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The whole question of Muhammad's prophetic experience is exhaustively dealt with in Kenneth Cragg's book "Muhammad and the Christian – a Question of Response" (London 1984). It is all to easy to come to a conclusion as to Muhammad's claim to prophethood, in the Christian sense, from a very superficial knowledge of the facts. If we are truly concerned for our Muslim friends as people, it is surely incumbent upon us to make a serious study of the prophetic experience of their prophet, as we would expect them to make a serious study of the person of Jesus. Each must come to his conclusion. What is here set forth is simply an identification of the issues involved:

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1. To the Muslim, Muhammad's claim to prophethood is based on an encounter with God which is described in the Qu'ran, chapter 53:

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"By the star when it plunges,

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Your comrade is not astray, neither errs,

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Para 79

Nor speaks he out of caprice.

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Para 80

This is naught but a revelation revealed,

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Taught him by one terrible in power,

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Very strong; he stood poised,

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Being on the higher horizon,

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Then drew near and suspended hung,

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Two bows' length away, or nearer,

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Then revealed to his servant that he revealed”

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A.J. Arberry's translation.

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The great 13th century Sufi poet Jalal al Din Rumi, in his ‘Discourses', sees the passage as definitive of revelation.

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"By the star when it is set, your kinsman here (Muhammad) was not astray nor was he deceived. His words are not his own devising. It (the Qu'ran) is nothing less than a revelation imparted. One of awesome might taught him, on endued with strength. Erect he stood, away on the far horizon. Then he drew near, hovering down, and came within two bows' length, then nearer still, and he revealed to his servant what he revealed. His own heart (Muhammad's) did not deny his vision. Are you then to question what he sees?"[9]

[9] *Rumi, Muhammad and the Christian, p.82 and Rumi, Discourses tr A.J. Arberry, London 1967, p.51.*

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2. The revelation which came to Muhammad began with the words:

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Recite: In the Name of the Lord who created,

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Created man of a blood-clot.

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Recite: And thy Lord is the most generous,

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Who taught by the pen,

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Taught man, that he knows not.[10]

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[10] *The Qur'an, 96, Arberry.*

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Dr Cragg discusses the manner in which Muhammad received this revelation and how it came to be written down[11]. He begins by saying that this revelation "is a commanding awareness of the reality of God, made vocal in language of which God himself is the source – language to be spoken, commandingly, to the world."

[11] *Kenneth Cragg, Muhammad and the Christian, pp.83-91.*

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3. The language in which the revelation was given was Arabic, and Dr Cragg makes the interesting comment that this was not merely a linguistic accident but "a veritable Arabicizing of monotheistic faith, the genesis in Arab experience of the kind of significance which resided for Jews in Moses, Elijah and all the prophets."

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4. The kind of inspiration ascribed to the revelation was verbal inspiration, "the concept of a celestial imparting of syntax, vocabulary and word sequence, so that the prophetic speech verbally iterates the divine speech."

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5. And this raises the whole question of the literacy or illiteracy of the prophet. Was Muhammad illiterate or not? The vital phrase in the Qur'an is from Surah 7.157: "Al rasul al nabi al ummi", translated literally "the prophet-apostle who is unlettered." The meaning, says Dr Cragg, has to do with Muhannad not being a scholar. His sources were not libraries, but inspiration. His stimulus lay not in erudition but in yearning. The simple sense of 'ummi' is 'non-scholastic', in being not 'of the schools'.[12] Dr Cragg points out that it is unlikely that a successful merchant like Muhammad would be unable, through illiteracy, to deal with bills of lading, ledgers and documents. He goes on to argue that the involvement of Muhammad in terms of yearnings of heart, processes of mind, environment and travail of personality, in contrast to being a mere mouthpiece, enhance rather than diminish his status as a prophet.

[12] *Kenneth Cragg, The Event of the Qur'an, London 1971, p.58.*

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6. So we come to the crucial issue of time and place. Muhammad and the Qur'an belong to the seventh century, while Jesus and the

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Apostles belong to the first. How then can the Christian give support to the later revelation when the earlier is regarded as final? Does it not imply some confusion in the ways of the Holy Spirit? Dr Cragg argues that seventh-century Arabia was closer in cultic terms to the Samaria of Elijah than the Alexandria of Athanasius. The light which came to Muhammad in his situation was therefore contemporary with the light that came to Elijah in his. But against this, one has to place the possibility that Muhammad was aware of the Christian revelation in some form, however twisted and inaccurate that form may have been.

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7. Finally, one has to face the questions which arise from Muhammad's understanding about Jesus and the Cross. In one sense, it may be said that Muhammad never had a chance to understand the Gospel, for he was never given an exact account of it, nor did he have access to the Christian Scriptures, which existed in Syriac, but probably not in Arabic. In the Qur'an, Jesus is portrayed as a legendary, miraculous figure very different from the 'real man' of the Gospels. The term 'Son of God' was interpreted in the literal sense of being begotten in a physical sense and therefore rejected as blasphemous. The Trinity, thought of as consisting of God the Father, Mary and Jesus, may have been derived from the presence of ikons in contemporary Christian churches. Christ was thought of as the recipient of God's Word in the same sense as Muhammad, and in no sense as being in his own person the revelation of God to men. For Christians, the final revelation is not a book, but a Person, a life both truly human and truly divine. This was not perceived by Muhammad. And because of this, the Cross would have to be judged a disaster, the failure of Christ's mission, an incongruity which God would never have allowed to happen.

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> "And for their (the Jews) saying: 'We killed the Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, the apostle of God', they did not kill him, nor did they crucify him, but he was counterfeited for them; verily those who have gone different ways in regard to him are in doubt about him; for they have no (revealed) knowledge of him and only follow opinion; they did not kill him certainly. Nay, God raised him to Himself, and God is sublime, wise,"[13]

[13] *The Qur'an, 4.156-157, Arberry.*

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Dr Cragg suggests that these unanswered questions may be

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"contained within the predicates of theism", that is to say, that they should not be approached, as it were, head on, but should be, for the moment, placed on one side, while we examine further the basic questions of the nature of God and his relationship with men. We are not here concerned with confrontation or refutation, but rather with a desperate desire for understanding, born out of the burning love of God for all his creatures, which we know and have discovered for ourselves in Christ. What Muhammad established was a tremendous insistence on the sovereignty of God, the unique being who alone is able to command the total allegiance, obedience and submission of man. That is 'Islam'. And the questions we have to consider together, Christian and Muslim, are: Is the sovereignty of God completely revealed in the Qur'anic revelation? Is prophethood God's ultimate means of revelation to man, or is there a more complete form of revelation? Is man fulfilled in response to the imperatives of a prophetic revelation, or must there be some revelation which takes account of man's failure in response? It is a consideration of these questions that may lead to a better understanding of the Cross, the Sonship of Jesus and the nature of the Godhead.

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But how can grace rightly be offered? How deeply can God become involved in the human situation? How can the inviolable purity of God be defiled by association with the corruption which is in man? Islam conceives of God's nearness to man in terms of vigilant watchfulness, before which nothing can be concealed. But is there not something else which must be present in order to fulfil the deep yearning of man? Does he not crave for a divine present which includes compassion, tenderness, long-suffering, grace? Would not this sort of divine self-revelation demonstrate a more resourceful expression of divine sovereignty? Is not God's sovereignty more glorified by neutralising human sin than by destroying idols? Is not God's sovereignty more perfectly expressed in the outgoing majesty of love?

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So Dr Cragg pleads most winsomely for a more profitable line of approach in the common quest by both Muslim and Christian for a larger concept of the sovereignty of God and a greater means of satisfaction for the yearnings of man.[14]

[14] *Rumi, Muhammad and the Christian, ch.8.*

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Having tried to trace the roots from which Islam sprang, it is now

necessary to record the story of the spread of the new religion, but only in so far as it relates to the story of the church in Egypt and the Sudan. Guillaume writes[15] that it was "almost by accident" that what began as disciplinary action among the Arabs themselves developed into military campaigns in the settled lands to the east, north and west of Arabia. Muhammad, after his death in 634, was succeeded by his faithful friend Abu Bakr as caliph or 'khalifa', which means 'deputy' or 'representative'. Inevitably, the 'deputy' lacked the charisma of the prophet himself, and his leadership was challenged by the old tribal loyalties. To assert his leadership and to preserve the unity of the faithful, Abu Bakr took firm action to quell the rebels. Under the military leadership of Khalid ibn Walid, campaigns were launched resulting in the conquest of Persia to the east, Syria to the north and Egypt to the west. Kenneth Cragg[16] speaks of the 'elan vital' of the Muslim armies, their unfailing ardour, their inner zest. Muhammad had touched the deepest springs of valour and sanctified them in the notion of the 'jihad', or 'holy war'. Yet it was not the sword, in the sharp and naked sense, in ruthlessness and anger, that made their triumphs. The way of truth was seen as passing always through thrones. There was, therefore, a reciprocal relationship between conversion and submission, between conquest and 'salat' (ritual prayer). In Egypt, the Arabs were welcomed as deliverers from the hated Byzantine overlords. The policy of the new rulers was to allow the local inhabitants to administer the country very much as they had always done. Under these regimes, non-Muslims had to pay taxes, and it was by this sort of social pressure, rather than by coercion, that converts were made. Jews and Christians were respected as monotheists and as 'people of the Book', and Christian writers of the time express their satisfaction at the milder rule of the Arabs in contrast to the tyranny of the Byzantines (Guillaume p.80). Proselytization, however, by Jews and Christians, was forbidden. Only those born as Christians could be Christians, and likewise for Jews. They enjoyed freedom to practise their religion, but not to propagate it. To be a Muslim was the ultimate end of man and it was unthinkable that a Muslim should change his faith. "It was impossible to de-Islamize. Islam was a faith no Muslim was outwardly free to abandon. 'Ummah' (the community of Islam) was a principle of irreversible and irreducible community continuity."[17], [18]

[15] *Guillaume, Islam, p.79.*

[16] *Kenneth Cragg, The House of Islam, p,74.*

[17] *Ibid, p.82.*

[18] *This contrasts with a declaration by the Egyptian delegate to the United Nations to the effect that "Egypt wishes to safeguard most fully religious liberty; Article 12 of the last Egyptian Constitution, which sanctions*

the liberty of religion, does not merely mean that every individual can embrace any religion, but that he can freely pass from one religion to the other."

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The Muslim advance under the third Caliph 'Uthman, 544-656 AD, continued westward into Tripolitania, northward through Armenia and to the Caucasus mountains, and eastwards into Afghanistan. Under the Umayyads (661-750) the advance continued along the North African coast to Morocco and into Spain. Further advance into Europe was halted at the battle of Tours in732. On the one hand, Islam had gained much by contact with the countries it conquered. It inherited the wisdom of Plato and Aristotle. Its theology was sharpened by contact with the long traditions of the Christian faith which it encountered. On the other hand, Islam gave much to the scholars of the West who visited Spain to learn philosophy, mathematic, astronomy and medicine from the Arabs. The Umayyad dynasty began to see the crumbling of the unified Arab empire. Local converts to Islam, the 'mawali', resented the social and economic inferiority which they experienced, and began to form the backbone of a Shi'a opposition in Iraq. The Umayyads were defeated in battle and Abu'l Abbas, the new caliph, founded the Abbasid dynasty in 750, with Baghdad as the capital. At the height of the Abassid power the Arabs enjoyed a period of great prosperity. Trade by land and sea, agriculture and irrigation all flourished. The arts and sciences were developed as never before. But in less than a century the unity of this splendid empire began to disintegrate. Persia, Spain, Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt broke away under independent rulers, perhaps the most important being the Fatimids who ruled in Egypt, 969-1171. They were the builders of Cairo, and the mosque Al Azhar became the religious centre of the Muslim world.

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By the year 1000 AD Europe was beginning to emerge from the Dark Ages and to become aware of a Christian unity with its centre in Rome. And out of this awareness arose a zeal for the faith which, rightly or wrongly, led to the Crusades. The idea of the recovery of the Christian holy places may have been brave, but the way in which it was carried out was disastrous. At the very heart of the two faiths, Christianity and Islam, lie the divergent roads taken by Jesus and Muhammad when faced with opposition. To Muhammad, prophethood was validated by success and success was to be achieved by conquest. To Jesus, messiahship was validated by love, and love was demonstrated and consummated on the Cross. The Crusades would seem to have been a negation of the Christian way and led inevitably to a head-on clash with the Muslims which destroyed hopes of co-

existence between the followers of the two faiths, ensuring years of misery for successive generations of Eastern Cristians who were left to bear the brunt of Muslim resentment.[19] Most of the Crusaders seem to have held the view that nothing could be done with the infidels except to repudiate them as unbelievers destined for condemnation. And this was reciprocated by the Muslims. Among those who raised their voices in protest and demonstrated the more excellent way was Francis of Assisi. Convinced that the Christian Gospel was being presented in a way which entirely obscured its simplicity and beauty, he joined the Fifth Crusade in 1219 and succeeded in entering the presence of the Sultan in Egypt, who received him with dignity and respect. The incident may not have produced immediate results, but its importance was to show that a new spirit had come into the Christian world, and a notable shift was about to take place in the missionary methods of the Christian churches.[20] It was Ramon Lull, 1235-1315, who laid the foundations of the new approach, which required (i) an accurate knowledge of the Arabic language, (ii) a restatement of the Christian faith in terms related to the beliefs of Muslims, (iii) a willingness to live and serve among Muslims, whatever the cost – "Missionaries will convert the world by preaching, but also through the shedding of blood and with great labour, and through bitter death."[21]

[19] *It should be noted that Christians and Muslims have in fact co-existed in Egypt since the Crusades.*
[20] *S.C. Neill, A History of Christian Missions, London 1964, p.116.*
[21] *Ibid, p.137.*

The rise of Islam in the Sudan took place much later than in Egypt. As we have seen, there were Christian kingdoms in Nubia until 1315, when the first Muslim king of Dongola was enthroned. Bedouin tribes began to move south following the path of the Nile. One group turned south-west into Kordofan, while another turned south-east up the Atbara and the Blue Nile into the Gezira. They met with some opposition. But by means of treaties and by intermarriage, they began to be absorbed into the local Sudanese population. There was a gradual process of arabization and islamization of the Sudanese on the one hand, and a process of indigenisation of the Arabs on the other. "The Sudanese offered little resistance to this process of cultural arabization", writes Spencer Trimingham.[22] "But though they accepted so much, they remodelled it considerably, and preserved not only a foundational Sudanese racial element, but their own nationality in their customs, and, in the case of the Nubians and Beja, their language." In the Gezira region, Islamic influence came from another

direction. There existed here the kingdom of Sennar, founded by black raiders from the south, possibly Shilluk, who allied themselves with the indigenous inhabitants of the Gezira, knows as the 'Hamai', in order to stem the tide of the advancing Arabs. Those who ruled the whole area extending south between the Blue and White Niles were known as the 'Fung'. The explorer James Bruce recorded in 1772 that they maintained an army of blacks numbered at 14,000 foot and 1,800 horse. The Fung were animists but appear to have joined Islam for political reasons. They invited holy men from Arabia to settle among them and it was in this way that the Gezira and riverine tribes were islamicized. "The condition of the Gezira under the Fung was a real mixture of pagan Africa with Muslim elements."[23]

[22] *Spencer Trimingham, Islam in the Sudan, London, p.83.*
[23] *Ibid, p.86.*

Egyptian influence over the Sudan had virtually disappeared after the Turkish conquest of Nubia in 1518. It was suddenly revived through the imperialistic ambitions of Mohammed Ali. Mohammed Ali was a man of quite remarkable ability, ambition and vision. By the time he died in 1849, he had transformed Egypt into an independent modern state. He tried desperately to shake off the Ottoman yoke, but as a result mainly of European diplomacy succeeded only in making Egypt an autonomous province under the hereditary rule of himself and his heirs, who were granted the title of Khedive. He invaded the Sudan in 1820, deposing the Fung sultans of Sennar and installing an Egyptian Governor at the new capital of Khartoum. The main object of the exercise was to gain control of the White Nile slave trade and so ensure a regular supply of negro slave recruits for the Egyptian army. During the next thirty years a series of expeditions ravaged the country south of Khartoum between the White and Blue Niles. By 1839 an Egyptian military post had been established at Gondokoro, not far from the present town of Juba. Mansfield[24] sums up the years of Egyptian rule as follows: "The sixty years of Egyptian rule in the Sudan were far from being unredeemedly vicious and corrupt as it has often been described." ("To judge Turco-Egyptian administration by the standards of twentieth century colonial rule, instead of seeing it as part of the pattern of late Ottoman provincial government, is unwarranted and unhistorical")[25]. The Egyptians created an admittedly fragile administrative system to cover the whole country for the first time in Sudanese history. Egyptian cultural influence was greatest in the garrison towns where primary schools were established under Ismail, and Egyptian officials inter-married freely with

Sudanese. But there was no influx of Egyptian settlers, and as time went on Sudanese were introduced increasingly into the higher ranks of the civil and military administration and judiciary."

[24] *Peter Mansfield, The British in Egypt, USA 1971, p.68, quoting.*

[25] *P.M. Holt, A Modern History of the Sudan, London 1963, p.77.*

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In the meantime, the anti-slavery movement had been gathering momentum in Europe. A legal judgement in England in 1772 was the first victory for a small group of evangelical Christians who organised a campaign against the British slave trade. By the time the Khedive Ismail, Muhammad Ali's youngest son, came to power in Egypt, he felt obliged to employ first Sir Samuel Baker (1870-73) and then General Charles George Gordon (1874-79) as Governors of Equatoria, to enforce anti-slavery decrees. In 1881 Mohammed Ahmad, the son of a Dongolawi boat-builder, was oppressed by the sufferings of his people and began to feel a divine call to deliver them. Schooled in the Sufi way of discipline and initiation into Divine knowledge, he subjected himself to religious austerities out of which came a revelation that he was himself the awaited deliverer, the 'Mahdi'. Once convinced of his call, he proclaimed a 'jihad' against the oppressors of his people "to purify the world from wantonness and corruption". The British Government, by now in control of Egypt, determined to abandon the Sudan and sent Gordon to Khartoum to perform the impossible task of evacuating the garrison and leaving behind him a form of orderly government. On 26 January 1885, Khartoum fell to the forces of the Mahdi, who became master of the Sudan. He died from typhus in June of the same year, only five months after Gordon, and was succeeded by the Khalifa Abd Allah at Ta'aishi.

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The Mahdi was the focus and symbol of a sense of national identity in the Sudan for the first time in its history. Religious faith surmounted tribal bonds and feuds so that concerted action could be taken to end a long period of tyranny. Baggara tribesmen and black slaves fought under one banner. Winston Churchill[26] was to write, "The Arabs … fought in the glory of religious zeal; the Arabs who opposed Graham, Earle and Stewart fought in defence of the soil; the Arabs who were conquered by Kitchener fought in the pride of an army. Fanatics charged at Shekan; patriots at Abu Klea; warriors at Omdurman". The central point of the Mahdi's teaching was that his coming ushered in the rule of God on earth. The expectation was that the subjection of the Sudan was to be followed by that of Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Arabia.

Loyalty to himself as the sole representative of God involved changes in the practice of Islam. The Pillars of Faith were changed: (i) The 'shahada' or creed had an addition – "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah, and Muhammad Ahmad ibn Abd Allah is the Mahdi of Allah and the representative of His Prophet". (ii) The 'jihad' took the place of the 'hajj', or pilgrimage to Mecca; (iii) 'Salat', or ritual prayer, was given great emphasis as the symbol of unity; (iv) Obedience to God's commandments was to be taught as by the Mahdi, who it turn based his teaching on the 'sunna', or way of faith and conduct of the Prophet himself; (v) To the recitation of the Qur'an was to be added twice daily recitation of the 'Ratib', or collection of prayers and texts compiled by the Mahdi.[27]

[26] *W.S. Churchill, The River War, London 1951, p.36.*

[27] *Trimingham, pp.155-156.*

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After the death of the Mahdi, his successor the Khalifa Abd Allah maintained the new-found sense of unity by (i) removing or rendering innocuous all real or potential rivals; (ii) concentrating military power in the Mahdi's capital Omdurman; (iii) maintaining a balance of power between the desert and the riverine people on the side of his own tribe, the Ta'aisha section of the Baggara. He achieved a notable victory over the Abyssinians but failed in an attempt to advance into Egypt. The country was decimated by famine, followed by the visitation of swarms of locusts. When his rule ended at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898, the majority of the people rejected the Mahdism which they had joined from religious enthusiasm or expediency or by force and returned to their old tribal and religious loyalties. Some belief in the reappearance of further Mahdis, or of the nabi 'Isa, remained, and caused future Governments to be alert to the possibility of outbreaks of fanaticism at times of social and economic change.

Reference

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The Ottoman Empire

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"The Ottoman Turks were one of many Turkish tribes displaced from their homeland in the steppes of Turkestan by the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century. They eventually settled in Anatolia and under a succession of able warrior rulers gradually acquired the hegemony of the area, Anatolia, expanding later by conquest into Rumelia (the lands of the Rumi or Greeks) including the Balkans and much of the north coast of the Black Sea. Interrupted by the invasions and conquests of Timur Lang (Tamurlane) at the end of the fourteenth century, the Ottomans soon recovered after his death. In 1453 they captured Constantinople, a major disaster in the eyes of European rulers of the time, but in fact of no strategic importance, since the city had been an island within Ottoman territory for several years. The Black Sea became an Ottoman Lake, Anatolia an Ottoman stronghold. By the sixteenth century, the Ottoman sultanate confronted that of the Mamluks based on Cairo, across the southern foothills of Anatolia. The Mamluk dynasty was descended from Circassian slaves. It included Egypt and Syria in its empire and exercised suzerainty over the Hejaz. Territorial rivalry with the Ottomans led to conflict in which the Mamluks were defeated first in Syria in1516 and the following year decisively outside Cairo."

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So writes Sarah Searight in her beautifully written and produced book "The British in the Middle East", London 1979, p.5, to whom I am indebted for much of what follows.

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In order to set the history of the church firmly in its historical context, it is necessary to go into greater detail about the working of the Ottoman Empire. Recent historians such as P.M. Holt[1] describe the Ottoman state as being divided into two spheres: the Ruling Institution and the Learned Institution. The Ruling Institution was the military-political elite based on the warrior society of the early Ottomans. They depended largely for the carrying out of their policies upon conscripted troops and officials and upon the recruitment of Balkan slaves. These Janissaries, as they were known, were garrisoned in every main town and represented locally the power of the Ottoman Sultan. At the head of this ruling system was the Grand Vizier. The gateway to his palace was known as the 'Bab al Aali' or 'The Sublime Porte', and 'The Porte' became the synonym of the Ottoman Government to Europeans in the Middle East, in the same way as 'Whitehall' is synonymous with the British Government. The Learned Institution was composed of the 'ulama', the lawyers and theologians of a Muslim state, with the 'mufti' of Constantinople at their head. In every town of the Ottoman Empire, the 'qadi' or judge administered the 'sharia' or sacred law of Islam, and other laws which dealt with matters not covered by the sharia.

[1] *P.M. Holt, Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press 1966.*

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It was inevitable that the provinces of this far- flung Empire, in an age of poor communications, should develop a degree of autonomy of their own, under the Governors appointed by the Sultan. Egypt, in particular, was isolated from the Ottoman authorities by bad sea communications. Ottoman rule in Egypt was constantly challenged by the garrisons of the Janissaries, or by the Egyptian 'beys' who were the dominant power in Egypt until the nineteenth century. This was exploited most successfully by Mohammed Ali when he seized power in 1805.

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The first record of English trade in the Levant is that of the great historian of sixteenth century travel, Richard Hakluyt. He tells of "divers tall ships which had an ordinary and usual trade to Sicilia, Cyprus, Chio and somewhile to Crete, as also to Tripoli and Barutti in Syria" in 1511 and 1512 carrying cotton and woollen goods. They returned with an assortment of "silks, chamlets, rubabe, malmesies, muskadels and other wines, sweet oyles, cotton wool, Turkie carpets, galles, pepper, cinnamon and some other spices"[2] The first Englishman to be sent to the Levant to explore the possibilities of

direct trade with the Ottomans was Joseph Clements, in 1575, perhaps with the hope of gaining the support of the Sultan for Queen Elizabeth I against Philip of Spain. In 1580, William Harborne, who followed Clements, negotiated with the Sultan a guarantee of protection for English traders, known as The Capitulations, which were to have far reaching consequences in relations between Britan and Egypt. The Capitulations protected the foreigner from molestation of his person or his goods, from imprisonment, from payment of taxes "except for lawful toll or customs" and entitled him to appoint consuls or other officials to govern the merchants, their trade, and their relations with the Ottoman authorities. While no doubt necessary at a time when no formal diplomatic relations existed, the effect of these guarantees at the time for rising nationalism in the nineteenth century can be imagined. In 1581, Queen Elizabeth granted a seven-year monopoly in the Levant trade to a group of merchants, thus establishing The Levant Company, covering all lands ruled by the Sultan, including Egypt. By the end of the sixteenth century there were six of these trading companies, each covering a particular geographical area, one of them being the East Indea Company. By this time in Britain, overseas trade was seen as the life blood of the nation, and the merchant adventurers carried considerable prestige and power. Until the nineteenth century, the Egyptian trade was neither prosperous nor popular with the Levant Company. There was only a limited market for English wool, and the actions of the Turkish viceroy were harsh and unpredictable.

[2] *Sarah Searight, The British in the Middle East, London 1979, p.16.*

But there was another factor which was to become of central importance for the future of Egypt, and that was the link with India. For centuries, the precious goods of the Indies had come to England by two routes. The first was by camel overland to the Levant, and thence by Venetian ships to England. The second was by boat up the Red Sea to Egypt. This second route was now threatened by the opening up of the Cape route to India and the East. Thwarted by the closure of traditional European markets by conflict, new markets were sought elsewhere. In this the English merchants were encouraged by the adventurous spirit and skill of Elizabethan seamen. New world-wide adventures rescued the trade of England from the consequences of the loss of old and traditional markets but had the effect of robbing Egypt of much of her East Indian trade. It was George Baldwin, in the 1870s, who came to Egypt determined to promote the use of Egypt as an economic and political bridge between Britain and India, thus setting the stage for British policy in Egypt for the next 150

years. He was appointed both consul for the Levant Company and agent for the East India Company, a dual responsibility which remained incorporated in the title of the chief British representative in Egypt until Egypt was declared a British protectorate at the outbreak of World War I.

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The French Connection

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There is one further strand in the story, and that is what may be termed in these days 'The French Connection'. French and Venetian trade with the Levant was already established by the time Joseph Clements arrived in 1575. The Capitulations negotiated by William Harborne were modelled on similar guarantees given to the French in 1535. In the years which followed, British traders often worked under the protection of the French who were there before them, in Ankara, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre and Acre. In Egypt, we read of William Lithgow, British consul in 1609, having no base of his own and staying with the French consul. The small amount of English trade with Egypt was conducted under French protection.[3]

[3] *Searight, p.38,39.*

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By the middle of the eighteenth century, there was fierce commercial and maritime rivalry between England, France and Spain. H.A.L. Fisher, in his 'History of Europe'[4] writes, "Wherever an Englishman met a Spaniard or a Frenchman on the high seas he espied a rival and a foe. It was a struggle not of courts and cabinets, but of men on the spot, of sailors and merchants, smugglers and privateers, of lumbermen, settlers and free traders, of rival mercantile companies, brawling and quarrelling either along the Spanish Main or in Arcadia and Newfoundland, or along the banks of the Ohio or the St Lawrence, or under the burning Indian sky among the rice fields of the Carnatic, or the canes and mangoe trees of Bengal." He goes on, "Unauthorised quarrels swelled out into unauthorised war. The marine and colonial conquest, which was thus inaugurated against the

judgement of England's wisest statesmen, lasted with little intermission until the Peace of Paris in 1763. Then it was made manifest that the sceptre of colonial dominion had passed from France to Britain. In India and Canada, thanks to the victories of Clive and Wolfe, British influence was triumphant and unchallenged."[5]

[4] *H.A.L. Fisher, History of Europe, Fontana, London 1984, p.836.*

[5] *Ibid, p.837.*

However, two events were shortly to take place which would, in the course of time, extend the conflict to Egypt. The first was the French Revolution in 1789 and the second was the rise of Napoleon, born in Corsica in 1768. France was threatened by two evils, the evil of economic bankruptcy on the one hand, and the evils of lack of social equality, political freedom and efficient executive on the other. Privilege pervaded every area of life, the nobility, the church, the provincial assemblies, the judiciary and the trade guilds. And ultimately the stage was reached where privilege became 'indefensible and odious'[6] Hopes for reform were centred on the young Louis XVI when he mounted the French throne in 1774. But while he possessed every private virtue, he was unfit to govern. And his position was not made easier by his marriage to Marie Antoinette of Austria. Constitutional reform having failed, the Third Estate, representing the common people as distinct from the nobles and clergy, declared itself to be the National Assembly, to the acclamations of the Parish mob. The Bastille was stormed on 14th July, 1789, Louis XVI was executed on 21st January 1793, and a new constitution was completed based on Liberty, Fraternity and Equality. "The charcoal burner at his furnace, the blacksmith at his forge, the farmhand following the plough, awoke to find himself part sovereign of France, as good a man as his lord, and endowed with impregnable rights, the right to be free, the right to own property, the right to speak his mind and to resist oppression. Such was the logic, such was the sentiment, which captured France in the summer of 1789, and such the appeal of the democracy to the subject peoples of Europe.[7]

[6] *Ibid, p.879.*

[7] *Ibid, p.887.*

The leadership of the nation now fell to a body of young and eloquent men of the middle class from the south-western area of France known as the Gironde. They knew little of the art and science of government, but they possessed and radiated a glowing enthusiasm for the

republican idea, and a missionary impulse spread it throughout monarchist Europe. And this, inevitably, led to war. Early victories having been over the armies of Prussia and Austria, the Republican army "light-heartedly embarked upon the course which brought it up against the tenacious and formidable hostility of Britain."[8]

[8] *Ibid, p.899.*

Having concluded a victorious campaign in Italy, the youthful and brilliant general, Napoleon Bonaparte, was given the assignment "Commander of the Army against England". During February 1798 he went to north-western France to inspect the troops and ships assembled in the Channel ports and studied the situation carefully. He came to the conclusion that direct assault on England contained too great an element of risk and decided on quite another invasion, which, he believed, would strike a blow at England almost as severe as a landing on the Sussex coast. He would invade Egypt. "In order to destroy England utterly, we must get possession of Egypt."[9] "Vast chimerical projects floated into a mind which was already fired by the fame and example of Alexander. From Egypt he would create an Eastern Empire, perhaps march on India, perhaps on Constantinople, and bring the shopkeeping island to a beggar's repentance by the destruction of its trade."[10] But to Napoleon must be given the credit for something more than an appetite for conquest and the quest for personal glory. The stated aims for the invasion of Egypt were threefold: (i) To achieve France's long-standing ambition to acquire Egypt as a French colony. (ii) To strike, through Egypt, a crippling blow at England's richest possession, India. (iii) To introduce medical, scientific and technological knowledge to Egypt, to survey and map the country, to make accurate records of its natural phenomena, and to uncover its ancient treasures. So, in addition to the 55,000 troops embarked on 400 ships was a small army of 150 carefully chosen men from among the scholars, scientists and artists of France. And the achievements of these few have remained as a permanent contribution to the good of Egypt and the sum total of knowledge in the world, while the military achievements of the many have been forgotten. Between them, they studied the causes and treatment of ophthalmia which afflicted the people of Egypt, they introduced into the country a set or Arabic type and with it produced Egypt's first printed books, they cleared the Sphinx of its centuries old covering of sand, discovered the Rosetta Stone, and interpreted the meaning of hieroglyphics, so providing the key to the understanding of the antiquities of Egypt. They studied the ancient canal which linked the

Mediterranean with the Red Sea and so provided the basic documents for the construction of the Suez Canal. By these and other achievements they took the first constructive steps towards the making of modern Egypt.

[9] *Vincent Cronin, Napoleon, London 1973, p.175.*
[10] *Fisher, p.913.*

Alexandria fell to Napoleon on 30th June 1798, Cairo a month later. In August, however, Nelson destroyed the French fleet at Aboukir Bay, thus severing Napoleon's supply lines and cutting off his line of retreat. Undaunted, Napoleon settled down to govern Egypt through a central consultative body of 189 Egyptians and through local provincial councils advised by French civilians. Postal services were established and stagecoaches plied between Cairo and Alexandria. Napoleon was careful to protect Islamic institutions and earned for himself the title 'Sultan al Kabir', tacit recognition that he had in Egyptian eyes superseded the Sultan of Turkey. The Turks, however, were by no means a spent force. Under pressure from England, the Turks massed an army in Syria for the re-taking of Egypt, and Napoleon knew he had to act quickly. He marched on Syria with 13,000 men and 900 cavalry. Gaza fell to him on 25th February 1799, Jaffa on 7th March. Acre, however, offered stubborn resistance, and after a siege of six weeks, Napoleon had to admit defeat and retired to Egypt. The Turks followed up their success by landing at Aboukir on 11th July, led by a strong force of Janissaries. Napoleon attacked and routed them on 25th July, thus re-establishing his hold on Egypt. Bad news from France, however, made him realise that the Egyptian campaign was a sideshow compared to the military and economic threats facing France itself. On 23rd August, he sailed for France, where he later encouraged his scientists to produce the most elaborate and detailed account of a foreign country every produced by a European power. The 'Descriptions de l'Egypte' ran into ten volumes of beautifully illustrated records of every subject from antiquities to zoology. These books represented the chief trophies of the Egyptian campaign.

The Strong Rule of Mohammed Ali

After the departure of Napoleon, the French army in Egypt suffered defeats from the Turks and the English and was repatriated under a treaty signed in 1801. Following the departure of the French army, the people of Cairo, in1805, after a period of anarchy, chose the commander of the Ottoman Sultan's Albanian mercenaries, Mohammed Ali, as their Governor. With the aid of these mercenaries, who were by then the only reliable military force in the country, he made himself master of Egypt. He finally destroyed the power of the Mamluks in Egypt in March 1811, when he invited them to a celebration in the Cairo Citadel, in the course of which they were all massacred, except for one who escaped to Acre. He brought law and order to the country by means of a highly centralised system of government, reorganised taxation, improved education, initiated a programme of public works, employed foreign experts and imported industrial machinery, brought under cultivation a further million acres of land and improved the living standards of the fellahin. He brought into being a powerful new army, under French direction, and with it in due course conquered the Sudan and Syrian and sent an expedition to Arabia to suppress the Wahhabi revolt, thereby returning to Egypt the guardianship of the holy places, Mecca and Medina. He thus straddled the two main routes to India, via the Red Sea and via the Euphrates valley, and in doing so thoroughly alarmed the European powers. England under Lord Palmerston launched a diplomatic offensive which resulted in the Treaty of London, 1841, whereby Mohammed Ali was forced to return Syria to the Ottoman Sultan and to limit his army to 18,000 men, in return for which he was able to preserve the hereditary rights of his dynasty as Viceroy of Egypt. H.A.L. Fisher[11] has noted that Mohammed Ali was born in the same year as Napoleon and suggests he sought to emulate the great Frenchman. Certainly he was motivated by an appetite for conquest and a desire for personal glory. But like Napoleon, he must be given the credit for a strong and genuine desire to improve the conditions of the people he rules, and, more than that, to make Egypt, during his lifetime, a modern, independent, industrialised nation.

[11] *Ibid, p.914, 968.*

From 1804, British interests in Egypt were taken care of by a consul general in Cairo who attended to political affairs, and a consul in Alexandria who looked after commercial interests. Under the strong rule of Mohammed Ali, western merchants and bankers began to take

advantage of the more stable conditions, and Alexandria became one of the most Europeanised cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. Among those who came from Britain was Samuel Briggs, merchant and banker, head of the oldest cotton broking firm in Alexandria, and the man who in 1821 took a consignment of Egyptian long-staple cotton to Lancashire and thereby established the trade links between Egypt and the Lancashire cotton industry which lasted for more than a hundred years. Briggs was considered to have more of Mohammed Ali's confidence than any foreigner in Egypt and was much sought after by those who came to offer their services and their ideas. It comes as no surprise, therefore, in May 1839, to find his name first among four British residents of Alexandria appointed as a Management Committee, under the chairmanship of the British Consul, for the purpose of looking into the possibility of building a chapel and engaging an Anglican clergyman to serve the British community in Alexandria. It was resolved to ask the British Agent and Consul General in Cairo, Lt Col Patrick Campbell, "to apply to H.H. the Pasha for permission to purchase a piece of land for the site of the intended church."[12] Sarah Searight[13] reproduces a print of a drawing by the famous artist David Roberts, dated 2nd May 1839, showing Col Campbell putting a proposition before Mohammed Ali, with the artist himself in attendance. It was in fact a proposition, not to build a church in Alexandria but to improve the overland route via Suez. But it catches perfectly the atmosphere in which these approaches were made – the calm dignity of the Pasha, with his attendant advisers, and the deference paid to him by the British Consul in full diplomatic dress. At a meeting of the Management Committee on 24th July 1839 there was "read a letter from Col Campbell conveying the gratifying intelligence that H.H. the Viceroy had made a grant of a plot of land in the Great Square sufficiently large for a church and other proposed buildings." A letter was later addressed to Col Campbell "thanking him for his zeal in promoting the building of a church and procuring from H.H. Mohammed Ali the free grant of land for the site of a church." The foundation stone was laid on 17th December 1839, by Lt Col Campbell and it was announced that the church was to be called 'The Church of St Mark'. On 10th August 1840 the Revd Edmund Winder was nominated by the Bishop of London as Chaplain to St Mark's. It was not until 1841 that the Anglican Bishopric of Jerusalem was inaugurated and the Rt Revd Michael Solomon Alexander was consecrated as its first Bishop. From that point onwards, the Anglican congregation in Egypt came under the jurisdiction of the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem. St Mark's Church was completed in 1854 and consecrated by Bishop Samuel Gobat in 1855.

[12] *Report on the Title to Properties of St Mark's Church, Alexandria, 1939.*
[13] *Searight, p.130.*

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So it is interesting to note that Anglicanism in Egypt came in not on the heels of political domination or military conquest but as an expression of the faith and witness of ordinary Christian laymen doing their business in a foreign land and through the generosity and tolerance of a Muslim ruler.

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The West Wind of the Spirit.

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We must now consider another tide in the affairs of men which became a flood in the 19th century and lapped on the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. Simultaneous with the commercial and trading advances of the early 19th century came religious revival among the Christian churches of the West. In addition to a stress on personal conversion and holiness of life came an intense sense of civic responsibility which found expression in such movements of reform as the abolition of the slave trade and in zeal for missionary endeavour. It is not uncommon in these days to see the missionary movement of the 19th century as a form of religious aggression, part and parcel of the political, economic and intellectual aggression associated with the colonial era. It is difficult to detect this association in the small church of the exiled Moravian Brethren on the estate of Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut in 1732, from which revival spread to the rest of Europe and America, It is perhaps truer to see it as a re-awakening of the church to the urgency of the commission given by Jesus himself to "preach the Gospel to every creature". If this evangel came to be seen to involve a sense of civic responsibility and a zeal for missionary endeavour, so be it. It may be that the missionary societies and missionaries who were the instruments in carrying out this movement came to be, in their human frailty, sometimes infected by the arrogance and paternalism of their age, and for this there must be

nothing but repentance. But the awakening of the church to make known to all men the good news of the love of God in Christ was in itself unexceptional and requires no apology. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was born in 1701, the Church Missionary Society in 1799, the Bible Society in 1804, the American Board of Commission for Foreign Missions in 1810 and the Basel Mission in 1815.

The primary concern of the missionary societies was the evangelisation of the non-Christian world. SPG had a man in West Africa and SPCK had sent German Lutherans to South India as early as the mid-eighteenth century. Henry Martyn offered to CMS in 1805 and lived out his brilliant short-lived career in India and Persia as a chaplain of the East India Company. CMS missionaries landed in Sierra Leone on 22nd September 1811 to minister to those liberated by the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act in 1807. Attention then turned to the Muslim world. Here the situation was different. It was at once recognised that in the Middle East there was already a Christian presence and that the ancient Eastern Churches were the natural means of witnessing to the Christian Gospel. Any approaches by Western churches should therefore be made through them. In 1811 a letter was received by CMS from Dr Cleardo Naudi urging the use of Malta as a base for strengthening the ancient churches of the Levant and through them the presentation of the Christian Gospel to Muslims. "The Committee responded warmly."[14] Thus it came about that William Jowett was commissioned to go to the Mediterranean in 1815 and "to enquire into the state of religion in the Levant, and to suggest methods of translating and circulating the Scriptures and other ways of influencing the Oriental Churches."[15] From Malta as a centre, Jowett was to survey the religious horizon. He was "to visit and correspond with rulers and consuls, local ecclesiastics and travellers of all kinds; to form if possible local associations for the circulation of the Scriptures; to prepare for the establishment of a printing press at Malta; to study the languages of the Levant, and to seek for valuable MSS of the Scriptures in them. Then it is hoped that some of the distinguished Prelates of our church would open a correspondence with the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria, so that through their influence our systems of education might be communicated and Bible Societies established."[16] It is important to record in detail and to establish clearly this approach to and recognition of the Eastern Churches. It was to them that the Society looked for the future evangelisation of the non-Christian populations of the neighbouring countries. "It is by bringing back

these churches to the knowledge and love of the sacred Scriptures that the blessing from on high may be expected to descend upon them."[17] A printing press was duly established in Malta which produced tracts and portions of Scripture in Maltese, Italian, Modern Greek and Arabic, and a large proportion of the Bible was produced in it. Editions of the Scriptures were also produced in Coptic, Syriac and Ethiopic for the use of the priests and others who could read them, in the hope that translations might be made into the vernaculars for the use of the common people.

[14] *Eugene Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol 1, London 1899, p.233.*
[15] *Ibid, Vol 1, p.224.*
[16] *Ibid, Vol 1, p.225.*
[17] *Ibid, Vol 1, p.226.*

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Jowett continued in Malta until 1832. The production of Scriptures was continued by Christopher F. Schlienz of the Base Mission, his most important works being the Arabic Bible, and the Prayer Book in Arabic, Turkish and Amharic. In 1825, five Basel men were sent to Egypt, two being destined for Abyssinia, Gobat and Kugler. The work in Egypt continued for more than thirty years, chiefly by J.R.T Lieder, who died in Cairo in 1865. He and his helpers itinerated all over the Delta, into the Fayyum, and up the Nile into Nubia, selling and distributing Scriptures and tracts. A Boys' Boarding School was established in Cairo which in 1842 was changed into a Theological Seminary for the training of Coptic clergy. Lieder revised the Coptic and Arabic New Testaments and translated into Arabic some of the works of Macarius, whose authority is greatly respected in the Coptic Church.

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An interesting piece of documentary evidence relating to this early CMS presence in Cairo is the preservation in the archives of the Episcopal Church of a handsome desk edition of the Book of Common Prayer, carrying the royal coat of arms, and presented by Robert Gilmour Colquhoun, Esq., C.B., H.B.M.'s Agent and Consul General in Egypt, to "the Church Missionary Society's Chapel established in Egypt", dated 1st January 1860. Also among the records of the Episcopal Church building in Cairo is Despatch No. 12, dated 17th July 1861, from Lord John Russell to Robert Colquhoun, announcing that the Queen had been graciously pleased to appoint the Revd George Washington to be Chaplain to the Episcopal Church Establishment in Cairo. In 1862 the Prince of Wales (the future King Edward VII) visited Cairo, attended by Dean Stanley[18]. They attended

service in a small room near the Coptic Cathedral. Dean Stanley was struck by the inadequacy of the arrangements for public worship and suggested that a fund be raised for the erection of a permanent church. A site was presented by the Khedive Ismail Pasha, bounded on the north by what later became knows as the Avenue Fouad I, and on the west by Rue Masdebegh. The foundation stone was laid by the Duke of Sutherland in March 1873, the church was completed in 1875 and opened for use on 26th January 1878. It was names 'All Saints'.

[18] *Bishop Gwynne to Sir Henry McMahon, 13.12.16.*

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Thus as we approach the fateful year 1882, we find the ancient Coptic Church being strengthened in its faith by the availability of the Christian Scriptures printed in Copic and Arabic, while the Western churches begin to be represented in Egypt by their own nationals, allowed to practice their own faith by the tolerance of Muslim rulers. It is this co-existence of the ancient churches of the East with the churches of the West alongside the members of the House of Islam, which prepared the way for the inter-faith dialogue of the twentieth century.

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The Rise of Egyptian Nationalism and the British Occupation of Egypt

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Events, however, determined that the Christian approach to Islam should take a somewhat different turn. In 1847 Samuel Gobat had been consecrated Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, and he began at once to establish missions in Palestine which were to commend the Christian Gospel through service to the whole community. In 1874[19] it is recorded that there was not a single school of any kind in Palestine. By 1872, Gobat had established 25 schools serving all races. In 1872 a Conference was convened at CMS Headquarters in London to review the whole question of the right approach to Muslims. It was attended by representatives of missions in Turkey, Palestine, Persia, West Africa and India. One result of the Conference was that Bishop Gobat, now nearing the end of his life, asked CMS to take over

responsibility for his missions in Nablus and Salt, and for his schools in Jerusalem and elsewhere. And the Revd F.A. Klein, an experienced Arabic scholar, was appointed by CMS to Egypt. He arrived in Cairo on 16th December 1882.

[19] *Stock, Vol III, p.116.*

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In the meantime, British and French Governments had been keeping a watchful eye on events in Egypt. In 1798 Napoleon had had the vision of cutting through the isthmus of Suez to ensure "free and exclusive possession of the Red Sea for the French Repbulic."[20] In 1854 French Vice Consul Ferdinand de Lesseps signed an agreement with the Viceroy Said Pasha to construct the Suez Canal with the use of free Egyptian forced labour. In 1869 the Canal was completed amidst great celebrations arranged by the new Viceroy Ismail Pasha. "Ismail", writes Mansfield[21] "a man of courage, vision and intelligence, is nevertheless regarded as the cause of Egypt's downfall". Huge national debts resulted in the sale to Britain in 1875 of 44% of the shares of the Suez Canal Company. And in 1876 the Anglo-French Dual Control of Egypt began, Capt. Evelyn Baring being appointed English Commissioner on the Caisse of Public Debt.

[20] *Peter Mansfield, The British in Egypt, New York 1972, p.2.*
[21] *Ibid, p5.*

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Other forces were also at work. In 1879 Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, a politico-religious reformer, returned to Egypt from exile in Constantinople. Among his followers were Sheikh Muhammad Abduh and Saad Zaghlul, who was to become the champion of Egyptian independence. In the army, Ahmad Arabi was among those who resented the holding of top army posts by Turco-Circassian officers. He later rose to become Minister of War. "During the Spring of 1882 the Egyptian army dominated the nation, watched by a nervous and resentful Khedive. But the mass of people gave the army their enthusiastic support. The fellahin believed that the reign of the moneylenders had come to an end. Henceforth Egypt would be ruled by an Egyptian."[23] In the ensuing three-way power struggle between the European powers, the Khedive and the Nationalists, with the Turkish Sultan sitting helplessly on the touchline, events led to the bombardment of Alexandria by the British fleet on 11th July 1882, supposedly in support of the Khedive against the Nationalists led by Arabi. On 21st August a British force landed in Ismailia on the Suez Canal. And on 13th September the Egyptian army was defeated at

Tel-el Kebir. Arabi was exiled to Ceylon and the British occupation of Egypt began. Mansfield comments[24] "There can be no doubt that the British occupation destroyed Egypt's power to govern itself. It liquidated the National Party and restored the Khedive to his throne, but in doing so it permanently shattered his authority." The reforms of law and administration were to be on the Indian model and supervised by British officials. Egyptian independence was to be maintained through two representative bodies – a Legislative Council with thirty members and a General Assembly of eighty-two members. This system came to be known as the 'Veiled Protectorate'. "It survived", writes Mansfield[25], "even after Egypt gained a quasi-independence in 1922, only the veils were thicker."

[22] *Ibid, p.36.*
[23] *Ibid, p.55.*
[24] *Ibid, p.58.*

It might be supposed that the British occupation of Egypt would lead to the offer by the occupying power of increased facilities for Christian missions. This sort of partiality, however, seems to be foreign to the British character. So it seemed to British missionary supporters in England. British domination of Egypt served only to protect Islam. The answer, in missionary terms, was witness through service, as demonstrated by Bishop Gobat in Palestine. Miss Mary Whately had for many years worked independently among the poor of Cairo, with the assistance of small grants of money from CMS. When F.A. Klein arrived in Cairo, he at once worked with Miss Whately and opened a reading room for Muslims. When Miss Whately died in 1889, women missionaries continued her work, teaching, visiting, and, later, nursing. In 1888 Dr F.J. Harpur was transferred from Aden to Egypt to establish the medical work based in Old Cairo which was, with the work of the Revd W.H.T. Gairdner, to become the main source of membership and leadership in what was to become the Episcopal Church in Egypt.

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Temple Gairdner and the Birth of the Egyptian Episcopal Church

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Temple Gairdner was the son of a professor of Medicine at Glasgow University. As a boy of eleven, he had followed with breathless excitement the progress of the Gordon Relief Expedition up the course of the Nile in 1884-5. He knew every bend in the river, every place name. And he entered deeply into the despair of the British nation when the headlines read "Too late!" By 1898, when Gairdner was seeking the direction of his life's work, the attention of the world was again focused on the Nile as Kitchener advanced steadily towards the re-conquest of the Sudan. Gairdner's missionary thinking, which he shared with his friend Douglas Thornton, became full of the Sudan and the whole Muslim world of the Middle East. We find Douglas Thornton singling out Cairo as the most strategic as well as the most difficult field in the world. Both men offered to the Church Missionary Society. Douglas Thornton sailed for Egypt in November 1898 and Gairdner followed in 1899. "You are appointed to join Mr Douglas Thornton in Cairo with a special view to work, when your experience qualifies you to do so, among students and others of the educated classes of Muslim."[25]

[25] *C.E. Padwick, Temple Gairdner of Cairo, London 1929, p.71.*

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When Gairdner arrived in Cairo in 1899, the Anglican presence in Egypt consisted mainly of churches founded and built by the initiatives of British expatriates, "godly laymen who felt that they could not live their lives and carry on their business without the spiritual inspiration of the church."[26] A typical example is the Church of the Epiphany, Port Said. Following the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, it was inevitable that a British colony should soon spring up in the new town of Port Said. Christian worship at first took the form of prayer meetings held in people's homes. Early in 1880, a Presbyterian evangelist, Mr Peter Whytock, was invited to begin work among seamen, and the Suez Canal Company granted the use of a room in Place de Lesseps. On 15th December, Canon John Scarth

arrived in Port Said on a winter visit for his health and assisted Mr Whytock, the first Communion Service being held on Christmas Day 1881. When Mr Whytock retired in 1882 owing to ill health, Canon Scarth persuaded St Andrew's Waterside Church Mission, later incorporated into the Missions to Seamen, to send out a Chaplain, and the Revd F.W.A. Strange arrived in October 1882. He approached Sir Evelyn Baring, and a site for the church building was provided by the Government and the Suez Canal Company. The Foundation Stone was laid on 3rd April 1888 and the Church of the Epiphany was consecrated by Bishop Blyth of Jerusalem on 18th May 1889. In 1890 the Bishop of Jerusalem, George Francis Popham Blyth, laid the foundation stone of St Mary's Church, Kasr el Dubara, Cairo, which was completed in 1905. In July 1890, Mr Edmund Carver gave one thousand square metres of land at Ramleh, Alexandria, for the building of a small church to meet the spiritual needs of the local British community. Money was raised by local subscription. The Foundation Stone was laid on 29th September and the first service was held on All Saints Day, 1st November. The church was called 'All Saints'. In the same year, services began to be held at Suez in 'The Church Room', and in 1890, St Saviour's Church, Suez, was built by local subscription. A place of worship for the large number of visitors to Helwan was consecrated by Bishop Blyth in 1902. The first services were held in Aswan in 1896-7, and a church was built there in 1902, the font being given by Queen Victoria.

[26] *Gordon Hewitt, The Problems of Success, A History of the CMS, 1910-1947, London 1971, p.304.*

Gairdner's work, however, lay not among British expatriates but among Egyptians, and for this he proved to possess the linguistic gifts which made him a master of Arabic. He wrote[27] "I have had unusual opportunities. One does specially value in this connection being a minister of a church which has a liturgy, because it sets before one the ideal of being soon able to read in church, and makes one more inclined to aim high in the matter of pronunciation, and finish. You practice some prayers fifty times or more before reading them in church. One minute's delivery at the rate of one hour's preparation, that was nearly the equation of my first sermon." At the end of six months he was teaching a class in Arabic and reading in church, and at the end of a year he would give several addresses a week. After two years he was able to report, "I have passed my language examination and so am free to go on working in Arabic harder than ever." By 1912 he was involved in the Cairo Study Centre in the teaching of Arabic to missionaries. He pioneered the method of teaching the spoken language before the literary form. By 1917 he had produced his book

'Egyptian Colloquial Arabic', followed in 1925 by 'The Phonetics of Arabic' which became a standard work on the subject. The Cairo Study Centre became The School of Oriental Studies in the American University of Cairo, which continues to this day.

[27] *Padwick, p.78.*

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Mastery of Arabic enabled him to enter into dialogue with Muslims. "I have been taking a class of catechumens, very interesting, a sheikh from Khartoum, who tells me he is by no means the only one seeking after truth there, a tailor, two bootmakers, two Aleppo men."[28] The house known as Beit Arabi Pasha, where Thornton, Gairdner and their two families lived, became a meeting place with students. Here night after night Thornton and Gairdner joined in the arguments brought forward by their Muslim friends and learnt of the many difficulties deeper than argument which beset their lives. "No one could think of Gairdner as a controversialist," writes Miss Padwick. Gairdner expressed himself thus: "We need a song note in our message to the Muslims, not the dry, cracked note of disputation, but the song note of joyous witness, tender invitation."[29] Hewitt quotes one of Gairdner's friends, Yousef Eff. Tadros, as saying[30] "Other teachers taught us how to refute Islam; he taught us how to love Muslims."

[28] *Padwick, p.130.*
[29] *Padwick, p.158.*
[30] *G. Hewitt, Vol I, p.310.*

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Out of this came quite naturally the need to put on paper the results of these discussions, so that they might become immediately available to all enquirers. But the literature should be 'humanised', and not simply controversial, containing stories, history, drama, music, poetry, pictures, "all that could bear the impress of the spirit of Christ."[31] So came into being the literature and publishing work of the Episcopal Church in Egypt, with the magazine 'Orient and Occident' at its very heart.

[31] *Padwick, p.148.*

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As early as 1906 we find Gairdner making a collection of Near Eastern songs taken down from the lips of many singers from Syria to Aswan and used in Christian worship. Some of these were ancient

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Christian tunes handed down by ear from one Coptic choir leader to another. Others were songs sung by Nile boatmen or Syrian peasants. This collection of some 300 tunes was published by SPCK and rare, precious copies are still to be found in Cairo. Gairdner was a gifted musician and aimed at offering the best music of the West to the church in Egypt but hoping for the day when the church would discover and use the beauty of her own Eastern airs. He quickly discovered that Egyptians are natural actors and he asked himself why this gift of theirs should not be offered to Christ. So he wrote Biblical plays which brought the message of the Bible to life when acted before an audience inside outside a church.

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By 1921 Gairdner saw the necessity of building up an indigenous Anglican Church with its own pastors. The aim of CMS had always been to help the Coptic Orthodox Church and to graft into it any converts from Islam. But at that time, it was clear that the Coptic Church still had "too great a heritage of fear from days of persecution."[32] Far from being a home for converts from Islam, Coptic Bishops and priests would pass on Muslim converts to the Anglican Mission for baptism, fearing danger of Muslim retaliation. A record of all such converts has been carefully preserved and they form the basis of the Egyptian Anglican Church which came into being. In1923 a policy statement was drawn up, drafted by Gairdner, and approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which read: "The primary aim of the Anglican Church in Egypt is the evangelisation of the non-Christian population and it does not desire to draw adherents from either the Coptic or the Evangelical Churches. Those who, in sincerity, find the Anglican Church their spiritual home are welcome to join it, but the Church does not set out to gain their allegiance. Instead, it seeks to extend the right hand of fellowship to the Coptic Church so as to render it every possible form of service, and at the same time it strives for closer co-operation and greater unity between all the churches in Egypt."[33]

[32] *Padwick, p. 264.*
[33] *G. Hewitt, Vol 1, p.309.*

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Gairdner therefore gave himself up completely to the building up of the Arabic Anglican Church. Its first meeting place was an upper room over a boys' school in the heart of Cairo. Later it moved to the basement of Gairdner's home of Sharia el Falaki. Bishop MacInnes (Bishop of Jerusalem) then lent to the Arabic congregation the beautiful church of St Mary, Kasr el Dubara. And finally it moved to

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the Church of the Saviour, Boulac. From Boulac Gairdner wrote: "We are working steadily at drawing our Arabic community into close and more organic connection with the English half of the Diocese. This is necessary from every point of view if the diocesan movement is to be a true one and the Bishop is to be the Shepherd of one flock and not of two, as discrete as two kernels held together by one hard shell."[34]

[34] *Padwick, p. 285.*

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Temple Gairdner died in Cairo on 22nd May 1928. In 1934 the Church of Jesus the Light of the World was built in his memory on ground belonging to Old Cairo Hospital which was sold to the Church. It remains, as he would have wished, the true home of the Egyptian Episcopal Church.

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The Growth of the Church

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Temple Gairdner was succeeded in November 1928 by Gordon Parry in the oversight of the Arabic-speaking congregation of the Church of the Saviour, Boulac. He played a significant part in the growth of the 'Arab Anglican Church', as it was called. Fluent in Arabic, he worked closely with Lay Readers Nasir Jamal, Habib Said and Thabit Athanasius. Together they did much to improve the quality of worship in the regular church services. Parry, with Canon Toop, was responsible for the training of Khalil Tadros for the ordained ministry. And he was for many years Secretary of the Fellowship of Unity. From their flat in Boulac, Gordon Parry and his wife offered warm hospitality to the many who passed through Cairo in those years.

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We now enter upon a major period of church growth in Egypt and the Sudan, and indeed in the whole of Africa, and it is interesting to compare this period with the first period of church growth in the first

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six centuries of the Christian era. The immediate area in view is the Nile Valley. The great new fact of our time, as compared with the first six centuries, is the existence of the World Church. Whereas before, missionary expansion in the Nile Valley depended almost entirely on the Church in Egypt, it now has behind it the thrust of the Christian Church in the whole world. Christianity has become a world force. In the 19th and 20th centuries the southward thrust of the Western Churches in this area has been met by the northward thrust of the churches in Central Africa, forming a continuous line of churches from the Mediterranean to the Equator and beyond, right down to the Cape. That is the significance of the period we are now entering. Egypt may be seen as the strategic base for the Christian Church in the Middle East. It is a meeting place for the ancient churches of the East, the historic churches of the West, and the younger churches of 'The Third World'. Egypt is the home of the Coptic Orthodox Church. The Greek, Syrian and Armenian Orthodox Churches have existed in Egypt for centuries. Roman Catholic missions have been active in Egypt since the 17th century and existing side by side with the churches who follow the Latin rite are the Uniate churches who follow the Eastern rite. Among Protestant missions, we have followed the progress of CMS in Egypt from the time William Jowett began operations in Malta in 1815. The British and Foreign Bible Society has been associated with the work of CMS from the earliest days. The London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews, later to be known as The Church's Ministry among the Jews, began working in Egypt in 1821. The great work of the American Presbyterian Mission in Egypt began in 1854 and the Egypt General Mission in 1898, to which must be added the very significant work of the Nile Mission Press and the YWCA. That is the overall picture as we continue to follow the growth of the Episcopal Church in Egypt.

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Jesus was clearly concerned with every facet of human life. He was concerned to help people to become fully human. So he did what no one else could do – he reconciled men to God by his death on the Cross. And after his resurrection, he committed to his church this same ministry of reconciliation. "It is as if God were appealing to you through us: in Christ's name, we implore you, to be reconciled to God." (2 Cor.5.20) But this message of the immensity of God's love is perhaps first perceived when it is conveyed by deeds rather than words. As Eliza Doolittle cried out in the face of Freddie's ardent protestations of love in 'My Fair Lady', 'Don't give me words – SHOW ME!' Modern missions have therefore presented the Gospel in a variety of ways. In Egypt it took the form of medical work, welfare work among the very poor, work among women, the

production of Christian literature, and schools. In 1885, CMS appointed Dr F.J. Harpur, a Dublin graduate in arts and medicine, to start a medical mission in Aden. This work was taken over by the Church of Scotland in 1888 and Harpur was transferred to Egypt to found at Old Cairo the famous hospital which came to be known far and wide as 'Harmul'. This hospital was to become the most effective witness to the power of the Christian Gospel presented to the people of Egypt by the Episcopal Church for the next 70 years. It was served by dedicated teams of doctors and nurses, Egyptian and European. By 1913 it was ministering to 14,000 out-patients per year. Its standards of service and discipline were to provide the best Christian training for the future leaders of the church. While a steady stream of doctors, among them Drs Pain, Lasbrey, Stones, Hargreaves and Cutting, maintained the hospital at Old Cairo, Harpur himself pioneered new fields. In 1889 he visited Sinai. In 1890 he accompanied Llewellyn Gwynn to Khartoum to pave the way for the future medical work in Omdurman. In Egypt he itinerated by boat along the canals of the Delta, founding out-dispensaries at Ashmoun and Hannoul. And in 1915 a new hospital was opened at Menouf. Among the future leaders of the church who served their 'apprenticeship' at Old Cairo hospital were Girgis Bishai, the first Egyptian to be ordained into the Episcopal Church, Ishaq Musaad, first Egyptian Bishop, who gained valuable experience as hospital administrator after the Suez crisis in 1956, and Ghais Abdel Malik, second Egyptian Bishop, and Fawzia his wife. Girgis Bishai was born in 1865 at El Nihaila near Assiut. He received his education and Bible training at Assiut College, the American Mission College which has produced so many Christian leaders. He then served for 40 years as an evangelist at Old Cairo Hospital, being ordained deacon in 1924 and priest in 1925, by Bishop Gwynne, who wrote: "It was owing to your sterling character, steadfastness of faith and ripe experience in dealing with the souls of men that you were ordained to be the first Egyptian priest in the Anglican Communion."[35] His grandson, Ibrahim Amin Girgis Bishai, has served in the Literature Unit of the Episcopal Church for 21 years.

[35] *Gwynne to Bishai, 4.6.32.*

Among the vital influences in the building of a church anywhere is the acceptance of the Gospel by women and the consequent effect upon home life. In 1892, it was reported that women missionaries newly sent out to Palestine had showed 'remarkable' capacity for acquiring the Arabic language. Through their devoted visiting among Muslims of all classes, there were few families in Jerusalem where the message of eternal life had not been heard. In Egypt similarly it was reported

that women missionaries had done excellent service, both in schools and in visiting. Notable among these were Mrs and Miss Bywater, Mrs Hall and Misses Adeney, Cay, Crowther and Sells. Miss Cay and Miss Janet Lewis on November 1910 settled in Shubra Zana, fifty miles north-west of Cairo and six miles from Menouf, where they were to live an isolated, self-sacrificing life for many years dealing out simple remedies and teaching and evangelising as opportunity offered. By 1910 a teacher training class, a small boarding school and two-day schools for girls in Cairo, a boys' day school in Old Cairo, and a school for the daughters of well-to-do Egyptians in Helwan had been established. Financial pressures after World War I and political pressures after the 1936 Treaty of Independence caused the closure of some schools and certain restrictions in others. By 1940 church schools seem to have been restricted to Old Cairo and Menouf, numbers of pupils being: Old Cairo Girls 274, Old Cairo Boys 272, Menouf Girls 179, Menouf Boys 150. The maintenance of these institutions during these difficult years owed much to the calm competence of S.A. Morrison. He joined Temple Gairdner in 1920 to work among the students at Al Azhar University. His exceptional knowledge of Arabic and intimate knowledge of Egyptian affairs proved to be of great service to the church. He was instrumental in the formation of a committee of liaison, representing all churches, to present a common Christian front in relation to the Egyptian Government on education and other matters. And it was he who pioneered the church's witness through welfare work. In 1925 he opened a club for youth and boys in premises in Boulac. Gradually activities of an evening institute type were added to the programme. Miss Elsie Anna Wood started an embroidery industry in the Boulac centre. Since 1930 this work has been the responsibility of Arabic-speaking congregations and has developed to include mother-child welfare, a flourishing pre-school playgroup and family counselling. An Egyptian family visitor visits families and individuals in the Boulac area, listens to their problems, prays with them, takes practical steps towards a solution, brings estranged families together, mediates between warring in-laws, contributes towards celebrations. This is the evidence of a living church.

Temple Gairdner and Douglas Thornton regarded literature work not simply as an optional activity of the church, but an integral part of its life and witness in a country with an ancient culture, growing literacy and a wide range of newspapers and magazines. They were joined in this work in 1923 by Miss Constance Padwick. The magazine ‘Orient and Occident' was started by Temple Gairdner in 1905 and was circulated as far as Palestine, Syria, India, Ceylon and Java. “It was”,

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wrote Miss Padwick[36] "a regular magazine designed to reach more than the student class only, with articles for young and old, sheikh and effendi, on religious and on general subjects." Miss Padwick was joined in 1917 by Habib Said, who continued to produce 'Orient and Occident' until he died in 1979. Brought to Cairo by his uncle Girgis Bishai, he became a financial supervisor in the Ministry of Public Health. He made his long and distinguished contribution to the church as a Lay Reader and in the field of administration, by membership of various committees, and by Chairmanship of the Board of Finance and Properties, and of the Medical Board. But his main contribution was in the production of Christian literature. He wrote and translated more than 100 books, wrote hundreds of articles, and became Literature Secretary of the Near East Christian Council. He and his wife Anis made outstanding contributions to the establishing and building up of the Episcopal Church in Egypt.

[36] *See Padwick, pp.155-57.*

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Llewellyn Gwynne, Master Builder

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The time has now come to introduce the man who, more than anyone else, was instrumental in the building of the Episcopal Church in Egypt and the Sudan – Llewellyn Gwynne. There are many forms of church government, which can roughly be divided into two main groups – episcopal and non-episcopal. This is not the place to argue the claims of one form or another. We are here concerned with the episcopal tradition in the Anglican Communion, and the contribution made by the various men who were called to the office of Bishop. But, accepting the principle of episcopacy, it is fair to consider what are the conditions which should apply to the effective carrying out of that office. We have seen how the small beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Egypt came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop in Jerusalem – first Bishop Alexander, 1841-47, then Bishop Gobat, 1847-79, then Bishop Barclay, 1879-81. The see was vacant from 1881-87, when Bishop Blyth began his long and important period in office 1887-1914. He was followed by Bishop Rennie McInnes,

consecrated in 1914 but not enthroned until 1918 owing to World War I. His period in office was 1914-31. Though fully occupied by developments in Palestine, these men made significant contributions to the establishment and growth of the Episcopal Church in Egypt. Thus it was due to Bishop Gobat's vision of the presentation of the Gospel as touching every phase of man's life that the medical, educational and social presentation of the Gospel began to be used in Egypt. Blyth's main contribution seems to have been the establishment of church buildings in Cairo, Alexandria, Suez, Helwan and Aswan, to serve the growing British community. But it was also his vision which saw in Llewellyn Gwynne a potential leader for the future. He appointed Gwynne Archdeacon in the Sudan in 1904 and Suffragan Bishop in Khartoum in 1908. Rennie MacInnes served his apprenticeship in Egypt itself, being CMS Secretary from 1902-14, spending a good deal of his time in Egypt until the end of the war. During World War I, Gwynne left the Sudan to serve on the Western Front from 1914-1918. His return to the Sudan after the war was the signal for a new and independent diocese of Egypt and the Sudan to be created in 1920, with Gwynne as its Diocesan Bishop. It was this creation of an independent diocese, with its own resident Bishop having full responsibility for its affairs, that marked the next important stage in the growth of the church.

Gwynne was already a man of some stature when he came to Egypt in 1920 as Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan. As early as 1909, Sir Reginald Wingate, Governor General of the Sudan, had written to Bishop Blyth, “The more I see of him the more convinced I am that you could not possibly have made a better selection (as Bishop in Khartoum)”[37] Within three years of his consecration, Khartoum Cathedral was built, and consecrated by the Bishop of London on 26th January 1912. On the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Gwynne had immediately offered his services and in July 1915 was appointed by Lord Kitchener as Deputy Chaplain General on the Western Front. As such he worked with many of the great commanders and won their respect. In the summer of 1919, Gwynne returned to the Sudan with his already strong personality greatly enhanced by the great responsibilities he had carried at the very heart of so great a world crisis. And in 1920, he found himself given spiritual responsibility for the Anglican Church in the whole of the Nile Valley from Equatoria to the Mediterranean. If this book is called ‘Nile Harvest', by which is meant the establishment and growth of the Episcopal Church in the Nile Valley, then Llewellyn Gwynne towers above the rest as the central figure. In this post-imperial age, Gwynne is sometimes branded as a ‘dyed-in-the-wool imperialist'. Obviously he was a man

of his time, a leading figure in the age of British imperialism. But this does less than justice to his own intrinsic qualities. He was first and foremost a man of God, the devoted servant of his Lord and Master Jesus Christ. In the exercise of that servanthood, he found himself in position of great authority, consorting with the great and powerful on the world stage. And in his strivings and aspirations he was as fallible as anyone else. He used his position and his privileges in the furtherance of the Kingdom of God. But he remained to the end a humble servant of his Lord and Master, and to him, and to him alone, he felt himself to be answerable.

[37] *Wingate to Blyth, Erkowit, 7.4.09.*

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There were three areas in which Gwynne made a vital contribution to the Episcopal Church in Egypt, and indeed, to the whole Christian community in Egypt. First, he was mainly responsible for the building of All Saints Cathedral. Second, he played a major role in ecumenical relations. Third, he ordained the first four Egyptian pastors in the Episcopal Church.

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Bishop Blyth had favoured Alexandria as the seat of the Bishopric of Egypt and the site of the Cathedral. Bp Rennie MacInnes launched the appeal for a Cathedral in Egypt in a letter to The Times of London on 29th June 1916, after public meetings in Cairo and Alexandria, when it was decided that the site of the Cathedral should be Cairo. It was Bishop Gwynne who pushed through the long negotiations with the Egyptian Government which resulted on 9th July 1928 in the promulgation of a law which passed through Parliament approving the sale to the Anglican community of the site on the Nile immediately to the north of the Kasr El Nil Barracks (now Tahrir Square), an area of 10,300 sq metres, for the sum of £32,000. Gratitude was expressed to the Prime Minister of the day, Mohammed Pasha Mahmoud, for the energetic goodwill with which he carried the necessary arrangements through their final stages. Funds available were £74,000 from the sale of All Saints Church, Boulac, and £23,000 from subscriptions and donations. The Cathedral was designed by Adrian Gilbert Scott and consecrated in 1938 by William Temple, Archbishop of York. A full account of the life of the Cathedral is to be found in Arthur Burrell's book 'Cathedral on the Nile', published by the Amate Press in 1984.

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Soon after his arrival in Egypt, the Cairo Conference on Church Re-union was held from 17th-19th October 1921 on the initiative of Bishop Gwynne. The churches represented were the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Presbyterian Church and the Episcopal Church. Among those present were Bishop Rennie MacInnes, Canon Temple Gairdner and the Revd W. Wilson Cash. Wilson Cash played a distinguished part in the life of the Church in the Middle East and of the CMS. In January 1910 he started the work of the Episcopal Church in Menouf. From 1914-18 he served as Chaplain to the Forces in World War I, being awarded the DSO. In 1919 he was appointed CMS Secretary in Egypt, and in 1920 added the Palestine Mission to his responsibilities. In 1923, he and his wife returned to UK, when Cash was appointed Home Secretary of CMS. From 1926-41 he was General Secretary of the Society during a particularly difficult period in its history and in 1941 he was consecrated Bishop of Worcester. The Conference resolved that its members should form themselves into a Fellowship of Unity, which would organise annual services of unity in the Coptic, Greek and Armenian Cathedrals, and would hold regular conferences under the Chairmanship of Bishop Gwynne. These activities resulted in a breadth of understanding and fellowship among diverse Christian groups which was rare at that time. Later, in 1932, when the Coptic Orthodox Church felt itself to be under threat, and appealed to Bishop Gwynne for help, their appeal did not go unheeded.

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The third and perhaps most important area of church life in which Bishop Gwynne fulfilled his vision was in the ordination of Egyptian clergy. The patient labours and persistent goal of Temple Gairdner, the clear and faithful witness given through medical, educational and social work, came to fruition through the presence in Egypt of a man with authority, a man of faith, and a man of action. In the Anglican system at least, It is the presence of a Bishop, living among his people, listening, observing, consulting, praying, that leads to the bold step, in the power of the Spirit, of singling out a man here and a man there for the work of a Pastor in the Church of God. We have seen how, after four years in office, Gwynne singled out Girgis Bishai, after 40 years of proved, tested service as an evangelist in Old Cairo Hospital, to be ordained as the first Egyptian priest in the Anglican Communion. In 1922, Gwynne consecrated The Church of the Good Shepherd, Giza, and in 1931, ordained Khalil Tadros as its first Egyptian pastor. He had worked with CMS as a layman at Ashmoun, and at Giza before and after the church was built. He continued to serve at Giza until his death in 1951. He was apparently sensitive about his splendid,

Kitchener-style moustache, and wondered if it was compatible with the role of a Pastor. In answer to an enquiry, Gwynne wrote, "I do not mind at all whether Khalil Tadros takes his moustache off or not. If he would be happier wearing a moustache I have no objection, or indeed if he would like to grow a flowing beard as some of the Coptic priests to, I should be just as pleased. You can assure him that I would agree to whatever course he thought best for himself and his flock."[38]

[38] *Gwynne to E.G. Parry, 15.6.29.*

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The third Egyptian to be ordained by Bishop Gwynne was Adeeb Shammas, who was destined to carry the whole Egyptian Episcopal Church on his shoulders after the Suez Crisis of 1956. Born into the Coptic Orthodox Church, he worked for 14 years with S.A. Morrison at "The Enquiry Centre for Muslim Students", and during this time became a member of the Episcopal Church. In 1931 he was selected for ordination training and spent two years at Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. He was ordained deacon in 1934 and priest in 1935, Girgis Bishai and Khalil Tadros taking part in the Ordination Service. He served with Gordon Parry at the Church of the Saviour, Boulac, and with Canon Toop at Old Cairo, taking over from Canon Toop on his retirement. He continued to serve as the much-loved pastor of the Church of Jesus the Light of the World, Old Cairo, until his retirement at the age of 70 in 1971. He was appointed Archdeacon in 1952 and as such he carried total responsibility for the Church after the departure of the British in 1956.

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The fourth Egyptian to be ordained by Bishop Gwynne was Aziz Hanna. Born on 4th January 1904 at Zagazig, of Coptic Evangelical parents, he was educated at the American Mission College, Assiut, and became a teacher of English in the American Mission Schools in Khartoum. In 1934 we find him teaching in the Episcopal Church School in Menouf, where he became a member of the Episcopal Church, and later Headmaster of the school. It is an interesting commentary on the width of Bishop Gwynne's thinking that, when it became apparent that Aziz Hanna was a suitable candidate for ordination, he was sent not to theological college in the West, where conditions were so different from the Middle East, but to Bishop's College, Calcutta. He was ordained deacon in 1942 and priest in 1943. He remained at Menouf until 1960, taking part in village evangelism with the Revd Arthur Johnson, acting as Hospital Chaplain, and having responsibility for the building of St Mark's Church, Menouf, in 1954. In 1960 he was appointed to the Church of the Good Shepherd,

Giza, where he remained until his death in 1975. While at Giza, he continued to have responsibility for Menouf, visited the CMS Church and Hospital at Gaza, under the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and after 1956, shared in the ministry in Alexandrian, Suez and Port Said. He was made Canon of All Saints Cathedral in 1965. He is survived by his wife Suzanne, two daughters and a son. He was a saintly, gifted man who met uncomplainingly the ever-increasing demands made upon him, whose memorial is to be found in the lives of those to whom he ministered, and whose example stands as a model for those who succeed him.

It is now necessary to set the growth of the church within the context of the changing political scene. Taking the longest possible view, the period of the British occupation of Egypt may be seen as the last act in the emancipation of Egypt from foreign rule which began with Alexander the Great. Egypt had become an essential link in the chain of communication within the British Empire. The route to India had to be protected. Not that Egypt was ever part of the British Empire. So Britain's presence there could only be maintained under the cover of some sort of accommodation with the Egyptian Government and people. So from 1882 to1914 we have the 'veiled protectorate', whereby the appearance of Egyptian independence was kept up through a Legislative Council and a General Assembly, while in reality all real power was in the hands of a British Resident, first Cromer, then Gorst, then Kitchener. This was followed in 1914 by the removal of the 'veils', and the declaration of Egypt as a British Protectorate in the face of the coming in of Turkey on the side of the Central European powers in World War I. Inevitably, this produced a post-war surge of Egyptian nationalism under the leadership of Saad Zaghlul, and the formation of the Wafd political party. The years that followed saw the declaration of Egypt as an independent state in 1922 under King Fouad I, but with special reservations for the role of the British, which made it no more than 'semi-independence'. In 1936, Saad Zaghlul negotiated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty whereby the British occupation was formally ended, the Egyptian army came under its own Egyptian commanders, the Capitulations (special rights for foreigners) were abolished, and the British High Commissioner assumed the rank of Ambassador in line with the representatives of other foreign powers. But the Canal Zone would continue to be defended by 10,000 British troops and 400 air pilots, and Britain would be allowed to use Egyptian ports, airports and roads in the event of war. As Mansfield puts it[39], "If the 1922 declaration gave Egypt semi-independence, the 1936 Treaty went half the rest of the way." But further progress towards independence was once more

overtaken by world events, this time by World War II, resulting in the re-occupation of Egypt by Britain and her Allies. In the face of German advances in the Western Desert, King Farouk and some of his ministers adopted an ambivalent attitude towards the two sides in the war, resulting in the ultimatum delivered by Sir Miles Lampson on 1st February 1942, enforcing Egyptian cooperation but effectively destroying the power of the monarchy and paving the way for the Revolution of 1952. While, therefore, the British presence in Egypt may be seen by Egyptians as an unjustified interference in their affairs and as a hindrance to their aspirations, it may be seen by others as providential in saving the country, and with it the world, from the evils of Nazism. Would the independence which came to Egypt in 1952 have survived in a Nazi dominated world? Be that as it may, the Episcopal Church in Egypt played an important supporting role in the prosecution of the war by Britain and her Allies. All Saints Cathedral, completed in 1938, became the spiritual powerhouse of the Eighth Army and Bishop Gwynne and his Chaplains provided spiritual inspiration to thousands of men as they went into battle.

[39] *Peter Mansfield, The British in Egypt, London 1972.*

Bishop Gwynne was now nearing the end of his long years of service in Egypt and the Sudan. The rapidly growing church in the Southern Sudan clearly indicated a division of the Diocese in the not-too-distant future. From 1926-36 the church in the Southern Sudan was in fact supervised by Bishop Kitching, of the Upper Nile Diocese of Uganda. But on 18th October 1935 Guy Bullen, a CMS Missionary in Northern Nigeria, was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury with a view to being Assistant to Bishop Gwynne in Egypt and the Sudan. He was a man of outstanding gifts and made a deep impression on all who met him, not least the members of the Sudan Political Service and the missionaries of the Southern Sudan. Two years later, on6th December 1937, he was killed when the RAF plane in which he was flying crashed at Pap, in the Aliab Dink country of the Southern Sudan. His grave is at Lui, the centre of the Episcopal Church among the Moru people of the Sudan. To succeed him, Morris Gelsthorpe, Assistant Bishop of the Niger, was appointed as Assistant to Bishop Gwynne in July 1938. As a soldier who had served with distinction in World War I, being awarded the DSO, he rendered notable service among the troops in Cairo and the Western Desert in the critical periods before and after the battle of El Alamein. But his chief gift was in the encouragement of leadership in the African churches which came under his care, and he laid the foundation of the independent Diocese of the Sudan from the time of its separation

from Egypt on 1st October 1945 until his retirement in 1952. On his return to Britain he was appointed Assistant Bishop of Southwell, where he served from 1953-68. Thus, Egypt became a Diocese on its own in 1945, when Bishop Gwynne was 82 years old. He retired a year later and was succeeded by Geoffrey Allen. Bishop Gwynne's service therefore spanned a period of 47 years, 1899-1946. On any reckoning, he must be looked upon as the man by whose faith and inspiration the Episcopal Church in the Nile Valley was held steadily on its course, took shape, and was firmly established, during the period when the world was shaken by two World Wars. He deserves the place of highest honour amongst all who have served in this enterprise.

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G.F. Allen and the Post-World War II Years in Egypt

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The year 1942 was a turning point in World War II and in world history. Winston Churchill's Volume IV of his work The Second World War, which covered that year, he called 'The Hinge of Fate'. The fortunes of war and the future history of the world hinged on the events of that year. It was the year of El Alamein and of Stalingrad. In June 1942, Max Warren began his 21 years in office as General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and he, more than any other man, foresaw the changing role of the church in the post war world. In 1944 he sketched out the new context within which the church would exist.

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First, he saw the emergence of the social service state, not only in Britain but increasingly in other parts of the world, taking over many areas of service which were formerly the monopoly of the church. Second, he saw the burgeoning of nationalism all over the world. And third, he anticipated the emergence of indigenous churches. He wrote, "I have set the growing churches overseas as the third fact deliberately, because I believe it is urgently necessary to see those churches within the given historical context of today, a context defined by the fact of the omnicompetent modern state and the powerful forces of nationalism. The church is, of course, never only within a given

historical context. It is always at the same time part of the Eternal Word breaking into history. This fact upon which our faith is grounded remains the incalculable factor in every human situation. But at the same time there remains a continual temptation to romanticise the Eternal and to forget that in all incarnations there is the fact of limitation."[40] [40] *F.W. Dillistone, Into All the World, London 1980, p.85,6.*

By 1945, Egyptian politicians were urging that, as a reward for Egypt's contribution to the Allied war effort, Britain should evacuate Egypt entirely and accept the unity of Egypt and the Sudan. Sir Edward Grigg, then British minister resident in the Middle East, advised the British Labour Government to make the gesture of withdrawing British troops from Cairo and Alexandria. But this was turned down, in the belief that Britain's dominant military role in the Middle East had to be maintained. So British troops remained in the Cairo Citadel and in the Kasr el Nil Barracks in the centre of the city. By December 1945, the Egyptian Prime Minister was formally asking for the revision of the 1936 Treaty with Britain. The British Ambassador was in fact authorised to open negotiations, but from the position that the 1936 Treaty was sound and should be retained. This inflamed Egyptian public opinion and provoked anti-British demonstrations and widespread burning and looting of British property. Out of this came the Sidky-Bevin Agreement whereby British troops would be withdrawn from Cairo and Alexandria by 31st March 1947 and from the whole country by September 1949. The question of the Sudan, however, was glossed over by saying that the 1899 Condominium Agreement would remain in force until consultation with the Sudanese could take place on the future status of the Sudan "within the framework of the unity between Egypt and the Sudan under the common crown of Egypt." But the interpretation of this clause in the mind of the British Government was very different from that of the Egyptian Government. When this became clear, the Egyptian Prime Minister resigned, the Sidky-Bevin Agreement was shelved, and 70,000 British troops remained in the Canal Zone.

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In the meantime, the Arab League, comprising Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, had been organised, with its headquarters in Cairo, and with one of its main aims the prevention of the creation of the state of Israel and the partition of Palestine. On15th May 1948 the British Mandate in Palestine was terminated and the State of Israel came into being. Next day, the Arab armies attacked, among them the Egyptian army. By the time an armistice was signed in January 1949, the Israelis had captured most of Palestine and the Egyptian army was shut up in the Gaza Strip and in two pockets to the north-east. The reaction in Egypt was the determination of the younger officers of the Egyptian army, among them Gamal Abdel Nasser, to get rid of corrupt and inefficient rulers, to seize power, and to lead the country into independence.

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The unsatisfactory situation created by the absence of a political settlement between Britain and Egypt came to a head in 1951. The Egyptian Prime Minister, now Nahas Pasha, unilaterally abrogated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and declared Farouk King of Egypt and the Sudan. A state of emergency was declared and food supplies and labour were cut off from the British garrison in the Canal Zone. ‘Liberation Squads' were formed to carry out sabotage and guerrilla attacks. In response to these attacks, a strong British force attacked the Egyptian police headquarters in Ismailia, resulting in 50 Egyptian dead and many more injured. The next day, known as ‘Black Saturday', the Cairo mob burned the centre of the city and destroyed British property including Shepherd's Hotel. King Farouk, caught between the devil and deep blue sea, took the chance to dismiss Nahas, whom he hated, an unpopular move which further rocked the stability of his already rocky regime. The Free Officers under Gamal Abdel Nasser decided the time had come to overthrow the monarchy. On the morning of 26th July 1952, tanks surrounded the Ras el Tin Palace in Alexandria. The King signed an act of abdication, and on the evening of the same day left for Naples and exile. The Revolutionary Command Council were in control

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It was into this situation of deteriorating British power and inexorable movement towards Egyptian independence that Geoffrey Francis Allen came, in March 1947, with his wife Madeline, as Bishop in Egypt. He brought to the situation a clear, powerful mind which was able to assess the life of the church calmly and objectively and steer it towards its new role in the new situation which would obtain in an independent Egypt free from 70 years of British domination. His

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academic and administrative gifts are reflected in his appointments before coming to Egypt to fulfil what was to be a very exacting task. Educated at Ruby, University College, Oxford and Ripon Hall, he remained as Chaplain at Ripon Hall until elected to a Fellowship at Lincoln College, Oxford, where he served as Chaplain for five years. His ever-present world vision of the church led him to China in 1935 to take up duty at Union Theological College, Canton, after which he was appointed Secretary of the National Christian Council of China and Chaplain to the British Embassy in Chungking. He returned to England in 1944 as Archdeacon of Birmingham, where he showed his capacity for leadership and grasp of administration. These were gifts tested and matured in the turmoil of the Sino-Japanese War, an experience which prepared him to sense the shape that the church should take, if it were to survive, in the revolutionary situation in Egypt.

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The shape of the church, as Max Warren saw, is closely related to the historical context in which it exists. To this extent, it is easy to deduce that the change to be expected in the Anglican Church in Egypt was a change from 'Britishness' to 'Egyptianness', from British leadership to Egyptian leadership, in other words, a change toward indigenisation. The lessons of history show that unless the church is rooted and grounded in the soil and culture of the people, it will remain something imported and foreign and will die, as in Nubia. Yet the very process of indigenisation, ideal as it may be, is itself conditioned by the historical context. So the Anglican form of Egyptian Christianity came about mainly as a result of the unreadiness of the Coptic Orthodox Church, the really indigenous church of Egypt, to receive converts from Islam. It was the task of Geoffrey Allen to take this tiny Arabic-speaking Anglican church, so lovingly nurtured by Temple Gairdner, a further step along the road towards self-determination. Yet Allen saw very clearly that the ultimate goal was the unity of all Arabic-speaking Christians in Egypt, and he worked towards that end.

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The process of self-determination of the Anglican Church in Egypt was not an easy one, and it was to be a further 26 years before the first Egyptian Bishop was consecrated. The British were still there in considerable numbers, and they formed a large part of the Bishop's responsibility. It was the uneasy period in British-Egyptian relationships following the shelving of the Sidky-Bevin Agreement. The Diocese comprised not only Egypt, with its still large British presence, but also British Chaplaincies, mainly military, in Cyrenaica and Tunisia, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Aden, and this ministry occupied a

considerable part of the Bishop's time and involved a great deal of travelling. The future of the British military present in all these areas was extremely uncertain, and the maintaining of morale in such uncertain and sometimes threatening circumstances required high qualities of spiritual leadership. When the Allens left in 1952, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Egypt, General Sir George Erskine, was to write, "I shall be leaving here on 23rd April and handing on to General Festing. I could not leave here without expressing my most sincere gratitude to you for the magnificent work you have done for the Army in their spiritual life. When I look back on Egypt I shall always have a picture of you and Mrs Allen as the centre of the Egypt which I knew." That is high praise.

At the very centre of the church's life was All Saints Cathedral in its commanding position on the banks of the Nile in the centre of Cairo, embarrassingly close to the British barracks in Midan Ismailia. The Cathedral was built by Bishop Gwynne in the expectation of a continuing large and wealthy British community. It had served a marvellous purpose during World War II as the spiritual home of the Eighth Army. Had it still some useful purpose to serve, or would it become a white elephant? As chief Pastor, Bishop Allen found himself, with the Cathedral staff, now ministering to a rather apprehensive group, with lingering regrets for the passing of the days of British power, feeling lost at the prospect of life without the protecting arm of the British Army. A greatly reduced congregation brought its accompanying financial problems, and the Bishop was faced with the task of establishing a financial base dependent on the local residential community who would carry full responsibility for its own Cathedral. At the end of two years, the Bishop was able to report "a good winter at the Cathedral" and an improved financial position. He became aware of the many distinguished people who passed through Cairo and came to the Cathedral. "You never know who will turn up here. It is one of the thrills of the place." More importantly, his able mind enabled him to raise, with the men of equal calibre living and working in Cairo, some of the great issues of the day. Discussions took place at the Cathedral on the changing role of Britain in the world, communism and war, the atomic bomb, and the spiritual warfare which lay behind the 'cold war'. While on a visit to Canada he conceived the idea of a 'Bishop's Library' at the Cathedral to include books on Egypt, on Christian-Muslim relations, on the biblical and historical background of Christianity, and especially on the history of the church in Egypt. His vision for the Cathedral was expressed thus: "It will always be an outpost, small in numbers, both on the Egyptian and on the British side, but big in work for

ecumenical relations and for the witness of our Anglican Church. We have a special contribution, first and foremost Christ-centred then both Catholic and Reformed, then working out in social reform and in liberal acceptance of modern science. We ought to be able to do more to build up the Cathedral as a Christian cultural centre, with lectures, a library and student work. It ought to become firmly and strongly the Christian centre and inspiration in our British approach to Middle East Churches and the Muslim world. The cure for falling British numbers and falling funds is a bold programme of advance."

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In contrast to the wealthy and influential English-speaking congregation at the Cathedral, albeit now on the decline, and to the British Chaplaincies in Alexandria, Helwan and the Canal Zone, the Arabic-speaking Anglican Church, now called the Episcopal Church, numbered 745 baptised members in 1942, with their own church buildings in Old Cairo and Giza. They were shepherded by Girghis Bishai, Khalil Tadros, Adeeb Shammas and Aziz Hanna, assisted by catechists and lay evangelists. They had their own Church Councils, and by 1930 we find them taking over responsibility from CMS for the social and evangelistic work initiated by the missionaries. In 1949 Bishop Allen wrote of "the difficult search for new Egyptian ordinands". The success of his efforts is reflected in the ordination of Thabit Athanasius in 1950 and Ishaq Musaad in 1952. These ordinations took place in All Saints Cathedral in the presence of a mixed English and Egyptian congregation. After meetings of the Cathedral Church Council and the Episcopal Church Council, a new Constitution was agreed giving the English and Egyptian Churches equal representation on the same basis. Shortly before he left in 1952, Bishop Allen wrote of a farewell meeting "at which they spoke warmly of the work I had done to strengthen the Egyptian Church and to make them feel that the Cathedral was their mother church. Seeing the good congregation for the final service I could feel that my work had not been entirely in vain."

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It is not surprising that Bishop Allen questioned the unwieldy size of the Diocese. He felt that, in the division of the Diocese of Egypt and the Sudan, Egypt had been left with the 'untidy remnants'. It seemed to him that Ethiopia, Eritrea and Aden could be more easily looked after from Khartoum than from Cairo, and after lengthy discussions with Bishop Gelsthorpe of the Sudan, this transfer later took place. Bishop Allen also questioned the continued existence of Egypt as a diocese on its own and favoured re-linking it with Jerusalem. the Dean of All Saints Cathedral, Cairo, also being Suffragan Bishop for Egypt

and Cyrenaica. However, there were hesitations from Jerusalem and Canterbury, and in the event the Bishopric of Egypt continued, though soon to be overtaken by the crisis of 1956.

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By July 1951, Bishop Allen was receiving pressing invitations to return to Ripon Hall as Principal. He was naturally greatly exercised about leaving Egypt at such a critical time in its history. "Perhaps it is our task in life to enter into difficult situations for a short transitional period. After two periods on the circumference in China and in Egypt, I now have a task for the church again at the centre." He saw the task at Rippon Hall as the opportunity for the creation of a centre for a comprehensive liberalism in the Church of England. "The liberal spirit is needed as much as ever in the open door to new enquiry, the encouragement of initiative, the generous sympathy towards other points of view, breaking down party spirit within the church and encouraging co-operation with other churches. But the liberal spirit has to be disentangled from the liberal position."

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As Bishop and Mrs Allen returned to England in August 1952, he wrote, "I shall regret most of all leaving our little Arabic Church. The Egyptian side is very important, but it will be a waiting time until there is some break over the difficulties in evangelism. There is a vast and urgent work to be done in the whole field of Muslim studies and evangelism; but that needs a knowledge of Arabic and it is not my work or calling."

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Frank Johnston and the End of the British Occupation

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Geoffrey Allen's successor as Bishop in Egypt was Francis F. Johnston. Frank Johnston and his wife Gladys served the Church in Egypt for 26 years. Having come to the middle East during World War I as a Chaplain in Allenby's Palestine Campaign, Frank Johnston served as Chaplain in the Church of the Epiphany, Port Said, from 1920-1932. He was then made Archdeacon by Bishop Gwynne and

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became Sub-Dean of the Pro-Cathedral Church of St Mary, Kasr el Doubara. From this vantage point he was well placed to supervise the building of the new Cathedral Church of All Saints. Arthur Burrell, Chaplain to Bishop Gwynne 1939-43, and Provost of the Cathedral 1955-56, describes how Frank Johnston entered into this duty with great enthusiasm and carried out all the planning and works arrangements superbly, delighting in taking parties round the Cathedral site at various stages in its construction. When the Cathedral came to be consecrated on St Mark's Day, 25th April 1938, "the smooth running of the Service was a great tribute to Frank Johnston and Gordon Parry, the Bishoop's 'wakil' or representative in the Arabic-speaking section of the Church"[41] Frank Johnston followed distinguished predecessors as Archdeacon and Sub-Dean, among them F.R. Barry, G.I. Lunt and S.E. Swann. But none of them stayed in Egypt for long. Johnston was a man prepared from within the Diocese and gave faithful and outstanding service over a period of many years. He was awarded the CBE in 1944 for his services to the troops in World War II. Soon after he arrived, Bishop Allen decided that the Archdeacon should have his base at the northern end of the Diocese and leave the Cathedral under the care of the Bishop. The Johnstons left for Alexandria in September 1947 for a further fruitful phase of their ministry. Burrel writes[42]: "His intimate knowledge of the Diocese and the country was still available to the Bishop when they met either in Alexandria or on his numerous visits to his old haunts." And again[43]: "Throughout this period of change, the stable rock of the church was Archdeacon Frank Johnston. He was a man with a strong sense of pastoral care. He and his wife Gladys kept perpetual open house for people of all nationalities." It came as no surprise when the Archbishop of Canterbury, Geoffrey Fisher, invited Frank Johnston to succeed Geoffrey Allen as Bishop, and he was consecrated on 25th July 1952.

[41] *Arthur Burrell, Cathedral on the Nile, Oxford 1984, p.21.*

[42] *Ibid, p.46.*

[43] *Ibid, p.48.*

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Two days earlier at 7am on 23rd July, Anwar al Sadat had broadcast a message to the Egyptian people announcing that the Revolutionary Command Council of the Egyptian Army had occupied Army Headquarters in Cairo, the radio station and Almaza Airport. On 26th July, King Farouk signed the act of abdication and sailed from Alexandria with his family. Egypt was under the control of the Revolutionary Command Council, under the presidency of General Naguib.

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The attitude of the British Government to the new regime was patronisingly sceptical, but fairly optimistic. It was concerned chiefly to ensure co-operation with the West, and especially the protection of the Suez Canal. It therefore worked for an agreement which would preserve the right to keep British service men at the Suez bas and the right to re-activate the base in the event of an attack on any Middle Easter country. Nasser, however, was determined that no British soldier would remain on Egyptian soil. An agreement was finally signed on 12th July 1954 whereby the British agree to evacuate all troops but to maintain the Canal Base with British civilians, the base to be re-activated in the event of attack on any Middle Eastern country or Turkey. The last British troops embarked at Port Said on 31st March 1956 and a new era of friendly relations between Britain and Egypt appeared to have dawned, on the basis of equality. The Muslim Brotherhood, however, rejected the new agreement, and on 24th October 1954 an attempt was made to assassinate Nasser. During the subsequent trial a connection was revealed between the Muslim Brotherhood and General Naguib, resulting in his deposition from power and the assumption by Gamal Abdel Nasser of undisputed control of Egypt. In July 1956, however, Britain and the United States withdrew their offer to finance the Aswan High Dam Project an offer which was quickly replaced by one from the Soviet Union. On 26th July Nasser announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal and this provoked the abortive plan to seize the Canal by Britain, France and Israel. Arthur Burrel has described in detail[44] the effect this had on the life of the Episcopal Church in Egypt and especially on the life of All Saints Cathedral. Bishop Frank Johnston had appointed Adeeb Shammas as Archdeacon and Arthur Burrel as Provost. Following the attack on Suez, on 1st November the British Government advised British subjects to leave Egypt without delay. The British Ambassador and his party were given safe conduct by train along the Alexandria-Benghazi railway. The Cathedral became the haven for British missionary personnel, among them those of CMS, the English Mission College, the Egypt General Mission and the

Nile Mission Press. On 10th November, orders came from the Egyptian Government that the Cathedral staff were to leave within seven days. The Verger, Aziz Wasif, was arrested. The Bishop, Mrs Johnston and the provost left on 16th November, leaving the Cathedral in the hands of Douglas Butcher, Principal of the Egypt Mission College. On 30th November, the last British personnel left Egypt and the Episcopal Church in Egypt found itself totally under Egyptian leadership. The Church came of age.

[44] *Ibid, pp.56-60.*

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Conclusion

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The military occupation of any nation by a foreign power is bound to be resented by that nation. It is inevitably seen at the time, and perhaps for several generations, as an unjustified curbing of the legitimate aspirations of that nation, and its exploitation to suit the purposes of the occupying power. The passage of time, however, and the natural qualities of the peoples concerned, render it possible for the episode to be seen in a different light. In the county of Wiltshire, where these lines are written, the countryside bears witness to successive periods in the history of Britain. Stonehenge and Avebury, Barbury and Liddington Castles, Silbury Hill and the Mound at Marlborough, the White Horse at Westbury and the great wall called Wansdyke, are evidence that here was the cradle of our civilisation. But nearby are the splendid Roman towns of Bath and Cirencester with Gloucester to the NW and Stow-on-the-Woold to the NE, lasting reminders of Roman occupation. While on the very doorstep, in the village of Ogbourne St George, are the church and manor house which were once the headquarters of the benefices in Britain administered by Abbots of Bec in Normandy, and where village people are proud to trace their ancestry back to William the Conqueror. The Roman occupation and the Norman conquest are remembered not for the humiliation they may have influenced on the people of Britain but for the benefits they bestowed. Neither of these intrusions have in any way diminished the essential Englishness of the

people and their countryside, but rather enhanced and enriched it. Can it not equally be said that the glory of the ancient civilisation of Egypt has been enhanced and enriched by the successive waves of those who have occupied the country for a period? The Greek philosophers, the Arab Architects, the French Archaeologists and the British administrators have all left their mark on Egypt. Yet through all these changes of government, Egypt has kept its identity. Is not the marvellous, unquenchable warmth and exuberance of the Egyptian people the fruit of the very trials they have endured, enhancing and enriching their character in a school of patience and forbearance unknown and unexperienced by races accustomed only to conquest? Not least in the process is the contribution of the Christian Church in Egypt. Surely, of the Coptic Orthodox Church, perhaps more than of any other church in Christendom, can it be said that "we glory in tribulation also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope; and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given to us." (Romans 5, 3-5). And yet of all human institutions, it is the church which goes far beyond a narrow nationalism, to embrace men and women of all races and cultures. To the national church of Egypt, therefore, have come in all humility and fellowship the churches of the West and of the Third World, giving a many-sided presentation of the 'household of God' without which it would be incomplete. It is this many-sided presentation that the Episcopal Church, as part of the Anglican Communion throughout the world, has its part to play.

Reference

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1899-1956: The opening up of the Nile Valley

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It was the experience of the writer to enter Africa for the first time through the port of Mombasa. After the magic of the journey by train up the escarpment to Nairobi, the journey continued by road, through the cool, dry air of the Kenya Highlands, into the lush, green countryside of Uganda. The road wound through Mbale, Lira and

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Soroti to the border town of Gulu. And here the atmosphere changed. We were conscious of being about to leave the limits of a territory whose lifeline was the Kenya and Uganda Railway, linked with the Indian Ocean, and about to enter a totally different territory whose lifeline was the River Nile, flowing to the Mediterranean Sean. It has often been said that the boundaries within Africa, separating nation from nation, were arbitrarily drawn by the occupying powers, sometimes dividing a tribe in two, and enclosing within one country ethnic groups with wide cultural differences. This is true. Yet, the feeling of crossing a boundary, in this case between Uganda and the Sudan, was a feeling not primarily of political transition but of transition from one geographical and historical environment into another. The Nile was leaving the area of the Great Lakes and waterfalls, an area of fertile and well-watered uplands, and descending through the Fola Rapids into the bare, rocky plains of the Sudan, on through the twisting, choked channels of the Sudd, through the centres of ancient civilisation of Egypt, spreading out into the Delta and so emptying itself into the Mediterranean Sea. This was the land of the Nile, Egypt and the Sudan, their history and geography inextricably linked by the common lifeline of the river. To enter the town of Juba for the first time was to sense its utter difference from the East African towns which had been left behind. They look eastwards to the coast. Juba looked northwards to Khartoum and more remotely to Cairo. And this was something rooted in history – turbulent history, it may be, but through the pain and conflict of deep issues faced and even fought through, forging relationships which will be a demonstration ultimately of the ability of peoples of different races and cultures to live together in peace and mutual acceptance. That is the faith in which this book is written.

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The beginnings were not very propitious. The imperialistic ambitions of Mohammed Ali, as we have seen, led him to the conquest of Syria and the guardianship of the holy places of Islam in Arabia, only to be cut down to size by the Treaty of London in 1840, leaving him with the hereditary viceregency of Egypt – and the Sudan. The expansionist aims of Ismail in the direction of Darfur, Abyssinia and the Somali coast resulted in disastrous financial consequences for Egypt, while in Equatoria he pursued the elusive prize of the annexation of the Kingdom of Bunyoro and Buganda in the legendary lands around the Great Lakes. As Britain saw and used Egypt as the stepping stone towards India, so Egypt saw and used the Sudan as the highway to Uganda.

The new area to be explored, opened up and administered, was the Southern Sudan. We have seen how Mohammed Ali's conquest of the Sudan reached as far as the Fung kingdom of Sennar. In 1839 he commissioned an expedition to explore the upper reaches of the White Nile. The first attempt, under a Turkish frigate captain named Salim, took the explorers as far as Bor, discovering on their way the Shilluk people who occupied the land surrounding the junction of the Sobat with the White Nile, the seemingly impenetrable barrier of the Sudd, and beyond the Sudd, the grassy plains where the Dinka herded their cattle. A second expedition in 1840 got a bit further, contacted the Mandari, and moored off the Bari Village of Ulibar, a few miles north of Gondokoro. A third expedition in 1841 reached Rejaf, a little further south, where a rocky passage made further progress impossible. This was the limit of Mohammed Ali's explorations of the upper reaches of the Nile. It opened up a highway into tropical Africa and, more importantly, established contacts with the tribes of the Southern Sudan. Richar Gray[1] describes the meeting with Nyigilo, brother of Lagonu, the paramount chief of the Bari: "From the first, his friendly-looking countenance and his handsome, roman-like head created a good impression and he was to become a key figure in Bari history until his death in 1859." A few days later Lagonu himself arrived. "A most favourable impression was received by the expedition. Compared with the distrust and reserve of the Shilluk reth (king), here was a ruler whose welcome reflected the contrast between the pleasant, rolling parkland and the dreary swamps to the north, and here was a pastoral people, yet skilled in iron-working and in agriculture, ready to exchange cattle and ivory for beads."

[1] *R. Gray, A History of the Southern Sudan 1839-1899, OUP 1961, p.18.*

The hazardous nature of these journeys should not be overlooked. "Beyond the Sobat junction the papyrus thickened and deepened and made a landing impossible. The men were delivered over to the attacks of an insect world which rendered life almost unbearable. The monotony, the mosquitoes, the stale air and muddy waters were an ordeal which future travellers were also to experience. But in addition the first expedition faced the strain of the unknown. Discouraged, tense and anxious, their first encounters with the Nuer and Cic Dinka who were near the river were clouded with misunderstandings and fear. A chief refused to visit them, Cic in four small canoes attacked them and some were killed, the soldiers got out of hand and ransacked several fishing viallages."[2] Herein lies the crux of the whole saga of relationships between the peoples of widely different cultures

as they confront each other for the first time, in the Sudan or anywhere else. What are the qualities required in both parties if the inevitable suspicion and maybe fear which accompany the first confrontation are to be turned into mutual trust and acceptance? Perhaps the value of history is the opportunity it gives to learn from the mistakes of the past and to pinpoint the qualities and attitudes which make for peace and understanding. The experience of the soldiers of Mohammed Ali, of Samuel Baker and Charles Gordon, of the British administrators and Christian missionaries should, we may hope, point to the more excellent way for the diverse peoples of the Sudan today as they continue to try to resolve their differences.

[2] *Ibid p.13.*

Although Mohammed Ali was not able to sponsor further expeditions to the White Nile, the initiative was taken over by others. First, the Egyptian Governor in Khartoum continued to send expeditions into Equatoria in search of ivory. His attempt to maintain a monopoly of the ivory trade was challenged by European traders in Khartoum, notably one Brun Rollet, a Frenchman, and by the British Consul-General in Egypt. So European interest and activity in the Southern Sudan began. This, in 1844, attracted the attention of the Western Churches. As we have seen, five members of the Basel Mission, under the auspices of CMS, came to Egypt in 1825. One of these, Samuel Gobat, began work in Abyssinia in 1830. In 1844, J.L. Krapf was at Mombasa at the beginning of his great pioneering work for CMS in East Africa. And in the same year, the attention of the Congregation of Propaganda Fidei was drawn to the opening up of the highway into Central Africa via the Nile. The Vicarate Apostolic of Central Africa was set up in 1846, and the first Roman Catholic missionaries, Knoblecher and Angelo Vinco, arrived in Khartoum on February 11, 1848. These two accompanied one of the Government expeditions up the White Nile and established contact with the Bari chief Nyigilo in 1850. "Nyigilo with 20 wives established himself in Knoblecher's boat."[3] A year later, Angelo Vinco accompanies Brun Rollet on a second expedition and took up residence at Gondokoro. A second precarious foothold was secured at Holy Cross, near the present site of Shambe, among the Cic Dinka. So, as Richard Gray puts it, "Europe had forced a way into Central Africa, and for a crucial decade, the initiative passed from the Egyptian Government to the European community in Khartoum."[4] Although initial contacts with the Bari were friendly, they seemed soon to deteriorate into suspicion, misunderstanding, conflict and violence. The reasons for this are not as obvious as they might seem. It is only too easy to attribute the

whole sorry story to the obnoxious practice of taking slaves. Richard Gray suggests that the reasons were more complex. "The decline of peaceful contact into conflict and violence is seen primarily as the result of an unbridled clash between widely differing societies and cultures. The total unpreparedness of the southern tribes to encounter the impact of the outside world was matched by complete ignorance on the part of the missionaries and traders of the values of tribal society. The early welcome rapidly deteriorated therefore into suspicion, and finally into open hostility."[5]

[3] *Ibid p.25.*

[4] *Ibid p.27.*

[5] *Ibid p.22.*

The slave trade existed in the Northern Sudan before ever it began in the South. Slaves were captured from the Nuba Mountains, the Blue Nile, the border lands of Abyssinia, and as a penalty for the non-payment of taxes. A form of slavery also existed in the South as a result of the raids by one tribe on another. The traders, both Arab and European, who now penetrated the South concentrated at first on the acquisition of ivory. Large stocks of ivory existed among the Bari and neighbouring tribes and the tribal chiefs were happy to barter these stocks for beads. "These boats bring back annually about 400 quintals of ivory, which, brought to Cairo, represents a value of approximately 100,000 francs. To procure this ivory, they gave beads whose value does certainly not exceed 1,000 francs."[6] But when the original stocks of ivory were exhausted and the Bari not unnaturally demanded higher prices for less ivory, the traders found themselves in debt after paying back the creditors who had advanced the capital to finance the expeditions. They therefore resorted to the capture of slaves as a secondary source of income, and as a means of paying their entourage. Each slave was equivalent to about three months' pay for a soldier. Many of the women became the wives of Arabs, others were taken to the North and sold at more than double the price paid for them.[7] The slave trade in fact developed more in Bahr el Ghazal than in Equatoria. In 1856, a Ja'ali Arab, al Zubair Rahma Mansur, settled in Bahr el Ghazal and established the main slave route to the North by land, through Kordofan. He employed a thousand armed men and became a law unto himself. His military prowess was such that later, Gordon saw in him the only man who could effectively oppose the Mahdi.

[6] *Ibid p.31.*

[7] *Ibid p.52.*

Egyptian imperial ambitions were revived by the discovery of the source of the Nile by Speke and Grant in 1862. From the Ripon Falls, the outlet of the Nile from Lake Victoria, Speke travelled north to Gondokoro and Cairo. In Cairo he reawakened the mind of the Khedive Ismail to the Egyptian dream of an empire stretching the entire length of the Nile to its source. The man destined to try to translate this dream into reality was the British explorer and big-game hunter, Samuel Baker. Having discovered Lake Albert in 1865, Baker returned to England and produced a book exposing the horrors of the slave trade still ravaging equatorial Africa and urging the desirability of introducing good administration to the Southern Sudan, thus opening up the way to trade and commerce with the kingdoms of Bunyoro and Buganda. Baker and Ismail met in Cairo on the occasion of the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Ismail shared with Baker his own ideas for the development of the Sudan and invited Baker to put them into effect. On 5th April, 1869, Baker informed his brother John that he had "after much consideration accepted the Viceroy's offer of the command of the greatest expedition of modern times."[8] The aims of the expedition were as follows: after crushing the slave trade, to secure for Egypt the Equatorial Nile Basin, to establish a powerful government throughout all those tribes then warring with each other, and having opened the Lakes to steam navigation, to found a chain of trading stations throughout the territory."[9] Enormous difficulties were encountered. The expedition left Khartoum on February 8th, 1870, but did not reach Gondokoro until 15th, April 1872. The channels through the Sudd opened up by Mohammed Ali's expedition of 1839-41 were now completely closed. The first attempt to re-open the channels failed, and only after a second attempt in December 1871 did they succeed. "It was a loathsome task for the men, who were often up to their necks in water all day."[10] Having reached Gondokoro, Baker was faced with the task of transporting a steamer 120 miles to the navigable Albert Nile south of the Fola Rapids. The attempt failed through the hostility of neighbouring tribes and resultant lack of porters. Baker pressed on with his troops alone and did in fact reach Masindi in Uganda. But his achievements fell far short of establishing any sort of understanding with King Mutesa of Buganda. Most seriously, he entirely failed to establish good relations with the Bari and neighbouring tribes, reverting to force when co-operation was not forthcoming, and thus making impossible the establishing of peaceful relations on which any sort of development depended. "Control over scattered stations remained extremely slight; the few neighbouring village communities … accepted the new alliance, but beyond them

hostile and violent relationships continued unchanged."[11] "The foundation of a powerful and widely recognised administration involved problems of a far more complex nature than his previous analysis had led him to believe. These problems remained to greet his successor."[12]

[8] *Ibid p.87.*
[9] *Ibid p.88.*
[10] *Ibid p.91.*
[11] *Ibid p.103.*
[12] *Ibid p.104.*

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The influence of Charles George Gordon

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His successor was Charles George Gordon. In comparing Gordon with his great contemporaries such as Cromer and Kitchener, it has to be said that he was never and 'establishment' man. That is to say, he is not looked upon as a man who was the embodiment of an official policy. His appointments were of course always official and of increasing importance. But having been appointed, he carried out his duties in a highly individualistic way, so that he is remembered for his own individualism and not for any official policy of which he was the instrument. This was of course often highly embarrassing, indeed exasperating, to those to whom he was answerable. He was basically a brilliant professional soldier. Yet he was no mercenary, offering his services for purely personal gain or for the sheer love of adventure. He was a man of high principle, motivated by the highest possible ideals, as was recognised by his highly motivated opponent, the Mahdi. His motivation was unquestionably a personal faith in God as revealed in Jesus Christ. His handbook was the Bible, which he received as the Word of God to him. He placed himself daily under the judgement of the Word of God. Because he was such a 'loner', his interpretation of the Bible was as individualistic as his professional behaviour, lacking the correctives of other interpretations as perceived by those with other backgrounds and perhaps deeper scholarship.

Nevertheless, in his own way he walked with God, and this seemed to give to his personality an integrity and transparency which shone through him in such a way as to win loyalty and inspire courageous action. Certain it is that it was the force of his character which stirred the British nation at his death in a way that few have equalled and inspired the church in Britain to launch the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission. If this book is about the beginnings of the Church in the Sudan, it is to Gordon that we must look as the inspiration of its beginning. His faith has been admirably expressed by Charles Chenevix Trench in his biography 'Charles Gordon' (Allen Lane 1978, p.61): "It was while studying the Bible as he dressed for dinner that his attention was caught by I John 4.15, 'Whosoever confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in him and he in God.' Suddenly it flashed upon him, as a blinding revelation, that he had discovered a jewel of priceless value. The more he thought about it, the more significant it seemed. It was God's indwelling in man that distinguished Christianity from other religions, not bad in themselves but lacking this truth. Gordon felt it with the utmost intensity; it gave him confidence and comfort in all circumstance; it armoured him equally against praise and derision; it made him respect the dirtiest little scuttler, the most drunken old reprobate – so long as they confessed that Jesus was the Son of God – as a temple in which God dwelt." More succinctly, Gordon's character is accurately summed up in the epitaph inscribed on his monument in St Paul's Cathedral: "C.G. Gordon – who at all times and everywhere gave his strength to the weak, his substance to the poor, his sympathy to the suffering, and his heart to God."

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Gordon's connection with the Sudan originated from a meeting in Constantinople in 1972 with one of the Khedive Ismail's leading statesmen, Nubar Pasha, who asked Gordon if he could recommend an Engineer Officer to succeed Baker. This was followed by a firm offer to Gordon himself, which he accepted on 5th September 1873. In accepting, he had no grandiose imperialistic ambitions but simply a desire to make some contribution towards the pacifying of a troubled area, to fight the slave trade, and to be engaged in active service. After a flying visit to Gondokoro to assess the situation, Gordon prosecuted with his customary energy the task of establishing a line of stations along the course of the White Nile from the Sobat Junction to Lake Albert and beyond. By November 1873 he had established 11 such posts, creating a firm line of communication and making it possible for his own men to pass to and from with safety. The local people began to feel that they had nothing to fear from the newcomers, and their grievances would be listened to and that justice

would be done. But Gordon was only too aware that vast areas away from the river were totally unoccupied except by northern traders from Dongola who pursued their own ends. He came to the conclusion that "Europeans in this situation were ultimately little more than spectators of a social process over which they exerted but little influence."[13] He wrote: "As far as Dufile and I may say Magungo, the roads are safe and I can do nothing more, for I cannot govern not knowing the language, and even if I did, I could not expect to change the habits of the officers etc. or of the natives. I feel it would be better for them to work out the problems of how to live together by themselves. I look upon any improvement in either as being quite hopeless and at any rate I do not see how in any way I can better either party by a longer stay."[14] However, he pressed on with the task of extending Egyptian power as far as the Great Lakes. His able lieutenant, Romolo Geesi, succeeded in taking 1000 porter-loads of iron boats and stores from Gondokoro to Dufile, beyond the Fola Rapids, where a steamer began to be assembled and from which point Gessi explored Lake Albert, discovering that the Nile entered the Lade through its north-east corner. Gordon's emissaries, Chaille-Long and de Bellafonds, both reached Rubaga, the capital of King Mutesa of Buganda, but were outwitted by that wily monarch. Already in much closer touch with the traders of the Sultan of Zanzibar, he made advances to Britain through the explorer Stanley, which resulted ultimately in the British occupation of Buganda. Feeling he had achieved little, and that he could do no more, Gordon reported back to Ismail in Cairo on 3rd December 1876, determined to end his service in the Sudan. Ismail, however, knew his man, and by exerting moral pressure on Gordon to complete the task of suppressing the slave trade, he persuaded him to return and in January 1877 appointed him Governor General of the whole Sudan.

[13] *Ibid p.112.*

[14] *Ibid p.112.*

During his three years as Governor General, January 1877 to December 1879, Gordon was absorbed almost entirely in the affairs of the Northern Sudan. The Egyptian dream of an empire extending to the Great Lakes began to fade as the consequences of Ismail's excesses began to be felt. In 1878, however, Gordon appointed as Governor of Equatoria Edward Schnitzer, a Silesian Jewish doctor, who had seen service in the Ottoman Empire, had become a Muslim and had adopted the name of Emin. Gray describes him thus[15] "Short-sighted, small and cultured, vacillating when confronted with

the need for action, and completely enthralled with the opportunities for botanical, zoological and geographical research, Emin, with his tolerance, generosity and easy friendliness, though not a man to command a decisive imperial offensive, was well qualified for his role as mediator." And again[16]: "Throughout his time in the Sudan, he observed the practice of Islam and, marrying a Galla woman, his sole surviving connection with Europe was the scientific and geographical periodicals to which he contributed his scrupulously exact observations. He was a man far better attuned than most Europeans to work under a Middle Eastern government in Africa." His aim was to broaden the economy of the Southern Sudan and make it less dependent on the export of ivory. He experimented with the growing of rice and introduced maize, coffee, cotton and sugar. More importantly, he established contacts with the Acholi, the Azande and the Dinka, thus extending the influence of the government well beyond the isolated river stations established by his predecessors. By 1881 he was able to report a surplus of £5-6,000 of income over expenditure. Although large areas remained un-administered, Emin was perhaps more successful than anyone else in enabling the tribes of the South to begin to come to terms with the impact of Western civilisation.

[15] *Ibid p.136.*

[16] *Ibid p.138.*

It is said that Gordon hated living in Khartoum.[17] He was essentially a man of action, most at home riding round the country on a camel, dealing with problems on the spot. "He hated shoddy pomp and ceremony, the dusty palace with its long colonnades and verandahs, its punkahs flapping the stale air; he detested the paperwork and the international petitions which he could not understand. He was not a great ruler; he had immense energy, a dynamic personality, a spirit of dedication; but besides being ignorant of the language, he lacked the experience of administration and of governing a Muslim people which were essential for the governor general."[18] Using once again his lieutenant the Italian Romol Gessi, he struck a crushing blow at the slave trade by the capture and execution of Suleiman, the son of Zubair, who had attacked the garrison of Deim Idris, killing Idris Atbar, Gordon's appointee as Governor of Bahr el Ghazal, and declaring his independence of the Khartoum government.

[17] *Chenevix Trench, Charles Gordon, Allen Lane 1978, p.135.*

[18] *Ibid, p.136.*

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His attacks on corruption, however, won him few friends. "A reluctant admiration rather than a tepid 'respect' or fulsome 'love' perhaps describes the Sudanese feeling for Gordon. It was there, without a doubt, showing clearly even in the Mahdi's correspondence with him. Most Sudanese were of warrior race, valuing courage very high among human virtues, and Gordon's courage was unquestioned and unquestioning. Warriors are always susceptible to the elusive, indefinable quality of leadership which he surely possessed. Most of them were Muslims, with a zeal always on the edge of fanaticism. No doubt they resented having a Christian as their governor general, but they would prefer a devout Christian, worshipping God with open piety albeit with grievous errors, to one who had no religion at all. Moreover, this Christian, unlike many, did show a proper respect for Islam."[19]

[19] *Ibid, p.159.*

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It is likely that Gordon was admired more for what he was than for what he did, more for minor, humanitarian reforms than for great administrative changes. No one could have done more for the Sudan, in the colonial context, than Kitchener, who was moreover a fluent Arabic speaker and Near East expert. But when, as part of the Independence celebrations in1953, the statues of Kitchener and Gordon were triumphantly overthrown, the slighting of the former passed without comment, but the injury done to Gordon's memory was widely resented by the older people of Khartoum. In later years this most common judgement on Gordon by old Sudanese who remembered him was, 'He was a man of God.'[20]

[20] *Ibid, p.160.*

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On 15th November 1875, a letter dated April of that year appeared in The Daily Telegraph, written by H.M. Stanley from Rubaga, the capital of King Mutesa of Buganda, challenging the Christian world to send a Christian mission to Uganda. It was followed two days later by an anonymous letter addressed to the General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, saying, "The appeal of the energetic explorer Stanley to the Christian Church from M'tesa's capital, Uganda, taken in connexion with Colonel Gordon's occupation of the upper territories of the Niles, seems to me to indicate that the time has come for the soldiers of the Cross to make an advance into that region. If the Committee of the Church Missionary Society are prepared at once

and with energy to organize a Mission to the Victoria Nyanza, I shall account it a high privilege to place £5,000 at their disposal as a nucleus for the expenses of the undertaking."[21] CMS responded as follows: "That this Committee, bearing in mind that the Church Missionary Society is primarily commissioned to Africa and the East, and recognising a combination of providential circumstances in the present opening in Equatorial Africa, thankfully accepts the offer of the anonymous donor of £5,000, and undertakes, in dependence upon God, to take steps for the establishment of a Mission to the vicinity of Victoria Nyanza, in the prayerful hope that it may prove a centre of light and blessing to the tribes in the heart of Africa."[22]

[21] *Eugene Stock, History of the Church Missionary Society, Vol.III, London 1899, p.95.*
[22] *Stock III p.96.*

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On 27th April 1976, the first party set sail from Southampton and by 30th May they had reached Zanzibar. Of the eight who set forth, two, Shergold Smith and C.T. Wilson, reached the court of Mutesa on 30th June 1877. On 19th March 1878, news reached CMS headquarters that Smith had been murdered and only Wilson remained. He was joined by Alexander Mackay in November 1878. A decision was then taken to send a new party to Uganda by the Nile route. Gordon had been in England and had offered to assist any who might be sent that way. He wrote to the Revd Henry Wright, General Secretary of CMS, "I will engage to send up safe any persons you may wish to send, to secure you free passage for letters, etc., and to do this free of cost within my government … DON'T SEND ANY LUKEWARMS!" At the same time, he urged CMS to open up a mission on the north-western shore of Lake Albert.

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The Uganda party of four left England in May 1878 and sailed for the Red Sea port of Suakin. Of these four, three went on by camel from Suakin to Berber on the Nile, and thence to Khartoum, where they were received warmly by Gordon: "On going to the palace at two o'clock, of course the guard turned out and several kavasses ushered us upstairs, and in a long corridor we saw a table laid for lunch and a little man in his shirt sleeves walking about. I took him for the butler. On looking through the open doors opposite I saw a very splendid divan with a round table in the middle, on which was a bunch of flowers; several looking glasses on the walls. But on catching sight of us the 'butler' rushed up and said 'How d'ye do. So glad to see you; excuse shirt-sleeves, so hot! Awful long voyage. I'll make a row about it. Are you very angry with me?" A hearty grasp of the hand to each, a

piercing glance of small sharp eyes accompanied this flow of words spoken in a clear, sharp but pleasant tone of voice. Yes! It is he indeed, the liberator of the slaves, the ruler of a country half as big again as France, the Chinese Gordon! We have had some glorious talks with him which have strengthened me. I only wish I could stay with him longer."[23] Gordon went on to say, "I want you to like my people, not to look on them as utterly evil. Mr Wright has, I daresay, told you my views about missionaries. They must hate father, mother and their own life also. You are sure to succeed if you will utterly trust HIM. You have counted the cost and embarked on your work. You must go through with it. Are you missionaries? So am I!"[24] (CMS MSS Gordon to Uganda party 28.5.1878) One of the party wrote of Gordon, "In him Central African Missions have an earnest, self-sacrificing friend."[25]

[23] *Pearson Gen Sec CMS, 8.8/89, Stock III p.103.*

[24] *CMS Miss Gordon to Uganda party, 28/5/78.*

[25] *CMS Miss Pearson to Hutchinson, 15/8/78.*

In April 1879, the Khedive Ismail was at last faced by his creditors, and under pressure from Britain and France was deposed by the Sultan of Turkey. He was succeeded by his son, Tewfik. Gordon determined to resign and proceeded accordingly to Cairo, where he was persuaded by Tewfik to undertake one final mission to Abyssinia to settle a dispute over the Egyptian claim to the province of Bogos. In December 1879, Gordon left Egypt, expecting never to return. In May 1881 Mohammed Ahmad ibn Abdullah proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Expected One, the God-guided One. When Muslims became dissatisfied with the worldliness of their rulers, some clung to the idea of a future deliverer who would restore Islam to its pristine purity. Conditions in the Sudan were ripe for such an idea. Mohammed Ahmad ibn Abdullah was the leader thrown up by the times. "A simple sufi protesting against the worldliness and oppression around him could accomplish nothing. But once convinced that he was the Mahdi, the divinely appointed leader proclaiming the millennium, the masses obeyed his call and swept triumphantly through the land."[26]

[26] *Spencer Trimingham, Islam in the Sudan, Oxford 1949, p.151.*

In September 1881, the same year, Arabi Pasha led the miliary coup in Egypt which compelled the Khedive Tewfik to install a government

of the army's choice. Nine months later, the British fleet bombarded Alexandria in support of the Khedive and in September 1882, Wolseley defeated Arabi Pasha at the battle of Tel el Kebir. Britain thus began an occupation of Egypt which lasted 70 years and which involved responsibility for the Sudan. John Donald Hamill-Stewart was sent to assess the situation in Khartoum and wrote a very comprehensive report on all aspects of life in the Sudan. He ended by saying, "I am not altogether sure that it would not in the end be best for all parties if the Mahdi or some other leader were successful, and the Egyptians compelled to restrict their territory to the right bank of the White Nile."[27] By September 1883, victories by the forces of the Mahdi in Kordofan and the revolt by Osman Digna in the east, closing the Suakin-Berber route on which Khartoum depended for supplies, made it clear that the only course left was to evacuate Khartoum. On 24th November 1883 the suggestion was made in London that the man best fitted for the task was Gordon. After some hesitation, Baring, now in control in Cairo, approved his appointment on 16th January 1884.[28] Gordon asked for Stewart as his staff officer, and on 18th January they were on their way. "He took a cab to Charing Cross. Lord Granville bought his ticket, Lord Wolseley carried his bag down the platform, the Duke of Cambridge opened the carriage door for him. He had forgotten his uniform-case, which was brought along just in time, and his money, so Wolseley pressed on him his gold watch and chain and the cash in his pockets. Then the train pulled out of the dimly lit station, carrying Gordon and Stewart to their deaths."[29]

[27] *Chenevix Trench p.192.*
[28] *Ibid p.200.*
[29] *Ibid p.206.*

The events leading up to Gordon's death on 26th January 1883 are so well known that they need not be recounted here. What concerns us is the effect of his death on the beginning of the Church in the Sudan. It was a time of considerable missionary fervour in England. On 4th February 1885, a great meeting took place at Exeter Hall, London, to say farewell to the 'Cambridge Seven' before they left for China as missionaries of the China Inland Mission. These were a group of young men who had dedicated their lives to Christ as a result of the Moody Missions to Oxford and Cambridge in 1882. They were led by C.T. Studd, Captain of the Cambridge cricket XI, and Stanley Smith, stroke of the Cambridge boat. The influence of such a group of men responding to the claims of the foreign mission field was very great.

In December 1884, Stock relates how a CMS secretary was at breakfast at Ridley Hall, Cambridge, and asked the Principal how far the fruits of Moody's work remained. "The Principal ran his round the long table at which some 30 theological students, all graduates, were sitting, and then gave the answer, 'Si monumentum requiris, circumspice'. I think there is not one man here whose life was not influenced, more or less, by Moody's Cambridge Mission."[30] The Valedictory Meeting of the Cambridge Seven was followed on 24th March 1885 by another great meeting at Exeter Hall, this time sponsored by CMS and YMCA. "The whole body of the Hall was kept for young men and the platform for parties of young men from the Universities, from Islington and Highbury Colleges and from London Banks Prayer Union. The first speakers were Canon Hoare and Mr Handley Moule (Principal of Ridley Hall and later Bishop of Durham). After these came Mr Moule's Vice-Principal of Ridley Hall, Philip Ireland Jones, who only six weeks earlier had been accepted by CMS as a missionary for India. And then four missionaries: Henry Townsend, with his 40 years of African experience behind him; John Piper, who pleaded that Japan might not be forgotten; Hughes of Peshawar; and Pearson of Uganda, to tell of his sojourn with Gordon of Khartoum. Indeed, the memory of Gordon almost dominated the meeting, and when the four missionaries had done, E.A. Stewart roused the meeting to the utmost enthusiasm by advocating a Gordon Memorial Mission to the Eastern Sudan."[31]

[30] *Stock III p.284.*
[31] *Ibid p.318.*

The Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission

The first step toward the opening up of a Sudan Mission was taken when General Haig, a prominent member of the CMS Committee, undertook an exploratory journey to the Red Sea area in 1886. On the Arabian side of the Red Sea, he visited Hodeida in Yemen, and Aden, where, as we have seen, Dr F.J. Harpur was sent to open up a medical

mission. On the African side of the Red Sea, however, the records simply say that General Haig visited Suakin but found the way into the Sudan was 'barred for the time." (Stock III p.521). The Mahdi had died on 22nd June 1885, only five months after the death of Gordon. His Successor, or Khalifa, was 'Abdallahi ibn Muhammad, a member of the Ta'aishi tribe, and therefore known as 'Abdallah at Ta'aishi. The reign of the Khalifa 'Abdallahi is remembered as a period of oppression and constant warfare, bedevilled by disease and famine. It may be that 'Abdallahi was "less of a malevolent despot and much more the prisoner of his circumstances."[32] He had first to establish his own position in the face of rivals who had been allies under the Mahdi. Secondly, he was occupied in the pacification of Darfur to the west, and with frontier disputes with the rulers of Abyssinia to the east. Thirdly, due to the law enforcing the sudden emancipation of slaves in 1889 and 1890, he faced a devastating sequence of bad harvest, famine and epidemic. And lastly, he became a victim of the European 'scramble for Africa'. The Belgians began to advance across the Nile-Congo Divide. The French planted the tricolour on the Nile at Fashoda. The Italians had captured and occupied Massawa in 1885 and established control over Eritrea but were defeated by King Menelik of Abyssinia in March 1896 at Adowa. Wishing to distract the forces of the Khalifa from an attack on the Italian flank at Kassala, the British, now in control in Egypt, made an advance with Anglo-Egyptian forces into Dongola. Thus began the re-conquest of the Sudan by Sir Herbert Kitchener. Dongola was occupied by 1896. A railway line was pushed across the Nubian Desert, and Abu Hamad fell in July 1897 and Atbara in April 1898. On September 2nd 1898 the Khalifa threw in all his reserves in a desperate battle six miles north of Omdurman in the area known as Karari. The Sudanese suffered heavy casualties, Kitchener's disciplined troops won a great victory and the Mahdist state in the Sudan came to an end.

[32] *P.M. Holt, A Modern History of the Sudan, London 1961, p.108.*

As Kitchener advanced steadily up the Nile and the dream of the re-conquest of the Sudan became a reality, the CMS Committee in London resolved, in June 1898, "to go forward (into the Sudan) as soon as the door might be opened."[33] On September 12 the Committee went further. "Secretaries were authorised to arrange for two missionaries of the Egypt Mission whom they considered most suitable to hold themselves ready to proceed to Khartoum as soon as possible." A Nottingham vicar, the Revd Ll. H. Gwynne, had already offered for the Sudan and it was proposed to send him, the Revd

Douglas Thornton and a medical missionary."[34] In December of that same year, Kitchener himself was in London and was at once approached by the President of CMS and three of its leaders with a view to receiving permission to go forward. It was refused. The situation in the Northern Sudan was considered to be far too sensitive to allow the new government to be seen to link re-conquest with any suggestion of proselytisation. There was no objection, however, to missionaries being allowed to proceed to begin work among the pagan tribes of the South.

[33] *Stock III p.748.*

[34] *Stock Iv p.105.*

A year later in September 1899, restrictions were partially lifted. Traders and others were allowed to proceed to Khartoum and on November 2nd, Llewellyn Gwynne left England to go with Dr F.J. Harpur of Cairo to Khartoum, though forbidden to speak to Muslims on religion. "They gladly seized the opportunity and found useful occupation in making acquaintance with the country and its people. Gwynne found a sphere also in ministering to the British soldiers, and the first Christian service ever held in the city was the service on Christmas Day held in the building which had been the Mahdi's house. The Coptic Christians also sought the help of the missionaries. A Bible Society colporteur was allowed to open a bookshop; but notices were put up forbidding any attempt to change the religion of the people."[35] Dr Harpur returned to Cairo at the end of 1900 and was replaced by Dr A.C. Hall and his wife. Permission was given to start medical work in Omdurman, again provided that there was no attempt to proselytise. Dr Hall carried on for two years during which Gwynne wrote of him, "he is a living epistle, read, loved and esteemed by the Sudanese." And later, "The work he accomplished was the breaking down of prejudice and the softening of the hearts of the people."[36] He died in 1903 but his widow, who was Eva Jackson of the Egypt mission, continued working with her sister Lilian Jackson until her death in 1924, while Lilian carried on until she retired in 1948.

[35] *Ibid p.106.*

[36] *Ibid p.107.*

Gwynne also found himself ministering to several hundred Coptic men, women and children and to over 200 Abyssinians, and it was for these people that Gwynne was given permission, in July 1902, to open

the first school for girls. This was the result of a visit to the Sudan of Lord Cromer in January 1902. He and Sir Reginal Wingate, who had succeeded Kitchener as Governor General of the Sudan, had been on a trip to the White Nile during which they had visited the American Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Missions among the Shilluk. Gwynne hoped desperately that permission would at last be given for him to begin missionary work among the Sudanese people for which he had come to the Sudan. H.C. Jackson, in his book 'Pastor on the Nile'[37] describes how Cromer concluded a speech at a great banquet to celebrate their return, by saying, "But I do not think that the time has yet come when mission work should be allowed in the Muslim part of the Sudan". Gwynne wrote, "It seemed to me at the time as if someone had smacked my face in public". However, next morning Gwynne delivered to the Palace a letter pleading his cause and waited apprehensively for an appointment later in the day. After explaining at some length the reasons why the government would not agree to the opening of missionary work in the Northern Sudan, Wingate said that there was one part of Gwynne's letter with which Lord Cromer had agreed. Gwynne would be allowed to open schools in Khartoum on behalf of CMS or any other society. "You know," concluded Wingate, "this is a very great concession on the part of Lord Cromer." Gwynne wrote, "I came in the Palace garden and tears welled up in my eyes as I realised what this good news meant – no less than the opening of the Sudan missionary work."[38] This was followed on 23rd December 1904 by a letter from Lord Cromer to the General Secretary of CMS in London: "The time is still distant when Mission work can, with safety and advantage, be permitted mong the Muslim population. There is no objection to the establishment of Christian schools in Khartoum, provided that parents were warned that instruction in the Christian religion is afforded. The case of the more southern provinces of the Sudan is widely different. In these regions, not only is there no reason for imposing any restrictions on missionary enterprise, but the Sudan Government would welcome the co-operation of missionaries in the work of civilisation now being undertaken. An American and also an Austrian Mission are already established in the Sudan, the former on the Sobat river, the latter on the White Nile, a short distance south of Kodok. The Austrian Mission has already established five mission stations in the district lying west of the Nile. A large and populous district is still unoccupied. No permissions will be given (to any other mission) until a sufficient period has been allowed to lapse for your Society to consider whether it wishes to occupy the extensive field now thrown open to it."[39] CMS responded as follows: "The Committee have accepted the responsibility of your Lordship's suggestion and are

preparing to undertake such a Mission at as early a date as possible."[40] There followed at the same time a public notice which read as follows:

[37] *H.C. Jackson, Pastor on the Nile, SPCK, London 1960, p.64.*

[38] *Ibid p.67.*

[39] *CMS Mss 23/12/1904 with map attached indicating area in question.*

[40] *CMS Miss H.E. Fox to Cromer, 27/1/1905.*

A NEW CALL FROM THE HEART OF AFRICA

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Gordon's invitation renewed

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Letter from Lord Cromer

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Twenty-seven years have elapsed since General Gordon, when Governor General of the Sudan under the Khedive of Egypt, appealed to the Church Missionary Society to send a mission to the pagan tribes on the Upper Nile, promising all possible help. Twenty years have elapsed since Gordon's heroic attempt to restore order ended in his deeply lamented overthrow and death in Khartoum. Within a few weeks spontaneous contributions began to pour into CMS to establish a Gordon Memorial Mission to the city of his martyrdom and to the Muslims by whose hands he dies. But for 13 years the Mahdi reigned in the Sudan and the door was shut. Six years have elapsed since the great victory of Omdurman opened the way to British rule and influence, and now the Pax Britannica prevails over the whole vast territory from the Mediterranean to the Equator. In due time, moving step by step in obedience to the cautious policy of the Government, the Society was enabled to post missionaries to Khartoum. The American Presbyterians have gone up the White Nile and established an excellent Industrial Mission in one district. For two years past Lord Cromer at Cairo and the Sirdar (Sir Reginald Wingate) at Khartoum have been expressing their desire to see British Missions established among the pagan tribes. Lord Cromer has now actually pointed out a definite field for such a Mission and invited CMS to undertake it. Such a mission should be industrial, medical, educational, linguistic and evangelistic."[41]

[41] *CMS Mss Jan 1905.*

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The admission of Christian missionaries to the Southern Sudan and their subsequent role in education has sometimes been represented as part of a deliberate policy by the British to separate the South from the North. This view misunderstands and underestimates the motivation of the missionary societies of the 19th and 20th centuries. Religious revival in the West in the 18th century produced, as we have seen, a zeal to make the good news of the love of God in Christ known to all men everywhere. This message is in itself unexceptionable, and zeal for its propagation needs no apology. It may have been proclaimed sometimes insensitively and even with mistaken arrogance. But the message itself and zeal in spreading it are in themselves nothing to do with British imperialism and its expression in the Middle East. True, in the person of General Gordon political power and religious zeal were embodied in one person. And the re-conquest of the Sudan gave rise in England to emotions which were both political and religious. But the emotions were focussed on the whole Sudan, not only on the South. The desire was to proclaim

the love of Christ to the whole Sudan, not only to the South. The new administration, in its wisdom and for very good reasons, restrained this religious zeal in the North. But there was no good reason why they should do so in the South. So the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission came into being. Inevitably, southerners became Christian and it became natural that they should be taught to read and write and be trained for Christian leadership. In other words, it was inevitable that Christian missions were pioneers in education in the South and for this the hard-pressed administration was grateful. Of course such education was Christian. At elementary level, great pains were taken to give such education in the language of the people, the main tribal languages, and only at intermediate level, in an inter-tribal situation, was it given in English. So there grew up in the South a generation of young men and women who were products of an educational system which was different from that in force in the North. It was the result of the historical situation which existed at the time. In strategic Christin terms, it was an opportunity which was seized. In political terms, it highlighted the problem of the integration of diverse races and cultures into a single nation. It was a problem which existed from the beginning. To the problem was now added the factor of a new religion – Christianity. But it must be insisted that this matter of religion cannot be seen merely in terms of administrative convenience. Religion cannot be imposed by political power. Men make their free response in their search for truth, and in the Sudan and elsewhere that search can continue as men's basic freedoms are preserved by a truly democratic government.

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The arrival of the first party of missionaries in Khartoum and their departure for the South is described by H.C. Jackson.[42] "The party consisted of three clergy – Archibald Shaw, F.B. Hadow and Arthur Thom (a doctor), E. Lloyd (an agriculturalist), J. Comely, and a technician, R.C.J.S. Wilmot. They purchased a 60-ton 'gyassa' – a two-masted sailing boat – and Wilmot converted it into a houseboat which would serve as a dwelling until they were able to build their first mission station. They stocked it with everything they could conceivably need, including two cows, a calf, a cock and hens, and a pair of turkeys. It was decided that Thom would stay behind to carry on duties in Khartoum, thus enabling Gwynne to travel with and lead the party. They were seen off by the Governor General and Lady Wingate and a large crowd of people on 8th December 1905. Sometimes they got stuck on sand banks. On these occasions, Jackson describes how the sailors, who came from Dongola, would haul on ropes, synchronising their efforts to the same ageless chant: "Haili Allah, Haili Isa", meaning "Help me God, Help me Jesus", and

wonders if this cry for help might have been handed down from father to son since the days when Dongola was Christian.[43] Having called in at the government post at Fashoda and the American Presbyterian Mission station at Doleib Hill, the party faced the miseries of exposure to the insect life of the Sudd – mosquitoes, serut flies, scorpions, cockroaches. "There had been little to see", writes Jackson[44] who got most of his material from Gwynne's letters to his mother, "except for a few natives paddling their precarious reed rafts or standing on one leg beside the river, and myriads of birds no larger than sparrows. Gwynne called to mind the words of Isaiah 18 1,2: Woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia: that sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; to a nation meted out and trodden down, whose lands the rivers have spoiled". A patch of dry land was reached at Shambe, later to be used as the river port for the mission stations established among the Cic, Agar and Gok Dinka. Not far away was the abandoned Roman Catholic Mission at Holy Cross, now known as Kanisa, meaning 'church', where no less than 15 Roman Catholic missionaries had laid down their lives. On 6th January 1906 the party reached Bor, the government post among the Bor Dinka, where they were entertained by the British District Commissioner and where they learnt that Dr Albert Cook, of CMS Uganda, had arrived at Mongalla. He had walked the 600 miles from Mengo in Uganda to Mongalla to welcome the party from Khartoum and give them the benefit of his experience. The Governor of Mongalla Province, with Dr Cook and Gwynne, chose as the site for the first mission station a place called Malek, nine miles south of Bor.

[42] *Jackson ch.7.*
[43] *Ibid pp.77,78.*
[44] *Ibid p.82.*

Mission stations are, or should be, sited first and foremost in relation to the people they are meant to serve. Given that first essential and with due regard for such things as water supply and communications, it is reasonable to choose a place which appeals to the aesthetic sensitivities of those who, far from their native land, are unlikely to enjoy many of the amenities to which they are used, and have to rely for hours of relaxation on what the local environment has to offer. It cannot in all honesty be said that, in that sense, Malek had much to offer to the first missionaries of the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission, or indeed to those who succeeded them. The environment of the

Dinka has been described by anthropologists as 'harsh'. Like the whole Sudan, it is hot. Being on the banks of the Nile, it is humid. Swamps being not far away, there are more mosquitoes to the cubic foot than in most other places in Africa, and of a ferocity and size which only the most determined protective action can keep at bay. The soil is what is known as 'black cotton soil', a morass in the wet season, and of a hard, gritty consistency in the dry season, the ground contracting into sections separated by deep cracks liable to split the foundations of any but the most solidly constructed buildings. White ants hungrily devour any building material other than the hardest timber, convincing the early pioneers that only iron-framed buildings raised three feet from the ground were really safe. Gardens are liable to be trampled underfoot by herds of elephant, requiring stout fences or zarebas or palisades constructed of the most deterrent thorn to protect them. An environment as harsh as this cannot but breed a people correspondingly tough in order to survive, ready to accept only such changes in their way of life as will stand the test of time and will be to their undoubted advantage. And what goes for the people of the land goes for the missionaries who are bold enough to live among them. Only the toughest survived. The sacrifices made by the early Roman Catholic missionaries have already been described. After two years, only Shaw was left, and the CMS General Committee minuted on 30th January 1908, "For this Wet Season, there is no alternative to allowing work to be closed down", and Shaw was ordered to take his furlough without delay.

Gordon had written in 1997, "There is no possible reason against a mission station (in the Southern Sudan), but it is a most deadly country and very few could possibly stand the climate – it is only fit for a man who is sick of life, has no ties, and longs and yearns for death. Now these men are not common."[45]

[45] *Gordon Hewitt, The Problem of Success: A History of the Church Missionary Society, 1910-1942, Vol.1, SCM 1971, p.331.*

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In no way could Archibald Shaw be described as a man who was sick of life. He revelled in it. In the pioneering situation of the Southern Sudan he found a wonderful field for the expression of his zeal for every aspect of life – his love for people, his love for his Lord; his determination to master Dinka language, communicate the Gospel through it and translate the Bible into it; his deep interest in the beliefs and customs of the Dinka people; his knowledge of the flora and fauna of the country; his awareness of the vast area entrusted to

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CMS for the establishing of the church, and his unshakeable determination that nothing would prevent him and his colleagues from achieving this aim. It was this unshakeable determination which left people with the impression that he was belligerent. Certainly that is the impression gained simply from research into his correspondence with CMS Headquarters. It was forceful, blunt and to the point, mounting an argument so that it finally took the form of an ultimatum. But he had reason to be a fighter. There was first the battle for personal survival. As he saw colleague after colleague having to leave the field, for one perfectly good reason or another, it is not difficult to imagine his absolute determination to continue. He was blessed with a find physique. At Bromsgrove School, one can imagine him in the second row of the scrum – the boiler house, as they say in the trade, the place where power is generated, the power to shove back the opposition and give not an inch of ground.

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In the correspondence of those early days is the illuminating comment, "We have noticed that Mr Shaw is spending at least part of his time apart from the rest of the party and is living alone."[46] Perhaps this was for anti-social reasons. More probably he wanted to be alone with his Lord and fight the pressures which he felt as much as, if not more than, anyone else. As he assumed the responsibility of Mission Secretary, he had to fight for recruits and for a fair share of the CMS budget in days when retrenchment was being called for. As Archdeacon, he had to deal with a Government which was itself faced with an enormous task and was sometimes critical of and impatient with the feeble efforts of a missionary society in its anxiety to see rapid progress in the 'civilisation' of a backward area of the country under their control. And as the work expanded to other tribal areas more responsive to the Gospel than the Dinka, he had to fight off proposals that the Dinka work should be given up as unproductive. But even though he had to wait 15 years for the first Dinka convert, his integrity and courage won him a place in the hearts of Dinka people which no one is likely to equal. "Shaw's face lit up as he spoke of a token of this acceptance which he had received from his Dink friends – a 'bull name'. When a Dinka boy reaches manhood he is given, or acquires, a bull of his own with which he identifies himself closely, and a new name, taken from the coloration and markings of the beast. On important occasions, or when the Dinka want to be complimentary, they address a man by his bull name. 'Macuor' (pronounced Maichuor) denotes the colour of an eagle, a grey dun not uncommon among Dinka cattle, but, as years went by, the name came to be reserved for a single human being, Archdeacon Shaw."[47] If Gwynne was the master-builder of the Anglican Church in the whole

of the Nile Valley, it is to Archibald Shaw that the Church in the Southern Sudan owes its existence, under God, and it was under his strong guiding hand that it began to take shape. He retired in 1939 to Kenya, where his many friends visited him and enjoyed his warm hospitality, his uproarious humour and his all-consuming love for the people of the Sudan he had served so faithfully and so well.

[46] *CMS Mss Hadow to CMS Secretary, Oct 12, 1906.*
[47] *Jackson p.118.*

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The Laying of the Foundations

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The groundwork for the planting of the Anglican Church in the Southern Sudan was accomplished in five stages, covering five main language areas. The word ‘groundwork' is used quite deliberately. While this book may seem to be a recital of the deeds of men, the actual bringing into being of a living church is the work of the Holdy Spirit. “After all, what is Apollos? What is Paul? We are simply God's agents in bringing you to the faith. Each of us performed the task which the Lord allotted to him: I planted the seed and Apollos watered it; but God made it grow. Thus it is not the gardeners, with their planting and watering, who count, but God who made it grow.” (I Corinthians 3 5-7)

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The first mission station, as we have seen, was established among the Dinka. The word ‘Dinka' is an Arabic adaptation of the word ‘Jieng' by which the Dinka describe themselves. They number about 900,000 and occupy a strategic area stretching from east to west south of the Sudd and with a northern section based on Melut. Their country is traversed by a number of rivers which flow into the Nile. Their whole wealth is contained in their great herds of cattle whose pastures are the vast grassy plains knows as ‘toc', pronounced ‘toich'. As the rains cease in November, the Dinka move from their homesteads on higher ground to live in cattle camps on the open grass plains, gradually moving towards the main Nile as the dry season progresses, returning

to their homesteads as the rains fall in March or April. They may therefore be considered to be nomadic people, moving with their cattle, living in the open under temporary shelters for many months of the year. The cattle camps are well away from the few existing roads, extremely difficult to reach unless one is prepared to live and move with the Dinka under the prevailing conditions.

It is not difficult to conclude that people living in such exposed conditions were likely to be extremely religious, that is to say, should pay great attention and respect to the supernatural powers which governed the natural forces to which they were exposed and over which they had no control. Thus, the first missionaries did not have to invent a word for 'God'. They were not entering a spiritual vacuum. The word 'nhialic', translated literally 'in the above', was easily identified as 'the heavenly one', and it would be natural for the Dinka to speak of 'nhialic was' – God my father; or 'nhialic aciek' – God the Creator. They go on to recognise lesser deities such as 'deng' – associated with the rain on which they were so dependent; 'garang – associated with the sun and also with the first man; 'abuk' - associated with the harvest, and with woman.[48] Relations between humans and God are regulated by a system of offering or sacrifices. "Animal sacrifice", writes Lienhardt[49] "is the central religious act of the Dinka, whose cattle are in their eyes the perfect victims." "An important feature of sacrifice is that the people for whom it is made exact the death of a victim which in important respects represents themselves, in order to survive that death."[50] And in relation to sickness: "It is not necessary for the validation of belief in sacrifice that a particular sickness which sacrifice is intended to avert should be immediately cured, or even cured at all. For when sacrifice is made, the victim dies while the patient still lives, and his life, however weak, remains life in relation to the death of the victim. A Dinka sacrifice is in part, therefore, a drama of human survival."[51]

[48] *Godfrey LienhSeligman ardt, Divinity and Experience: The Religion of the Dinka, Oxford 1961, pp.28,83-97.*
[49] *Ibid p.10.*
[50] *Ibid p.296.*
[51] *Ibid p.297.*

During a period of 10 years living among the Dinka, the writer once found himself in the midst of an epidemic of smallpox. There was little faith among the Dinka in the programme of vaccinations being

caried out by the Ministry of Health. A man, a good friend of the writer, died. His relations at once had recourse to sacrifice to protect the rest of the family. A bull was slain, its blood collected in a gourd and sprinkled on the man's wife and children, thus, it was believed, checking the spread of the disease. A short time after this incident, the writer found himself one Sunday preaching in Dinka at a village school at Palual, between Virol and Shambe. Remembering the incident of the sacrifice a few days previously, he chose as his text the words from the Epistle to the Hebrews, "For if the blood of goats and bulls … have power to hallow those who have been defiled and restore their external purity, how much greater is the power of the blood of Christ; he offered himself without blemish to God, a spiritual and eternal sacrifice; and his blood will cleanse our conscience from the deadness of our former ways and fit us for the service of the living God." (Hebrews 9 13,14). His audience was at first a teacher, a few boys and their relatives. But they were soon joined by a party of young men coming from the cattle camp who leaned on their spears and listened. It might be supposed that a sermon on an abstruse theological theme such as this would arouse little interest of understanding among so-called 'primitive' people probably hearing the Christian message for the first time. But there was total attention. "You could have heard a pin drop." The concept of sacrifice as atonement for sin was there already. The new thing, the news, the good news, was that the Divinity himself had become man, and as man, had offered himself as a victim, "bearing the sin of many".

Perhaps most striking of all is the Dinka legend which the writer learned from the Agar and which is reported also by Lienhardt[52], describing the relationship between men and God. The legend tells how a rope extended from earth to sky, by which men could communicate with God. God granted one grain of millet per day to the first man and woman, and this was to be sufficient for their needs. The woman, however, was not content and decided to pound more than the permitted quantity of grain, and so offended God, who withdrew himself and severed the rope by means of a small bird 'atoc' (pronounced 'atoich'), who chewed it through. So, from that day to this, men have been separated from God, have forfeited the benefit of his daily provision, and have had to labour for the food they need, suffering sickness and death. It is not difficult to see in the legend a similarity to the story of the Fall of Man in Genesis 3 and thus a preparation for the good news of the God who restored man's lost relationship by the coming of his Son as mediator between God and man. It was the discovery of these traditional beliefs by Archdeacon

Shaw, among Protestant missionaries, and by Fr Nebel of the Roman Catholic Mission at Wau, which spurred the missionaries forward to spread the Christian Gospel among the Dinka.

[52] *Ibid p.33.*

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Shaw returned from home leave in 1908 bringing with him W.H. Scammel, who played an important part in maintaining Malek as the base from which the mission operated, giving to Shaw the freedom he needed to explore further the area allotted to CMS by Lord Cromer. Shaw and Scammell were joined in September 1910 by C.A. Lea-Wilson, and in 1911 by H.F. Davies, A.F. King and K.E. Hamilton, an Australian. As early as 1907, Shaw had explored the Aliab Dinka country on the west bank of the Nile opposite Malek in company with Gwynne and Angus Cameron, Governor of Mongalla Province.[53] Then in 1911 Shaw accompanied Gwynne and C.T. Studd on a memorable journey from Rumbek to Maridi and Yei, in the area known as the Lado Enclave.[54] But, as Lea-Wilson wrote,[55] "Permission to open a station in the Lado Enclave … was suddenly withdrawn. We therefore turned to the north-west instead of the south-west, and after crossing the river (White Nile) Mr Shaw and I travelled inland 110 miles to Rumbek. It was decided, however, to return to Lau."

[53] *Ibid p.91ff.*
[54] *Jackson p.114ff.*
[55] *Hewitt p.333.*

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Lau was a clearing a few miles north of Yirol, where there was a small government post among the Cic (pronounced Cheech) Dinka. Lea-Wilson began work there in February 1912 and was soon joined by Hamilton. They continued there for eight years, opening a dispensary and laying the foundations of basic Christian teaching, making use of written material from the Bible and Prayer Book by this time available. But evidently the results were disappointing and missionaries were withdrawn in 1920. Seed, however, had been sown and when the writer came to work at the newly opened Dinka Education Centre at Panekar, on the banks of the Lake Yirol, in 1950, he found at Lau a group of converts and was able to maintain there an outpost of the Christian church.

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It is clear from the records that the work among the Dinka was extremely uphill. The first 12 years produced but a single convert, John e Thor, baptised by Archdeacon Shaw at Malek on 17th September 1917. In June 1981[typo??? 1918 perhaps?], Shaw noted in a letter that both King and Scammell considered Dinka work at times not worthwhile. King resigned in February of that year and Scammell a year later, "because of various family considerations and in view of having completed 10 years of service in the Sudan."[56] Discouraging though those years must have been, their service was not in vain. In 1920 it was in fact suggested that the Dinka work should be taken over by the Sudan United Mission, an offer which they were unable to take up, resulting in a decision that missionaries should be withdrawn from both Lau and Malek "unless effective occupation become possible". Shaw, however, never abandoned Malek and in spite of his growing responsibilities in other areas, continued steadily in the translation of the Scriptures into Dinka, and in the personal influence he exerted on promising young men who were devoted to him. This was to bear fruit in the years ahead.

[56] *Ibid p.336.*

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"Early in 1910 Bishop Gwynne became interested in the possibility of extending the area of Anglican mission to a stretch of country know as the Lado Enclave. It was an area lying between the Nile-Congo watershed and the White Nile south of latitude 5 degrees 30. By an agreement signed by Great Britain on behalf of Egypt in 1894 it had been leased to the Congo Free State on condition that it would revert to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan on the death of King Leopold II of Belgium. Leopold died in December 1909 and the Enclave was due for incorporation into Mongalla Province of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the autumn of 1910"[57] At about that time, it happened that C.T. Studd made it known that he was interested in opening up missionary work in the heart of Africa. C.T. Studd was one of the Cambridge cricket XI, scored a century against the Australians while still at university and was a member of the England XI which was beaten for the first time by Australia, giving rise to the following epitaph published in the Sporting Times: "In affectionate remembrance of English cricket, which died at the Oval on 29th August 1882, deeply lamented by a large circle of sorrowing friends and acquaintances. RIP. NB the body will be cremated and the ashes taken to Australia." That winter, Studd went to Australia with the MCC. They won two Test Matches out of three and received from some Melbourne ladies some ashes in a silver urn, which have been

competed for ever since. Studd was an absolutely indomitable character. He was by now 51 years old and had been dogged by ill-health for 15 years. But once convinced that God was calling him to Africa, as He had called him to China, nothing could stop him. He arrived in Khartoum in January 1911 and found himself held up for some weeks. He was warmly welcomed by Bishop Gwynne and these two very different, very strong men became great friends. Encouraged by the Governor General, Sir Reginald Wingate, who was anxious that missionary work should be established in the southern part of the Bahr el Ghazal, Gwynne and Studd left Khartoum on March 11. They were met by Archdeacon Shaw at Rumbek on 3rd May and together they travelled by mule and on foot to Maridi, and then to Yei on the Lado Enclave. On any reckoning, it must have been a remarkable journey, not least because of the remarkable characters who were involved. H.C. Jackson describes the journey in chapter 10 of his 'Pastor on the Nile', recounting some of the bizarre events which took place. As a result of the journey, Studd decided not to open up work in an area which CMS were obviously well placed to occupy, but to go further afield into the Congo. He returned to Africa with Wilfred Buxton in 1913, approached the Congo from East Africa and founded the Heart of Africa Mission. In the course of their work, they made use of a simple language, Bangala, used by the Belgians for commercial purposes. Though at first despised by the linguistic purists, it came to be used by missions on a very large scale, and was the language used by Paul Gibson when he came to open up work at Yei in 1917.

[57] *Ibid p.332.*

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In 1912 the attention of CMS in London was drawn to the Azande people, occupying the area knows as the Nile-Congo divide, by W.G. Bradshaw, who had been considering the formation of a special new missionary society for the evangelisation of these people. About the end of the sixteenth century, waves of invaders are believed to have come from the region of the Mboumu and Chinko Rivers, tributaries of the Congo, into the Nile-Congo watershed. During the nineteenth century they moved further east towards the tributaries of the Bahr el Ghazal. They were a proud people who met the slave traders on their own terms, refusing to be pressed into service as porters or servants. The Azande were warriors and agriculturalists and lived a settled existence in isolated family homesteads set in dense vegetation. Under the Avongura, they operated a well-organised political system of their own over a wide area and of a type quite unknown among the separate clans of the Dinka. The last independent sovereign among

the Azande was Gbudwe (Yambio), who was killed in 1905.

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Shaw was home on leave in England when agreement was reached between Bradshaw and CMS for the evangelisation of the Azande. He at once began to plan for a start to be made. "If a start is to be made in Yambio this year, mules and carts for transport must be ordered at once."[58] Returning from leave, Shaw and Hamilton, with a party of young Dinkas, trekked from Malek to Lau and from Lau to Maridi, arriving there on 3rd February 1913. Maridi was first choice for a station among the Azande, but sleeping sickness regulations put it out of bounds. The party therefore pressed on to Yambio, arriving there on 13th February 1913. Work began at once on clearing the dense tropical forest, and Shaw stayed on until the first buildings were erected. He returned to Malek in mid-April, leaving the new station in the hands of Hamilton and Clive Gore, who had arrived in March. Hamilton stayed on for a further year and then left at his own request, leaving Gore to lay the foundations of the work, on which he built for the next 25 years.

[58] *Ibid p.325.*

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The Azande are said to number two million, of which perhaps 185,000 are in the Sudan, the rest being in Zaire and the Central African Republic, called in those days the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa. Their traditional beliefs were studied by Seligman in his 'Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan', London 1932, written up by Professor E.E. Evans-Pritchard in his book 'Witchcraft and Magic among the Azande', OUP 1937, and referred to by Professor J.S. Mbiti in his 'African Religions and Philosophy', London 1969. From these sources we may say that the Azande believe in a supreme being who is creator, sustainer and judge. Man has a special position among created things. He was provided by God with the art of magic and the knowledge of making medicines, and it is these magical forces which regulate man's daily existence. The Azande do not deny or shut their eyes to natural causations but see the hand of witchcraft and the power of magic behind everything that happens. Witchcraft is a power which is inherited, not acquired. It works as a sending, a projection, a spiritual influence, which strikes through the spirit of the victim producing physical disability. Magic, on the other hand, can be performed by any person, with prescribed material, according to a definite ritual. Witch doctors, contrary to common belief, are friends of the community, whose business it is to combat witchcraft and magic. They are trained in the knowledge of herbs, leaves, roots, fruits,

bones, feathers, shells, etc, prescribing mixture to counteract the particular manifestation of witchcraft or magic. The consulting of oracles to determine a right choice of course of action is a recognised social procedure, to be carried out on traditional lines.

It was a condition laid down by the Sudan Government that 'some useful trade' should be taught on every mission station. The party which opened the first station at Malek included the technician Wilmot. S.L. Ewell came out in March 1914 as an 'industrial agent' to Yambio. He was destined to give long service in the Sudan, first as a skilled craftsman, and then as a paster among the Nuer. By April 1917, Shaw was able to report "Yambio station has developed wonderfully in the two years since I was here last."[59] He spoke of a beautiful little church and a congregation of 55 on Easter Sunday. By 1919 there were 30 catechumens, and on Easter Sunday 1919 the first three Azande were baptised. Three years later, the first 22 were confirmed by Bishop Gwynne. The lifting of the sleeping sickness regulations enabled the Revd William Haddow and H.F. Davies to be posted to Maridi, to open the second station among the Azande in 1922. A promising start ended in tragedy when Haddow died of blackwater fever on 28th January 1924. W.H. Scamell has described how the news of Haddow's illness came to Dr Fraser at Lui: "Dr Fraser rushed off to Maridi one day in January 1924 on the receipt of a pencilled note from his friend saying he head blackwater fever. Fraser himself was ill, but he pushed off on his motorbicycle along the forest path. After getting some 30 miles along the road the fever became so bad that he was unable to control the bicycle, so he had to abandon it. However, he pushed on, carried by porters in relays all night and all the next day, arriving on 30th January 1924, to find that Haddow's call had come on the 28th."[60] It was considered unwise to leave Davies on his own, so he was transferred elsewhere and Maridi remained unstaffed for several years. The work at Maridi was later revived, first by the Revd and Mrs Fred Laverick and then by the Revd and Mrs Arthur Riley, and in 1933 All Saints Church, Maridi, was consecrated in memory of William Haddow.

[59] *Ibid p.335.*
[60] *A Pioneer in the Sudan, CMS.*

The lifting of the sleeping sickness regulations opened the way for work to be begun at Yei among the Bari-speaking people. The Bari are believed to have come originally from an area south-east of their present territory.[61] Linguistically, they are related to the Masai and

Nandi of Kenya. The true Bari lived along the east and west banks of the Nile south of the Dinka, and we have noted how they were the first of the Southern tribes south of the Sudd to be contacted by traders and administrators from the North. They were originally a pastoral people, occupied in tending their cattle, but may now be regarded as "presenting a transitional stage from pastoral to agricultural society."[62] The Bari language, however, is spoken by tribes west of the Nile – the Mandari, Nyangwara, Fajelu, Kakwa and Kuku – who may have been formed by the Bari moving west and meeting tribes from the Nile-Congo Divide moving east.[63] Within the Bari area are the foreign settlements at Province Headquarters, first at Mongalla and then at Juba. Seligman writes[64] that he has been unable to formulate the religious beliefs of the Baris as clearly as those of the Dinka, the difficulty being in the apparent duality of the supreme being. There is, like the Dinka, belief in one like 'nhialic – in the above', called in Bari 'ngun lo ki – ngun in the above'. But there appears also to be a belief in 'ngun lo kak – ngun below', and it is difficult to distinguish between the two. 'Ngun lo ki' is appealed to in relation to rain, the appeal being made through 'rain makers', who occupy an important place in the life of the tribe. 'Ngun lo kak', on the other hand, is responsible for cultivation, and prayers related to the crops are addressed to him. As well as belief in a supreme being, there is belief in spirits – 'mulokotyo'. Everything animate or inanimate (including hills, trees, etc) possesses a 'mulokotyo', which in the case of man survives death, frequenting the bush, and also the grave, of the deceased.[65] If the rainmaker (matat lo piong) is supreme in ensuring an adequate rainfall, the 'father of the land' (monyekak) is responsible for performing the appropriate sacrifices to ensure success in agriculture or hunting. Clearly, rainmaker and 'father of the land' work close together in maintaining good relations with the spiritual powers for the wellbeing of the tribe.

[61] *C.G. Seligman, Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan, London 1932, p.14.*
[62] *Ibid p.242.*
[63] *Ibid p.18.*
[64] *Ibid p.274.*
[65] *Ibid pp.275,276.*

The work among the Bari was begun at Yei in 1917 by Paul O'Bryan Gibson. Each of the pioneers had his own particular gift. Shaw will be remembered for his fighting qualities which enable him to refuse to admit defeat in the face of overwhelming odds. Gore was the gentle pastor who fathered his flock and established a strong centre. Gibson

was, par excellence, the evangelist, who concentrated not on buildings but on people, and established among the Bari, and later when he was Archdeacon, throughout the whole church, the principle of the evangelisation of a tribe by their own people. A sentence from Hewitt's CMS History gives us the clue:[66] "In 1924 there were 40 boys in Yei boarding school, and already two old boys had opened 'bush' schools in their own villages." "They went forth and preached everywhere" was the Biblical pattern established by the first disciples and faithfully maintained by the Bari church. And having themselves preached to their own people, it was insisted that they should put up their own church building; and if they wanted a resident evangelist or pastor, they should themselves support him. So a truly indigenous church – self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating – came into being. In this sense, Gibson was the man who established the truly indigenous nature of the church in the Sudan and drove its roots deep into the soil of the country. A second Bari station was opened in 1920 at Juba, at that time a small village on the west bank of the Nile 10 miles north of Rejaf. C.A. Lea-Wilson opened the first boys' boarding school for boys of all tribes who had graduated from their elementary schools into the next stage of education. Lea-Wilson was invalided home in 1924 after 13 years of valiant pioneer service. He was succeeded by the Revd Gordon Selwyn. By 1937, Juba had become a main river port and was to become the administrative headquarters of Equatoria Province. The school was therefore transferred in 1929 to a more suitable site at Loka, 70 miles south-west of Juba and 3000 feet above sea level. Juba continued as a mission centre and the first church was built there in 1932. In due course, Juba became the administrative centre for the church and the site for a cathedral. In 1929 a third Bari station was opened at Kajo Kaji, 100 miles south-east of Yei, among the Kuku tribe.

[66] *Hewitt p.338.*

From the point of view of mission strategy, it will be seen that a gap now existed between the Dinka to the north, the Azande to the south-west, and the Bari to the south. Since 1914, Shaw had been anxious to occupy this area, but it was not until December 1920 that Dr Kenneth Fraser, his wife Eileen and his sister-in-law Alice arrived at Lui to work among the Moru. The Moru are one of a group of small tribes that lie between the Dinka to the north and the Azande to the south-west. Their possible origins are described by Richard Gray as follows:[67] "Waves of Sudanic-speaking people, driven from the area south of Lake Chad and the Chari River, had entered the Wele basin. There, finding that the dense belt of equatorial forest presented an

impenetrable barrier to the south, they had been deflected north-eastwards and forced into the south-western area of the Southern Sudan by the continual pressure of fresh invading waves. Linguistic considerations[68] suggest an ancient common origin of the Bongo-Baka and Moru-Madi groups who were the first Sudanic-speaking people to infiltrate into the area of the River Wele long before the 16th century. In the succeeding centuries they were forced north-eastwards until they stretched in an unbroken line from the Madi in Northern Uganda, through the Moru, Bongo and many other smaller groups on the ironstone slopes of the south-western Sudan, to the Kreish in the Dar Fertit area south of Darfur."

[67] *Gray p.14.*

[68] *A.N. Tucker, The Eastern Sudanic Languages, Vol 1, London 1940, pp.40-54.*

Kenneth and Eileen Fraser chose Lui as the site of their mission station because Chief Yilu welcomed them and because there was a permanent water supply nearby. In the centre of the station is a large tree of the Ficus family which had served as a resting place for slave caravans in the past. This tree, called Laro, now became the place where the Moru people gathered to hear the Good News of Christ. Handley Hooper, Africa Secretary of CMS, was to write in 1937:[69] "The work at Lui bore the impress of singular imagination and genius and spoke volumes for the vision and devotion of the Frasers in planning its scope and execution." Kenneth Fraser had the sort of magnetic personality which inspired loyalty and brought forth the best in those among whom he worked. This quality found scope in his role as healer, preacher, teacher and administrator in the service of Christ among the Moru. Attracted as men were to him personally, he pointed them to Christ and his own personal submission to Christ as Lord was quickly recognised and followed by the Moru people. They came to him to be healed in body and found wholeness in Christ. His disciplined life seemed to find a natural response from the Moru, who were themselves a compact, disciplined people with strong loyalties to their own leaders. The area was systematically occupied by a network of dispensaries cum schools cum churches based on chieftainships, which followed identical routines and were linked to the centre by a regular system of reporting. The first baptisms were held on 27th February 1926, when Archdeacon Shaw baptised eight boys, including among them Dawidi Manyango, Andarea Apaya, Samwele Kajivora, Matayo Warile and Deniele Perongwa, all of whom played significant roles in the growth of the Moru church. The Moru area is comparatively small, but occupies a strategic position geographically, with roads radiating out north, west and south. Moru Christians have

travelled far and wide and wherever they have settled, Christian churches have sprung up. They have been key people in the spread of Christianity outside their own tribal area into the far corners of the Sudan. It seemed natural that this should be the strategic area for the location of the theological college serving the whole church in the Sudan, Bishop Gwynne College, Mundri.

[69] *Hewitt p.340.*

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The fifth main tribal area included in the sphere assigned to CMS was that of the Nuer.

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Archdeacon Shaw kept detailed notes of his exploration of the Western Nuer in his search for a suitable site for a mission station.[70] The Nuer tribe was estimated at the Rejaf Conference at 430,000. Of these, 100,00 live partly or wholly in the sudd-land either side of the Bahr-el Jebel, as the main stream of the Nile in this region is called, and fall within the CMS sphere. The remainder of the tribe lie to the north and east, where the Italian Catholic Mission and the American Presbyterian Mission have already begun work." Capt V.H. Ferguson, know as 'Fergi Bey', had spent some years in courageous attempts to pacify the Western Nuer without a display of force and had acquired a great influence among them. But in 1927 they killed him, together with a Greek trader, at Lake Belek. His memorial reads: "AWARAQUAY. In memory of Vere Henry Ferguson, OBE, Captain, Scottish Rifles, D.C. who was killed on this spot December 14th, 1927. By those for whom he lived and died." (Awaraquay was of course the 'bull name' given to him by the Nuer).

[70] *South of the Sudd. The Magazine of the Diocese of the Upper Nile, 1929-34.*

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The normal way of approaching the Western Nuer is by boat. The Nile steamer calls at Adok, which is no more than a made-up mud jetty pushed through the papyrus to form a steamer landing place. Twenty miles inland from there, in a north-westerly direction, is Ler (pronounced Lair), the site chosen for the first Nuer station of CMS.

But the discovery of Ler was made by a journey undertaken by Archdeacon Shaw overland from Akot. Shaw left Akot by lorry on 13th February 1930, with domestic staff plus headman Eli Ayom from Malek, dispensary Ithaka Chagou, and Nuer guide Madol. The road petered out at Paloich, 40 miles north of Akot, so Shaw proceeded on horseback, with loads carried by Agar Dinka porters. "We dipped into marsh with long unburnt grass, the narrow path growing muddy and then ankle deep in water. Old Morwel led the way and was soon stumbling in the wet patch. It was still more difficult for the horse whose every step was an exertion. It was wonderful how the Agar Dinka carriers with their loads got along at all in the mud and water and overhanging grass." Shaw trekked right through to Adok, about 170 miles north of Akot, where he met Mr Coriat, the District Commissioner. In April two further visits were paid to Nuer land, this time by steamer to Adok, and on the second of these visits Ler was discovered and selected as the best site. S.L. Ewell later described Ler as follows:[71] "Before coming here, this place was described as a mound which would probably be above flood level in the rainy season, and our first experience of a wet season here has fully justified the description. One of the first things to do on arriving at Ler was to climb to the top of the mound, about 10 feet, to view the surrounding country from the summit and the panorama which opened to our view repaid the exertions of the climb(!). As far as the eye could see stretched miles of plain open country, broken only by homesteads dotted over the landscape and with here and there a palm tree to break the monotony of the skyline. Cattle were to be seen in scattered herds grazing as contentedly and peacefully as the flies would permit." The writer can testify to the peculiar beauty of the Nuer countryside as viewed from the mound at Ler. Archdeacon Shaw describes the Nuer homesteads as "certainly some of the most wonderful in Africa". They are very large, holding cattle as well as people, and dome shaped, the framework being made of stout bands of reeds or durra stalks, which can be bent to shape in a way that bamboos cannot. The complete lack of timber, however, meant that all building materials had to be imported when the time came to erect western-style buildings.

[71] *Ibid, April 1933.*

The mission station at Ler was finally opened up and occupied by S.L. Ewell and Dr H.H.W. Bennett in 1932. Ewell must go down in history as the fifth pioneer in the planting of the church in the Southern Sudan. Known universally as 'Yuli', or by the Nuer as plain 'Ul', he came out first as a skilled technician to Yambio in 1914, where he

helped Clive Gore to put up some of the splendid buildings to be found there, and to train the artisans who carried on the good work. In 1918 we find him at Lau, preparing timber to be shipped up the Nile to Juba for the new station to be built there. In 1920 he established the Technical Department, which formed one branch of the multi-tribal intermediate school at Juba, later to be transferred to Loka, and which was to become the first place of higher education for the five tribal areas served by CMS. On 31st May 1931, after a period of theological training, he was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Leicester. And in January 1932 he was entrusted with the task of planting the church among the Western Nuer, together with Dr Harry Bennett. Bennett was transferred in May 1935 to Uganda, where he did notable work for many years as superintendent of Ngora Hospital. Ewell remained as the sheet anchor of the work at Ler until his retirement in 1952. In May 1933, Bennett brought his bride, Isabel to Ler, and in October of that year she wrote:[72] "Till last week we lived in Mr Ewell's house, and when we arrived there was only a roof to our house and nothing more. I laid the first brick soon after I arrived and gradually the walls began to grow. I laid quite a number of bricks until the walls became too high for me to reach. My husband and I are alone here for four months while Mr Ewell holds the fort at Malek. The rains here have come and we are living by a swamp with the frogs making a deafening noise and the mosquitoes buzzing round at night. Our only way to the Nile now in case of emergency would be by trekking. But we are busy trying to make a garden in the wilderness in more ways than one."

[72] *Ibid October 1933.*

The American United Presbyterian Mission had for many years been working among the Eastern Nuer from their station at Nasir on the river Sobat. Glowing tribute is paid to their work by Professor Evans-Pritchard in his classic anthropological work 'The Nuer', OUP, London 1940. A large gap existed between Nasir to the east and Ler to the west in the Nuer country, and this gap was filled in 1936 by the opening of a new CMS station at Juaibor, on Zeraf Island. This work was undertaken by the Revd R.S. Macdonald and his wife Dr Katherine Macdonald. They had already done pioneer medical, educational and evangelistic work among the Agar Dinka at Akot. They now placed all their considerable skills and experience at the service of the Nuer. Among the less hospitable locations, Malek had its river and Ler its picturesque landscape of dome-shaped huts and palk trees, to relieve the discouragements and physical discomforts arising from swamps, mosquitoes and a sense of isolation. Juaibor had

no such amenities to commend it. "The country is virtually swamp for half the year", wrote Macdonald. "During the rains, we only get about by wading." "From a European's point of view," wrote Evans-Pritchard, "Nuerland has no favourable qualities."[73] Within three years, the Macdonalds had erected a house for themselves and for their guest worker Nora Lancaster, a school and a hospital – a considerable feat, considering the lack of building material and reluctant labour. Charles Bertram, who succeeded the Macdonalds in 1940, wrote, "To look at, the house appears rather like a dilapidated haystack. Neither it nor any other building is permanent. Inside, the house, however, is really quite comfortable and surprisingly spacious." By the time they were transferred to the Nuba Mountains in 1940, the Macdonalds had begun to win the confidence of the Nuer, had acquired a knowledge of the language and begun to produce written material for use in schools. Charles Bertram, who with his wife Dr May Bertram followed the Macdonalds, wrote a remarkable series of letters to his brother Dr G.C.L. Bertram, of St John's College, Cambridge, which give a vivid picture of the sheer physical demands of the work, from the time of their arrival at Juaibor in January 1940 until 8th April 1945, 10 days before his tragic death from blackwater fever. Charles and May Bertram had worked for several years in Omdurman, Charles as CMS Mission Secretary and May at Omdurman Hospital. They had mastered Arabic and loved the Northern Sudanese. In 1939, CMS was facing serious financial difficulties, and Charles Bertram felt himself "obliged to suggest that we should be transferred from Omdurman to the Nuba Mountains". In the event, the Macdonalds were sent to the Nuba mountains and the Bertrams replaced them at Juaibor. "Naturally after having worked with the Northern Sudanese for so long – May for four years, I for six – we are very sorry indeed to leave and say goodbye to so many who have become real friends in Omdurman." They agreed to go to Juaibor for five years. At the very end of that period Charles Bertram literally wore himself out in the service of the Nuer and paid for it with his life.

[73] *E. Evans-Pritchard, The Nuer, 7th printing, USA 1974, p.50.*

On 15th May 1944, Charles Betram had written, "For long we have felt that Juaibor is not the right place for the Mission Station for this District. Its main objection is the great lack of water. We are now making definite recommendations to our Committee to change the site to a point on the Zeraf River". The point chosen was Wang Lel, near the Government post of Fangak. The buildings at Wang Lel were put up by Charles Bertram with the help of Canon Ewell. May

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Bertram bravely carried on after Charles' death and moved to Wang Lel with Joan Bradford at the end of 1946. In June 1947, Wang Lel was taken over by the American Mission and staffed by Dr and Mrs Adair, Dr and Mrs Gordon and an agriculturist, Juaibor remaining as an outstation. May Bertram and Joan Bradford were transferred to Lui and May Bertram was still to give many years of service at her beloved Omdurman.

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"The Nuer is a product of hard and egalitarian upbringing, is deeply democratic, and is easily roused to violence. His turbulent spirit finds any restraint irksome, and no man recognises a superior. That every Nuer considers himself as good as his neighbour is evident in their every movement. There is no master and no servant in their society but only equals who regard themselves as God's noblest creation."[74] The part that the Nuer were destined to play in the emergence of the Sudan as a modern democracy can be judged from these words. Those who went to share the rigours of their way of life, and to prepare them for the modern world, were performing a service the importance of which they could have had little idea. To those who gave their all in the administration, education, health care and evangelisation of the Nuer, the Sudan owes an incalculable debt.

[74] *Ibid p.181,182.*

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The five tribal areas having been occupied by the five pioneers – Shaw, Gore, Gibson, Fraser and Ewell – the positions were gradually strengthened by the arrival of further missionary recruits – the Rileys and Lavericks among the Azande, Selwyn and Finch among the Bari, Phillips and Casson among the Moru, Arnold and Leonard Sharland among the Dinka, the Manwells among the Nuer, and Giff, Martin, the Prices and Charles and Freda Sharland at the Intermediate School at Loka.

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The next significant advance in the building up of the church was through education. K.D.D. Henderson, in his book 'The Making of the Modern Sudan', London 1953, p.106, writes of the special difficulties experienced by the Sudan Government in administering the South. Speaking of Southern tribes, "It took the Government every bit of 10 years to win their confidence or even their submission. Naturally enough, the men who won that confidence wanted to reward it with the material benefits of schools and hospitals and resented the Central Government's control over the purse strings. Naturally enough, too, the Central Government could spare little money for the South when the needs of the North itself were so great. The gap was filled to a certain extent by the Christian missions, which had penetrated far ahead of he administration in the old Turkish days and returned after the re-occupation to renew their efforts. They gave the Southerner, apart from religious teaching, what he would otherwise never have had for years to come – schooling and healing. The educational subsidies paid to them were from the Government's point of view a good investment, and those who were critical of their educational standards should remember that the alternative was no education at all." A.G. Hickson, Resident Inspector of Southern Education, describes in his report to the Juba Conference on Education in April 1933 how "missionary societies started schools in the Southern Provinces from 1904 onwards. After 1918, officials of the Education Department visited the Southern Provinces to investigate educational problems, but it was not until January 1926 6hat Mr Hussey launched the new scheme which based on co-operation between Government and Mission." The first Government grants were paid to missions in March 1929 in respect of seven Elementary Vernacular Schools in the CMS area, at Yei, Lui, Maridi, Yambio, Malek, Kajo Kaji and Loka. The grant consisted of £150 per year for the European missionary in charge, plus initial building grants."[75] By 1937, the Government Education Department was beginning to see that "financing station missionaries without any

special equipment in educational method to pay half-time attention to schools in addition to their other multifarious duties … was not a success."[76] It was therefore prepared to offer double grants (£300 instead of £150 per annum) to missionaries with educational qualifications who would make the care of schools their first task.

[75] *Hewitt p.344.*
[76] *Ibid p.344.*

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The first of this new breed of missionaries were G.G. Earl and R.S. Macdonald. Macdonald saw the relation of education to church growth as follows: "Bring up children as the family of God and train them for citizenship of the kingdom of heaven. That is the policy of the CMS in the Southern Sudan, and the policy endorsed and supported by the Government … There is no better way of influencing a people than by gathering the children into a boarding school; there is no better way of learning a language than by trying to teach in it; there is no better way of understanding the mind of a people than by studying their attempts at self-expression; there is no better way of understanding the Scriptures than by prayerfully trying to translate them; in short, there is no better way of evangelization than through elementary education." R.S Macdonald and his doctor wife Katherine were outstanding pioneer missionaries, opening new stations at Akot in 1929 among the Agar Dinka of the West Banks, at Juaibor in 1936 among the Nuer, at Zeraf Island and finally at Katcha in 1939 among the Nuba of Kordofan, every move meaning the learning of a new language, the starting of medical and educational work in remote areas among conservative and highly independent people.

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The establishing of elementary schools in the tribal areas, in the tribal language and within the tribal environment, was one thing. Establishing an intermediate school, later to develop into full secondary, serving boys of different tribes, most of them away from their tribal environment, was quite another. Earl described the feeding-system for the Nugen School (as the intermediate school was called) at Loka as it was working in 1937. Each of the 11 CMS stations at that time had an elementary school in which teaching was given in the group language. Each year the cream of these schools was sent to Loka, two boys to the Nugen School and one to the Technical Department. The Nugen School aimed to provide teacher for elementary schools, clerks, dispensers, interpreters, stenographers, agricultural and sanitary supervisors, also some heirs to chiefdoms.

Earl described Loka as a "Tower of Babel with 112 boys speaking about 25 different languages, 'as different as Greeks and Icelanders … as lacking mutual respect as Germans and Jews"[77] Geoffrey Earl was an enthusiast who burned himself out in a comparatively few years, having achieved his aim of establishing a Christian boarding school on the lines of an English Public School, in his case Monkton Combe. In addition, he was Education Secretary of the mission and as such, it was he who inspired confidence in relations between mission and Government, both among the administrators and with the Department of Education, laying the foundations for happy co-operation between mission and Government in 1957 and beyond. The confidence he inspired as Education Secretary was maintained and increased by his successors, Christopher Cook and Victor Ravensdale. It was the writer's privilege to serve with Geoffrey Earl for seven years. The school was seen as the training ground for the leaders of the future in the Sudan, and its aims were succinctly summarised by the then Governor of Equatoria, Mr Martin Parr, when he took as his text for a sermon in the school chapel: "Brethren, ye have been called into liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another." Galatians 5 13.

[77] *Ibid p. 345.*

Perhaps even more important than the education of boys in relation to the building up of a church is the education of women and girls, with its vital role in the creation of Christian homes. From the beginning, the wives of the pioneers had started classes for women and girls and these laid the foundation on which, when the time came, a system of girls' schools evolved. In 1940 Miss Nora Ainley, Principal of Gayaza Normal School and Inspector of CMS girls' schools in Uganda, came with her Ugandan colleague Debola Walusimbi to the Southern Sudan to organise girls' education among the tribes served by CMS. Margaret Collard had been at Lui as a guest of the Frasers since 1936, teaching women and girls. Helena Lines came to Yambio in 1940, followed by Nora Holt. Marjorie Coombs and Kathleen Webb came to Yei. So under the guidance of Nora Ainley and under the leadership of these qualified educationists and those who followed them, girls' education on a regular basis began and flourished among the Moru, Azande and Bari. It was not until the 1950s that it was possible to locate Monica McClintock to the Dinka area and by that time the initiative had passed to the Government, who started a school for Dinka girls at Tonj. Girls' education among the Nuer was established by the American Presbyterian Mission at Nasir.

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Writing in 1945, Spencer Trimingham, in his World Dominion Press Post War Series No, 4, 'The Christian Church in Post-War Sudan', p.17, wrote: "The Director of Education, addressing missionaries on Government educational policy, said that in his opinion it was in the natural order of things for Sudan to pass through three stages of educational evolution. The first stage was that during which education was a virtual monopoly of the Mission; the second where the State begins to take a share in educational development; and third, when education becomes primarily the responsibility of the State, with a firmly established Church playing its part in the spiritual life of the whole people." After 20 years of happy co-operation between Government and Mission in education, Stage 3 was reached in 1957, when the Government announced its intention to take over all schools.

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The rise of Sudanese nationalism may be dated from 1938, with the formation of the Graduates' General Congress in Omdurman, with Ismail al Azhari as its Secretary. On 3rd April 1942, a letter was addressed to the Civil Secretary, Sir Douglas Newbold, asking that the British and Egyptian Governments should issue a joint declaration granting the right of self-determination to the Sudan directly after the end of the War (Worl War II). On 15th May 1944, the Governor General, Sir Hubert Huddleston, inaugurated the Advisory Council, which included 28 Sudanese members. In June 1947, leading Southerners, at the Juba Conference, accepted the idea of a united Sudan, and in November 1948, elections to the Legislative Assembly were held, in which Northerners held 52 seats and Southerners 13. In 1950 the first steps towards educational integration of the South with the North were taken when the teaching of Arabic was introduced into all school above elementary level, and Southern students were to be sent for further education to Gordon College, Khartoum, instead of to Makerere College, Uganda. On New Year's Day 1956, the flags of Egypt and Britain finally came down and the Sudan achieved independence. Thus it came about that the writer, in February 1957, found himself, as Education Secretary of CMS in the Sudan, attending a conference in Khartoum called by the Minister of Education, Sayed Ziada Arbab, at which the takeover of mission schools by the Government was announced.[78] It was of course a traumatic experience to be the actual instrument by which mission schools were surrendered to the Government. The past 20 years had been a time of fulfilment for the mission educationists, who had enjoyed the challenge of laying the foundation of a sound system of education for the peoples of the Southern Sudan. They were conscious of playing a

significant part in the growth of a new nation. They were now asked to surrender that work to others. It was in fact the writer's happy experience to hand over his own responsibilities for schools in the Dinka area to a former pupil, colleague and friend, Yithak Wel Lual, who by reason of his birth and training was better fitted to run schools among his own people than any foreigner. It was therefore not so much a surrender as an advance, with the Government ready at last to shoulder responsibilities which were rightly theirs, setting free the Church to fulfil a new role in the equipping of teachers to teach the Christian faith, and in the pastoral care of both teachers and pupils, within the framework of the state school system.

[78] *A full record of the proceedings is to be found in Beshir Mohammed Said's The Sudan – Crossroads of Africa, London 1965, p.91ff.*

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It is of course believed by the followers of any religious faith that the community is in some sense a 'household of God'. The body of believers, it is held, came into being not by human persuasion or as a result of human organisation, but in some sense by the operation of God. The object of the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission of CMS, therefore, was to be the instrument by which there came into being a truly indigenous church, held together and sustained not by external support but by a genuine and widely held experience of the living God by faith in Jesus Christ. The time had now come for the testing of that experience. This was the period of transition from foreign mission to indigenous church all over Africa. Was the Church in the Sudan ready for the change? If this faith had been propagated by the preaching of the Gospel to people in their own tongue, among those who responded were there those who were equipped for leadership and felt themselves called to the ordained ministry of the church? Were there those whose gifts were recognised by their own people and in whom the responsibilities could safely be vested?

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If the church had been brought into being by God, it would seem that He called forth potential leaders in the church in the Sudan in three ways: (i) through the personal influence of the pioneers; (ii) through that movement of the Spirit known as 'revival'; (iii) through the healthy, thriving life of a well-established church.

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In these days of formalised theological training it is good to reflect on the place of personal influence and 'in-service training' in the preparation of leaders in the early stages of a new church. Our Lord chose 12, that they might be with him and that he might send them forth (Mark 3 14). The personal influence on these men of the life and character of Jesus over a period of three years must have been incalculable. Later, Barnabas had his John Mark, Paul his Timothy, Archibald Shaw his Daniel Deng Atong and Kenneth Fraser his Andarea Apay. Daniel Deng Atong was a Mandari orphan placed in the care of Archdeacon Shaw. While he was attending the elementary school at Malek, he was a member of Shw's household. So he gained not only from what the school had to offer but from what he observed of Shaw's life and character. Not least, he had unusual opportunities to acquire a knowledge of the English language, which gave him access to the treasures of English literature. In due time, he went to the Intermediate School at Loka and eventually became Head Teacher there under the leadership of Geoffrey Earl. While Head Teacher, he was the first to respond to the challenging mission of Richard Jones in 1938 and went on to fulfil a fruitful ministry among the Twic and Nyarweng Dinka at Kongor and Duk Faiwil on the East Bank of the Nile. Andarea Apay was one of the first converts among the Moru at Lui, and what Daniel Deng owed to Archdeacon Shaw, Andarea Apay owed to Kenneth Fraser. Thus in 1940, when Bishop Morris Gelsthorpe began to seek out men for the ordained ministry of the church, it was clear that Daniel and Andarea were ready. After a period of training under Paul Gibson at Yei, they were ordained deacon by Bishop Gelsthorpe in 1941. Daniel went on to be consecrated as the first Sudanese Bishop in 1955.

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But it seems that, in addition to the personal influence of the pioneers on certain individuals, a movement of the Spirit is necessary if men endued with the gifts of spiritual leadership are to emerge in any significant numbers. John V. Taylor, in his book 'The Go-Between God', has a chapter on The Violence of Mission'. He writes:[79] "There can be no vital belief in the Holy Spirit and, consequently, no true theology of mission, unless we are prepared to have dealing with the great deeps of elemental energy … It is this incalculable and sometimes violent aspect of the Holy Spirit which the Hebrew word 'ruach' conveys in its primary meaning … Mission is often described as if it were the planned extension of an old building. But in fact it has usually been more like an unexpected explosion. By recording the growth of the church in mainly institutional terms we have suggested a slow, even expansion and maturing, whereas the great leap forward

and equally the sudden collapse have been such common features of the story that we should have had the modesty to recognise that the Breath of God has always played a far more decisive part than our human strategy."

[79] *J.V. Taylor, The Go-Between God, London 1972, pp.48-53.*

Richard Jones was a man committed to the explosive action of the Holy Spirit in mission. A qualified educationist and a student at the Bible College of Wales, he came to the Southern Sudan in 1938 under the new educational agreement between CMS and the Sudan Government and was located at Yambio. He was accompanied on the journey by his wife and the Revd Leonard Sharland, returning from furlough. Leonard Sharland had followed his brother Charles to the Sudan in 1935. He is aptly described as "one of those rare men who can be appointed to educational, evangelistic or pioneer missionary work and generally combines the three together". He kept a record of his impressions of Richard Jones. "I was deeply impressed by his spirituality and single- minded manner of life on board. I came to see that he regarded himself as a sort of Elijah. But the most impressive thing, and that which I subsequently came to believe was the secret of his power, was his long and desperately earnest vigils of prayer. On the boat I believe he spent whole nights in prayer … "[80] It cannot be doubted that in these long and earnest vigils of prayer, which were his regular habit, he touched those 'great deeps of elemental energy' which later exploded in convincing power".[81] Jones and his wife arrived in the Sudan Mission at a time when missionary resources were stretched to the limit. The work at Yambio had grown considerably. But when Jones arrived, he found only Ewell in charge, and very soon Ewell himself went on furlough, leaving Jones in charge of the whole work. Jones was completely convinced that he had a new message and woe to him if he did not deliver it. Nevertheless, he was at first reluctant to preach because he did not feel ready. When he did preach, however, there were immediate results. "Jones told me how things developed one Sunday in church. He told me that he and his wife sat in the sanctuary unable to do anything but pray and hold onto their seats, while people began to cry out and cling to the pillars and cry for mercy and so on", wrote Leonard Sharland.[82] Jones, of course, preached by interpretation. His interpreter and devoted follower was Amosa Rakpi Ngama, who in 1943 became the third Sudanese to be ordained deacon.

[80] *L.W.C. Sharland to S. Barrington Ward, 27/10/77.*

[81] *For a fuller understanding see N.P. Grubb, Rees-Howells – Intercessor, London 1967, ch.12.*

[82] *Sharland to Barrington Ward, 27/10/77*

After Jones had been at Yambio for about two and a half months, he and his wife took the chance of a lift in a Government car going to Juba in order to collect a car of their own which was expected on the next Nile steamer. There was a week to spare before the boat was due to arrive, so they decided to break their journey at Loka so that they might see their friend, K.J. Dallison, who was another of the qualified educationists recruited by CMS for service in the Sudan and located to the Intermediate School at Loka. He had been a tutor on the staff of the Bible College of Wales and was himself committed to bringing revival to the church in the Sudan. Leonard Sharland was at that time Acting Headmaster at Loka during the furlough of Geoffrey Earl and he wrote a detailed report to Earl of Jones' visit to Loka. It seems that when Jones met Dallison at Loka and discovered that 'no spectacular movement' had occurred through him that his amiable attitude towards his friend changed. "He was merciless towards him …" wrote Sharland.[83] Sharland, keenly aware of the need for spiritual revival at Loka, asked Jones to preach to the school on Sunday, 10th June 1938, sharing with them what had been happening in Yambio. "I conducted the service", wrote Sharland, "and I well recall that when he got into the pulpit he began at once a different sort of address from what I had expected. There was direct accusation of sin in the lives of teachers – adultery, etc – and my first reaction was anger and I resolved to defend the teachers afterwards if, as I expected, they protested. But soon after he began, I experienced something I have never experienced before or since. I can only describe it as an extraordinary electrifying feeling of a presence and power dominating the place. Looking back, I believe it was a movement of the Holy Spirit in that church. The teachers did not react against the charges, but the result was personal confession and repentance and the beginning in many lives of a completely new experience of Christ."[84] Among the teachers who came into this new experience were Daniel Deng Atong and Jon Majak, an Agar Dinka from Akot.

[83] *Ibid.*
[84] *Ibid.*

Jones remained at Loka for another four days. So convinced was Leonard Sharland that a deep work of the Holy Spirit had begun that he asked Jones to hold further meetings and the blessing continued. However, the message preached began to include extreme criticism of missionaries, both past and present. "I had to listen to some of the

most extreme language about missionaries that I have ever heard publicly expressed," wrote Sharland. Now, if the spiritual level of the church was at a low ebb and if it was permissible to attribute this to the sins in the lives of Sudanese members of the church, it was reasonable to assume that the expatriate members of the church, namely the missionaries, were equally to blame. One of them has written, "All of us missionaries sincerely wanted to serve the Lord, but in our ignorance we made many mistakes and were guilty of actual sins which grieved the Holy Spirit. Self is so active in the service of God and often we are totally blind to its activities in our hearts." Speaking as a missionary himself, indeed the missionary who replaced Dallison at Loka the following year, the writer would have felt convicted and would have repented along with the rest had he been present. What seemed wrong to Leonard Sharland and to his brother Charles, who was also present, was to sit and listen to serious accusations levelled at those who were not present and therefore unable to defend themselves or repent. Preaching for conviction of sin aims at repentance in those who hear, not at the condemnation of those who do not hear and have no chance to repent. Be that as it may, Charls and Leonard Sharland could not but rise up and protest, and this led to a walk out by Jones and Dallison on the grounds that the work of the Holy Spirit was being frustrated. Dallison, who was under the double strain of failure at not having provoked a revival at Loka himself and then of being thwarted when that revival began, later announced that he considered the work at Loka was at an end and that he intended to leave the Mission. In spite of pleas by the Mission Secretary in Juba, Willoughby Carey, Dallison left Loka on the Saturday morning with Jones and his wife, who had meantime collected their car from Juba. They drive together right through to Leopoldville in the Belgian Congo, where Dallison returned to England and Jones to Yambio. By this time, Government officials had become alarmed by what was happening at Yambio and the Governor ordered that Jones should leave the country.

Explosions may move mountains but they tend to leave a certain amount of debris in their train. Leonard Sharland wrote, "I would say emphatically that I believe Richard Jones was remarkably prepared and sent by God for a special mission … My concern is to testify to what I deeply believe, that God sent those men to us at that time to bring through their instrumentality the revival the Sudanese Church was ready for and sorely needed. Among other things, He knew about the testing time of persecution and loss the Church was shortly to pass through and sent them to prepare for its ordeal. And as you well know, a glorious harvest was reaped in those wilderness years. 'One

sows, another reaps, but God gives the increase'."[85] The Intermediate School at Loka, as we have seen, served all five language areas occupied by CMS. Moreover, the boys sent to Loka were those with the greatest potential for leadership. It was therefore the key point for the spreading of revival throughout the whole church. Boys and teachers went back to their homes witnessing to the blessing they had received. Revival had already begun among the Azande at Yambio. Soon there were extraordinary developments at Lui among the Moru. And Daniel Deng Atong returned to the Dinka of the East Bank and was used of God to bring about a spiritual awakening among the Twic and Nyarweng Dinka of Kongor and Duk Faiwil.

[85] *Ibid.*

In November 1938 the Revd John Collinson arrived in the Sudan and was located to Akot among the Agar Dinka of the West Bank. He was accompanied by Leonard Sharland, who had started his missionary service at Malek and, as we have seen, was deeply involved in the happenings at Loka. Akot was at that time without a resident missionary, D.E. Arnold having returned to England for a whole year in order to take an educational course. Akot was a very isolated place, and spiritual life in the church was at a very low ebb. "As a new recruit, the low moral standards of the church shocked and grieved me and I felt the battle against sin and evil was a losing one," wrote Collinson[86] He describes how he and Leonard Sharland discussed the situation with great concern and prayed much about what they should do. It was decided to hold a seven-day mission for teachers, outschool teachers and station people, as a result of which "by the grace of God a number of teachers responded to the message and repented deeply, and some others, including local people, were truly saved. It was a memorable and blessed time."[87] At the end of the mission it was decided that every Saturday, teachers and local Christians should meet for prayer and then go out to nearby villages two by two "to tell the people what the Lord had done for us". This kind of team testimony soon bore fruit and people from the villages started to come to church. In January 1939, Jan Majak, who had been blessed during Jones' visit to Loka, joined John Collinson at Akot as Head Teacher. They immediately had deep fellowship together and began to have a burden for a much wider reviving of the church. It so happened that at this time there was an epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis among the Agar Dink, resulting in the closure of all schools, thus liberating all teachers for the work of evangelism. "Their message contained much testimony supported by changed lives. In a matter of weeks, the

handful of people who had come to church at Akot increased in numbers so that the church was not large enough to contain all who came. We set up an open-air gathering place under a large tree near the church and put up benches to seat the people. It was not long before many hundreds were attending each Sunday and sometimes more than a thousand were present. One of the Akot workmen, Ater Bai, who was also a bard, was converted and began to use his gift for the Lord. The very first Dinka Christian choruses were composed by him. The introduction of these choruses replaced the old, badly sung English hymns. They were accepted with great enthusiasm and the singing of them was inspiring and much used by the Holy Spirit. The Gospel was carried by these choruses throughout the Dinka country. By May and June 1939, large crowds were attending the services at Akot and outschools. Many people brought their charms and witchcraft and hashish and burned them publicly after the Sunday morning service. Many villagers were saved and later baptised."[88]

[86] *E.J. Collinson to Jon Malou Ater, 1/4/81.*
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] *Ibid.*

Muriel Collinson arrived at Akot in March 1939 amid great rejoicing by the local people. "For seven days Dinkas from the surrounding villages came and danced for hours outside our house in honour of our marriage. This forged a very friendly link between us and we found them loving and responsive to our preaching." Akot, however, was a very isolated place, as we have noted, especially in the wet season, and later that year, when Muriel was ill, it was necessary to walk the 80 miles from Akot to Shambe through mud and long grass, taking four days, with a further four days to wait at Shambe for the Nile steamer. It was therefore not surprising when fears began to be felt for the safety of the Collinsons. It is believed that fears were also felt by Government officials that the large gatherings of Dinkas could get out of hand. In January 1940, therefore, it was decided to relocate the Collinsons to Lui and for the Revd Donald Casson to join Edward Arnold at Akot.

Summing up the Akot revival, John Collinson wrote, "I have always looked upon that year 1939/40 as a spiritual awakening rather than a revival. No special methods were used. The preaching was direct and personal. There was a challenging of sin, a call to repentance and restitution, a stress on the forgiveness of God and a cleansing from sin by the blood of Jesus. The need for a daily walk with the Lord

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Jesus and an up-to-date sinner's testimony were specially emphasised. Many weaknesses are now painfully obvious. The ordinary village people who turned to the Lord needed careful pastoring but often lived in remote places. They had no Bibles and were mostly quite illiterate. The vast majority either had no help at all or depended entirely for spiritual instruction on that given by poorly educated teachers or schoolboys who did their best out of love of the Lord but who knew little about sound Christian doctrine. Another weakness was the lack of fellowship which all Christians need. The fires of the East African Revival, like other revivals, have been kept alive through the weekly and in some places daily fellowship meetings. There was little of this quality of fellowship among the Agar Dinkas. We missionaries could not teach them what we badly needed to learn ourselves."[89]

[89] *Ibid.*

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The stage was now set for a period of consolidation and steady growth in the life of the church. The fruits of revival were now carefully harvested under the pastoral care of two outstanding bishops, a strong team of supporting missionaries and a growing number of Sudanese clergy, while a stable structure was established by which the on-going life of the church could be governed and directed.

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After a distinguished record in World War I in which he was awarded the DSO, Morris Gelsthorpe joined the Niger Mission of CMS in 1923, being located to the college at Awka for the training of clergy and teachers. He became Principal in 1928 and thus had nine years of vital experience of leadership training in Africa before he was consecrated Assistant Bishop on the Niger, under Bishop Lasbrey, in1932. He was obviously singled out by Bishop Lasbrey to be his successor when the call came for Morris Gelsthorpe to fill the gap in the Sudan left by the tragic death of Bishop Guy Bullen. He arrived at Port Said on 18th January 1939 and was met by Archdeacon Frank Johnston, and proceeded up the Nile to Khartoum, where he arrived on 22nd January. After a week in Khartoum, he flew on to Juba where he met missionaries of the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission assembled in Conference under the Chairmanship of Bishop Gwynne. "It was an ordeal to face this gathering of salted missionaries, some veterans of long service, knowing he had to hold authority over

them", wrote his wife in later years.[90] Bishop Gwynne wrote in the Sudan Diocesan Review, "The experience of Morris Gelsthorpe was of the greatest value in discussing questions concerning these (local church councils) and I am confident that the Southern Sudan Mission is in safe hands as they have taken him into their friendship and recognise that he is an authority in building up the native church."

[90] *Elfrida Gelsthorpe, A Corn of Wheat, p.63.*

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At that time, the decision-making body was the Annual Conference of Missionaries and its Standing Committee. The Southern Archdeaconry Council, consisting of delegates from local Church Councils, met at the same time as the Conference of Missionaries, but mainly to discuss common problems such as polygamy and try to arrive at conclusions which would be followed by all. Gradually the roles were reversed, the Archdeaconry Council becoming the ruling body of the growing church and the Annual Conference of Missionaries becoming an opportunity for fellowship and renewal, both missionaries and Sudanese church members being represented on the Diocesan Council. The Bishop's Charge to the Southern Archdeaconry Council in 1942 began, "We are now reaching the stage when the Church is beginning to do the main part of preaching in this its own country and it must be also self-governing and self-financing. The election of the local Church Councils and of the Diocesan Council puts the government of the church matters increasingly in the hands of the African Church."

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Since 1920, the Sudan had been part of the Diocese of Egypt and the Sudan under the leadership of Bishop Gwynne. The rapid growth of the church in the Southern Sudan indicated that the time would come when the Sudan would become a Diocese on its own, and this decision was taken by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1944. On 1st October 1945, the independent Diocese of the Sudan came into being with Morris Gelsthorpe as its Bishop, Bishop Gwynne, then 82 years old, being Bishop in Egypt until his retirement a year later. Soon after his enthronement, Bishop Gelsthorpe wrote to Max Warren, General Secretary of CMS, "I can see that I shall have to spend a considerable part of each year in the Northern Sudan shaping the new Diocese." This would mean that he must delegate the charge of the church and mission in the South as Bishop Gwynne had done before him. As early as 1941, he had written, "Others as well as myself begin to realise that you have a possible bishop in Oliver Allison", and on St Mark's Day, 25th April 1948, Oliver Allison was consecrated by Archbishop

Geoffrey Fisher in St Alban's Abbey to be Assistant Bishop in the Sudan. Later, Oliver Allison was to write, "I am always grateful for the fact that for seven years I was able to have his (Morris Gelsthorpe's) advice and the inspiration of his leadership."[91] In due time, on 19th April 1953, Oliver Allison succeeded Morris Gelsthorpe as Diocesan Bishop in the Sudan. It was the leadership of these two men, Morris Gelsthorpe and Olliver Allison, which directed the garnering of the fruits of the Revival in 1938 and the building up of the life and structure of the Sudanese Church.

[91] *O.C. Allison, Travelling Light, London 1985, p.33.*

The Bishops were supported by a missionary team numbering in 1950 nine clergy and 38 lay men and women including wives. Archdeacon Shaw had retired in 1939 to be succeeded as Archdeacon by Paul Gibson. Paul and Mary Gibson presided over the missionary body with grace and charm, fulfilling a truly parental role. While Juba remained Mission Headquarters where all the administration was carried on in the hot, steamy atmosphere of the Nile Valley, Paul and Mary made Yei a haven of peace and beauty, 4000 feet above sea level, comparatively cool and free from mosquitoes. It was a place where missionaries were happy to foregather every year for their Annual Conferences, and where they were able to regain a truer perspective away from the stifling pressures of their work. Yei remained a centre of the Bari Church, the others being Juba, where Oliver Allison maintained a cheerful bachelor establishment until he was elevated to the episcopate, and Kajo Kaji, served in turn by Freddie Finch and Dermot Kerr and their families. Arthur and Grace Riley presided over the Zande team from Yambio, until Arthur was drawn away to become Principal of Bishop Gwynne College, pioneer of the new Dinka station at Panekar, and finally Archdeacon in succession to Paul Givson. Eddie Phillips was the first ordained missionary at Lui, supporting the medical team led by Arthur Casson and later by Jim West and Arthur Laxton and their team of nursing sisters, by George Bennet as Hospital Administrator, and by a succession of leprosy workers. Leonard Sharland at Malek and Edward Arnold at Akot laboured away among the Dinka until Edward was whisked away to the Nuba Mountains and Leonard opened the new Dinka station at Gel River, west of Rumbek, while Donald Casson, and for a short time Oliver Allison, held the fort at Malek. 'Yuli' (Canon S.L. Ewell) pursued a lonely existence among the Nuer at Juaibor and Wang Lel, together with noble medical teams which included Liam and Barbara Manwell, Katharine Macdonald, May Bertram, John Bradford and Jim and Betty West.

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The vital work of building up a literate and educated church was entrusted to a small army of educationists, too many to mention by name, but led by such stalwarts as Nora Ainley, Helena Parry, Philippa Guillebaud, Geoffrey Earl, Christopher Cook, Victoria Ravensdale and John Parry. Special mention must be made of John Bates, who laid the foundation of education among the Azande. He came to Yambio in 1938 and died of peritonitis in Juba on 13th February 1950. The Church at Nzara stands as his memorial. Through the network of outschools, elementary schools and the intermediate school at Loka came a steady stream of men and women prepared for service and leadership in church and state. At Loka and later at Lainya, Charles Sharland, Ray Williams, Jack Mardon, Ken Ogden and Lionel Brooker ran the Technical Department, which not only trained skilled artisans but put up the buildings so important to a growing church.

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Among the names of missionaries serving in the Sudan in 1950 is that of Miss M.V. Gunn. Mollie Gunn, and later Jean Drinkwater, performed the absolutely vital task of mobilising the spiritual resources latent in the Christian women in the church. As Mothers' Union representative in the Southern Sudan they built up a magnificent work, drawing out powers of leadership among Christian women which were to play a major role in the survival and growth of the Church in the years of suffering which were soon to come upon it.

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The patient, unspectacular work of administration was carried out in the heat of Juba by Willoughby Carey and Stanley Giltrap in the office, and by Lucy Kedge in the Bookshop. Later, notable contributions were made by Ray Atkinson as accountant and by Louise Ryder, who came out on short service and stayed on for years at Bishop's secretary.

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A brilliant piece of pioneer agricultural work was carried out by Stephen and Anne Carr, and later by Niall Watson, in building on existing methods of agriculture, introducing the possibility of a more balanced diet and the growing of cash crops to raise the general standard of health and prosperity among the people of the South.

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A whole book could be written about the life and work of these missionaries. The purpose of this book, however, is to tell the story of the planting and growth of the Church in the Nile Valley. In this enterprise, missionaries were privileged to play a part. They wish for no memorial but the harvest which sprang from the soil of the Sudan. In 1959, when their numbers were beginning to dwindle, it was the privilege of the writer to be Mission Secretary in Juba. One evening he attended a showing of the film of Shakespeare's 'Henry V', with Laurence Olivier in the title role, shown in the open air in a school compound on the rising ground on the outskirts of Juba. He wrote, "The words which hit me were Henry's words to his troops before Agincourt: 'We few, we happy few, we band of brothers … '. That's what the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission was: a happy few, a band of brothers and sisters, working against fairly heavy odds, to win a people for Christ. It was an honour and a privilege which I greatly coveted,"

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"this day is called the feast of Crispian:

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He that outlives this day and comes safe home

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Will stand a tip-toe when this day is named,

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And rouse him at the name of Crispian.

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He that shall live this day, and see old age

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Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours …

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And say, 'These wounds I had on Crispian's Day' …

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And gentlemen in England now a-bed

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Shall think themselves accurst they were not here;

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And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks

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That fought with us upon Saint Crispian's day.”

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Henry V, Act IV, Scene III

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Under the leadership of Bishops Gelsthorpe and Allison, supported by a strong team of missionaries, the church began to grow and to produce its own leaders. Little did they realise that the time for peaceful growth was limited. In August 1955 a mutiny among members of the Sudan Defence Force in the South was the first signal of trouble to come. P.M. Holt comments that "the troubles there (in the South) were the inevitable result of over-hasty political change."[92] On 17th November 1958, government buildings in Khartoum and the radio station in Omdurman were occupied by soldiers and government ministers were placed under arrest. Four thousand troops had been moved into the capital on the authority of the commander-in-chief, General Ibrahim Abboud, who, in a broadcast, spoke of "the state of degeneration, chaos and instability of the country", which he ascribed solely to the bitter political strife between the parties trying to secure personal gain by all ways and means."[93] By 1961 the situation in the South had deteriorated further and was described by Holt in the following terms: "In recent months, the attention of the world has been attracted by reports of the persecution of Christians in the Southern Sudan. These are difficult to assess, but the situation would appear to be that the authorities discourage the spread of Christianity while fostering the Islamization of the South. Islamization and Arabization are seen as the indispensable and connected means of promoting national unity in an ethnically heterogeneous state."[94] Finally, on 19th March 1964, the Minister of the Interior, General Mohammed Ahmed Irwa, announced the expulsion of missionaries from the South. "It has been clearly proved that these foreigners have been committing offences against the state and breaking its laws and regulations with the object of inciting the people in the Southern Provinces to make sabotage so that anarchy and instability will come about."[95]

[92] *P.M. Holt, p.168.*
[93] *Ibid p.184.*

[94] *Ibid p.193.*

[95] *Beshir Mohammed Said, The Sudan – Crossroads of Africa, London 1965, p.172.*

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During the peaceful period before these events took place, the key institutions in relation to church growth was the Southern Sudan Divinity School, renamed Bishop Gwynne College in 1951. It began at Yei in 1945 under the Revd Fred Crabb as its Principal, with 15 students, their wives and families. And the first fruits were six men who were ordained deacon in 1947. They were Jebedayo J. Swaka and Lajaro Kajanyire (Bari), Ejara B. Lawiri (Moru) and Yeremaya K. Dotiro, Pauro K. Riani and Andarea M. Mugaya (Zande). Opinions differed as to the standard of education to be required of ordination candidates. Bishop Gelsthorpe, out of his experience in West Africa, wrote in 1942, "I must work for long training. I cannot see any candidate ready within five years. The Archdeacon (Gibson) sees more vividly than I the urgent needs. He wants his village ministry adopted right away. I am bound to go slowly. I am convinced that it creates endless other problems in solving one. Men of good, tested character should be the best of which they are capable before we can rightly ordain them as ministers of the word and sacraments. They must have a good understanding of the mysteries of which they are stewards and must not be admitted at what would seem short notice to the diaconate and priesthood."[96] In fact, the next three to be ordained in 1950 were products of the Intermediate School at Loka, proficient in English and able to benefit from the higher level of training given at Bishop Tucker College, Mukono, Uganda. They were Enoka Chaima, Tadayo Konosu Waiwai and Nikanora Aciengkuc Deng.

[96] *Elfrida Gelsthorpe p.99.*

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Bishop Gelsthorpe had been Principal of the college at Awka, Nigeria, where teachers and ordinands were trained side by side under the auspices of the Christian Church. He fought hard for such a 'Joint Institution' in the Sudan. History, however, had now moved on. These were the post-World War II years when the wind of change was hastening on the political independence of African countries and with independence a determination to make education the responsibility of the state. A compromise was therefore reached with the Sudan Government whereby two separate institutions would exist side by side, one for the training of teachers and the other for the training of ordinands under Church control.

The site chosen was Mundri, 16 miles north of Lui, strategically placed in the centre of Equatoria Province, with good communications by road to the north, west and south. The first two Principals of Mundri Teacher Training College were nominees of the Church – E.S. Jackson and R.H.G. Chaplin. The Divinity School moved to its new site at Mundri in 1948 and the two institutions worked side by side in happy co-operation. From time to time the question arose as to whether the theological college of the church should not be located at the Headquarters of the Diocese and in the more advanced conditions of the capital city, Khartoum. It was argued, however, that by far the greater part of the church existed in the rural conditions of the South, and that pastors should be trained in the sort of environment in which they would serve. So Bishop Gwynne College became a rural community in which men of different tribes, with their wives and children, learnt to live together and to relate the Christian Gospel to the life of the people they were to serve. Individual dwelling houses were arranged in a circle round the Chapel as its centre, the Chapel containing beautiful translucent windows of alabaster, brought from Egypt by Dermot and Monica Kerr in memory of Eunice Kerr, who had died at Kajo Kaji in 1945, so creating a link with the Church of Jesus the Light of the World, Old Cairo. Fred Crabb remained as Principal until 1951, when he had to resign owing to ill health, becoming successively Vice-Principal of the London College of Divinity, Principal of Emmanuel College, Saskatoon, then Bishop of Saskatoon, and finally Archbishop of the Canadian Province of Rupert's Land. His place was filled by Arthur Riley until he was appointed Archdeacon in succession to Paul Gibson in 1956. He was succeeded as Principal by David Brown, who later became Bishop of Guildford. By 1956, the number of ordained Sudanese Pastors had risen to 17. There had always been close co-operation between CMS and the American Presbyterian Mission, who worked among the Shilluk, Nuer and Anuak of Upper Nile Province. In 1952 the Americans, as we have seen, were able to take over the responsibility for CMS work among the Western Nuer. In 1953 it was decided to combine theological training for Presbyterians and Anglican at Bishop Gwynne College, with staff appointed from both churches.

In 1952 Bishop Gelsthorpe gave preliminary notice to the Archbishop of Canterbury that he felt he should retire in or about January 1953 in order to make way for a younger man. On 4th January 1949 he had married Dr Elfrida Whidborne, who had given notable service as one of the first party of CMS missionaries to go to the Nuba Mountains in

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1935. In January 1952, after the official announcement of the Bishop's resignation, Provost George Martin of Khartoum wrote, "He has been a father in God to us all and a real friend. With his work must be coupled that of his wife, Elfrida, who has given unstinted service in the CMS as a doctor, both in the Nuba Mountains and in Omdurman. We thank them for their great service to the Diocese and wish them many years of happy service in the Diocese of Southwell."[97]

[97] *Sudan Diocesan Review, Jan-Mar 1952, p.17.*

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In January 1958, during the Annual Conference of Missionaries at Yei, Oliver Allison received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury asking if he would accept the responsibility of becoming Diocesan Bishop in succession to Morris Gelsthorpe. As early as 1939 Willoughby Carey had written of Oliver Allison, "He is a little different from the others in some indefinable way. Steady, eager, vital, humorous, with the kind of spiritual quality that remains constant and enduring through all experience and outward circumstances, a fine colleague, a rare companion, and a leader of Africans."[98] These were qualities which held the Church on a steady course through the traumatic years which were ahead. He was enthroned (though he disliked the word) in Khartoum Cathedral on 7th April 1953.

[98] *Elfrida Gelsthorpe p.92.*

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As with Bishop Gelsthorpe, so with Bishop Allison, it became at once a matter for serious consideration as to who should be appointed Assistant Bishop to shepherd the fast-growing church in the South. Bishop Allison made the announcement at the Annual General Meeting of the Northern Sudan Archdeaconry Council on 4th March 1955, in the following words: "As is well known, the announcement of the appointment by the Archbishop of Canterbury of Canon Daniel Deng Atong to be Assistant Bishop of the Diocese was made in the press and on the radio of 17th December last. The Government somewhat naturally made the announcement in terms of 'the Sudanisation of the Church'. Indeed, only a few days before the public announcement, when talking to the Northern Sudanese District Commissioner about the Church, he said to me, referring to a Sudanese priest in his district, 'Of course, I realise that the Church has led the way in Sudanisation here'. I think there is an element of truth in that, though of course there is a sense in which the Church is supranational and not to be Sudanised for the sake of Sudanisation. However, looking back over the years, we can see how the Church in

the Diocese has slowly but surely been developing under the power of the Holy Spirit, being prepared for this new day. The Call of God which has come to Canon Daniel to this high office in His Church is a cause for much thanksgiving. His appointment indeed marks an historic forward step in the life of the Church. I ask the prayers of all in the Diocese for Canon Daniel and his wife during these final months of preparation before the Consecration Service in the Cathedral of St Paul, Namirembe, Kampala on 15th May. As is well known, the Archbishop of Canterbury will be the Chief Consecrator. It will be the first visit of an Archbishop of Canterbury to this part of the Continent. He is to be assisted by other Bishops who will include several African Bishops, one from the province of West Africa. Three other African clergy are to be consecrated together with Canon Daniel, so it will also be an historic occasion for the whole Church in this part of Africa."

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The other Bishops who were consecrated were Obadiah Kariuki and Festo Olang of the Diocese of Mombasa, and Yohana Omari of the Diocese of Central Tanganyika. The closing address at the Consecration was given by Bishop Dimeari, an old friend of Bishop Gelsthorpe, who represented the Church of the Province of West Africa. "It was a particular pleasure for us all from the Sudan to have Archdeacon Shaw with us for the occasion. It was rather remarkable that in the providence of God one of the first missionaries to the Sudan, who came to the Sudan 50 years ago, should be present at the Consecration of the first Sudanese Bishop, himself one of the first fruits of the Gospel at Malek, where Archdeacon Shaw worked for so many years."[99]

[99] *Sudan Diocesan Review, Apr-Sept 1955, p.7.*

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The Church in the Northern Sudan

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While the most spectacular growth in the Church in the Sudan undoubtedly took place in the South, in order to maintain a true

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perspective we must now see this growth in relation to the base of all these operations, which was the Christian position established by Bishop Gwynne in the North. It was Gwynne's position as father-in-God to successive generations of British administrators at the centre of Government, and his unwavering determination to commend the Gospel to the peoples of the whole Sudan that ensured, under God, an abiding place for the Christian Church in the Sudan of the Future. "His service spanned the whole lifetime of the Condominium. Governors General and Civil Secretaries came and went. The Bishop stayed on forever. His Diocese, vast as it became, was always more like a parish, in which the Vicar christened two generations and has come to symbolise the village even for those who never entered his church. He was head of the British community by tacit consent."[100] We have seen how Gwynne and Dr F.J. Harpur of Cairo, though forbidden to speak to the Muslims of the North on religion, "gladly seized the opportunity and found useful occupation in making acquaintance with the country and its people." So Gwynne ministered to British soldiers, was sought out by Coptic Christians, helped the Bible Society to open a bookshop and established the first Christian Girls' School in Khartoum while Harpur and Dr A.C. Hill started medical work in Omdurman.

[100] *Jackson p.189.*

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From 1901 onwards, services were held in a large room in the Governor General's Palace, by permission of Sir Reginald and Lady Wingate. During a visit by Lord Cromer in 1900, it was decided that a church should be built. The foundation stone was laid in 1904 and All Saints Cathedral, Khartoum, was consecrated by the Bishop of London, Dr Winnington-Ingram, on 26th January, the anniversary of Gordon's death, 1912. Gordon Memorial Sunday was celebrated every year thereafter on the Sunday nearest to 26th January.

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Bishop Gwynne's right-hand man in Khartoum for many years, his "staff officer who kept the wheel well oiled while the Bishop travelled round his vast Diocese", was the Revd B.J. Harper, known universally as 'Uncle'. His association with the Sudan began in 1920 when, after war service as an Army Chaplain, he began a period of 25 years as Chaplain in Khartoum. In 1945 he became Archdeacon of the Northern Sudan and in 1951 Vice-Provost of the Cathedral until his retirement in 1955. 'Uncle' Harer was a Londoner who brought with him the sharp cockney humour which knew no barriers of class, race

or creed, met all men on an equal footing and put them at their ease. It was this spirit which pervaded the Clergy House and made it an open house to all and sundry. He gave the Church a warm, welcoming image which must have been influential in drawing many a lonely expatriate into the discovery of the love of God. Behind his light-hearted, easy-going exterior was a dedicated Pastor who meticulously noted all contacts, followed them up by correspondence, and later by visits to their homes in England.

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He was joined in 1945 by George Martin. Martin had seen service in the South in Loka as a CMS missionary in 1928. From 1934-39 he was a member of staff at Bishop Gobat School, Jerusalem, and Chaplain to the Bishop in Jerusalem. From 1939-45 he served in the RAF as Chaplain, being stationed in Khartoum from 1940-41. In 1945 he was appointed Provost of All Saints Cathedral, Khartoum, where he served until his retirement in 1966. From 1951-66 he added to his responsibilities as Provost the duties of Archdeacon in the Northern Sudan.

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Bishop Gwynne loved his Cathedral and saw it as the spiritual powerhouse of the Diocese. Certainly it became the spiritual home for Christians of all denominations in Khartoum. Ministers of the Church of Scotland and of the Free Churches took part in Cathedral services and were invited to administer the Sacrament according to their own rites. It was the scene of an annual Unity Service in which Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopian and Greek Orthodox Christians participated as well as members of the Coptic Evangelical Church. There were weekly services in Arabic and in the Southern vernaculars for Christians from the South.

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The doors of the Clergy House were never closed. The Lounge and the Library were havens of quietness for soldiers and civilians missing the comforts of home. The Supper Club, which met weekly after Sunday Evening Service in the Cathedral Hall or Garden, became a popular institution in the life of Khartoum, providing one of the few opportunities for cultural exchanges on a wide variety of subjects. The upper floor of the Clergy house buzzed with the sound of children's voices as they met daily in the Clergy House School. And the Diocese was responsible for the Sudan bookshop, which served the whole community in the main shopping area of the city.

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As in Egypt, so in the Sudan, wherever British officials were present in any numbers, they took steps to provide means for the practice of their faith. So churches came into being at strategic centres in the Northern Sudan. In 1930, St Paul's Church, Wad Medani, was built to serve those working in the Blue Nile Province and in the Gezira Cotton Scheme. In 1932, St Peter's, El Obeid, and Christ Church, Port Sudan, were constructed. And in 1938, the Church of Philip the Deacon was built at Atbara, the headquarters of Sudan Railways, and not far from Meroe, the probable seat of Candace, or Kandake, whose Minister of Finance was converted to Christianity through the ministry of Philip the Deacon on the Gaza Road in about AD 37. These churches were served by resident chaplains, such as C.E.C. Stileman and V.K.C. Logan, or by visits by the Bishop or Archdeacon. To facilitate these visits, the Church was provided by Sudan Railways with a Church Saloon, fitted up as a Chapel, and with living quarters for a chaplain, which was towed by goods train to various places served by the Railway, thus reaching isolated communities which had no other means of contact with the Church.

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Perhaps the most notable of the Diocesan Institutions in the North is the Unity High School for Girls. We have seen how Bishop Gwynne was allowed by Sir Reginald Wingate to open a school for girls of the Coptic and Ethiopian Orthodox communities in Khartoum in 1902, with the help of CMS. In 1928 CMS decided to close this school and concentrate on work in Omdurman. The land and buildings were offered to the Diocese, who took them over, and so began the Unity High School for Girls, run by a Council with the Bishop as Chairman and a body of members representing the Armenian, British, Coptic, Greek and Syrian communities. For many years it provided the only girls' secondary education in the country. It continues to this day.

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The ministry to expatriates extended to Chaplaincies in Ethiopia, Somalia and the Aden Protectorate. The Anglican Chaplaincy in Addis Ababa was established in 1926, the first Chaplain being John Ethelstan Cheese – 'Saint of No Fixed Abode', as he has been described by Philip Cousins in his biography.[101] In 1928, Austin Frederick Matthew was sent out by SPG to succeed Cheese. "After spending some time in Cairo … Matthew travelled to Addis Ababa via Djibouti, arriving on 5th October 1928, where he was met by Cheese and Col Sandford. Cheese spent five days showing Matthew round and then disappeared to Somaliland. Matthew stayed for 40 years."[102] Services were held in the Durbar Hall of the residence of the British

Minister and at Mulu Farm, the Residence of Col and Mrs Sandford, described by Bishop Allison as "a remarkable couple whose single-minded devotion, and that of their family, was an example to us all". Bishop Allison dedicated St Matthew's Church, Addi Ababa, in 1955. In addition Bishop Allison visited the headquarters of the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society in Addis and the isolated mission stations of the Church's Ministry to the Jews, that is to say, the Falasha Jews of Ethiopia. A church was built at Hargeisa, in British Somaliland, as a place of worship for the Somali Scouts, the Defence Force of the territory, the congregation also including members of the Church of South India. The Aden Protectorate was held at that time by a large force of British troops, the total British population numbering some 20,000. To serve them there were Christ Church, Aden, St Peter's, Little Aden, and the Danish Mission at Crater. In 1952, Eritrea was added to the Diocese when it became federated with Ethiopia. "On my arrival", wrote Bishop Allison, "I found the only place of worship for the Protestant Christian community in Asmara was a shed in the Public Works Department's back yard, about the size and width of a railway carriage." St George's Church, Asmara, was built in the 1960s and a Chaplain was appointed by BCMS. The Egypt General Mission, on leaving Egypt after the Suez crisis in 1956, renamed itself the Middle East General Mission and opened up work in Eritrea from 1957-74, when the Emperor was overthrown.[103]

[101] *Philip Cousins, John Ethelstan Cheese – Saint of No Fixed Abode, London 1986.*
[102] *Colin Battell, Chaplain, Addis Ababa, Nov 1984.*
[103] *Allison p.47.*

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But Gwynne's vision extended beyond expatriates to the Sudanese themselves. His burning passion was to make known to all the peoples of the Sudan the love of God in Christ. We have seen how this was accomplished in the South. We have now to consider the altogether different approach to the predominantly Muslim North.

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Not least among the services rendered by CMS to the churches is the recruitment of scholars who by their researches have provided the essential background of knowledge in the fields of linguistics and anthropology to any missionary work which may be attempted. Such scholars have been Spencer Trimingham, who served as CMS Mission

Secretary in the Northern Sudan, and Roland Stevenson, who pioneered educational work and linguistic research among the Nuba. Spencer Trimingham, in his book 'Islam in the Sudan', OUP 1949, wrote in his introduction, p.x, "The Sudanese received Islam whole-heartedly, but, through their unique capacity for assimilation, moulded it to their own particular mentality; escaping the formulae of theologians, they sang in it, they danced in it, wept in it, brought their own customs, their own festivals into it, paganized it a good deal, but always kept the vivid reality of its inherent unity under the rule of the one God." In his book 'The Christian Approach to Islam in the Sudan', OUP 1948, he wrote, "The missionary is asked to study the patterns of Sudanese religious life reverently, to try by living contact with the Sudanese to feel their significance in their lives and to learn how to encourage the growth of a Christian community in the Islamic Sudan that will be truly indigenous". Trimingham came to see that the indigenous Christian community would in fact be composed of Christians from the South and from the Nuba Mountains. "Christian medical and educational work have stood as a witness to Christian ideals in education and social welfare which are unsatisfied by the corresponding government institutions; they have touched and even moulded the lives of many Muslims; and have also served the needs of all Christian communities. These aims still hold, for they are ways in which we can manifest Christ to the world of Islam. But it has been realised that they are inadequate in themselves unless they are fully related to the local church as the expression of the Church in action. Only the Church as a community manifesting a new kind of life in the Islamic environment is going to tell upon and attract Muslims."[104] In this city (Omdurman) the American Mission and the Church Missionary Society have agreed to work together through a Christian Centre for the building up of a Sudanese Christian community upon which all existing work could be based."[105] In the event, the indigenisation of the Christian Church in the North was destined to move much further and much faster than Spencer Trimingham could ever conceive in 1949. It is in the light of his words, however, that the following account of missionary work in the North is to be seen.

[104] *J.S. Trimingham, The Christian Church in Post-War Sudan, World Dominion Press, London 1949, pp.25,26.*
[105] *Ibid p.26.*

We have noted how Gwynne and Dr Harpur of Old Cairo arrived in Khartoum in 1899. Dr Giffen, the first member of the American Presbyterian Mission, was travelling on the same train. Gwynne and Giffen in fact shared a house for some time. When Dr and Mrs Hall

arrived in 1900 to put into effect the medical work advocated by Dr Harpur, they received little encouragement from those whose chief concern was to preserve peace and order in the Northern Sudan. They went to live, however, in a house in the desert on the outskirts of Omdurman. The house became known as 'The Poisoner's House' by the local people. Some men, not willing to endanger themselves, brought women slaves to try out the doctor's skill before they would risk their own bodies. By 31st December 1902, 50 patients a day were being treated. After Dr Hall's death in 1903, the American Mission continued the medical work until in 1907 the CMS sent out Dr Lasbrey, followed by Dr Edmund Lloyd in 1908. Edmund Lloyd had been one of the original party which set sail for the Southern Sudan in 1905 and settled in Malek. He now began 25 years' service in Omdurman. The Town Council's confidence was now shown by the grant of a gift of land on which a hospital could be built. The buildings were ready for use in1914 and a chapel was added in 1924, consecrated by Bishop Gwynne in the presence of Temple Gairdner of Cairo, who appealed for "a better understanding between East and West, between Islam and Christianity in the future, especially the abolition of many misunderstandings entirely due to ignorance."[106] So began the witness to the love of God through the ministry of healing which has continued down the years and included treatment for leprosy, care for the elderly and blind and the opening of maternity and baby welfare clinics at Abu Rof and Abu Kadog. The respect and good relations established among the people of Omdurman can be judged by the ability of single women missionaries such as Helen Norton and Sophie Zenkovsky to live alone in these isolated situations without fear of molestation.

[106] *Sudan Diocesan Review, Apr-June 1952, p.17.*

In the field of education, CMS concentrated on work among women and girls, while the American Mission made itself responsible for men and boys. In addition to the first girls' school in Khartoum, which became the Unity High School, girls' schools were established by CMS in Omdurman, Wad Medani and Atbara, notable service being given by Mrs Hall and her sister Lilian Jackson, Mary Myers, Ellen Maxwell, Ethel Parker and many others. The majority of the pupils were Muslims, being taught alongside Christian Copts, Syrians, Armenians and others. All were taught the Bible, with parents' consent, "for all Sudanese believe in the character building of mission schools based on Christian ethical teaching."[107] Trimingham goes on, "The spiritual results of our schools, with their influence on character training, because of the rise of secularism, are greater than ever before".

[107] *J.S. Trimingham, The Diocese of the Sudan, London 1946, p.23.*

It was, however, the arrival of Christians from the South looking for work in the North which formed the basis of an indigenous Christian community in the North. Clubs for these Southerners were opened in Khartoum and Omdurman in 1942, and later a hostel in Omdurman. As part of the Christian Centre established by CMS and the American Mission, a Unity Church was completed in 1949, in which services were conducted in Arabic and in the Southern vernaculars. Two pastors' houses were added, together with a literature Centre and a Women's Hostel and Institute. "All established institutions then fell into place, for they were now thought of in their relationship to a future Sudanese Church, and the patient work of the past acquired a new significance."[108] Perhaps the most important development of all in the Northern Sudan was the opening up of pioneer evangelistic, medical and educational work among the Nuba. Trimingham wrote, "The area that goes by the misleading name of the Nuba Mountains is the southern part of the vast plain of Kordofan about which are scattered small groups of hills and ranges. These hills contain a population of about 300,000 sturdy and independent pagan people of aboriginal Negro stock called Nuba by the Northern Sudanese. Whilst they have a general cultural affinity, they are subdivided into 50 different languages from various African language stems."[109] Many Nuba leave their hills to work among Muslim Sudanese in towns, on the railways and in the Sudan Defence Force. A crude form of Arabic is their lingua franca. Many have become Muslims.

[108] *Ibid p.25.*

[109] *J.S. Trimingham, The Christian Church in Post-War Sudan, p.26.*

The Sudan United Mission (Australian and New Zealand branch) were permitted to begin work among the Nuba in 1920 and established stations in the eastern hills at Heiban, Abri, Kauda, Moro and Tabanya. CMS were invited to open schools with Government help in the western hills and began work among the Nyamang in 1935. The three-pronged approach of CMS is reflected in the composition of the first party, which consisted of Dr Elfrida Whidborne and Miss K. Quinlan (medical), Mr R.E. Hopkins (educational) and the Revd W. Dermot Kerr (evangelistic). The pioneer nature of the work is revealed in some words written by Elfrida Whidborne in 1939: "Kaye and I have visited nearly every hamlet in our Nyamang hills and are now managing more treks. On the medical side we are undergoing a metamorphosis from the rough and tumble of the old Dispensary to the eminent respectability of the new."[110] Bishop Gelsthorpe, who was later to marry Elfrida Whidborne, described the new Dispensary: "The new hospital block tones beautifully with the surrounding villages and hills, but inside it is modern, beautifully light, clean and airy." He added, "Dr Whidborne and Miss Quinlan have accomplished the first essential in pioneer mission work, gaining the confidence of the people in return for the love which has been revealed. With the above should be added what is being done by Roland Stevenson. He is an absolute genius for languages. He knows 10 reasonably well. He has an insight into and respect for native custom which must be of increasing value as the years go by."[111] By December 1938, Stevenson had completed a Nyamang grammar, a primer and a book of stories for schools. A year later he had almost completed a translation of St Mark's Gospel. The first church building of mud and thatch was dedicated on 10th May 1937. When Dermot Kerr was transferred to the South in 1939, he was replaced by A.H. (Jimmy) Martin and W.S. Hastings Thomson, who later married Kaye Quinlan. Helen Norton, who followed Kaye Quinlan in 1941, wrote in 1945, "The girls' School is really started in Salara now under the leadership of Rachel Hassan and has gone ahead wonderfully". A great fillip was given to the evangelistic work by the arrival of Edward and Kathleen Arnold in 1945, with their wealth of experience gained from work among the Dinka. So a strong team lad the foundations of the church, until the gradual withdrawal of CMS missionaries owing to financial stringency led to the taking over of Salara by the Sudan United Mission in 1953.

[110] *Nuba Mountains Pamphlet No.10, 1939.*

[111] *A.M. Gelsthorpe, Impressions of the Nuba Mountains, June 1940.*

Between 1936 and 1939, the Government opened four elementary schools sited on mission stations, staffed by Copts. In 1939, missions planned with Government support a system of village schools to cover the whole area, and an intermediate school and teacher training centre to provide the teachers. The site chosen for the intermediate school was Katcha and opening and development of the school was entrusted to the experienced R.S. Macdonald, who was transferred with his wife from Juaibor, and Roland Stevenson. Spencer Trimingham wrote of the Macdonalds, "The work of the Macdonalds at Katcha emphasises the importance of the early stages in any pioneer work such as this. Because they were planned to thoroughly with only a small number of boys, the structure today, with its village, elementary and intermediate schools, stand so firmly and securely. In the fourth year now are five of the original boys whom Macdonald selected for the intermediate school. They are all Christians, and very find Christians too."[112] The Macdonalds retired in 1944 on health grounds, having pioneered work in three different areas – Dinka, Nuer and Nuba – a magnificent achievement. Responsibility for the intermediate school thus fell upon the shoulders of Roland Stevenson, who had the assistance of Geoffrey Earl, from Loka in the South, for a short time, and of Kenneth McDouall, until 1959 when the schools were taken over by the Government. The key function of this school was that it produced Sudanese Christian leaders who were proficient in Arabic, among them the first three Nuba pastors, Butrus Tia Shukai, Philip Abbas and Samwil Jangul of the SUM church, of whom Butrus Tia Shukai became the first Sudanese Bishop from the Northern Sudan. The expert help of Miss Constance Padwick was called upon to produce school material in simple Arabic. In 1948 she wrote, "It is a wonderful joy, after 30 years in the grim hardness of the Muslim world, to come to the Nuba Mountains where there is a sense of spiritual springtime, for the church has been born here." Spencer Trimingham summed up the importance of the Nuba Church as follows: "The growth of a literate Arabic Church amongst the Nuba will be of inestimable importance in the presentation of Christianity to Muslims in the Northern Sudan. The Nuba have shown that they can be easily assimilated into the life of the Northern Sudan, and missionaries believe that only through the growth of an Arabic-speaking Christian Church can Sudanese Muslims be won for Christ. In this way the growing Nuba Church will prove of primary importance in the growth of Sudanese Christian communities in great Islamic centres like Omdurman, Wad Medani and El Obeid."[113] The work of Protestant missionary societies was drawn together in the Southern Sudan Christian Council, formed in 1944, and the Norther Sudan Christian Council, formed in 1946. Growth towards self-

government in the Anglican Church was marked by the first meeting of this Diocesan Synod in 1951. In 1957, the Diocese of the Sudan became a member of the Episcopal Synod of Jerusalem and the Middle East, along with the Dioceses of Iran, Egypt and Libya, and the Diocese of Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, under the Archbishop in Jerusalem, the Most Revd Campbell MacInnes. Henceforth the Churches were known as "The Episcopal Church in the Sudan, Egypt etc." Nineteen turbulent years were to pass before the Sudan became an independent Province of the Anglican Communion under its own Sudanese Archbishop.

[112] *J.S. Trimingham, Sudan Diocesan Review, 1947.*

[113] *J.S. Trimingham, The Christian Church in Post-War Sudan, p.29.*

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The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium came to an end on 1st January 1956, when the Sudan became fully independent. It inevitably experienced the birth pangs of a new nation. P.M. Holt concluded his 'Modern History of the Sudan' with these words, "The independent Sudan is faced with a political, a social and a cultural situation, each of great complexity. The integration of north and south, the harmonious combination of the educated elite and the unsophisticated tribesmen, the reconciliation of the Arab and Western cultural traditions – these are the basic problems which underlie the external phenomena of political history. As in so many other situations in the modern world, time and patience are essential to their solution. Although the political leaders occupy the centre of the stage, the work of nation building depends less upon them than upon more obscure figures, the successors of the saints and teachers, who since the time of Ghulamallah al-Rikabi and Dushayn have laboured to kindle the fire of learning and bring justice to a vast and remote land."[114] Among those more obscure figures, the successors of the saints and teachers, the humble Christians of the Sudan, both North and South, have their place.

[114] *Holt p.21.*

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In trying to tell the story of the birth and growth of the Anglican Church in Egypt and the Sudan, every effort has been made to see the Anglican Church as only one small part of the world church and indeed as one aspect of man's response in his search for truth. John Taylor has described religion as a people's response to the reality the Holy Spirit has set before their eyes. It is how men have responded

and taught others to respond to what the Spirit made them aware of.[1]

[1] *J.V. Taylor, The Go-Between God, London 1972, p.182.*

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It is now necessary to look more closely into the nature of that response. In responding to the Anglican presentation of Christian truth, into what sort of heritage were the people of Egypt and the Sudan entering?

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The Birth of the Church of England

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In trying to discover the origins of Anglicanism, it is somewhat disconcerting to be confronted with the statement "No-one knows when the Gospel of Jesus Christ was first preached in the British Isles".[2] But Stephen Neill, in his book 'Anglicanism', goes on to say that "there is reason to think that no long period elapsed between the Resurrection and the origin of the Church of England." There were three streams in early English Christianity: (i) The Romano-British; (ii) the Celtic; and (iii) the Roman. Christianity travelled fast along the trade routes of the Roman Empire. There were probably Christian soldiers on the Roman Wall in Britian in the second century AD. British Bishops were present at the Council of Arles in AD 314. There is no evidence to show that they were present at the Council of Nicea in 325, but there is evidence to show that they accepted its decisions on the true Divinity of Christ. British Bishops were known to be present at the Council of Rimini in 259 and strongly supported Athanasius in the Arian controversy.

[2] *S.C. Neill, Anglicanism, London 1985, p.10.*

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The Romans withdrew from Britain around AD 410. About 450, Saxon invaders from Germany began pouring into East and South-East Britain, paganising the land as they advanced, driving the British Christians into Cumberland, Devon and Cornwall, and beyond the sea into Ireland. At this point, the name of Patrick appears. His origins are not clear. Neill maintains that he, "like most other famous Irishmen, was not Irish."[3] Charles Hole[4] states bluntly that he was not an

emissary of the Pope: "The doctrines expressed in his extant letters breathe in a marked degree the language and spirit of the New Testament, without any recognition of the distinctive preaching of Rome." Henry Chadwick[5] describes how Patrick founded monastic communities in Ireland. It seems that in certain quarters he was criticised for his mediocre education. And then comes the statement: "Perhaps Ireland already possessed Christians with a superior Latin Culture. At any rate, by the sixth century the Irish monasteries were becoming notable centres of study." Questions are raised, therefore, about the origins of Irish Christianity. Dr Murad Kamil, in his book 'Coptic Egypt', quotes the historian Stanley Lane-Poole as saying, "But more important is the belief that Irish Christianity, the great civilising agent of the early Middle Ages among the northern nations, was the child of the Egyptian Church. Seven Egyptian monks are buried at Disert Ulidh and there is much in the architecture and ceremonies of Ireland in the earliest times that reminds one of still earlier Christian remains in Egypt."[6] In 563, the Irish missionary Columba established himself as an abbot on the island of Iona and from there he evangelised northern Britain. To him and to Ninian must be accorded the conversion of Scotland to the Christian faith. Stephen Neill writes, "The Celtic Christianity was very different from that of Roman times, when the centre of Christian life had been the city, with the Bishop who was the chief pastor of the city. In these Celtic lands there were no cities. The centre of everything was the monastery. Of course there were bishops, as in all other churches, but there was no regular diocesan system. The great leaders were the heads of the famous monasteries."[7] From Iona, Aidan came in 634 to convert Northern England. "This too was a monastic enterprise, marked by extreme austerity of life and by a most attractive simplicity of character."[8] In 597, Augustine and his company of monks came to Canterbury as the emissary of Pope Gregory. "Historians have rightly stressed the wisdom of Pope Gregory's famous letter to Augustine, in which he advises him not necessarily to impose upon the newly-formed Church of the English all the usages and customs with which he had been familiar in Rome: 'For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Choose, therefore, from every church, those things that are pious, religious and upright, and when you have as it were made them up into one body, let the minds of the English be accustomed thereunto."[9]

[3] *Ibid, p.10.*

[4] *C. Hole, A Manual of English Church History, London 1910, p.4.*

[5] *H. Chadwick, The Early Church, Penguin 1967, p.255.*

[6] *M.Kamil, Coptic Egypt, Cairo 1969, p.85.*

[7] *Neill, p.10.*

[8] *Ibid, p.10.*

[9] *Ibid, p.11, citing Bede, Ecclesiastical History, Ch.27.*

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There came into being in Britain, therefore, one group of churches of Celtic origin, whose ways were marked by plainness and simplicity, and the other of Roman origin, whose ways were more given to ornament and elaboration. A Synod was held in 664 at Whiby, presided over by the King, Oswy of Northumberland, in order to decide which tradition should be followed. "After the Celtic case had been put forward, Wilfrid of Ripon replied, laying the greatest stress on the authority of Peter and asking, 'Though your fathers were holy, do you think that their small number, in a corner of the remotest island, is to be preferred before the universal Church of Christ throughout the world?' The King, apparently impressed by the argument, gave his decision in favour of the usage of Rome, 'lest, when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys'"[10] In 668, the See of Canterbury became vacant, and Theodore, a Greek monk of Tarsus, was appointed by Pope Vitalian. In the words of the Venerable Bede, "He visited all the island wherever the nations of the Angles inhabited; for he was most willingly entertained and heard by all persons; and everywhere … he taught the right rule of life and the canonical custom of celebrating Easter. This was the first Archbishop whom all the English Church obeyed."[11] In 673, Theodore convened a Synod at Hertford at which various matters relating to the whole Anglo-Saxon Church were discussed. It was the first time when the churches of Britain were found acting as one body under the Archbishop of Canterbury. The birth of the Church of England may fairly be dated from that year.

[10] *Ibid, p.13.*

[11] *Hole, pp.16f.*

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The Relationship Between Church and State

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The Norman conquest of England in 1066 marked the beginning of an era when for four centuries England became an integral part of

Europe. It coincided with the reign of Pope Gregory VII, who was convinced that righteousness could only be maintained if the power of kings was subject to that of the Church. By introducing to England that body of Church law, discipline and practice which had grown up over the centuries and was known as Canon Law, Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, ensured that every Englishman found himself subject to two jurisdictions – that of the King and that of the Church. William the Conqueror, however, stoutly maintained the independence of his realm and the supremacy of his own authority in all attempts by Pope Gregory to claim feudal allegiance to himself. The inevitable clash between Kind and Church came to a head in the assassination of Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas a'Becket, in his own Cathedral in 1170, an event which had its repercussions in the canonisation of Becket and the apparent victory of the Church. But the uneasy relationship between Kind and Church continued.

In trying to form a fair picture of the Church of England in the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, Neill has this to say:[12] "In our own day it would be possible to draw a highly unflattering picture of the Church, in which no detail would be false, but which would represent a considerable distortion of the whole. It seems likely that the general level of the English Church remained fairly steady from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, though with a certain decline in devotion that gathered speed rather rapidly as the Middle Ages reached their close." Among the causes of the decline were the following: Lanfranc felt it right to get rid of as many Anglo-Saxon Bishops as possible and replace them by foreigners. Many of these were absentee bishops residing on the Continent and delegating their authority to others. There was a feeling in England that there were too many foreigners in England and too many foreigners abroad who were drawing English revenues for which they did no work."[13] The true role of bishops was sometimes obscured by the secular roles they had to play as great nobles and civil administrators. By the middle of the thirteenth century, the great monasteries had ceased to be centres of spiritual power. "They had covered the face of England with buildings of marvellous beauty and they had done much to enrich the country by transforming its methods of agriculture and trade. But gradually life and heroism departed. It was not so much that monks and nuns led scandalous lives – it was much more that they had become very ordinary and secular."[14] The friars of the thirteenth century provided some of the best scholars, thinkers and preachers for the next three centuries. But they too became gradually secularised, losing the appeal of their professed poverty in their gradually increasing wealth. Most

serious of all was the ignorance of the Bible in the lives of the common people, until John Wyclif produced the first English version of the Scriptures in 1382.

[12] *Neill, p.23.*
[13] *Ibid, p.18.*
[14] *Ibid, p.24.*

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The Reformation of the English Church

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It is a favourite minor sport derisively to write off the Reformation of the English Church as a by-product of the whims and fancies of King Henry VIII. Neill, however, maintains that "nothing could be further from the truth than to represent the Pope as standing for the sanctity of Christian marriage and Henry as trying to debase it for the furtherance of his own lust."[15] It would seem in fact, that quite independently of the desire of Henry VIII for a male heir, there were two other factors working for change: the growth of national and anti-clerical feeling and the spread of Lutheran ideas.

[15] *Ibid, p.37.*

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For centuries, the Church had dominated every part of the nation's life. By the year 1500, laymen were determined to bring that domination to an end. Doubtless it was part of the spirit of the Renaissance, which tended to question all that was traditional and accepted. In England, though the House of Commons was no doubt used by Henry VIII to get his own way, it became increasingly the body which jealously maintained its right to be the policy-making body of the nation. At the same time, the Church ensured its own decline in power by "the vexatious claims and exactions of the Church courts" and the arrogance of men like Cardinal Wolsey. When Opportunities arose to undermine the power of the clergy, there were few who were ready to defend them.

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The rejection of the Pope's authority over the Church of England and the assumption by Heny VIII of the title of Supreme Head, under Christ, of the English Church, certainly came to a head over his

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determination to provide a male heir to the throne and his consequent clash with the Pope over the divorce of Queen Cathrine and re-marriage to Anne Boleyn. Neill points out, however, that it was nullity that Henry sought and not divorce. The basis of his claim was that as a young man, Henry had been married to his brother's widow, "a pious Spanish lady a good many years older than himself." Their only living issue being a daughter, Mary, and being attracted to Anne Boleyn. Henry saw annulment of his first marriage as the way out. "It was plain to all men that the Pope was longing to accord to Henry the nullity for which he asked, if only he could find some means of doing so without offending the Emperor Charles V, who was Queen Catherine's nephew and of whom he was mortally afraid"[16] Exasperated by interminable delays, Henry repudiated the Pope's jurisdiction over the affairs of the Church of England and himself assumed the title of Supreme Head of the English Church. To this day, when an English bishopric falls vacant, the Queen, under this same Act of 1534, appoints bishops of the Church of England. This prerogative, however, does not extend beyond the 43 dioceses of the English provinces.

[16] *Ibid, p.38.*

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While it is undeniably right for a church to elect its own leaders, the process of democratically organised elections has sometimes shown the Church to be no better than the State in avoiding the unseemliness of bitter partisanship, and the virtues of a system which leaves the final choice to an impartial external authority are seen to be not without their value.

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The true source of the Reformation of the English Church was the Lutheran Reformation in Germany. Lutheran books and ideas began to be discussed in England, notably at Cambridge. Scholars began to read the Bible in a new way. Discarding the use of allegorical and mystical interpretations, they went straight to the original Greek text and asked what it meant. The appeal was to the mind and will rather than to the emotions. In this way the Bible came alive and had the force of a living word of God spoken directly to contemporary man. The doctrine of justification by faith set men free to discover a new and direct relationship with God which brought about an inner reformation of character that was far more basic than any changes in ritual or organisation. Thus, holiness of character was seen to be the standard not only of the monastery but of society at large. The layman was called to be a saint. His place of witness was the home, the field

and the factory. This was Reformation indeed.

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One of the young men who read Lutheran books at Cambridge was Thomas Cranmer. Reluctantly accepting the office of Archbishop of Canterbury thrust upon him by Henry VIII, he was "to do more than any other man to make the Church of England what it is today. We have no Luther or Calvin (and a good thing too, many Anglicans would be inclined to say); we have as our chief reformer the man who had a greater genius for liturgical worship than any other of whom we have record in the whole history of the Church."[17]

[17] *Ibid, p.52.*

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What were Cranmer's Reformation ideals?

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First was his emphasis on the importance of the Bible as the supreme authority to which all church tradition must conform and by which it must be tried. In September 1538, Parliament ordered that "every parish in the country should purchase a Bible of the largest volume in English, to be set up in every church where the parishioners might most commodiously resort to the same and read it."[18] The version of the Bible so used was knows as The Great Bible and consisted of the Tyndale translation supplemented and revised by Coverdale. Later, Cranmer produced the Lectionary, which "made the Church of England the greatest Bible-reading church in the world. In no other church anywhere is the Bible read in public worship so regularly, with such order, and at such length, as in the Anglican fellowship of Churches."[19] Neill singles out deviation from this principle of the supreme authority of the Bible as the one central point of division between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, following the Council of Trent in 1546, when "the traditions written and unwritten" were placed on an equal footing with the Bible as the supreme authority. "The Church of England stands simply and uncompromisingly for the Catholic position held by the Church through the centuries: 'Holy Scripture 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."”[20]

[18] *Ibid, p.55.*
[19] *Ibid, p.54.*
[20] *Ibid, p.63.*

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Cranmer's second objective was to have uniformity of worship throughout the Church of England, a Book of Common Prayer. “And where heretofore there hath been great diversity in saying and singing in churches within the realm; some following Salisbury use, some Hereford, some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln; Now from henceforth all the whole realm shall have but one use.”[21]

[21] *Ibid, p.68.*

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Cranmer fixed the liturgical order of the English Church, an order which first appeared in 1549, was revised in 1552 and 1662 and continued to be in use for more than 400 years. The task which faced Cranme was to reduce the seven daily offices of the monks to two, and in doing so he revealed real liturgical genius. His aims were threefold: simplicity, brevity and a great increase in the reading of Scripture. “By a subtle combination of the year, the month, the week and the day, the services were given that fixed and unvarying framework which is the basis of all liturgical stability, combined with enough variety to avoid monotony.”[22]

[22] *Ibid, p.68.*

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Cranmer's third objective was to try to clarify the doctrinal position of the English Church, avoiding on the one hand the late mediaeval traditions of Rome, and on the other the excesses of the Anabaptists, who wished to destroy all that had gone before and start afresh. The result was the Forty Two Articles, later reduced to Thirty Nine. In the main they were considered to be “an admirable body of divinity admirably expressed.” But it has to be said that some of them deal with controversies which are no longer the concern of the Church. For almost three centuries all holding office in the Church of England had to affirm their assent to the Thiry Nine Articles. In some Provinces of the Anglican Communion the Articles have been retained, in others they have not.

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The fourth of Cranmer's objectives was to re-establish Canon Law in such form as was not "contrariant to the laws, customs and statutes of the realm, nor to the damage and hurt of the King's prerogative royal", an objective which was not achieved until 1604. Other ideals were to raise the educational standards of the clergy, to created centres of ordination training based on cathedrals, and to work towards the integration of the Reformed Churches of Europe. "If Cranmer had had his way, the World Council of Churches would have come into being in 1548 and not in 1948."[23]

[23] *Ibid, p.87.*

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The influence of Cranmer on the English Church continued during the short reign of Edward VI, who succeeded his father Henry VIII when he was only ten years old and died when he was fifteen. Edward was succeeded by his half-sister Mary, daughter of Henry VIII and his first wife Catherine of Aragon, an ardent Roman Catholic. She was dominated by the memory of her mother and by her devotion to the Roman Catholic Church. In the first year of her reign, the English Church was brought back into the communion of the Roman Catholic Church. Five bishops, including Cranmer, were burnt at the stake. The issue on which they were judged was the nature of the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Thus the struggles between the rival faiths of England were tense and dramatic. Winston Churchill was to write: "The doctrinal revolution enforced by Cranmer under Edward VI and the Counter-Revolution … under Mary, exposed our agitated Islanders in one single decade to a frightful oscillation. Here were the citizens, the peasants, the whole mass of living beings who composed the nation, ordered in the name of King Edward VI to march along one path to salvation, and under Queen Mary to march back again in the opposite direction; and all who would not move on the first order or turn about on the second must prove their convictions, if necessary, at the gibbet or the stake. Thus was New England imposed on Old England; thus did Old England in terrible counter-stroke resume a fleeting sway; and from all this agony there was to emerge under Queen Elizabeth a compromise between Old and New which, though it did no abate their warfare, so far confined its fury that it could not prove mortal to the unity and continuity of national society."[24]

[24] *W.S. Churchill, A History of the English-speaking Peoples, Bloomsbury 1956, Vol II, p.119.*

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The accession of Elizabeth in 1558 brought to the throne a strong character brought up in the faith of Cranmer and the Reformers and endued with the same genius for sensing the feelings of her subjects and retaining their loyalty as her father Henry VIII. She therefore re-assumed the position adopted by her father as head of both Church and State and sought to re-establish the independence of the Church of England with as little dislocation as possible. She was assailed, however, by the pressures of extremism from two directions. On 25 February 1570, Pop Pius V issued a Papal Bull in which he excommunicated Elizabeth on grounds of heresy and considered her therefore to have forfeited her right to the English crown. This not only completely severed relations with the Church of Rome but made every English Roman Catholic a potential traitor to his Queen and country, with the dire consequence which inevitably followed. Extreme pressure from another direction came from the Puritans, Englishmen who had fled to Europe during the Marian persecutions and now returned, convinced that the reformation of the English Church had not gone far enough and calling for further 'purification' from what they considered to be unscriptural forms and ceremonies still being practised. By 1593, under Elizabeth, the Church of England had shown that it would not walk in the ways either of Geneva or Rome, and so there emerged the Via Media, or Middle Way, for which the Church of England is famous. Neill is at pains to point out that this Middle Way is not the negative way of "neither this nor that", but a very positive form of Christian belief "free from the distortions, the exaggerations, the over-definitions both of the Protestant left wing and of the right wing of Tridentine Catholicism."[25]

[25] *Neill, p.119.*

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The reign of Queen Elizabeth established in the Church of England certain features which have had an abiding influence in determining the character of the Church right down to the present day. First, her reign saw important advances in the training of the clergy, making them effective ministers not only of the Sacraments but of the Word. Second, it was a period during which the Bible was in the hands and the homes of ordinary people.t "The English people became the people of a book, and that book the Bible."[26] Third, though constant and universal usage, the words and rhythms of the Prayer Book became known largely by hearts and so became embedded in the private devotions of the ordinary people. "Bible and Prayer Book together are the marrow and sinews of English Church life."[27]

[26] *J.R. Green, A Short History of the English People, London 1874, p.447.*
[27] *Neill, p.130.*

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Elizabeth was succeeded by James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England. The coming of a King from the land of Presbyterianism fanned the hopes of the Puritans. But Jame reacted against them and turned them into an opposition. "I know what would become of my supremacy. No bishop, no king. When I mean to live under presbytery, I will go to Scotland again, but while I am in England, I will have bishops to govern the Church."[28] By far the most important feature of his reign was the publication of the world's best seller, the Authorised Version of the Bible, which was itself based on the Geneva Bible, which was in turn based on Tyndale's translation. The revision was done by fifty of the most learned men in the kingdom, using all the best available sources of Greek and Hebrew scholarship. Though obviously not without defects, "it remains the fact that it is this version that has worked its way into every corner of the life of the English-speaking world and into the hearts of uncounted Christians of the British race."[29] Much though he loved the English Church, it has to be said that King James did it much harm. "The Kind regarded positions in Church and State not as offices of trust but as sinecures or perquisites to be given away or sold to the highest bidder. The bureaucracy thus became a vast system or market of patronage; and this patronage, moreover, was not operated by the King himself; it was operated in his name by royal favourites."[30]

[28] *Ibid, p.135.*
[29] *Ibid, p.135.*
[30] *Ibid, p.138.*

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The Counter-Reformation in England

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During the reign of James I some of the effects of the Roman Counter-Reformation began to be felt in England. In1602 William Laud, a Fellow of St John's College, Oxford, maintained "the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of Christ derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church, as in others in the East and South, until the Reformation."[31] He was

genuinely concerned to establish a visible communion of Episcopal Protestantism with the unreformed churches in East and West. His mistake was to make this view authoritative and so challenge the supreme authority accorded to Scripture as the very heart of the English Reformation. James 1 supported these views, over against the views of the Puritans, and appointed as Bishops those who held the same views. Thus the face of English theology began to be changed. Laud was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by King Charles 1 in1633. By enforcing by law the form of church order which he thought right, Laud, who had otherwise rendered great service to the Church by raising standards of discipline among the clergy, brought disaster upon the Church by allowing it to become an integral part of the governing of the country. In April 1640, Convocation passed a set of provocative Canons which roused Puritan fury to its height. In December 1640 a petition was presented to Parliament protesting that the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans and archdeacons had become a danger to both Church and State. On 1st September 1642 the House of Commons voted the abolition of bishops, deans and chapters, and approved the government of the Church by a Synod consisting of 121 clergy and 30 laymen nominated by Parliament. Of the clergy, the majority were Puritans, some were Independents and some moderate Episcopalians. Laud was executed on Tower Hill on 10th January 1645. It seems that while Laud claimed that Episcopacy was a divine institution to be recognised and submitted to by all, the Puritans now claimed the same status for Presbyterianism. It remained for Parliament, as representing the people, to modify both views and to maintain the principle that the civil power must assert its supremacy over all causes and persons, both civil and ecclesiastical.

[31] *Ibid, p.277.*

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This religious cleavage inevitably had serious political consequences. The economic situation was such that James I and Charles I were unable to live on their own resources. The Parliament of their day was unwilling to make good the deficiency except on religious and political conditions which these Stuart kings were unwilling to accept. The result was Civil War. On one side were the Royalists, who on the whole were Episcopalians, and on the other side were Parliamentarians, who for the most part were Puritans. In order to gain a clear picture of the situation during this crisis of survival for the Church of England, it is worth quoting at length from G.M. Trevelyan's 'English Social History', the British edition of April 1946, p.234:

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"The Puritan Revolution was itself, in the basic impulse, a Pilgrim's Progress. 'I dreamed', wrote Bunyan, 'and behold I saw a Man clothed with rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back. I looked, and saw him open the book and read therein; and as he read, he wept and trembled; and not being able longer to contain, he broke out with a lamentable cry, saying, 'What shall I do?' That lonely figure, with the Bible and the burden of his sin, is not only Bunyan himself. It is the representative Puritan of the English Puritan epoch. When Bunyan was a young man in the years that followed Naseby, Puritanism had come to its moment of greatest force and vigour, in war, in politics, in literature, and in social and individual life. 'To cast the kingdom old into another mould', the prime motive force of it all was just this lonely figure of the first paragraph in Pilgrim's Progress – the poor man seeking salvation with tears, with no guide save the Bible in his hand. That man, multiplied, congregated, regimented, was a force of tremendous potency, to make and to destroy. It was the force by which Olivert Cromwell and George Fox and John Wesley wrought their wonders, being men of a like experience themselves. But it would be a mistake to suppose that this earnestness of personal and family religion was confined to the Puritans and the Roundheads. The Memoirs of the Verney family and many other records of the time show us Cavalier households as religious as the Puritan, though not so wearisomely obtrusive with scripture phrases for every common act of life. Many of the small gentry and yeomen, particularly in the northern and western half of England, felt, like humble and patient Alice Thornton, that the Church of England was that 'excellent, pure and glorious church then established, which for soundness in faith and doctrine, none could parallel since the Apostles' time' … Many families in all ranks of life who fought and suffered for the Church and the Prayer Book, by those sufferings learnt a love of the Church of England which had not been so consistently felt and expressed before the Civil War as it was after the Restoration. And that love for the Church as Laud had fashioned it continues, until the nineteenth century, to be combined with a family and personal piety and a study of the Bible that was common to all English Protestants who took their religion seriously."

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It is not the purpose of this chapter to wade through the ups and downs of English history, but simply to try to discern the weaving of the pattern which has gone to make up the tapestry of the Anglican Church. So it may be said that during the years of the Civil War we do not see one sort of church destroyed and another taking its place, but

the old Episcopal Church being partially Presbyterianised, holding its own in some quarters but losing its hold in others. Charles I was executed on 30th January 1649 because he clung tenaciously to the principle of the Episcopacy and refused to yield to the overwhelming pressures of Presbyterianism. On 7th March 1640 the kingly office was abolished by a vote in the House of Commons, and on 16th December 1653, Oliver Cromwell was declared Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth was a period of experimentation both in Church and State.

By the time Cromwell died in 1658, men had begun to long for the stability of the past and approaches were made to Charles II in Holland, where he had been living in exile. The pattern of the Restoration Church, however, was determined not by those who had endured the painful vicissitudes of the Commonwealth but by those Laudians who had gone into exile with Charles II and now returned, determined to restore the full force of Episcopacy. On 25th March 1661 the King appointed twelve bishops and twelve Puritan divines to advise upon and review the Book of Common Prayer. The result was the Prayer Book of 1662 which is in use to this day. "If the Laudians had been somewhat moderate in the ecclesiastical settlement, in political affairs they set the Church of England on a course of sinning of which it has never adequately repented, and the effects of which still darken the relationships between Anglicans and Noncoformists in England … It came to be taken almost for granted that religious nonconformity was synonymous with political disaffection. Under the Clarendon Code of the Corporation Act, the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act and the Five Mile Act, Protestant Nonconformists, including Presbyterians, were constituted a second nation within a nation, a nation that stood permanently at a disadvantage, that was denied equal privileges with others and the right of taking part in its own government. More than two centuries were to elapse before this iniquity was done away."[32] James II attempted to change this state of affairs, not, however, to improve the lot of Presbyterians, but to legalise the position of Roman Catholics. Himself a fanatical Roman Catholic, he forced through the Declaration of Indulgence of 27th April 1688, relieving the whole Nonconformist body from legal penalties, and ordered it to be read in all churches on the 4th May. The intention was to pave the way for the appointment of Roman Catholics to public office, as ministers of state, officers in the army and navy, and as heads of colleges. Seven bishops protested, were tried and acquitted amidst national rejoicing. At the same time, the heads of seven leading families in England approached William, Prince of Orange, who was married to Mary, daughter of James II. On 5th

November 1688 Prince William landed at Torbay, in Devon. On 11th November King James II fled to France, "and with him went an old England that was never to come again. "[33] And on 13th February 1689 William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England. This was, in many ways, the beginning of the history of modern England.

[32] *Ibid, pp165f.*
[33] *Ibid, p.168.*

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The Spread of Anglicanism Throughout the World

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The rule of William and Mary marked the end of the personal rule of monarchs. The idea of the 'divine right of kings' was ended. Henceforth the role of kings was defined by Parliament. The Declaration of Rights laid down that England could not be governed by s sovereign who was himself a 'papist' but must be in communion with the national church. There were those among the bishops who had sworn allegiance to James II and were not prepared to abandon that vow, even though the king was a Roman Catholic. Some of these men were deprived of their office and lived quietly in semi-retirement, while others were prepared to go into a schism which gradually petered out by 1705. The Toleration Act of 1689 went some way towards bringing Nonconformists back into the fold. It restored their right to worship separately and introduced the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of several churches within a single state – an important step.

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John Wesley was a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and ordained into the Church of England. He deviated from normal Anglican practice by disregarding the parochial system and adopting an itinerant form of ministry, with the whole of England as his 'parish'. But he was entirely orthodox in his preaching and teaching, emphasising the need for serious study through the discipline of the 'weekly class meeting'. At an early stage, however, he came to the conclusion that "in the apostolic age there was no distinction between the episcopate and the presbyterate and that there is no ecclesiastical act commonly attaching to the episcopal office which the presbyter, in case of

necessity, cannot perform."[34] Although Wesley remained a faithful minister of the Church of England until the day of his death, he started a movement which almost inevitably led to schism. "It is possible to imagine that, with a little more vigour on the part of the Church of England and a little more flexibility on the part of Wesley, it might have been found practicable to retain the gifts and graces of Methodism within the Church of England."[35] By the time John Wesley died, Methodism had become a distinct denomination, with its own ministers, its own property and its own central government. A formal act of separation was never drawn up. The new movement simply drifted apart from the parent body and has remained so to this day.

[34] *Ibid, p.189.*
[35] *Ibid, p.190.*

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But if John Wesley was the fruit of what is known as the Evangelical Revival and was one of its great leaders in England, there were others who were fired with the same spirit and remained within the Church of England, notably Charles Simeon and John Newton. Stephen Neill asks what could be considered to be the special doctrines held by the Evangelicals, and gives the following answer: " The answer is that, then as now, they had no special doctrines; they were simply men who took seriously what they read in the Bible and the Prayer Book." William Wilberforce, in his 'Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System (1797)', complained that the nominal Christian had lost all knowledge of real Christianity and went on to single out "the decay of the sense of sin" as the basic cause."[36] The Evangelicals therefore stressed the sinfulness of man, his inability to save himself and his need of a Saviour. They proclaimed God not as an idea but as the God who cares, who has acted in history and who in Jesus Christ has met man with provision for his every need. They deplored emotionalism. Man must respond to the love of God in obedience and holiness of life.

[36] *Ibid, p.193.*

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Under the heading 'The West Wind of the Spirit', reference has already been made to a further product of the Evangelical Revival – the emergence of the Voluntary Societies to carry out new initiatives in the life of the Church of England. Thus there came into being the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in 1699, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1701, the Church

Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799, and the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) in 1804. The great champion of the 'volunteer principle' in the life of the church, in later years, was Max Warren. In his autobiography 'Crowded Canvas'[37] he wrote, "How can we best secure an abiding place for a spiritual initiative, which will at the same time be itself safeguarded from degenerating into anarchy? Here, as I see it, is the role of the voluntary organisation. Needless to say, the voluntary organisation is not an end in itself. It exists to be a channel for the initiative of those who compose it. If it ceases to express this initiative it will die. In so far as it is responsible and Christian, it will have intimate, though not necessarily constitutional, links with a Christian Church, either denominationally or ecumenically organised. Links can be effective without being constitutional. This is a fundamental principle of community. To see this and to make provision for it is one of the best ways of safeguarding the structure of society from being exploited by a power-drunk individual of a power-obsessed bureaucracy. This has been the discovery of democracy at its best." F.W. Dillistone, in his 'Into All the World'[38], quotes Max Warren further: "Of this I am certain, that only a Voluntary Association of committed men and women who share a body of conviction both as to what needs doing and how it needs doing will ever be able to function as a unit for specialised evangelism. In one sense of the word that is a pragmatic approach. But it is on grounds of deepest theological principle that I would insist that the greatest need of the Church is for decentralisation of effort, not centralisation of power. And decentralisation of effort means a proper autonomy for Voluntary Associations which at the same time see themselves as loyal parts of the Great Church itself. The theological principles involved here derive from the doctrine of the Holy Spirit which sees him as ever seeking fresh initiatives in the life of mankind and never confining himself or his activities to the institutional life of his Church. This further carries with it a high doctrine of the laity which sees the ordinary man and woman as being always a potential means by which the Holy Spirit takes some of his initiatives. This understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit lies at the very heart of any theological appraisal of the significance of the Voluntary Association as a principle, whether in Church or State. Somewhere here is to be found the theological rationale for democracy as it has been developed in the West under the inspiration of the gospel." That is a very important statement indeed.

[37] *M.A.C. Warren, Crowded Canvas, London 1974, p.158.*

[38] *F.W. Dillistone, Into All The World, London 1980, p.116.*

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We have seen how the adventurous spirit and skill of Elizabethan seamen opened up new avenues of trade in the sixteenth century and how Elizabeth established chartered trading companies in various geographical areas of the globe. Wherever these merchant adventures went they took their chaplains with them, and this is the way that Anglicanism was first carried beyond the shores of England. Thus Edward Pococks was Chaplain to the Levant Company in Aleppo from 1630 to 1636. John Hall was the first Anglican clergyman to reside in India in 1615. St Mary's Church, Madras, was consecrated in 1680. When the Charter for the East India Company was renewed in 1698, chaplains were for the first time urged to learn the native languages of the country in which they served, in order to instruct in the Christian faith the local employees of the Company.

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The real initiatives for the founding of indigenous churches came through the voluntary societies. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the SPCK sent 28 missionaries to India, all being Germans, except for two Danes and one Swede, and all being Lutherans, efforts to recruit English missionaries being unsuccessful. In many cases they used the Anglican Prayer Book, baptised converts and celebrated Holy Communion according to the Anglican rite. In the absence of bishops, they felt it right to ordain a number of 'country priests'.

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Anglican chaplains serving overseas came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. The question of overseas bishops had to be faced with the coming of American Independence in 1776. As the colonisation of America proceeded, various church traditions came to be practised. Only in the State of Virginia was the Church of England accepted as the established church. By 1671 there were 48 Anglican parishes in Virginia. With the coming into being of the SPG in 1701, instructions were given to its missionaries to care not only for the colonists but for the negro slaves who served them. But in America as in India episcopal authority still resided in England and any Americans who wished to be ordained had to cross the Atlantic at considerable expense. The change came with the American War of Independence. In 1783, the clergy of Connecticut selected Samuel Seabury, one of their own number, to be their Bishop, and duly sent him to England to be consecrated. As an independent American, however, he could not be expected to swear an oath of allegiance to the English king, as was the case with English bishops. A way round the difficulty was found by the consecration being carried out by three

Scottish bishops. It was not until 1786 that an act was passed to empower the Archbishops of Canterbury or York to consecrate to the office of bishop citizens of countries outside His Majesty's Dominions, still requiring royal licence but not requiring the oath of allegiance and supremacy. By 1790, America had three bishops of the English succession and one of the Scottish, and henceforth they were able to consecrate their own bishops without reference to England. This was the beginning of the world-wide expansion of the Anglican episcopate and the birth of the world-wide Anglican Communion.

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The establishment of an independent Anglican Church in the USA was the forerunner of the establishment of similar churches in the British dominions of New Zealand, Australia and Canada. The pattern was similar – the appointment of a first bishop by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the consecration of local men without oath of allegiance to the British sovereign, the meeting of a General Synod of the new church, the writing of a Constitution, the establishment of an independent province. The Anglican Church was never the only church in the territory and therefore not in the British sense the ‘established church'. In Canda and South Africa, Britain was not the only colonising power. Thus the Roman Catholic Church was strongly established by the French in Canada and the Dutch Reformed Church by the Boers in South Africa.

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The beginning of Anglican penetration into the indigenous populations of countries overseas was undertaken, in most cases, by the missionary societies. In India, as we have seen, the activities of the Chaplains of the East India Company were, for the most part, restricted to ministry to the European employees. One of them, however, Henry Martyn, the first English candidate to offer to the Church Missionary Society and curate to Charles Simeon in Cambridge, sailed for India in 1805, inspired by the work of William Carey in Bengal. Within the short space of six years he had translated the New Testament into Hindustani, Persian and Arabic, and his first convert, Abdel Masih, became the first Indian to be ordained into the Anglican Church in 1825. CMS missionaries began work in South India in 1816. In 1829, SPG took over work begun by SPCK. There was a mass movement towards Christianity among the ‘depressed classes', the underprivileged outcasts who make up one sixth of the population of India. High caste Hindus and Muslims were served by the great Christian Colleges of India, from which came the future leaders of the Indian Church. The first Bishop of Calcutta was appointed in 1813. As early as 1877 the bishops in India were pressing

for a system of synodical government. But it was not until 1930 that the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon became an independent Province, the Church of Pakistan being added in 1947 through the union of the Anglican, Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in South India. The first Indian to be consecrated Bishop was Vedanayakam Samuel Azariah of Dornakal in 1912. "He was perhaps the greatest leader yet produced by any of the third world churches", wrote Stephen Neill in 1958.[39]

[39] *Neill, p.328.*

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We have already seen how the Christian Gospel penetrated the swamps of the upper reaches of the Nile to reach the Sudan, and how the brothers Frumentius took the message to Ethiopia. The story of the opening up of the rest of Africa begins with the Portuguese, who sailed to Senegal and the Gold Coast in the 15th century and opened up the route to India round the Cape of Good Hope. They were followed by the Dutch in the 17th century, who settled in the Cape in 1652. Britain came into the picture in the 19th century with the momentous decision taken by the British Parliament in 1805 to make the slave trade illegal in any of the British dependencies. In 1804, CMS missionaries had landed in Sierra Leone and soon began work among the freed slaves in Freetown. In 1827 CMS founded Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone for the higher education of Africans. It became a key institution in the production of Christian leaders for the whole of West Africa. In 1844, Krapf and Rehmann landed at Mombasa on the East Coast and began the work which opened up the whole of Central Africa. In 1861 C.F. Mackenzie was consecrated in Cape Town to be bishop in charge of a new mission on the Zambesi. From these beginnings have flowered the independent Anglican provinces of West Africa, Central Africa, South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire, Sudan and Nigeria.

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As Anglicanism spread to a growing number of countries, it was felt desirable that at least the bishops should meet together from time to time, to co-ordinate planning, strengthen the bonds of unity and consult about major issues facing the church. So the first Lambeth Conference was held in 1867 at Lambeth Palace. The invitation to meet was accepted by 76 bishops, of whom 18 were from England, 5 from Ireland, 6 from Scotland, 19 from the USA and 24 from 'the colonies'. "It was greatly to be regretted that the only black bishop was not present – Samuel Adjai Crowther. But if the bishop who started life as a slave was not there, one who started life as a Jew

managed to arrive, Samuel Gobat, tremendous in size, now Bishop in Jerusalem."[40] The Lambeth Conference has met about once a decade ever since.

[40] *A.G.M. Stephenson, The First Lambeth Conference 1867, SPCK 1967, p.244.*

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In 1897, the Lambeth Conference passed a resolution "that it is advisable that a consultative body should be formed to which resort may be had, if desired, by National Churches, Provinces and extra-Provincial Dioceses of the Anglican Communion, either for information or advice, and that the Archbishop of Canterbury be requested to take such steps as he may think most desirable for the creation of this consultative body." Thus the Lambeth Consultative Body came into being and continued to meet until 1968, when it became the Anglican Consultative Council, whose first General Secretary was Bishop Stephen Bayne, with responsibility to develop agreed policies in the world mission of the Anglican Communion, and to encourage and guide the participation of the Communion in the ecumenical movement. It was to meet every two years, with a Standing Committee which was to meet every year.

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It is time to try to summarise briefly this all too sketchy picture of the Anglican Communion. It is important to bear in mind that the Church of God is an organism and not an organisation, and as such cannot be reduced to rigid and unchanging formulations of doctrine or codes of practice. It is a living, growing organism which will take on different forms and expressions in different environments and cultures. Yet it is natural to try to find some common features which would, perhaps, at any given time, be recognisable as those of members of the same family. Such an attempt was made in 1888. The Bishops, under Archbishop E.W. Benson, issued a statement which became known as "The Lambeth Quadrilateral'. It did no claim to express the whole ethos of Anglicanism, but gave expression to four things which were so essential to Anglicanism that reunion with other communions could not be contemplated unless they had all four:

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A. The Holy Scriptures of Old and New Testaments, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

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B. The Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal Symbol; and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

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C. The two Sacraments ordained by Christ himself – Baptism and the Lord's Supper – ministered with unfailing use of Christ's words of Institution and of the elements ordained by him.

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D. The Historic Episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nation and peoples called of God until the Unity of his Church.

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Finally, it is necessary to place the Anglican Communion in the context of the World Church. The Lambeth Conference of 1948 put forward the following statement:

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“Here we desire to set before our people a view of what, if it be the will of God, may come to pass. As Anglicans we believe that God has entrusted to us in our Communion not only the Catholic faith, but a special service to render to the whole Church. Reunion of any part of our Communion with other denominations in its own area must make the resulting Church no longer simply Anglican, but something more comprehensive. There would be, in every country where there now exist the Anglican Church and others separated from it, a united Church Catholic and evangelical, but no longer in the limiting sense of the word Anglican. The Anglican Communion would be merged in a much

larger Communion of National or Regional Churches, in full Communion with one another, united in all the terms of what is known as the Lambeth Quadrilateral.

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"It is well to keep this vision before us; but we are still far from its attainment and until this larger Communion begins to take firmer shape, it would only be a weakening of the present strength and service of the Anglican Communion if parts of it were severed from it prematurely. If we were slow to advance the larger cause, it would be a betrayal of what we believe to be our special calling. It would be equally a betrayal of our trust before God if the Anglican Communion were to allow itself to be dispersed before its particular work was done."[41]

[41] *Lambeth Conference 1948, pp.22f.*

Reference

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The departure of the British in 1956 left the following situation in the Episcopal Church:

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All Saints Cathedral Unstaffed

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Jesus the Light of the World Archdeacon Adeeb

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The Good Shepherd, Giza The Revd Ishaq Musaad

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St Michael's, Heliopolis The Revd Thabit Athanasius

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St Mark's, Menouf The Revd Aziz Hanna

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The Epiphany, Port Said Unstaffed

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All Saints, Ismailia Unstaffed

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St Saviour's, Suez Unstaffed

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St Mary's, Kasr El Doubara, Cairo, had been handed over to the Greek Catholics in 1941, soon after the building of All Saints Cathedral. This was made possible through the generosity of a Syrian lady, Miss Mary Kahil. In 1953 Fr Xavier Eid began a long period of ministry at St Mary's which continues to this day, during which he has been the moving spirit in ecumenical relations among the Christian Churches in Cairo, a truly saintly man, but a saint with a twinkle in his eye.

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Bishop Frank Johnston resigned in 1958 after medical reports that his health had deteriorated, making it inadvisable for him to serve overseas again. He died suddenly on 17th September 1963 while taking a service at Aldershot commemorating the Battle of Arnhem. He was a great lover of Egypt, its people and its church, which he served for over forty years. Episcopal oversight for the Episcopal Church in Egypt passed to the Bishop in Jerusalem, Campbell MacInnes, son of Rennie MacInnes, now with the status of Archbishop, Bishop Naguib Cuba'in being Bishop in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Archbishop MacInnes paid a flying visit to Alexandria at the time of his appointment in August 1957 and was given a friendly welcome. He was able to pay a longer visit to Egypt in December 1959, when he called a Diocesan Conference and formed the Anglican Church Trustees, a body registered in London, with responsibility for all church buildings in Egypt. He reported a large service at the Cathedral, with 1000 present, for the performance of selections from the Messiah by a choir from Heliopolis.

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Services at the Cathedral, in English and in Arabic, continued under the leadership of Archdeacon Adeeb Shammas, with the help of Lay Readers Habib Said and Ibrahim Wakid and the Cathedral Verger, Aziz Wasif. Habib Said has already been referred to as Temple Gairdner's successor in the field of Christian literature in Arabic. Aziz Wasif we will meet again as one who rendered long and faithful service as an ordained minister of the Episcopal Church. Ibrahim Wakid, known universally as Abe, and his wife Mattout, known universally at Tootie, were products of the English Mission College, an institution which, on any reckoning, made a unique contribution to the life of the Christian Churches in Egypt. The Church owed much to Abe and Tootie Wakid. They have been utterly faithful down the years and have used their gifts unstintingly in the life and service of the Church. Tootie has used her considerable practical and artistic gifts and her ready hospitality to serve the Church. Abe's business gifts and experience have always been at the disposal of the Church and he has served as Treasurer of the Cathedral, the Diocese and the Province. Moreover, his qualifications as a Lay Reader have served the Church well in the sometimes difficult circumstances through which it has passed.

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The English Mission College was founded in 1924 by the Revd A.D. Martin, to afford the international community in Cairo an opportunity for the education of children based on Christian character training. It

began in unpretentious buildings in Fagalla, not far from the main railway station. It consisted of a Preparatory School, a Girls' secondary School and a Boys' Secondary School, preparing pupils for the Oxford and Cambridge School Certificate and Higher School Certificate. In 1938 the school moved to better premises in Qubba, where it flourished until 1957 when it was taken over by the Egyptian Ministry of Education and lost its distinctive Christian character. Its pupils numbered over 900, drawn from 30 different nationalities. The quality of its staff may be judged by the fact that it included at various times such names as Joe Fison, later Bishop of Salisbury; Ken Howell, later Bishop of Chile, Bolivia and Peru; Stanley Betts, later Bishop of Maidstone; Isaac Dunbar, later Archdeacon of North Africa; Walter Barker, later General Secretary of the Church's Ministry among the Jews; and an Egyptian teacher named Shenouda, later Shenouda III, Patriarch of the Coptic Orthodox Church. Its insistence on making the formation of Christian character the essential basis of its curriculum inevitably brought the College into conflict with Egyptian educational policy, causing it to close its doors to non-Christians in 1949, and being forced to open them to all comers in 1956. Whatever the arguments for or against this policy, the fact is that the school produced a steady stream of men and women of sterling Christian character, many of whom have made a valuable contribution to the life of the whole Christian community in Egypt. In 1946 the property was vested in St Mary's Waqf, a religious trust under the control of the Bishop of the Episcopal Church In 1956 [original has1946: typo?] the property was sequestrated by the Egyptian Government, who in 1960 paid a substantial sum by way of compensation to St Mary's Waqf, thus forming a fund available primarily to the Diocese of Egypt for educational purposes, but available also for similar purposes to the whole Episcopal Church in the Middle East.

Thabit Athanasius was a government employee who worked closely with Temple Gairdner at All Saints, Boulac, and was prepared for the office of Lay Reader by him. He was ordained by Bishop Allen in 1950 in order to minister to Palestinians who fled to Egypt at the time of the formation of the State of Israel in 1948, who settled in Heliopolis and worshipped at St Michael's Church. On the death of Thabit Athanasius in1959, the Revd Ishaq Musaad was appointed to St Michael's Heliopolis and the Revd Aziz Hanna moved from Menouf to the Church of the Good Shepherd in Giza. Thus the picture emerges of the Archdeacon, Adeeb Shammas, being responsible for his own parish in Old Cairo and for the Cathedral, while the other two Egyptian clergy, Ishaq Musaad and Aziz Hanna, were responsible for their own parishes in Heliopolis and Giz

respectively, as well as the other parishes in Menouf, the Canal Zone and Alexandria. It meant travelling on Saturday, taking Sunday morning service in one place and then travelling at mid-day to take evening service at another place - a hectic programme indeed, considering the distances travelled, with slender resources stretched to the limit. The church at Helwan was sold to the Synod of the Nile (The Coptic Evangelical Church) in 1969.

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The service of the Revd Aziz Hanna has already ben described in an earlier chapter, as the fourth Egyptian to be ordained by Bishop Gwynne in 1942.

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Ishaq Musaad was born in 1911 near Assiut, his father being an elder in the Coptic Evangelical Church. He graduated from Assiut College in 1932 and went in the same year to Alexandria to work with John Hay Walker, a freelance missionary who was working among students. He married his wife Faiza in 1935. In 1937 he was invited to Cairo by S.A. Morrison, CMS Secretary in Egypt, to help in the Boys' Club he had started in Boulac and to assist also in the Blind School and the Literature Unit of the Episcopal Church. Ishaq and his wife Faiza were confirmed by Bishop Gwynne and became members of the Episcopal Church in 1940. During the 40s, the Boys' Club and Blind School had to be closed down, and Ishaq continued his work with SPCK in the Literature Unit as well as working as accountant and cashier at the CMS Hospital in Old Cairo. In 1950 he was selected for ordination training by Bishop Allen and spent the next two years at St Aidan's College, Birkenhead. He was ordained in 1952 and located to the Church of the Good Shepherd, Giza, under the leadership of Archdeacon Adeeb Shammas. In 1956, after the expulsion of the British, Ishaq took on the whole administration of the CMS Hospital at Old Cairo, spending his days in the Hospital and his weekends in the Parish, with flying visits to Alexandria. On the death of Thabit Athanasius in1960, he was transferred to St Michael's Heliopolis. In 1962 he and the Revd Aziz Hanna were made Canons of All Saints Cathedral. By now, it must have been becoming clear that Ishaq was destined for leadership in the Episcopal Church in Egypt and in 1963

he represented Egypt at the Anglican Congress in Toronto. From 1963-64 he went for a further spell of training at St Augustine's College, Canterbury, under Canon Kenneth Cragg, as he then was, and in 1972 he was appointed Archdeacon on the retirement of Adeeb Shammas at the age of 70. Thus he was the obvious choice when the time came to revive the Bishopric in the Diocese of Egypt in 1974 and to appoint for the first time and Egyptian.

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The Reopening of Doors

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By 1960 the political atmosphere had eased sufficiently for Archbishop MacInnes to invite the Revd Donald Blackburn to come out to Egypt as Provost of All Saints Cathedral and to recall the Revd Douglas Butcher, with his wife Margaret, in December of the same year, to take over the Chaplaincy at Alexandria.

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Anwar el Sadat, in his autobiography 'In Search of identity'[1], describes the condition of Egypt in 1956-7 as follows: "Now the invading British forces withdrew by 23rd December 1956, on Eisenhower's order, and 1st January 1957 Nasser declared the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement. On the same day, Nasser declared a more important decision – the Egyptianisation of the Egyptian economy, in retaliation for the damage caused by the Anglo-French air raids. This was followed by the payment of debts to all shareholders in the old Suez Canal Company. The debts, which all told did not exceed the annual income of the Canal, were paid in instalments. In return, Britain released a large Egyptian foreign reserve currency that had been frozen in retaliation for the Canal nationalization. So, in 1957, we

started having complete control of our economy and were in possession of all our economic resources and hard currency assets, as well as the millions released by the British banks. This should have been the point of departure indeed. Assets were available; we had adequate revenues; and everything was ready for a plan that might help us carry out vast domestic reconstruction projects to make up for the time lost under foreign occupation. Unfortunately, nothing of the sort took place, for Nasser was preoccupied with the fable which came to be associated with his name both in Egypt and in the Arab world – that he was a hero who had defeated the armies of two great empires, the British and the French. Having completely disregarded the real part played by Eisenhower to that end, which turned military defeat into political victory, he became the first to believe that he had won. He could never see that he had in fact been militarily defeated."

[1] *Anwar ek Sadat, In Search of Identity, London 1978, p.148.*

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In this atmosphere of confidence and euphoria, permission was granted for the two British clergy to return. Donald Blackburn had served, with his wife, since 1934 in what was then known as Transjordan. It was a time when Amman grew rapidly, under the leadership of King Abdullah, as the seat of government and centre of commerce. It was also the period of increasing Arab-Jewish conflict, culminating in the formation of the State of Israel in 1948 and the occupation of the West Bank by the Arab Legion. As head of the CMS Mission in Transjordan, Donald Blackburn gained valuable experience in relations between the Christian Church Anand a Muslim Government, and pioneered new ways of service and witness acceptable to the State. He thus brought to Egypt the priceless assets of fluency in Arabic and political awareness in Middle Eastern situations.

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Douglas Butcher came to Egypt in 1933 as a member of staff of the English Mission College (EMC). After a period as Head of the Boys' School, he was appointed Principal of EMC in 1945 on the death of the Revd A.C. Martin. As Principal until 1956, he influenced the lives of the large numbers of pupils who passed through the school and must therefore be reckoned to have played a major role in the life of all the Christian Churches during that period. He was ordained by Bishop Allen in 1952 and, as we have seen, it was to him that the oversight of All Saints Cathedral was handed over after the departure of Bishop Johnston and Provost Arthur Burrell on 16th November 1956, until he himself had to leave a fortnight later. With his long

experience of Egypt, he now returned with his wife in December 1960 as Chaplain in Alexandria.

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The Beginnings of Recovery

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An important preliminary to the recovery of the Episcopal Church after the Suez Crisis was the de-sequestration of property. Only expatriate chaplaincies and CMS institutions were sequestrated in 1956 and these were de-sequestrated and handed back to the church in 1959. Those involved in the negotiations were Archbishop Campbell MacInnes, Archdeacon Adeeb Shammas, Habib Said and Jesse Hillman, former administrator of the CMS Harpur Memorial Hospital in Old Cairo and later administrator of CMS hospitals in East Africa. Only the English Mission College was permanently taken over by the Egyptian Government and for this compensation was paid over into St Mary's Waqf as described above. The CMS properties at that time were the Harpur Hospital and Schools, Old Cairo, Old Cairo Schools, Menouf Hospital and Schools, clinics at Ashmoun, Kirdassa and Shubra Zenga and the Literature and Welfare Centre in Boulac.

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In the years that immediately followed, the Church gradually grew in strength. "Donald Blackburn and his wife did much together to integrate the life of the Cathedral as a Chaplaincy and the mother church of the Diocese at the centre of Cairo."[2] One who was present in those days writes: "Life at the Cathedral in the early days after our return was like a family, all working for the welfare of the Cathedral. We were very close, because we were small in number. Most of the congregation were people who had stayed in Cairo at the time of the Suez Crisis, some were married to Egyptians or were old residents. Donald and May Blackburn were true pastors to the flock, Donald taking all the English services and also being responsible for the Arabic congregation."

[2] *Arthur Burrell, Cathedral on the Nile, Oxford 1984, p.74.*

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Among those shepherded by Donald Blackburn was Denys Birch. A businessman born and bred in Cairo, Denys Birch is first and foremost a devoted disciple of the Church and was for long Provost's Warden at the Cathedral and a valuable member of the Diocesan Board of Finance. Throughout the years of fluctuating fortunes for the Episcopal Church in Egypt, Denys Birch stood like a rock who could be relied upon to use his considerable influence on behalf of the Church.

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In 1962 Aziz Wasif and Ghais Abdel Malik were singled out by Archbishop MacInnes as the next two Egyptians to be ordained to the priesthood. Aziz Wasif was born and bred in Cairo, his parents being on the nursing staff at the Harpur Memorial Hospital, Old Cairo. He was baptised as a child into the Episcopal Church and was educated at the Episcopal Church Primary School and the Coptic College of Cairo. He worked first in the SPCK Bookshop in Cairo and then as Verger at All Saints Cathedral and clerk to the Diocesan Office. During the Suez Crisis he was arrested on suspicions which were eventually proved unfounded. He spent one hundred days in prison, first at Helwan and later at the Citadel. He had already begun to study for the ministry and this experience was an unfortunate disruption to his studies, but as it transpired, he was able to do valuable pastoral work among his fellow prisoners. He was able to make use of his pocket New Testament, arranging small gatherings of prisoners of all faiths for prayer in the prison and to offer words of comfort and

inspiration to others. Having served as a Lay Reader for six years, his ordination training began in evening classes at the Coptic Seminary and continued at St George's College, Jerusalem. He was ordained deacon in 1962 and priest in 1963 by Archbishop MacInnes and proceeded to serve the whole of his ministry with the Arabic-speaking Congregation at the Cathedral. He and his wife Amathil have for long been associated with the work of the Boulac Welfare Centre. He was made a Canon of All Saints Cathedral in 1984. His congregation has sometimes been dwarfed by the strength of the English-speaking Congregation at the Cathedral. But in spite of heavy losses in membership through emigration, it has retained those rare spiritual qualities commended by Christ himself as the hallmark of his true followers and described in the words:

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"Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

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Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

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Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God."

Ghais Abel Malik was born and bred in Port Said, the child of parents who were members of the Coptic Evangelical Church. Seeking for further education and a vocation to follow, he was attracted to the Harpur Memorial Hospital of the Episcopal Church in Old Cairo as a place of vigorous Christian witness and was trained as a male nurse. Lady Meredith Sinclair, who was on the staff of the hospital at that time, writes of Ghais, "He was outstanding in every way – a good nurse, a peacemaker among his peers; he took part in ward preaching with the Egyptian evangelists." Later he was trained as a laboratory technician, careful and conscientious, and the Egyptian doctors knew they could trust his results."

There he met his wife Fawzia, who was also trained as a nurse, and in due course they asked for admission to the Episcopal Church. Dr Chase writes, "In the summer of '56 I was very ill in the Anglo-American Hospital with infective hepatitis and in no mood for chatty visitors, when one Sunday morning Ghais and Fawzia crept into my room with armfuls of flowers, set them in vases and crept out again – a really lovely episode which was typical of a truly lovely pair." At a point in their lives when they had begun to wonder what the next step would be, it was suggested by Archdeacon Shammas to Archbishop MacInnes that Ghais was eminently suitable for training for ordination into the ordained ministry of the Episcopal Church, where his proved pastoral and evangelistic gifs would find expression. Accordingly, Ghais went with Aziz Wasif to St George's College, Jerusalem, for ordination training and was ordained by Archbishop

MacInnes in 1962. He began his ministry under the experienced guidance of Archdeacon Adeeb Shammas at the Church of Jesus the Light of the World, Old Cairo, where he continued to serve until his consecration as Bishop in 1984. His ministry was marked by a lively evangelism, through which there came into being a strong body of young people on which, humanly speaking, the Episcopal Church depends for its future leaders. At the same time, he gained valuable experience in administration through sharing in the management of the church schools in Old Cairo until they were taken over the Egyptian Government.

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The Service Institutions of the Church

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The vital role played by the Harpur Memorial Hospital in the building up of the church will be noted. It was the experience of the writer once to be taken down a gold mine in Johannesburg. After following process after process and seeing the treatment of thousands of tons of ore, all that was to be seen to justify this enormous expenditure of work and energy was a thin yellow line of pure gold emerging from the last process of all. The role of the Mission Hospital – of any Christian hospital – is to meet the immediate physical needs of thousands of patients. And the numbers treated at Old Cairo ran into hundreds of thousands. Patients pass through the hands of the staff and the facilities of the hospital, like ore processed in a mine, involving hours of patient work by a large and varied staff. But if done in the Spirit of Christ, the final result is a thin line of men, women and children more precious than gold, who have found not only relief from bilharzia, but wholeness of life in Christ, and who go out into the world to serve God and their fellow men in the fellowship of the church.

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1963 saw the return of three more missionaries – Miss Catherine Penny and Miss Muriel Tisdall, nurses, and Miss Ida Barlow. Catherine

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Penny came to Egypt with high qualifications and much experience to serve at the Harpur Memorial Hospital, Old Cairo, from 1954-56 when, at the time of the Suez Crisis, she was transferred by CMS to Malaya, where she worked until 1961. In 1961 she returned to Egypt to resume work in the Hospital at Old Cairo until 1966, when she gave her expert assistance to the Boulac Welfare Centre until 1971. Muriel Tisdall's service was given mainly in Iran. After a period on the staff of the CMS Women's Training College, Foxbury, she gave five years further service at the Hospital in Old Cairo.

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We have already described how Bishop Gobat established missions in Palestine which were to commend the Christian Gospel through service to the whole community. We have seen how this was repeated in Egypt through the medical missions pioneered by F.J. Harpur. An obvious area of great need in Cairo was ministry to the very poor. Side by side with great palaces were great slums, where people lived in great poverty and squalor. In 1925, therefore, CMS began welfare work in Boulac, one of the city's most congested and impoverished slums. Water, sewage systems and refuse collection were lacking at that time. Suspicious residents at first resisted the Welfare Centre, but gradually it won acceptance as people realised it was there to help them improve their quality of life, regardless of their religious or cultural background. From 1930, responsibility for this work was taken over by the Egyptian congregations of the Episcopal Church and they have maintained it ever since. The Chairman of the Boulac Welfare Centre Committee for many years and its untiring protagonist was Mrs Habib Said. Today, it is Mrs Katherine Naguib-Philistin. Since 1938 it has been closely associated with All Saints Cathedral through the supervision given by the Revd Aziz Wasif and his wife Amathil, and through the support of members of the congregation, both Egyptian and expatriate. The day to day work has been carried out by Egyptian personnel, notably by Ensaf, Boulac's dedicated social worker. Tireless in visiting desperately needy people in their homes, incomparable in her intimate knowledge of the circumstances of countless families and individuals. Professional leadership has been provided by Egyptian doctors giving their services voluntarily, by missionary nurses such as Catherine Penny, and by teachers of many nationalities, in Cairo for shorter or longer periods, giving freely of their experience and expertise. Programmes include: (i) a pre-school playgroup; (ii) mother-child welfare; (iii) the teaching of embroidery, started by the artist Elsie Anna Wood in 1938; (iv) a class for retarded children; (v) hot lunches and care for the aged and abandoned. These services are available to people of all faiths. In addition, there are services specifically for Christians, from which, however, people of

other faiths are never turned away. They include family counselling, meetings for prayer and Bible study, income-generating family schemes and emergency support for people in desperate need. In 1980, following a Government clearance and development scheme for Boulac, some Boulac families were moved to Aid Shams. Some of the Welfare Services were therefore transferred to Ain Shams, while others have continued in other church buildings in nearby Gala'a Street.

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Ida Barlow is one of those amazing all-purpose women in whom CMS seems to specialise. There were others who have received scant reference or no mention at all in this book. Ida represents them all and we write of her because we know her. The memory of here work is still green. But she represents a host of others who go unmentioned. She, and the others, on any reckoning, have played a notable and significant part in the life of the church in Egypt. Ida came out to Egypt first in 1950 to work with Miss Joyce Rees-Mogg and four Egyptian 'Bible Women' as an evangelist in the Hospital in Old Cairo. After the Suez Crisis, she was sent by CMS to make a survey of women's work in the Bida District of Northern Nigeria. In 1961 she returned to Cairo as Bishop's Secretary, that is to say, as Secretary in Egypt to Archbishop MacInnes in Jerusalem, and that was her official designation for the whole of the remainder of her time in Egypt until her retirement in 1977, working successively for Provost Donald Blackburn, Canon Douglas Buther and Bishop Ishaq Musaad. But in addition, in the absence of a professional accountant, she found herself handling the accounts of the Cathedral, the Boulac Welfare Centre and the Diocese itself, doing the donkey work under the direction of Treasurers and their Boards of Finance. But an office job could never provide fulfilment for one who was at heart a great pastor and an evangelist. A prominent part of the Cathedral complex was the Bishop's House, balanced on the opposite side of the compound by the Provost's House, but appropriately of smaller dimensions in deference to ecclesiastical protocol. In the absence of a resident Bishop, this splendid residence, under Ida's care and with the able assistance of her henchman Suleiman, became a haven for travellers and sojourners of all description – pale young students studying Arabic at the American University, learned archaeologists assembling their stores before disappearing into the fastnesses of Upper Egypt, distinguished clerics doing overseas tours, earnest missionaries of many nations going out full of hope and enthusiasm to fulfil their several vocations and returning later, haggard and exhausted, to recover their sanity under Ida's tender care. And if Ida availed herself of much needed relaxation, she would find it in the

company of her Egyptian friends with whom she felt herself to be most at home or closeted with her buddies behind closed doors playing Mah Jong. During the period when the Church was severely handicapped by severe staff shortages following the Suez Crisis, Ida Barlow was one of that stout band who did three people's work and saw the Church through to calmer days and less demanding tasks.

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The Influence of Anwar Sadat

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In the meantime, history was moving on. Anwar Sadat summed up the situation in Egypt in the 50s and 60s in this way: "With the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 60s, the revolution entered an era of painful experiences, defeats, setbacks and some of our gravest mistakes. I have always maintained that while the 50s saw the 23rd July Revolution realise colossal achievements, the 60s saw it making colossal mistakes."[3] Apparently much against his own better judgement, Nasser was forced into an alliance with Syria in 1958, with the formation of the United Arab Republic, an alliance which lasted only three years and which succeeded only in upsetting the balance of power in the Middle East. 1962 saw the beginning of the revolution in the Yemen which lasted five years and which involved 70,000 Egyptian troops in a campaign from which they gained nothing and which ended in defeat. Sadat attributes much of the failure to the personal ambitions of the Egyptian Commander in Chief, Abdel Hakim Amer, a lifelong friend of Nasser's yet one in whom the pursuit of self-interest took priority over the good of the country, with disastrous results.

[3] *Sadat, p.154.*

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In May 1967 the Israeli army was seen to be concentrating its forces along the Syrian border. As a counter move, Nasser ordered the concentrating of Egyptian forces in Sinai and then took the further

step of closing the Tiran Strait to Israeli shipping, thus depriving Israel of its only outlet through the Gulf of Aqaba. This triggered off what has become knows as 'The Six Day War'. On 5th June, the Israeli air force destroyed almost the entire Egyptian air force on the ground by a series of surprise attacks on Egyptian airfields. The Egyptian army found itself exposed and isolated in the Sinai peninsula, and Abdel Hakim Amer ordered a withdrawal, not to a defence line at the Sinai Passes but to the west of the Canal. "Soldiers left their tanks and fled to the west of the canal; some of them actually got as far south as Aswan, still chased by enemy aircraft which harassed them and increased the panic."[4] The effect upon Nasser is described by Sadat as follows: "His pride, his most treasured asset, had been hurt as never before. Only a few days earlier the world had waited, tense and expectant, for every word he uttered at his famous press conference. Now people everywhere sneered at him and made him a laughing stock. The events of 5th June had dealt him a fatal blow. They finished him off. Those who knew Nasser realised that he did not die on 29th September 1970 but on 4th June 1967, exactly one hour after war broke out."[5] Perhaps more serious for the common people, Egypt during this time became a police state. "The Committee for the Liquidation of Feudalism practised the worst types of terror, repression and humiliation. Its members played havoc with life in Egypt everywhere. The most ferocious period was from March to May 1967, when the Committee was actually attempting to liquidate the assets of all rich families. When put under state custodianship, the property was run by the state and the head of the family was given a meagre stipend in compensation which was referred to as 'alimony'. Potential victims in Upper Egypt hated this work like the Devil."[6] (Sadat p.165, 170)

[4] *Ibid, p.177.*
[5] *Ibid, p.179.*
[6] *Ibid, pp.165, 179.*

The gradual decline and eventual disappearance of British power in Egypt, the emergence of Egypt to complete independence and its transformation into a police state inevitably brought about great changes in the freedom of the Christian churches to propagate their faith. While the Egyptian Constitution laid down equal rights for all, regardless of creed, it also forbad proselytization, that is to say, the attempt to bring about the conversion from one faith to another. In other words, open evangelisation was forbidden. Silent witness through service remained possible. Dialogue became the only means

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of communicating the faith by word of mouth. And this was no bad thing. The Christian Church throughout the world cannot dismiss easily the criticism that it has been arrogant in the proclamation of the Gospel. And arrogance had no place in the character of Jesus Christ. While no-one could be more sure of his position than he, nothing is more striking than the sensitivity with which he approached people, met them at the point where they were, and led them gently, by their own processes of thought, to the truth as he knew it. But this is not an attitude which is easy to adopt and practice. A minority church is keenly aware of the pressures impinging upon it in every phase of its life and it is only too easy to move from an aggressive evangelism to a defensive silence under the pressures of political change. The incentive to ignore the pressures and still seek to initiate true dialogue as the new means of communication is difficult to discover and to put into effect. The Anglican Communion's greatest contribution to Christian/Muslim dialogue in revolutionary Egypt and indeed throughout the world was made through the brilliant thinking, writing and speaking of Kenneth Cragg.

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Christian-Muslim Dialogue

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Kenneth Cragg began his long experience of the Islamic world as a member of the British Syrian Mission in 1939. In 1942 he was invited, with his wife Melita, by the Bishop in Jerusalem, George Francis Graham-Brown, to care for the graduates of the Anglican schools in Palestine who were entering the American University in Beirut. There he combined pastoral care with a teaching programme in the University and the study of Islamics. By 1951 he was well fitted to join a group of Islamic scholars at Harford Theological Seminary, Connecticut, USA, in their serious study of the Christian approach to Islam. The result was the publishing of a book, 'The Call of the Minaret', which became a classic on the subject and established Kenneth Cragg as one of the world's leading Islamic scholars. In his Preface he wrote, "The two-score words of the Muezzin are an

imperative invitation in which Islam summons itself to its faith and practice. In them the Muslim is confronted with his own vocation, while the listening outsider learns what shapes and makes Islam. For those within and those without, here is the articulation of the meaning of the mosque. The call of the minaret is perhaps the best single epitome of Muslim belief and action. To seek in it the clue to Islam, and from that clue to learn the form and dimensions of Christian relation to what it tells, is the purpose of this book."[7]

[7] *K. Cragg, The Call of the Minaret, New York 1056, pp.vii, viii.*

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By 1956 the International Missionary Council was establishing Study Centres in several parts of the world in order to contribute towards an informed Christian approach to other faiths, and Kenneth Cragg was asked to establish such a Centre in the Middle East in pursuit of the Christian approach to Islam. The result was the Near East Christian Council Study Programme called 'Operation Reach', which continued under Kenneth Cragg's direction until 1959. The next eight years were spent in England, fulfilling family obligations and occupying the position of Warden of St Anthony's College, Canterbury, the Central Theological College of the Anglican Communion. During these years, many future leaders of the Anglican Churches in Asia and Africa passed through Cragg's hands, among them Ishaq Musaad from Egypt.

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In the year 1968, Campbell MacInnes resigned as Archbishop in Jerusalem and was succeeded by George Appleton, formerly a missionary in Burma, General Secretary of the Conference of British Missionary Societies, Archdeacon of London and Archbishop of Perth, Western Australia. Archbishop Appleton at once sensed "a steadily deepening desire among Arab Anglicans for a pattern of things more congruent with the realities of national independence."[8] The first move in answer to this had been the consecration of Naguib Cub'ain in 1958 as the first Arab Bishop of the diocese of Jordan, Lebanon and Syrian. The next move was in line with Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher's policy of provincial autonomy in several parts of Africa – the creation of an independent Anglican Province in the Middle East. The result was the proposal for the Archbishop of Canterbury to hand over his metropolitical authority, not to an Archbishop, but to a Central Synod of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East, comprising the Dioceses of Jerusalem, of Egypt, of Iran and of Cyprus and the Gulf. This proposal was to take five years to work out and in the meantime Archbishop Appleton

invited Kenneth Cragg to join him as his Assistant Bishop, with pastoral responsibility throughout the Archbishopric and with theological responsibility for furthering the mission of the Anglican Church in its relation to Islam, based in Cairo.

[8] *K. Cragg, Religion in the Middle East, ed. A.J. Arberry, Cambridge1969, Vol I, p.587.*

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There followed a period of marvellous opportunity and fulfilment in both roles. Pastoral visits were made to Beirut, Amman, Kuwait, Bahrain, Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Doha, Dahran, Shiraz, Baghdad, Tripoli, Benghazi, Tunis, Algiers and Casablanca. And out of these visits arose a ministry, Pauline in character and daring, to speak in the name of Christ to Muslims at their invitation. There was an invitation to lecture in the Department of Philosophy in the University of Benghazi, another to a gathering of Turkish Muslims, with their Vice-Mufti, in Nicosia, and another to a group of Muslims in a hall adjacent to the Great Mosque in Addis Ababa, while in Cairo itself began that remarkable demonstration of Christian-Muslim dialogue with Dr Kamel Hussein and others.

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Kamel Hussein was professor of Orthopaedic Surgery in the University of Cairo, at one time Rector of Ain Shams University, with a state Prize for Science and a State Prize for literature for his book 'City of Wrong', being an account of the events of Good Friday. In this book he wrote, "It was a day when men went grievously astray. Evil overwhelmed them and they were blind to the truth, though it was as clear as the morning sky. When they resolved to crucify Jesus, it was a decision to crucify the human conscience and extinguish its light. On that day, men willed to murder their conscience and that decision constitutes the supreme tragedy of mankind. The events of that day do not simply belong to the annals of the early centuries. They are disasters daily in the life of every individual."[9] This sympathetic approach to the Cross, of course, left many questions unanswered, and it was these questions which were the subject of dialogue between Muslims and Christians which took place at the west end of All Saints Cathedral in Cairo. For instance, in answer to the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, the Muslim position was that while Christians believe that Christ is humanly perfect in his divinity, Muslims believe that he is divinely perfect in his humanity. In answer to the Christian doctrine of the Sonship of Jesus, Muslims give the word 'son' its narrowest meaning, while Christians give it its widest meaning. And as for the Crucifixion, Islam denies that Christ died. He ascended into heaven. In 'City of Wrong', Kamel Hussein explored

the motives behind the will to crucify Jesus. Whether or not Jesus was rescued from crucifixion (as Islam believes) the human 'will' to his death stands as a stark index to the wrongness of the world. Moreover, if Jesus had needed to be rescued, he must have been one who was willing to suffer. That means a Jesus very like the Jesus of the Gospels. It is important to explore deeply and refuse blank, or bland, controversies. The meetings in All Saints Cathedral were called in the belief that to remain in isolation from one another is to invite misunderstanding and ignorance, and that what will strengthen the faith of believers is to understand the beliefs of others and to understand them well.

[9] *Kamel Hussein, Eng. Trans: City of Wrong, 1959.*

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Kamel Hussein wrote 'City of Wong' in 1955, in Arabic, and it was reviewed by Kenneth Crgg in The Muslim World. Noting the sympathetic nature of the review, Kamel Hussein asked to be introduced to the writer of it, and from that introduction blossomed a friendship which continued until Kalem Hussein's death. English translation of the book was by Kenneth Cragg.

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Cragg's role as Assistant Bishop in the Middle East continued until 1974, in pursuance of which he was able to ordain Adeeb Mikhail Khalil in June 1970 to serve at the Church of the Good Shepherd, Giza. Adeeb Mikhail was a Palestinian who came with his family to live in Cairo and studied for four years at the Coptic Evangelical Seminary in Cairo. After a comparatively short period of service in Egypt, his family emigrated to the USA where Adeeb has continued his ministry. With the termination of the office of Archbishop in the Middle East and the vesting of authority in the Central Synod of Jerusalem and the Middle East in 1974, Cragg's role as Assistant Bishop came to an end and he accepted a post in the Faculty of Religious Studies in the University of Sussex. With the election of Hassan Deqani-Tafti, Bishop in Iran, as President Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East, Cragg was invited to continue as Honorary Assistant to the President Bishop until the end of Bishop Hassan's term of office in 1986. During this period, he organised Summer Schools in the Middle East to continue the study of the Christian approach to Islam and produced a series of

important books, including 'Mohammad and the Christian' in 1984 and 'Jesus and the Muslim' in 1985.

Thus it could be said that the work of Kenneth Cragg in the field of Christian-Muslim relations stands out as by far the greatest contribution made by the Anglican Church to the inter-faith situation in the Middle East during the period 1939-1988 and that the depth of his studies will form the basis of Christian-Muslim relations for future generations. Commenting on the role of the Anglican Church in this field, he wrote: "As the physical and cultural isolations began to give way in the first quarter of this century to new circumstances of inter-penetration and Islam emerged from traditionalism, the temper of Christian relations changed. Its classic statement at the Jerusalem Conference in 1928 was given by Temple Gairdner and represented a new acknowledgement of the 'mystery' of Islam as well as its antipathy (a posture personified uniquely within French Catholicism by Louis Massignon, d.1962). Whether vis-à-vis the synagogue or the mosque, Anglican thinkers and workers have, within the counsels of the Ecumenical Movement, stood in the main for the temper of reverence and good hope in Christ, in the study and discharge of the Christian obligation. There is a growing sense of potential liberation from the dogmatic immunities which have foreclosed in the past so many transactions in truth and the Spirit between faiths. In this development, fragile as it is and precariously related to many factors outside religious control, Anglican Christians may claim to have served a modest role. Pfander, Muir, Stern, French, Flad, Sell, Tisdall, Thornton, Gairdner, Cash, Lilias Trotter, Constance Padwick, Danby, L.E. Browne, Eric Bishop, Guillaume, Trimingham, Watt and David Brown represent an impressive succession within the larger resources of the Churches in general."[10]

[10] *K. Cragg, Religion in the Middle East, Vol I, pp.592f.*

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Changes at the Cathedral

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While Kenneth Cragg was at St Augustine's College, Canterbury, from 1959-1967, he was sometimes invited by Max Warren to visit CMS Headquarters at 6 Salisbury Square, London, to meet a group of promising young theologians who were interested in the Christian approach to other faiths. In his biography of Max Warren[11], F.W. Dillistone has written: "From the early 1950s onwards, Max's News Letters reveal an increasing awareness of the renaissance of the non-Christian religions and this led him to concentrate his attention more and more upon the relationship between Christianity and other world religions. What claims had the Christian Gospel to be a universal gospel? Was it sill possible to proclaim the uniqueness of Christ? If so, how could this proclamation be made to those who were apparently satisfied with their own religious affiliations? And what was to be said about the place of non-Christian religions within the eternal purpose of God? Could it be denied that his activity was universal and that in some way therefore his Spirit had been and still was prompting all religious aspiration? Such questions as these were never far from Max's mind in the last twenty years of his life. It could perhaps be said that the awareness of the renaissance grew through the 1950s and that from about 1960 he poured everything that he had into studying the theological justification for the Christian mission: to reassuring those engaged in the mission about the validity and urgency of their work; and into exploring the implications of dialogue which now, as never before, seemed to be the way of approach to those belonging to other faiths."

[11] *F.W Dillistone, Into All The World, London1980, p.194.*

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Sitting at the end of the table in Max Warren's office in Salisbury Square on some of these occasions, listening to Kenneth Cragg speak, was the author of this book, now, after twenty years in the Sudan, Men

Candidates Secretary of CMS, working under the immediate direction of Max Warren and responsible for keeping in touch with these young men. Later, as Africa Secretary of CMS, he became aware that the areas of greatest challenge to the Christian mission in Africa lay in the Muslim North and he made it his business to strengthen the Churches' witness in such places as Sierra Leone, Northern Nigeria and the Northern Sudan. When, therefore, he was invited by Bishop Oliver Allison of the Sudan in 1969 to return to the Sudan as Provost of All Saints Cathedral, Khartoum, the invitation was hard to resist. He therefore proceeded to Cairo in September 1970 to study Arabic at the American University. By Christmas that year, however, it became clear that the Sudanese authorities were not prepared to re-admit to the country those who had previously served in the Southern Sudan, which was now in a state of civil war with the North. By this time, Douglas and Margaret Butcher were beginning to feel that the time had come for them to retire and the search was on for someone to replace them at All Saints Cathedral, Cairo. Thus it came about that the author found himself in September 1972 Provost, not of All Saints Cathedral, Khartoum, but of All Saints Cathedral, Cairo, in the very heart of the Muslim world.

The whole of the author's period of office as Provost of All Saints Cathedral, Cairo, was overshadowed by the impending demolition of the Cathedral. It came as a great shock to the Church, and indeed to the whole community, when Provost Donald Blackburn in April 1963 received notification from the Governor of Cairo that the Cathedral lay directly in the path of a major plan for the development of Cairo involving the building of a new bridge, with approach roads, over the Nile, aligned with Sharia Ramses, and linking Dokki, west of the Nile, with the Main Railway Station and ultimately the Airport, north-east of the Nile. However, the initial announcement appears to have been followed by a period of indecision on the part of the authorities, which dragged on until 1967 when the Six Day War paralysed the nation and halted all new developments. In 1970, however, the plan was revived and this time was put into effect. Thus the Service of Installation of the new Provost on All Saints Day, 1st November 1972, included a moment when Archbishop Appleton proceeded to the West Door of the Cathedral and, looking out across the Nile to the beginnings of the new bridge on the West Bank, asked the Provost to read a prayer specially composed by the Archbishop for the occasion and which reflected the readiness of the Church to sacrifice its most cherished material possession for the good of the community.

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May the Eternal God bless this city,

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Guard it against all evil,

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Guide it in wisdom.

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May He bless all who build the Bridge,

Somalia
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And keep them faithful and safe in their work.

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May the peoples of this city be united and godfearing,

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Happy and prosperous,

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Preserving the good heritage of the past,

Egypt with North Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia
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And building the future on foundations of

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Righteousness and love.

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And all glory be to the Eternal God,

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The Lord of the Worlds,

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The Compassionate and Merciful,

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The Ruler in History,

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And the lover of men,

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The God and Father of Jesus Christ,

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For ever and ever. Amen

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This prayer embodied the policy of the Cathedral in the years ahead, symbolised in the new title of its monthly newsletter, BRIDGEHEAD, in the motto "Send us out in the power of your Spirit, to live and work to your praise and glory", and in the following statement of its role as the Mother Church of the Diocese:

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"There are three main streams of Christian tradition which converge on Cairo, making it an important point of meeting of World Christianity:

Somalia
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"The first is the Eastern Orthodox tradition which has been here since the first century and has its roots in the culture of the Middle East.

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"The second is the Western-based Churches, Protestant and Catholic, which are here by reason of the missionary initiatives of the 18th and 19th centuries.

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"The third is the representatives of the younger Churches of Asia and Africa who are making an increasingly significant contribution to the life of the World Church, not least here in in Cairo.

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"Within this unique concentration of Christian traditions, the Episcopal Church plays the role of a catalyst, that is, a substance which, though present in very small quantities, is capable of initiating changes of considerable significance. It is able to operate as a catalyst in three fields:

Egypt with North Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia
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"The field of Inter-Church relations: The Episcopal Church is both Episcopal and Evangelical. It is therefore acceptable to those of the Orthodox and Catholic traditions on the one hand, and to the Evangelicals on the other.

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"The field of Inter-National relations: The Episcopal Church in the Middle East is part of the Anglican Communion and one of the glories of the Anglican Communion is its missionary tradition. Out of this missionary tradition have arisen autonomous Churches of the Anglican Communion of the nations of all five continents, many of whose representatives worship in the Cathedral, bringing to the Church in Egypt the dimensions of the World Church and the constant reminder of the World Mission of the Church.

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"The field of Inter-Faith relations: The Episcopal Church in Egypt came into being very largely as a result of the expression of the Anglican Communion of its mission to Islam. Though political conditions have changed, this mission to Islam remains part of the total mission of Christ to the world. Through its Islamic scholars the Anglican Communion still looks to the Episcopal Church in Egypt as one of its agents for establishing a dialogue with Islam."

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The Renaissance of Egypt

During these years, Egypt went through a period of profound change. Nasser died on 28th September 1970, leaving behind him an unhappy legacy of fear, political isolation and economic stagnation. In taking over the Presidency from him, Anwar Sadat wrote (i) "I have had the opportunity to observe that the gravest injustice done to the Egyptian people was the 'cultivation of fear'. Fear is, I believe, a most effective tool in destroying the soul of an individual – and the soul of a people … People thus turned into dummies. They became puppets in the hands of rulers who did what they liked with them. No-one could say anything that appeared to contradict the official line of thinking."[12] (ii) "The legacy Nasser left me was in a pitiable condition. In the sphere of foreign policy I found that we had no relations with any country except the Soviet Union."[13] (iii) "The economic legacy Nasser left me was in even poorer shape than the political … Any free enterprise came to be regarded as odious capitalism and the private sector as synonymous with exploitation and robbery. Individual effort came to a standstill and from this stemmed the terrible passivity of the people … It was that shrinking back from active individual enterprise that marked the beginning of our abysmal economic collapse."[14]

[12] *Sadat, pp.209f.*
[13] *Ibid, p.210.*
[14] *Ibid, pp.213f.*

Expectations of better things from Nasser's successor were not high. "Ambassador Richardson returned to Washington to submit a report to the State Department which said that Sadat would not remain in power for more than four or six weeks – after which no-one could tell what would happen in Egypt. British intelligence confirmed this report and, on the strength of it, the Americans and the British decided between themselves to wait and see what would become of me."[15] Sadat describes, however, the process of gradual disillusionment with the Soviet Union, their failure to deliver arms as promised and their insistence on retaining ultimate control of their use. This led first to the dismissal of Soviet agents such as Ali Sabri in

1971, and then to the expulsion of all Russian personnel in July 1972. What finally established Sadat in his position, in his own country and in the eyes of the world, and what changed the outlook of the whole Egyptian nation, was the war of 6th October 1973, known to the world as the Yom Kippur War because it took place on the Jewish Day of Atonement. Taking the Israelis by surprise, the Egyptian Air Force under General Hosni Mubarak destroyed many key points in the Israeli defence system and paved the way for the advance of the Egyptian forces across the Suez Canal to take positions on the East bank. After two weeks of fierce fighting and Israeli counter-attack, with increasing danger of escalation into a confrontation between the super powers, a cease fire was negotiated by Henry Kissinger on 22nd October, leaving Egypt with a greatly enhanced position in the eyes of the world and giving to the Egyptian people a new confidence in themselves which opened up a new era of hope and expectation. The Suez Canal was re-opened on 5th June 1975 with the help of the US, British and French navies. Relations with the United States were restored, resulting in a Peace Process which led to the historic speech of Anwar el-Sadat to the Israeli Knesset on 20th November 1977 and ultimately to the signing of the Camp David Agreement.

[15] *Ibid, p.277.*

As a result of these events, Cairo again became one of the world's great cross-roads. Sadat's 'Open Door' policy resulted in a great influx of foreign businessmen seeking opportunities for investment in new projects. Foreign banks began to appear. New luxury hotels reared their heads above the Cairo skyline. Technicians of all kinds arrived, eager to improve Egypt's creaking infrastructure. For the Episcopal Church, and particularly All Saints Cathedral, these changes represented a new challenge to provide these expatriates with a spiritual home which would be an integrating factor during their stay in Egypt. The Episcopal Church in Egypt has from the beginning consisted of two streams – the indigenous and the expatriate. Bishop Allen began the task of welding these two streams into one. The expatriate stream virtually disappeared after the Suez Crisis and the process of integration had to begin again under the leadership of Archdeacon Adeeb Shammas and Provost Donald Blackburn as expatriates began to return. It was important to maintain this process of integration as expatriates now began to join the Church in greater numbers. The key to this was the maintenance of the Cathedral, not predominantly as a Chaplaincy for expatriates but as the Mother Church of the Diocese into which all nations were welcomed, a House of Prayer for All Nations. The immediate task was the shepherding of

the hundreds of expatriates now flooding into Egypt. The aim to be kept steadily in view was the emergence of a leader who could be the symbol of unity through his office as Bishop and the lessons of history indicated unmistakably that he should be an Egyptian.

In order to reach and keep in touch with the large number of expatriates now entering Egypt, Cathedral and Embassy combined to form the British Community Association. Its aims were, first, to start a school to provide a form of education which would enable children to dovetail into the British system of education on leaving Egypt and returning to Britain; second, to establish a clinic where young expatriate mothers, strange to the ways of Egypt, could with confidence bring their children for treatment; and third, to provide recreational facilities of a suitable kind. From the church point of view, the aim was to show that there was a church in Egypt which expatriates could join and that it was a church which cared for people's minds and bodies as well as their souls, enabling them to adjust quickly to the new and strange conditions in Egypt. The result was, first, the British International School, which began temporarily in the new Cathedral premises in Zamalek and has stayed there ever since. It went from strength to strength under the inspired leadership of Leslie and Eleaner Casbon, formerly of the Sandford School, Addis Ababa, building up to British 'O' Level standard in a very short time and at a single stroke making the Cathedral premises a focal point in the life of the whole English-speaking expatriate community. The second objective, the clinic, came into being with the assistance of Mrs Sheila Girgis, formerly of the Harpur Memorial Hospital, Old Cairo, and later Professor of Medicine at Cairo University, ultimately finding a home in the Anglo-American Hospital, Zamalek. The third objective was achieved through the natural instincts of the Provost. It was put about that anyone interested in cricket should get in touch with the Provost of All Saints Cathedral. In due time, after 8 o'clock Communion one Sunday morning, a Mr Christopher Syer introduced himself and turned out to be a member of the MCC and husband of Ambi, the daughter of a former Indian Test cricketer, both utterly dedicated to the pursuit and advancement of cricket. Within a very short time, a pitch was prepared at the Ma'adi Club and a game of cricket was arranged in which one of the opening batsmen was the Provost (caught and bowled, 5). The wicketkeeper was the Provost's Assistant, the Revd Keith Fraser-Smith and the scoreboard consisted of the Hymn Board, complete with numbers, from All Saints Cathedral. And to make the British feel completely at home, the good Lord actually arranged that 'rain stopped play'!

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Indigenous Leadership in the Church

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In the meantime, the life and witness of the Arabic-speaking congregation at the Cathedral was greatly strengthened by the arrival in 1968 of the Revd Colin Chapman to work alongside the Revd Aziz Wasif. A gifted linguist and an able theologian, he taught in the Coptic Evangelical Seminary while at the same time beginning a work among young people which continued when he later worked for the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students based on Beirut. He made an important contribution to the future of the churches by fostering among Christian students a sense of vocation to the ordained ministry.

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But the most urgent need for the Episcopal Church was the emergence of a leader who, in the office of Bishop, would in himself be the symbol of unity and the symbol of authority in the Church. In pursuance of his policy to indigenise the leadership of the Episcopal Church in the Middle East, Archbishop Appleton recommended to the Archbishop of Canterbury in February 1974 that the Bishopric of Egypt should be revived. The viability of the Diocese of Egypt had been strengthened by the transfer in 1971 of the Anglican Chaplaincies in Ethiopia and Somalia from the Sudan to the Jerusalem Archbishopric and these, with the Episcopal Church in Egypt and the Chaplaincies in Libya, Tunisia and Algeria, would constitute a viable Diocese. Archbishop Appleton's recommendation for the office of Bishop was Ishaq Musaad, who had succeeded Adeeb Shammas as Archdeacon in 1972. Shortly afterwards, George Appleton resigned as Archbishop in Jerusalem and Robert Stopford, formerly Bishop of London, received a mandate as Vicar General of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East as from 1st April 1974, his brief being to complete the Constitution of the proposed Central Synod of the Episcopal Church in the Middle East and to work out Constitutions for the four constituent Dioceses of Iran, Jerusalem,

Egypt and Cyprus and the Gulf, all within the space of two years. Ishaq Musaad was consecrated Bishop in All Saints Cathedral, Cairo, on All Saints Day, 1st November 1974. Leonard Ashton was invested as Bishop in the largely expatriate Diocese of Cyprus and the Gulf on 5th January 1976. Faik Haddad was installed as Bishop in Jerusalem on 6th January. And Hassan Dehqani-Tafti, Bishop in Iran since 1961, was elected President Bishop of the Central Synod of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East on 7th January 1976.

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The Demolition of All Saints Cathedral

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In the eyes of the Egyptian people and certainly of the Egyptian Government, Adrian Gilbert Scott's lovely cathedral on the banks of the Nile was always a symbol of the British presence and of a British church. It had been built in the days when the British Army was housed in the Kasr el Nil Barracks, only a stone's throw away, and it was the centre and inspiration of the Eighth Army during World War II. The consecration of Ishaq Musaad as Bishop was symbolic of the change which had taken place. The British barracks had disappeared and Maidan Ismailia was renamed Maidan Tahrir, Liberation Square, Liberation from the British. It was the task of Bishop Ishaq to show that a similar change had taken place in the Episcopal Church, not in terms of 'liberation' but of growth. The Christian Church is a supra-national body. But it was vital at this stage to show that the church which was known as 'Anglican' throughout the world was no longer to be regarded as a foreign importation in Egypt, but had taken root in Egyptian soil and was flowering into Egyptian leadership, a truly Egyptian church, yet still loyal to the its Anglican traditions, part of the worldwide Anglican Communion and open to people of all nations who had found a spiritual home in this particular tradition. So for the first time, an Egyptian Bishop was present at the Lambeth Conference in 1978 and an Egyptian Bishop won acceptance by his humility and by his charm in the expatriate Chaplaincies of North Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia. And perhaps more importantly, the

Anglican Church, now known as the Episcopal Church, was represented by an Egyptian in the marvellously varied ecumenical community of all the Churches in Egypt itself.

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Yet it must be said that profound regret was expressed by Christian and Muslim alike at the prospect of the demolition of this great Cathedral, because it was a 'house of God'. Ultimately, nationality did not matter when it came to the things of God and it was deeply moving to hear this expressed. While dialogue might be conducted only by the intellectual few, at grass roots level there was common ground, the ground of faith in a living God, over against all the forces of materialism and secularism pressing in on every side. And, we believe, it was this deepest rooted instinct which kept the Egyptian Government faithful to its commitment to give fair compensation in terms of the rebuilding of this 'house of God' on a new site through all the vicissitudes of the years ahead.

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It was one thing to stand on the Cathedral steps and pray for the builders of the new bridge as the climax to a moving ecclesiastical ceremony. It was even mildly exciting to climb to the top of the Cathedral tower and view with interest the bridge advancing from the safe distance of the far West bank of the Nile. Christian charity and magnanimous goodwill were slightly strained when the first Cathedral building to be demolished was the Provost's house. And when piledrivers began their deadly and deafening work at 7 o'clock in the morning outside the very windows of the Diocesan Offices, conditions finally became unbearable as the immovable and highly significant date of 6th October 1976 drew near and the piledrivers worked throughout the night as well.

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The principle of 'continuity of worship' was doggedly adhered to. British upper lips became stiffer and British chins jutted out further as worshippers clambered over builders' rubble to attend all the statutory services whatever the odds. Anxious eyes turned towards the new site in Zamalek and were relieved when the first signs of resurrection began to appear. Gradually the new residential staff block rose from the ground and by the time living conditions became impossible on the old site, new quarters became available on the new site and the Provost moved in. Two further years, however, were to elapse before the new Diocesan Offices were completed on the new site. Only then did services cease to be held in the Old Cathedral and begin to be held in the magnificent new Cathedral Hall. The Foundation Stone of

the Cathedral building itself was laid by Bishop Ishaq shortly before the Provost came to the end of his period of service in August 1977, leaving the Revd Keith Fraser-Smith to carry on until the appointment of a new Provost a year later.

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Coming to Egypt with a strong sense of vocation to work in the Muslim world, Keith Fraser-Smith continued the work among young people begun by Colin Chapman. With the departure of the Provost in 1977, however, it fell to him and to Miss Ida Barlow to bear the brunt of the very considerable task of carrying out the move from the old Cathedral site on the Corniche to the new site in Zamalek, without allowing any break in the weekly Sunday worship. The emotions felt at the last service in the old Cathedral were swiftly followed by the sense of hope and expectation felt at the first service in the new Cathedral Hall, beautifully designed by architects Awad and Selim Kamel Fahmy. Fraser-Smith continued his ministry as Chaplain in Amman and later as Director of the North Africa Mission based in Marseilles.

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Derek Eaton came to Cairo as the new Provost of All Saints Cathedral in 1978. A New Zealander, he brought with him youthfulness and the infectious confidence we have come to expect from those from ‘down under'. While those from ‘the old country' bring with them the valuable experience gained in the disciplines of long-established parochial systems and diocesan organisations, those from the newer countries bring with them a no less valuable freshness of approach and readiness to experiment. Derek Eaton soon attracted to the Cathedral a younger generation of expatriates who found there freedom to give expression to the winds of renewal sweeping through the churches of the West. They also found there solid Bible teaching given by Derek Eaton and his assistant Bill Musk. It was a time of reaping of the spiritual harvest to be garnered from the large influx of expatriates entering Egypt at this time. This led naturally to a desire to witness, and this found expression in enthusiastic participation in the work of the Boulac Welfare Centre and in support for the work among the ‘zebaliyin', or refuse collectors of Cairo, pioneered by the Roman Catholic Church and the Coptic Orthodox Church. A notable part was played in this outreach by Pastoral Assistant Julie Overland. During this period, The Church of the Epiphany, Port Said, was re-activated by the ministry of Lay Reader Gijs Scherff and his wife Nellaka.

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It has been found profitable to all concerned to establish a link between a Diocese in the Third World and a Diocese in the West, to their mutual benefit. With this in view, Bishop Ishaq, at the Lambeth Conference of 1978, sought to establish such a link with a Diocese in England, without success. An introduction to Bishop Ned Cole of the Diocese of Central New Yor met with a warmer response, as a result of which a thriving companion relationship has sprung up and grown between the Diocese of Egypt and the Diocese of Central New York. Visits by individuals and by groups have been exchanged, practical help has been given and enormous encouragement has been experienced by the presence of Bishop O'Kelley Whitaker and his representatives at important occasions such as the consecration of a new bishop or of the new Cathedral when it was completed in 1988. But more important has been the fellowship in prayer which continues day in day out, enlarging vision and making real the sense of belonging to the worldwide Anglican Communion.

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The Election of a new Bishop and the Growth and Transformation of the Church

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It does not take a great deal of imagination to perceive that the very vitality and growth of the expatriate element in the Episcopal Church in Egypt gave to it a predominance over the indigenous congregations, now depleted by emigration to America of some of its most promising members, which did not conform easily with the concept of an indigenous leadership introduced by Archbishop Appleton and established in constitutional form by Bishop Stopford. The issue came to a head when Bishop Ishaq retired at the age of 70 in January 1981. In contrast with the position in 1956 at the time of the departure of Bishop Johnston, there was in 1981 no Archdeacon in whom authority could be vested. Authority was therefore assumed by the Executive Board of the Diocese. But serious problems arose in the Diocese which resulted in a Resolution of the Executive Board on 25th January 1982, which read: "The Board at the present time finding

itself unable to resolve the differences within the Diocese urgently request the House of Bishops to appoint a Vicar General representing the authoritative power in this Province." The House of Bishops accordingly met with the Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council, Bishop John howe, on 11th February 1982 in London and appointed the author of this book as Vicar General in the Diocese of Egypt with the following mandate:

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1. To exercise general authority and oversight in the Diocese, saving that he shall ask a bishop to perform such functions as may be needed which require episcopal order.

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2. To create the conditions in which it shall be possible for the Synod of the Diocese to meet, with proper representation from Congregations and Chaplaincies within the Diocese.

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3. To preside over and to direct the proceedings of Synod (a) concerning the election of a Bishop, (b) to prepare and consider the revision of the Constitution of the Diocese, (c) to prepare and consider Diocesan Regulations relation to the functioning of the Synod.

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4. To report back regularly to the House of Bishops and to report to the House of Bishops matters requiring their special attention.

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It took two whole years to elect a new Bishop. The idea of electing a Bishop, as laid down in the new Constitution worked out by Bishop Stopford, was something quite new to a Church which had become used to decisions reached and appointments made by a higher authority. It was in itself an important element in the indigenising of the Church and the delegation of authority, right down to grass roots level. And it was inevitably a painful process. The essential structural work was done by the Revd David Chaplin, of Partnership in World Mission, in amending the Constitution where necessary; by Mr George Amy, of CMS Finance Committee, in bringing out to the light the true financial position of the Diocese; and by the Revd Harry Moore, later to become Bishop of Cyprus and the Gulf and General Secretary of CMS, in clarifying the lines of administration in a Diocese as diverse as that of Egypt, with both Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia; all of this being an essential preparation for the effective functioning of the new Bishop.

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The role of the Vicar General was essentially that of a troubleshooter, a mediator, or at its deepest, a scapegoat. It was essential to the resolution of the problems that they should be identified, aired and discussed, and for this a sympathetic, neutral decoy was necessary who drew the fire away from the contestants onto himself. It was for them an essential part of the process of growth. For the decoy, it was a traumatic experience which provided wonderful, deep insights into the traumas of Christ and a sense of the high privilege in being called into that level of fellowship with him. But because we are human, we need human counsel as well, and this was supplied appropriately by the President Bishop, Hassan Dehqani-Tafti, who out of his own deeply traumatic experience as Bishop in Iran during the Khomeini Revolution, was able to give spiritual counsel of inestimable value. After two Elective Synods, Ghais Abdel Malik was elected Bishop by

the necessary two-thirds majority on 27th October 1983, amidst great rejoicing. At the end of it all, the Vicar General wrote:

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"How do you assess what has taken place in any human enterprise, whether it is in the life of a family, a business organisation, a church or a nation? Is it just a sequence of events, is it just a record of business transacted, or should it be related to the past and the future in order to see the past year as one stage in an ongoing process? And dare we see that process as a very long term one, part of what we might term the purposes of God?

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"In the short term we have elected a Bishop in the Diocese of Egypt. He is going to be consecrated and installed on 15th May 1984. And then will follow the normal processes of Diocesan life – the appointment of a new Provost, an Archdeacon, a Diocesan Administrator, and so on, to ensure the smooth running of a Diocese as an organisation. And like a vague shadow in the background, the completion of the new Cathedral.

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"But is that all? As I see it, as I have experienced it as Vicar General, what we have all been sharing in over the past two years is essentially an exercise in the growth and transformation of the Episcopal Church in Egypt. In a sense the Church was slumbering – not dead, not fast asleep, just dozing. And the signal to set in motion the machinery to elect a new Bishop by a democratic process stabbed awake every member of the Diocese from Giza to Mogadishu. Important issues were highlighted and faced, and in the facing of them, conflicting views were forcibly expressed, causing a good deal of pain. It was an exercise in group dynamics, of self- exposure, and that is always painful. But throughout there was present the Christ who loves the Church and bears the sins of the Church and still goes on loving it and every member of it. And in the power of that love we learned to accept each other, just as we are, warts and all, and in that mutual acceptance there was

growth, unity and love. That, I believe, is a true report of what has been happening in the Episcopal Church in Egypt during the past two years."

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One of the main issues faced during the Interregnum was the remoteness of Cairo from the North African and Ethiopian Chaplaincies. Distances were great, communications were bad, there was little sense of belonging, little sense of cohesion within the Diocese. Reference has already been made in Part II, chapter 2, to the founding of the Chaplaincy in Addis Ababa by John Ethelstan Cleese in 1926, followed in 1928 by Austin Frederick Matthew, and the consecration of St Matthew's Church, Addis Ababa, by Bishop Oliver Allison in 1955. Matthew was followed by Philip Cousins, later to be Provost of All Saints Cathedral, Cairo, and by Collin Battell, who is the present incumbent. The Chaplaincy in Addis Ababa is different from the rest in that the membership is very largely African. The presence of the Headquarters of the Organisation of African Unity makes Addis Ababa a focal point for the whole of Africa, and representatives of many African countries worship at St Matthew's. The obvious conclusion might be that the Chaplaincy at Addis Ababa should more naturally be linked with the Sudan or with Kenya than with distant Egypt. But this would be to ignore the existence of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, which has been linked with the Coptic Orthodox Church for centuries. The task of strengthening the links between the Chaplaincies, whether in Ethiopia, Somalia or North Africa, with Cairo, was something to which the Bishop and his Archdeacon, Howard Levett, gave their urgent attention.

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Howard Levett came to Alexandria as Chaplain following the comparatively short incumbency of Robert Brady, an ex-British Council representative with long experience in Sri Lanka and Cyprus. Brady's chief contribution to Alexandria was in the writing of plays at the times of the great festivals, which attracted a cast and an audience from all the Churches in the city. Howard Levett built on these foundations and brought to Alexandria the fruits of his experience as a Rural Dean in the Diocese of Southwark. As Chairman of the Nominations Committee responsible for the nomination of candidates for election as Bishop, Levett took the opportunity to raise in Committee large questions concerning the sort of Diocese over which the nominees were being asked to preside, notably the sense of cohesion possible in a diocese with churches so widely separated as Algiers and Port Said, or so diverse in cultural backgrounds as Addis Ababa and Cairo. As Archdeacon he was able to play a key role in

overcoming these problems, and, as well as the Bishop, to pay regular visits to the Chaplaincies, where Dan Sealy at Tripoli and Tunis, Colin Battell at Addis Ababa and Adrian Pollard at Algiers all played a notable part in the welding together of the Diocese.

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Thus, when the new Bishop, Ghais Abel Malik, took office, he was able very quickly to appoint Howard Levett as Archdeacon and Philip Cousins as Provost, Derek Eaton having returned to New Zealand. In addition, the Bishop had the benefit of an office refurbished with modern equipment and a first-class Secretary in the person of Margaret Ford. Margaret Ford came to Cairo with the priceless experience of having been secretary first to Archbishop Janani Luwum in Uganda and then to Archbishop Elinana Ngalamu in the Sudan. She became not only Bishop's Secretary but Warden of Church House, and so transformed the whole atmosphere of Diocesan Headquarter by her efficiency and by her outgoing personality. She was eased into her position by Maureen Eastwood, a CMS missionary who had made a contribution to Anglican-Orthodox relations by working as a teacher in the Coptic Institute, Abbassiya, and who ran the office and Church House during the crucial later days of the Interregnum. And in the area of finance, Adeeb Morcos, who had handled the Diocesan accounts virtually single handed, was now assisted by Baher Fikry, a university graduate. Thus the whole Cathedral complex took on a new look, with every key position filled and a strong team to support the new Bishop in his task.

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The Completion and Consecration of the New Cathedral

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The one remaining objective was the completion of the new Cathedral. Great credit is due to the Egyptian Government for its integrity in sticking to the terms of the Agreement to compensate the Church by the re-building of All Saints Cathedral, which had been demolished to make way for a new bridge over the Nile. Rising costs

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with every successive year must have taxed the resources of an already overstretched economy. There were continual shortages of men, money or materials. But steady pressure by people such as Lord Denman, Chairman of the Anglican Church Trustees (Egypt) Ltd and a final fillip given by the visit of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, late in 1987, resulted in a completion date being fixed for St Mark's Day, 25th April 1988.

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The Provost, Philip Cousins, wrote: "On this auspicious occasion we record our thanks to H.E. The Governor, Mr Youssef Sabry Abu Talib, the Vice-Governor, Mr Abdul Raouf Selim Kame Fahmy, Architect Kemal Shukry, the head of the contractors Speco, and our honorary legal advisor, Sir Saba Habashy, for their efforts during the time of negotiation and construction, and to all who have worked in co-operation to bring this great task to completion. May this new Cathedral Church of All Saints be truly 'a house of prayer for all nations' and a blessing to all who come within its walls, for the greater glory of God."[16]

[16] *Order of Service, Consecration of the Cathedral Church of All Saints, Cairo, 25th April 1988.*

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The report in the Church Times of 29th April 1988 described the building thus: "A broad, fluted roof rises up, dazzling creamy-white against the blue sky, to a corona. Inside, the soaring white ceiling gives the impression of a great tent, creating a lightness and spaciousness which make the building seem much larger than it is."[17] Special credit is due to the architects Drs Awad and Selim Kamal Fahmy, whose vision and devotion never flagged through 16 years of slow progress, but whose efforts were amply rewarded in the sheer beauty of the building and the appreciation of all who had seen it. Credit is due also to Provost Philip Cousins for the Service of Consecration, carried out with such dignity and sincerity, of which he wrote: "The form and order of today's service, which is broadly along traditional lines, combines elements from the service used at the consecration of the former All Saints Cathedral in 1938 with passages from the more recent cathedral consecrations in the Anglican Communion, notably Coventry (England) in 1962 and Embu (Kenya) in 1987. The service will be in Arabic and in English and full texts are provided. The hymns have been chosen in such a way as to facilitate simultaneous singing in both languages."[18] The acts of consecration were performed by Bishop Ghais Abdel Malik, the sermon was preached by the President Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East, Bishop Samir Kafity, and greetings were brought from

the various bodies who have had close associations with the Diocese of Egypt over the years.

[17] *Susan Young, Church Times, London, 29th April 1988.*
[18] *Order of Service, Consecration of the Cathedral Church of All Saints, Cairo, 25th April 1988.*

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The Diocese of Central New York reported: "The Office of Preparation for the assembled bishops and clergy was led by our Bishop, The Rt Revd O'Kelly Whitaker. Our Central New York group of pilgrims comprised a significant bloc among the more than 1000 persons attending. The list of attending dignitaries was impressive and included representatives from the Board of Middle East Churches, the Roman Catholic, Coptic Orthodox, Coptic Catholic, Syrian Orthodox, Syrian Catholic, Chaldean, Greek Catholic, Maronite and Armenian Catholic Churches. The Anglican Communion had representatives from all over the world, including bishops from the United States, England and the Middle East. Also attending were dignitaries from the Cairo government, Egyptian government and the US and British embassies."[19]

[19] *Sheila Lange, The Messenger, published by the Episcopalians of Central New York, Syracuse, NY, 1988.*

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Conclusion

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This then is the story of the Diocese of Egypt, with Nort Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia, which is part of the Episcopal Church in Jerusalem and the Middle East. A tiny community numbering less than 1000 members, who can say that it has not some place, some raison d'être, in the history of the Christian Church in the Middle East? What shall we say of Jowett and Lieder, of Mary Whately and F.A. Klein, of Frank Harpur and Temple Gairdner, of Gwynne, Allen and Johnston, of Miss Cay and Miss Lewis, of Girgis Bishai and Habib

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Said, of Ishaq Musaad and Aziz Wasif? Has their service been in vain?

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For an answer to this question we must look for evidence of the fruits of their labours in the lives of the young men and women coming forward to take their places in the active life and witness of the Church – to Gabriel Yanni, ordained in 1977 to the ministry of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Giza, to Dr Mouneer Anis, doctor in charge of Menouf Hospital, to George Issa and Baher Fikry handling the finances of the Diocese, to Clair Abdel Malik, founder of the Deaf School, Old Cairo, to Medhat Sabry and Gad el Manfalouty, ordained in 1986, and to four others called to the ordained ministry of the Church. These are the evidences of life in the Church and under the leadership of Bishop Ghais Abdel Malik we can with faith and hope look forward to the prospect of this small branch of the Anglican Communion making its modest contribution to the life and witness of the whole Church of Christ in the Middle East and in the world.

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The Birth Pangs of a New Nation

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Our earlier chapter on "The Churches during the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in the Sudan, 1899-1956" ended with the prophetic words of the historian P.M. Holt, which are worth repeating here as the setting for this final chapter of the story of the Church in the Nile Valley.

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> "The independent Sudan is faced with a political, a social and a cultural situation each of great complexity. The integration of north and south, the harmonious combination of the educated elite and the unsophisticated tribesmen, the reconciliation of the Arab and Western cultural traditions – these are the basic problems which underlie the external phenomena of the political history. As in so many other situations in the modern world, time and patience are essential to their solution. Although the political leaders occupy the centre of the stage, the work of

> nation building depends less upon them than upon more obscure figures, the successors of the past saints and teachers, who since the time of Ghulamallah al-Rikabi and Dushayn have laboured to kindle the fire of learning and bring justice to a vast and remote land."[1]

[1] *P.M. Holt, A Modern History of the Sudan, London 1972, p.211.*

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Much has been written about the political history of the Sudan since it became independent on1st January 1956. It is not the purpose of this book to recount in detail the tangled sequence of events which marked the political scene or to pass judgement upon them. We are here concerned with the survival and growth of the church during this period. And at once we are face with the question What do we mean by 'the church'? It is too easy to speak only of the leaders of the church, the bishops and clergy, as though they were the church. But they are nothing without the people sitting in the pews, or on the ground under the trees. They are the church. And the church is not simply these people sitting in church on Sunday. It is these same people in their various occupations from Monday to Saturday, and as such the church is caught up in the political events which convulse their country. In reading the accounts of the political upheavals which have taken place in the Sudan, one notes that many of those who have played a leading part in the political events are the boys one taught at Loka or Akot or Panekar. We did not teach them political theory or train them in the basic techniques of guerrilla warfare. We taught them maths and geography and history and scripture. We played football with them and sang with them and worshipped with them. We lived with them in community and set a pattern of life based on Christian principles, the principles of love and peace and freedom. But when they left school, they played their part as citizens of the Sudan and as such they were inevitably caught up in the political struggle. The varying roles played by various members of the church can be illustrated in this way:

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(i) During the years 1963-1970, when the writer was Africa Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, he was visited by a British journalist who wanted to be briefed before going out to the Sudan to report on the Civil War of 1955-1972. When he returned to UK he reported how he had entered the Southern Sudan through Ethiopia and trekked through on foot until he encountered a guerrilla base deep in the bush. He described how the day began at dawn with a parade of the guerrilla fighters, led by an officer who proceeded to take morning

prayers before the day's training began. On enquiry, the officer was named as the former Head Teacher of a Primary School, living out his Christian life as a guerrilla fighter in the same way as he had lived it as a Head Teacher.

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(ii) On the other hand, the incident was reported when, all the missionaries in the South having been expelled by the Khartoum Government, the Sudanese Pastor in Juba, who remained there throughout the troubles, prayed with his departing Bishop, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

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(iii) Or again, while the Sudanese Bishops were at the Lambeth Conference on 1988, the Bishop of Bor was in guerilla-held territory on the east bank of the Nile and so unable to attend the Lambeth Conference because he could not get out but was reportedly busy among his own people behind the battle line, preaching the Gospel, ministering to people living under war conditions and finding among them a ready response to his ministry.

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The Seeds of Unrest

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In the 1950s, both Church and State in the Sudan reached important milestones in their history which seemed to hold out great hopes for a period of growth and prosperity. The Church was led by the young and vigorous Oliver Allison, enthroned as Bishop in Khartoum Cathedral on 7th April 1953, assisted by the first Sudanese Bishop, Daniel Deng Atong, consecrated in Namirembe Cathedral, Uganda, on 15th May 1955. Bishop Gwynn College was established at Mundri, poised to turn out a steady stream of church leaders for the future. The State achieved independence on 1st January 1956 and hopes were hight that those who were entrusted with the responsibilities of leadership would prove equal to the task and would lead the nation into the ways of peace and prosperity. P.M. Holt use the words 'integration', 'harmonious combination' and 'reconciliation' as the necessary watchwords of any Government entrusted with the unification of such a complex society as that which existed in the Sudan. Would the new Sudanese leaders have the necessary experience

and wisdom to keep these basic overall aims in view as they wrestled with the day-to-day machinery of government?

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While history and geography indicated that the South and the North of the Sudan should be regarded as one country, this was not at all clear in the minds of the Southern Sudanese. While it is customary for many to blame the British administrators and the Christian missionaries for fostering a sense of mistrust between South and North, Southern leaders have been heard to express it differently. They would say that what the administrators and the missionaries did was to suppress a deep animosity which was already there and which erupted immediately they left. It was vital that the emphasis on integration, harmonious combination and reconciliation advised by P.M. Holt should find immediate and convincing expression from the start.

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The policy of the Sudan Government concerning the South was stated in August 1956 as follows: "The policy of the Sudan Government regarding the Southern Sudan is to act upon the fact that the peoples of the Southern Sudan are distinctively African and Negroid but that geography and economics combine (so far as can be seen at the present time) to render them inextricably bound for future development to the Middle Eastern and Arabicised Northern Sudan; and therefore to ensure that they should, by educational and economic development, be equipped to stand up for themselves in the future as socially and economically the equals of their partners in the Sudan of the future."[2] And this was the policy presented to the Juba Conference of June 1947 and apparently agreed to by the Southern representatives at the Conference, though "there was widespread mistrust and fear of Northern intentions among the Southern members and a strong determination not to be dictated to by the North."[3] The next step was the setting up of a Legislative Assembly for the whole country in which the South would be represented. The Civil Secretary, Sir James Robertson, during the preparations for the setting up of the Assembly, stressed "the necessity of safeguarding the cultural and social integrity of the South against domination and mismanagement by a Government composed mainly of Northern Sudanese …", but in fact such safeguards were never embodied in the final draft of the Executive Council and the Legislative Assembly Ordinance (1948),"[4]

[2] *Mohamed Omer Bashir, The Southern Sudan: Background to Conflict, London 1968, p.62.*

[3] *Ibid, p.66.*

[4] *Ibid, pp.66f.*

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No Southerner was present in the discussions which took place in Cairo between Sudanese political parties and the Egyptian Government in 1952, leading to the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement on 12th February 1953, marking the end of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium and the granting of Sudanese Independence, and this was taken by Southerners as "proof of a desire to belittle the South and ignore its emands."[5]

[5] *Ibid, p.71.*

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"When the results of the Sudanisation Committee were announced in October 1954, Southern suspicions, nurtured over 50 years, turned into hostility. The Sudanisation Committee, in the best tradition of the British Civil Service, allocated jobs and made promotions in accordance with seniority, experience and qualifications. As the posts held by the Southerners, at the time, were far fewer and more junior than those held by the Northerners, and as the Southerners lacked seniority, experience and qualifications, they were not much benefited by Sudanisation. Four Southerners were appointed Assistant District Commissioners and two as Mamurs; these were the highest posts then allocated to Southerners. This was not only disappointing to the educated Southerners but it was also looked upon as the changing of one master for another and a new colonisation by the North. It was also looked upon as a breach of promises made by the Northerners. The National Unionist Party President had already promised them that 'not only shall priority be always given to the Southerners in the South but also the employment of the Southerner shall be greatly fostered in the North, especially in the higher ranks of the Central Government Service'. There were also promises of high posts in the Government previously occupied by British administrators and technicians in the South, and 'that they will be District Commissioners, Governors, Deputy Governors and in general they will have a quarter of the jobs in the Sudan'. What the Southerners finally got was much less than they were promised or made to believe they would get. The Southern educated class was thus alienated and even the illiterate and ignorant class was becoming hostile to the Government authority and to the

presence of the Northern administrators."[6]

[6] *Ibid, pp.66f.*

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In the years of the Legislative Assembly leading up to independence, genuine efforts were made to promote educational and economic development in the South. Subsidies to missionary education were increased, a united system of education was introduced, including the teaching of Arabic, and the first secondary school in the South was started in Rumbek. In the economic field, the Zande Scheme for the growing of cotton and the manufacture of cloth was started at Nzara at a cost of one million pounds.

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In June and July 1955, the management of the Zande Scheme found it necessary to dismiss 300 Southern workmen on economic grounds, little realising the consequences of such dismissals in the political climate of the time. "On 25th July a Southern MP, Eliya Kuze, was imprisoned after a trial which can only be described as a travesty. On the 26th a demonstration took place in the industrial town of Nzara; the situation was mishandled and units of the Southern Corps had to shoot due to the inadequacy of the police forces and six Azande were killed and many others injured. On 7th August a conspiracy to mutiny in the Southern Corps (which was the only remaining force the authorities could rely upon) involving most of the senior NCOs in the Corps was discovered. The authorities were too weak to make any arrests in the army immediately, but two civilians who appeared to have a finger in the mutiny were arrested in Juba. A demonstration took place where the mob demanded the release of the accused, the District Commissioner was assaulted by the mob in the Merkaz and it had to be dispersed by the use of tear gas. Rumours started flying about in Equatoria, and the last straw came when the army Command in Equatoria decided 'for its prestige and dignity' to persist in their order that No.2 Company Southern Corps should move to Khartoum, when they and everybody else knew that the Company would refuse to obey the orders and would mutiny …."[7] The mutiny took place at Torit, the Headquarters of the Southern Corps, on 18th August 1955. The Northern Officers were shot, the Northerners were hunted down and there were 78 fatal casualties in the town of Torit. A general rising quickly spread throughout Equatoria during which more Northerners were hunted down and killed. At Yei, it is recorded that "many Northerners sought refuge in the house of a Greek trader, and they were taken by Protestant missionaries into safety in the Congo."[8] It is sad to record that the missionary concerned, the Revd John Parry, and

his wife Helena, were five years later refused a permit to return, having given years of outstanding service to education in the Sudan.

[7] *Report of Commission of Enquiry, Southern Sudan Disturbances, August 1955, Khartoum 1956, p.22.*
[8] *Ibid, p.57.*

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In Bahr el Ghazal Province, Southern troops broke into the arms and ammunition store at Wau on21st August. The Northern Governor assembled Northern officials in his house, decided that the position was hopeless and left by steamer for Malakal. In September, the author of this book returned from UK leave to resume his work at Panekar, Bahr el Ghazal, and found himself held up in Khartoum pending the restoration of law and order in the South. When at last he was allowed to proceed, he flew to Wau and spent the night at the Government Rest House. After dark, a knock at the door revealed a Police Officer in uniform with a gun in his hand. Tension was relieved when a broad grin gleamed in the darkness and a voice said, "Good evening, sir. I am Gordon. May I come in?" Laying his gun on the table, this former pupil described the happenings in Wau, the departure of the Governor and the responsibility which fell upon him and two others to restore law and order. There were no casualties at Wau. The official Report of the Commission of Enquiry states, "The majority of Southern Police Officers to whom the dispute was known and understood took a magnificent part in maintaining law and order in their districts and their loyalty was beyond question. The following were the officers: Gordon Muortat (Wau), Eliya Lupe Baraba (Juba), Gabriel Tulba Kalam Sakit (Rumbek),"[9] It is said that the standards of discipline and fair lay which marked those who served in positions of responsibility in the British Empire were learned on the playing fields of Eton. Perhaps those hours spent on the playing fields of the Nugent School, Loka, were not entirely wasted. Eliya Lupe was a very good centre half.

[9] *Ibid, pp.12f.*

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The First Casualty

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It was into this situation that the new Assistant Bishop, Daniel Deng Atong, came after his consecration in Namirembe Cathedral, Kampala, on15th May 1955. He wrote:

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"My first tour began early in July 1955 and lasted until the end of the year. The first area I visited was the Dinka West Bank of the Nile, stretching from Shambe in the East to round and about Wau in the far West. The most encouraging place I visited was Wau. There I had baptisms in Dinka, Zande and Moru languages. Each tribe has a leader elected by them, and he leads the services every Sunday and prepares Catechumens for baptism. The believers are all lively, attending the classes well and also the Church services. In the Government schools there were great opportunities for the growth of the Kingdom of God. It was after returning to Mundri from this tour that the troubles broke out in the South and it seemed that I should be unable to continue. However, I received a message that people were awaiting me on the expected days in spite of the troubles. So I started my second tour of the Zande Churches, where there was much encouragement.

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"I found well over a thousand confirmation candidates awaiting me. Wherever I went, the Pastors were cheerful and proved themselves pillars of faith, as they were challenged by the then circumstances. By their example, hundreds of believers have been strengthened and that was why so many continued to stay in the parish centres and wait for confirmation, in spite of the strong temptation to flee as others had done. The Pastors have done much to steady the hearts of many people, both believers and pagans. As a result of it all, many people have been coming forward all over the Zande country declaring their faith in Jesus Christ as their Savior.

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"The third tour was among the Bari-speaking Churches. Herre too there was much encouragement, especially in the Juba and Yei areas. There were not so many candidates for confirmation, owing to the extremely difficult times, but the

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same spirit prevailed. The outstanding courage of the Pastors was obvious.

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"My tour of the Norther Archdeaconry more recently has also been encouraging; for wherever I was able to pay a visit the believers gathered and had meetings with me. It was good to find them keeping together and the challenge of the circumstances has made many of them value their faith more than ever before."[10] However, it is recorded that "the Assistant Bishop was taken ill early in June (1956), but thanks to medical treatment and rest and having taken a holiday in Uganda with his wife, he writes that he feels fully restored."[11]

[10] *SDR, Sudan Diocesan Review, London, Summer 1956, p.9.*
[11] *Ibid, Autumn 1956, p.8.*

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The burdens of leadership were beginning to be felt.

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In September 1956 Bishop Allison was able to report that, though the State of Emergency was still in force in the South, nearly all schools and colleges had re-opened in July. Bishop Gwynne College had re-opened with a record number of students in residence, with its first Sudanese Vice-Principal, the Revd Ezara B, Lawiri, and a new Dean, the Revd W.B. Anderson of the American United Presbyterian Mission. Three Government institutions, however, had been moved from the South to the North for security reasons – Rumbek Secondary School, Mundri Teacher Training College and Juba Commercial School.

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In January 1957 Bishop Allison reported, "On the spiritual side, there has been much to encourage. The congregations, North and South, have been on the whole better than anyone could ever have expected and in some cases larger than ever before. Bishop Daniel and myself have confirmed well over 2500 each, ie over 5000 people have, in the last three months of the past year, been admitted into full membership of the Church."[12]

[12] *Ibid, Spring 1957, p.3.*

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As a reminder of the changes in the political sphere, the Ministry of Education announced its intention, in 1956, to take over control of all education in the South and this took place in February 1957. At the same time, political attitudes in the South hardened and the Southern Federal Pary was established in 1958, whose objectives were a federal system of government, the establishment of a separate civil service and a separate educational system for the South, an independent Southern army, an independent economic development programme, the recognition of Christianity as a State religion on a par with Islam, and the recognition of English as a State language on a par with Arabic. In the North, "the whole democratic system of Government was under great strain. Political intrigue among the Northern political parties was the rule of the day. The promises which the politicians made were not fulfilled. To the country people, Khartoum was only interested in its own affairs. To the intelligentsia, the politicians were not serious enough in solving the real problems nor capable of solving them. The Government that ruled after 1956 were neither strong enough to command respect not enlightened enough to attract the support of the intelligentsia in either the North or the South. As far as the Southern Sudan was concerned, the Northern political parties were again too preoccupied with their intrigues and power games to think and plan seriously for solving the Southern problems. It was during this period of dissatisfaction in the North and the South, as a result of deteriorating economic conditions and political instability, that the Army took over on 17th November 1958. With the Army take-over, the Southern Problem entered a new phase."[13] Mohammed Omer Bashir goes on, "The existence of a parliamentary system and political parties had acted as a restraint on those in the North who advocated the use of force to suppress those who called for federation or separation in the South. When the parliamentary system disappeared and political parties were suppressed, the advocates of compulsion and integration of the North and South by force of arms had the upper hand. As far as the South was concerned, the military

regime set out to suppress opposition in the same way as it did in the North. In addition to this, it stepped up the spread of Arabic and Islamisation in the belief that this was the only way to achieve unity in the future."[14]

[13] *Bashir, pp78f.*
[14] *Ibid, pp.80f.*

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To a sensitive sprit, bearing, as the first Sudanese Bishop, the burdens of his own country, the strain was too much. On arrival in the South in September 1959, Bishop Allison found Bishop Daniel was not in a fit condition to undertake the strenuous duties of a confirmation tour. He suffered a breakdown from which he never recovered and in August 1961 Bishop Allison announced his resignation: 'It is a great grief to me personally and a cause of deep regret to all that Bishop Daniel Deng Atong has had to resign because of his continued state of ill-health and inability to concentrate on the heavy responsibilities of his office."[15] In August 1960 Bishop Allison had received the further blow of the refusal of a re-entry permit to his newly appointed Archdeacon in the South, John Parry. He still had the staunch support of the Archdeacon in the North, George Martin. But in the South, Bishop Allison now carried on alone "the care of all the churches".

[15] *SDR, Autumn 1961, p.5.*

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Willoughby Carey, when Secretary of the Gordon Memorial Sudan Mission, had written in 1939 of Oliver Allison, as quoted earlier in this story, "He is a little different from the rest in some undefinable way. Steady, eager, vital, humorous with the kind of spiritual quality that remains constant and enduring through all experience and outward circumstances, a fine colleague, a rare companion and a leader of Africans." A certain irrepressible sense of humour and evangelical exuberance, somehow typical of the CICCU of the 1930s, a certain bounce and unsquashableness, concealed a deep spirituality which, under stress, showed itself in a resilience which was able to rise above disaster after disaster and press ahead with a faith which was both infectious and inspiring. Thus, when announcing the signs of deterioration in the Assistant Bishop's health in September 1959, he was also able to announce that "after consultation with the Archbishop it has been decided some time ago that the time is coming for a second Assistant Bishop to be appointed."[16]

[16] *SDR, Spring 1960, p.5.*

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It would be as well at this point to pause for a moment and be reminded of the size of the Diocese which Oliver Allison had to administer. Khartoum remained as the Headquarters of the Diocese, with George Martin a tower of strength as Archdeacon and Provost. Omdurman continued as a strong centre of Christian witness. The Church of the Saviour, Omdurman, used by both Anglicans and Presbyterians, was staffed by the Revd Philip Abbas Khabush, a product of the work at Katcha in the Nuba Mountains, later to be assisted by the Revd John Brown. The work at Omdurman included Christian Clubs for Christian Nuba and Christian Southerners, the Hospital and the Girls' School. The handing over of schools to the Government in the Nuba Mountains resulted in educational staff converging on Omdurman to strengthen the work there – Roland and Rowena Stevenson, Kenneth and Joan McDonald, Rachel Hassn and Audrey Way. The Girls' School continued under the experienced leadership of Miss Winifred Hill and the Hospital under Dr May Bertram. The Unity High School continued steadily on its way in Khartoum.

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There were only two other clergy in the Northern Sudan – the Revd Butrus Tia Shukai, left behind at Katcha as leader of the church there, and the Revd Prince Albert Hamilton, veteran Bible Society agent in Khartoum. This rugged and loveable character from British Guyana had maintained the Bible Depot in Khartoum since 1920 and his long service was rewarded in February 1956 by the opening of the new Bible House by the Hon. Mrs M.E. Adams, who later in Cairo was a staunch member of the church together with her husband, Sir Philip Adams, British Ambassador in Egypt.

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The chaplaincies in the Northern Sudan were now seriously depleted in membership following the departure of the British after Independence. Only Port Sudan remained staffed by the Missions to Seamen, the other chaplaincies being visited from time to time by the Bishop or the Archdeacon.

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Again it is necessary to be reminded that Christian witness in the Northern Sudan was not confined to the Anglican or Episcopal Church. The Roman Catholic Church maintained its institutions and the American United Presbyterian Church worked closely with the Episcopal Church in maintaining points of Christian witness in the Muslim North.

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Bishop Oliver's real difficulty lay outside the Northern Sudan, in his responsibilities for the Anglican work in Ethiopia, Somalia and Aden. While events in the Southern Sudan cried out for his attention, it was necessary for him to spend much of his time fulfilling his episcopal duties in these outposts of Anglicanism. It is not surprising that events in the Sudan ultimately demanded his whole time and attention and that Ethiopia and Somalia came under the jurisdiction of the Bishop in Egypt, while the departure of the British from Aden brought that particular piece of work to a close.

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The Gathering Storm

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This, of course, is the title of Volume I of Winston Churchill's eight-volume account of WWII. The second volume is called 'Their Finest Hour' and both titles would be appropriate for the next 10 years in this account of what happened to the Church in the Southern Sudan. The Mutiny at Torit in 1955 set in train a chain of events which did not reach a conclusion until the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1973.

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In January 1961 Bishop Allison announced developments in the church organisation in the South which would prepare it for the testing years to come. The Southern Archdeaconry, as it was then called, which was to have been under the guidance of its new Archdeacon, John Parry, was divided into two – the Bari/Zande Archdeaconry, with Amosa Rakpi Ngama as its Archdeacon, and the Dinka/Moru Archdeaconry, with Elinana Jabi Ngalamu as its Archdeacon – and these two Archdeaconries were to become two new Dioceses in the future, each with its own Bishop. In addition, an

Episcopal Church Headquarters was set up in Juba, with the Revd Benjamina Wani Yugusuk as its Secretary and the Revd Jebedayo Jada Swaka as its Treasurer, both to be resident in Juba. The Revd David Brown, Principal of Bishop Gwynne College, was released from his duties there to become the Bishop's Commissary in the South, with the special task of helping to set up the new Church Headquarters in Juba and of training Sudanese personnel to run that office. He was also appointed Canon Missioner for the whole Diocese. He was succeeded as Principal of Bishop Gwynne College by the Revd Richard Gill, with the Revd Ezara Baya Lawiri as his Vice-Principal. Ezara Lawiri and Jebedayo Swaka were made Honorary Canons of All Saints Cathedral, Khartoum.

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Of David Brown, Bishop Allison wrote, "We owe a great debt of gratitude to Canon Brown for his seven years at BGC, during which he has given himself unstintingly, and with his vision and enthusiasm, combined with great intellectual gifts, has seen to it that the College has developed soundly and surely with the speed only slowed down by lack of funds."[17] The Revd John Lowe and his wife Dr Dorothy Lowe had joined the staff in 1959. And after the handing over of the schools to the Government, Stanley Toward, formerly Headmaster of Nugent School, Loka, joined the staff to help in the vital task of training teachers in Government schools to teach the Christian faith. In his final Report for the year 1960, the outgoing Principal David Brown wrote:

[17] *SDR, Spring 1961, p..8.*

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> "Eight former members of the College returned for their final year's training as Priests, which for them was their fifth year in College. We have had 12 men on the First Pastoral (Deacons) Course, five of whom were completing their second year on the Course. The younger students, who had all left Intermediate School at the end of 1958, have been with us during the year for a Vocational Course. There were 15 women on The Wives' Course at the beginning of the year, increased to 19 at the end. Class I were taught Scripture and were also taught how to lead Women's Meetings. They also had classes in simple Arabic, vernacular reading, sewing and hygiene. They were commissioned by the Bishop at a special service in Chapel and awarded College Certificates. (The College owed much to Miss Jean Drinkwater, Mothers' Union worker, for establishing these

courses for the training of women.) We have been privileged to continue our assistance to the Ministry of Education in the teaching of Scripture to Protestant pupils in the Intermediate Schools. A 160-page Intermediate School Handbook has been produced by the Publications Bureau and distributed to the schools, an effort which owes much to the initiative and industry of the Revd J.B. Lowe who edited the book. Mr Toward held a very successful 10-day course in Scripture Teaching for Protestant Teachers at the Tonj Teacher Training Centre which 23 students attended, and he visited schools in the Bahr el Ghazal during October in order to advise on Scripture Teaching. We were pleased to receive a letter from the previous Assistant Director of Education, Southern Province, Sayed Sir el Khatim el Khalifa, in which he spoke with appreciation of our work in this connection, and we have continued to enjoy the co-operation of his successor, Sayed Hassan Ahmed el Haj."[18]

[18] *SDR, Spring 1961, p.15.*

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This report is quoted at length because it gives some idea of the scope of the work of the College and the confidence it enjoyed in the eyes of the Ministry of Education, something difficult to reconcile with the attitude of the Sudanese Government towards missionaries in the years immediately following. During these years, the number of Sudanese clergy increased from 16 in 1956 to 44 in 1964. Among the clergy was the Revd Yairo Balle and his wife, who came courageously from the Church in Uganda to serve in the Dinka area on the retirement of Canon Leonard Sharland in August 1958 after 24 years of strenuous service. The number of confirmations averaged 5000 a year from 1955 to 1960 and rose to 7600 in 1962.

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In the first week of May 1962 came the long-awaited announcement of the names of the two Sudanese Assistant Bishops, following the Archbishop's announcement at the Episcopal synod in Jerusalem. Elinana Jabi Ngalamu was to be Assistant Bishop in the Dinka/Moru area, Yeremaya Kufuta Dotiro was to be Assistant Bishop in the Bari/Zande area, and Amosa Rakpi Ngama was to be Provost of the new Cathedral in Juba.

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Elinana Ngalamu was one of the very early converts among the Moru

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people through the ministry of Dr and Mrs Kenneth Fraser at Lui. He was baptised in the local stream by Archdeacon Shaw. After serving for many years as a teacher/evangelist among his own people, his gifts were recognised as a potential future spiritual leader and he was selected to attend a Pastoral Training Course at the newly established Bishop Gwynne College at Mundri in his own tribal area, only 15 miles from Lui. On completing the three-year course he was ordained deacon by Bishop Gelsthorpe in 1953. By that time, Mundri was a growing centre with both a Government/Mission Teacher Training College and Bishop Gwynne College, and a growing population, at a key position on the main road. It was therefore decided to appoint Elinana, when priested, as pastor-in-charge of a new Moru Parish at Mundri. Under Elinana's leadership, Mundri developed into one of the most progressive parishes in the country. The time came when Elinana found himself in line to succeed one of his relatives as Chief among his own people, and he had to decide which calling to follow. After much prayer and consultation, he felt he could not abandon his calling as a pastor and in due time his faithfulness to his calling led to his appointment as Bishop, and later Archbishop.

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John Parry describes Yeremaya Dotiro as "a lively student, full of questions and showing great promise", at the Vernacular Teacher Training Centre at Yambio, the centre of the Azande people in the Sudan. He was famous for his deep chuckle and a certain facility for seeing the funny side of things, even when under stress. He became a highly respected teacher with a wonderful way with children. Then came a period when "he fell a victim to the demon 'drink', and in Zandeland there is no moderate drinking. There was much prayer and counselling, as we all loved Yeremaya very much and longed for his release from what was crippling his spiritual life, his relationship with his wife, with the community and with the school. Then there came a remarkable personal encounter with the Lord Jesus whom he had always loved and served. The result was that Yeremaya stood before Chief and people, the Christian congregation, his fellow teachers and school children, and openly confessed and promised before God that he would drink no more. An old lady laughed and mocked as he spoke and as she was the one who brewed the beer and supplied the drink, she thought it most unlikely that such a change was possible. But Yeremaya in fact never looked back – he returned to his work in the same place, in Church and school, and regained the love and respect of the whole community."[19] This dramatic experience not only changed his whole life but gave him a testimony which led very naturally to a call to the ordained ministry of the Church and equipped him to minister in tenderness and love to all who turned to

Christ in penitence and faith. It was this warm pastoral gift, coupled with a steady growth in spiritual maturity, which singled him out for a wider expression of his gifts as Bishop.

[19] *SDR, Spring 1964, p.18.*

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Amos Rakpi Ngama was one of the first boys to attend the first CMS School at Yambio. He was among those chosen for further education at the Nugen School, Loka, and he used to walk the 250 miles from Yambio to Loka. As described earlier, he acted as interpreter to Richard Jones during the 1938 Revival at Yambio and he took the message to Loka when he was appointed to the staff there. He was someone clearly marked out for leadership in the Church and was ordained deacon in 1943 and priest in 1945. He became Pastor in charge of the first Sudanese parish of Bafuka and was then appointed to the key post of Pastor in the new industrial parish of Nzara, the headquarters of the Zande Scheme. He was thus eminently suited to establish the new Cathedral at Juba when it was consecrated on All Saints Day, 1st November 1963.

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The two new Bishops were consecrated on 25th January 1963 in Juba Parish Church, on the very spot where the first mud and wattle church was built in 1930. It was a truly African occasion. The church building was far too small to house the large congregation. The overflow was accommodated in specially prepared grass shelters equipped with loudspeakers which enabled everyone to follow the course of the Service. The vestries likewise consisted of temporary grass shelters, one for the Bishops, one for the Clergy and one for the Lay Readers and Lay Women Workers. The Consecration was performed by the Archbishop in Jerusalem, Campbell MacInnes, assisted by Bishop Oliver Allison and the Bishop of West Buganda. Among the 35 or so clergy there was only one expatriate, the Principal of Bishop Gwynne College, and the whole array of Lay Readers and Lay Women Workers was a solid stream of Sudanese. The Archimandrite of the Greek Orthodox Church resident in Juba and the Sudanese Pastor representing the Church of Christ on the Upper Nile (Presbyterian) were also present. The service was attended by many distinguished guests in the Government – military, police and civilian – as well as by representatives of the different communities living in Juba. There seemed to be about the service a sense of peace, quiet dignity and spontaneous joy. Against the background of the somewhat menacing political situation there was a sense of taking part in an important historic occasion representing a big step forward in the life of the

Sudan Church.

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With the consecration of two new Bishops for the South and the great concentration of the membership of the Church in the South, it was obvious that there should be a Cathedral in the South as an outward and visible symbol of the presence of the Church as a significant body in the life of the peoples of the South. The Foundation Stone was laid by Archbishop MacInnes on 15th February 1959. Actual building did not start until October 1961 because of a series of frustrating delays. Tony Idle was sent by CMS in February 1962 to supervise the building and it was completed in readiness for consecration on All Saints Day, 1st November 1963. In the light of the policy of Islamisation being pursued by the Military Government of General Abboud, it was another event of enormous significance, symbolising the continuing growth of the Christian Church in the face of increasing odds. It was fitting that among the guests was Dr May Bullen, widow of Bishop Guy Bullen, killed in a plane crash while flying from Khartoum in December 1937.

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With hindsight, these developments may be seen as the preparation of the Church for the storm which was about to break. "The military governors and administrators devoted much of their time and energies to spreading Arabic and Islam and to suppressing the opposition. Six Islamic Intermediate Institutes were opened in Juba, Kadok, Wau, Maridi, Yei and Raga. A secondary Islamic Institute was opened in Juba and centres for preaching and religious instruction for adults were also established. The Southern intellectuals, like those of the North, were completely alienated and many fled the country.[20] It is clear that the Military Regime in Khartoum seriously underestimated the strength of feeling and resolve in the South. "The Army's repressive measures in the South drove thousands of Southerners outside the Sudan into Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and the Central African Republic. In 1960, for example, 'something in the nature of a large-scale migration began out of Equatoria into Uganda and the Congo'. The exiles formed into organisations: the Sudan Christian Association and the Sudan African Close Districts National Union (SACDNU), Southern Sudan."[21] Mohammed Omer goes on to claim that "financial and moral support was given by the Churches". It can be stated that no such support was given by the Episcopal Church.

[20] *Bashir, p.81.*

[21] *Ibid, p.83.*

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Nowhere was the North's underestimation of the depth of feeling and resolve in the South more apparent than in its understanding of the Christian Church. The Christian faith was seen as a foreign importation depending on foreign resources. If the policy of the Military Regime was to Islamise, then the first step was the removal of the foreign missionaries. Without them, the Church's resistance to Islam would collapse.

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The author's last three years in the Sudan, 1956-59, were spent in Juba as Education Secretary and Mission secretary of CMS. He was spokesman for CMS in the handing over of schools to the Government in 1957. He was responsible for Mission/Government relations and those relations were good. After the military takeover in 1958, however, the relations began to change. Ordained deacon in February 1959 at Bishop Gwynne College, he served his title in the Parish of Juba under the leadership of the Revd Gabriele Omba Dunge as Vicar. Full of zeal and enthusiasm for his new calling, he joined with his Vicar in the normal pastoral duty of parish visiting, which took him to his Dinka parishioners in the Malakiya. To his intense surprise, he received a letter from the Commandant of Police in Juba saying that this activity had been noted and was prohibited. An innocent pastoral activity was interpreted as having a political motivation and from that time the author was under surveillance.

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Early in 1960 came the order that the Revd and Mrs John Parry should not return from leave for John Parry to take up the duties of Archdeacon. On 30th June in the same year, the CMS Bookshop in Juba, which had for years been the only source of religious and educational supplies for the whole church in the South, was closed by order of the Government on the grounds that religious organisations were forbidden to trade. After representation by Bishop Allison to President Abboud, this order was modified to allow distribution of Christian books to Christians at cost price. In the same year, the official day of rest in the South was changed from Sunday to Friday, which sparked off a protest from the students of Rumbek Secondary School and Juba Commercial Secondary School, resulting in the closure of the schools by the Government. A polite letter from the Southern Archdeaconry Council to the President expressing concern was considered to be a hostile action against the State. Sunday was, however, later restored as the Day of Rest in the South.

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In the Autumn of 1961 Miss Margaret Pooley was refused permission to return after leave, having given 10 years' valuable service in the cause of girls' education among the Azande. At the same time, a re-entry visa was refused to Mr Niall Watson, second agriculturist at the Church Agricultural Training Farm at Undukori, the Farm to be taken over the Government. This was an outstanding piece of pioneer agricultural work which had won official praise, undertaken by Stephen and Anne Carr, whereby up to 30 families had been settled on the land, enabled to build on traditional farming methods with modern farming techniques and thus encourage educated young men to return to the land as a productive and honourable way of life. Later in the same year, Mr and Mrs George Bennet were ordered to leave the country at short notice. As Church Literature Secretary, George Bennet had co-ordinated the production and distribution of Christian literature in the vernaculars and had even provided material for acquiring literacy in Arabic. Such a service was clearly vital in providing clergy with material for their work and to bring it to an end struck a serious blow at the Church.

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A logical development was The Missionary Societies Act of May 1962. Bishop Allison commented as follows:

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> "In the interpretation of the Act, 'Missionary Society' means any body or person, whether incorporate or not, whose sole or principal purpose is to convince, by preaching, any other person or persons to profess any recognised religion or any sect or belief related thereto and includes, where the context requires, a member of any such society.

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> "A 'Missionary Act' means any organised act done by a missionary society, whether directly or indirectly, for the fulfilment of its sole or principal purpose.

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"The Act introduces a system of licensing under which a Society is required to hold a licence before performing its missionary acts; and such a licence may be granted or renewed at the discretion of the Council of Ministers and will normally be valid unto the end of each year.

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"Among the Prohibitions contained in the Act, no missionary society shall 'do any missionary act in regions or places other than those specified in its licence or do any missionary act towards any person or persons professing any religion or sect or belief thereof other than that specified in the licence'.

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"It is clearly stated that the acts of any individual member are treated as the acts of the whole Mission and may be the ground for revoking the Mission's licence.

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"The Act also allows the Minister with the consent of the Council of Minister to make regulations carrying out the provisions of the Act. This clause makes it difficult to foresee in detail what the implications of the Act may be.

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"Although the regulations may refer in general to any of the activities of the Missions, attention is particularly drawn to regulations which may in future affect such things as 'the publication and distribution of papers, pamphlets or books.'

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"Enough has been said to show that the provisions of the Act are very far-reaching; and only experience will show to what extent they will vitally affect the freedom of the Church and the ability of the Missions to serve the Church in the Sudan."[22]

[22] *SDR, Autumn 1962, p.6.*

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Finally, on the 2nd February 1964 came the expulsion of all foreign missionaries from the South. The reasons given by the Ministry of the Interior for this decision were summarised as follows by the Ministry of Education:

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> "It has now been proved beyond doubt that the foreign missionary organisation have gone beyond the limits of their sacred mission. They persistently worked inside and outside the Sudan against the stability and internal security of the country. They particularly instigated the people in the Southern Provinces against the Government and encouraged them to break the law. They also exploited the name of religion to impart hatred and implant fear and animosity in the minds of Southerners against their fellow-countrymen in the North with the clear object of encouraging the setting up of a separate political status for the Southern Provinces, thus endangering the integrity and unity of the country. Furthermore, and in order to achieve their objective, they instigated disturbances and acts of violence which resulted in bloodshed, disorder and loss of property in some parts of the Southern Provinces."[23]

[23] *Memorandum, Reasons That Led to the Expulsion of Foreign Missionaries and Priests from the Southern Provinces of the Sudan, Republic of the Sudan Ministry of the Interior, Khartoum, March 1964, pp.16f.*

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The reader must form his own judgment and come to his own conclusions on the evidence of this book. The purpose of this book is to record the story of the growth of the Christian Church in Egypt and the Sudan, not to justify or defend the role of missionaries. It can, however, be said from 20 years of personal experience, that missionaries counted it a privilege to be allowed to be guest workers in a foreign country and deeply appreciated the hospitality offered to them by the people of the Sudan, both North and South; that they gave their whole time and energy and enthusiasm to the particular work to which they were assigned, evangelistic, pastoral, educational, medical, agricultural, administrative; that they served loyally under the Government of the day, British or Sudanese, Civil or Military; that their ultimate aim was the creation of a Sudanese Church, under its own leadership, with a membership ready to play its part as free citizens within a just society.

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The numbers of missionaries involved were given by the Ministry of the Interior as follows:

Missionaries/North Sudan	Missionaries/South Sudan	Total	
RC Church	331	272	503
CMS	16	15	38
American Presbyterian Mission	24	14	38
Africa Inland Mission	0	10	10
Sudan Interior Mission	11	24	35
TOTAL	282	335	617
Catholic	231	272	503
Protestant	51	63	114

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Church and mission sources would question some of these figures but they give a rough idea of the numbers of persons involved. Of the CMS missionaries, only six persons were actually in the Southern Sudan at the time, the rest being on leave. The six persons were Mr and Mrs Christopher Cook, Mission Secretary, Juba; Mr and Mrs Ken Ogden, Mission Builder, Lainya; and the Revd and Mrs John Lowe, theological tutor, Bishop Gwynne College, Mundri. Among those on leave were Miss Jean Drinkwater, who had done outstanding work as Mothers' Union Worker, and Miss Philippa Guillebaud, who had done notable work in Girls' Education and was at that time engaged in the translation of the Bible into Bari. It is invidious to single out anyone for special comment, but special mention must be made of the role played by Christopher Cook at the very heart of events in Juba. Of him, Bishop Allison wrote, "His untiring service during his first years as a Village School Supervisor and later as Headmaster of Nugent School, Loka, and then as Education Secretary of the Mission, combined with the office of Mission Secretary, has been a major contribution to the life of the Church and to the people of the South. Right up to the end he had the full confidence of the Church Leaders. He and his wife have been a tower of strength."[24] Those who were expelled were treated with courtesy and given time to pack their belongings. Bishop Allison records how when he himself was leaving Juba Airport, the Church Secretary, Benjamina Wani Yugusuk, whispered in his ear "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they are doing."[25]

[24] *SDR, Summer 1964, p.4.*

[25] *O.C. Allison, Travelling Light, Bexhill 1983, p.76.*

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In 1963 the Southern situation entered a new phase with the emergence of Anya-Nya, a guerilla force named after a virulent snake poison. Formed from a nucleus of ex-soldiers from the Equatorial Corps, it declared itself dissatisfied with the efforts of SACDNU, now renamed SANU (Sudan African National Union), to fulfil Southern aspirations by political means, and deemed it necessary to achieve their aim by the use of force: "Our patience has now come to an end and we are convinced that only the use of force will bring a decision … From today onwards we shall take action … We do not want mercy and we are not prepared to give it."[26] A guerilla war started, first leading to demolition of bridges, the blocking of roads and raids on Army outposts and going on to an abortive attempt to capture Wau, the Headquarters of Bahr el Ghazal Province. In the increased Army activity which inevitably followed, the Southern Provinces became a battlefield, resulting in the burning of villages, the killing of innocent people and the flight of 12,000 refugees from the Sudan to Uganda.

[26] *Bashir, p.84.*

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In the meantime, Northern public opinion was beginning to show signs of dissatisfaction with and opposition to the policy of the Military Regime in the South. While some of the Northern politicians genuinely studied the Southern problem and discussed such matters as some degree of local autonomy for the South, the removal of discrimination between Northerners and Southerners, the learning of Southern languages by Northerners and the stepping up on economic development in the South, the Military Regime continued to denounce imperialists and missionaries as the cause of the problem and Southern politicians in exile as their stooges. Faced, however, with the deterioration in the economy as a result of the civil war, the Military Regime was forced to appoint a Commission of Enquiry in September 1964 "to study the factors which hinder harmony between Northern and Southern parts of the Sudan and to make recommendations with a view to consolidating confidence and achieving internal stability without infringing the Constitutional structure or the principle of a unitary government."[27] The University of Khartoum became actively involved in organising public debates on the Southern problem. These debates, however, developed into a general attack on government policy, focussing on alleged corruption in the Military Regime. On

19th October 1964 the police opened fire into a crowd with the intention of breaking up one of these debates and a student named Gorashi was killed. Gorashi became the martyr-hero of the October Revolution. On 21st October a huge procession went out from the University bearing the coffin of Gorashi, a demonstration which continued for three days in the streets of Khartoum and which led to the resignation of the Military Regime.

[27] *Ibid, p.86.*

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A Break in the Clouds

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October 30th 1964 found the author at Ibuye in Burundi on a visit to mission stations in East Africa in his capacity as Africa Secretary of CMS. In the News Bulletin of the BBC Overseas Service came the announcement of the fall of the Military Government in the Sudan. Next morning came the further announcement of the name of the new Prime Minister – Sir el Khatim el Khalifa, a man with long experience and a profound understanding of the 'Southern problem', deeply respected buy all during his years as Assistant Director of Education, Southern Provinces. His choice as Prime Minister could only mean that the Southern problem was seen as the highest priority in the affairs of the nation and that Sir el Khatim el Khalifa was the man most likely to solve it. As a friend of several years standing, the author sent him a letter of congratulations and good wishes. On reaching Nairobi on10th November, application was made through the Sudan Embassy for a visa to enter the Sudan and a few days later came the exciting news that a visa had been granted not only to visit the Northern Sudan but to break the journey in the South and spend three days in Juba.

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At Juba the flags were out for the visit of the new Minister of the Interior, Clement Mboro, a Southerner. "His appointment as Minister of the Interior in charge of security all over the Sudan was hailed by foreign and internal observers as a sign of goodwill on the part of the North and a proof of its sincerity towards reaching a peaceful solution."[28]

[28] *Ibid, p.86.*

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The author was met by Provost Amosa Rakpi Ngama and Church Secretary Benjamina Wani Yugusuk. The same evening, the author mingled with the crowds who had gathered in the public square to welcome the Minister of the Interior and to hear him speak. His speech was greeted with mounting applause, the restoration of Sunday receiving a good round and the promised return of Southerners to fill administrative posts in the South getting the loudest of all.

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The author was invited to take part in the celebration of the first restored Sunday by celebrating Holy Communion at 7am and preaching at a United Service at 9am. The Cathedral was full to capacity with people standing outside. Being a United Service, the prayers were in English, the sermon in English translated into Southern Arabic, the hymns sung in unison in the various vernaculars and the Bible reading in five languages. The theme of the sermon was the one introduced to the author in East Africa, a slogan born out of the suffering of the Church during the Mau Mau emergency in Kenya and passed on to the Churches in Rwanda and Burundi in the hours of their fiery trial: "Use only one weapon – Calvary love for all, even for those who oppress you."

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At a meeting with Church leaders later, the author drew the conclusions:

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(i) That the building of the Cathedral in Juba had been an immense development in church life and of great importance to the whole Church.

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(ii) That the emergency had emphasised that the Church in the Sudan was not isolated but part of the World Church and was the focus of the prayers of the whole Church in the world.

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(iii) That the emergency had revealed a Church small but well trained in indigenous leadership and in the management of its own affairs.

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(iv) That the emergency had strengthened the unity of the Sudanese Church. Tribal differences has been forgotten and the Church was united in Christ.

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While expectations were high amongst the entire community in Juba that a new era had dawned, Southern advisers travelling with the Minister of the Interior were much more cautious. It was, in their view, too early to judge whether the signs of change were likely to be permanent or whether they would prove to be 'mere gestures of appeasement' to ease a difficult situation.

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In Omdurman, the author stayed with the CMS Secretary in the North, Rachel Hassan. He wrote, "It is a complete contrast with the South, and with East Africa. The winter has started, the air is crisp and cool and bone dry. The bristles of my hairbrush are like steel. Rachel lives at Abu Kadog, a place pioneered by Sophie Zenkovsky. She lived alone here for years and in her own way established the simple fact that Jesus loves Muslims. The street is like any other in Omdurman, dusty, lined with brown mud walls broken by doorways bolted and barred. But once inside the door, you are in a quiet, friendly place, a little court with a bit of grass, a few flowers and a cool, shady house with thick mud walls, a wide verandah and shutters to keep out the midday sun. If I had my time over again, this is how I would like to spend it, in the heart of a Muslim city, a witness to the simple fact that Jesus loves Muslims. I would be happy to give my whole life to it, mastering Arabic until it became second nature to speak it and just making friends and witnessing to Jesus."

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Whereas missionaries had been expelled from the South, they continued their work undisturbed in the North, presumably because

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they were more easily kept under surveillance and because they appeared to offer no serious threat to the overwhelmingly strong Muslim community in the North. The contrast between the peaceful atmosphere in the North and the highly charged atmosphere in the South is reflected in notes made at the time: "I met everyone on my first evening at the weekly Prayer Meeting in the little Hospital Chapel. It is small and worshipful and I am always aware of the copper cross and vases given by May Bertram in memory of Charles. They are a good collection of folk, dedicated to their jobs and cared for pastorally by Rachel Hassan. There are the Hospital folk – May Bertram, who belongs to the heroine class; Margaret Coles, coming along nicely as May's successor; the sisters, Ruth Pakenham and Hazel Caren, and a Swiss sister, Beatrice Coggan being away; Brian and Gillian Lea, bringing with them a breath of St Aldates; Winifred Hill, a tough little campaigner from Chorlton-cum-Hardy; Louise Ryder, astonishingly become a part of the Sudan scene after half a lifetime as a London commuter; Barbara Rogers, pioneering in an Independent Sudanese Secondary School and happy in it; and the Unity High School folk: Doris Tweek, Ethel Parker, a couple of graduate VSOs and a couple of keen Christian young men from the University. A jolly good crown. Unnoticed among them, Oliver Allison, irrepressibly expressing himself in some totally unepiscopal way, always, to me, the overgrown Cambridge undergraduate and a magnificent Bishop." In addition, George Martin remained at Khartoum Cathedral and Roland Stevensn, facing a choice between a lectureship at Khartoum University and Regional Adviser in the Middle East for the Bible Society.

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The Storm Breaks

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The Government of Sir el Khatim el Khalifa was drawn from all political groups in the North together with two representatives from the Southern Front, a new political organisation recognised as representing Southern opinion. A third Southern member was added later. SANU, the Southern political organisation outside the Sudan, welcomed the change in Government and wrote to the new Prime Minister suggesting among other things the calling of a Round Table Conference to discuss the constitutional relationship between the South and the North. This suggestion was taken up by the Prime

Minister, and after a good deal of to-ing and fro-ing, the Conference meet in Khartoum from 16-29th March 1965, under the Chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor of Khartoum University, Professor El Nazeer Dafalla. There were 18 representatives from the North and 27 from the South, with observers from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, Algeria and the United Arab Republic. The Southern representatives were divided in their demands. One group demanded complete secession from the North. The other would settle for federation between the South and the North. The Northern representatives refused to consider either of these demands but were prepared to discuss some form of regional autonomy for the South within a united Sudan. When it became clear that the agreement would not be reached within the time limits of the Conference, a committee was set up to continue the discussions on the future constitutional relationships between North and South. Mohammed Omer Beshir summed up the results of the Conference as follows:

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"The real achievement of the Round Table Conference was the opportunity it provided for the leaders and public in both parts of the country to have a much better knowledge and appreciation of the extent of the Southern problem. Those who attended the Conference were not only convinced that violence would not solve the problem and was contrary to the interests of both parts, but that a political solution could be found.

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"The Round Table Conference had indeed failed to achieve its main object; nevertheless, it succeeded in identifying the grievances and in pointing to the fact that it would take a long time before the roots of the problem could be eradicated. This would need patience, tolerance and determination on both sides to continue the dialogue.

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"The Round Table Conference ended with the understanding that it would be reconvened three months later to continue the search for a political solution. The Southern politicians who were in exile went back to East Africa. The 12-man committee delegated by the Conference to seek a political solution began to search for the magic formula which would be accepted by both [sides]. Everyone realised that this was going to be a hard task."[29]

[29] *Ibid, p.97.*

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The momentum towards reaching a peaceful solution of the Southern problem seems quickly to have been lost with the ending of the Round Table Conference. The Anya Nya increased its activity in the South. The political parties became absorbed in preparing for the elections in the North. The mandate of the Sir el Khatim el Khalifa Government was to prepare the country for parliamentary elections. The South was in favour of the postponement of these elections until a solution to the Southern problem was found. The Supreme Council, however, decided to go ahead with the elections without the participation of the South. The new Parliament elected Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub as Prime Minister and he announced that maximum force would be used to subdue the rebellion in the South and restore law and order. In an action against "the rebels and their sympathisers", the Army massacred 1400 people in Juba on 8th July 1965 and two days later killed 76 Southern government officials at a wedding party in Wau. Bishop Elinana Ngalamu, on his way from Rumbek to attend a meeting of the Episcopal Synod in Jerusalem, was forced by the local Army unit to stay at Bishop Gwynne College, Mundri, and await orders. Shortly afterwards, the Army surrounded the College during the night and hunted for the College staff and the Bishop. Staff and students, however, had been forewarned and escaped. The Principal stayed until the last minute and then escaped into the bush with his own and the Bishop's family. All through the night, Bishop Elinana hid in a hedge, hunted by the troops. At dawn he slipped away and joined the others. Eventually, after joining up with Bishop Yeremaya, who had escaped from Maridi, the two Bishops found their way to Kampala and reported to the Archbishop of Uganda. For the next seven years the Sudanese Bishops had their base at Gulu in Northern Uganda and exercised their ministry among the refugees. Inside the Sudan, only those Southern Sudanese living within the perimeter of Army-occupied towns remained. They were ministered to by nine Sudanese pastors, three in each of the Provincial Headquarters, Juba, Wau and Malakal. Four other church centres were known to be kept going by lay evangelists. All the other church centres were deserted. The Roman Catholic and Presbyterian statistics were similar. The Southern Church had become a 'refugee Church', or a 'Church of the Dispersion'.

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The Church of the Dispersion

The first inkling of what had happened in the South came to Bishop Allison in Jerusalem in the form of a telegram from Church Secretary Benyamina Yugusuk in Juba, informing him that Sudanese delegates would be unable to attend the Synod of the Archbishopric. It was only on his arrival in Khartoum on31st July that the Bishop discovered the true seriousness of the situation, from press reports and from 'various local sources'. "It has been heart-breaking to hear news of more and more people known to oneself personally over the years who have met their death on duty down in the far South. With the increasing stream of refugees, added to the many thousands already out of the country, have gone at this stage doctors, teachers, priests and government officials, who have apparently felt it essential to escape for their lives in order to serve their country when a brighter day dawns. All have left for the countryside or to seek refuge outside the Sudan."[30] Reports began to come in of damage to property – at least part of Bishop Gwynne College and Church buildings at Mundri, Yambio and Akot. "The news of our other Sister Churches in the South is equally disturbing."

[30] *SDR, Autumn 1965, p.4.*

In trying to get inside the mind of Bishop Allison at this time, very much on his own in Khartoum, with the greater part of his Church in flight and out of touch, one is reminded that this has been the experience of the Church from the beginning, and we find St Peter writing: "From Peter, apostle of Jesus Christ, to those of God's scattered people who lodge for a while in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. Praise be to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who in his mercy gave us new birth into a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. The inheritance to which we are born is one that nothing can destroy or spoil or wither. This is cause for great joy, even though now you smart for a little while, if need be, under trials of many kinds. These trials come so that your faith may prove itself worthy of all praise, glory and honour when Jesus Christ is revealed … You must therefore be like men stripped for action…"[31] So we find Oliver Allison forming a plan of action based upon (a) Prayer – "Of all the Churches for all the faithful in all our Communions and for all suffering of all faiths – Muslim, Pagan, Christian – for in such a situation there can be no barriers in the school of suffering; and above all for the Government

of this country, for wisdom in dealing with this extreme crisis." (b) A programme of reconstruction and restoration of the buildings and the whole life of the Church in its centres. (c) A programme of relief for the homeless, bereaved and hungry. (d) A programme of training in Theological Colleges outside the Sudan, not only for ordinands but for teachers to teach Religious Knowledge in the future.

[31] *The New English Bible, OUP 1961, 1 Peter vv 1,3,6,7,13.*

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In February 1972 negotiations between the Sudan Government and the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) began in Addis Ababa. The Sudan Government delegation was led by a Southerner, Abel Alier, the rest of the delegation being Northerners. Bona Malwal writes of Abel Alier, "His cool and patient character and the strong personal respect both sides had for him made it possible for the South and the North to sit and hammer out an agreement of which the whole country was to become proud and for which the outside world would acclaim the humanity of the Sudanese people."[41]

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So began a ministry, based in Khartoum, reaching out through Jerusalem and the World Church, and of a range which covered the Church in the Northern Sudan, the Chaplaincies in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Aden, the refugee camps and resettlement areas in East Africa, the Theological Colleges of Kenya, Uganda and Nigeria, and such areas of the Southern Sudan as were open to visitation.

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The year 1966 saw many changes in the Church in the Northern Sudan, marking perhaps the end of an era. Geroge Martin retired on 30th April after 30 years as Provost of All Saints Cathedral, during 16 of which he was also Archdeacon in the North. He and his wife Lena had made the Cathedral a place of stability and constancy during the transition years from Anglo-Egyptian rule to Independence. The ministry to expatriates serving in various capacities in the Northern Sudan created a sense of fellowship and unity which survived long after the end of service in the Sudan and found expression in the strong support given to the Church in the Sudan through the Sudan Church Association in England. 1966 also marked the death of 'Uncle' Harper in England and the retirement of the Revd P.A. Hamilton from the work of the Bible Society in Khartoum. George Martin was succeeded as Provost by Patrick Blair, formerly Chaplain to Archbishop MacInnes in Jerusalem.

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Omdurman, 1966-7, saw the retirement of such stalwarts as Dr May Bertram, Miss Beatrice Coggan and Miss Ruth Pakenham, after many years of notable service at Omdurman Hospital. Dr Margaret Coles and Dr Barbara Hitch took over the leadership of the team at the Hospital, steering it safely through a time of financial crisis. The Revd Ruben Makoi joined the staff of the Church of the Saviour, Omdurman, in 1967 after having spend 12 months in the bush in the South. Visits were paid by the Bishop and the Revd Butrus Shukai to El Obeid and the churches in the Nuba Mountains, now bereft of missionaries but served by lay evangelists trained in Omdurman. Visits were also kept up to the Churches at Wad Medani and Port Sudan.

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Bearing in mind the desperate situation in the South calling for his attention, it is remarkable to find the Bishop setting off regularly for his round of visits to the Chaplaincies in Addis Ababa, Asmara, Hargeisa, Mogadishu and Aden, journeys demanding physical stamina and a calm and trustful spirit. Philip Cousins began his fruitful years of ministry as Chaplain in Addis Ababa in 1967. Canon A.F. Matthew died in retirement in Addis Ababa on 18th January 1969 after 25 years as Chaplain and then as a member of H.M. Haile Selassie's Committee for the revision of the Amharic Version of the Ge'ez Bible. 1969 also marked the Golden Wedding Anniversary of Brigadier and Mrs Sandford, who had rendered absolutely unique service to Ethiopia and the Church in Ethiopia, and whose daughter Eleanor and her husband Leslie Casbon were to give outstanding service to the Church and community in Egypt as the founders of the British International School in Cairo.

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Perhaps the most urgent part of the Bishop's ministry was to his scattered flock in the refugee camps and resettlement areas of East Africa. At the same time, Uganda was receiving refugees not only from the Sudan but from the Congo and Rwanda and Burundi. The Church in Uganda rose magnificently to the challenge and set apart Canon John Wasikye as Refugee Officer to facilitate the setting up of a Christian ministry to refugees. It also received most lovingly the two Sudanese Assistant Bishops and some of their clergy and integrated them into the work of the Church in Uganda, making them feel at home and cared for – a remarkable testimony to the reality of the Church Universal. In 1966 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees paid a visit to the Sudan and in 1968 it was estimated that there were 115,000 Sudanese refugees in Uganda, Congo and the

Central African Republic, not counting those in Ethiopia and other countries. In 1968 the Bishop was invited by the authorities to visit one of the resettlement areas organised by the Uganda Ministry of Community Development, UNHCR and the Church of the Province. He was "pleasantly surprised to find people happily settled in their new homes, after difficult first months of adjustment. The Sudanese Christians have already built, not only their new homes, but also temporary Churches and their little Village Outschools, and have flourishing little farms."[32] In early 1969, Bishop Allison was, for the first time, able to meet with the two Sudanese Assistant Bishops, [and] all the Sudanese Pastors working in the refugee areas of Uganda in a Conference at Mbale. "After their harrowing experiences of the past, it is good to find that they have all settled down happily in their various assignments, mostly in large Settlement areas, and are working with the encouragement and assistance of their Uganda Diocesan Bishops, to whom we owe a real debt of gratitude."[33] Places were quickly found for Sudanese students in the Theological Colleges of East Africa, so that the growth of the Church could continue without interruption. This was greatly facilitated by the location of the Revd John Lowe and his wife Dr Dorothy Lowe, formerly of Bishop Gwynne College, to Bishop Tucker College, Mukono, Uganda. Canon Ezra Lawiri, formerly Vice-Principal and then Principal of Bishop Gwynne College, was welcomed to Bishop Usher Wilson College, Buwalasi, and the Revd W.B. Anderson, of the American United Presbyterian Mission in the Sudan, joined the staff of St Paul's United Theological College, Limuru, Kenya. Courses for the training of Sudanese teachers in Religious Knowledge were also provided, allowing this important function of the Church to go on unimpeded. Trinity College, Umuahia, Nigeria, also opened its doors to Sudanese students. Visits to the Colleges became a regular feature of the Bishop's ministry. Ex-Sudan missionaries were to be found serving the churches in East Africa in various ways, while Christopher Cook and his wife continued to render outstanding service as CMS Representative, Nigeria, bringing into the strains and stresses of the Biafran War situation the calmness and strength they had already shown in the Sudan.

[32] *SDR, Spring 1968, p.7.*

[33] *SDR, Spring 1969, p.7.*

An important event during these years was the visit to Khartoum in 1967 of a Goodwill Mission of the All Africa Council of Churches, with its Headquarters in Nairobi. In demonstrating to the Khartoum Government the concern felt by the Christian Church in the whole of

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Africa for Christians in the Sidan, the Mission made important contacts, which were to be of use later in bringing about the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972. The delegation, led by Sir Francis Ibiam, a President of the World Council of Churches and a former Governor of Eastern Nigeria, met the Sudanese Prime Minister, Sadiq el Mahdi and other Government and Church leaders. At the end of the visit it recommended:

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a. Practical recongition of the ardent desire of the people of the Southern Provinces to share in running the country.

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b. The need for a Constitution that safeguards religious freedom.

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c. A peaceful and conciliatory approach, rather than military operations, to solve the unhappy situation of the outlaws.

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d. Reconsideration of the Missionary Act of 1962 to allow for outside help to strengthen the leadership of the Chrisitan Churches.

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In the Southern Sudan itself, visits by Bishop Allison were possibly only to the three Province Headquarters, Juba, Wau and Malakal, where he found church services going on as usual, at first with small congregations but increasing steadily year by year. In 1968, the population of Juba was swelled by the influx of refugees from the countryside to 23,000, rising to 50,000 in 1969. Provost Amosa Ngama was permitted to visit Maridi by small plane and news of

Christian gatherings began to come in from Nzara, Yei, Bor, Tonj and Torit. While it was impossible in those years for the Diocesan Synod to meet, Church Conferences were held in Khartoum and Juba.

Meanwhile, in the political sphere, the Twelve-man Committee appointed by the Round Table Conference of 1964 took more than a year to complete its work on the possible constitutional relationship between North and South. Sadiq el Mahdi took over from Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub as Prime Minister in 1966 and called an All-Party Conference to decide whether to adopt the Report of the Twelve-man Committee or to send it to a new session of the Round Table Conference. The All-Party Conference took several months to study the Report and in the meantime a power struggle developed between Sadiq el Mahdi on the one hand and Ismail el Azhari and El Hadi el Mahdi on the other, as a result of which Sadiq was replaced by Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub for a second term as Prime Minister. In the resulting atmosphere of political instability in the North, "no-one in or out of Government cared any more about the burning public problem that confronted the country. The war in the South once again became an affair for the Army and the other security forces. No-one except the Southerners cared what the Army did there."[34] In 1968 Ismail el Azhari as Chairman of the Supreme Council of State, dissolved Parliament and called for the holding of new elections. The main task of the new Parliament was to draft a new Constitution for the country. The main issue had by now become, not the constitutional relationship between North and South but the choice between a secular Presidential constitution and an Islamic Constitution, both of which were opposed by the Southern political parties. "By the end of 1968 it became obvious, except perhaps to those in power, that the country was not being governed. The public was frustrated, wishing that someone other than the bunch of politicians playing with their interest would come to take over and save the country from the impasse. On25th May 1969, against the background of national frustration and public despair, a group of mostly unknown young liberal Army officers, led by Colonel Jaafar Mohammed Mineiri, stage the second military coup d'etat of the country."[35]

[34] *Bona Malwal, People and Power in Sudan, London 1981, p.111.*

[35] *Ibid, pp.117,119.*

The Hard Road to Peace

One of Nimeiri's first pronouncements was that he would adopt a policy of "seeking a peaceful solution" to the Southern problem. On the strength of this pronouncement, Bishop Allison sought an interview with Major Farouk Osman Hamadullah, Acting Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior, during which three major changes of policy were declared:

(i) There would be freedom of religion. This at once removed the fear of the imposition of an Islamic Constitution which had become a major obstacle to peace. "One can therefore thankfully record this decision to treat all religions with equal respect." Wrote Bishop Allison.

(ii) There would be a form of Socialism which would be specifically Sudanese in character, basing itself on good relations with all Arab states, "yet not annulling our African character. The world has gradually begun to realise that the great desert is not a barrier between the Arabs to the North of the desert and the Africans to the South. We do not discriminate in our relations with the two sides but thank our destiny".

(iii) The policy for the South was outlined in a statement by Major-General Numeiri, President of the Council of the Revolution, as follows: "The Revolutionary Government is confident and competent enough to face existing realities. It recognises the historical and cultural differences between the North and the South and firmly believes that the unity of our country must be built upon theses objective realities. The Southern people have a right to develop their respective cultures and traditions within a united Sudan. In furtherance of these objectives the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers held joint meetings and after a full discussion of the matter resolved to recognise the right of the Southern people to Regional Autonomy within a united Sudan."[36]

[36] *SDR, Autumn 1969, pp.3f.*

However, Nimeiri had first to establish his own position, which was opposed by the traditional political parties in the North, who questioned the legitimacy of his coup d'etat and objected to the inclusion of Communists in his Government. In the South, Nimeiri's cause was not advanced by the appointment of Joseph Garang, a known Communist, as Minister of State for Southern Affairs. To meet these threats to his position, Nimeiri moved first against the Ansar, the traditional followers of the Mahdi. In an attack on Aba Island by land and air, the Imam, El Hadi El Mahdi, was killed, while Sharif Hussein El Hindi and Sadiq El Mahdi escaped. Large numbers of the Ansar fled to Ethiopia and Libya, later to unite in an attempt to overthrow Nimeiri in 1976. With the disappearance of the opposition from the right, the Communists seized the opportunity to try to impose their own policies on the country. A programme of nationalisation of foreign companies and businesses, together with an influx of Soviet experts and technicians, alerted the Revolutionary Command Council and the people in general to the fact that they were being led along a path which they did not want to follow. On 9th July 1971 the Communists staged a coup to try to get rid of Nimeiri and run the country in their own way. Nimeiri and his close associates were arrested and detained in the Republican Palace, while a large number of officers were disarmed and detained in the Guest House adjacent to the Palace. In London, Babiker El Nur, named by the Communists as their leader, boarded a British Airways flight with Farouk Hamadallah to return to Khartoum, only to find themselves the victims of a dramatic intervention by Colonel Gadaffi of Libya, who intercepted the British plane over Libya and arrested the two Sudanese Communist leaders as an act of support for Nimeiri. The non-arrival of these two leaders in Khartoum spread consternation among the Communists and gave officers loyal to Nimeiri the opportunity to seize a quantity of arms and two tanks and advance on the Republican Palace. After fierce fighting, during which All Saints Cathedral found itself in the line of fire, Nimeiri was freed and quickly reassumed control. There followed a savage purge of Communist leaders, leaving Nimeiri at last free to assume total control. In September 1971 he was elected President, dissolved the Revolutionary Command Council and appointed three Vice-Presidents, one of whom was a Southerner, Abdel Alier, who also held the position of Minister of State for Southern Affairs. Southerners were also appointed as Commissioners in the three Southern Provinces and, most important of all, contacts were made with the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement, the political arm of the Any Nya, and

negotiations begun on the hard road to peace.

Following the hopeful pronouncements of the new Regime, Bishop Allison was able to report, in Autumn 1969, of conditions in the South: "Already there are signs of the beginning of a return to normality in some areas and when the refugees get news of their people in the heart of the countryside returning to their homes and villages and not just to the Peace Camps, there will undoubtedly be an increasing flow of returning refugees."[37] For the first time, Bishop Allison was allowed to visit Camps outside Juba. The Revd Enoka Chaima was able to be posted to Nzara. The Revd Enok Riak was able to visit Rumbek and Yirol from Wau. Plans began to be put in hand for the repair of Pastors' houses in Lainya, Yei and Maridi. The ordination training programme bore fruit in the number of ordained Sudanese clergy reaching 60 in the Autumn of 1970. John Malou and Michael Lugor were ordained in Khartoum Cathedral after completing three years' training in Uganda. Eluzai Munda and Seme Solomona returned after five years' advanced study and theological training in Nigeria. Nathaniel Anai joined the staff of Rumbek Secondary School to teach Religious Knowledge, having taken a degree course at the Near East School of Theology, Beirut. And on 24th January 1971, co-incident with the meeting of the Episcopal Synod of Jerusalem and the Middle East in Khartoum, Butrus Tia Shukai was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Khartoum and Benjamina Wani Yugusuk was consecrated Assistant Bishop in Juba. At the Service of Consecration, the Archbishop in Jerusalem, George Appleton, was assisted by Oliver Allison, Bishop in the Sudan, Obadia Kariuki of Mount Kenya, Bishops Thompson and Hassan Dehqani-Tafti of Iran, Bishop Naguib Qubain and Kenneth Cragg, Assistant Bishop in Jerusalem – an occasion of the greatest possible significance in the life of the Church in the Sudan and of its place in the life of the country. The year 1970 also marked the Silver Jubilee of the Diocese of the Sudan, and Bishop Allison wrote: "Few Dioceses can have had a more eventful history than ours. One sometimes wonders how it compares in miniature with the first 25 years of the Acts of the Apostles! One thing is certain, and that is that the Church is established in the South of the Sudan, and in the hearts of many thousands of its varied people; so there need be no fear for the future provided it is supported by the prayers and endeavours of the Sudanese Christians themselves and of all their well-wishers and devoted helpers in the Sudan and the UK and 'to the uttermost parts of the earth'."[38]

[37] *SDR, Autumn 1969, p.4.*

[38] *SDR, Autumn 1970, p.3.*

Perhaps the spirit of those days was best caught in some words written by John Taylor in one of his CMS News Letters in 1971: "In the large areas of the Southern Provinces which are not regularly patrolled and controlled by the northern army the Church seems to be growing more rapidly than anywhere else in Africa. One of the clergy in the countryside in central Equatoria reports having baptised over 10,000 of the Moru people since 1965. One Sudanese evangelist knows of 102 makeshift and quickly dismantled preaching centres in his parish alone. Another who has been four times forced to move hurriedly on to save his life is continually on circuit by bicycle or on foot, visiting in turn the 63 preaching centres in his district. At each of them there is an authorised catechist in charge. Many hundreds have been baptised, their names lovingly recorded in an old exercise book. The clergy themselves have certainly been marked men. In the eyes of the military they are supporting the rebels because, being leaders of their people, they do not bring them to the 'peace camps'. So they are men on the run, chased and chivvied, their whereabouts always liable to be betrayed by some pathetic spy, desperate for food. Out of their tribulation these courageous Christians are enriching the universal treasury of faith, not only with the story of their endurance but with the very words of their love for the Lord. One teacher who stayed in the bush at the time of the big exodus in 1965, meets choir leaders from all over, twice a year, to share new hymns that have been composed in their congregations. In 1969 he walked out with a battered notebook full of them, words and music notation, to get them duplicated for wider distribution. Like the songs of the Negro people, these other-worldly hymns keep alive the Southerners' sense of identity and their faith in a just outcome in this world as well."[39]

[39] *AACC (All Africa Conference of Churches), The Hard Road to Peace, Nairobi 1972.*

Further significant changes took place in the life of All Saints Cathedral, Khartoum. In 1970 came the announcement of the resignation of Provost Patrick Blair after five years of vigorous and fruitful ministry. It could not have been easy to follow such a stalwart as George Martin, who was Provost for 20 years and had established a memorable tradition. The Cathedral had been a source of inspiration for expatriates who had served in one capacity or another in the Sudan, with its Sunday Evening Service as a time for quiet reflection and a renewal of spiritual strength. The Gordon Memorial Chapel was the place where the whole country was upheld in the ministry of daily prayer and worship which was conducted there. This was balanced by

the Gwynne Memorial Chapel on the South side, which was used for Baptisms, Evening Prayer mid-week and for other purposes. The Supper Club, so popular with a wider range of Khartoum residents and visitors, continued as a much-appreciated tradition on Sundays after Evening Service. The Blairs maintained all this, as well as developing work among children and maintaining Clergy House School under the leadership of Ann Laxton. The aims of the life of the Cathedral were summed up by Patrick Blair in a quotation from the message of the Lambeth Conference on 1968; "God is active in this Church, renewing it so that the Church may more clearly proclaim its faith to the world, more effectively discharge its mission of service to the world and may recover that unity for which our Lord prayed and without which it cannot be truly itself. It is our belief that God is now renewing his Church. It is for us to recognise the signs of his renewing action and to welcome them and to obey them … "[40]

[40] *SDR, Spring 1969, p.10.*

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One of the signs of God's renewing action was the increasing significance of the part played in the life of the Cathedral by Christians from the South. Their main Service had always been on Sunday mornings, with lessons read in four or five different languages. In the Spring of 1970 the Revd John Malou was appointed to the staff of the Cathedral, later to be joined by the Revd Eluzai Munda. When Patrick Blair's resignation was announced, the author of this book was named as his successor, only to be followed a few months later by the announcement that he had been refused an entry visa, a clear sign that the era of expatriate leadership in the Cathedral had come to an end. It has already been described how the Cathedral found itself in the line of fire during the abortive Communist coup of July 1971. It was never used again, being put 'out of bounds' by the authorities. By the Spring of 1972 negotiations had begun for the granting of another site for the Cathedral of the future, and in March 1973 came the appointment of the Revd Ephraim Natana as the new Provost.

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In February 1972 negotiations between the Sudan Government and the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) began in Addis Ababa. The Sudan Government delegation was led by a Southerner, Abel Alier, the rest of the delegation being Northerners. Bona Malwal writes of Abel Alier, "His cool and patient character and the strong personal respect both sides had for him made it possible for the South and the North to sit and hammer out an agreement of which the whole country was to become proud and for which the outside world

would acclaim the humanity of the Sudanese people."[41]

[41] *Malwal, p.145.*

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What is not generally known is the part played by the Churches in bringing about these negotiations. We have already noted how a goodwill mission of the All Africa Council of Churches (AACC) visited the Sudan in December 1966 to convey to the Sudanese Government the concern felt by the Churches in Africa for the situation in the Southern Sudan. The attention of the Sudan Government was again drawn to the World Church by the setting up in 1970 of a programme of aid for the Southern Sudan organised by the AACC and the Division of Inter-Church Aid of the World Council of Churches (WCC). By the year 1971, the Anya Nya achieved a new degree of unity under the leadership of General Joseph Lagu and it became known that the SSLM was prepared to enter into negotiations with the Sudan Government to discuss regional autonomy for the South. In May 1971 a WCC/AACC mission visited the Sudan at the invitation of the Sudan Government and was able to take back to the SSLM assurance of the Sudan Government's willingness to take part in such discussions. The response of the SSLM was conveyed back to Khartoum by a second WCC/AACC delegation and this led to secret talks between the two parties in November 1971. Official negotiations began in Addis Ababa in February 1972 between representatives of the Sudanese Government and the SSLM, moderated by Canon Burgess Carr of the AACC in the presence of representatives of the WCC. After12 days of sometimes difficult negotiations, the Addis Ababa Agreement on the problem of the South Sudan was initialled by both sides on 26th February 1972. It included a draft law for the organisation of regional self-government in the Southern Sudan, a ceasefire agreement and agreements on the interim arrangements to be made. One month later, the Foreign Minister of the Sudan, Dr Mansour Khalid, and the President of the SSLM, Major-General Joseph Lagu, signed the agreement in Addis Ababa, in the presence of the Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, who had lent the good offices of his government to every stage of the negotiation."[42]

[42] *AACC*

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The Addis Ababa Agreement provided for a single Southern region comprising the three Southern Provinces – Equatoria, Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile – with a Regional Assembly which elected a President for its own High Executive Council. The man appointed by President Nimeiri to bring this about was Abel Alier, who had been one of the three Vice-Presidents appointed by Nimeiri in 1971, and, as we have seen, was the leader of the Sudan Government delegation in the discussions leading up to the Addis Ababa Agreement. He was a man respected and trusted by both North and South and described by Bona Malwal as "a man of cool but strong personal character and self-confidence, and always does what he personally feels right, even in opposition to all his colleagues and political associates."[43] President Nimeiri regarded Abel Alier as his personal representative in the South and what was achieved between 1972 and 1978 is attributed largely to the close relationship which existed between them. This, however, had its dangers. Bona Malwal writes, "Because of good personal relationships between the President of the Republic at the centre and the Vice-President in the South, many institutional problems which should have been discussed and resolved through the Institutions have been solved personally by the two men. As a result, the Sudan has benefitted and the system in the South has survived, but the Institutions have been diminished if not totally obscured."[44] Douglas H. Johnson, in The Minority Rights Group Report No. 78 writes, "The full weight of the Agreement came to rest on the working relationship between the Presidents of the Republic and of the High Executive Council. It was a relationship which was vulnerable to stresses at either end of the Khartoum-Juba axis. In Khartoum, Nimeiri had to contend with those who thought he had conceded too much to the South, while in Juba Abe Alier … was accused of being too subservient to the North. Attempts by both Presidents to meet the complaints of their critics weakened this governmental link between the North and the South, imperilling the effectiveness of the entire Agreement."[45] While full credit must be given to Abel Alier for what he achieved, it is important to note the stresses under which he operated if we are to understand all the factors which led to the deterioration in the situation which occurred later.

[43] *Malwal, p.239.*

[44] *Ibid, p.213.*

[45] *Douglas H. Johnson, Minority Rights Group Report No.78, London 1988, p.5.*

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A Regional Assembly was duly elected in the South, with Abel Alier as President of the High Executive Council (HEC). Bishop Allison noted with pleasure that of the 11 Ministers of the HEC, eight were former students of the CMS Nugent School, Loka, including the President himself. "This is surely an indication that the contribution of our former Mission Schools was not in vain as it produced men of individual character which stood the test of time and radical change."[46] In May 1976 Abel Alier outlined the task assigned to him in the following terms:

[46] *SDR, Autumn 1972, p.5.*

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(i) The absorption of 6,000 Anya Nya into the armed forces, police and prison service.

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(ii) The rehabilitation of the remainder of the Any Nya.

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(iii) The resumption of their former jobs in the public sector of returning civilians.

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(iv) The repatriation and rehabilitation of up to one million returners from the bush and from neighbouring countries.

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(v) The accommodation of returning children into new and existing schools.

(vi) The setting up of the administrative institutions of government.

(vii) The rebuilding of confidence and harmonious relations in a sick and divided country.[47]

[47] *Malwal, pp.206-212.*

In working towards some of these objectives, the Church clearly had a vital part to play. In February 1973, while the Addis Ababa discussions were still going on, a conference of relief agencies was held in Khartoum at which plans were laid for support in the form of money, workers and suppliers. Generous help came from the WCC, Christian Aid, Bread for the World, Danchurch Aid, Norwegian Church relief and other agencies including Roman Catholic agencies, much of the work being done by the Sudan Council of Churches (SCC). The SCC drew up plans for the reconstruction of church property and established a fund to help cover the cost. The SCC programme covered large parish centres, brick-built churches and pastors' houses, village churches being left to returning refugees to rebuild themselves with local materials and without outside aid. In 1972, the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM), the Sudan United Mission (SUM), the Missionary Aviation Fellowship (MAF) and the Africa Inland Mission (AIM) formed the Africa Committee for Rehabilitation of the Southern Sudan (ACROSS). They committed themselves to an initial programme of reconstruction lasting two-and-a-half years and in 1975 this was renewed for a further three years. The work involved the setting up and staffing of 10 health centres, the re-opening of three hospitals, and vocational training programmes. The overall aim was to provide centres where there could be a basic agricultural improvement unit, a mobile health unit, social welfare and literacy outreach and opportunities for vocational training. In due time, personnel from CMS and other agencies worked under the ACROSS umbrella. In November 1974, Ken and Betty Ogden were allowed to return to

Lainya to join the Revd Christopher Mame to work for the Sudan Council of Churches Reconstruction project. By December 1975 Ken Ogden was able to report that the reconstruction of Bishop Gwynne College had gone far enough for the College to reopen in August of that year.

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Meanwhile, outside the Sudan in East Africa, the Revd Robert Vass, a former Sudan missionary, was authorised by Bishop Allison and Archbishop Allison to co-ordinate the programme of relief through the Central Aid Fund and the Medical Council for Refugees. Working first from Kampala and later from Nairobi, his organisation became the centre through which international aid was channelled. Having gained the confidence of the authorities both in the Sudan and East Africa, he was able to organise a steady stream of supplies through Northern Uganda and Northern Kenya – no mean task. He was able to provide such things as medical kits, including rehydration salts which were to save the lives of many children, smallpox and cholera vaccine packed in large thermos flasks and handed over to medical assistants and dressers among the refugees; fishing twine and hooks, sewing equipment, agricultural equipment and seeds; educational materials for village schools run and organised by trained teachers among the refugees; bicycles and even typewriters. He did a magnificent job and in his last communication before his retirement in 1974, Bishop Allison spoke of the enormous debt owed by the Sudanese Church to him.

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Deeply concerned for the plight of the Sudanese Church was Archbishop George Appleton. He was in fact in East Africa during the Addis Ababa discussions and on 3rd March 1973 he was the preacher at a service in Mbala Cathedral, Uganda, when 20 Sudanese were ordained to the diaconate, 18 of whom had come from the bush itself and had gone through a crash course in nine months. The day after their ordination, they went back into the bush, carrying with them books, seeds and medical kits. The training courses were carried out by Canon Levi Hassa, assisted by Canon Ezara Lawiri and Canin Martin Rianga, with much of the organisation undertaken by Miss Dorothy Robinson, seconded from the Jerusalem Diocese. In expressing his thanks to all who had contributed to the support of the suffering people in the bush, the Archbishop had a special word of gratitude for Mr Terry Waite, Provincial Training Officer in Uganda, and for a small, devoted group of people in Makerere University. When the announcement came of the retirement of Archbishop Appleton in March 1974, Bishop Allison wrote, “It seems appropriate

to put on record our deep sense of gratitude to him for the inspiration and encouragement that he has brought to the Diocese during his period of office. By his spiritual leadership at such a critical period in the life of the Church throughout the Middle East generally and in the Sudan in particular, he has given an invaluable contribution to us all. His special care and concern for the Sudanese Church in exile, with its spiritual and material needs, in providing funds for the training of men for the village ministry and medical and agricultural supplies for the saving of human lives, will not be forgotten, When the return from exile began, the Archbishop continued to show deep concern by appealing for help in the programme of Church rehabilitation. This has enabled our Bishops and their own families to settle in without the added anxiety of having to cope with the needs of their own families and therefore to concentrate on the spiritual ministry to their people."[48]

[48] *SDR, Autumn 1972, p.5.*

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In the meantime, the Church was moving forward to meet the challenges and opportunities of the hour. In the autumn of 1973, Bishop Allison had written, "One of the remarkable and providential results of the long period that has just passed of disruption in the outward and visible life of the Church has been the development of indigenous leadership at all levels. The former 'Missionary Era' has passed in that sense of the word, and never again will the Sudanese Church be dependent on expatriate leadership in any sphere. But that does not mean that it will not wish to invite fellow workers of other nations to join in the continuing task of building up the Body of Christ in the Sudan. This leadership is clearly revealed not only amongst full-time church workers, but to those called to high positions in the Government."[49] So the Church moved steadily forward to become a strong, integral part in the life of the nation.

[49] *SDR, Autumn 1972, p.5.*

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The first step was the decision of the Episcopal Synod of the Middle East in 1971 to set the rapidly expanding Church of the Sudan free from its commitments outside the Sudan so that it might be the better prepared to assume the new and great responsibilities to be carried by the indigenous leaders of the Church within the Sudan. Responsibility for the Chaplaincies in Ethiopia, Somalia and Yemen was transferred to the Diocese of Egypt.

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The second step was the announcement by Bishop Allison that he would retire in 1974, making way for the appointment of a Sudanese Diocesan Bishop. The process of selection of the new Diocesan Bishop was interesting. "The first step was to get the approval of the Episcopal Synod for the best and fairest method of seeking the consensus of Sudanese opinion from those who were in a position to judge from their personal knowledge of the Bishops and of the qualities required of a Diocesan Bishop in the Sudan. It was recommended that I obtain their opinion by a secret ballot of about an equal number of clergy and leading laymen. This I did with much care. The result of the ballot left no doubt as to the man of their choice (and, I believe, of God's choice). After confidential correspondence with the Archbishops of Canterbury and of Jerusalem, the appointment was duly confirmed with the warm-hearted approval of both Archbishops, that of Bishop Elinana Ngalamu."[50]

[50] *SDR, Autumn 1973, p.6.*

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The third step was the decision by the Episcopal Synod of Jerusalem and the Middle Eat in Isfahan, 16-22 January 1973, that the Diocese of the Sudan should move forward in stages towards becoming an independent Province of the Anglican Communion, this being part of plans for the restructuring of the Archbishopric of Jerusalem itself. As a first move in this direction, the Anglican Consultative Council, in July 1973, agreed that the Diocese of the Sudan should opt out of the Jerusalem Archbishopric and revert to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, later to lead to a Mandate from the Archbishop of Canterbury for the formation of an independent Province of the Sudan. At the same time, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the Jerusalem Archbishopric moved towards the formation of the independent Central Synod of Jerusalem and the Middle East with its own President Bishop. Thus it came about that, on 24th February 1974, Bishop Elinana Jabi Ngalamu was installed in Juba Cathedral by the Archbishop of Canterbury as the first Diocesan Bishop of the Sudan – no longer an expatriate Bishop IN the Sudan, but the Sudanese Bishop OF the Sudan. And in October 1976 the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Donald Coggan, inaugurated in Juba the new Anglican Province of the Sudan, with Elinana Ngalamu as its Archbishop. And so came to an end the period of ministry in the Sudan of Oliver Allison, a period lasting 35 years, 25 years as a Bishop, 20 of those years as Diocesan Bishop. It was fitting that a tribute to him should come from Africa itself, from the All Africa Conference

of Churches, through its General Secretary, Cannon Burgess Carr:

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"Bishop Oliver Allison came to the Sudan more than 30 years ago as a labourer for the Lord to help extend his Kingdom at one of the most exciting and challenging crossroads in an African nation. His task was to present Jesus Christ to a people with a long and revered religious culture deriving from Islam and from African traditional faith.

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"Only a man of Oliver's vision, humility and deep personal faith in Jesus Christ could have withstood the hazards of such an exacting mission. He did. As a result of his efforts and his dedication there is today in the Sudan an Anglican Church that has survived nearly two decades of civil strife and is now active in the t ask of healing the nations wounds.

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"But Oliver Allison's contribution is not to be measured in relation to any church structures he may have been instrumental in building up in the Sudan; rather by men and women whose lives have been transformed through his example of loyalty and obedience to Jesus Christ. It is these men and women who during the years of civil war trekked hazardous miles in order to evangelise their fellow countrymen. The phenomenal growth of the church in the Sudan during this period is a milestone in the history of African Christianity and a tribute to the work of Oliver Allision. Today he leaves this church not only structurally more developed but fully in the hands of Sudanese Christians. We honour him for this as we thank God for Oliver's life."[51]

[51] *SDR, Spring 1974, p.7.*

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To get the new situation in focus, in 1971 we find Bishops Elinana and Yeremaya still in exile in East Africa ministering to the Church in exile, while Bishops Butrus and Benjamina were inside the Sudan ministering to the outposts of the Church in the Northern Sudan and to the Church in Juba, in the peace camps and in the bush in the South. There are some rather delightful touches in their reports. Bishop Butrus wrote of his tour of the churches in the Nuba

Mountains: “We left Lira-Heiban with two evangelists. We took three donkeys to carry our things and bedding to Muro. We started our journey at 7pm and rested on the way for only two hours. The donkeys were very troublesome. I rode on one of the donkeys and sometimes walked. It was better for me to walk, but my feet got swollen. We arrived at Shawaya at 7am next day and had breakfast and rested, then at 9am we left Shawaya for Karum. There was no water on the way and the donkeys became more tired than us men. After five hours walking, we rested under a big tree and there we found some water but were sorry for the poor donkeys because there was not enough water for them. We started again at 3pm and arrived at Karum at 10pm and found some people awaiting us whilst others were already asleep. In the morning many people came to see us. Our plan was changed at Lira because the Christians wanted us to stay longer than planned. We had a full three days' conference.” Surely this is how Paul and Barnabas travelled in Asia Minor, from Iconium to Lystra, Derbe and back! Bishop Benyamina wrote of his travels in the South: “The journeys in these years are very rough. I cannot go into details but you will perhaps understand the present situation. It is only God's mercies which make them possible. The Church in the Southern Archdeaconries has suffered materially, but spiritually it is rich and continues to work for the building up of the life of the people.”[52]

[52] *SDR, Sprint 1972.*

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On 14th May 1972, very soon after the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement, Bishops Elinana and Yeremaya paid a short visit to the Sudan and were able to have an informal audience with President Nimeiri and other Ministers in Khartoum, followed by a meeting with regional authorities in Juba, before returning to Uganda.

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1973 saw the return of the two Bishops from exile to take part in the ‘spiritual rehabilitation' of their people. “Wherever they have been they have found a spiritual response in the hearts of the people and large numbers of believers have been receiving Confirmation.”[53] And on All Saints Day, 1st November 1972, a fully representative Diocesan Synod met in Juba after an interval of 10 years.

[53] *SDR, Autumn 1973, p.7.*

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So we come to the Installation of Bishop Elinana as Diocesan Bishop in Juba Cathedral on 24th February 1974. The new era in the life of the Diocese was given a splendid send-off by a large Conference arranged for all Pastors, including those of other denominations. The Conference was sponsored by World Vision and was seen as part of the Church Rehabilitation programme and for the deepening of the spiritual life of the Church. It brought together Church leaders who had been dispersed for many years – one or two from the Church of Jesus Christ in the Nuba Mountains and several from the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Churches. The special speakers were Dr Paul Rees from the USA, Canon Bill Butler from the UK, Bishop Silvanus Wani from Uganda and the Revd Gottfried Osei-Mensah from Kenya. "It was a time of great blessing and many lives were changed." A big Bari Convention was held later in Juba. "After these days together in Juba, all went to their parishes and places of work with great joy and singing in their hearts to the glory of God. Lastly, I must remind you of the wonderful growth of the Church. Ordained clergy now number almost exactly 100 and there are an increasing number of lay workers, men and women" wrote Bishop Elinana[54]

[54] *SDR, Autumn 1974, p.3.*

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Bible Training Institutes functioned in Juba and Omdurman. "Eight young Nuba evangelists have now completed their course, seven have returned to their homes and villages in the Nuba Mountains, the eighth being posted to Kosti to enable the Dinka evangelists there to come into training for the next course." The Revd Manasse Binyi was placed in charge of Youth Work, with four leaders in the South and one in the North. William Ngalamu, the son of the Bishop, was appointed Literature Co-ordinator, assisted by Mrs Olive Peat. Four translation groups were at work, one for each main language area. The Church Bookshop was re-opened in Juba and there were plans being discussed with the Sudan Council of Churches for radio programmes. Seven women leaders continued the work which they had been doing for many years. In 1975 Bishop Nwankiti of Owerri, Nigeria, visited Juba for the ordination of seven deacons in the Cathedral and on 6th April of the same year a notable event was the enthronement of Roman Catholic Bishop A. Dud as the first Roman Catholic Archbishop of the Sudan.

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Expatriates still had a role to play in the new situation. We have seen how in the South they played a part in the programme of

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reconstruction and rehabilitation under the umbrella of ACROSS. In the North, the new Provost of the Cathedral (non-existent since the closure of All Saints Cathedral) was a Sudanese, the Very Revd Ephraim Natana, with the Revd Charles Bonsall as his assistant and Chaplain to the expatriates. The transition from expatriate to Sudanese leadership was reflected in a report given by Provost Natana to the Annual General meeting of the Sudan Church Association in London in June 1974: "There is a large community of Southern Sudanese in the Three Towns (Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman) whose Pastor is the Provost of the Cathedral. At the moment, through my two years' experience in Khartoum, and considering all the difficulties of transport, I have realised the importance of the church moving to the people and finding them where they are. I have therefore established House Churches in six areas round Khartoum and of these, two have become very active. In one area, Sunday School activities have started and are getting on well, despite lack of materials. The Southern Sudanese who live in Omdurman and Khartoum look to me as their Pastor and come all the way to Khartoum for services. A Women's Fellowship has been running veery well for prayers and Bible Study and they do knitting and sewing. These activities are very important in the life of the Church."[55]

[55] *SDR, Autumn 1974, p.13.*

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Unity High School and the Clergy House International School continued to serve the international community in Khartoum. In Omdurman, these year saw the retirement of Rachal Hassan, having served in the Sudan since 1943, with an interval in UK, first as an educationist in the Nuba Mountains and then as CMS Representative in the Northern Sudan; also of Winifred Hill after many years as Headmistress of the CMS Girls' School in Omdurman; and of Louise Ryder, for long a top secretary in CMS Headquarter in London, then adapting marvellously to the Sudan as secretary to the CMS Representative in Juba and then as secretary to Bishop Allison in Khartoum. In 1971 Omdurman Hospital was handed over to the Ministry of Health after having played a very important part, since the earliest days of the Church in the Sudan, in the Christian witness to Muslims. Of the Hospital staff, Miss Hazel Caren remained to work for the Ministry of Health in its service to leprosy patients. Dr George Trub and his little team of Swiss missionaries maintained the clinic at Abu Rof and Dr Agnes Compton made her contribution, being the wife of John Compton, the new CMS Representative in the Northern Sudan. Mr Philip Gordon served devotedly and unobtrusively in the

Religious Teachers' Courses in Omdurman. The Revd Philip Blair, and after him the Revd John Barff, performed the vital task of training Nuba evangelists in the Omdurman Bible Training Institute, for the strengthening of the tiny church in the Nuba Mountains. Miss Peggy Jackson became secretary to Bishop Elinana in Juba. A whole book is needed to tell the story of the translation of the Bible into Bari by Miss Philippa Gullebaud. Having established a flourishing Girls' School at Yei, her skill in Bari, perhaps inherited from a family of brilliant linguists, marked her out for whole-time Bible translation work. Building on the foundations laid by Archdeacon Paul Gibson, she stuck doggedly to her task with her small team of helpers, a task which took her to East Africa with the refugee church and finally brought her back to Juba with the returning refugees, to complete the task of the translation of the whole Bible into Bari. This, together with the work of Canon Ezara Lawiri in the translation of the Bible into Moru, must surely go down in history as one of the outstanding pieces of translation work carried out under the most adverse circumstances.

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If the years of suffering of the Sudanese Church have revealed anything, they have revealed the reality of the concept of the Church Universal as the 'Body of Christ'. "If one member suffer, all members suffer with it" (I Corr 12.26). Membership of the Episcopal Church of the Sudan as part of the Episcopal Church in the Middle East, membership of the world-wide Anglican Communion, membership of the Sudan Council of Churches, the participation of the World Council of Churches, the formation of ACROSS, all declare membership of one Body, the Body of Christ in the World. This universal membership took concrete form in the link forged between the Diocese of the Sudan and later the Province of the Sudan with the Diocese of Salisbury. In March 1973, Bishop Campbell MacInnes, formerly Archbishop in Jerusalem, then resident in the Diocese of Salisbury, proposed to the Salisbury Diocesan Synod "that the Synod warmly endorses the proposal that a formal link be forged and maintained between the Dioceses of Salisbury and of the Sudan in order to strengthen their mutual friendship and support." It was emphasised that the primary needs of the returning refugees would be met by national and international agencies, but specialised needs, such as clergy stipends and transport, the training of clergy, etc., must be provided in the first place by sister churches abroad. The Link came alive when, in June 1975, Bishop Elinana paid a visit to the Diocese of Salisbury, taking part in a large open-air service at Old Sarum to commemorate the 900th anniversary of the founding of the diocese and visiting a number of parishes. At the conclusion of a meeting for

children, Bishop Elinana played to them a tape-recording of songs sung by the Sudanese when in exile. "The effect was electric. 'That's in my language and that is what they sang to me when they welcomed me out of exile.'" In January 1976, the Bishop of Salisbury and his wife, George and Alix Reindorp, visited the Sudan and visits have been exchanged by bishops, clergy and others ever since, from which much has been gained by both sides.

Perhaps the strongest manifestation of membership of the World Church was the meeting of what is called a 'Partnership in Mission' consultation in Juba in1976 in preparation for the inauguration of the Anglican Province of the Sudan. The External Co-ordinator was Canon Simon Barrington-Ward, General Secretary of CMS, supported by representatives from the Episcopal Church in the USA, the Episcopal Church in Canada, the Episcopal Churches in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania and the Diocese of Salisbury. Committees were set up, one for Planning and Finance, and the other Constitutional, in readiness for the Inauguration. With these thorough and solid preparations, the new Province came into being on 11th October 1976. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Donald Coggan, and Mrs Coggan, arrived in Khartoum on 9th October, only to find that travel to the South was prohibited owing to the prevalence of a killer disease which was sweeping the South – Marburg Disease, popularly known as Green Monkey Fever. However, on the evening of the 9th October, Dr and Mrs Coggan, accompanied by the Bishop of Omdurman, Butrus Tia Shukai, were received by President Nimeiri, who placed one of his own aeroplanes at their disposal for a day trip to Juba in order to carry out the Inauguration of the Province as planned. The party consisted of the President's Representative, Dr and Mrs Cogan, the Minister for the Social Services, the Minister for Religious Affairs, the Bishop of Omdurman and the Revd John Brown, representing the Sudan Church Association and acting as interpreter to the Archbishop. There was a tumultuous welcome in Juba. The Archbishop of Canterbury formally gave the Episcopal Church of the Sudan Provincial status and enthroned Bishop Elinana as the first Archbishop of the Sudan. Attendance at the service was limited by quarantine regulations but among those present were the Vice-President of the Sudan, Abel Alier, Muslim leaders in Juba, the Greek Orthodox Bishop in Juba and the Bishop of Rumbek, Benjamina Wani Yugusuk. During the Communion itself, "the Cathedral resounded to the joyful sound of young Sudanese singing the most lively English and vernacular choruses, and it is this wonderful sound that has accompanied us all day and sent us on our way rejoicing from Juba airport", wrote the Revd John Brown.[56]

[56] *SDR, Spring 1977.*

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In a book of this sort, covering such a wide range of history, it is not possible to record in detail all the events of the 10 years of Elinana Ngalamu's incumbency as Archbishop of the Episcopal Church in the Sudan. Others will record in detail the history of Bishop Gwynne College, or the history of ACROSS, or the links with the Dioceses of Salisbury and Bradford. It is here possible only to summarise the main trends of those 10 years, 1976-86, in the Episcopal Church. Neither is it possible, at this stage, to include parallel developments which were taking place in other Churches in the Sudan. They too will also doubtless be recorded by the appropriate people.

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First, the role of the Archbishop himself. For the first time, a Sudanese voice was heard in the highest councils of the world-wide Anglican Communion. But it was not simply the fact of his presence which was significant, but the manner of his presence. Embodied in this man were qualities to be seen in the Sudanese Church as a whole as a result of the experiences they had been through. The very fact of the underdeveloped nature of the Southern Sudan produced men and women of great simplicity of life, a quality which the affluent churches of the West longed to recover. No palace, no limousine for this Archbishop. A small house with the minimum of amenities, a battered Land Rover, and a lifestyle which could not be other than that of the people amongst whom he lived – this was the nature of the Sudanese representative among the leaders of the World Church. Add to this the qualities gained by suffering endured triumphantly in the faith of Christ – "suffering produces endurance, endurance produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us, because God's love has been poured into our hearts" – and you have simplicity, a dignity, and a calm, rock-like faith which calls forth the respect and attention of all.

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Second, the task of the Diocesan Bishops in facing the challenges of a rapidly expanding church. Little did the pioneers – Shaw, Fraser, Gibson, Gore and Ewell – realise how deeply and how effectively they had embedded in the minds of their converts the priority of evangelism. To be a Christian was to be a witness, and the desire to share the Gospel with those around them became the natural instinct of the Sudanese Church. And the people looked to their Bishops to be, first and foremost, their leaders in the evangelistic task. So we have the Archbishop, himself Bishop of the Diocese of Juba, establishing

an outpost of the Church at Nimule on the Uganda border, and leading a Christian Convention among the largely unevangelised Mandari, between Juba and Bor. We see the Bishop of Rumbek, Benjamina Wani Yugusuk, with his donkeys and his swollen feet, leading and inspiring his gallant little band of Christian Nuba in their witness to their own people.

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But such activities were immensely demanding, given the terrain and a climate such as the Sudan's, and they began to take their toll. After the long years of constant movement and the emotional strain of refugee life, the health of Bishop Yeremaya Kufuta Dotiro of Yambio began to deteriorate, and in 1983 he died in Khartoum, having literally 'burned out for God'. He was succeeded by Daniel Zindo, consecrated Bishop of Yambio, and Joseh Marona, consecrated Assistant Bishop of Maridi, on 22nd April 1984. Clearly the time had come for the appointment of more Assistant Bishops to share the Episcopal duties of a rapidly expanding church, and in 1984 three Assistant Bishops were consecrated for the Diocese of Rumbek: Nathaniel Garang for Bor, John Malou for Wau and Eluzai Munda for Mundri. Two new Assistant Bishops were consecrated for the Diocese of Juba: Seme Solomona for Yei and Manase Binyi for Juba, and one more for the Diocese of Khartoum; Mubarak Khamis for Kadugli in the Nuba Mountains.

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The third feature of church life which marked these years was the determined emphasis on theological training, whatever the odds. "A new generation of younger men are coming forward to lead the people of God during the stormy days ahead", wrote Andy Wheeler of Bishop Gwynne College, prophetically, in 1984. Right from the start, the vital importance of leadership training had been recognised and Bishop Gwynne College had been established. Even after the destruction of the College in 1965, training was maintained as the highest priority of all, in the Theological Colleges of East and West Africa. With the end of the civil war, the rebuilding of Bishop Gwynne College (BGC) was again given the highest priority, and from its reopening in 1975 it was recognised as an institution of the highest quality, attracting a steady stream of young men and women with a vision for their country and a desire to serve it in the fellowship of the Church. Its importance was acknowledged by the World Church, and vital assistance in terms of men and money was given by the churches of several countries. The training programme was geared to the urgent needs of an expanding church through what is known as Theological Education by Extension – TEE. Pioneered in Guatemala in 1962, it

rapidly spread to most countries of the world. The system is based on groups meeting for training in their own localities, using material produced by the central theological college, under the guidance of visiting tutors from the theological college. Thus Andy Wheeler pioneered TEE in the Southern Sudan from BGC as his base, and John Barff laid the foundation of TEE in the North from Omdurman Bible Training Institute as his base. Over and above training given at BGC, further training was arranged for selected men outside the Sudan – in East and West Africa, in Beirut, in England, in Northern Ireland and in the United States. Thus the Church in the Sudan tried to match the rate of expansion by a corresponding programme for the training of leaders to shepherd their flock, to strengthen it by sound teaching, and to lead it in the unfinished evangelistic task.

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Although Bishop Gwynne College, under its Principal, the Revd Benaiah Poggo, was the main centre for Christian leadership training, it was by no means the only way by which the Church participated in this vital task. The Church had its representatives in a number of educational institutions – Juba Girls' Senior Secondary School, Juba Model School, Leadership Training Courses for Teachers in Government Schools in Juba and Omdurman, Lainya Trade School, Unity High School, Khartoum, the Episcopal Church Girls' School in Omdurman and the Omdurman Christian Clubs. Perhaps special mention should be made of United Christian Youth. In 1983, Archbishop Elinana wrote, "You will be encouraged to hear that many young people are seeking entry to Bishop Gwynne College to train for full-time church work. We thank God for this. Their enthusiasm for church work is increasing because of the activities of United Christian Youth which started in Juba. All tribes are working together and recently a group of young people visited Maridi, Yambio and Nzara and another group joined us in Bor. Now the young people are planning to visit Yei and Kajo-Kaji. Being young, they are full of zeal. They preach and sing with enthusiasm."[57]

[57] *SDR, Autumn 1983, p.8.*

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Last but not least, the great work of ACROSS during these years must be recorded. ACROSS was involved in health services, vocational training, education, theological training, agriculture, the digging of wells and in the ministry to Ugandan refugees. "All this for a team of some 90 expatriates and 300 nationals entails a large logistic support, so some of us are vitally necessary as 'back-room boys' in looking after transport, accounts and administration both in Nairobi and

Juba."[58]

[58] *SDR, Spring 1983, p.16.*

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So the picture we have is of a strong, expanding Church, under a leadership which was a blend of maturity and youthful vigour, taking its place and playing its part in the life of the nation and in the Councils of the World Church – a Nile Harvest indeed.

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But even while the Church was growing in strength, during the years following the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, political unrest in the North precipitated a chain of events which were to bring the period of peaceful development to an end. It is difficult to imagine the forces and pressures which impinge remorselessly on a national leader, especially if he lacks the essential support of a political power base which has brought him to power through a democratic process of election. President Nimeiri came to power by a coup in which he was very dependent on the support of a few close associates. He gained popular support in both North and South by the firm decisions which he was able to take and the steady direction in which he steered the ship of State. But by sweeping aside the normal democratic processes, by driving into exile in opposition the traditional parties of the North, he was storing up trouble for the future. A small group of right-wing army officers staged an abortive coup against Nimeiri on 5th September 1975. A far more serious threat came from the Mahdists in exile, led by Sadiq el Mahdi and Sharif Hussein el Hindi. On 2nd July 1976, a carefully planned attack was made on Khartoum by the Mahdists, who had infiltrated into the Sudan from neighbouring countries. They were supported by an assortment of foreign nationals from the neighbouring states. The coup failed and the leaders escaped. But these two threats to his position seem to have undermined Nimeiri's confidence and from then on his actions became unpredictable. In a desperate attempt to gain the support of the traditional political parties of the North, he publicly pardoned Sadiq el Mahdi and Sharif Hussein el Hindi in July 1977, granted a general amnesty to all political prisoners, and included in his Government some of those who had been in opposition. But these steps seem to have had the opposite effect. Soon the President found himself under pressure to turn the Sudan into an Islamic State, thus abandoning the basis of the Addis Ababa Agreement with the South. The situation in the South was not helped by apparent differences among the Southern leaders based on tribal loyalties. In January 1980 President

Nimeiri dissolved the Southern Assembly and dismissed its Cabinet, replacing it by an interim Government under General Gasim Allah Abdallah Rasas. On 23rd February 1981 the President brought to an end the political unity of the South as one Region and divided it into three. When the Council for the Unity of the Southern Sudan made a formal protest, the leaders were arrested. When the boys of Rumbek Senior Secondary School demonstrated against the decision to divide the South, the School was closed. So the official division of the South into three Regions, and the destruction of its unity, came into force on 5th June 1983.

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"Unfortunately for Nimeiri, things did not work his way in the South: 17 years of war were not in vain. The master calculator, who thought that having subdued the North he would now get away with this one too, had a shock. Instead of a committee of Southern elders striving to instil some sanity into the President's mind (not a very easy task after 1982), Nimeiri found himself facing a military insurrection led by younger elements, many of whom had been trained in the ranks of the Sudanese Armed Forces. Their claim was no longer secession or autonomy but rather to rid the whole country of Nimeiri. The elders were no longer at the helm and the young were talking with bullets."[59]

[59] *Mansour Khalid, Nimeiri and the Revolution of Dis-May, London 1985, p.240.*

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In May 1983, an attempt to transfer a number of ex-guerrillas in the Sudanese Army out of the South and replace them with Northerners precipitated mutinies in Bor, Pibor and Pochalla. Among the mutineers was Colonel John Garang, and American-educated Bor Dinka, who was elected commander of the Sudan People's Liberation Army, the SPLA, and the second civil war had begun. In September 1983 a new penal code was introduced based on five canonical Islamic punishments, and Nimeiri announced that he would work towards the full Islamification of the Sudan. Sadiq el Mahdi accused Nimeiri of opportunism and of applying Islamic punishments to protect his regime. Southern leaders opposed the Islamic amendments to the Constitution in Khartoum. They were supported by some Northern members and the proposed amendments were defeated in the National Assembly in July 1948. "Debt, a ruined economy, corruption within the government, famine, the war in the South and an increasingly oppressive application of Shari'a law in the nation's capital finally produced enough popular dissatisfaction to overthrow Nimeiri while he was on a state visit to the United States in April 1985. In response to mass demonstrations in Khartoum, Nimeiri was removed

by his defence minister, General Suwar el Dahab, who formed a Transitional Military Council and appointed a civilian cabinet composed of politicians and trade union leaders."[60]

[60] *Johnson, p.8.*

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The Sudan People's Liberation Army, the SPLA, soon became a formidable force equipped with modern weapons. With periods of disagreement, it was supported and strengthened by Anya Nya II, the remnants of Anya Nya I who had rejected the terms of the Addis Ababa Agreement and continued guerrilla activity in the bush. The activities of the SPLA extended from Kurmuk in the north to Kapoeta in the south, and from the Boma Plateau in the east to the Bahr el Arab River in the west, and beyond to the southern slopes of the Nuba Mountains. It had the effect of driving people from their homes to seek security in the towns, leading to serious overcrowding in the provincial capitals Juba, Wau and Malakal, and the national capital Khartoum. Bishop Benjamina found himself cut off in Rumbek, able to reach Juba only by air. Bishop John Malou was tragically killed when the plane in which he was travelling was shot down by the SPLA. Bishop Gwynne College continued steadily with its courses until July 1987 when Mundri was attacked by the SPLA and four ACROSS workers were kidnapped, later to be released unharmed for away on the Kenya-Uganda border. Fortunately, the college term had ended and only staff were in residence, and they were evacuated first to Maridi, then to Yambio and Yei, and finally to Juba. All ACROSS staff, along with the staff of other relief agencies, were finally expelled from the South in April 1988. Bishop Nathaniel Garang was cut off in Bor District and has remained out of touch with the rest of the Church to this day, carrying out a truly remarkable ministry of evangelism in SPLA-occupied territory.

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Inevitably, the strain began to tell on the health of Archbishop Elinana. Having attended a Primates' meeting in Toronto, he arrived in Salisbury on 3rd April 1986 with a troublesome hip and with symptoms of diabetes. On arrival in Khartoum, he seemed overwhelmed by the problems which confronted him and collapsed. He was sent to Nairobi for rest and treatment. During his absence, responsibility fell upon Bishop Benjamina as Dean of the Province. During 1986 he was a member of a Peace Mission to visit the Prime Minister, Sadiq el Mahdi in Khartoum and Colonel Joseph Garang in Addis Ababa, in a combined attempt by the Churches to persuade the leaders to meet and consider ways of attaining a permanent peace.

Bishop Benjamina wrote, "While in Juba, we linked with the Catholic Church. This led us to choose five Church leaders to go to see Prime Minister Sadiq el Mahdi in Khartoum and John Garang in Addis Ababa. We were: Archbishop Paulino Lukudu, Catholic; Revd Michael Lugor, ECS; Father Constantino Pitya, Catholic; Brother Sofronio Efuk, Catholic Pressman; Bishop Benjamina Yugusuk, ECS. They were all from the South, and Catholic Archbishop Gabriel Zuber joined in Khartoum. The Peace Mission took us one-and-a-half months, following the truth and sincerity of the Gospel, because we do not want to be misunderstood or misused. We went with two important points, hunger and the war itself, which caused people to die by hunger and guns, and when will the war end. We saw Sadiq el Mahdi in Khartoum for three hours, talking of relief food and war in the South of Sudan. Also we John Garang in Addis Ababa, meeting with him and his SPLA officers for three days talking of the same things. We did not bring peace back with us to the South, but we thank God because both sides agreed to resume peace talks again."[61]

[61] *SDR, Spring 1987, p.8.*

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Feeling that the prolonged illness of Archbishop Elinana following his stroke in May, and his slow recovery in Nairobi, left the Church without effective leadership at a specially critical time, the Dean of the Province called a meeting of the Episcopal Council 13th -17th October 1986 (the House of Bishops together with a Judge representing the Chancellor, and six other lay persons), and after thorough consultation and much prayer came to the following conclusions:

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1. The province of the Episcopal Church of Sudan should be enlarged by creating more Dioceses: Maridi, Mundri, Yei, Wau, Bor, Eastern Equatoria (Juba itself to be a Diocese) and Kadugli.

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2. We resolved that, as we found no evidence regarding the charges brought against the Provincial Secretary, he is to return to the office.

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3. We reviewed the Provincial Constitution and found that the Archbishop Elinana Ngalamu is to retire at the end of his 10-year term. His time in office should not be extended for a further five years because he is tired.

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4. It has also been resolved that the See of the Archbishop of the ECS should be moved from Juba to Khartoum in the next term of the Province.

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5. We proposed the Provincial Assembly should be called from 14th February 1987, and that all our proposals should be passed at that time.

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In the meantime, Bishop Benjamina as Dean of the Province will carry out all the pastoral and administrative functions of Archbishop until a new Archbishop has been duly elected and appointed. The election is in the hands of the Chancellor.

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The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council have both been informed.

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The appointment of a new Bishop of Khartoum will await the decision of the Electoral College at the time of the General Assembly."[62]

[62] *SDR, Spring 1987, p.4.*

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After waiting for several months, the Diocesan Bishops felt compelled

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to put into motion the machinery, as laid down in the Constitution, to elect a new Archbishop, and Bishop Benjamina Wani Yugusuk was elected. His election was recognised by Lambeth Palace with a recommendation to all other Primates of the Anglican Communion to give Bishop Benjamina their support. He was duly enthroned as Archbishop in Juba Cathedral on 28th February 1988. In the meantime, Archdeacon Bulus Idris was consecrated Bishop of Khartoum in Khartoum Cathedral on 18th August 1987, more than two years after the death of Bishop Butrus Tia Shukai, with Butrus Kua Kori as his Assistant Bishop, the Bishop of Egypt, the Rt Revd Ghais Abdel Malik, being the Preacher at the Service of Consecration. And on 17th January 1988, Gabriel Roric Jur was consecrated Bishop of Wau in succession to Bishop John Malou Ater.

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In recent months, the world has been shocked by the succession of disasters which have befallen the Sudan – famine, drought, floods, locusts, civil war. The normal rhythm of life in both the North and the South has been tragically disrupted. In a normally productive land, harvests have failed. The compassion of the world has been aroused.

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Inevitably, these disasters have been reflected in the life of the Church, taking their toll in terms of the disruption of normal Church life, the destruction of Church buildings and intolerable strain upon Church leaders. The sympathy, the understanding, the love, prayers and practical help of the World Church have been kindled.

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Miraculously, the spiritual harvest of souls has continued, in spite of overwhelming odds, and at grass roots the Church continues to survive, to grow and even to rejoice.

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"What has the Church in Sudan got to teach us?", people ask. They

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can show the face of Christ in the poor. They can lead us from the euphemisms of our illusions towards reality. They can recall us to the God who is a very present help in time of trouble. They can teach us perhaps that the Christian life is more than the smell of wine in old buildings, more than beautiful music, more than repairing ruins, more than choruses and hand-clapping. It is about suffering and sorrow, about sharing, about struggling on in the heat and standing up and being counted." So writes Simon May, ordination candidate, after five years at the heart of the conflict in Juba.[63]

[63] *SDR, Spring 1987, p.13.*

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"Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom, whose divine providence ordereth all things upon earth: We pray thee in thy infinite mercy to preserve the peoples of the Sudan. Let the shadow of thy protection be over them in town and countryside, in mountain, forest and desert. Guard them, we beseech thee, from all disaster of famine, sickness and bloodshed. Pour into their hearts and minds thy most precious gift of understanding, so that they may bring peace into their feuds, justice into their councils, loving-kindness into their homes, and may cast away the work of darkness from their lives, through Jesus Christ out Lord. Amen."[64]

[64] *Sir Douglas Newbold, Civil Secretary of the Sudan, 1939-45.*
