Points of Contradiction: Money, The Catholic Church and Settler culture in Southern Africa: 1837-1920

Part 1: The Leaders of the Mission

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1. Introduction: the missionary significance of finance

The mission of the Church cannot be realised without resources. These resources are both human and material but they are also quintessentially spiritual (Rom 12; 1 Cor 12; Eph 4). When we speak of the resources available to the Church for its mission we can categorise these rather broadly into three linked and overlapping areas. Firstly there are the human resources of people committed to the mission of the Church. These human resources have an individual and communal aspect to them. Then there are the financial resources which allow for the support of the missionaries and the actualisation of the mission in a particular context. On a different level and clearly linked to these two we can also speak of the structural resources which a local church builds up as a result of its tradition and history. This is clearly the legacy of previous generations of human and financial resources. We count its as a separate resource because it allows the mission to move forward and priorities to change. Finally of course the major resource of the Church in its mission is neither human nor financial but the presence of the Holy Spirit which calls, inspires, blesses with gifts for the mission and directs the movement of the community of faith on its spiritual journey to the promised land. This paper whilst recognising that these aspects of resource are intimately linked intends to focus of the role of financial resources in the mission of the Catholic Church in Southern Africa, an area which has been woefully overlooked by students of mission. It is the first in a planned series of articles exploring finance as a symbol and its cultural role within Christianity in this context.

The often negative view of money portrayed in the scriptures and the fact that Jesus - money keeper was the one to betray him does not deny the importance of resources for the mission but indicates their ambiguity and temptation quality. Because it is a dangerous area of
mission this should not lead us to pretend that it is an unnecessary one. Jesus’ plan for the realisation of his mission included the role of a person to take care of the material needs of his missionary community. It forms part of the incarnational dimension of the mission since human and material resources are essential for life in this world. Consequently the way in which the symbol of money operates within the Christian context is an aspect of inculturation. It is the theological model of inculturation which I have outlined elsewhere (Bate 1994a; 1998) which will provide the theological referent for the discussion.

The ambiguity of money and finances leads us to see that it is in fact an area of where openness to God’s will and the Spirit’s presence is essential. The use of finances in the mission of the church is an area where spiritual discernment is of paramount importance. For this reason we can say that the financial dimension of the mission is an aspect of Missionary Spirituality.

In this paper we focus on the financial resources which were made available to the Catholic Church in Southern Africa in order to fulfil its mission. We have noted elsewhere that within the inculturation model, pastoral and missionary praxis can be described as culturally mediated pastoral responses to culturally mediated human needs (Bate 1995:255). Clearly the way the missionaries decided to operate can also be described in terms of this model. It is important to note that the pastoral responses are made in terms of the culture of the agents, the missionaries whereas the needs are mediated through the culture of the local community. The process of inculturation describes the emergence of a local church where the cultural matrix has some elements of homogeneity and becomes a Christian culture. But at the beginning of the mission this may not be the case.

The cultural context we will mainly focus on in this paper is the settler culture in Southern Africa from 1830-1920. This culture was the principal interface of the Church’s missionary endeavour in these years. Often when missioning to settlers the Church attempted to resolve this dilemma by sending Dutch missionaries to Dutch speakers (Denis 1998, 67,147) and in looking for English speaking ministers to the English speakers of the Transvaal (Brain 1991:118). In the Western and Eastern Vicariates there was a measure of cultural homogeneity between missionary and settler. In Natal, this was less so as the missionaries were French and the Catholics, Irish, Indian and some English and Mauritian. When mission was taken on with the indigenous people

\[1\] See Bonk JJ. 1991. Missions and Money. NY Orbis. Pp 115-132 for a theological reflection on this
the gap was clear.

It is culture which plays a major role in determining what are the priorities in mission work. With the European missionaries the priorities were clearly to set up ecclesial structures: churches, schools and other institutions. When these pastoral actions responded to the culturally mediated needs of the people they were successful. This was the case in the settler communities. When they did not, such as the OMI=s with the Zulus and initially with the Basotho, there was little success. The attempts of Trappists with the Zulus were more successful precisely because they were able to respond to their culturally mediated needs for better crops and livestock as well as providing entry into the emerging modern economy through education. The decision regarding what to do in mission is a decision regarding the allocation of resources both financial and human. We do not intend to pursue this investigation in this paper. Much of what was done will emerge but it will not form the object of our discussion. Here our focus is rather on the way in which the missionaries obtained the financial resources they needed to achieve their goals: how financial resources were acquired.

Catholic Mission history in Southern Africa tends to divide rather easily into three periods as others have noted (Brain 1975, 1999; Brown 1960; Denis 1998). The first period of beginnings runs until the 1920's. In this time seven (eight if Rhodesia is included) vicariates or prefectures were set up largely focussing on the major urban centres. In the second period between 1920 and 1951 these vicariates were subdivided and new ecclesiastical territories confided to a number of new religious institutions many of which were German or Dutch. This was the period of rapid missionary growth of the Church amongst black people. The third phase is from the establishment of the hierarchy to the present time when a new local church begins to emerge. This paper focusses on the events of the first period and will be followed by others focussing on the subsequent periods. The article is divided into two parts. The first part places the emphasis on the establishment of the church in which the role of the missionary vicar is central. The second part looks at the role of religious institutes in this process. The division is made because of the cultural and thematic differences in the approach of these two major actors in the

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2 The vicariates in the Union were the Cape (including Central Prefecture); Eastern Cape, Natal, Orange River, Kimberley, Transvaal and the Pietersburg Prefecture. Those outside the Union were Great Namaqualand and Lower Cimbebasia (South West Africa), Basutoland and Salisbury Prefecture (Rhodesia) (mission to 1905 then prefecture). See Brown (1960: 43) for all dates. Note that the names given by Denis (1998:150) are incorrect.
2. Establishing missionary vicariates

During this period, missions in the Catholic Church came under the control of the Sacra Congregation de Propaganda Fide. This congregation was founded in 1622 by the papal Bull Inscrutabili of Pope Gregory XV. It had two principal goals. The first was preaching and teaching the Gospel and Catholic doctrine in all missions and the second was the setting up and controlling of the required ministries and structures for this work. All decisions regarding the establishing and resourcing of Missions passed through this body. All Mission territories remained under the control of Propaganda as it was commonly known. In the Propaganda Fide countries, Missionary vicariates were set up and a vicar appointed. He governed the area in the name of the Pope (whose vicar he was) who retained control until a proper hierarchy was erected. The first two vicariates in South Africa, the Cape of Good hope (1818,1837) and the Eastern Cape Vicariate (1847) were entrusted to vicars from Ireland who were expected to find their own personnel from whatever source they could.

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3The word congregation is used in two different senses in this paper. Here the word refers to an organ of the Central Bureaucracy of the government of the Universal Church. See note 4 for the other usage.
However from the establishment of the Natal Vicariate erected in 1850 and entrusted to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), all new missionary vicariates in Southern Africa were entrusted to religious Institutes.\(^4\) Natal was followed by in the 19\(^{th}\) century by the Central Prefecture\(^5\) under the Missionaries of the African Missions of Lyons 1874; the Namaqualand Prefecture under the Oblates of St Francis de Sales (OSFS) in 1882 (became the Orange River Vicariate 1898), the Salisbury Mission in Rhodesia under the Jesuits in 1884, the Vicariate of the Orange Free State in 1886 under the OMI (became the Kimberley Vicariate in 1903), The Transvaal Prefecture in 1889 under the OMI (Vicariate 1904), the Basutoland Prefecture in 1894 (Vicariate 1909) and the Prefecture of Lower Cimbesia in present day Namibia in 1892 entrusted to the OMI. Vicariates and prefectures continued to be erected throughout the 20\(^{th}\) century and entrusted to religious institutes, until the establishment of the hierarchy in 1952. When a religious institute accepted a territory, they provided the Church with resources of personnel and often with some initial finance. The religious institute was responsible for the vicariate. It was confided to their care. This meant that the religious institute became responsible for the resources required to establish and grow the Church’s mission in the territory. One of their number was appointed as vicar and ordained a titular bishop.\(^6\) From then on he was responsible for the development of the vicariate.

In all of these cases the procedure leading to the establishment of a new ecclesiastical territory usually involved a request to Propaganda from the mission territory itself and then an attempt by the Congregation to find some missionary organisation to accept the responsibility, often listening to the judgement of those making the initial request. In the case of Natal, for example, the initial request came from the vicar apostolic of the Eastern Cape, Bishop Deveureux

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\(^4\)Religious institutes are approved societies whose members take public vows of religion. Those institutes taking solemn vows are referred to as orders whilst those taking simple vows are called congregations.

\(^5\)An apostolic prefecture is often set up as a precursor to the establishment of a vicariate or diocese. It is headed by a prefect who is not normally a bishop. See Champagne 1948: 69-71 and Coriden et al 1994:317.

\(^6\)Residential bishops have a specific territory confided to them for which they a responsible as chief pastor. A titular bishop is an ordained bishop who does not have a specific territory confided to him. He is given the title to an ancient no longer operative diocese of the early church. A vicar apostolic is a titular bishop and does not have the territory he governs fully confided to him. He governs it as vicar of the supreme pontiff (the Pope).
2.1 *The diocese (or vicariate) as principal financial unit*

Church law gives detailed rules about the ownership and use of finance in the Church. In the current code of canon law, Canon 1255 specifies that all juridic persons are capable of acquiring holding and administering property (Coriden et al 1994:861). Juridic persons are communities of persons or complexes of things given a single juridic personality (:861-2). They include dioceses, religious institutes, schools, seminaries and societies. They also include the Universal Church and the Apostolic See. Juridic persons are created through the application of a prescription of Church law or through decree of a competent authority.

Even though the legal position is quite complex we can state that the basic operational unit of finance in the Catholic Church is the diocese. The principal structure within the Church is its division into Particular Churches each of which is a separate financial institution with the right to own property and to collect and distribute financial resources. Particular Churches are geographical and usually have a bishop as head, each of them is considered as the fullness of the Universal church in a place. They are usually called dioceses. However when the Church begins its mission in a place a process is initiated which has as its goal the plantation of the church and the preaching of the Gospel. In this initial phase dioceses are usually not created but more rudimentary structures which are called Apostolic Vicariates the most common delineation of a mission territory (Champagne 1948:70). The vicar apostolic is a bishop.

In the mission history of the Catholic Church in Southern Africa, religious institutes have played a major role in the establishment of the Church. They too are organisations in the Church which can own property and collect and administer their own funds. So any study of Church and finance must take both the role of the particular Church and its structure and mission as well as the role of the religious institute with its particular focus and access to financial resources. In theory these two were working together for the same mission under the guidance of the local bishop. Usually this was the case as we shall see. However in some cases there were clashes between these two as a result of personalities, and differences in vision and priority.

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7Devereux’s original idea involved asking the Jesuits or the Holy Ghost Fathers to accept the mission but as they were unable to do so, Propaganda Fide asked the Oblates of Mary Immaculate who accepted the mission (cfr Brown 1960:41).
2.2 The role of the missionary vicar

Once the vicariate had been erected, the vicar apostolic was the one responsible for the financial sustenance of the mission. He received his authority by delegation from the supreme church authority and in this way was considered responsible for all concerning his vicariate. His status was that of vicar of the Supreme Pontiff. That is to say, the Christian community or the flock of which he has charge is not, properly speaking, his flock, does not constitute his Church...The flock confided to him he tends only in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff from whom he receives his mandate (Champagne 1948:70). Whilst this legal issue gave Rome more freedom in the appointment and removal of leaders during the early stage it also had advantages for the vicars in that they were often able to exercise more control in their own areas. Young (1989:195 n266) notes that at Vicar Apostolic he appeared to have wider powers than ordinary Bishops and was the supreme ecclesiastical ruler of the territory confided to him.

However there was no clear set of rules outlining the ways he was expected to find the resources he needed to achieve his goals. He had to be creative and resourceful in his abilities to martial people and finances to the goal of the missionary endeavour. Poor performance in either of these areas could lead to vicars being changed. Vicars had to find personnel to staff their vicariate. Often this meant trips to Europe to try to inspire priests and religious institutes to respond to the many needs. Similarly they had to look for finances wherever they could. Rome assisted them with a small annual donation but this was never sufficient and it is the quest for these resources and the way they were obtained which forms the bulk of this investigation. Personal style and the ability to persuade were clearly important traits in a vicar as were the ability to manage finances successfully.

The vicar was completely responsible for the goods and property within the vicariate, he was the sole owner of them. This hierarchical approach was often at odds with the practice in other churches where groups of prominent lay persons normally controlled the financial affairs. This difference in ethos was to lead to some clashes between Catholics and vicars in the early

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8See Brain 1991:67-68 on the resignation of the first prefect apostolic of the Transvaal as a result of being an unsuccessful leader of men. See also Brain 1991:126 on the resignation of Bishop Miller in 1912. This vicar apostolic of the Transvaal was forced to submit his resignation to the Oblate Superior General for financial problems not really of his own making.
years until the principles of Catholic law became more clearly understood within the Catholic community.

3. Sources of Finance

The main missionary preoccupations which had financial repercussions in the early period included the provision of churches and schools as well as the accommodation, livelihood and transport costs of the missionaries. Other institutions like hospitals and farms were also important.

The personal style of each vicar was very important in his ability to access financial resources for his mission. Clearly an outgoing and persuasive personality were important assets. For all of them however the sources of finance were fairly common. In fact it is relatively easy to categorise the possibilities open to them into six principal sources of funding. Three of these were overseas sources: the annual grant from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, the mother house of the religious institute and other private sources usually friends families and mission appeals in Europe and sometimes North America. Three were local sources: from the colonial government, from the local Church and from other local sources like business or through community fund raising events like bazaars, sales of work and public lectures.

3.1. Propaganda Fide

Each missionary vicariate which fell under Propaganda Fide received a regular financial subsidy. Whilst helpful, it only covered a very small percentage of the operational costs of the vicariate. This financial support was not from Rome but from Lyons where the Missionary Society of the Propagation of the Faith was founded in 1822 or from Paris where a second central council was subsequently set up. The purpose of the society was to Acollect funds and to have people pray for the missions@ (Beaudoin 1982:XXXII). The association spread throughout France and into many other parts of Europe and is the basis of the ASociety for the Propagation of the FaithA one of four Pontifical Mission Aid societies which exist worldwide today.  

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9"This two headed structure, the result of circumstances...hampered neither the extent of its progress nor the harmony of its government@. Cf. Veuillot, F 1922. L’oeuvre de la Propagation de la foi, Paris (1922) p. 15. In Beaudoin 1982: 168n 5.

10These are The Holy Childhood Association founded in 1843, the Society for the , the
The similarity of names between the Roman curial department and the missionary association both of which were often abbreviated to *Propaganda* should be noted here. The two clearly worked together in that the society was only prepared to finance endeavours established or approved by *Propaganda Fide* in Rome. Subsequently, the headquarters of the association were moved to Rome and it now falls under the successor of *Propaganda Fide*, the Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples.\textsuperscript{11}

At this time the Missionary Society of the Propagation of the Faith tried to help all missionary bishops with a regular donation. Brown reports (1960:70) that in the Eastern Vicariate, Bishop Grimley received a *grant* obtained yearly from the French society of the Propagation of the Faith, usually 22000 francs\textsuperscript{a}. He (94) also records that Bishop Leonard received a gift of 40000 francs ($1600) in 1885.

An interesting overview of the workings of the financial support from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith is found in the letters Bishop De Mazenod wrote to it during the time of the establishment of the Natal Vicariate (de Mazenod 1982). It provides a useful example of the processes and procedures around this source of finance.

\textsuperscript{11}See previous footnote.
In his introduction to the letters of Bishop De Mazenod, the editor, notes that between 1843 and 1860 the society was collecting about 4 million francs a year (Beaudoin 1982:xxxii). The society made contributions to missionary bishops directly and also to missionary religious congregations like the Oblates who received 12,500 francs in 1843. This amount increased by approximately 10,000 francs each year and reached 95,000 francs in 1852. It jumped to 150,000 francs in 1853 and then up to 190,000 in 1859 (32-33). This money was used for Oblate works such as the cost of sending missionaries to a new area and support for the formation of Oblates in the Scholasticate. But mainly it was to fund the Oblates working in the overseas missions. Money was requested for specific projects like the travel of missionaries or the support of an Oblate vicariate. This was usually submitted each year as an annual report on the needs of the Oblate missions (De Mazenod 1982: 256). The money was forwarded to the Oblate Superior General and the Oblate congregation made the allocations to their various works.

In December 1850 De Mazenod wrote to the society in Lyons informing them of the entrusting of the Apostolic Vicariate of Natal to the Congregation of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and remarking that I do not have to tell you that Rome counts entirely upon the Propagation of the Faith to see to the needs of this vicariate and the travelling expenses of the four missionaries who will travel to their appointed destination as soon as the Apostolic Vicar has been consecrated. On March 12 1851 he writes I have been informed that the Council of the Propagation of the Faith has sent the sum of 10,000 francs for the new apostolic vicariate of Natal. I begin by thanking you for this grant... and then goes on to point out further needs of this mission and requests more funding for it. In May of the same year he requests double the sum which has been allocated to Natal. An increase is agreed to but only at the cost of a similar reduction in grants to other Oblate works. In June, De Mazenod writes back saying that The amount of the grants is used for what is strictly necessary: the travelling expenses of the missionaries, and their modest support and earnestly requests them not to reduce any grants for Oblate missionaries to pay for the increase for Natal. But in November it appears that no increase has been given since he informs them of the departure of the missionaries and thanks them for the grant of 10,000 francs which he still considers insufficient since The mere travelling expenses, together with the purchase items indispensable for the missionaries have

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12 Eugene De Mazenod was the founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and was bishop of Marseilles in France between 1837 and 1861. He was canonised in 1995.
already absorbed most of that amount, to the point that they will have barely 3000 francs once they have reached their destination (246). He goes on to request an additional grant in favour of Natal when, in a few months time, you will be making a definitive decision on the amount of the general grant given for 1851 to the mission served by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (246). He is apparently successful for in a letter dated March 18 1852 he informs them that the money allocated by the society to the Oblates has been distributed in such a way that 24000 francs is given to Natal. In 1853 this was reduced to 20000 (255). In 1855 the figure is 22000. By 1887 the figures had changed little. In that year Bishop Jolivet received 21000 francs from the society as well as 3000 francs from the Holy Childhood association and by and large he used this money to finance his land purchases (Brain 1982:123).

Propaganda Fide in Rome expected regular reports from the vicars and often intervened when it considered progress to be inadequate. Such was the case in May 1891 when the bishops were criticised as a whole in a letter to all of them. They met in Grahamstown in the same year to prepare their answers which they communicated individually. Bishop Ricards complained about the lack of funds and subsequently many letter were sent asking for more financial help (Brown 1960:121-2). Propaganda also provided unpleasant shocks such as the allocation of funds when a separate prefecture was founded in the Transvaal. They decided that the funds made available would not increase but would be shared between the two with the latter receiving the lion’s share (Brain 1982:44).

The world wide support given by the Society of the Propagation of the Faith based in France was clearly of major importance in establishing the Catholic Church in the missions. It was often the bulk of the financial support available to vicars at the beginning of their work and continued to be a regular source of income even when progress had led to the emergence of other avenues of access to funds.

3.2. The religious institute

Some of the Missionary vicars were members of religious institutes to whom the territory had been confided. The contribution made by a religious institute to its missionary vicars varied from institute to institute and is an area that still needs some research. With regard to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, donations obtained from other sources like the Propagation of the Faith and the other donors were often channelled through the mother house. (Beaudoin 1982:XXII-XXIII).
A mission territory was accepted by the central organization of the religious institute which retained some measure of overall responsibility for the running of the mission. The vicar was required to provide reports on his stewardship to the institute. When the mission was originally established, the religious institute provided some of the initial funding from its own resources. These might cover the transport of the missionaries to the territory and include some funds to help the bishop make some basic purchases for accommodation and perhaps a church building. This seems to have been the case with the AMissions Africaines de Lyon@ who had arrived in the Cape following on a request from Bishop Grimley who had died in the interim. AHis successor...promptly agreed to their taking over the Central Prefecture...@ (Brown 1960:140). It also seems to have been the case with the Oblates of St Francis de Sales (:143 cf Thirstland 1975:2). Brain (1991:122) also records that in the case of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate there was a belief that the AOblate Congregation was supplying >most of the funds and all of the manpower=©. But how this funding was supplied is not clear. It seems that it comprised the money channelled through the Oblates from the Society of the Propagation of the faith which was usually given to vicars apostolic anyway. As an example of this De Mazenod refers to a sum of 15000 francs sent by the Procurator of the Oblates through the Bank of England in 1855. This money was the allocation of the Council for the Propagation of the faith for the Natal Vicariate (De Mazenod 1980: 201). There is no evidence of other funding supplied by the congregation but this may be available in primary records which were not consulted. The role of the religious institutes in the Southern African mission forms the focus of part two of this article and is dealt with in more detail there.

3.3 Other overseas sources

During the period under review all the missionary vicars came from Europe. This means that they often had contacts in Europe which could be a source of revenue for the more resourceful of them. Such sources included family, friends and members of the Church in their home areas as well as associations of interested Catholics who were keen to help in the work of establishing and supporting Catholic missions and Asaving the pagans@. Some were more successful than others.

Bishop Grimley, the second vicar apostolic of the Cape, tried with only a little success to collect overseas through representatives like Fr Kums in Europe (Brown 1960: 71) and through
his friends in Ireland (:72) for whom his successor (John Leonard) was agent and donation collector (:90). However he was able to secure a donation of 5000 francs from Napoleon III for the building of a church in St Helena, part of his vicariate. In fact he spent the money in the church in Oudtshoorn: I thought it better= he observed, but was careful that the register of Oudtshoorn should record its debt to St Helena (:73). Bishop Leonard continued the practice of raising funds overseas sending AFr Colgan to England, Ireland and America on a begging tour (:91). Bishop Ricards had to raise the money in Europe to bring out 25 Trappists monks for his new foundation in the Eastern Cape and spent several months on this work the Duke of Norfolk gave him , 500. And he collected , 50 in Glasgow, , 74 in Liverpool and a further sum in Ireland (:106). Soon after the Transvaal prefecture was erected, the prefect, Fr Monginoux, travelled to Europe to raise support... (Brain 1981:81).

Sometimes priests had access to overseas money through family, friends and contacts. Fr De Hovre worked in the Transvaal from 1914 and was able to raise funding for a leper colony and for the purchase of a farm from his overseas contacts (Brain 1991:162). Fr Mayr was also successful in raising funds in Europe for the setting up of a Catholic village called Maryvale in Pietermaritzburg. The funds were used to build a chapel-school (Brain 1982:94). The church of St Paul in Durban, a separate church for the Zulu Catholics (:212) was built in 1906 with the help of the Austrian Countess Ledochowska who had dedicated her life to the evangelisation of Africa (:212).

Probably the greatest fund raiser from overseas sources was the Trappist superior Fr Pfanner whose preaching tour in 1882, besides providing him with much needed funds, also allowed him to set up networks of overseas funders who continued to aid his mission work (Balling 1980:53). Others were less successful. Bishop Delalle, faced with severe financial worries when he took over the vicariate paid two visits to Europe...in 1906 and 1908, in an attempt to find funds to pay the debts of the vicariate (Brain 1982:173). Unfortunately it was a bad time. In France, the home of the Oblates and Delalle=s birthplace, the Church had been recently stripped of its properties and the congregation found itself in major financial problems. Neither did Rome respond to his cri d=angoisse (cry of anguish) (:175). However through a friend he found a religious congregation of nuns in Amiens who were prepared to loan him money at low interest

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13For the story of this see Levasseur 1989:15-19;25-32 and Brain 1982:173-176,
and Athis saw the vicariate over the immediate crisis@ (:176). During this period much of the success of the missionary work in the vicariate depended on individual priests, their energy and their ability to raise his own money for their own projects (:199).

3.4 The local authority

Brown (1960:27) recalls that the usual practice at the time was for all churches to receive some kind of Amonetary aid from the public authority which taxed them@ and Denis (1998:67) remarks that AIn the Cape, the colonial government saw it as its duty to provide for the spiritual needs of all settlers, Catholics included@. Bishop Griffith received , 200 per year as Achaplain to the Catholic population= and the priest in Grahamstown , 100@ (:88). Similarly those recognised as chaplains to regiments of soldiers received a contribution from the colonial government (Brown 1960:27). This practice was discontinued by the colonial government in by acts passed during 1869 in Natal and 1875 in the Cape. However payments continued for the lifetime of those already receiving the grant (Brain 1975:9).

Payments for military chaplains continued in other parts of Southern Africa, however, and in 1877, after the British had annexed the Transvaal, Jolivet lost no time in applying Afor a fixed salary of , 120 for a military chaplain@ (Brain 1975:146) in the Pretoria area. Jolivet was also able to get grants of land from the acting governor of the Transvaal after the British assumed control (Brown 1960:172). He even managed to have Athe church site fenced with the assistance of the soldiers@ (Brain 1991:41).

The sense of responsibility which the colonial government had regarding the spiritual needs of the settlers, and the fact that those recognised as chaplains were to a certain extent paid officials, gave the bishop a Aquasi official standing@ (Brown 1960:30). Bishop Griffith used this to his advantage in order to get goods and services including building materials and labour for his buildings in the Cape vicariate (:30). But the money was not automatically given and bishops had to work to get it. Brown (:71) also mentions this endeavour of his successor, Bishop Grimley: ABy 1864 he had secured grants from the Cape Colony Government for , 520 and this remained the figure to the end of his episcopate@. He used this same principle in petitioning the civil government to make a grant for his Cathedral building (:33). In many cases during this early period the local government was prepared to give land for building of churches providing
ecclesiastical authorities made convincing requests.\textsuperscript{14} Some bishops were less successful and Allard had his request for an allowance for Fr Sabon refused in 1853 (Brain 1975:116).

In the South African Republic \textit{A}r the Kruger government made only one grant of land to each denomination so that other sites had to be purchased; bonds were readily available for those unable to raise the cash\textsuperscript{1} (Brain 1991:108). The Cape Government was also quite generous to the missionaries of Namaqualand allowing Fr Gaudeul the use of the school in Pella from 1875 (Brown 1960:141). Later on they were to provide grants for the boarding school established in Springbok even though the law prescribed these grants for schools for white children only (:146). Bishop Allard found it more difficult to secure financial aid from the government in Natal although this may have been because of his shy nature\textsuperscript{15} and his pastoral style which kept him out of the public view. It was only in 1858 that \textit{A}the colonial government decided to pay chaplain=s allowances to ministers of the Presbyterian and Roman Catholic churches as they had long done with the Church of England clergy\textsuperscript{1} (Brain 1975:116). Later, though, government grants for land for Churches and missions became easier. \textit{A}An application for a grant of land at Elliotdale was made by Father Murray in 1908 and this was formally granted by the Cape Parliament shortly after\textsuperscript{1} (Brain 1982:237).

There are many other examples of colonial and government aid to the church in this period. For example, the Cape Government gave , 112 towards the passage of the Trappist monks from Europe to South Africa (Brown 1960:112). On the level of local government one could give the example of the Kimberley town council which made a contribution to the building of Nazareth House in the town (:174). Another Catholic institution that was helped was St Aidan=s college in Grahamstown. In this case, the land was obtained form the government (Young 1989:52). Sometimes the authorities were even prepared to change rules to accommodate culturally unpopular Catholic approaches. Initially, for example, grants to mission schools were only given \textit{A}on condition that the Bible, and the Bible only be used for religious instruction\textsuperscript{1} (Young 1989:50). Such a condition was clearly unacceptable to Catholics and as a result the schools often received no grant. However in 1863, after some negotiations, Catholics were given \textit{A}by privilege\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{14}In Kingwilliamstwon, for example; see Brown 1960:104.

\textsuperscript{15} The following comment sums it up: \textit{A}He often seemed to have expected opposition from the English officials, and was always fearful that the Dutch in the Orange River state hated all Catholics\textsuperscript{1} (Brown 1960:161).
a much smaller grant than that offered to other denominational schools. This privilege still meant that Catholic schools were always at a disadvantage and Brown (1960:185) reported that usually the government gave a grant to Catholic schools which did not cover half the salaries of the teachers. Yet it was something!

3.5 The local church

The local community of Catholics was an important source of support and aid for the missionaries. Bishop Grimly, the second vicar apostolic of the Cape, had tremendous financial problems. Through special appeals and sermons amongst the Catholics he was able to raise more finances. But he still complained that he needed a further 1,500 per year to meet his expenses (Brown 1960:70,72). He was considered to be a great beggar for money and to be always looking for gifts (73) and having special appeals, by sermons and speeches (72). This attitude on his part did not alienate him from his flock in any way for despite the demands he made on them they also raised the money for him to go to the first Vatican Council. At his death, he left the vicariate with very little debt which was not the case with other vicars apostolic.16 Begging was indeed an important skill for a vicar apostolic. Sometimes it was tough. Bishop Griffith bemoaned this aspect of his work as follows: I am now a regular formal beggarman in chapel or pulpit, in street or house, among Protestants or Catholics, begging is my employment (in Denis 1998:78). In the Easter Vicariate Bishop Ricards was also very talented in finding ways to raise finance from the local community. He organised all kinds of public functions including blessings, public lectures and preaching missions. (Brown 1960:102).

Sometimes a vicariate was fortunate to have someone skilled and raising money. Such was the case in the Eastern Vicariate where by 1865 a Cathedral had been built free of debt by the exertions of one priest, Monsignor Murphy, who had already raised the money for another Church and who, from his own savings, was able to buy property for the convent and school of the Dominican Nuns (Brown 1960:72). Another priest in the Cape Vicariate offered lectures at five shillings a head; he raised the charge to 7s 6d at Victoria West...and still had a packed hall (75). At another in Cape Town the selling of seats made ,75 (79). This tradition of public lectures by Catholic priests was continued by Fr Kolbe and Fr Welch in the Cape, by Fr Sormany in Natal

16Bishops Jolivet and Miller left their vicariates in considerable debt as did Fr de Lacy in the Transvaal prefecture. This made the work of their successors particularly difficult.
and by Fr Cox in the Transvaal but the practice began to die out after the first world war (:82).

The role of prominent Catholic lay people was also important. They often had standing in the community and could be influential in decisions of the local authority. More usually their contribution was more direct such as in financial advice and in the raising of loans (Brown 1960:89). Alexander Wilmot helped Bishop Ricards in this regard (:111). Bishop Leonard was not afraid to challenge prominent Catholics in his Cape Vicariate when he thought their contribution was too small. He once chastised Judge Dwyer for a donation of 5 which when increased to 50 still didn’t satisfy him. With so forthright a bishop, sure of the usefulness of his projects and ready to ask for what they needed, it does not come as a surprise to note that in the last eight years...the Catholics had raised fully 16000, besides the ordinary collections for the maintenance of the Church (:92). A prominent German Catholic, Max Fraundorfer was instrumental in bringing the Dominican Sisters of Augsburg to the Cape and also accepted the 2000 mortgage on the land which Bishop Ricards bought for the first Trappist foundation (:103;105).

However support was not just tied to prominent Catholics in the community. Much of the funding of the local church came from ordinary local Catholics who were often quite generous in their support of the building of churches, schools and other institutions. In the early years of the Natal Vicariate land was purchased and churches built in Pietermaritzburg and Durban using funds which came largely from regular (monthly) subscriptions and other gifts to building funds by lay Catholics and even some Protestants (Brain 1975:34,39,40,41). Lay people also supported the mission through weekly collections (:40). Another example of this is the building fund established in 1900 for a bigger church in Pretoria. Funds came in slowly but consistently until 1932 when construction began (Brain 1991:158). In 1896, the Catholics of Umzinto raised 235 for the building of a church in their area and during the next year a site was bought and a building erected (Brain 1982:7). However requests for local support were not always successful. When Bishop Ricards asked for a special collection in all churches of the vicariate for the erection of buildings for St Aidan=s College the result was poor: The amount collected was minimal in comparison to what was needed (Young 1989:197n329). On a brighter note, the lottery organised by Mother Gertrude of the Assumptionist sisters which included prizes which had been contributed by the Pope as a result of the initiative of an active Catholic parishioner raised more than 1000 and a subsequent bazaar organised by the same people raised a further 500 (:52-53).

Sometimes it was not only the Catholics but all the citizens of a town who contributed to
the establishment of a school or other institution. Such was the case in Kimberley when the Christian Brothers opened their school in 1897 and the Nazareth sisters their orphanage in 1889 (Brown 1960:174-5). Support on this level in areas of comparative wealth like Kimberley and the Witwatersrand after the discovery of mineral deposits, allowed the rapid ecclesial development of the area. Both ecclesiastical structures were erected in 1886. Some ten years later in Kimberley the estimated 5600 Catholics of the vicariate were served by seventeen priests, twelve brothers and sixty-four sisters; there were ten churches and seven chapels with eight schools...in addition to Nazareth House which cared for eighty orphans (Brown 1960:175). A similar growth occurred in the Transvaal prefecture during the 1890's (Brain 1991:70-71). In ten years the Catholic population of Johannesburg had risen to four thousand (Brown 1960:176). Compare this with the first ten years in Natal or in Basutoland where resources were not as readily available.

Such growth clearly tied the church to the ethos and culture of the colonial endeavour. In its financial behaviour it operated like the many enterprises which sprung up in these areas at this time supplying the religious educational and social market of the emerging communities. It is interesting to note that the bishops who were socially popular like Ricards, Devereux, Jolivet, Griffith and Grimley (Brown 1960:178) were also the ones who were more successful at getting funds for their projects locally. Others like Allard who was a little seen by the people of Natal (Brain 1975:103) and Delalle who was a quiet and retiring academic (Brain 1982:162) were much less successful in this regard.

3.6 Other local sources

The settler societies of the time were relatively small and reflected something of the class structure present in Europe at the time. The boundaries between the classes were more fluid and those who were successful whatever their origins were able to participate in the life of the ruling elite. These societies had to create their own entertainment and social recreation and this was often an opportunity to raise money. Public lectures on interesting topics were popular and we have already noted how some priests used this cultural form as a way of fund raising. Bazaars, fetes and sales of work were quite common especially by the sisters and Catholic women. The social cohesiveness meant that public subscriptions for church projects could attract support from both Catholics and Protestants.

Indeed the remoteness of the groups from the metropole often infused a spirit of frontier
cooperation between the agents of society in a way that is not seen in larger more established communities. Sometimes, for example, the mining companies were willing to finance missionaries in order to get facilities for their workers, particularly schools and medical care. In Namaqualand, the Colony Mine Company provided Bishop Grimley a site for a school in Springbok (Brown 1960:71). As well as this they give a...a grant of money; they provided free passage for persons and a 50% reduction on all goods for missionaries (146). In Kimberley the De Beers company contributed ,2000 for the building of the Nazareth Sisters orphanage in Kimberley (Brown 1960:174). In Rhodesia it was the British South Africa Company of Cecil Rhodes who donated the Chishawasha property to the Jesuits (Linden 1980:13).

But property probably provided the main preoccupation of the financial endeavour. Sometimes properties could be a source of finance when they were rented out to others. Bishop Jolivet, for example, built a row of four shops which were rented out to traders (Brain 1982:27) on his West street property. Usually, however, they were the main expense and they involved the vicars in the business of buying, selling and mortgaging properties. They were usually able to get loans to purchase property where they were to set up new foundations. When they were able to pay back these loans they became acceptable and trustworthy debtors of the banks they used. Bishop Allard was particularly skilled and careful in his purchase of property and investments. He was slow and cautious but very shrewd (Brain 1975: 42). Jolivet too had an ability shown throughout his episcopate to select property likely to increase rapidly in value (Brain 1982:172).

However the inability to pay these loans led to problems. This was the case in Cape Town in the affair with the church wardens who had stood surety for the first church property erected by Fr Scully which was mortgaged to the Lombard Bank. By 1824 it became apparent that there was no way the money could be repaid to the bank and for the next ten years summonses, court cases and financial crises destroyed all trust between priest and congregation (Denis 1998:68). It was also the case when property values fell at times of economic hardship. Bishop Jolivet experienced this problem at the end of his episcopate and left severe debt problems to his successor, Delalle who had to shoulder these burdens at a time when banks were calling in loans and when assistance from Europe was difficult to obtain (Brain 1982:173). The situation was much worse in the Transvaal. Fr John De Lacy was appointed acting prefect apostolic in 1898 and continued to exercise effective day to day control after Bishop Gaughren of Kimberley was
appointed administrator. As a result of a boom in the early part of the century, Fr De Lacy engaged in property speculation, buying and mortgaging a lot of valuable land with profits he had made from the sale of other properties. The boom was followed by a bust and when it came he found himself unable to meet his loan repayments. By 1904 the debts of the prefecture were estimated at £104000; interest due amounted to £6100. The debt had been incurred almost entirely during the last two years and rent from the properties amounted to only £440 per annum (Brain 1991:116). The crisis was to have a lasting effect on the church in that area affecting the resignation and removal of the next two vicars, Bishop Miller in 1912 and Bishop Cox in 1924.  

4. The relationship between vicars and finance

The attitudes of the vicars to money and finance were often ambivalent. Brown (1960:90) writes “A large part of the records of the Church in South Africa were concerned with money, and an ill disposed and superficial critic of it could write it off as a commercial enterprise.” As entrepreneurs of the Catholic faith the bishops had to enter into the domain of the emerging modern economy. There attitudes and values to it make interesting reading. Bishop Ricards and Bishop Grimley... thought of it as a nuisance and worried desperately about the losses if the enterprise failed (91). Bishop Leonard on the other hand seemed top fit in very well, perhaps too well since he was considered by some of his clergy as “too much of an accountant in his dealings with them.” (93)

As the owner and administrator of the property and finances of the Church, bishops looked for ways to manage and grow their assets. In this they tended to behave like any other Western entrepreneur and like all businessmen, some were successful and some were not.

4.1 A successful relationship

Some of the vicars apostolic and prefects were financially and administratively successful. Many were successful some of the time. Bishop Allard was judged “a shrewd buyer of property” (Brain 1975:108). Despite his very meagre resources he was able slowly to acquire the properties and institutions he considered necessary to establish the church in the major centres of his vicariate. His successor Bishop Jolivet is judged as “an extremely successful vicar apostolic in

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17See Brain 1991: 111-154 for the events around this difficult period in the life of the Church in the Transvaal.
terms of the extension of catholic missions...with some of the best ecclesiastical and educational buildings, the only private hospitals in Natal, excellent old age homes and orphanages...and an enviable record for keeping his house in order@ (Brain 1982:169). In the Cape, Bishop Griffiths too seems to have been quite successful administratively. Denis (1998:85) writes: AThe extension of the vicariate was carefully planned. After Cape Town and Grahamstown, a third mission was opened in Port Elizabeth in 1840. Then followed George Town, Fort Beaufort and Somerset. In each place Griffith appointed a priest and raised funds for the building of a church@. Systematic progress led to Simon=stown, Graaf Rienet and Uitenhage missions during the 1850's. In the Transvaal, the second prefect, Fr Scoch was recognised as an efficient administrator@ (Brain 1991:69). He was able to report by 1893 that the prefecture owned property worth , 17000 and had debts of , 4800 (:68).

Each vicar had his own style. Bishop Ricards for example Arelied on his personal ability to collect the necessary funds...@ (Brown 1960:110). And he was good at it, collecting , 36724 between 1870 and 1888. Jolivet too was able to activate many projects during his term.18 He was a relatively shrewd businessman and was successful in financing a good number of projects. He had a friendly and engaging disposition and was able to build up enthusiasm in people for his various projects (Brain 1982:169-70). Bishop Grimley was to write AI am become a beggar on a great scale@ (in Brown 1960:72-73).

Two vicars spent many years dealing with the financial problems they inherited. The first vicar apostolic of the Transvaal Bishop Cox struggled with the financial burden left by his predecessors. His approach was a slow and steady one of renegotiating the loans and introducing austerity to reduce costs and slowly pay off the loans. So, Aby cutting expenditure and planning with extreme care...[he] eventually put the Transvaal vicariate on a sound financial basis (Brain 1991:130). In Natal, Bishop Delalle was faced with the same kind of problem though not as extreme and also spent most of his long episcopate exercising great financial caution to ensure that the vicarial finances were in good order for his successor when he retired in 1946@ (Brain 1982:176).

18During his episcopate 90 churches and chapels were built together with 82 schools, 14 convents, orphanages and hospitals and the personnel increased to 114 priests, 284 lay brothers and 900 nuns (Brain 1982:1-2). It must be noted that the rapidly growing Trappist foundations were in his vicariate and account for much of this.
4.2 *A difficult relationship.*

Others were less successful and paid for it. The problems of Fr Scully in the Cape discussed above led to him leaving the colony in 1824. He must have left it without regret, commented Griffith (Denis 1998:69). Another who found himself in a similar predicament was Fr Monginoux, the first prefect apostolic of the Transvaal. He was forced to resign in 1891 as a result of his administrative methods (Brain 1991:67). The problems here were mainly concerning the management of personnel. But the Transvaal was to suffer even worse administrative and financial problems. A subsequent incumbent, Fr John de Lacy, engaged in property speculation and, as we have seen, by 1904 the prefecture was in serious financial trouble. He was also removed from office and in the same year Bishop Miller was appointed first vicar apostolic of the Transvaal. He was plunged into a crisis from which he never recovered. Despite having a good record as administrator (Brain 1991:118) he was unable to resolve the financial crisis and repay the debt. Added to that, he developed strained relationships with the Oblate personnel of his vicariate. Faced with these managerial failures he offered his resignation in March 1912 (126).

Finance was probably the central major problem for the vicars in their missionary work. Brown (1960:304) recounts that Bishop Grimley and Bishop Ricards had worried themselves into illness because they were perpetually in debt. Bishop Allard arrived into a situation where the financial support he expected was not forthcoming. We know that he had an expectation that the local community would be supportive. Whilst the area was under the Eastern Cape Vicariate, the responsible priest, Fr Murphy, had obtained a site for a church and had written a glowing report on the wealth of the area. He also emphasised the concern of the Catholics to have their own priest resident in Natal and to that purpose he reported that they had made a promise of 100 per annum for the support of a missionary (Brain 1975:33n70). Leflon (1970: 229) writes that on the strength of that report the Propaganda felt dispensed from any unneeded generosity. As a result they had given him only 10000 francs. (Brain 1975:33n70). Since 4000

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19 Fr Murphy was very able in financial matters. It is he who arranged for the building of the Cathedral in Port Elizabeth. His name occurs regularly in Bishop Allard’s Registre de la correspondance, either as benefactor to the new vicariate or as go-between in arranging for the transfer of money to Father Hoendervangers in Bloemfontein (Brain 1975:25n29).
of this went on the boat journey to Cape Town alone (:30n56) we can presume that there was not much left when the party arrived in Durban. We have already seen how Bishop de Mazenod, the OMI Superior General reacted to this problem. When the missionaries arrived in Natal they found that much of the promised economic strength of the colony had evaporated. Settlers were leaving, farms were failing and immigration had almost ceased. Allard=s response to this predicament was to live very frugally and to ask for more finance from Propaganda.

For Bishop Delalle there were also problems. Indeed after many years of paying off the debts incurred by the many enterprises of Bishop Jolivet his predecessor, Bishop Delalle was to remark in 1909 some 4 years into his episcopate: AI am condemned for life to pay other people=s debts and shall never be able to do anything for myself. Fiat@ (in Brain 1982:176). Indeed throughout his long episcopate he was extremely thrifty wishing to ensure he would not leave a similar problem for his successor.

As in all business and enterprise sometimes the entrepreneur is successful and sometimes circumstances conspire to ensure failure and financial problems. Jolivet=s unpopular decision to sell the valuable West street property and build a new Cathedral on his cemetery property in an effort to raise money to pay off some of his debts backfired badly and he left the diocese with many financial problems. Most also borrowed money or raised loans to finance their purchases of land and property.20 Others like Allard, Strobino (Brown 1960:122-3), Cox (Brain 1991:130, 147,151-2) and Delalle (Brain 1982:172-178) practised strict economy and thrift.

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20For Ricards and Grimley see Brown 1960:110; for Allard see Brain 1975:42; for Jolivet see Brain 1982:172
5. The Cultural Significance of Finance

5.1 Money and Enterprise as Modern Western Culture Texts

Money, finance and resources are important cultural forms or culture texts within Modern Western culture. They are symbols of high value, prestige and power within this culture. Indeed it is Marx's thesis that they describe the underlying basis of this culture its worldview and its value system. They are thus pre-eminent symbols of the culture and create the fundamental economic semiotic domain of the society.

Both the Dutch East India company and the British colonial enterprise committed themselves to the emerging Southern African polities for economic reasons: the Dutch for trade and the British largely for minerals. Colonial attitudes and values in this regard are summed up by Linden (1980:3) when he quotes these popular aphorisms of Cecil John Rhodes: Every man has his price... Money is power and what can one accomplish without power. The are for Linden (:3) the commonplace of Victorian business. Those settlers for whom the Catholic mission in Southern Africa was originally established were here largely for financial reasons and often moved on when these reasons were no longer valid.

Now the missionaries were also Westerners and part of the European expansionist culture. It should not then be surprising that they adopted those aspects and elements of their culture which they saw as necessary for the good of the church. Such assimilation of cultural values is indeed part of the inculturation process (Bate 1994:108). Missionaries thus often tended to behave like the other settlers in their desire to both access finance and to spend it in a way which would be socially desirable. A common culture text within which this process occurred was that of the enterprise. All the settlers came with the goal of setting up enterprises in the new colonies. The enterprise might be a farm or a shop or a small business. Whatever it was, the cultural codes which delineated this culture text were largely common. One had to access funds or capital to set up the enterprise and then insert it into the society in such a way that it satisfied culturally mediated human needs coming from within the context. For the missionaries these culturally mediated needs were of three basic types: the church building as a locus for fulfilling the need for worship and in particular the fulfilling of Catholic duties, the school as a response to the culturally mediated need for education and the clinic/hospital as a response to the culturally mediated need for health care. The first two of these needs were reinforced by the Catholic ethos and value system which required participation in the sacraments and the obligation to send children to
Catholic schools where possible.

These three enterprises were particularly successful since besides responding to a genuine social need they also worked in that they provided access to finance for the enterprise. Within this society, those enterprises which did not access finance in some way or other would not survive. So in the case of the church building we see how they were built by public subscription, donations and other sources often coming largely from the settler society itself.\(^{21}\) In the case of the school, finance was accessed through fees and in some cases by a government grant.\(^{22}\) In the case of the hospital and clinic financial support was often from the government; local or regional as well as fees\(^{23}\). In this way hospitals in Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Estcourt, Johannesburg and other centres were set up. Here then were three successful kinds of enterprise within the settler culture which if planned and organised properly were bound to take root since they were effective culturally mediated pastoral responses to culturally mediated human needs\(^*\) (cf Bate 1995:255) within the settler culture itself.

5.2 *Money* and *Finance* in the Catholic Missionary Culture

Modern Western culture also had a Christian component although this continued to decline in influence during the modern period. Now within Christianity, the cultural form *money* is a far more ambiguous symbol. Scripturally, money is often portrayed in a negative light especially in the New Testament. Attitudes surrounding the Christian evaluation of money are expressed in codes such as:

- X the love of money is the root of all evil (1Tim. 6:10)
- X it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich person to enter the Kingdom of God (Luke 18,25 and synoptic equivalents)
- X May your money be lost for ever and you with it thinking that money could buy what God has given for nothing (Acts 8,18)

\(^{21}\)For Cape town see Denis 1998:78; For Natal See Brain 1975:34-35;39-41; 112; for Transvaal see Brain 1991:41;56-57;66.

\(^{22}\)For Cape Town see Denis 1998:79-80; For Natal see Brain 1975:113-116:135; For Transvaal see Brain 1991:61:84

\(^{23}\)For Johannesburg see Brain 1991:86-89; for Natal see Brain 1975:162; Brain 1982:28-33;35
Coupled with this is the fact that the disciple who betrayed Jesus was the one who was responsible for the finances of the group and he did so for money (Matthew 26 and parallel texts). Jesus too, early in his ministry, in his most well known act of anger, made a whip out of cord and drove out the money changers and people selling animals for the temple sacrifice saying Atake all this out of here and stop using my Father’s house as a market® (John 2,16).

In the history of the Church too we find money playing an often ambiguous role. In the early middle ages the monasteries arose as centres of economic development in the social chaos of the dark ages. At the time of the reformation, the wealth of the papal and episcopal courts and the financing of projects through the Aselling® of indulgences were some of the signs which drove the reformers to begin again with a purified Christianity.

Keenan (1999:493-497) has shown how the Church’s moral teaching regarding usury and other issues emerging from colonisation were modified in the modern period in order to respond to European expansionism from the 16th century onwards. The use of contextualisation and accommodation in the churches praxis in these times indicates to us that there is nothing new about inculturation. Let us then follow the way the culture texts Amoney® and Afinance® were interpreted in the first hundred years of Catholic missionary endeavour in Southern Africa.

Catholic missionaries brought with them much of the ambivalence around issues of money and finance which Christianity was having to face at this time. Whilst they clearly shared the biblical reserve about money as expressed above they also participated in the economic domain of the settler society as full agents as did other Christian missionaries of the time. However Catholicism brought with it two other culture texts which affected its approach to money and finance and which were both counter cultural to the prevailing ethos of settler and indeed modern Western society. These were in the hierarchical nature of the Church and in the value placed on poverty through the vow taken in religious life. These particular cultural codes influenced the way money was understood in the Catholic Missionary endeavour and gave a distinctive mark both to Catholic mission and to the understanding and expression of money and finance in Catholic missionary culture. We shall discuss the question of the religious vow of poverty in the second part of this paper. For now we turn to the code of hierarchy in Catholicism.

The hierarchical nature of the Catholic church imposes the norm that the goods and benefits of the Church are the property of the bishop. This is a simplification but it will suffice for our purpose. By contrast in the modern Western culture ownership is determined by access to
capital. The ones who have capital are able to buy the goods and services they require and they then acquire the power of ownership over them. This is not the case in the Catholic Church and was sometimes the occasion for dispute between the missionaries and the local Catholic community. We have seen how in Cape Town Bishop Griffith did battle with the churchwardens... who claimed for themselves the temporal administration of the church (Brown 1960:24). This conflict lasted for some time and it was only three years later that the bishop could report that lay interference in church matters had stopped. (Quoted in Denis 1998:76). The bishop stood firm against them and was able to inform the vicar apostolic of Natal some twenty years later that he administered all the church funds himself. In the Eastern Vicariate the financial position of the diocese had become known to many lay Catholics in the early years. As a result a committee of laymen made suggestions and criticisms. The bishop insisted firmly but kindly that it was his business (Brown 1960:120).

In Durban Bishop Allard had to intervene to insist that the lay Catholics support their priest financially after their contributions had dwindled. After threatening to withdrawing the priest from Durban he was able to report that they eventually were now more willing to help with his expenses (Brain 1975:123 cf also 37). During the time of Bishop Jolivet there was a conflict with the Durban City Council who were prepared to fund a new hospital that would be staffed by the Augustinian sisters but who refused permission for public Catholic services to be held in the proposed hospital chapel. As a result the bishop refused these unreasonable conditions and found his own finance for a Catholic Hospital on the Berea which was to become the Durban Sanatorium (Brain 1982:30-3).

These examples indicate that within Catholic culture the symbols of money and enterprise were always going to be subject to the cultural code of the hierarchical nature of the church. At the same time the power of these two symbols within the society meant that provided this condition could be satisfied money and enterprise were to be major carriers of the construction of the Catholic missionary endeavour during this early period. And an inability to harness these two carriers of cultural and religious power was to mean the demise of those entrusted to leadership in the Catholic church at this time. The demise of Scully, Monginoux, De Lacy, Miller and perhaps even Cox and Allard testify to this cultural truth.

In a telling comment about the ambiguity of the symbols of money and enterprise in the life of the vicars apostolic Brown (1960:91) writes as follows:
Ricards’ explanation about his methods and those of his subordinates suggest almost a feeling of guilt, as though money were an evil even if necessary. Bishop Jolivet seems seldom to have considered financial matters seriously. The works he embarked on were desirable for the Church, and he raised the money in any way open to him, though it might sometimes leave a headache for his superiors in Rome or his successor.

This ambiguity probably also contributed to the stress and suffering of Catholic leaders at this time. We have seen how financial and management worries led to illness for Bishops Grimly and Ricards, anguish for Delalle, emigration for Scully, and removal from office for de Lacy, Monginoux, Miller and Cox. Ambiguous or not, money and enterprise were considered central to the Catholic missionary endeavour in the early years. That they have been so little studied is a testament to the power of culture that sometimes may blind us to the obvious.
Bibliography