

AN EXAMINATION OF THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION OF
AFRICANS IN THE PRESBYTERIAN, METHODIST, CONGREGATIONAL
AND ANGLICAN CHURCHES IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1860
TO 1960.

by

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Dedicated to my wife,
J A B U ("J")
and our children
Duma, Thandie, and Phumla
without whose supporting love this work
would not have been completed.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

This is in many ways a limited study.

The first limitation is that only four denominations, the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, are considered and nothing is said about the work of the Moravians, Lutherans, Roman Catholics and the Dutch Reformed Churches in the field of theological education.

The second limitation is that it is a study of theological education as distinct from general, industrial and other forms of education.

All the forms of theological education considered here were run at missionary institutions that offered other forms of education and prepared their students for public government examinations with certain government conditions to be met. Moreover, a certain standard of general education was required before candidates were admitted to the theological course. Therefore, theological education was constantly dependent upon and was influenced by secular education and government regulations concerning secular education. For that reason the first chapter is a very brief survey of White Education in the Cape and African education in all four provinces from the beginning to 1915, the year before Fort Hare opened its doors to students seeking 'higher' education. The second chapter discusses the educational programme of Lovedale because Lovedale generally determined the whole of African education in the Cape.

When Lovedale and the Methodists transferred their training to the South African Native College at Fort Hare, theological students had to abide by educational and other regulations of the university College. Chapters III and IV deal with the Methodist theological schools and the courses followed at Fort Hare.

The third limitation of this study is that it is a study of the theological education of Africans, which category includes Coloureds and Indians because in the four churches under review they were trained together with Africans.

In all churches under review here the theological education of whites was done in an unsatisfactory and ad hoc way. Many men were ordained without a satisfactory theological education. They were given some training by their superintendents, bishops or other men appointed to do the job in addition to their own normal duties. A few were sent overseas and many went through some arrangement within this country. St Paul's Theological College for Anglicans was opened in 1902. At start was made with the training of white Methodist Candidates for the ministry in the buildings of the Wesleyan High School for Girls in Grahamstown, in July 1928, under the

Rev. James Pendlebury, B.A. (a supernumerary). Dr William Flint who started the Methodist College as Principal, at Bollihope, Cape Town, in 1929, was seventy-five years of age when he opened the new College. *NO REFERENCE TO WORK OF L. S. GARDNER*

From 1948 white theological students of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches have been trained at Livingstone House, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

The final limitation is that this study ends at the close of 1960 and thus omits some of the exciting developments in theological education that have taken place since then.

These limitations and demarcations were, however, necessary in order to focus attention on a small area where the main problems could be seen clearly, unencumbered by lesser issues.

Where the training was run on denominational lines, it seemed necessary wherever possible to give a chapter to each denomination, and to attempt to pull the threads together in a concluding chapter.

In the Churches under review TWO PATTERNS are clearly discernible:

- I. Foreign missionaries arrived and started a mission station by building or using some structure as a place of worship.
- II. On the mission station a school was built or started in a Church building to give elementary education (the 3 -R's) to enable children of converts or potential converts to read and write or converts themselves to read the scriptures, the catechism and the hymn book.
- III. At some of the larger mission stations post-primary education was offered and a careful selection made of students who might be trained for the ministry. A theological department (with 2,3 or 4 students) was started on the same mission station so that candidates for the ministry might receive both general and theological education. This was the pattern at Healdtown, Lovedale, Lesseyton, St Matthew's, St Peter's, Adams and Tiger Kloof.
- IV. One of the reasons for moving theological education to Fort Hare was to give ^{ec}minis^ltial students both general and theological education at a higher level. This was the rationale behind the introduction at Fort Hare of the College Matriculation Course which offered, at Matriculation level, both secular and theological subjects.

Secondly the genesis and development of an indigenous ministry also followed a definite pattern: Beginning naturally without an indigenous ministry, the missionaries, faced with a mammoth task of evangelism, had to train local agents. Thus there were:

- I. Evangelists, Catechists, teachers and lay readers, who helped as much as possible with teaching, evangelical and pastoral work. In this group must also be included interpreters for the preaching of the gospel on whom the missionary pioneers necessarily depended for the preaching of the word. Thus one of the primary aims of the first mission schools was to produce men with sufficient knowledge of English to be able to interpret for the missionary. These evangelists, catechists, teachers, lay readers and interpreters became the nursing fathers of many small congregations to which the missionary could bring the sacraments only at rare intervals.
- II. After having shown themselves to be capable and reliable some of these men were given a certain amount of Biblical and Pastoral training by the missionary under whom they worked, and were later ordained to work under the supervision of the missionary. They marked an indispensable stage in the development of an indigenous ministry.
- III. The third stage was the emergence of denominational theological colleges where men were trained for ordination to serve as ministers and leaders on an equal footing with the missionary, in those fields of labour which the missionaries were already occupying. Inevitably the training of these men was planned to resemble as nearly as possible the kind of training the missionaries had received in the home country. In other words, their training was based on the home model.

Then came the Fort Hare era which was a persistent attempt by the College and Churches concerned to raise the level of general and theological education of candidates for the ministry. The effort was a modest success and during the period under review a small number of African ministerial

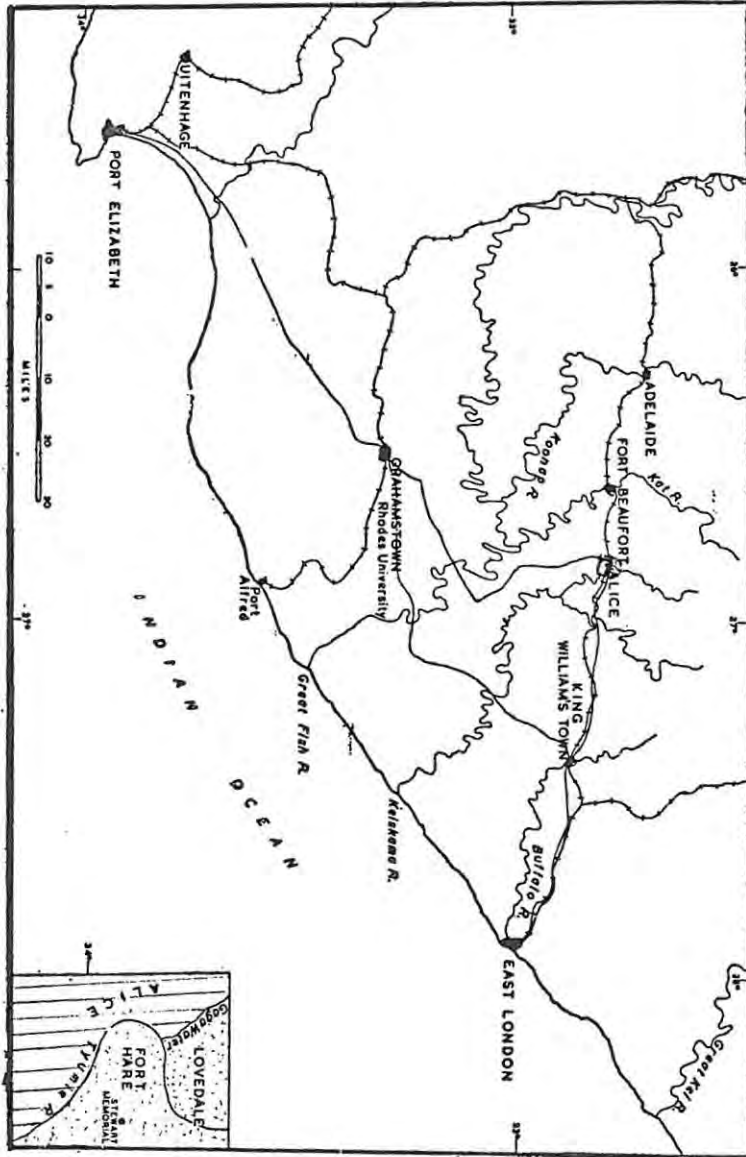
students proceeded overseas for post-graduate studies.

These two patterns of missionary strategy and of the development of an indigenous ministry sketched above are to be found not only in the South African mission field but also in other parts of what is called the 'Third World' countries.

In such an endeavour, what counts as success? Did the missionaries achieve their goals? Were those goals the most important ones for the Christian Community? How did the education they received equip African ministers for their primary task of evangelism and pastoral care? Did their education enable them to interpret the gospel message so that it took root among the African masses? Did their education enable them to contribute something distinctive to Christian literature and liturgy? Such questions are not peculiar to the African theological experience. But just as they have to be asked about 'brown', 'yellow' or 'white' theology, they have also to be asked about 'black'.

The purpose of this study is to trace the unfolding of these two main patterns and to examine the nature, aims and results of the theological education of Africans in South Africa, from 1860 - 1960.

The Eastern Cape



EDUCATION AT THE CAPE UP TO 1915

A study of education in the Cape is very important because the Cape system of education was the mother system for the country. As regards African education the Cape reached a high degree of development long before there was any provision for the education of Africans in the other provinces, and some of the most important centres for the secular and theological education of Africans were in the Cape. Education for Africans and whites in the Cape was handled by the same department but there were significant differences. Hence it is necessary to look at the two systems in turn:

a) THE EDUCATION OF WHITES AT THE CAPE UP TO 1915

Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape in April 1652. The small white community of about 140 souls had its first school in 1658. To begin with the school was for the education of slaves imported from West Africa and it was only in 1663 that the school was opened to white children as well. A school for Coloured children was opened in Cape Town in 1676; one for white children was opened at Stellenbosch by van der Stel under the Rev. Sybrand Mankadan in 1683. In 1690 an infant school was opened in Cape Town and another at Drakenstein in 1700, conducted by Paul Roux in the French language for the benefit of the Huguenot settlement there.

The earliest educational system at the Cape was transplanted from Holland and, as was the case in Holland, the system was dominated by the church through an ecclesiastical court or consistory or Kerkeraad. This court examined the suitability and qualifications of applicants as teachers, supervised schools and examinations and closed any schools with which the court was not satisfied. Education then, was an instrument for the perpetuation of a religious order - Calvinism - and people resisted the encroachment of the state into the sphere of education.

With the economic and political decline of the Dutch East India Company education at the Cape suffered accordingly. The tendency of the Dutch settlers to trek inland further afield from Cape Town made it difficult for the administration to keep check on them for educational purposes. There was

difficulty of communication and the small communities were isolated one from the other.

It is difficult to say how many children were at school at the time, but a report submitted to the Governor in 1779 mentions eight public elementary schools in Cape Town, giving instruction to 686 children in spelling, reading, writing and the elements of the Christian Religion according to the teaching of the Dutch Reformed church. Outside Cape Town there were congregations at Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, Tulbagh, Swellendam, Graaf-Reinet and it may be reasonably assumed that a school was attached to each congregation.

The first British occupation of the Cape took place in 1795. By the Treaty of Amiens (1802) the Cape came under the rule of the Batavian Republic in 1803. During this time J.A. de Mist, 'one of the ablest administrators and educational reformers who ever set foot in South Africa'¹ was appointed Commissioner General. Filled with the liberal ideas of the French Revolution and the Age of Reason he conducted a scientific survey of the educational situation in the country and made some far-reaching reforms in the educational system of the country. For de Mist education was clearly a state affair designed to build up the nation's culture, but provision was made for religious instruction in schools.

The year 1806 saw the Second British occupation of the Cape and by the Congress of Vienna, in 1814, the Cape passed permanently to British rule. The key note of the educational and administrative policies of the early British Governors at the Cape - Sir John Cradock and Lord Charles Somerset - was to Anglicise the Dutch community at the Cape through their schools and churches. Lord Charles Somerset imported six teachers from Scotland and started free English schools in the chief centres of the country. As a reaction against these English schools the Dutch communities started a number of private schools where Dutch was the medium of instruction. Some Dutch farmers hired private (or itinerant) tutors to educate their children. These tutors, however, were often poorly educated themselves, and the education of the country in general suffered.

1. E.G. Malherbe : Education in South Africa (1652-1922)
Cape Town and Johannesburg, 1925, p. 49

There was a clear need for some co-ordination of educational policy and practice under a department of education. Such a department was established in 1839 with a Superintendent as the one responsible, organising head of the whole educational system in the Cape. The man appointed by the Government to this important post was James Rose Innes, M.A., who had been Professor in Mathematics in the South African College and formerly a teacher at Uitenhage. He was one of the teachers brought out from Britain by Lord Charles Somerset in 1822. The appointment of James Rose - Innes as Superintendent General of Education was well received throughout the country. In both the Dutch and English press he was acclaimed as an educationist of repute. His official title was 'General Superintendent of Public Education'. As general Inspector, Registrar, Curriculum Maker and leader of teachers, his task was 'to maintain the efficiency of the system'. His most significant contribution to education in this country was to draw up courses of study according to which children were classified into different classes though 'standards' were introduced much later.¹

Schools were divided into two classes:

First Class schools in the larger centres which included elementary and secondary instruction in one building. The Curriculum of the primary course would include the 3 -R's, a sound grammatical knowledge of English, drawing, the elementary principles of nature study and dynamics, and religious instruction. In the secondary or classical section Latin, Greek, French, Mathematics, Surveying, Physical Geography, Geology, and astronomy would be offered.

Second Class Schools in smaller centres which offered free Primary education at Government expense. Hence they were also called Government schools.

Third Class Schools were started in 1843 in the country districts as 'Aided Schools'. Well-trained teachers were selected by the Superintendent in Britain. In addition the important Government Memorandum of May 23rd 1839, which was, in fact, a new Education Act stipulated that:

1. The medium of instruction in government schools be exclusively English. Dutch speaking pupils in the elementary classes, however, would be allowed to learn English through

¹ As far as Std IV in 1873. Stds V,VI,VII were introduced in 1886. In England 'Standards' were introduced in 1861.

the medium of Dutch.

2. Religious instruction would consist only of a daily lesson from the Bible, subject to a conscience clause.
3. All elementary education would be free, all being admitted to school irrespective of colour. For secondary education a fee of £4 per annum would be payable.
4. A Normal college would be established in Cape Town for the training of primary school teachers. Such a Normal School was, in fact, established in 1842 with the Rev. Thomas Buchanan as Principal. In fifteen years not a single teacher qualified. So the school was closed in 1859.

Innes' term as Superintendent General of Education was accompanied by a tremendous growth in the number of children attending school. In 1840 there were hardly 4 000 children enrolled; by 1862 the enrolment was 22 875 white and coloured children of whom 10 000 were white. During this period there was a marked development of Higher Education. The following institutions for higher education were established: The Diocesan College at Rondebosch (1848), St Andrew's College, Grahamstown (1855) and Graaff-Reinet College (1860). Grey Institute in Port Elizabeth (1856) was established in honour of Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape (1854-61) who did much for the cause of education in the Colony. It was during this period that grants-in-aid of local effort were introduced by the Government.

Innes retired in 1859 after twenty years' service as head of the Cape Department of Education. He was succeeded by Sir Langham Dale.

CAPE EDUCATION UNDER LANGHAM DALE 1859 - 1892

Born in May 1826 in England, Langham Dale was educated in London and at Oxford. After a period of study at the University of Leiden he graduated at Oxford in 1848 and in the same year he assumed duty as professor in Classics at the South African College. After serving for ten years he undertook a study tour through Scotland and received an honorary doctorate from the University of Glasgow. Upon his return he succeeded Rose-Innes as Superintendent of Education in 1859.

Early in Dale's Superintendency an important development was the

appointment of a commission of enquiry under the chairmanship of Dr E.B. Watermeyer. Its terms of reference were inter alia to propose means whereby a good elementary training could be brought within the means of all classes of the population. The recommendations of the Watermeyer commission were embodied in the Education Act of 1865 which in fact created no new system of education but merely systematized existing practices and gave them official recognition. An important provision of the Act, however, was the abolition of free state schools and their replacement by state-aided schools.

From the beginning one of the duties of the Superintendent was the inspection of schools throughout the Cape Colony. This was a mammoth task in view of his other administrative and professional duties. The need for inspection became more acute with the increase in the number of state-aided schools, especially as inspection was a pre-condition of state financial aid to schools. Thus in 1872 two inspectors were appointed to assist him. Soon two others were appointed. In 1882 Mr Donald Ross was appointed chief inspector and by the time Dale retired in 1892 there were eight inspectors in the field.

During the final years of Dale's regime voices were raised in favour of the introduction of school boards, compulsory education, a ministry of education, a council of education etc. but these had to wait for a later time and the appointment of a new Superintendent General of Education, Dr Thomas Muir of Glasgow.

THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF THOMAS MUIR 1892-1915

Thomas Muir was born in Lanarkshire in 1844. At Wishaw Grammar School and Glasgow University he distinguished himself in languages and Mathematics and studied for the teaching profession. He graduated M.A. (1868) and LL.D (1882) from Glasgow University and proceeded to the universities of Berlin and Göttingen for further study. For three years he was Assistant Professor of Mathematics at Glasgow University after which he was appointed principal of the High school there until 1892 when he was appointed superintendent General of Education at the Cape.

One of Muir's first moves as Superintendent was the re-organization of the Education Department so as to make for greater efficiency. He started a library for the department stocked with works on education. At the same time he encouraged school

libraries. When he assumed office in 1892 there were 22 school libraries and by 1914, a year before he retired, there were 2 235.

As part of his re-organization of the department Muir realized the importance of the Inspectorate with an Inspector responsible for a definite area. Starting with 14 inspectors responsible for 1871 schools in 1892, there were 38 inspectors responsible for 4 598 schools in 1915. Furthermore Muir encouraged the establishment of Teacher Training Colleges in order to improve the quality and professional qualifications of teachers. He extended the curricula of both primary and secondary schools and also encouraged Higher Education.

One of Muir's greatest schemes was the encouragement of compulsory education. However, the ground had already been prepared in this direction before he came to office. In his Preliminary Report, published in 1882, Mr Donald Ross revealed that only one-sixth of the children of school-going age were attending school 'with beneficial regularity'.

The problem, then, was how to bring these children to school. A number of abortive attempts were made through the Cape parliament to introduce compulsory education. The School Board Act of 1905 empowered School Boards to enforce school attendance for all white children between the ages of 7 and 14. At first school boards were reluctant to enforce this regulation, but in 1909 compulsory education was experimentally enforced in six districts. This measure was so successful that in 1910 it was the general practice in 91 out of 119 School Board Districts and in 1913 it had spread to 107 districts while in 1915 there were practically no schools where attendance was not compulsory for children of European parentage or extraction. The effect of making education compulsory by law was so good that from 1905 to 1915 enrolment rose from 65 295 to 101 588 pupils.

N.B.

Dale had stated that 65% of the children of school-going age were attending school. It should be noted here that Dale never separated the white from coloured children in his reports. Therefore, there were no official statistics showing the number of white children attending school. The Education Commission of 1891 found that of 99 280 white children of school-going age (5-14 years) in the Cape only 41 037 were enrolled in schools, leaving 58 243 white children uncounted for.

b) THE EDUCATION OF AFRICANS AT THE CAPE UP TO 1915

The dawn of African education in South Africa goes back to the beginning of missionary work in this country. As C.T. Loram puts it:

The history of Native education in South Africa is the History of South African missions, for it is due entirely to the efforts of the missionaries that the Natives of South Africa have received any education at all.¹

THE MISSIONARIES AND AFRICAN EDUCATION

The men and women who came from Europe and the United States of America in the 18th and early 19th centuries as missionaries in South Africa did an outstanding job in the life of the country and its indigenous peoples. They opened up a country without roads as we know them today. On oxwaggons, on horse-back, on foot, they travelled long distances exposed to hunger, thirst, heat, cold, wind, rain, want and a hundred-and-one dangers. Often isolated and lonely, far away from the fellowship of a Christian community, they planted a dynamic faith in the ebony sons and daughters of South Africa. In a country with primitive or no medical facilities they risked their lives as well as the lives of their wives and children.

On the banks of the Ncera river, at the site of 'Old Lovedale', near Alice, there is what is probably the earliest tombstone inscription ever written in the Xhosa language. It is over the grave of three children of the Rev. and Mrs John Ross of Lovedale. Two of their children died in 1825 and a third died in 1828.

When the third died Mrs Ross wrote:

Sometimes I think I could wish that the veil was withdrawn that I could see my three little infants, with enlarged souls, enjoying that eternal weight of glory which Christ purchased for them.²

In an old cemetery below the Mission House at the Mount Coke Mission there is a tombstone with this incription:

Sacred
To the memory of Mary daughter of the
Rev. Samuel and Elizabeth Young who departed this
life July 14th 1828, aged 2 years and 7 weeks.

-
1. C.T. Loram : The Education of the South African Native, London 1917 p. 46.
 2. MS. Letter, by Mrs Ross, quoted by R.H.W. Shepherd : Lovedale.

Also Mary Anne Young who departed this life December 16th, 1828 aged 4 months.
Nipt by the wind's untimely blast
Parched by the Sun's directer ray;
The momentary glories waste,
The short-lived beauties die away.

The missionaries in different parts of the country met many similar and varied afflictions.

They brought the Gospel together with medical services, civilization, education and ideas of freedom, human dignity and justice. They were, however, children of their own day, exposed to the influences of their day. Therefore, they looked at these issues through spectacles coloured by their day. Their limitations, mistakes and sins are common to all men. Given the same conditions, we might well have shared their limitations without matching their achievements.

One of the most notable achievements of missionaries in South Africa was the contribution they made to African education. From the beginning they had faith in the educability of the 'Black Savage'. They struggled against adverse public opinion and disappointments in their work. With limited financial resources they reduced to writing languages that had never been written before and educated a people 'out of darkness into his marvellous light'.

A SURVEY OF AFRICAN EDUCATION UP TO 1915

The earliest attempts to educate the African in Southern Africa were made by the Portuguese Dominican Fathers in the Tete district of Mozambique about the year 1620. These were rather sporadic, unsystematic efforts which ended in failure.

THE CAPE

African education began in earnest with the arrival of Scottish, L.M.S. and Wesleyan missionaries in the Eastern Cape where Africans were settled in large communities. In June 1820 a Scottish missionary, John Brownlee, began his work at Tyhume (Chumie), about six miles to the north of the present town of Alice. He was joined by W.R. Thomson and John Bennie on the 15th November, 1821. One of the first measures they took was to open a school for African children under Bennie's supervision. By February 1822 there were 40 children attending the school and in 1825 there were 70. On the 18th December 1823, Bennie

set up the first Xhosa alphabet on a small Ruthven printing press brought by John Ross from Scotland, and with the reduction of the Xhosa language to writing a new era dawned for African education in South Africa.

In 1824 Lovedale was established on the banks of the Ncera river. From the beginning Lovedale was designed as a special effort for the education of Africans. The work begun here was disrupted when the Mission station was destroyed in the course of the 1834 war. The new Lovedale was established on the western bank of the Tyhume, its present site, in 1841. But Lovedale was not alone:

A.L. Behr says:

It was the Wesleyan Methodist Church that pioneered mission work in the Bantu territories across the Kei... towards the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In the course of time a chain of stations (to which schools were attached) were established. Among these were Healdtown (near the present Fort Beaufort), Salem (near Grahamstown), and Lesseyton (near Queenstown). At these institutions some Bantu youths were trained as teachers, and evangelists, while others were prepared for industrial occupations such as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths and waggon-builders. By 1859 more than 40 youths had completed their training at Healdtown.

Each of William Shaw's chain of stations germinated a school. Among the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries there were some outstanding linguists like W.B. Boyce, who in 1833 produced his 'Kaffir Grammar', and J.W. Appleyard whose printing press at Mount Coke turned out the first complete Xhosa Bible in 1865.

During the period 1850 - 1870 there was tremendous progress in African education, a phenomenal growth in the number of schools and the number of African children attending them. The reasons for this include the following:

1. The establishment of Lovedale in 1841 was an event of singular

1. A.L. Behr & R.G. MacMillan: Education in South Africa, Pretoria, 1971, p. 373.

importance for African education as a whole. It marked the first step towards the provision of facilities for advanced education for Africans in Southern Africa. In the words of J.H. Hofmeyr 1841 is 'one of the significant dates in the history of the sub-continent.'¹

Lovedale did three things:

- (i) It established a high standard of academic and practical work without a parallel anywhere else in the country;
- (ii) It produced men and women who were a credit to the institution that moulded them;
- (iii) As a result its fame spread and Lovedale attracted students from all over the sub-continent.

2. For many years missionaries ran schools for Africans without any financial assistance from the government. But from 1841 state aid was available to mission schools for the salaries of teachers. From 1847 Lovedale received from the government an annual grant of £100. The government also offered to pay a salary of £12 per annum to every African teacher trained at Lovedale who was in charge of a school.²

3. The War of the Axe (1846-47), the War of Mlanjeni (1850-53) and the Nongqawuse episode greatly weakened the power of the chiefs. AmaMfengu (the Fingoes) moved into Healdtown (1855) and some settled in large numbers immediately west of Lovedale. The missionaries lost no opportunity for preaching the Gospel and teaching the people to read and write. At Lovedale Miss Thomson 'obtained a large tent from the Military and taught in the midst of the Fingo encampment.'³ The missionary institutions became places of refuge.

4. In 1854 representative government was granted to the Cape Colony and with it came a qualified franchise for such Africans as could meet educational and property requirements.

1. In his introduction to Shepherd's 'Lovedale', p.V

2. R.H.W. Shepherd: op. cit., p. 118

3. Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, 1851, p.18, & 1852, p. 380

This encouraged many Africans to seek educational qualifications. It was also laid down that a fund would be reserved from the revenue of the Colony for the Aborigines Department. On the whole from about 1847, the attitude of the Government was more favourable towards African advancement and co-operative in their dealings with missionaries and support for 'mission schools'.

5. The appointment of Sir George Grey as Governor of the Cape in 1854 was another landmark in the development of African education. His aim was not primarily educational. As a politician Sir George Grey was primarily interested in his programme for the 'peaceful subjugation'¹ of Africans, in which education was to play an important part. He had the sense to realize that in order to put his plans into operation he had to solicit the co-operation of missionary agencies which had already been highly successful in the field of African education. Hence he was the first to give 'adequate financial support to missionaries as educational agents.'² He gave grants to educational institutions like Lovedale, Healdtown, Lesseyton, Salem and a number of other places in order to encourage education, especially industrial education.

The plan I propose to pursue with a view to the general adjustment of these questions (i.e. his scheme for settling frontier problems) is to attempt to gain an influence over all the tribes included between the present north-eastern boundary of the Colony and Natal by employing them upon public works which will tend to open up their country - establishing institutions for the education of their children and the relief of their sick by introducing amongst them institutions of a civil character suited to their present conditions.³

Thus by 1860 a large number of African children were taught at mission schools and at institutions of 'higher' learning, teacher training and industrial schools. A comparison of the increase in the number of black and white schools about this time shows that whereas the number of public schools for Europeans increased from 147 in 1865 to 169 in 1873 (an increase of 22), the corresponding increase for mission and aborigines' schools (for the same period) was from 206 to 346 (an increase of 140).⁴ By 1890 there were 422

1. C.T. Loram: op cit., p.48 4. C.T. Loram: op.cit., p.50

2. Shepherd: op. cit. m p.132 op. cit.p.53

3. Dispatch No. 7 of 22 Dec. 1854 quoted by A.D. Dodd in 'Native Vocational Training'.

4. C.T. Loram : op.cit. p.50

Mission schools in the Cape with an enrolment of 39 859 African and Coloured children, and 256 Aborigines' Schools with 14 718 African children attending them.

- By 1915 there were 825 Mission schools in the Cape with a total enrolment of 64 794 African and Coloured children and 990 Aborigines' schools with an enrolment of 68 169 African children.¹
6. The publication in 1857 of Livingstone's Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, had increased the interest of many people in Britain in South Africa, and in missionary work. Without any local help, but with the financial support of friends mainly in Britain, Lovedale opened a department of printing and book-binding.
 7. The discovery of diamonds and the consequent transformation of the economy meant that mining towns, seaports, and other industrial centres required African labourers with a basic education.
 8. Another reason which contributed towards the spread of education among Africans during this period is the growth of Xhosa literature. In 1862 Lovedale published Indaba (the news), a magazine printed in Xhosa and English. J.W. Appleyard's Xhosa Bible appeared in 1865; and Tiyo Soga's translation of the first part of 'The Pilgrim's Progress', appeared in 1867.
 9. Perhaps we could add to this the effect of the Rev. W. Taylor's successful mission in the Eastern Cape. The Rev. William Taylor was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. After a number of years as pastor in a circuit in California he asked his church to release him to be an itinerant evangelist. He started by preaching through the United States. Then he moved on to Canada, Australia and finally he came to South Africa where his mission had wonderful results especially among African population.

Upon the excitement of the revival year (1866) there followed a period of steady growth. The natives became more and more eager for secular instruction, and the missionaries were not slow in attempting to meet the demand. In every direction new schools sprang up, which were soon crowded with eager scholars. Native parents were increasingly anxious that their children should learn to speak, read, and write the English language.²

The schools established during the period 1850-70 are an honour

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1. C.T. Loram
 2. J. du Plessis: A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, London, 1911, p. 299.

roll of African education. They include Healdtown (1855), St Matthew's (1855) Amanzimtoti (1855) Buntingville (1857), St Cuthbert's (1864) Indaleni (1865) Emgwali Training School for Girls (1861), Inanda (1869)

In 1861 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the system of education and to suggest a revision of the scale of grants. The result of this Commission's report was that grants-in-aid to Mission schools were continued with additional grants given to develop industrial education at Lovedale, Healdtown, Lesseyton, Salem and a number of other places. This favourable treatment by way of financial assistance led to an increase in the number of schools.

The Cape took the lead in most things including African education. The missionary institutions of the Eastern Cape accepted students from the whole of Southern Africa. The student body was thus as international as the staff.

NATAL

There is nothing on record about African education in Natal until 1848. The constant inter-tribal wars and the frequent raids by Zulu kings prevented anything like a general system of education. Here and there were a few, small struggling mission schools. According to the Letters Patent of 1848 a sum of not less than £5 000 was to be used for the benefit of Africans. Some of this money was spent on grants to mission schools.

A commission was appointed in 1852 to inquire into the past and present state of the 'Kaffirs' in the Colony of Natal. The report of the Commission advocated that as in the Cape Industrial schools be established in every village; that education for African children be compulsory for three years between the ages of 8 and 12; that the English and Dutch languages be taught; that infant schools be encouraged; that religious instruction conducted by the churches be compulsory. None of these recommendations appear to have been carried out.

As a result of the influence of Sir George Grey and Bishop Colenso (first Anglican Bishop of Natal, 1853) the first legislation regarding African education was passed by the Natal Legislative Council in 1856, and approved by the Secretary for the Colonies. In line with this ordinance the government was permitted to establish and maintain African schools and to contribute to the running of other schools for Africans already established. The schools were to be run by Missionaries and inspected by government education officials. The subjects to be taught were English, Scripture and Industrial training. Again all this was not done because of a strong opposition from the

a certain section of the white Colonists, especially the citizens of Durban.¹

The first government grants to African schools in Natal were made only in 1877.

As in the Cape the aim of missionary education in Natal was evangelism. But Sir George Grey who had introduced Industrial schools in the Cape encouraged the establishment of Industrial schools in Natal. For him education was an essential part of pacifying the warring tribes of Natal. However, Adams Training College was established at Amanzimtoti by the American Board of Missions in 1855. About the same time St John's school was established at Ladysmith. In 1885 there were 70 African schools receiving government grants-in-aid and 3 817 pupils. The following year teacher's examinations of the First, Second and Third class were established. In 1915 there were 302 schools and 21 700 pupils throughout Natal.

TRANSVAAL

In the Transvaal, educational work among Africans started with the Hermannsburg Evangelical Lutheran Society in 1857. The constitutional inequality of the government extended to its educational policy. It was difficult to persuade the descendants of the trekboers of the benefits of educating Africans even when the government could have afforded subsidies. Systematic grants were only made after 1902 as part of Milner's attempt to re-educate the whole of the Transvaal. In 1906 there were 177 unaided schools run by various religious bodies with an enrolment of 8 492 pupils and 197 state-aided schools with an enrolment of 11 730. But in 1906-7, only 65 out of 305 African teachers in the Transvaal were qualified to teach. By 1915, numbers in government aided schools had risen to 267 schools with 15 428 pupils.

Just as the education of whites in the Transvaal was influenced by the Cape system of education, so also was the case as regards the education of Africans and the grants-in-aid given to mission schools on condition that they accepted the scheme of African education laid down by the government of the Transvaal.

IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE

It was only in 1878 that the government of the Free State recognised the educational efforts of missionary societies by giving grants to schools

1. C.T. Loram op. cit. p. 56

run by the Dutch Reformed Church at Witzie's Hoek. In 1890 grants were made to schools at Moroka and Bethany. An Industrial school was established at Moroka and grants-in-aid were paid to various missionary bodies. By 1915 there were 12 056 pupils in African schools throughout the Orange Free State.

THE FINANCING OF EDUCATION AT THE CAPE

In the final analysis provision for education evolves around finance. It is important, therefore, to see what provision was made for the education of the youth of the Cape Colony - black and white. We begin then with the financing of white education.

(a) THE FINANCING OF WHITE EDUCATION

The introduction of English Free schools by Lord Charles Somerset meant that the government paid for the whole educational system in the country and, therefore, called the tune. The reaction of the people was to establish private schools in the running of which they had a say. These private schools soon became more popular and numerous than the government English Free schools. In order to meet the wishes of the people the government started a system of grants-in-aid of local effort. Thus in 1841 the government began to encourage mission schools by paying the salary of the teacher. Mission schools were generally attended by coloured children and also by the poorer white children. In 1843 the government provided financial assistance to schools in rural districts. Two years later the government decided to pay only three-fifths of the church clerk teacher's salary. The local school committees were required to guarantee the payment of the remaining two-fifths of the teacher's salary. It was necessary, however, that in these schools English should be taught as a subject and that the instruction should be secular as in government schools. In 1860 conditions for aid to girls' schools were added. Wherever the government paid grants-in-aid it also exercised the right of inspecting the schools.

As there was no fixed system of giving grants it soon became necessary to systematize the whole grants-in-aid scheme.

- (i) A select committee on Public education appointed in 1855 recommended the adoption of the £-for-£ principle whereby the central government paid half of all the expenses connected with salaries and buildings and the local community paid the other half. This principle was confirmed by the Education Act of 1865, which

required local managers to guarantee payment of the other half by the local communities. These schools catered for the white population of the Colony which was financially able to found schools and pay half the teachers' salaries.

- i) Mission schools, which had the bulk of school-going children, received direct grants from the government varying from £15 to £75 according to the nature of the work done and on condition that such grants were used for teachers' salaries only.
- ii) Aborigines schools were financed in a similar way with grants varying from £20 to £140.

The most important principle and condition for the granting of government aid to the schools was that the government should inspect the schools at least once a year.

The 1863 Commission had also advised the establishment of district boarding schools. Ten years later grants-in-aid to such schools were made on a £ to £ basis. This usually meant that the government paid £100 towards the salary of the principal teacher, £50 for the assistant teacher, £50 towards the industrial department and a £6 capitation allowance for each boy in the institution whose home was situated not less than 6 miles from the undenominational public school of any town or village. Girls' boarding schools received slightly smaller grants towards the salaries of teachers. From 1875 Good Service allowances were paid to teachers who served the Education Department continuously and meritoriously for five years. The purpose of these allowances was to encourage permanence and efficiency in the profession. They were, however, discontinued in 1917, when the scale of Teacher's salaries was revised.

Local communities were made responsible for the construction and maintenance of school buildings. Government aid was given on a pound for pound basis. This method was so successful that in 1902 it was extended to institutions of higher learning. But the poor districts, that were unable to pay for the construction and maintenance of school buildings, suffered. The Higher Education Act of 1874 stipulated that grants-in-aid be paid by the government towards the salary of each professor or lecturer.

When Union was formed in 1910 it was decided that each of the four provinces should control its own primary, secondary and technical education and that the contribution from the Union Government towards education should not exceed half of the normal expenditure of the Province

within each year. The other half was to be raised by each province from direct taxation imposed and collected by itself.

Up to 1925 a rather complicated system of Union government contributions to the provinces for educational purposes was evolved. Eventually the central government paid to the provinces far more than the provinces raised by taxation.

By Act No. 46 of 1925, the basis of the subsidy became a grant in respect of the attendance of teachers in training and children of 7 years and over. This obviously involved elaborate calculations. But the system continued until 1945 when it was decided that the subsidy from the Union Government should be paid out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund. With several amendments this system is still in operation at the present time.

The following figures showing the expenditure on white education by the Cape Education Department are interesting:

1911	-	R1 116	(x 000)
1921		4 008	
1931		6 892	
1941		9 440	
1951		25 344	
1962		48 839 ¹	

Up to 1925 the provinces controlled and financed Coloured, Asiatic and African education from provincial revenues. From 1925 to 1945 the Central Government paid to the provinces a subsidy of £5.5.0. per annum for every Coloured and Asiatic child attending school as part of the general subsidy. But the provinces paid no more than this amount towards Coloured and Asiatic education.

Having examined the provision made for the financing of education for the children of white colonists, we turn now to examine the financing of the education of African children. We shall then end with some comparisons and the financing of Theological education.

(b) THE FINANCING OF AFRICAN EDUCATION.

For many years the educational efforts of the various missionary bodies amongst Africans were carried on without any financial

1. Behr and MacMillan: op. cit. p. 79

aid from the government. Thus African schools remained almost totally dependent on the mission societies, though a faint government interest in African education began to emerge in the 1840s. The regulations of 1841 regarding conditions for the granting of government aid to Mission schools laid down inter alia, that the government grant (of from £15 to £30 per annum) should be exclusively appropriated to the support of the teacher or teachers, and that the Superintendent-General should have the right to inspect all schools receiving aid. The Colony in 1848 began granting £112 per annum to the Wesleyan school at D'Urban. The British Kaffrarian government also contributed £100 to another Wesleyan school (Mt Coke), while in 1849 Lovedale began to receive an annual grant of £100. In 1853, the Cape Colony made further tentative steps towards aiding African education, with the stimulus coming from Governor Sir George Grey's special New Zealand despatch on education which had been circulated by the Colonial Office. Cape Governor Sir George Cathcart solicited suggestions on African Education from its leading proponents and then acted on these suggestions by obtaining authorization for an annual expenditure of £1 000 on African schools. He also created the Fingo Education Board, which drew up plans for a three-tiered school system with the training institutions of Lovedale and Mt Coke at the apex, district schools employing European teachers at the next level, and sub-district schools under African teachers at the base. Cathcart next, in 1854, established the Native Improvement Board to implement these plans, but his governorship ended before he could carry out his work.

Substantial government support for African education began during the Cape governorship of Sir George Grey. Schooling became part of an overall programme of 'civilizing' the Africans in order to establish peaceful conditions on the frontier. Under what became the Grey Plan, the government financed African schools from the Schedule D fund of the colonial revenue, which a minor provision of the 1854 Constitution Ordinance had created as a reserve fund set aside for the use of the Aborigines (Border) Department. The Governor decided to channel part of this money into African education, which over the span of the Grey Plan (1855-1863) amounted to a total expenditure of £55 046. The major recipients of the funds were Lovedale and the four Wesleyan institutions of Healdtown, Salem, Lesseyton, and D'Urban, founded in response to Grey's offer of aid. Of £46 182 spent through mid-

1862, £13 142 in capital expenditures and £21 866 in operating expenses went to these five schools. The balance went to Glasgow Missionary Society and Wesleyan Missionary Society station schools and their outliers, to the Moravian institutions of Shiloh and Goshen, and to Church of England schools among the Thembu. Schedule D funds were limited for use within the Colony, but the Grey Plan did reach beyond the colonial boundaries. Anglican schools in British Kaffraria and the Transkei received £1 900 per annum from a British Parliamentary grant, and Zonnebloem, another Anglican school for Africans located in Cape Town, obtained £1 000 annually from Parliament, beginning in 1858. These financial arrangements continued until the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

When the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 missionary bodies continued to control and finance African education with some help from the provinces. In 1922 the central government debarred the provinces from taxing Africans directly. The Financial Relations Act of 1922 gave the Union government power to provide funds to the provinces specifically for African education. This arrangement was confirmed in 1925 and a Native Development Fund (later called the S.A. Native Trust) was set up, one-fifth of a General Tax on African male adults being paid into this fund and reserved for African education. Moreover a fixed annual grant of £340 000 was made available from the Consolidated Revenue Fund. This amount which was equal to the grants being given by the four provinces at that time, was however, unable to meet the educational needs of Africans in 1922 and continued to fail to do so more than a decade later. Jean van der Poel, writing in 1934, criticises the general educational policy severely, particularly the impossible financial bind whereby the amount available for education was linked to the General Tax on Africans.

The Provinces, although they are no longer financially responsible for Native education, must through their Education Departments, administer it, and since 1922 they have had the thankless task of apportioning the absurdly inadequate grants which they receive from the Development Fund. Between a Union Government dispensing insufficient funds but remote from the demand for more Native schools, and Provincial Governments only too well aware of the demand but financially unable to satisfy it, Native education in South Africa is in a condition of Chaos.¹

1. Jean van der Poel: Education and the Native, Cape Town, 1934, pp. 8-10.

The Eiselen Commission¹ did not hold the view that Africans should be solely responsible for the financing of their education but suggested that 'The Bantu should play a direct part in the finding of a certain portion of the funds used for that purpose'. It suggested that the sum of £9 883 516 available for African Education in 1949 be increased annually until it amounted to £20 522 800 by 1959. The National Conference that studied the Report in 1952 stated its belief that future developments in education for Africans should be financed from general revenue. These discussions were followed by the passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953.

The following year the Minister of Finance expressed the Government's view that Africans should make a bigger contribution towards their education. Following on this:

The Exchequer and Audit Amendment Act, No. 7 of 1955 created a Bantu Education Account into which would be paid:

- (i) A fixed amount of £13 000 000 a year from the General Revenue Account;
- (ii) Four-fifths of the general tax paid by Africans;
- (iii) Such moneys as Parliament might make available, in the form of recoverable advances, to meet any deficit in the Bantu Education Account.
- (iv) Receipts arising from the maintenance, management and control of Government Bantu Schools, other than receipts arising from the sale of land or buildings;
- (v) Any moneys which might accrue to the Bantu Education Account from any other source.²

What has been said above shows that there have always been considerable differences in the per capita amounts spent on the different racial groups in South Africa as may be seen in the following figures.³

	Cost per pupil			
	Whites	Coloured	Indians	Africans
1945	R76,58	R21,62	R21,62	R7,78
1953	R127,84	R40,43	R40,43	R17,08
1960	R144,57	R59,13	-	R12,46
	(Cape)	(Cape)		(Republic)

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1. Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951
U.G. No. 53/1951, pp. 159 - 164.
 2. Horrell, M. Bantu Education to 1968, p. 29.
 3. Horrell, M.: *op. cit.* p. 39.

The coming into being of Departments of Coloured, Indian and Bantu Education has done nothing to cover the great disparities in the per capita provisions for the different race groups.

THE FINANCING OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

While the churches were running mission schools that offered secular education with a Christian influence it could be said that they were not doing their proper job, for it is the duty of the state to educate its people. It could also be alleged with some justification that the money spent by missions on secular education could be better spent on some evangelistic enterprise. But theological education, the training of indigenous persons for the task of propagating the gospel to their own people, is an essential part of missionary endeavour in any country.

From the beginning the churches and missionary bodies operating in South Africa have always regarded it as their special responsibility to finance and train men for the ministry. In Britain and the United States of America from whence the churches under consideration have come the churches have always taken financial responsibility for the training of their candidates for the ministry without expecting any contribution from the state. It follows, then, that when these churches came to South Africa they should assume financial responsibility for theological education. Thus when in 1853 the American Board started preparing men for the ministry at the Adams Mission they paid for their tuition fees and books and gave them allowances for the maintenance of their families. Similarly in 1867 at Healdtown the Methodists put their men in cottages with their families. A sum of £1-10/- per month was provided for the upkeep of each family. At Lovedale the Presbytery of Kaffraria covered tuition fees and related expenses of their theological students. But P.J. Mzimba and E. Makiwane had to work part-time at the Lovedale Press and Post Office in order to cover the cost of their studies for the Matriculation Examinations which went on concurrently with their theological studies. At the various Anglican Colleges the church paid for all or most of the expenses connected with the students' studies. By 1939 the Principal of St Peter's College Rosettenville, was expressing the view of all the churches when, in connection with his own college, he said:

The policy of the college is not to refuse any suitable candidate on the score of finance.¹

Financial arrangements had to be made between students and their diocesan authorities before the students were admitted to the college. The college had a Bursary Fund out of which grants could be made either to cover fees (£15 per annum) or other specific personal expenses of the students. The S.P.C.K. also gave students of the college financial help under certain conditions.

When the Methodists, Presbyterians, the L.M.S. and Congregational Union of South Africa moved their theological training to Fort Hare their students and tutors moved into hostels and residences built by the churches by agreement with the authorities of the University college. The stipends of the Wardens of Wesley House and Iona Hostel, who were Theological tutors to their respective students, were paid by their churches. This was the first time that these churches had had to pay Theological tutors, as tutors. Previously the Methodist theological tutor was also superintendent of the local circuit and Governor of the Missionary Institution (Healdtown or Lesseyton) and it was by virtue of the two latter offices that he received his stipend. At Lovedale Theological Tutors were also teachers at the institution and it was by virtue of their positions as teachers and missionary workers that they received their pay. The exception here was T.D. Philip who had full-time responsibility as Theological Tutor.

With the establishment of the Department of Divinity at Fort Hare in 1947 it became necessary for the college to appoint a Head of the Department and pay his salary. The appointee was the Rev. Mungo Carrick who was Warden of Iona Hostel. The fact that his salary was now paid by Fort Hare meant that there was a reduction in the amount paid by his church for theological education.

The churches paid for the tuition fees of their students, as well as their books, travelling expenses and gave personal and family allowances to students. Iona Hostel had a Tiyo Soga Bursary which was awarded to meritorious students to cover the cost of books and tuition.

1. Report of St Peter's Theological college, Resettenville, to the synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg, 1939.

Today theological education is very expensive especially if the college or Seminary is established as a separate plant not connected to any other institution. In such circumstances the churches have to pay not only for students' tuition fees, books, personal medical, family and travelling allowances, but also for tutors' salaries and allowances. In addition there are overhead costs of running and maintaining the plant.

If theological education is done at a University Faculty of Divinity the fact that the government pays a subsidy for each registered student and the university pays the salaries of the teaching staff reduces the per capita cost ^{to the church} of training theological students. Thus the cost of training a Methodist theological student at Rhodes University in 1977 is R1 500 whereas the cost of training a Methodist theological student at John Wesley College, Federal Theological Seminary in 1977 is R2 040. The pooling together of resources (plant, library, teaching and administrative staff) and higher enrolment help to lower the per capita costs of training.

Apart from occasional donations from overseas bodies and individuals all these churches raise their funds for ministerial training from within the country.

To conclude, therefore, it seems clear that the financing of theological education which is the responsibility of the churches is not related to the financing of secular education which is the responsibility of the state. Despite meagre financial resources and inadequate planning the churches have always been able to finance the training and placing of suitable candidates for the ministry and to obtain and pay the teaching staff they have required.

TOWARDS AN INDIGENOUS MINISTRY

(a) THE BEGINNINGS: AND THE CHURCHES' GROWING AWARENESS OF THE NEED

The Portuguese who first discovered the Cape and the sea route round the Cape to India were also the first to produce an ordained African in Southern Africa. This was the eldest son of Chief Kaprazine, who was heir to the chieftainship in the Tete district of Mozambique. He was captured as a prisoner in a tribal war, sent as

a young man to India and entrusted to Dominican Fathers for instruction. He was baptized with the name of Miguel and ultimately became a Dominican friar,¹ and turned out to be the most powerful preacher in the country. In 1670 the general of the Dominican order conferred on him the title of Master of Theology, which, according to J. du Plessis, is equivalent to our present degree of Doctor of Divinity. He died as Vicar of a Dominican Convent in India.

Within South Africa itself the idea that Africans could share with the missionaries in the propagation of the Gospel took time to gain acceptance. The African was seen as primitive, uncivilized, uncultured, with no background of education in the Western sense. Such religious ideas as did exist were dismissed as pagan or heathen. That this type of person could understand the basic concepts of a literary and philosophical religion like Christianity, to the extent of sharing in its propagation, was unthinkable.

The Moravians who, with the arrival of George Schmidt in this country in 1737, were the first in the mission field, set the example for the other missionaries. They hesitated to commit the preaching of the Gospel to recently converted heathen.² With their long experience they stated:

When converts from among the heathen are established in grace, we would advise not immediately to use them as assistants in teaching, but to act herein with caution, and reference to the general weakness of their minds and consequent aptness to grow conceited.³

The Methodists followed the Moravian advice and example⁴ and made no plans for the training of Africans for the ministry. But two things shook them:

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1. J. du Plessis: op. cit., p. 17
 2. J. Whiteside: History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of S.A. London, 1906, p. 277
 3. Ibid., p. 277 cf. I Tim 3:6
 4. J. Whiteside: op. cit.,; p.277

1. In 1865 at the Grahamstown District Meeting five African men were presented as preachers to be received on trial. Although there was no~~x~~ precedent for this the District Meeting felt that the applications of these men should be accepted and recommended to the Annual Methodist Conference in Britain.
2. At the conclusion of his mission of 1866 Taylor, an American Methodist Evangelist, strongly recommended that Africans should be used for the work of evangelism in the country.

When Taylor listened to the addresses of men like Charles Pamla, Boyce Mama, Joseph Tile, William Shaw Kama, he exclaimed:

These are the men to evangelize Africa.¹

The following year (1867) the first African candidates for the ministry were admitted at Healdtown.

The Scottish missionaries at Lovedale had from the beginning believed that it was part of their duty to train an indigenous ministry. Indeed this is envisaged in the prospectus of the Glasgow Missionary Society.

R.H.W. Shepherd ^{d wrote} writes:

Almost from the first, the Scottish missionaries sensed the importance of using Bantu agents for the reaching of Bantu hearts. In November, 1823, Thomson raised the question with the Directors in Glasgow of how far the Society would encourage and support Native teachers working under the direction of missionaries.²

Again in 1837 the missionaries asked the Society in Glasgow that a Seminary be established 'for the upholding of Christ in this country when we are in our graves'.³

The first annual report of Lovedale in 1841, looks into the dim future and declares prophetically:

'It is at least probable that a hundred years hence this will be a Christian country, and that Lovedale Institution, or some other to which it may give birth will be sending forth its hundreds of Africa's sons as messengers of the Cross eastwards and northwards into countries of which we know not as yet even the name'.

The Directors of the Glasgow Society soon adopted a plan for

1. Ibid

2. R.H.W. Shepherd: Lovedale, p. 63

3. Ibid, see also G.M.S. Report, 1837, pp. 27-8

training and employing 'Native helpers'. The first of these were Robert Balfour and Charles Henry both of whom were the first converts to be baptized at the 'Chumie' (Tyhume) Mission by the Scottish missionaries on the 29th June, 1823. Significantly we do not know the real names of Balfour¹ and Henry because at their baptism they assumed names given to them by the missionaries. What the Scottish missionaries realized was that Africans could best be evangelized by Africans who understood their people and their problems more than was possible for a foreigner.

At a meeting of the Board held at Lovedale on the 14th August, 1845, it was decided unanimously that 'as soon as possible, provision should be made for completing the original design of the institution by adopting means for the preparation of students for the work of the ministry'.²

When Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape, visited Lovedale, in February, 1855, one of the agreements he made with the missionaries was:

'To raise up among them (the Africans) what might be called an educated class, from which might be selected teachers of the young, catechists, evangelists, and ultimately even fully qualified preachers of the Gospel'.³

But believing as they did in high academic attainments before a person began to study Theology, it was only in 1870 that they started training their first candidates for ordination. In the 1879 Annual Report of Lovedale we find a rationale for the training of Africans for the Ministry. It declares:

'In connection with the course of Theological Training, carried on at Lovedale, and the supply of students, it is not too much to say, that it is full time for missionaries to overtake the wide spread native population of South Africa; perhaps they will hardly continue the present numbers beyond the lifetime of those who are now in the field, and there is, therefore, an urgent necessity for raising up a Native Ministry'.⁴

1. Balfour's Xhosa name was Noyi.

2. Shepherd: op. cit. p. 104

3. Shepherd: op. cit. p. 133

4. 1879 Report of the Lovedale Missionary Institution, p. 5

Similarly it was the ideal of the American Board of Missions, working in Natal, from the beginning to train Christian leaders and to ordain them to the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. Their first African minister, Rufus Anderson, was ordained at Mzumbe, in 1870.¹

Anglican Bishops were forced by sheer pressure of work and the shortage of manpower to use African agents either as catechists or as priests. In a pastoral letter 'to the Kaffirs connected with the English Church Missions', dated March 8th, 1876, the then bishop of Grahamstown wrote:

...- Calling in men to the fold of Christ is the work we have now in hand. This must be accomplished by Kaffirs preaching to Kaffirs... To this end we are going to begin at once to gather a Native Ministry Fund on all our missions. Towards this fund we hope that all Kaffirs who have an interest in mission work, will do their best to contribute. It will be devoted solely to paying the needful salaries of Kaffir Clergy and Evangelists.²

As Stewart saw the position in 1869 the following considerations made training an indigenous ministry not just a theoretical priority, but a possibility:

1. Their work of evangelizing, civilizing and educating had produced a group of Africans who could no longer be hindered from sharing with the missionary in the work of evangelism.
2. There was by this time (1850 - 1870) a significant number of educated Africans who could be trusted with the work of propagating the Gospel.
3. The number of converts was growing to such an extent that the White missionaries from overseas could not alone cope with the number of people and churches to be cared for and the distances to be covered.
4. 'An imported clergy come to a new country with a lot of obstacles to overcome: They have to learn the language, culture, outlook and way of life of the people before they can be reasonably sure that they are getting the christian

1. J.D. Taylor: One Hundred Years of the American Board Mission in South Africa, 1835-1935
2. The Christian Express, July, 1877

message across. Therefore, the most natural teachers of men of a certain race or nation, are, all other things being equal, men of the same race, language, and colour'.¹

Dr Stewart of Lovedale believed that because of the high mortality rate of European missionaries in Central Africa an African agency from South Africa might be better able to propagate the Gospel in those parts of the Continent.

(b) TIYO SOGA

In addition to the above mentioned factors which stressed the need for the training of indigenous men for the ministry there was the fact that there was within the country an African man who had been trained and ordained by the United Presbyterian Church and was exercising a fruitful ministry. He incarnated not only the desirability of such a policy, but more importantly, its possibility. The success of his ministry was bound to have a tremendous influence on the thinking of other missionary bodies on the question of raising an indigenous ministry. That man was the Rev. Tiyo Soga.

Tiyo Soga was born in 1829. He was the son of Soga, one of the chief councillors of Ngqika, and Nosuthu, Soga's great wife. Tiyo was the seventh of Nosuthu's nine children.

He received his earliest schooling at the Mission school at Tyhume and in July 1844 he proceeded to Lovedale. His studies there were disrupted by the outbreak of the war of the Axe in March 1846. The missionaries took him and his mother to Fort Armstrong on the Kat River for refuge. There Tiyo continued his reading. The Rev. W. Govan took Tiyo with him to Scotland to give him the chance of a Scottish education. First he was sent to the school at Inchinnan and afterwards to the Glasgow Free Church Normal Seminary where he remained until the year 1848. Mr John Henderson offered to support and educate him.

Whilst a pupil at the Normal Seminary, the John Street United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow, with the full consent of Mr Henderson, adopted Tiyo with a view to his education as a missionary².

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1. J. Stewart: On a Native Ministry: The Kaffrarian Watchman, Feb. 1, 1869
 2. J. A. Chalmers: Tiyo Soga, A Page of South African Mission work, Edinburgh, 1877, p.45.



The Rev. Tiyo Soga.

Born: 1819

Ordained: December, 1856 -The first african to be
ordained in South Africa.

Died: 1871

On the 7th May, 1848, Tiyo was baptized in the John Street Church by the Rev. Dr. William Anderson. After receiving only an elementary education Tiyo was sent back to South Africa.

Together with the Rev. George Brown he left Scotland on the 24th October 1848, and landed in Port Elizabeth on the 21st January, 1849. According to official records of the United Presbyterian Church Tiyo was returning to South Africa as a catechist at a salary of £25 a year. Back at the Tyhume Mission he worked diligently as catechist, evangelist and interpreter. At the end of 1849 he moved on to Uniondale as helper to the Rev. Robert Niven. He served there as evangelist and schoolmaster. He soon gathered about 70 pupils, but when it was known that Tiyo was not circumcised the numbers began to dwindle.

The war of Mlanjeni which broke out in 1850 brought a great deal of distress to the missions and missionaries, especially those of the United Presbyterian Church to which Tiyo belonged. Mrs Niven was severely affected and had to be taken to Europe. The Rev. Robert Niven felt that Tiyo could not be left alone to carry on with the work he was doing without the danger of losing what he had gained. The proposal was entertained that he should return to Scotland and study for the ministry.¹ It appears that C.L. Stretch, a friend of the missionaries, paid for Tiyo Soga's travelling expenses to Scotland. The Nivens and Tiyo sailed from Port Elizabeth in June, 1851.

The John Street congregation in Glasgow decided to pay for Tiyo's education up to his ordination. In November, 1851, he entered Glasgow university as a matriculated student. At that time United Presbyterian Church students attended for four sessions at one of the Scottish universities, and after examination and approval by the Presbytery, they were admitted to the Divinity Hall. Tiyo was allowed, after examination to enter the Divinity Hall in 1852, after his first session at College. The Theological Course covered five sessions in the Divinity Hall. Tiyo completed his theological course in the summer of 1856. For six months he was sent through the churches to excite an interest in the Kaffir mission.

On the 10th December, 1856, he was licensed to preach the Gospel

1. J.A. Chalmers: *ibid* p.50

by the United Presbyterian Presbytery of Glasgow. On the evening of the 23rd December, 1856, he was ordained to the office of the ministry in John Street Church in Glasgow and thus became the first black man in Southern Africa to be ordained. The mission Board accepted him as one of their agents in South Africa, and paid his salary. On the 27th February, 1857, Tiyo was married to a Scottish lady Miss Janet Burnside. On the 13th April of the same year Tiyo, accompanied by his wife and the Rev. and Mrs R. Johnston, left Glasgow for South Africa. They arrived in Port Elizabeth on 2nd July 1857.

Tiyo began his work at Mgwali about 30 miles to the north of King Williamstown. Here he gathered, visited and taught his flock. He built a school and a church and conscientiously preached the Word. He was invited to take preaching appointments in a number of white churches throughout the Colony. Everywhere he felt the honour, the burden and the responsibility of being the first ordained black man in a colony that had deep-rooted prejudices against black men. Added to this was the opposition of his own people and his own flock at Mgwali to his apparent disregard of African customs.

In a letter written to the Mission Board of his church in 1867, Tiyo wrote:

Should the Board think it needful to make changes upon the mission field, in view of the calls beyond the Kei... the state of my health need be no barrier to my removal thither.¹

The chief of the area specifically said that he wanted Tiyo Soga as missionary at Tutura. At a meeting of missionaries of his church held at King William's Town on the 4th July, 1867, it was resolved that Tiyo should be appointed as first missionary at Tutura. To this place he and his family moved on the 4th June, 1868. From the comfortable manse he had built at Mgwali he now moved into a hut. He built two additional huts and a wattle and daub small place for a kitchen and store room. He had to start his missionary work from scratch. After two years he reported that he had 18 members of the congregation with 27 children attending the Sunday school which he had started.

1. J.A. Chalmers: *ibid* p. 337

On the 2nd April 1871, he opened his new 40ft by 25ft church which was built at a cost of £52.

Tiyo's health had begun to fail. Writing to a friend he says:

I belong to a long-lived race. Had I never left this country, I would have had as excellent a constitution as any of my brothers. Transplantation to a foreign clime and want of knowledge and experience there, will shorten my life. 1

In 1863 he had to go to Basutoland (Lesotho) to recuperate. In 1866, because of failing health he obtained a six month's furlough on the advice of Dr Krantz of Queenstown who diagnosed chronic laryngitis and recommended complete cessation from work. He, therefore, went to Cape Town to rest. The climate at Tutura was not good for his chest. A doctor who attended to him early in 1869 said that his recovery would be a rare chance. Prolonged absence from home, hunger, exhaustion and a day-long exposure to a drenching rain, made him an easy victim to a severe attack of fever from which he died at 2.45 on Saturday afternoon, on the 12th day of August, 1871.

HIS WORK:

By any standard Tiyo was a very successful minister, pastor and missionary. His diary reveals a devoted pastor who diligently visited his flock. At Mgwali he built schools, a church and a manse, as well as a community of christian believers. These were reproduced on a smaller scale at Tutura. As a preacher in both Xhosa and English he was outstanding. As a pioneer of his race in christianity, education and civilization he was everywhere subjected to a close scrutiny and keen criticism by people who asked: What can a Kaffir do? On the 6-8th April, 1864, Dr Duff of Calcutta who had been a missionary of long standing in India, visited Tiyo Soga's mission station at Mgwali. On the 15th August, he wrote.

For the last thirty-five years I have regarded it as merely a truism, that while the Gospel must be introduced into a heathen land by foreign agents, it is by native agents that it must be propagated, so as to reach and pervade the masses of the people. In order to insure a race of qualified native agents, common

1. J.A. Chalmers: op. cit. p. 412.

sense and experience dictate that substantially the same means must be employed which are found in raising up teachers, preachers and ordained ministers in christian lands. Now it so happens, in the good providence of God, that to the United Presbyterian Church belongs the honour of having in its service the first native Kafir, who has ever been ordained to the ministry of the Gospel, in the person of the Rev. Tiyo Soga.... I am bound to add, that throughout the whole of South Africa I found no mission station conducted in a more orderly, vigorous, systematic way, than that of my admirable friend and brother, the Rev. Tiyo Soga, the native Kafir ordained minister of the Umgwali. 1

Tiyo Soga established his literary ability when his historic translation of the first part of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress was published by the Lovedale Press. This peerless translation has had almost as great an influence on the Xhosa language as the Authorised Version of the Bible upon English.

From 1868 till his death in 1871 he shared in the task of revising the translation of the New Testament into Xhosa. In July, 1871, he sent a manuscript of his own translation of the Acts of the Apostles from Chapter 14 to chapter 23 verse 25. At the end of this he wrote in Xhosa: Ndiphelelwe ngamandla xa ndikule ndawo, ndayibeka bucala

(Translation: Strength failed me when I reached this point and I put it aside...). Tiyo enjoyed the work of translating the Scriptures very much. He wrote to a friend as follows:

I would have spent sleepless nights in Scotland, studying Greek and Hebrew, if I had known that I would take part in this blessed work. 2

He also wrote a number of articles on the religious, educational and social questions of his day. These appeared in a magazine called 'Indaba' which was published at Lovedale.

Tiyo Soga also made a great contribution to Xhosa literature and hymnody. His hymns are classics, used by most of the major denominations in South Africa. His great hymn:

Lizalis' idinga lakho (Fulfil Thy promise
Thixa Nkosi yenyano. Lord, God of Truth)

is almost a national anthem. It was composed when Tiyo Soga

1. J.A. Chalmers: op. cit. pp 298 - 300
2. J.A. Chalmers: op.cit, p. 480

landed on South African soil on his return from Scotland in 1857. That was the year of the cattle-killing episode, and one can understand the feeling behind the words:

Bona izwe lakowethu
Uxolel'izono zalo:
Ungathob'ingqumbo yakho
Luze luf' usapho lwalo.¹

Commenting on his death the Kaffir Express of the 1st September 1871, said:

The great value of his life, apart from the results accomplished by his many labours, was, that he demonstrated the capabilities of the Kaffir mind and showed that the Native intellect, however much it may be depreciated, is really of a higher order than general opinion would lead us to believe.

Tiyo Soga never regarded himself as a minister for Africans only. Both at Mgwali and Tutura he had a sizeable congregation of whites who came from some distance from the Mission station. He was a pastor to them, visited them and baptised their children. When he left Mgwali his English Congregation wrote to him in appreciation of his services and gave him some money as a parting gift.

Soga had a great impact on Africans throughout the country. He was recognised beyond his own church as a leader and became a symbol of what a black man could do. His impact on the white community was shown by the frequent references made to him in the white press throughout the country. He was often invited as guest preacher in white churches including the Groote Kerk (D.R.C.) in Cape Town. In a letter written to his children who were schooling in Scotland Soga insisted that when they completed their studies in Scotland they should return to South Africa, and identify themselves with the lot of their people in this country. With one exception they all returned to render signal service to people in this country. It is significant that at a time when Africans were baptized with European or Biblical names this son of Africa was baptized and ordained by his Xhosa name Tiyo Soga.

1. Translation: Behold our land and forgive its sins,
Let not your wrath fall on it
Lest we all perish

Here was a lonely genius who forced all who came across him to think. The career of Soga became crucial for both protagonists and antagonists of black education. Soga had succeeded in two cultures: this was the real challenge of his career. But it raised the question of why a man had to achieve noteworthy success in a culture other than his own to be recognised at all.

Some people did realize that education enabled the black person to take his place in a white community. But what was that place when the general drift of the white community was to treat blacks (who were increasingly being educated) increasingly as if they had not been? It was to Soga's credit that acceptance by the white community did not mean estrangement from the black. He lived and died a true son of the soil of Africa. The success of his ministry encouraged other churches and missionary bodies to raise an indigenous ministry.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LOVEDALE ERA

The first chapter dealt with the beginnings and development of white and black education in the Cape Province up to the beginning of this century. The second chapter focuses attention on Lovedale a leading Missionary Institution founded by missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society in the eastern part of the Cape Province, near a town called Alice.

Lovedale was established in order to forward the knowledge of God among the indigenous peoples of the country. This was done by the establishment of a mission station at Lovedale with smaller outstations scattered all around. It was done also through education and specialized training for professions, trades and domestic life amid influences designed to form christian character. In this way Lovedale endeavoured to inspire African youth to become guides and teachers of their people and to share in their upliftment. Here was taken the first step towards the provision of facilities for the higher education of Africans. The result was that Lovedale became a success story not only for the missionaries of the Church of Scotland, who founded it, but also for the Africans' ability to acquire education and to profit by it.

Thus Lovedale became the midwife for those African abilities which to that point in time had remained untapped. There was a Primary School, a Teacher Training College and a High School leading up to the Matriculation examination of the universities of South Africa. There was an Industrial department for male students with courses in carpentry, waggon-making and agriculture. The Industrial school for female students offered courses in cookery, laundry, housewifery, needlework, knitting and gardening. Soon the apprentices of Lovedale began to compete with white apprentices and to deploy their skills throughout Southern Africa.

Though Lovedale was not the first to establish a Theological Department, when it did start such a department it did well; for the aim of the Scottish missionaries was that the standard of attainment should not fall short of what was deemed necessary

in the Free Church in Scotland.¹ The men who went through the theological course at Lovedale proved to be men of character and leadership not only in the church, but also in the community at large.

Lovedale's success story showed itself also in the sphere of human relations. It brought together Africans from every tribe in this sub-continent as well as Coloureds and whites and by sharing a common life they learnt to live together in harmony. So there passed through Lovedale a succession of young men and women of ability and character, a remarkable number of whom rendered public service of high quality and distinction.

This chapter then will attempt to give an outline of the beginnings of Lovedale, to examine the various philosophies of education followed there and the kind of theological education offered. Finally something will be said about the reaction of Africans, mostly former Lovedale students, to the kind of education offered by their alma mater.

(a) A BRIEF HISTORICAL SKETCH

Lovedale Mission station was first built on the banks of the Ncera river in November 1824 by the Rev. John Ross and Mr John Bennie. It was called Lovedale in memory of the Rev. John Love, one of the Founders of the Glasgow Missionary Society and first secretary of the L.M.S. who was a zealous promoter of the mission, and who died on the 17th December, 1825. The Mission Station started here was destroyed in the course of the 1834-35 war. It was re-established on its present site in 1838. The Seminary 'for the training, in the first instance, of school-masters and catechists, from among the children of the Missionaries, and from among those of the Caffres'² was opened on Wednesday, 21st July, 1841, with eleven African and nine European children, and the Rev. William Govan as Principal.

Mr Govan graduated in Arts at Glasgow University. For the next ten years he was classical master in Dumbarton Burgh School

1. G.M.S. Report, 1837, p. 27-8

2. Ibid.

before returning to Glasgow for his theological studies. At the completion of his theological studies he was appointed to pioneer the school that was to be opened at Lovedale in 1841. His classical background became important in determining the curriculum of Lovedale.

(b) EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

1. Duff, Govan, Stewart:

The most important work of the Scottish Mission in Kaffraria was that done at Lovedale. The Presbytery of Kaffraria, consisting of European missionaries and African elders, controlled both the working of Lovedale and the development and growth of mission stations in the field. Consequently Lovedale became the unofficial headquarters of the mission. The principal of the institution was head of the Board of Education and supervised the work of all mission schools in the area. In addition to his teaching responsibilities, he shouldered the administration of the Institution's finances.

To begin with the principal of the institution was given a free hand in working out an educational policy and framing curricula. In 1867, however, the Foreign Mission Committee in Scotland made definite instructions with regard to the organization of the Mission as a whole and the kind of education provided at Lovedale.

As has been pointed out Govan began Lovedale as a multiracial institution with eleven African and nine European students attending the same classes, though they sat at different tables in the same dining hall according to the fees paid, slept in different dormitories, and observed a different set of rules.¹ It should be noted in this connection that in different parts of the Cape Colony black and white students were taught together in the same class-rooms until the 1890's. Govan's view was that the lives of blacks and whites in the Colony were so inextricably intermingled that they needed as early as possible to share a common life. But because of the prejudices existing in the country even at that time he was willing to provide separate

1. e.g. European students could visit one another in their rooms but Africans were not allowed to do so.



The Rev. William Govan, M. A.,
First Principal of Lovedale, 1841-69.

sleeping facilities. On the sports grounds they were usually separate, playing games at different times.

It is true that Govan gave to his students at Lovedale 'a very superior English, classical and mathematical education'¹ But he gave more than this. At the suggestion of Sir George Grey, he introduced industrial education in 1855 and taught his students to be waggon-makers, builders, blacksmiths, carpenters, In 1860 he personally appealed for means to add a printing and bookbinding department. This was opened in 1861 and continues to this day. Indeed so successful was industrial education at Lovedale that while similar departments were discontinued by Dr Dale at other institutions, Lovedale was encouraged to continue 'giving a very high rate of education to children both of Native and European origin.'

The report continues:

The educational arrangements are excellent.... The Institution at Lovedale does produce results far beyond what must be deemed sufficient to justify the continuance of that annual outlay²

In the light of this the view that Govan was concerned merely with an academic, classical education of a few esoteric types, is certainly mistaken. A contemporary missionary wrote of Lovedale:

Under the able management of my esteemed friend and brother, the Rev. William Govan, far more has been effected there for education in Kaffraria than anywhere else.³

In 1863 Lovedale was visited by James Stewart, a licentiate of the Free Church of Scotland who had been David Livingstone's companion in Central Africa during the preceding two years. He had been asked by the Foreign Mission Committee on his way back from the Zambesi to visit South Africa and report on the work of the Mission there.

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1. H. Calderwood: Caffres and Caffre Missions, London, 1858, p. 136
 2. Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record, Sept. 1, 1864, p. 603
 3. H. Calderwood: op. cit., p. 135

In his report, printed before Duff arrived in Scotland, Stewart expressed appreciation of the system initiated by Dr Duff of Calcutta and wondered whether the Foreign Mission Committee would not 'on a small scale, make the Institution at Lovedale do for South Africa what the Institution at Calcutta has done for India. On the present system the progress of the Institution in question must be exceedingly slow. It receives no grants, as do the other institutions. It draws only three very small salaries, averaging £175 each!'¹

During his visit of two months Stewart made a favourable impression on the personnel of the Mission.

The following year Dr Alexander Duff visited Lovedale. He was a distinguished missionary returning from India to Scotland, on grounds of ill-health, surrounded by the glory of 34 years of successful missionary work in India. He had been offered the post of Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland. Duff used this influential position, the experience gathered during this visit to Kaffraria and his prestige to enforce at Lovedale educational policies he had found successful in India. The key to his educational policy was the use of English as the medium of instruction for higher education.

According to his biographer his personal plan was 'to use Christian education carried eventually to the highest level and given through the medium of English'.² Duff believed that the education given at Lovedale was not christian education, that Lovedale was like any other colonial school and not a missionary institution. Therefore, the course Lovedale was following must be halted immediately and be re-directed along what Duff believed were missionary lines.

2. Duff's Educational reforms and their consequences

In order to change the educational programme of Lovedale and

1. Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record, Sept. 1864, pp.605-6

2. W. Paton: Alexander Duff, Pioneer of Missionary Education, p.60.

to effect the reforms envisaged by Duff someone had to be found to carry out these reforms. Such a person would have to be committed to the necessity for reform. It must have been clear to Duff and the Foreign Mission Committee that such a person could not be found among the missionary personnel working in Kaffraria at the time.

Stewart had already indicated his appreciation of Duff's educational programme in India. Although he felt that it would take a long time for Lovedale's educational scheme to make a significant impact on the African masses, it is doubtful whether Stewart ever accepted Duff's scheme in toto or at the time fully appreciated its implications. However, Stewart was approached by Duff to accept an appointment at Lovedale and carry out the reforms. Unaware of Duff's plans Govan also persuaded Stewart to join the staff of Lovedale. Eventually Stewart agreed but delayed his departure for 18 months in order to complete his medical studies. He finally arrived at Lovedale on the 2nd January, 1867 as a member of staff.

Dr Stewart brought with him a series of instructions and suggestions from the Foreign Mission Committee in Scotland.

These were in the form of copies of minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee dated 18th October, 1864 and 27th October, 1866 (See Appendix A)

The contents of the Minute of 1864 had already been communicated to the Presbytery of Kaffraria. It suggested that the Presbytery of Kaffraria should 'restrict itself to the proper function of a Presbytery'. The Presbytery had been in existence since 1824. It consisted of a small group of powerful men who had been largely responsible for the establishment of the Lovedale Seminary in 1841 and, therefore, controlled the direction of the Seminary. Other injunctions in this Minute were that a Mission Council, a Finance Board and an Education Board be formed to be responsible for these several functions.

THE MINUTE OF THE 27TH OCTOBER 1866, gave Members of the Presbytery of Kaffraria a great deal of anxiety. Clause 2 of this Minute reads as follows:

English should, as in India, be regarded as the sole classic language of the Seminary, and as the teaching of Latin and Greek especially in the case of natives seems unnecessary, the whole subject should be reconsidered and a report sent home as to the best way in which

the suggestion can be carried out.¹

The effect of this was to drop the teaching of classical languages 'in the case of natives', thus making a distinction in the curriculum between African and European. This, as has already been pointed out, is what Govan wanted to avoid at all costs because he believed that Africans were to be raised to the same level as Europeans in a common society by sharing a common education. This would also mean that Africans would be excluded from the examinations of the Cape Education Department which required Greek and Latin and a modern language for the Cape Senior and Matriculation examinations.

The Presbytery of Kaffraria, which saw all this, readily agreed to the minute of the 18th October, 1864, but with reference to this particular clause they passed the following resolution at their meeting of the 24th January, 1867, in an attempt to retrieve the situation:

Presbytery having as recommended in Minute 27.10.66 no 2. fully considered the subject of the curriculum to be taught in the Seminary, came to the conclusion that the Latin and Greek classes should continue to be taught at that Institution but that English as a classic shall henceforth be taught to a greater extent than hitherto it has been possible to teach it.²

In 1868, on instruction from the Committee, both Govan and Stewart drew up memoranda which re-appraised the curriculum at Lovedale.

In his memorandum Govan maintained that:

1. The qualifications required for ordination to the ministry should be the same for Africans and Europeans.
2. It was desirable that Africans should be enabled to take their place alongside Europeans 'not only in the office of the ministry, but also in the various positions in society, secular as well as ecclesiastical'.³

If the immense disadvantages under which Africans labour are to be overcome at all education is the chief means

1. Minutes of the FMC.
2. Presbytery of Kaffraria Minutes, 24 Jan., 1867, Cory Ms 9040
3. Shepherd: op. cit., p. 156; R. Young: African Wastes Reclaimed, London, 1902, p. 109.

by which this is to be effected; 'for this end the higher education of a few is of even more importance than the mere elementary education of the many'.¹

In short, Govan maintained that the object of the Institution was 'first and generally, to supply a higher education to a portion of the native people, and secondly especially, to train agents for both evangelistic and educational operations'.²

That being the case, as regards the plan on which the Institution should be conducted, and keeping in view the extent to which the Africans were permanently and inseparably mixed up with Europeans, it was desirable, Govan believed, that the course of study should be accommodated to the wants and wishes of Europeans, and thus prepare them for passing the Government examinations.³

Govan then outlined a scheme for education in literature, science and philosophy, culminating in a theological course. He submitted this scheme for the approval of the Foreign Mission Committee.

- (i) - An Elementary school in which young men suitably qualified might be trained in the work of teaching, as in the Normal Schools in Scotland.
- (ii) - A Preparatory school, in which elementary instruction should be given in English literature, classics, mathematics and the sciences, as in the High Schools in Scotland.
- (iii) - A College department in which the ordinary branches of a higher education should be given in literature, science and philosophy.
- (iv) - A Theological school or divinity hall.

Govan's task in trying first to establish and then to maintain the standards of a classical education among the candidates from a non-literate culture had been difficult enough. He believed that the effect of the new proposals could only be to lower the standards he had achieved. Whatever short-term advantages might be urged on behalf of any such lowering would,

1. Shepherd: op. cit., p. 156
2. Shepherd: Ibid, p. 156
3. R. Young: op. cit., p. 109

in his opinion, be to the ultimate disadvantage of the race. Thus in 1868 Govan presented a scheme of theological education which in its essentials was the same as that in Scotland, and higher than any church has been able consistently to maintain in South Africa.

Dr. Stewart accepted Mr Govan's scheme with the stages and divisions proposed, but he wished 'to shape the whole course of instruction in Lovedale, with special regard to the wants and conditions of native Africans, with the distinct aim of raising a special class, namely, 'native preachers and native teachers'.¹

Any who wanted to come under this general umbrella, whether European or African, would be welcome. Stewart believed that he was offering not a lower but a practical education. The difference between the two schemes, he maintained, was that according to his scheme the production of preachers was the essential aim whereas according to Govan's scheme it was the accidental aim. He continued (in 1868):

The difficulty in regulating our course, by that prescribed for the Government examination, is simply that it takes us too far out of our way for our special purpose. For example, a much larger amount of attention must be given to the study of three languages - Latin, Greek and some modern language, French, German or Dutch - than we can well spare; or than is at all necessary for these native lads. We have enough to do to make them masters of one language, and that by far the most important and useful of them, namely, English, without adding the other three.'²

It is hard to miss the paternalism of Stewart who places himself in a position where he decides what he regards to be 'the wants... of native Africans'. When in the decade that followed, Africans themselves through the pages of Imvo Zabantsundu and the Christian Express stated the kind of education they wanted he dismissed their clamour as misguided and ^{uninformed} ~~uninformed~~.³

Perhaps a case could have been made, for substituting English in place of one of the classical languages and Xhosa in place

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1. R. Young: op. cit., p. 110
 2. R. Young: op. cit., pp. 110-111
 3. Christian Express, June 2, 1884

of Dutch or one of the modern languages; Duff had suggested that the Cape Education Department be approached on the matter. But this was not done. However, the Cape Education Department following Scottish models was tied by its own University's requirements of mathematics and Latin for matriculation.

The two documents were carefully considered by the Foreign Mission Committee in Scotland. Duff expressed his conviction that under Govan the Institution had become no more than a 'secular Grammar school', whereas Stewart would reshape the curriculum to the 'wants of the Kaffirs'. He admitted, however, that Stewart's modus operandi did not seem essentially different from that of Govan. As a matter of fact throughout Stewart's regime, Lovedale students continued to sit for government examinations, although the number of those who did classical languages was largely restricted to Europeans and only those Africans who were studying for the ministry.

Unfortunately, under Duff's influence, the Committee was too heavily weighted in favour of the Indian scheme and the result, as far as Lovedale was concerned, was a foregone conclusion.

Shorn of its 'Christian' niceties a long Minute of the Foreign Mission Committee, dated 16th February, 1869, declared the Committee in favour of Stewart's scheme. Stewart expressed his 'entire satisfaction with the decision'.¹ Govan had no alternative but to resign as Principal of Lovedale. The Committee's decision:

necessitates the early termination of my connection with the Institution and consequently with the Mission... It can scarcely be expected that I can join on changing what I am convinced ought not to be changed.²

Govan's resignation took effect in July, 1870. An admirer wrote:

This excellent man, with whose name Lovedale Institution will ever be honourably associated, died at Dunoon, on the banks of the Clyde, on 4th November, 1875... he was in an eminent degree 'a pattern of good works'... of 'gravity, sincerity, sound speech', ... His record is on high: it is engraven also on the hearts of fellow labourers, and of pupils ... whose feet he sought to guide into the way of life'.³

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1. Minutes of the F.M.C., 22nd June, 1869.
 2. Govan's Letter to the F.M.C. d. 27.4.69-F.M.C. Minutes, 20th July, 1869.
 3. R. Young: op. cit. p. 113



The Rev. James Stewart, M.D., D.D.,
Principal of Lovedale, 1870 - 1905.

(c) THE PROBLEM OF AFRICAN EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

These changes at Lovedale expose the root of the general problem of education for Africans in South Africa as well as the content and purpose of theological education.

Education is a powerful force in shaping social and political ends. In the debate just discussed, the arguments turned apparently on the narrow field of curriculum matters but the real issues affected by the decisions were to do with the nature of South African society. Stewart's victory confirmed the tendency already present for the development of a differentiated colour conscious educational system. This came to apply even in the field of education for the Christian ministry, as we will see in the next chapter. On Stewart's own admission the Africans was different enough for education to need to be tailored to meet his special 'wants' or needs as Stewart saw them. Other Institutions and missionary bodies followed this pattern without even undergoing the bitter debate that caused so much conflict among the Scots.

Speaking in the Cape Parliament in 1889, Sir Langham Dale, Superintendent General of Education for the Cape, gave a rationale for the racial separation of educational facilities for Africans and Europeans.

He said:

The only way to enable the groups (i.e. Africans and Europeans) to do their parts respectively in the social world is to provide instruction adapted to the needs of each: for the Native races ordinary school instruction and training in the workshop and in domestic industries ... If the European race is to hold its supremacy, the school instruction of its children must not only be the best and most advanced, but must be followed by a systematic training of the young colonists in directive intelligence ... The majority of natives may be, at the best, qualified to do the rough work of artisans: but even this work must be under the direction of the guiding eye and hand of the skilled European'.¹

From this time onwards there was increasing discrimination against Africans in education as well as in other areas of life in the country. Matters became worse when in 1892, Dr. Thomas Muir succeeded Dr. Dale as Superintendent General of

1. Quoted by C.T. Loram: op.cit.p. 51

Education. He reduced grants to African schools, required Africans to pay a school tax, and set in motion a process which led inevitably to two standards of education, one white and the other black, and pointed towards the final solution provided by the ideologically conditioned Bantu Education Act of 1954.

Educated Africans voiced their opposition to the increasingly discriminatory measures especially in education. They claimed their equality with whites. Stewart and other missionaries were alarmed at this and spoke in opposition to these claims. As a result, in the eyes of Africans, missionaries appeared to be racist like colonists of their race.

The problem of African education then was whether education was for life in a segregated or a non-racial society? The missionaries chose a differentiated education for a segregated society, thus anticipating by twenty years the decision of the Cape Government to separate African from European education. The kind of integrated society envisaged by whites was such that whites would have built in advantages.

Thus the missionaries who started the education of Africans lost the opportunity to provide a colour-blind education for a non-racial society. Consequently they lost the opportunity to train African Ministers for service in a non-racial church.

This has raised tremendous theological problems for the Church in South Africa. For in view of this how can a South African Minister of the Gospel proclaim a Gospel which is above language, above race, above standards of civilization and transcends the ordinary distinctions between male and female?¹

(d) THE CLASSICS DEBATE²

The debate that began with Duff, Govan and Stewart led to the resignation of Govan and the appointment of Stewart in his place. There was an uproar in the Presbytery of Kaffraria.

1. See Gal. 3²⁸ & Col. 3¹¹

2. The sources of the 'classics Debate' are to be found in the Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee, 121 George Street, Edinburgh; in the pages of the Christian Express, Imvo Zabantsundu, Izwi labantu and in various newspapers in Cape Colony.

Many, especially Africans, saw in the conclusion of the debate an ill omen of things to come. When the Cape Government became progressively more restrictive and discriminatory in its attitude towards African education it was understandable that some should have felt that the first steps had been taken at Lovedale. The debate that began at Lovedale was taken up later by the whites of the Colony and educated Africans mostly former students of Lovedale.

It was natural that Lovedale should be at the centre of the public discussion of African education because Lovedale offered the best all-round education for Africans at the time, although it is true that sometimes Healdtown did better than Lovedale in some government examinations. Even compared with the 700 white schools in the Cape, Lovedale had better examination results.

The nearest competitor was the Wellington (white) Girls' School. Moreover, the Annual Reports of Lovedale attracted far wider interest and comment than was the case with any other school for Africans.

In an editorial Imvo Zabantsundu¹ praised Lovedale for attracting European students from as far as Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Kimberley. Among Lovedale students that year (1887) was the son of Mr. J. Rose-Innes, C.M.G., Under Secretary for Native Affairs. Former students of Lovedale, both black and white, had distinguished careers in the public life of the Cape Colony. Among blacks may be mentioned J.T. Jabavu, the first black matriculant in South Africa, founder and editor of Imvo Zabantsundu; W.B. Rubusana, author and Member of the Cape Parliament. Among whites there was W.G. Bennie who had a distinguished academic career both at Lovedale and at the University of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town, later Chief Inspector of 'Native Education; R. Solomon, M.A., 'the most distinguished of living South African barristers';² and W.H. Solomon 'one of the most successful barristers at the Supreme Court, Cape Town'.³

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1. Imvo Zabantsundu, 23rd February, 1887
 2. Imvo Zabantsundu, 23rd February, 1887
 3. Imvo Zabantsundu, 23rd February, 1887

On the 19th January, 1885, Imvo Zabantsundu, in an editorial, complimented African students for winning more prizes than whites at the annual Prize-giving ceremony.

All this shows how important Lovedale had become in the eyes of both white and black in the country, and gives an idea of the quality of education imparted there. Therefore, what was happening at Lovedale was important for the whole country. The attempt made at Lovedale and in the Cape Education Department to divert African education from its original egalitarian pattern was bound to have far-reaching effects in the social, economic and political life of the country.

The move stemmed, at least partly, from fear of the impact education for Africans would have because of the educational qualification for the colour-blind Cape Voters' roll.

Originally missionary education aimed at providing converts with the basic tools that would enable them to participate in the work of evangelism. But once the converts' eyes became opened there was no limit to the possibilities that education made available for them.

When the State became actively engaged in African education by making grants-in-aid, paying teachers and laying down curricula the missionaries found themselves involved in carrying out policies they did not like because of their dependence on State grants for the running of mission schools.

With the growing economy of the country many white colonists began to feel that too many Africans were being educated out of the labour force altogether. They found themselves frequently faced by what they called 'educated Kaffir' whom they regarded as 'cheeky', lazy, self-opinionated and 'spoilt'. In the press they protested:

That natives should not be educated; that it is no use trying to educate them; that they are injured rather than improved by education; that if they are to receive any education at all, it should be in such small quantity and of so elementary a nature that it can do them no harm and just as little good.¹

1. The Christian Express, Jan. 1, 1880, p.4

Others believed that Africans should not be educated at all. These Stewart dismissed with contempt:

Every man, whatever be his colour, has an equal right to education. For if skin pigment, or rather the absence of it, be the ground on which men are to be, or not to be, educated, then three-fourths of the human race are consigned to brutal ignorance.¹

In addition there were demands from

thousands in the colony who say teach them to read and write and nothing else, or as tens of thousands say, teach these 'niggers' (that is their word) to work, and nothing else.

Some of the opponents of African education feared that the success of Lovedale was a threat to their political future and that missionary institutions produced 'disloyal Natives' who were a danger to the Colony. This was especially during the period 1877 - 82 when political events led many to believe that a racial war was imminent. So the Somerset and Bedford Courant declared:

It is impossible to estimate the value of the conversion of such men as old Kama and Tiyo Soga but a mass of educated heathens is a source of danger to the Colony. The education they have received enables them to forge passes and act as spies and their industrial training enables them to repair gunlocks and manufacture assegais.²

The more enlightened of the Colonial newspapers criticized the content of the education offered at Lovedale especially the inclusion in the curriculum of subjects like Geometry, Algebra, Latin, Greek. The Queenstown Free Press complained:

The crying evil of the Colony is the want of good and trustworthy natives - not elegant ... coloured Greek scholars, nor abstruse mathematicians either... Let such men be taught reading, writing and arithmetic (and) principles of religion... but on the other hand let the supply of first class classics and native wranglers be limited. Let us have more and better native labourers, tradesmen, servants and fewer profound scholars.³

On the matter of the classical languages these criticisms struck home in the hearts of Stewart and others at Lovedale, and Lovedale became unnecessarily apologetic about these subjects. In the absence of Stewart, the Acting Principal, the Rev.

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1. The Christian Express, Jan. 1, 1880, p.4.
 2. The Somerset and Bedford Courant, 30 Jan, 1887.
 3. The Queenstown Free Press, 16 Feb. 1877.

W.J.B. Moier wrote ^What amounted to an apology stating that there were in fact few Africans doing classics and mathematics and that these subjects were mainly for white students and those Africans who were preparing for the ministry.¹ Stewart's views on the matter of Latin and Greek have already been stated. As early as 1871 he had stated his belief that education should be shaped to meet the requirements of the individual or the community, that he himself was interested in giving 'a scientific and practical education'.²

There was no point in teaching Latin and Greek to 'Native lads... many of whom were likely to be grooms and day labourers'. It was essential to educate the many rather than concentrate on the few.

We are not here to nurse a few exotic plants or produce a few prodigies of Christian civilization while the mass of the people are left in their ignorance.³

In an address to the Lovedale Literary Society, referring to the cry of Africans for the inclusion of Latin and Greek on the curriculum of Lovedale Miss Jane Waterston, Warden of the Girls' Hostel, said: 'It is a poor thought that hinges the whole idea of an education on the learning or not of the Dead languages'.⁴ She then went on to list eminent British people who had no classical education.

Months later in the course of a long, impassioned address entitled 'The Experiment of Native Education' to the same Literary Society, Dr. Stewart thundered: 'With little or no accurate knowledge of either English or Kaffir Grammar, many are anxious to go on to the study of Latin or Greek'.⁵

Then through the students in front of him he addressed the whole African populace: 'By labour not by Latin, by the Gospel and not by Greek, you will rise'.

The Xhosa paper, Imvo Zabantsundu, started and edited by J.T. Jabavu, at King William's Town in 1884, said in an editorial

1. The Christian Express, March 1, 1877

2. Kaffir Express, Jan. 1871

3. Letter of Stewart to John Stephen, 26 March, 1882

4. Christian Express, 1st Oct. 1883, p. 152

5. Christian Express, June 2, 1884

that Stewart had committed an 'indiscretion' which had made an impression hard to remove. A correspondent who called himself 'Lovedalian' wrote an article in Imvo in which he accused Stewart of the weakness of great men to act 'ultra vires' or to say things which they ought not to have said: 'suppressio veri et suggestio falsi'. In an obvious reference to Miss Waterston's address 'Lovedalian' gave a list of all the alumni of Lovedale who had studied classics under the old regime and were now in successful occupations: He began with W. Kobe Ntsikana (1864); then Elijah Makiwane, James van Rooyen, William Seti, Samuel Mzimba, Joseph Moss, John Nyoka, Charles Ntozini, Andrew Gontshi, Daniel Gezani, J.K. Bokwe, W.A. Soga (doing Medicine in Scotland), Mpambani Mzimba, W. Rubusana, Simon Sihlali and others.¹

In another article Imvo wanted to know what positive evil the study of classics had produced among Africans trained at Lovedale. 'We desire information and light on this subject. The native lads are complaining loudly...'²

And why should classics produce good among Europeans? To all Africans who had received a classical education this was a serious matter.

While we do not charge the Lovedale organ with prejudice against colour - we fail to see why the Native student only is shut out from subjects required by the public examining bodies.³

In the Christian Express of July, 1885, Stewart offered his advice to Imvo and its readership that the life and death question of the African people was not classics, nor even politics, but industry, to which Imvo replied:

We have been trained to give great deference to the opinions of the Editor of the Christian Express even when we had the misfortune to differ from them. We merely dispute that conscience has a colour and quality of work a hue. We want a fair field and no favour.⁴

Almost on the sidelines of the debate came Die Zuid Afrikaner with the view that: 'It is certain that in a Colony like the Cape, farm labourers are chiefly wanted to make the land prosper'.

1. Imvo Zabantsundu, 6th June, 1885

2. Imvo Zabantsundu, 4th May, 1885

3. Ibid

4. Imvo Zabantsundu, 19th Aug. 1885



Are these 'Natives' at Lovedale taught farming? Then it goes on to complain bitterly about the use of English as the medium of instruction in African schools. 'Dutch is the language of the farm'.¹

In a country like South Africa the debate about classical or literary education cannot be seen simply in terms of the relative merits of any system of education, but must be understood in terms of an attitude towards Africans themselves, their education and their future place in the social, economic and political life of the country.

At the heart of the Africans' struggle for a classical education was their resistance to the erosion of their rights that had gathered momentum in this period. They did all they could to insist on their equality with the whites. Stewart knew this more than any other white person in the country. He knew most of the educated Africans of the day. He knew their views on this very matter, and expressed them himself when he said:

The only real point of interest which appears in connection with the controversy is an idea which seems to be lurking behind... That is, the equality of the race—that what is good for the white is good for the black; that what the white gets, the black should also get.²

Stewart confessed that he had always avoided expressing an opinion on this subject. But he did not believe that Africans had any ground for insisting on this equality: only 'yesterday' they had started in the race of nations. They could not soberly hope to catch up with nations that had been in the race for thousands of years. Africans had made no permanent contribution to science and the arts, and could never compare with the achievements of the British who had been so generous to the Black man. What is more he was convinced that Africans themselves did not believe in the equality of race even among black men.³ Thus when whites whittled away African rights Stewart was willing to speak on behalf of Africans. But when Africans themselves demanded their rights on the basis of equality with the whites, Stewart stood with his fellow-whites in defending white supremacy and privilege.⁴ No wonder some Africans felt

1. Die Zuid Afrikaner, 9th Feb. 1889
2. The Christian Express, June 2, 1884
3. Ibid
4. The Christian Express, June 2, 1884

that Stewart and Lovedale could not be relied upon as allies in this their hour of crisis.¹

Stewart's dilemma must be appreciated: on the one hand he was concerned about safe-guarding the well-being of Lovedale. He was not interested in Lovedale becoming a heap of ruins, 'remains of things that have passed away, fragments of stone reared by creatures of clay'.

In order to ensure the future of Lovedale he needed the financial and political support of some influential whites. He could not get this by defending African rights against the ingrained prejudices of the ruling whites. He knew that

They maintain the white man should own the land and the duty of the native is to provide the labour at the lowest possible price - an Africa for white Africans. 2

In an attempt to appease his critics who asked what happened to students of Lovedale after they left the institution he wrote Lovedale Past and Present, published in 1888, showing how successful Lovedale students were after leaving school. He tried to show that Lovedale followed a realistic curriculum adapted to the needs of the community and produced skilled workmen, honest clerks and reliable female domestic servants, as well as a proportion of African ministers and teachers. Many other missionaries shared Stewart's views and acted on them. But Stewart was on the firing line because Lovedale had produced the best and was very much in the public eye.

On the other hand African leaders like Jabavu and Makiwane who knew that Stewart understood their plight more than anybody else expected him to stand with them in their desperate fight against the erosion of their rights. When he refused to do this and rather stood against them in the fight for equality of education they branded him as racist like the rest of Colonial whites. His circumstances forced him to walk on a tight rope between white interests and black rights.

Stewart was mistaken, however, in saying that the life and death question for Africans was not politics but industry,³ because in the final analysis it did not matter how industrious Africans

1. Imvo Zabantsundu, 19 Aug. 1885
2. J.J. Irvine to Stewart, 18 October, 1883
3. The Christian Express, July, 1885

were (and Lovedale produced many industrious Africans) the politicians continued to frame and execute discriminatory legislation. It did not matter either how educated Africans were. Those who wanted to differentiate used education as an instrument of subordination in matters social, economical and political.

As Dr. Dale put it, racial discrimination would not be relaxed in South Africa 'even if he (the African) were educated in all the languages of antiquity'.¹

At about the same time Africans in West Africa were demanding that classics be included in their curricula, but they used different arguments. Edward Blyden of Liberia for example, wanted to go back to the classics of Greece and Rome because they lacked the overtones of white supremacy which are found in English literature. African education, therefore, could be freed from the 'despotic Europeanizing influences which had warped and crushed the Negro mind'. From the classics the African could draw 'nourishment' without 'race poison'.²

(e) THE PLACE OF CLASSICAL LANGUAGES IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Unlike the other Lovedale departments which had to follow syllabuses prescribed by the Cape Education Department, the Department of Theology was the special preserve of the Church. The contents of the syllabus and everything else concerning the training of men for the ministry was entirely in the hands of the Church.

The Foreign Mission Committee, therefore, was within its rights when it declared:

...At the same time it is important that in the case of Candidates for the higher grade of the Christian Ministry so much of Greek and Hebrew should be studied as will enable them to consult the original Scriptures.³

It is important to note that this sentence comes at the end of an epoch-making minute of the Foreign Mission Committee declaring English to be 'the sole classic language of the Seminary' as regards secular education. Coming as it does from such a

1. The Christian Express, May 1, 1885.

2. C. Fyfe: 'Contrasting themes in the writings of Africanus Horton, James Johnson and Edward Blyden' - Africana Research Bulletin (Univ. of Sierra Leone) Vol. I No. 3 (1972)

3. Minutes of the F.M.C. - 27th October 1866.

context the statement gives added weight to the conviction of the Committee that in the case of candidates for the ministry the languages, Greek and Hebrew, should be taught.

In a paper 'ON A NATIVE MINISTRY' read at the Missionary Conference, King William's Town, on the 20th January, 1869, Stewart suggested the inclusion of Latin, Greek and mathematics in the 'Arts Course' which was preliminary to the study of Theology. Then he went on to say:

It seems to be an unfortunate necessity that we must continue the study of the first two subjects, but I should be very sorry to see anything like the amount of time or attention bestowed on these which has generally been the rule in the past. The native ministers who will do their work in Africa will not, with few exceptions, be either translators of the Bible, or teachers of theology.¹

The question of the relative merits of educating the few or the many was only a small aspect of a much greater issue: how to achieve mutual respect and acceptance between two very different cultures. The missionaries introduced education as a handmaid of evangelism. But it could not end there for out of education many other issues arose. When a person became educated a vast new world opened up and a whole complex of relationships - social, economic, political and religious - appeared. The christian was called upon to bring redemption to all these relationships. This, after all, was the crowning achievement of the education the missionaries brought to a country where even for whites universal education was hardly regarded as a right.

Some missionaries felt that Greek was a necessity inasmuch as it put the pastors in contact with the New Testament. The Africans felt that to debar African candidates from a study of the classical languages was discrimination against them on racial grounds and was another way of entrenching white supremacy.

Against the inclusion of these languages in the curriculum it was argued that it was difficult to acquire a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew to a degree that would make their knowledge serviceable in a missionary situation, where evangelism was the supreme duty of a pastor. Since in the normal work of an African pastor there would be little or no scope for the use of their knowledge of classical languages it was unrealistic to

1. Stewart: in The Kaffrarian Watchman, Feb. 1. 1969.

burden the curriculum with these languages. Further, modern translations of the Bible and commentaries which brought out the original meanings of words and phrases in plain English, made it unnecessary to spend time in learning these languages. As T.D. Philip expressed it:

The spirit of the present age has placed the results of the ripest scholarship within easy reach of those who make little or no pretension to a knowledge of the dead languages, and what is there to prevent native students from availing themselves of such results?¹

Moreover, many toiled hard to gain such a mastery of the English language as would make the rest of their studies profitable. A study of the English language would be a more useful undertaking. At a meeting of the Foreign Mission Committee held on the 20th March, 1883, Stewart, who was then in Scotland, presented to the Committee a theological syllabus which omitted Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He explained.

In the above course Latin, Greek and Hebrew are not given as hitherto. Latin can be taken alongside the course of Theology... but it is not included in the course itself, nor are the other two languages.

The syllabus was to be the basis of a discussion with the Congregationalists and the United Presbyterian Church on the possibility of forming a 'joint Theological Faculty' at Lovedale. The scheme and the syllabus were discussed at further meetings of the Committee on the 19th June, 1883, 17th July, 1883, and 18th November, 1884. The proposed scheme for a 'Joint Theological Faculty' at Lovedale was approved. In the light of Stewart's explanation the proposed syllabus was approved 'for native candidates'. But 'with reference to others, (i.e. European candidates) the Committee approve subject to the General Assembly's right to determine the relation of those trained under this system to the ministry of the church at home'.² This was a relevant point as there were a few white candidates who went through the Lovedale course and became ministers in black congregations.

Prior to this decision the Committee had on two occasions

1. T.D. Philip: Memorandum on Theological Course, Lovedale, 1895, p1

2. F.M.C. Minutes, 18th November, 1884.

reserved its judgement as regards the position of Europeans trained under this scheme on the ministry. It was thus clear that the Committee was not satisfied that academic standards would be maintained by the use of the proposed syllabus. However in deference to Stewart they were willing to let it go 'for native candidates', but had serious reservations as regards its application to European candidates.

In July, 1883, Stewart presented the same syllabus to a meeting of the Presbytery at King William's Town. The discussion took place at the following meeting held in January, 1884. Mpambani Mzimba had often stated his conviction that Latin and Greek were essential ingredients for a complete education. At this meeting Mpambani Mzimba and Elijah Makiware, the first graduates of the Lovedale Theological course, attacked the proposed syllabus as 'not sufficient for ordination'. They insisted that theological students should be taught Greek and Hebrew. The Presbytery rejected the proposed curriculum and refused to be party to a lowering of standards.¹

Significantly the Joint Committee on Theological Education (with representatives of the Congregational, Free and United Presbyterian Churches) met in Grahamstown 23 - 25 September, 1884, and decided unanimously on a compromise resolution:

That, while recognizing the value of Greek and Hebrew being taught to candidates for the ministry, yet the requirements of the mission field at present are such, that we, the members of this Conference, do not consider in every case a knowledge of these languages an indispensable requisite to ordination, at the same time, should any of the negotiating bodies find that any of their candidates show a special aptitude for the acquirement of these languages and believe that a knowledge of them would in any way enhance their influence, such denominations shall be at liberty to make arrangements with the Professors for the efficient training of such students in the above mentioned languages.²

It was argued by white missionaries that theological teachers needed to have a knowledge of these languages so as to present the best available scholarship to their students. It was assumed, of course, that the theological teachers would obviously

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1. Minutes of the Presbytery of Kaffraria, 16 Jan. 1884
Cory Ms. 9040
 2. The Christian Express, 2.2.1885, p.19

be whites who would have been trained in Colleges and universities 'in the home country'. There was no thought of training Africans to be theological teachers. Even in the middle of the twentieth century, for most of the Churches, with the possible exception of Lutherans and Roman Catholics, this was but a vague dream.

Significantly therefore, the debate was never settled, in the nineteenth century. In 1897 Bryce Ross proposed to Synod that no probationer should be ordained unless he had some knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew.¹ The Rosses argued that these languages had more affinity with Xhosa than with English.² In a pamphlet written in 1900 Stewart accused Africans of having 'a strong desire, almost amounting to a craze, for Latin and Greek'.³

In the Lovedale of that day with historical and other pressures it was necessary to have the classical languages in the curriculum, available for those who could benefit by such studies. But then and now to force everybody to study them would be wrong. Some candidates might feel that a study of Christian Education or Pastoral Counselling was more relevant for their ministry than a study of Latin, Greek or Hebrew.

To insist on the highest possible training was to presume that men were trained for a variety of ministries so that they could serve in a variety of capacities. At that time there was, in fact, little or no idea of such a 'variety of ministries'. The crucial question was: what was the most urgent task required of African ministers at the time? The most urgent task, in Stewart's eyes was the rapid evangelisation of the African people as was being done apparently successfully by the Wesleyans, without the benefit of classical languages. For this task years of Greek and Hebrew were not the most profitable use of the time of those who trained or were being trained for the ministry. However real Stewart's good intentions were to solve the immediate problems facing the church in South Africa, the tragedy of South Africa was that an adequate response to the problem, seen in isolation, had terrible consequences in a multi-racial society.

1. Presbytery of Transkei Minutes, 7 April, 1897

2. Brownlee Ross, His Ancestry and Some Writings, p. 58,
(Ed. Shepherd)

3. J. Stewart: On Native Education, Lovedale, 1900

Of the churches considered in this study only the Church of Scotland insisted on both Greek and Hebrew. The Methodists did teach some Greek to some students at both Lesseyton and Wesley House, Fort Hare. But they never taught Hebrew. In terms of numbers the Methodists with a lower standard of theological training did more evangelism than did the Presbyterians with their higher standard. Stewart often made this comparison, which in the circumstances was a relevant comparison to make.

In a developed country where Christianity has had a firm rooting in the life of the indigenous people and where the ordained ministers may be called upon to serve in a variety of spheres in which highly trained men are required then it would be necessary to have the biblical languages in the course of theological education. But in a missionary situation in which South Africa was at the time where evangelism was the urgent task then the training could not afford the time that must inevitably be spent on biblical languages.

(f) THE BEGINNING OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT LOVEDALE

The Rev. Dr. James Stewart arrived at Lovedale in 1867 as a member of the staff. From the time of his arrival it was clear that he was coming to re-organize Lovedale along new lines and to introduce a new educational policy. As has been stated he brought with him instructions from the F.M.C., one of these, which is reproduced here in full, was:

With regard to the qualifications of native agents for the propagation and maintenance of the Gospel whether in India or in Africa, the deliberate judgement of the Committee is that these should be of a diversified character. Everywhere there is a demand for a small class of thoroughly educated labourers - men so far initiated into literature, science and philosophy as to be capable of grappling with the perplexing questions which have been raised in connection with the bearing of such themes on the Evidence and Doctrines of our most holy faith - men duly conversant with the great system of Revealed truth as a comprehensive whole - men capable of expounding and exhibiting its different parts in their mutual relationships and due proportions, as well as of vindicating them when assailed, whether by avowed enemies or mistaken friends. It is therefore desirable that the educational machinery of the Central Seminary should be organised so as ultimately to train up a few native Christian men of the highest order of attainment.

But God has given a diversity of gifts, and corresponding to these there may, and ought to be a diversity of operations in the mission field. Under the general guidance of the highest class of labourers who may be the first ordained evangelists and pastors in towns or great central stations, there is ample

room for a variety of subordinate agents. There may be a class of readers who can do little else than read portions of scripture or religious tracts and books to the wholly illiterate. There may be a higher class of purely Vernacular Catechists, capable of simple exposition and the word of exhortation. There may be a higher class still of Anglo Vernacular Catechists, whose attainments may be equivalent to those of an ordinary licensed preacher of the gospel. In the training of these classes respectively the Seminary may be so organised as to render effective aid.

Ordained Ministers and Pastors already in charge of considerable districts with several scattered congregations might employ labourers of these different grades and systematically superintend their labours. The less educated of them might be regularly brought to their homes once a week and some portion of the Scripture thoroughly expounded to them, which they in turn might thoroughly explain with endless varied illustrations and applications to the natives in their several allotted spheres.

In this way in the course of years, a few of the humbler class of labourers might be found to have made such aptitude in preaching the gospel, that, if endowed with ardent piety, sound judgement and discretion, a conciliatory temper, and other such like qualities, they might be deemed worthy of being appointed the Pastors of simple rural congregations. Or previous to their being so appointed they might be for a short period separated and constituted into a class for the perfecting of their biblical knowledge and theological attainments. A class of men may thus in time be reared up, who, though destitute of classical and scientific education, may be endowed with such gifts and graces as to constitute an effective native pastorate for the rural districts.

On another score, even that of the cost of support it must be obvious that such a class of labourers is absolutely needed. While a few of the higher order may be maintained in cities or at great central stations, it is clear that throughout the country generally it would be impossible from purely native sources to expect the necessary means for maintaining them, and to purely native sources of support alone we must ultimately look.

We are then, temporarily, to introduce the gospel; its onward maintenance and perpetuation must be left to natives themselves, and native support. So soon therefore, as native congregations are formed, the care of them ought as speedily as possible to be consigned to a native pastorate, and the general supervision of them to educated native ministers, all in time to be supported by natives themselves - while the European Missionaries should be free to pass on to the regions beyond, and pioneer the way for new native congregations to be in time delivered over to additional native pastors.¹

Thus when the Rev. W. Govan resigned in 1870, Stewart took over the leadership of the institution and immediately began

1. Minute No. 6 of the F.M.C. 27.10.1866

his re-organization of the educational programme of the institution. This programme appears in the first of the annual reports of the institution which was published at the end of 1872. The Report opens with this sentence:

The primary object of the Lovedale Missionary Institution is to educate a native ministry, and prepare lay missionaries and teachers for filling various positions in the mission field.¹

The same Report, page 3, states that the first aim of Lovedale is: 'To train as preachers such young men as may be found intellectually and spiritually fit for the work'.

In the 1873 Report, page 3, this aim is given as follows:

To train as preachers such as may desire to enter the work of the ministry, and who may after considerable trial be found fitted by their mental qualifications and general character.

The Theological course for which Mr. Govan had been preparing was started with three students in 1870. It is introduced in the 1872 Report in this manner:

THEOLOGICAL COURSE: This occupies three years, and is intended to qualify those who pass through it, not merely for preaching to native audiences, but also to English congregations. Those who wish to be employed as native evangelists without ordination to a charge take part of this course. Only three have as yet attempted to go through the whole of the course; but the smallness of the number is compensated for by the high character and attainments of the students. We do not encourage any who would not do credit to the office to which they aspire, to go through the whole course of Theology. One preacher has already left, and two others may be expected to finish by the close of 1873. This department of instruction was only commenced three years ago.²

This course was continued with varying fortunes until 1920 when Theological training was transferred to the new 'South African Native College', at Fort Hare.

From this distance in time and in the light of developments in South Africa since then, it is interesting to note that the theological course at Lovedale was meant to equip men for service in both black and white congregations. A few white students, including some from the Dutch Reformed Church, went through this course; the black men trained at Lovedale, did, in fact, preach

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1. Lovedale Missionary Institution Report, 1872, p. 3
 2. Lovedale Missionary Institution Report, 1872, p. 5

in white congregations, but none of them ever served as pastor in a white congregation. It is interesting in this connection to note that the Rev. Tiyo Soga organized 'English services' for white traders and farmers in the neighbourhood of both Mgwali and Tutura. But this was a matter of his own initiative, and not a specific decision of his church.

(g) THE CONTENT OF THE COURSE:

The normal course of secular education at Lovedale was the Primary course followed by the Elementary course, then the Literary Course; and the Theological course was the highest. This explained in part the smallness of the number of those who eventually entered the Theological course. The intention of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland was not to ordain Africans who had been 'inferiorly educated'. They would have preferred to reproduce at Lovedale the same course of training that was provided in Scotland, namely, an Arts course, followed by a Theological course in the Divinity Hall. However, all they could do was to put their theological course on top of the highest possible secular course within the limitations of a missionary situation in the South Africa of their day.

For a long time the entrance qualification to the Theological course was the Elementary Teachers' Certificate or the Cape University School Certificate. What was called the 'College Department' at Lovedale included the Cape University Matriculation Course and the Theological Course. Many Theology students did their Matriculation course concurrently with their Theology course. But it was only in 1882 that Lovedale produced its first successful Matriculants in the persons of John Tengo Jabavu and Percy R. Frames. So the Scottish missionaries could not be rightly accused of lowering standards in South Africa. They did the best that was possible under the prevailing circumstances.

(h) THE 1869 CURRICULUM¹

Following the Scottish model of an Arts course followed by a Theological Course Stewart presented the following course in 1869 before he started the first course of Theological training

1. J. Stewart in The Kaffrarian Watchman, Feb. 1, 1869

at Lovedale:

(i) THE ARTS COURSE - To give a general Education

First Year

Latin, Greek, Mathematics

Second Year

Natural and Physical Science

Third Year

Mental and Moral Philosophy,
Political Economy

It is noteworthy that in spite of the instructions from the Foreign Mission Committee Stewart did not include in this curriculum the study of English as a subject or as a teaching tool in the Theology Course. Later remarks by him and T.D. Philip reflect a need for the teaching of English as a subject in the Arts Course.

(ii) THE THEOLOGY COURSE.

First and Second Year

Systematic Theology
Apologetics, Church History,
Hebrew, Greek exegesis.

Third Year

Pastoral Theology
Homiletics.

Stewart argued the necessity of proper education of African ministers because:

- a) Both Africans and Europeans would form their estimate of what an African Ministry was likely to be in the future from this group. If the first thirty or forty were 'under-educated' men, that would place the stamp of inferiority on the whole body, and an entire generation might be required to erase this impression.
- b) These men would go into charges that previously had European missionaries; it was important that the quality of teaching that they gave to their congregations should not be inferior when compared with that of their predecessors.
- c) As ministers they would be teachers of Doctrine and the

guardians and custodians of Christian truth, and it was desirable that no perversions of the truth should arise from insufficient acquaintance with Theology as a system.

The first students to complete this course in December, 1873, were: Elijah Makiwane, Mpambani Mzimba, James van Rooyen. (James Scott attended this class during the period 1872 - 1873. Then he went to study Theology at New College, Edinburgh, after which he was appointed to Mpolweni, Natal.) Mzimba and Makiwane were further examined by the Presbytery of Kaffraria on Scottish Church History 1744 to 1843. Each candidate had to prepare a sermon, a lecture and a homily on a given text in addition to submitting, in English, a Greek and Hebrew exegesis. Three months later, after examination in Divinity, Chronology, Church History, Greek and Hebrew and after permission had been obtained from the Foreign Mission Committee, the two young men were solemnly licensed as preachers and addressed with reference to the work of the ministry.¹

In the Annual Report of Lovedale for 1874 (p. 15) and 1875 these three men appear on the list of members of the teaching staff as 'Native Assistant Masters'. On the 23rd December, 1875, Mzimba was ordained to the Pastoral charge of the 'Native Church at Lovedale'. The following year Elijah Makiwane was called to McFarlan and ordained. James van Rooyen was employed as a missionary in connection with the London Missionary Society. The teachers in this Department at this stage were: The Rev. Dr. James Stewart, the Rev. W.J.B. Moir, M.A., and Mr. A. Smith, M.A.

2. THE 1879 CURRICULUM

The theological course for this year is important not so much for the subjects covered by the course but for the detailed manner in which it was presented. A comprehensive report of the content of this revised course was written by the Rev. W.J.B. Moir, M.A., Acting Principal of Lovedale in the absence ~~on~~ furlough of the Rev. Dr. James Stewart.

The Report begins by giving a rationale for raising an African Ministry and then gives the subjects done in detail.

1. Presbytery of Kaffraria Minutes, 5th Jan, & 7th April, 1875
Cory Ms. 9040

THE SENIOR THEOLOGICAL CLASS - (2 students: T.S. van Rooyen,
D. Gezani)

- (i) - SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY: Using C. Hodge: Systematic Theology Vol 1 in part.
- (ii) - GREEK: 2 sessions - Most of the Grammar was revised: 1 Thess., 1 John were read; the latter with consecutive exegesis, the former with exegesis^s of all important points; Luke 1 - 12 and Ephesians also read similarly, with outline addresses on prominent texts.
- (iii) - HEBREW: 2 sessions, 2 days a week. Davidson's Hebrew Grammar to the Paradigms of the verb.

THE JUNIOR THEOLOGICAL CLASS - 7 Students

- (iv) - SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY: C. Hodge: Systematic Theology Vol.1. Classwork involved 'explanation preparatory to the whole'.
- (v) - CHURCH HISTORY: (8 students) History of the first four centuries Text Book: Mosheim's History. Theological questions connected with the subject were raised and discussed.

3. THE 1883 CURRICULUM - ECUMENICAL TRAINING

Early in 1883 Stewart was planning a Joint Theological Faculty at Lovedale in collaboration with the Congregational Union of South Africa (C.U.S.A.), the L.M.S., and the United Presbyterian Church.

Towards this end Stewart prepared a curriculum which he presented to the Foreign Mission Committee on the 20th March, 1883, to the Kaffrarian Presbytery in July, 1883, and to the Joint Committee on Theological Education (with representatives from CUSA and the U.P.C.) which met in Grahamstown 23 - 25 Sept., 1884. The curriculum appears below:

PROPOSED INTERMEDIATE COURSE

FIRST YEAR

English Language and Literature

General History

Mathematics - Algebra. First six books of Euclid and Algebra to Quadratic Equations.

(Dutch and Kafir as may be found necessary.)

SECOND YEAR

English Language and Literature

Mental Science

Chemistry

(Latin as far as may be required for Government Examinations)

THIRD YEAR

English Language and Literature

Moral Science

Elementary Physics

In the interests of sound education, the Conference deemed it expedient to record their emphatic and unanimous opinion that a limited range of subjects and a thorough study of what ~~is~~ was undertaken, would be more advantageous to the majority of students than a multiplicity of subjects imperfectly studied.

PROPOSED THEOLOGICAL COURSE

FIRST YEAR

English Bible - Portions of the Old Testament.

The course here proposed comprehends Analysis, or general contents of books, main divisions, chief historical facts and doctrines contained therein.

Systematic Theology - Hodge's Systematic Theology.

1st Vol. as text-book or some similar book.

History of the Old Testament Church - Text-book,

Kurtz's Manual of Sacred History.

SECOND YEAR

English Bible - Continued as above.

Systematic Theology - Hodge's Vol. second

Church History - Kurtz, Mosheim, or Smith

History of Mission.

THIRD YEAR

English Bible - New Testament

Systematic Theology - Hodge's Vol, third

Church History

Pastoral Theology. Vinet, Porter, Phelps, Dale.

In addition to the above course during each of the three

years, class exercises in writing shall be given as may be found expedient.

It was resolved that at the close of each year each Theological student shall receive from his Professors a certificate attesting his character, progress, and standing in his classes.

The Congregational Union of South Africa appointed the Rev. T.D. Philip, B.A. son of the famous Dr. John Philip, 'as their first professor in connection with the proposed Joint Theological Hall' at Lovedale. Philip appears to have struck a good friendship and worked very well with Stewart.

The reactions of all three bodies to the curriculum have already been noted. The Kaffrarian Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland undertook to train its own Candidates in the classical languages after completion of this course. Stewart had no objection to this nor to the teaching of any other language - 'Arabic, Syriac and Chaldiac' - by the Presbytery at its own expense.¹ The reaction of the Presbytery can be gauged from the fact that the following year in a class of ten theological students enrolled there was not a single student from the Free Church. The Minutes of the Presbytery suggest that the men did not bring their candidates forward because of their opposition to the curriculum.

Moreover, the Presbytery had neither the time nor the will to teach their students Greek and Hebrew. A point of interest in the proposed syllabus for the Arts Course (now called the 'intermediate' course) is the inclusion of English language and Literature as a course of study in all three years. This was a realistic improvement on the two previous curricula.

In the Theological Course proper, with the exclusion of Hebrew and Greek exegesis, it is obvious that exegesis would have to be done in English. However, in his report to the Congregational Union in July, 1890, Philip says the course 'includes the following special subjects - Church History, ... Greek Testament, translation and grammatical criticism of the gospel according to Luke',² which suggests that Greek was taught as a special subject in keeping with the 1884 agreement.³ Conspicuous also

1. Stewart's Letter to Philip, 22 Feb. 1884.
2. Christian Express, Aug., 1890
3. See page 6 of the Report.

was the exclusion of Apologetics.

Stewart was quite aware that this was a down-graded course. But in an oblique reference to the Methodists, who 'count their native preachers and evangelists by the hundreds',¹ he remarked that 'other denominations in this country make the training of their preachers still more simple'.²

Stewart put his finger on an important difference here. The Presbyterians coming from the reformed tradition of the sixteenth century laid great stress on an educated ministry because of the mischief they believed proceeded from an uneducated one. The Methodist experience was different. They had had to contend with educated ministers who were not spiritual. They did not, therefore, place the same emphasis on academic education. They asked about a man's heart rather than his mind. But, as will be seen in the next chapter, John Wesley himself believed in an educated band of preachers (ministerial or lay), though they did not need necessarily to receive such education from a university.

4. THE 1892 CURRICULUM

Few candidates came forward for training. The Lovedale Report for 1887 says nothing about theological training presumably because there was no theological class for that year. In 1888 a course in General Ethics leading to Christian Ethics appears for the first time. The 1889-90 course includes Greek Exegesis and translation of Luke's Gospel and Romans 1-7, as well as a translation (into English) of Tiyo Soga's 'Kaffir Version of the Pilgrim's Progress'. In 1890 there were five students in the Theology Class; one in 1892 and six in 1895.

The drop in the number of candidates for the Ministry did not deter Lovedale from its concern to maintain high academic standards. In 1891 Lovedale declared:

That course, for the full ministry, should be kept as high and complete as possible. A half-instructed Church is always weak, unstable and unprogressive; and the instruction of a Church can never rise higher than the level of its minister's education, nor yet so high. It is a mistake to say that small attainments will do for Native Ministers while the mass of

1. Andrew Smith to Stewart, 21.7.1877.
2. F.M.C. Minutes, 17 July, 1883

the people are so ignorant. That will keep them ignorant. For the majority of the people the Church is their only school, and according to the equipment of him who teaches from the pulpit, will be the progress in knowledge and strength of the Church committed to his care.¹

The Joint Theological Faculty agreed upon in 1884 was to be reviewed in six years. The Congregational Union decided in 1891 to continue with the scheme. For financial and other reasons the United Presbyterian Church had been unable to join the scheme although it continued to send its students to Lovedale.

By 1892 about twenty African Ministers had gone through the Lovedale Course and had been ordained to ministerial work.

The course was again revised and sent to the churches participating in the Joint Scheme for comment and approval. The revised course is given below:

(i) - THE LITERARY COURSE

FIRST YEAR

English Language and Literature - Morris's English Grammar. The books prescribed for the University School Higher, or Matriculation Examinations in English. Stopford Brooke's Primer of English Literature.

History - English, or Greek, or Roman, as prescribed for the University Examinations.

Mathematics - Algebra as far as Equations; Euclid, Bk. i.

Physical Geography - Geikie's Hand-book.

Latin, and a modern language - as required for University Examinations.

SECOND YEAR

English Language and Literature - as prescribed for School Higher and Matriculation Examinations of the University. Morris and Stopford Brooke, as above.

Chemistry - Roscoe's Elementary Lessons; Jago's Practical Chemistry.

Mental Science, and Logic - Jevon's Logic; Sorley's Elementary Psychology; Ryland's Hand-book of Psychology.

1. Lovedale Report, 1891, p. 9.

History, Latin, and a modern Language - as above.

Mathematics - Algebra. Euclid Bks. ii to iv.

THIRD YEAR

English Language and Literature - Special work - prescribed from year to year for the Matriculation Examination of the University; Meiklejohn's English Language; Morris's Grammar.

Elementary Physics - Balfour Stewart's Lessons in Elementary Physics, or the books prescribed for the University Examinations.

Moral Science - Calderwood's Handbook of Moral Philosophy.

History, Latin, and a Modern Language - as above.

Mathematics - Algebra and Euclid.

Before entering the theological classes at Lovedale candidates were required to have the Matriculation Certificate of the University of the Cape of Good Hope. Otherwise they had to sit for an entrance examination. The possession of the Matriculation Certificate, or certain other approved equivalent certificates, exempted the candidate from an entrance examination. The 'Literary Course' of Lovedale was regarded as the Arts Course which was considered necessary as preparatory to the study of Theology. Most of the subjects included in this course were those required for the Cape Matriculation Certificate. But theological students were required, in addition, to study Elementary Psychology, Logic and Moral Philosophy. 'Students entering on theology and who have passed the matriculation examination elsewhere' would be required to take only these three subjects.

This was certainly a good course as a preparation for the study of Theology, especially at that time when there were so few centres of education for Africans and so few African candidates for the ministry. Its virtue was that it lifted up to the required standard a student who had not yet attained to it. Even today all the Churches under review in this study have not yet reached this minimum standard of admission to the ministry.

(ii) - THE THEOLOGICAL COURSE (1892)

The approved course was as given below:

FIRST YEAR

English Bible - Part of Old Testament. Introduction and Analysis - Genesis to Esther. Exegesis - Portions of Genesis, etc.

Apologetics

History of Old Testament Church - to Samuel

English Bible - Old Testament - Introduction and Analysis - Job to Ezekiel. Exegesis - Portions of Psalms and Isaiah.

Apologetics

History of Old Testament Church - to Ezra.

SECOND YEAR

English Bible - Old Testament - Introduction and Analysis - Daniel to Malachi. Exegesis - Portions

Systematic Theology

Church History - to 692 A.D.

English Bible - New Testament - Introduction and Analysis - Matthew to 2nd Corinthians. Exegesis - A Gospel.

Systematic Theology

Church History - A.D. 692 - 1517

THIRD YEAR

English Bible - New Testament - Introduction and Analysis - Galatians to Revelation. Exegesis - An Epistle

Systematic Theology

Church History - A.D. 1517 to the present time

English Bible

Systematic Theology

Pastoral Theology

History of Missions

What is conspicuous in this curriculum is the absence of the Classical languages. Apart from Latin, which appears in the first year of the Literary course because it was required for government examinations, there was no reference to Greek and Hebrew. The syllabus stated that it was the English Bible that was used and presumably all exegesis would be in English.

The official comment from Lovedale was:

The curriculum is modest and yet sufficient to supply a really educated ministry for the Native Church.¹

There was now no doubt that the Lovedale course was 'for the Native Church'. Africans had no choice. It was a matter of take it or leave it. Africans of the Church of Scotland, the Congregational Union and the United Presbyterian Church who wanted to study for the ministry could either go to Lovedale and do this course or not study for the ministry at all. After all, compared with other churches in South Africa, Lovedale still offered the best theological training course. Indeed, apart from the exclusion of Greek and Hebrew, it was a good course - the best that Lovedale ever had. It was unfortunate that students of Matriculation or equivalent standard were not allowed to do even New Testament Greek. This remark is made with a clear understanding that apart from Stellenbosch, which catered for the Dutch Reformed Churches, there was no theological training for whites in this country. The complaint expressed by Makiwane, Mzimba, and Bennie at meetings of their Presbytery was that Lovedale had lowered the standard on which it had started.

(h) THE ECUMENICITY OF THE COURSE

The course of theological training at Lovedale was started with the primary aim of training men who would be associated with the missionary objectives of the Free Church of Scotland. But from the beginning the authorities at Lovedale opened their course to all those who wanted to make use of it. As early as 1872 the Lovedale annual Report declared:

The whole course of education is quite unsectarian, and missionaries of all denominations will also be able to judge to what extent they can take advantage of the Institution by sending young men to be trained here as their agents.²

The stated aim of the Scottish missionaries was to engender a 'Catholic' spirit and not to reproduce European denominational divisions on African soil. As a step in this direction a Joint

1. Lovedale Report, 1892, p. 10

2. Lovedale Report, 1972, p. 3.

Theological Faculty was established in 1885 incorporating the London Missionary Society, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Free Church of Scotland. The Rev. T. Durant Philip, B.A., son of the famous Dr. John Philip, and minister of Graaff-Reinet, was appointed Congregational (L.M.S.) Tutor on the Faculty.

Apart from any other considerations it was economically necessary to bring together to one centre the small numbers of candidates trained by each denomination. This was explicitly stated by the General Assembly of the Congregational Union of South Africa meeting at Graaff-Reinet, in May, 1885:

No single mission can well afford to keep up a staff sufficient to go over a tolerably complete theological course... But by a combination now about to be carried out, a saving both of men and money is effected, and the work by a larger force will be more efficiently done.¹

Moreover the Scottish missionaries at Lovedale rejected discrimination on grounds of race. In a statement issued to 'The Christian Express' they stated with reference to Lovedale:

Its doors stand wide open, and nothing shuts out any, white or coloured, boys or girls, full grown men or little children... English, Dutch, French, German, Kaffir, Zulu, Sesuto, Sechuana,... The instruction and training given is industrial, scholastic, and Christian, without being denominational or sectarian.²

In the theological class of 1897 there were:

- 4 students from the Free Church of Scotland
- 1 student from the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland
- 2 students from the Congregational Union of South Africa
- 2 students from the Dutch Reformed Church
- 1 Wesleyan Methodist

However, it is worth noting that in the hostels black and white students were accommodated separately. There were also differences in the College rules as they affected different racial groups. For example, white students were allowed to visit one another's rooms, while Black students were not allowed to do so.³

1. Christian Express - 1st June, 1885, p. 81.

2. Christian Express - 1st June, 1885, p. 81.

3. See 1872 Report of the Lovedale Missionary Institution, pp. 6-7, Regulations IV and 7. See also 1885 Lovedale Report, pp. 5-6.

N.B. These regulations appear in all the Annual Reports of Lovedale and were in force during the whole period when whites studied at Lovedale. Stewart had to nurse the racial and social sensitivities of whites if he was to continue to receive their financial support.

These distinctions were a concession to the sensitivities of whites in the Colony, whose financial support was vital for the life of Lovedale. Therefore, Lovedale, like the rest of the Church in South Africa had to sense the climate of white opinion in the country and act accordingly.

(i) METHODS OF TEACHING

Annual Reports of the Theological Department give some idea of methods used in teaching. These are similar to methods used in other departments at Lovedale as reflected in their reports. Similar methods were used elsewhere in the country including white schools. It should be remembered that as far as educational standards were concerned Lovedale compared favourably with white schools in the rest of the Cape Province and was better than any other black school. Lovedale students often came top in Provincial examinations, as was reflected in the colonial press, in Imvo Zabantsundu and in the annual Reports of Lovedale. The Lecture method appears to have been the main method of teaching. Students took down notes. Some lecturers dictated notes to students.

In teaching Systematic Theology the teacher and students read the text-book e.g. Hodge's Systematic Theology, together in class, the teacher stopping occasionally to explain difficult parts or to answer students' questions. Vol. 1 was studied and reviewed. Vol. II done in detail to p. 306. Short summaries were dictated at the end of each chapter and frequent written examinations were given. Classes were sufficiently small to make this possible without undue waste of time. This method was open to all the limitations of teaching from a text book.

Another method used was that of asking students to do preparatory work on a section of the syllabus and then covering the same ground with the students in class, filling in whatever gaps might need to be filled in.

Again individual students were asked to read and prepare certain topics for presentation in class, where the presentation was followed by discussions, suggestions and constructive criticism. In view of the keenness of the students reflected in every annual report, the last two methods of teaching must have been very effective.

For such small numbers of students as Lovedale had at the time - hardly ever more than ten at a time - it was impossible for the

Churches involved in the Lovedale Training scheme to finance a large staff. The available staff would be unable to handle students in each of the three years of the course. So a workable arrangement was to have one batch of students at a time and carry them through the whole 'three years' course, to be succeeded by another batch.

(j) MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

The medium of instruction was English. Three reasons were generally given for the choice:

1. English was the language of the missionaries, and therefore the only language they could use for communicating with the people they came to evangelize and 'civilize'. The alternative to this was that the missionaries should learn Xhosa before beginning to teach. The effect of this would be to delay the teaching process until the missionaries had a good mastery of the Xhosa language and to rob Africans of good English-speaking teachers who might take many years to master the Xhosa Language. Secondly unless Africans were able to meet the standards already established in the public service, they would be excluded from desirable posts. Thirdly, no Xhosa literature or Xhosa text-books were available. Moreover, Africans themselves wanted to learn English. Since the English language was new to the African students they had to learn it from the beginning of their school career. Hence Regulation V111 of the institution reads: 'English only shall be spoken in the class-rooms, workshops, Dormitories, Dining-Hall and elsewhere within the boundaries'.¹ Reports of the Theological Department repeatedly emphasize the necessity for students to know more English in order to derive the greatest benefit from lectures and the reading of books required for their studies. It was imperative, therefore, that English as a subject should be taught to the highest possible level.
2. There was little or no literature in Xhosa and other African Languages, whereas knowledge of the English language opened the way to one of the world's greatest literary treasures.

1. Lovedale Report 1872-1888, p.4, General Regulations.

3. The students who came to Lovedale spoke a variety of languages. Thus English became the lingua franca for the whole community.

Theological students were tested by written and oral examinations and also by practical exercises.

(k) SOME OF THE ALUMNI OF LOVEDALE

The quality of the theological education given at Lovedale must be judged by the quality of the men who went through it. The obvious names for consideration are those of Mzimba and Makiwane as the first men to be ordained by the Free Church of Scotland, and that of Rubusana as a representative of the Congregational Union of South Africa.

1. MPAMBANI JEREMIAH MZIMBA (1850 - 1911) was born of Christian parents at Ngqakayi, Fort Willshire in 1850. He began schooling at Sheshegu and entered Lovedale in 1860. In May, 1865 he was apprenticed to the Printing Department. When the theology classes started he attended them in a part-time capacity. On the completion of his apprenticeship he joined the Theological Class as a full-time student, and was noted for his diligence and exemplary conduct.

At the age of 16 he became a member of the church. In 1872 he was taught telegraphy at Lovedale and was employed as telegraph operator in the Lovedale office for two years.

At the end of 1871 the Lovedale Education Board granted him a Special Certificate of Honourable Mention, the highest mark of approbation the Board could give, 'for the general excellence of (his) moral character and unselfish conduct'.

He completed his theological studies at the end of 1873. The following year he was licensed to preach and, on the 23rd December, 1875, he was ordained to the pastoral charge of the 'Native Church' at Lovedale, thus becoming the first African to be trained and ordained by the Free Church of Scotland in South Africa.

As a Mfengu at that time Mzimba belonged to a privileged group surrounded by educational and Christian influences from childhood. At Lovedale he received the best and highest education available to Africans in his day. He and Makiwane were, for a decade, the only African ministers in their church.

As pastor of the Lovedale Church, as member of the Presbytery

of Kaffraria and of the Lovedale Education Board and as a minister with a country-wide reputation Mzimba exercised a considerable influence. He moved freely as the equal of his white colleagues. In the ecclesiastical, social, educational and political matters of his day not only did he exert a great deal of influence throughout this country, he also attended the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland as a representative of his Presbytery.

Because of dissatisfaction with the Free Church Presbytery of Kaffraria he seceded in 1898 and formed the Presbyterian Church of Africa. For years he contended for a high standard of education for Africans in general and for the ministry in particular. He died on the 25th June, 1911, at the age of 61.

At his funeral his life-long friend and colleague, Elijah Makiwane, said that what was distinctive about Mzimba was not brilliance of mind - he was neither a good scholar, speaker or preacher - but the powerful force of his friendship, character and personality. 'Through him the native ministry became respected and became a power.... By his charming personality and by being recognized as standing for Native rights he became a great power and came to be recognized even in political circles as a man to be considered... To me at times it seems to be a dream that Pambani is gone!. He was a good, kind-hearted fellow, lovable even when an opponent ... And now he is gone they say! Yes he is, for I saw him myself, as calm and full of peace in death as in life: a picture I hope to treasure during my few remaining days'.¹

2. ELIJAH MAKIWANE

Elijah Makiwane was born at Sheshegu, Victoria East, in 1850. He attended school at Ncera and Healdtown before going to Lovedale where he ultimately became one of the first students of Theology. He was a diligent, able and successful student. 'While carrying on his studies he was appointed, in March, 1867, assistant teacher in the Mission School, and subsequently taught

1. E. Makiwane in The Christian Express, Aug, 1911.
see also Outlook on a Century, Lovedale Press, 1973, pp 177-180.

in the Junior Classes of the Institution. He acted as Assistant Editor of the 'Isigidimi Sama Xhosa' from its first publication in October, 1870 till 1875, and for fully a year from the opening of the Telegraph Office in November 1872, he had charge of the work there'.¹

Like Mzimba, at the end of 1871, he received a Certificate of Honourable Mention which was the highest mark of approbation the Lovedale Education Board could offer. In 1875 he was licensed as a preacher by the Free Church Presbytery of Kaffraria, and in July, 1876 he was ordained to the pastoral charge of Macfarlan. In August 1877 he married Maggie Majiza who died in 1883, leaving three children.

He played a leading role in the ecclesiastical, social, educational and political affairs of his day and was the first President of the 'Native Education Association'. He was described by the Cape Times as 'the most talented and most promising Native Missionary this country has yet produced since the late Tiyo Soga's time'.²

3. WALTER RUBUSANA

Walter Rubusana is included here as belonging to another church, the Congregational Union of South Africa. He was born at Mmandi near Somerset East on the 21st February, 1858, and brought up in the house of the Rev. R. Birt, of the London Missionary Society at Peelton, near King William's Town, where he began his schooling. He went to Lovedale in February 1876, gaining the Elementary Teachers' Certificate with Honours in 1878. The following year he continued his diligent and intelligent study. He taught for one year. He returned to Lovedale at the end of 1880 to do the Theological Course which he completed at the end of 1882. He taught with great success at Peelton until he was ordained to the ministry of the Congregational Union of South Africa in 1886 and was stationed at Peelton where he exercised an outstanding ministry.

In the course of the next twenty five years Rubusana proved himself a prolific writer. He translated religious books and pamphlets and wrote articles on religious topics. In 1905 he

1. Lovedale Past and Present, Lovedale, 1887, pp. 163-4

2. Cape Times, 3.3.1885

was a member of an African deputation to His Majesty's government to discuss African rights. He presided over the National Convention of Africans that met in Bloemfontein in 1909 to discuss the projected Union of the four provinces of South Africa and its possible consequences for the Africans. In the elections of 1910 he stood as a candidate for Tembuland in the Cape Provincial Council. He won and thus became the first African to sit on that body.

He wrote a 'History of South Africa from the Native Standpoint', for which it is said he was awarded an honorary Ph.D. by a Negro college, McKinley University, when he visited the United States. He was the first African to serve as Moderator at the Midland Missionary Committee of the Congregational Union of South Africa.

(1) THE LAST PHASE OF THEOLOGICAL TRAINING AT LOVEDALE

1. 1885 - 1895

The high-water mark of Theological Education at Lovedale was the decade 1885 - 1895. As a result of co-operation between the Free Church of Scotland and the Congregational Union, T.D. Philip was in charge of the Theological Course. Thus for the first time there was someone specifically in charge of this department, and he was an able scholar, teacher, preacher and administrator who had always been interested in raising and training and indigenous ministry (e.g. at Hankey).

The staff of the department was fairly stable. Philip and Moir taught throughout this period, Johnston for five years and Stormont for three. There was also a reasonable degree of specialization by the teaching staff. Although the number of students was never large there was nevertheless a constant flow of candidates for the course. With experience the staff gained confidence in communicating with the students. Apart from the exclusion of Greek and Hebrew the curriculum was of a high academic standard.

2. THE DECLINE FROM 1895 - 1904

In September 1895, Philip resigned on retirement as Congregational Theological Tutor at Lovedale. From this date we may discern a steady decline in the quality of Theological training at Lovedale. The Theological department lost Philip's scholarly mind, his personal devotion to duty and his supervision of the department. Other theological lecturers had

department. Other theological lecturers had to teach in other departments at the institution as well in stark contrast to Philip's concentration on the theology department as his sole concern.

Nor was Stewart's ideal of a Joint Theological Faculty at Lovedale ever fully implemented. The L.M.S. declined to join the scheme. The United Presbyterians in South Africa accepted the idea and sent their students to Lovedale, but their home synod did not approve of the scheme, and did not appoint a Theological Tutor. So only the Free Church of Scotland and the Congregational Union joined the scheme and paid their respective fees. When Philip retired no substitute was appointed by the Congregationalists in spite of Philip's plea that such an appointment be made.

Two years later W.J.B. Moir who had taught at Lovedale and in the department since 1870 left to take over the Principalship of Blythswood.

Not only did personnel change; the political climate in the country altered greatly in the 1880s. The interaction of Afrikaner nationalism with British imperialism led to the increase of legalized discrimination on grounds of colour. Educated Africans, suffered increasingly the same restrictive and discriminatory legislation as any other African. Nowhere it began to appear, would equality between white and black in South African society be tolerated. If the Church wanted to create a non-racial society within its own fold it would have to battle hard against a granite wall of white prejudice and black alienation.

Unfortunately many missionaries were not sufficiently convinced on their own view to resist the growing racism when it came to affect their own lives and appointments. So they tended 'chameleon-like to take on the colour of surrounding opinion'.¹ Yet in its Minute of the 27th October, 1866, the Foreign Mission Committee had made its position quite clear.² African ministers were equal in status to their European colleagues. European

1. S. Brock: James Stewart and Lovedale, p. 182 (unpublished thesis, University of Edinburgh, Ph.D., 1974).

2. See Appendix A.

missionaries were to hand over established congregations to African ministers and pass on to start new stations. This was indeed the theory twenty years before manufactured largely in India - which had a different cultural background. Even there missionaries found the handover difficult: it was more so in the more 'primitive' and isolated circumstances of the Eastern Province. The crucial testing point for European missionaries was whether or not they would accept African ministers as equals in theory and practice to the extent of handing over their congregations to them.

The refusal of European missionaries to do just this was one of the reasons for the decline of the number of candidates for the ministry. It is unlikely that these men would work themselves out of their pastorates by encouraging young Africans to candidate for the ministry.

It had not been easy to find charges for Lovedale's first theological graduates - Mzimba and Makiwane. The European missionaries wanted them to be 'assistants', though they had 'better education than some European ministers of some denominations in the Colony'.¹ In 1885 the Presbytery used specious arguments in order to block the appointment of an African minister to the African pastorate of Burnshill. Three years later the Foreign Mission Committee proposed that Edward Tsewu, who had been ordained in 1885 should go to Duff (Idutywa), an established station to relieve an old, ineffective European missionary. John Don, Clerk of the Presbytery, opposed the suggestion arguing: 'There is a sluggishness and inertia about our native brethren that militates against them'.²

Such sentiments, articulated by the Clerk of Presbytery, and repeated in the Church courts of other denominations, sounded the death knell of the original concept of equality of status among black and white ministers in South Africa. It was one of the strongest causes of the Ethiopian movement and led directly to Mzimba's secession in 1898.

1. Stewart to Murray Mitchell, 18 Nov. 1875. ST 13/3/1.

2. Don to Smith, 19 May 1888, NLS 7797.

The Ethiopian Movement did much harm to the status of the African ministry by its indiscriminate ordinations. After his secession Mzimba, who had always been a champion for an educated African ministry, ordained men whose education and character could never have brought them anywhere near ordination. Thus in 1899 the 'Christian Express' stated:

The native ministry has been lowered very much in its qualifications during the past four years. It is plain that the natives are to be cursed with an intellectually incompetent class of men, who will presume very much, as they are doing today, upon office and very little upon fitness'.¹

Personal animosities between missionaries in the Presbytery on one hand and Stewart on the other, did not help to improve the situation. Ever since the resignation of Govan the rift then created on educational and missionary policies was never healed. For almost forty years Stewart had to battle against the relentless opposition of his missionary colleagues in the Presbytery. With his death on the 21st December, 1905, the cause of the African ministry in the Kaffrarian Presbytery lost one of its greatest pioneers and advocates.

Another reason for the decline in the number of candidates for the ministry was the high standard of education set by the Presbytery in the training of men for the ministry. They insisted on a course based on the 'home model' - an Arts course followed by a Divinity course. For most of the students who did not have the Matriculation Certificate it was a long six year course. For three years the students ploughed laboriously through Philosophy, Science, Mathematics, History and Literature; then for the next three years they toiled through Biblical Studies, Systematic Theology, Church History, Pastoral Theology, Ethics, and 'the dead weight' of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Accusations were made in the Free Church General Assembly of 1895 that 'Native pastors are required to study Latin, Greek and Hebrew as a preliminary to being licensed to preach the Gospel, and that from that cause the number of Native ministers is greatly lessened'.²

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1. Christian Express - August 1, 1899
 2. Lovedale Report, 1895, p.5

In fact, no student was required to do Hebrew; those who did Latin and Greek did so as a 'bye-study'. As it happened very few students had the stamina to go through such a long course. The age at which they began their education also told against them.

The unwillingness of some Free Church missionaries to lower their standards of theological training was a prime factor in the decline in the number of candidates for the Free Church ministry.¹

In its Minute of the 27th October, 1866, to which reference has already been made, the Foreign Missions Committee enjoined the Kaffrarian Presbytery as part of its training programme to prepare Africans for 'a diversity of grades' of ministry. Its aim was that there should not only be a relatively small highly trained professional class of ministers but a whole range of Christian workers who could perform a variety of functions within the Church. It appears that this injunction was never acted upon by the Presbytery as may be seen from the fact that the Minutes of the Foreign Mission Committee time and again drew the attention of the Presbytery to this Minute. The failure of the Presbytery to do this was partly responsible for the relatively small number of trained Christian workers and ministers in a numerically and geographically expanding mission field. As recently as 1951 the Committee stressed the need for a trained lay leadership and the training of Congregations to do pastoral visitation and evangelism.²

Although the highest grade of Methodist ministers was far below that of the Free Church, the Methodists nevertheless had evangelists and lay preachers in sufficiently large numbers to exercise an effective evangelistic and pastoral ministry. At this stage in the development of Christianity in South Africa there was certainly something to be said for numbers in spite of the Presbyterian jibes³ at the low standards of training for the Methodist ministry. The Presbyterian principle of the parity of ministry was never successfully implemented in practice as evidenced by the complaints of their black ministers about discrimination in the church.

1. S. Brock: op. cit. p. 179.

2. Report of the Foreign Mission Committee, 1951, p. 24.

3. As expressed by Stewart in his letter to Murray Mitchell, 18 Nov. 1875. ST. 13/3/1

The Presbyterian mission stations had their own assemblage of persons with various sorts of training or none. The varieties of ecclesiastical life to be found were a) white missionaries with or without full ecclesiastical training; b) black ministers (very few); c) teachers with varying qualifications which had been obtained at Lovedale and elsewhere; d) local elders and deacons, who were generally untrained and exercised a more or less charismatic ministry.

The Anglicans began their training of Africans for the ministry by starting where the people were. They began by training Catechists who, when they proved themselves in the work, could return to College to be trained as Deacons and later as Priests. Below the Catechist there was the lay Reader whose qualification above the average member of the congregation was that he could read services and the Prayers. In this way 'the Anglican Church has worked its way into many of the villages of this Colony'.¹

Addressing himself to his fellow Congregationalists, T.D. Philip appealed for the training of evangelists, catechists and ministers.² His idea was that evangelists should be men of zeal and Christian experience, well grounded in scriptural knowledge. But they did not need to know more than their own vernacular language. They would then do evangelistic and pastoral work in their churches. They would serve as an auxiliary ministry supporting themselves by doing some other work full time or pursuing some trade such as tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry and masonry. The point was that their ministry should not be a charge on the churches.

Catechists he envisaged to be men of a higher standard of education than evangelists. They would perhaps hold the Elementary Teachers' Certificate on top of which they would add one or two years studying the scriptures and pastoral work. Therefore as teachers in the day school they would earn their salaries and devote their week-ends to ministerial work. Philip admitted however, that appeals made to those preparing to become school teachers, to add to their training preparation for catechetical work had failed on the grounds that people who had their salaries as teachers did not feel called to do ministerial

1. T.D. Philip: The Training of Native Preachers, p.5.
2. T.D. Philip: The Training of Native Preachers, Lovedale, n.d.
p. 5. The context suggests 1892, as a possible date.

work during their spare time as auxiliary ministers.

The third class for which Philip appealed with a reasonable degree of success was that of ministers fitted to take charge of African churches and to discharge the whole round of pastoral duty. The course of training for these men would run on parallel lines as that prescribed for theological students in European colleges. This group of men Philip was engaged in training at Lovedale.

A course for the training of evangelists of the type envisaged by Philip and his colleagues at Lovedale was in fact started at the Lovedale Bible School about three miles east of Lovedale Institution. The Lovedale Bible School which commenced with seven (7) student evangelists in 1892 was a separate institution in training an auxiliary ministry. Of the first group of students three were Congregationalists. Later Methodist evangelists were also trained at the Lovedale Bible School and the Methodist Conference appointed the Rev. E.W. Grant to be tutor. The aim of the Bible School was to provide the churches with people who could do pastoral and evangelistic work in the churches without the kind of salary that would have to be paid to a fully trained ordained minister. Hence the suggestion that they should earn their salaries through some secular occupation.

The Lovedale Bible School, on a number of occasions, had to close because of lack of student candidates. It was finally closed as a training centre for evangelists in the late 1950s.

Teachers at the Bible School included the Rev. E.W. Grant (Methodist), the Rev. J.J.R. Jolobe (Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa) and the Rev. Owen Lloyd (Congregationalist).

Theological training at Lovedale was disrupted by the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899. During 1899 - 1900 the names of theological students appear in the Matriculation Class. In 1901 a class consisting of four students was formed. The students were:

Adolphus Bottoman,
Burnet Gaba,
Ntsikana Gaba,
Adrian Sampson.

The class was suspended during the second session. It continued again the following year until that group, now raised to five students, completed the course at the end of 1904. Thereafter

apart from the Lovedale Bible School there was no theological training at Lovedale until 1913.

3. THE PERIOD 1913 - 1921

When the course re-appeared in 1913, it was a four-year course. The first year was preparatory and was designed 'to lay a good foundation for the course of Theology proper in the three succeeding years'.¹ The syllabus for the course appears in a document entitled 'Memorandum on the supply and training of Native Theological Students', dated August, 1912. A revised form of this document entitled 'Theological Course', was issued by Lovedale in August 1915.

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION

- I - Matriculation or Senior Certificate of the University of the Cape of Good Hope;
- II - An equivalent examination;
- III - Teachers' Certificate and two years' service as teacher and christian worker.

All students were required to pass an Entrance Examination in Bible Knowledge.

CURRICULUM

FIRST (or PREPARATORY) YEAR

Scripture	Ethics
Logic	English Literature
Psychology	History
Elementary Science	

SECOND YEAR

New Testament Introduction and Exegesis
Systematic Theology
Church History
Apologetics

THIRD YEAR

New Testament Exegesis
Old Testament Exegesis
Systematic Theology

1. Lovedale Report, 1913

Church History

Apologetics

FOURTH YEAR

Old Testament Exegesis

Systematic Theology

Church History

Pastoral Theology

History of Missions

In addition arrangements were made for students to attend the following special courses:

(1) Health Course, (2) Woodwork, (3) Book-keeping.

This course was good. In addition to Matriculation or Senior Certificate or equivalent or a Teachers' Certificate and two years' service as teacher and christian worker, all students were required to pass an entrance examination in Bible knowledge which was an improvement on previous practice. It was a four year course. The subjects studied in the First (or Preparatory) year were designed to provide a good foundation for the study of theology in the three succeeding years during which all the theological disciplines were covered. This course was followed until theological training was transferred to Fort Hare in July, 1920.

The Lecturer in 1913 was the Rev. D.W. Semple, M.A., missionary designate for Mgwali. The following year he was succeeded by the Rev. John Lennox, M.A.. The class of theological students which began in 1912 came to a close at the end of the first session in 1916, when the students completed their examinations and were appointed to parishes by their churches. The outbreak of the First World War (1914-18) disrupted all the work at Lovedale. The theological course was not exempt and the improvisations had their effects on the quality of the course and the morale of those attending. The new class of four which had started, for various reasons, disintegrated and the Rev. John Lennox, who took the class over in 1914 went on active service in 1916.

The following year a new class was formed. It was decided to give the students an opportunity of proceeding at any rate with their preparatory literary year; accordingly arrangements were made for their being received at the South African Native College

(of Fort Hare) which opened in 1916) for classes while residing in Lovedale, and Principal Kerr did his best for them, and gave them a very good course. They were also fortunate in having their Scripture taken first by Mr. John Anderson, late Principal of the Glasgow Bible Institute. The students worked well, receiving very favourable reports, and they were a helpful influence within the Institution.¹

In 1918 Theological training was again done at Lovedale in a rather unsatisfactory manner by the Rev. James Henderson, Principal of Lovedale. The following year Mr. Lennox returned from military service with an O.B.E. and carried on the training of theological students.

This class which started in 1917 completed the course in June, 1920. It was the last group of theological students to be taught at Lovedale. The names of the students were:

A. Curry	-	Cape Town
J. Mdlekeza	-	Great Kei Drift
F. Ngxenge	-	Kentani
A. Ntuli	-	Pirie Mission
J.K. Qusheka	-	Main Mission, Tsomo.

As part of the Lovedale tradition must be considered the Congregationalists.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS (C.U.S.A./ L.M.S.)

The term 'Congregationalist' covers a number of bodies at work in South Africa during the period under review. These were the Congregational Union of South Africa (C.U.S.A.) whose roots went back to the 'Independents' in Britain; the London Missionary Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Therefore, Congregationalists had an abundance of educational models to follow. In this section we shall consider only the Congregational Union of South Africa which sent its students to Lovedale quite early and the L.M.S., a few of whose students went to Lovedale. The work of the L.M.S. at Tiger Kloof and that of the 'American Board' in Natal will be considered

1. Lovedale Report, 1917, p. 34.

in a later chapter.

Like most missionary organizations working in South Africa the London Missionary Society from the earliest days took a keen interest in the education of Coloureds and Africans. Before going to Bethelsdorp, Dr. van der Kemp started a school at Botha's Post and published a spelling book. All the early mission stations, Bethelsdorp, Uitenhage, Graaff Reinet, Pacaltsdorp, Paarl, had schools as an important part of their work. The same was true of the Congregational Union of South Africa.

CONGREGATIONALISTS AND TRAINING FOR THE MINISTRY

While many ministers of the Church of England were trained at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Congregationalists (i.e. 'Independents') were excluded from the English universities until the abolition of University admission tests about the middle of the 19th century. The Congregationalists were also concerned with the principle that the state should not favour the schools of any particular church (e.g. the Church of England): hence their concern with the voluntary principle. They were not, however, prevented from establishing Mansfield College in Oxford and ^{Cheshunt} ~~Chesnut~~ College in Cambridge so that they might take advantage of the Universities once these were opened to 'Nonconformists'.

Congregationalists based their theological training on the principle that the Church was responsible for the training of its candidates for the ministry and had the right to determine the courses of study they should follow.

Congregational history in England produced the classical Congregational concept of the complete separation of Church and State and the acceptance and propagation of the 'voluntary' principle by South African Congregationalism, resulting in the formation of the Evangelical Voluntary Union in 1859 have encouraged the growth and development of Church-related theological seminaries as the main centres for the training of Congregational ministers.

Discrimination against dissenters in England in the 17th and 18th centuries and the enactments of both state and established church prohibiting the enrolment of nonconformists at the universities,

resulted in the formation of dissenting academies for the education of both ministers and laymen. The dissenting academies provided the foundation from which Congregational theological colleges were to develop and, in some instances, gave the impetus to higher general education, some of the provincial universities in England being established on the foundations of the dissenting academies.

When the Congregationalists came to South Africa they did what the other religious bodies did and reproduced the 'home' pattern. They established their own schools and training centres.

During Dr. Philip's time attempts were made to train Coloured Ministry at Hankey, but without success. There were no candidates and the gap between the primary schools and the training centre at Hankey was too great.

The first tentative steps towards an indigenous ministry in the Congregational Churches of South Africa were taken in 1849 with the ordination by the London Missionary Society of the Rev. Arie van Rooyen,¹ of Blinkwater near Fort Beaufort. This, as will be observed, was about eight years before the ordination of Tiyo Soga.

Born at Tsitsikama in 1812, 'remotely of Dutch extraction',² van Rooyen was left an orphan at the age of seven. At an early age he was apprenticed to Barnard Rudolf, a Dutch waggon-maker in Alexandria.

He became a Christian, and connected himself with the mission station of Theopolis, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Baker. 'For his education, which was serviceable and solid, though not nor very high, he was chiefly indebted to the late Mr. Calderwood'.³ About the year 1830 he moved to the newly formed Kat River Settlement where he lived and followed his trade as waggon-maker. At the age of twenty-one he began to preach. In addition to his trade he was soon employed as a school teacher by the Rev. James Read, Senior, of the London Missionary Society. When it was found necessary to divide Mr. Read's congregation into two, one section called van Rooyen to be its pastor. He

1. James Read, Jr., whose mother was a Coloured, was ordained before this.

2. Christian Express, April, 1880, p. 2.

3. Ibid

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was ordained in 1849. Through many a trial he faithfully built his congregation up until by 1880 it had about 300 communicants composed of Africans and Coloureds, with several out-stations in the neighbourhood.

For years van Rooyen suffered from 'a painful and prostrating disease'. He went to Port Elizabeth for a surgical operation from which he did not recover. He died on the 7th March, 1880, leaving a widow, two sons and two daughters. Both his sons, James and Timothy were educated at Lovedale and entered the ministry. One of his daughters married William Koyi.

He was loved and respected by the people for his modest, sincere and consistent life.¹

Part of the motivation for the formation of the Evangelical Voluntary Union (referred to above) was the training of ministers. After the abortive attempts made at Hankey, the training of ministers for the Congregational Union of South Africa (C.U.S.A.) and the London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) was associated with Lovedale.

The newly formed Evangelical Voluntary Union sent Nicholas Goezar, its first indigenous student' to Lovedale in 1863. After completing his Lovedale course Goezar proceeded to Stellenbosch where he completed the studies set for the training of European ministers for the Dutch Reformed Church. He was ordained in 1868 and was called to Union Church, Port Elizabeth.

When Lovedale began its theological course one of the first four students who pioneered the course was the Congregationalist James van Rooyen, son of Arie van Rooyen. He completed his studies at Lovedale in December, 1873. After ordination he served at Uitenhage where he had a lot of difficulties because the Church was 'not sufficiently advanced to respect ministers of their own race'.²

Up to the end of 1884 the following 'Native ministers and evangelists connected with the Union'³ were trained at Lovedale;

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1. Van Rooyen's obituary appears in the Christian Express, April, 1, 1880, p. 2
 2. G.P. Ferguson: The Story of the Churches of the Congregational Union of South Africa, Pretoria, 1940, p. 240.
 3. Lovedale Annual Report, 1884, p. 9.

Nicholas Goezar,
James van Rooyen,
Gwayi Tyamzashe,
Simon Sihlali,
Walter Rubusana,
Samuel Sihunu,
John Mtila,
John Yekelo.

But from 1884 a more formal and intimate arrangement was made with the appointment of the Rev. T. Durant Philip to the staff of Lovedale as Head of its theological department.

T.D. Philip was the son of the Rev. John Philip. He was born in Cape Town on the 25th November, 1819. In 1826 he was sent to England where he attended the Mill Hill Public School. Then together with his brother, William, he studied at Edinburgh University. He took his theological course at Coward College, London and graduated B.A., in London University. He had hoped to be appointed to one of the L.M.S. stations in India, but he returned to the Cape to bid farewell to his friends. During the visit his brother was drowned in a flooded river and T.D. Philip succeeded him as minister at Hankey. He served for thirty years as minister at Hankey, and nine at Graaff-Reinet.

Philip had always been keenly interested in a trained indigenous ministry and had tried, without success, to establish a ministerial training centre at Hankey. In 1883 he returned from England with definite proposals. He had secured from the L.M.S. an endowment of £2 500, and the promise of a diminishing grant, beginning at £300 a year, for the establishment of a Joint Theological School at Lovedale. At the same time Dr. Stewart of Lovedale was making similar proposals for a Joint Theological Faculty at Lovedale to serve the missions of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches of Scotland and the L.M.S. missions in the Eastern Districts.

Mr. Philip was appointed professor for the L.M.S. The appointment was received at Lovedale 'with unmixed satisfaction'.¹ He taught

1. Lovedale Annual Report, 1885.

Church History, the Greek Testament, translation and grammatical criticism and Biblical exposition. For ten years he devoted himself to this task which he loved and won golden opinions from staff and students for his work and devotion. He retired in 1895 and returned to Graaff-Reinet where he died in 1900 'Revered, beloved'.¹

Congregationalist students who went through Lovedale during this period include:

Andrew Muller,
Cullen Reed,
James C. Weis,
Isaac Wauchope,
Andries Ontong,
A. Sampson,
F. Scheepers.

Though the Congregationalists were unable to appoint a successor to Philip, they continued to send their students to Lovedale for theological training.

One of the problems faced by the Congregationalists in the early days, and indeed also by other churches, was the problem of finding pastorates for theologically trained men at the completion of their courses. Most black congregations had white ministers, and even when there were qualified black ministers to have a white minister added prestige to the congregation in the judgement of its members. The Congregational system of calling a minister made it difficult for a qualified black minister to be called by a particular church, since the idea of having Coloured ministers was still new. T.D. Philip stressed:

The day must come when we shall have to hand over our native churches to Native ministers, and it is high time that it did come.²

Associated with this was the problem of financial support for the black minister by his congregation. White ministers were paid by overseas missionary societies which expected and encouraged black congregations to be self-supporting and, therefore, did not pay for the stipends of black ministers. Some white congregations (e.g. Bedford) contributed to the funds of the black

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1. The Christian Express, August 1, 1900.
 2. The Christian Express, August 1, 1890.

congregation and thus helped it to pay for its minister.

NAMES OF THEOLOGICAL TEACHERS AT LOVEDALE

The Rev. James Stewart, M.D., D.D.	- 1870 - 1905
The Rev. W.J.B. Moir, M.A.	- 1870 - 1897
Mr. Andrew Smith, M.A.	- 1870 - 1887
The Rev. D. Doig Young	- 1878
The Rev. T.D. Philip, B.A.	- 1885 - 1895
The Rev. Robert Johnston	- 1891 - 1895
The Rev. D.D. Stormont, M.A.	- 1892 - 1898
The Rev. John Lennox, M.A., O.B.E.	- 1894 - 1920
Mr. R.B. Stewart	- 1897 (for 6 months)
The Rev. Hedley V. Taylor, M.A.	- 1902 - 1904
The Rev. A.F. Cowan, M.A.	- 1903 - 1904
The Rev. D.W. Semple, M.A.	- 1913
The Rev. J. Henderson, M.A.	- 1918 only in theo- logical depar- tment.
The Rev. H. Booth Coventry, B.D.	- Feb. - June, 1920

In the previous chapter it was stated that in the field of general and theological education Lovedale was not alone. Ten miles away from Lovedale was the Healdtown Missionary Institution run by the Wesleyan Methodists, doing work which was very similar to that done at Lovedale. In the next chapter we shall look at the work done by the Methodists in both general and theological education up to the point where, like Lovedale, the Methodists transferred their theological work to the newly opened South African Native College of Fort Hare.

CHAPTER THREE

THE METHODISTS

METHODISM AND EDUCATION

From the beginning Methodism had its greatest appeal on the lowest classes in society. Its concern with humanitarian work arose from its care for the lot of its people.

The first Methodist school in Britain at Kingswood near Bristol, was originally established for the education of the children of miners during the day and adults in the evenings. The school was the result of the labours of both John Wesley and George Whitefield. Later it became a school for the sons of Methodist ministers. In Britain, in America and wherever Methodism has been - not least in South Africa - it has made a significant contribution in the field of education.

JOHN WESLEY AND THE EARLY METHODIST PREACHERS

John Wesley was born in an age of Reason and in many ways he was a child of that age. He was a man of one book - the Bible (*homo unius libri*), yet he was a voracious reader of books in a variety of fields. He was first and foremost an evangelist. He believed that God had raised Methodism to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land.

To reach this goal, he needs men aflame with the love of God... men who, having the passion for souls, will use their minds, read the Bible, submit to training, and grasp every means possible to improve their knowledge.¹

Wesley's method was two-fold - evangelistic and educative. These two qualities he demanded from his preachers. He required of his preachers that they should be men learned in the scriptures. In his Journal, under the date March 4th, 1747, Wesley wrote:

This week I read over with some young men a Compendium of Rhetoric and a System of Ethics. I see not why a man of tolerable understanding may not learn in six months' time more of solid philosophy than is commonly learned at Oxford in four (perhaps seven) years.

1. W.B. Brash: The story of our Colleges, 1835-1935, A Centenary Record of Ministerial Training in the Methodist Church, London, 1935, p. 13.

It has been said that Wesley's preachers were ignorant men. To some extent this was true as many of Wesley's men had received only a grammar-school education. But it must be remembered that Wesley had been an Oxford don who inspired his preachers not only with a passion for evangelism but also a passion for knowledge. Kingswood was the beginning of a school for his preachers. Here Wesley taught his preachers theology, logic and elocution. At an orphan house Wesley founded at Newcastle young Methodist preachers received instruction 'for the efficient discharge of their ministerial duties'.¹

Wesley stressed more than any other religious leader of the eighteenth century the need for devotional and intellectual preparation. He believed in a trained ministry and the discipline of serious study. As a result three of his men, Dr. Adam Clarke, Joseph Benson, and Joseph Sutcliffe wrote commentaries on the whole Bible, while Francis Asbury was 'thoroughly proficient' in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.²

Of Thomas Walsh, Wesley said:

I knew a young man who was so thoroughly acquainted with the Bible, that if he was questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek word in the New Testament, he would tell, after a little pause, not only how often the one or the other occurred in the Bible, but also what it meant in every place. His name was Thomas Walsh. Such a master of Biblical knowledge I never saw before, and never expect to see again.³

The first Methodist Conference in 1744, raised the question, 'Can we have a seminary for labourers?' Nevertheless it was not until the beginning of 1835 that the first Methodist theological seminary was opened for the training of Wesleyan ministers. One reason for this long delay was that by and large the Methodist people were not convinced about the need for a theological seminary lest the products of such a seminary lose their evangelistic zeal. In addition, other factors were responsible for this long delay: the social, economic and political effects of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars on British life; the strifes and struggles within Methodism.

1. W.B. Brash: op. cit. p. 17

2. Ibid. p. 21

3. Ibid pp. 20-21

Between 1790 and 1815 the membership of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Britain increased from 71 688 to 211 063. In overseas Missions its membership had risen from 5 300 to 19 835. By 1834 the Methodist membership in Britain had grown to 365 857.

These figures were made to speak on both sides. Those who were opposed to the establishment of a theological institution argued saying:

How well we have done without one! A course of theological education will damp down the ardour of evangelical zeal.¹

Those in favour of a theological institution replied:

We have now a much larger constituency, and a better educated people, and we must have trained preachers to minister to our people. Wise training in a Theological Institution will kindle to a greater flame the evangelical zeal of its students.²

The influential Dr. Adam Clarke declared:

We want some kind of seminary for educating workmen for the vineyard of our God, as need not be ashamed. We need without delay to get such a place established, either at Bristol or London. The time is coming, and now is, when illiterate piety can do no more for the interest and permanency of the work of God than lettered irreligion did formerly.³

The Methodist Conference of 1834 finally decided that there should be a Wesleyan theological institution 'for the improvement of the Junior Preachers', to help them towards a true marriage of knowledge and evangelistic zeal. As a result buildings were rented at Hoxton, London, for the accommodation of staff and students and classes were held in the premises of City Road Chapel, London. The new institution was opened on the 26th January, 1835. Other Methodist theological colleges were established as follows:

Abney House	-	1839
Didsbury College	-	1842
Richmond College	-	1843
Headingley College	-	1868
Handsworth College	-	1881
Wesley House, Cambridge	-	1921

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1. W.B. Brash: op. cit. p. 27.
 2. Ibid.
 3. W.B. Brash: op. cit. p. 26

THE METHODIST CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA AND AFRICAN EDUCATION

Shortly after the Cape became British territory in 1806 Methodism began at the Cape as a result of the work of Sergeant Kendrick, a non-commissioned officer of the 21st Light Dragoons in Cape Town who, being class leader and Local Preacher, began conducting religious services for the soldiers in his regiment. As a result of his work 120 soldiers became devout christians. The Wesleyan Missionary Committee in England sent the Rev. J. McKenny to minister to the soldiers and the slave community at the Cape. He arrived there in August, 1814. As a result of frustration by government authorities he sailed for Ceylon. This pattern was typical: first the layman and then the minister. The next minister sent by the Methodist Missionary Society was the Rev. Barnabas Shaw. He and his wife landed in Cape Town on the 14th April, 1816. In the Eastern Cape Methodism arrived with the British settlers in the Albany District in April, 1820 and their Chaplain the Rev. William Shaw who was not related to Barnabas Shaw. On the 13th November, 1823, Shaw started on the historic missionary journey, laid the foundation of his famous chain of stations stretching from Wesleyville and Mount Coke to the heart of the Transkei.

From the beginning evangelism went hand in hand with education. At each mission station schools were built to teach Africans to read and write. The establishment of schools was an essential aspect of evangelism designed to help new converts to read the Scriptures. This aspect of evangelism was strengthened by the arrival of Sir George Grey as Governor of the Cape in 1855. Grey had experienced administration of the Maoris in New Zealand. This experience led him to think of industry as an alternative to the frontier wars. There were two stages: first literacy and a literary education; then industrial education. His policy of the 'peaceful subjugation' of Africans was taken up enthusiastically by the Methodists and led to the establishment of Industrial Schools at such Methodist Missions as Grahamstown, Kamastone, Salem, D'Urban (Peddie), Lesseyton and Healdtown. Industrial Schools were established at other mission stations as well.

TOWARDS AN INDIGENOUS METHODIST MINISTRY: The development of an indigenous Methodist Ministry proceeded in a number of

JACOB LINKS
*Martyr of Namaqualand and
first minister ordained in
South Africa.*



perceptible steps:

- (i) In the early days of the Namaqua Mission under Barnabas Shaw, two men from the Mission field had been received by the British Conference as Assistant Missionaries. They were the two Namaqua converts, Jacob Links and Johannes Jager. But neither of these two men received any formal theological training and though accepted into full connexion with the British Conference, neither of them, so far as is known, was actually ordained to the work of the Christian Ministry.¹
- (ii) A significant ministry was exercised by Chief Kama among his people at Kamastone from 1838 to 1849. 'Every Sabbath this priest-chief collected his people for worship, his son, William Shaw Kama, who had been educated at Salem, reading the lessons and hymns, and he preached. At the end of eleven years... the Rev. W. Shepstone was appointed pastor'.² Significantly two of the first five candidates for the ministry (Pamla and Mama) came from Kama's people who by then had moved to Annshaw, Middledrift.
- (iii) THE WATSON INSTITUTION

Named after Richard Watson, an outstanding secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Watson Institution was first established in the old Mission House in Grahamstown in 1837. It was moved to Farmerfield in 1840. Later two branches were started, one in D'Urban (Peddie) and the other at Mount Coke, because it was believed that the Watson Institution was not an institution established and fixed at one particular place, but represented at every Mission Station where it was established, the Christian educational thrust of the Methodist Church. The decision to establish two new branches of the Watson Institute at Peddie and Mount Coke was an unfortunate one. Instead of efforts and resources being concentrated on one place, Farmerfield, they were dissipated over three struggling places. Farmerfield and Mount Coke soon disappeared as educational institutions. Peddie (now called Ayliff) struggled in Healdtown's shadow.

The Rev. Thornley Smith stated the function of the Watson Institution in his report to the Missionary Committee in 1847:

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1. L.A. Hewson: Healdtown, A study of a Methodist Experiment in African Education, Grahamstown, 1959, p. 257.
2. J. Whiteside: op. cit. p. 211



LIH CHRISTIAN CHULI KAMA
of the Eastern Province.

The Watson Institution, established for the purpose of training young men for schoolmasters, and Native Assistant Missionaries, is conducted at Farmerfield under the judicious management of Mr. D. Roberts. This Institution has already been made a blessing to the country. Several young men... have been instructed in reading, writing and Arithmetic, etc., and having become acquainted with the elements of Christian truth, have gone forth to announce to their own countrymen the glad tidings of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Thus, by the providence of God a native ministry is being raised up in South Africa, which if it increased and extends, must ultimately exert a powerful influence in the land; and tend as we earnestly hope to hasten on the evangelising of the native tribes.¹

(iv) At a meeting of the Forty-Second Annual meeting of the Grahamstown District convened in Grahamstown on Wednesday the 15th of November, 1865, five African men offered themselves as candidates for the ministry. They were Charles Pamla, William Shaw Kama and Petros Masiza from the Annshaw Circuit and John Lwana and James Lwana from the Peddie Circuit.

These are proposed to be received on trial as Native Assistant Missionaries. Their own statements and those of the superintendents of the respective circuits are also appended, and we cordially, and unanimously recommend them to be received on trial at the ensuing conference. They have passed the usual examination before the District Meeting greatly to their own credit and to the most heartfelt satisfaction of the brethren of the District. We believe them to be thoroughly devoted to the service of God, and already in most points qualified for the work of a Native pastorate but we trust that some opportunity will be afforded for further training before they enter fully upon the great work of the Ministry of the Gospel among their fellow-countrymen. Pending the decision of the Conference on the subject of their acceptance, and that of the Missionary Committee on the subject of their training they will continue as heretofore under the care and special instruction of the superintendents of the circuits in which they respectively reside.²

The superintendents were the Rev. George Chapman of Peddie and the Rev. Robert Lamplough of Annshaw.

Pamla, Kama and the Lwana brothers were accepted as candidates for the ministry by the British Conference meeting at Leeds, on the 26th July 1866. Boyce Mama was accepted at the Conference of 1867.

The District Synod meeting on the 16th January, 1867 rejoiced to learn that 'our long cherished wish for the establishment of

1. Quoted by W. Shaw in The Story of My Mission, pp. 298-9
2: Minutes of the 42nd Meeting of the Grahamstown District, 15th Nov., 1865 p. 3.

a Training Institution for the benefit of our Native Candidates and Schoolmasters has at length met with the approval and support of the Missionary Committee'.¹ As the result of this approval arrangements were made to make Healdtown a theological institute. The decision to establish a theological institution for African candidates in a missionary situation where evangelistic zeal had hitherto sufficed was a remarkable one in view of the long struggle in British Methodism to establish such an institution for the training of British Methodist ministers.

(a) HEALDTOWN

The founder of the Mission station now called Healdtown was the Rev. Henry Calderwood of the London Missionary Society. He founded the station which became known as BIRKLANDS near a perennial spring in 1844. William Shaw later described the site as extremely well situated. The people who came to live on the new Mission station became known as 'Calderwood's Kaffirs'. They were Xhosas of Maqoma's tribe.

During the war of the Axe (1846-47) and the war of Mlanjeni (1850-52) the people of Birklands moved to Fort Beaufort, where they remained until peace was restored. At the close of the war of Mlanjeni, however, as they were preparing to return to Birklands they were informed that this land (Birklands) had been granted to AmaMfengu who came in 1853 under the Methodist missionary, John Ayliff.

Healdtown was named after Mr. James Heald, M.P. of Parrs Wood, Stockport. He was a prominent Methodist layman, keenly interested in missions and was a senior treasurer of the Wesleyan Missionary Society from 1861 to 1874. When in 1866 it was proposed to utilize the buildings at Healdtown for the training of teachers and candidates for the ministry, the want of funds blocked the way. The Missionary Committee in London being unable to provide funds for Healdtown, Mr. Heald and his sister donated £1,000, which was supplemented by aid from the Missionary Society and the Cape Government.

While building the Church at Healdtown Ayliff started training the first group of African evangelists in the vestry of the church he was building. The men were James Mjila, Samuel Mtinkulu,

1. Minutes of Grahamstown District Synod, 16th Jan., 1867, p. 13.

James B. Sakuba, Mayekiso Sokumbela and Klaas Bangeni. Miss Ayliff instructed their wives.

The new Governor of the Cape, Sir Philip Wodehouse, instructed the Superintendent General of Education, Dr. Langham Dale in 1863, to undertake an inspection of industrial institutions in the Eastern Cape and report on them. His report and recommendations on Healdtown and the new system of financing industrial schools made it impossible for Healdtown to continue as an industrial school because the reduction of the government subsidy to Healdtown meant that the church had to pay the difference and the church was not financially in a position to do so.

With the failure of Healdtown as an industrial school, other possibilities were beginning to take shape. When Dale visited Healdtown again in 1865 the Healdtown authorities were already looking towards alternative plans for the Institution and mentioned these to Dale who reported:

It has been suggested that these premises might be set apart as a training school for natives, preparing themselves for the offices of missionaries and teachers, in connection with the Wesleyan Society.¹

Two years later the suggestion materialized. The first students to be admitted to the Theological Institute when it opened on the 7th October, 1867, were Charles Pamla, James Lwana, John Lwana, and Boyce Mama.² Each of them came with his family, was provided with a cottage, an allowance at the rate of 30 shillings per month, and one suit of clothes for the year. Thus only 32 years after the establishment of the first Methodist Theological Institution in Britain, Healdtown began to train African Methodist ministers.

ENTRANCE QUALIFICATIONS³

The Committee responsible for the running of the affairs of Healdtown met on the 19th March, 1867, and laid down entrance qualifications for each of the three groups that were to be admitted to the institution; candidates for the ministry, evangelists, teachers. The entrance qualifications for candidates

1. Quoted by L.A. Hewson: op. cit. p. 221

2. J. Whiteside: op. cit. p. 278

3. Healdtown Institution Report, 1867

for the ministry were:

- (i) They should have passed the District Meeting examinations and be recommended to Conference before they could be received as students;
- (ii) They were preferably to be married;
- (iii) To be able, at least, to read and write their language fluently, and to have some knowledge of the English language;
- (iv) To have a good general knowledge of the Scriptures and the Methodist Catechisms Nos. 1 and 2, and an acquaintance with the simple rules of Arithmetic;
- (v) Their character, piety and ministerial qualifications were to be guaranteed by the Quarterly Meeting and the District Meeting.

By 1875 the Committee governing Healdtown felt that these qualifications were too low and recommended to the Second Triennial Meeting of the South African Districts that a minimum standard be approved for men entering Healdtown as ministerial students as follows:

- (i) Candidates should be able to speak, read, write, and understand the English language;
- (ii) They should be able to write fairly and freely;
- (iii) To work out any sums in the four simple rules of Arithmetic;
- (iv) That they have a fair acquaintance with the second Catechism in English and Xhosa.¹

It appears as if no action on this was taken by the Natal General Meeting. Regretting this the Committee declared:

In the present advanced state of education among the Natives (we) would urge upon the several Districts the importance of sending only candidates, who, in addition to piety and zeal, have such abilities and attainments as may enable them continually to keep abreast of their people to feed and instruct the Church of Christ.²

1. Healdtown Institution Report. 1875
2. Healdtown Institution Report. 1876

1. THE CONTENT OF THE COURSE

The present writer has been unable to find any curricula or examination papers showing the content and standard of the course taught at Healdtown. It appears as if the course was concerned with 'imparting some general and theological knowledge!'.¹

According to Whiteside² the subjects taught were Theology, 'Biblical and General information', Homiletics, English Grammar and Wesley's sermons which 'made a fairly comprehensive curriculum for Natives'.³ The Healdtown Institution Report for 1875 declares:

The studies of the year have embraced Theology, Wesley's Notes (on the New Testament), grammar, arithmetic, history, and science. All the candidates speak English. The general advance of education amongs the Christian Natives and the growing acquaintance of the Native Youth with English Literature, so largely impregnated as it is with sophistries and errors, render it a matter of great importance that our Native Ministry should attain to a high degree of general and theological knowledge, and the committee is confirmed in the views it expressed last year as to the importance of all students for the ministry having a good knowledge of the English language.

All the candidates take an active part in the work of the circuit, and so are prepared for an important part of ministerial duty.⁴

The aim of the framers of this curriculum was to give theological students as much general and theological knowledge as was possible with the human material at their disposal.

The period of training was three years during which the students were trained in both academic and practical work.

Theological students did New Testament Greek⁵ as part of their New Testament studies. But current opinion was against the teaching of classics to Africans, as has already been seen in the debate concerning classical education at Lovedale.

Taylor, the American Methodist evangelist who was emphatic on the need for an African ministry declared:

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1. W.C. Holden: A Brief History of Methodism and of Methodist Missions in South Africa, London, 1877, p. 337
 2. J. Whiteside: op. cit., p. 285
 3. Ibid.
 4. Healdtown Institution Report, 1875
 5. Healdtown Jubilee Brochure, 1906. p. 19.

To teach a Kaffir Latin and Greek, to prepare him to preach to Kaffirs, in a language without a literature, is not only a waste of time, but is likely to remove him, in his feelings, modes of thought, and habits of life, so far above his people as greatly to weaken their mutual sympathy and in many cases increase the difficulty of his access to them.

Of course we would not object to the multiplication of such men as Rev. Tiyo Soga; but shall the car of salvation stand still and millions of heathen perish while we are waiting for the schools to turn out such agents as he?1

And Whiteside wrote: 'In the training of the native candidates for the ministry little attempt was made at imparting a knowledge of the classic languages.

The English language alone opened up to them mines of mental wealth'.²

Soga's translation of Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress' into Xhosa was regarded as required reading for the students.

It will be readily noticed that the entrance qualifications to the course as well as the contents of the curriculum were far below the standard required and attained by theological students at Lovedale. But the Methodist Church of South Africa was quite satisfied with the standard and the attainments of its students. W.C. Holden, the historian and Methodist missionary in South Africa may be regarded as speaking for the Church as a whole when he said:

In a literary point of view some might think their attainments low, but for adaptation and qualifications for their office as plain, earnest expounders of God's Word, and as being well able to apply it to the consciences of men, they were, and are, fully efficient, whilst the success which has attended and followed their ministrations, is God's endorsement that they had not gone 'a warfare at their own charges'.³

There was thus no question of equality in status between ordained African ministers and ordained white ministers. The Africans were officially designated as 'Native Assistant Missionaries', which makes it clear that they were not ministers or missionaries in their own right, but assistants to the white missionaries.

1. W. Taylor: The Story of My Life, 1896, p. 497

2. J. Whiteside: op. cit. p. 285

3. W.C. Holden's article in 'The Kaffir Express', May, 1. 1873.

To teach Greek and Latin to candidates with such low qualifications was, indeed, 'a waste of time'. Clearly the Methodists were not quite convinced about the necessity for an African Ministry, and were interested merely in pious, zealous evangelists rather than in well-trained ministers.

2. THE FIRST ORDINATION

Of the original candidates Petros Masiza seems to have dropped out for some reason. William Shaw Kama had to withdraw 'owing to the claims of his tribe upon his services'.¹ Charles Pamla and the Iwana brothers were ordained at Healdtown on the 26th February, 1871, and thus became the first African men to be trained and ordained by the Methodist Church in South Africa, the first fruits of a notable line to follow.

3. LATER HISTORY TILL 1882

When the Scottish Missionaries decided to train men for the ministry at Lovedale there was someone on the spot in the person of the Rev. Dr. James Stewart who planned the whole scheme beforehand. He and his missionary colleagues considered the entrance qualifications to the course, how to help candidates to come up to the required entrance standard; they planned the content of the course, the relationship between black and white ministers, the status of the new black clergy as well as their emoluments. The Methodists, on the other hand, did none of these things. There was no planning done to mount such an important pioneering scheme.

The difference in part was in tradition. Most of Stewart's considerations and preparations were taken over from Scottish experience which had precedents for each of these decisions. Still more important the Free Church had, since the disruption to make good its claims to be the real Church of Scotland. There could be no diminution of standards without destroying the claim. Hence the Free Church established New College in Edinburgh and Trinity Hall in Glasgow to provide theological training on a par with the Church of Scotland men trained by the university faculties.

Methodist experience on the other hand had been pragmatic from

1. Minutes of the British Methodist Conference, 1871, p. 243.

start to finish. Wesley borrowed any good idea or technique once he saw it working and applied it with modifications of his own. It would take time to learn that training ministers was a full time business, especially in Africa where the trainees came from a non-literary background. It had been said that early Methodist ministers were taken from 'the tail of the plough, the blacksmith's shop, the carpenter's bench and, without sending them to any College or divinity school, they were sent to preach at once, and in a few years they became able ministers of the New Testament, equal, if not superior, to men trained in collegiate and theological Halls'. Whereas this was possible in Britain or America where Wesley's insistence on habits of diligence and study for a minimum of five hours a day, was carried out, this was not possible in the South African context where the people's culture and habits were very different.

This lack of adequate planning for starting a theological school is further proof that the Church was not convinced about the necessity of training an African ministry. Moreover this was shown in the unsatisfactory staffing arrangements made for the new college. Robert Lamplough who was appointed as Theological Tutor in 1867, was also Vice-Principal of the Institution and superintendent of the Healdtown circuit. Alone he was expected to teach all subjects to the ministerial students and carry out efficiently his other duties. No one was set aside to make ministerial training his sole duty.

Moreover, the Methodist itinerant system necessitated too frequent changes of Theological Tutors as may be seen in the following alarming list:

The Rev. Robert Lamplough	- 1867 - 70
The Rev. Theophilus Chubb, B.A.	- 1871 - 73
The Rev. Henry Barton	- 1873 - 75
The Rev. George Chapman	- 1875 - 76
and again in	- 1879 - 82
The Rev. William Hunter	- 1877 - 77

There was also a drop in the number of candidates for the ministry. There were four in 1867, eight in 1868, six in 1871, six in 1876, three in 1879, one in 1880. Then we read:

We greatly regret that the exigencies of the work again leave us without ministerial students. Four young men, three of whom had been school-master students here, were

accepted at the Native District meeting, but these all go at once to circuit work.¹

Theological training virtually closed² at Healdtown when one theological student completed his course at the end of 1880. However, George Chapman held his post until he became a supernumerary in 1882 as a result of 'growing infirmities!.

It should be stated here that many candidates and evangelists who had proved their worth in the field were ordained without theological training. This practice has continued until recently.

4. CHARLES PAMLA

Of the four³ men who pioneered the course at Healdtown in 1867, by far the most outstanding was Charles Pamla.

Charles Pamla was born of royal Zulu descent. His parents were among a group of AmaMfengu who fled from Natal to settle in the Cape Colony. In 1833, the whole Pamla family was baptized by the Rev. W.H. Garner and it was thus to christian parents that Charles was born in 1834. He attended school in the Bedford area and received from the missionaries considerable instruction in English and arithmetic. He was converted under the ministry of Mr. Garner and was baptized by him.

When the Pamla family moved to Keiskamahoeck they came under the pastoral oversight of the Rev. Robert Lamplough, under whom Charles became a Local Preacher, interpreter and class leader.

At the age of 31 he offered himself as a candidate for the ministry. In 1866 when the Rev. William Taylor conducted his evangelistic mission in South Africa he used Pamla as his interpreter. In Natal Taylor left Pamla to preach to the Zulus, while he preached to the whites.

The following year Pamla was one of the four men who began their training for the ministry at Healdtown. He was ordained at Healdtown on the 26th February, 1871. In a number of circuits in various parts of the country, his circuit work was outstanding. Twice he was appointed by the Methodist Conference to be a

1. Healdtown Institution Report, 1882

2. There were some theological students at Healdtown in 1887-8

3. John Lwana died at Cradock on the 31st January, 1882.

connexional evangelist. His last circuit was Ethembeni near Umzimkulu. When he retired in 1913 at the age of 79, he moved to Matatiele not far from the mission station named after him, Pamlaville. He died on the 24th June, 1917.

THE KILNER VISIT, THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONFERENCE AND THE AFRICAN MINISTRY

In a letter written on the 13th February, 1860, to Dr. Hoole, the Rev. William Shaw expressed his 'very strong opinion' that there should be a South African Conference of the Methodist Church, to cover 'the whole of Southern Africa, as far North as the tropic of Capricorn'. There was sympathy with this view in British Methodism. But the over-riding consideration was that an independent South African Conference would require to have power and freedom of action which would be irreconcilable with financial dependence on the British Conference. Thus the idea of an independent South African Conference had to be shelved for about twenty years.

Early in 1876, the Rev. G.T. Perks, M.A., a former President of the British Conference, and at the time one of the Secretaries of the Missionary Secretaries, visited South Africa to investigate the condition of the Methodist Societies in the country.

Mr. Perks returned to Britain during the first half of the year. He died on the 28th May, 1877, without making a written report on his South African visit. He was succeeded as Missionary Secretary for Africa by the Rev. John Kilner, who has been described as 'the architect of the South African Conference, and the father of the African ministry'.¹ In his capacity as Missionary Secretary Kilner visited South Africa in 1880.

His brief was to:

- a) 'gain as accurate an acquaintance with the men and their work as a brief personal visit to each station could supply'²
- b) Assess the relation of the African to the English section of the Mission.

1. Hewson, L.A. : op. cit. p. 276

2. Preface to the Kilner Report



THE REV. JOHN WALTON, M.A.
*First President of the S.L.
Conference, 1883.*

- c) 'To impress upon the churches generally, that the Connexional principle is vital to Methodism as a church' and thus to attempt to halt 'signs of Congregationalism in our South African Missions'¹
- d) To try and affect some economies in the running of the mission.

Kilner presided over the Triennial Conference of the South African Districts held at Queenstown in June, 1880. He was the real creator of the South African Conference and drafted its constitution. The first South African Conference met in Cape Town, in 1883 under the Presidency of the Rev. John Walton, M.A.

For the purpose of this study Kilner's views on 'The Native Ministry and the Native Agency generally'² are important. He regarded the 'Native Agency' as 'the most important question of the day', because 'Our future work among the natives in South Africa depends upon a right appreciation of this subject... We are now verging upon a very grave crisis in South African social development, in which a well-directed Native Agency might take a very prominent part'.³ Kilner was disturbed because he discovered that 'There were many (African) men who doubtless had a call to the work who were kept back by a timid, if not at times, a jealous hand'.⁴ He believed that some fifty or sixty men were ready to be received as candidates for the ministry.

Kilner's visit and Report led to a serious attempt to encourage, train and develop an African ministry. In 1882 when the British Methodist Conference authorized the establishment of an autonomous South African Conference there were 78 African ministers and probationers.

In 1883 the Theological College was transferred from Healdtown to Lesseyton under George Chapman by then a supernumerary. The fact that ~~a~~ supernumerary was asked to do this job at a new place shows that ministerial training was not taken seriously by the

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1. Preface to the Kilner Report
 2. See Appendix C
 3. The Kilner Report, p. 15; See Appendix C.
 4. Ibid

church.

It is not clear why theological training was transferred from Healdtown to Lesseyton. Whiteside reports that by this transference 'room was secured at Healdtown, for more pupil teachers'.¹ A more likely reason is that George Chapman, the supernumerary minister appointed to continue as theological tutor, wished to retire at Lesseyton,² and since he had been tutor at Healdtown and had more experience than anyone else, he was a logical choice.

(b) LESSEYTON

Lesseyton lies seven miles to the north of Queenstown. The mission station was adapted as an Educational and Industrial School by the Rev. J.P. Bertram in 1857. In the Educational Department pupils below 14 years of age were admitted for elementary instruction. In the Industrial Department instruction was given in reading and writing Xhosa and English, arithmetic and scripture and also in carpentry, building, tailoring, waggon-making, shoemaking and agriculture. Girls were given domestic training 'to make them good daughters, wives and teachers'.³

The ^{theological} course at Lesseyton began with the following students: Samuel Mzamo, John Mavayine, Samuel Nohe, Paulus Rasmeni, Henry Tshotsha, Hermanus Vanqa.⁴ The Minutes of the Queenstown District 23 - 30 November, 1882 add to this list the name of Klaas Masiko. From this date and throughout the Lesseyton period the number of theological students was about ten a year, that is, more than the number they ever had either at Healdtown or Lovedale.

Chapman seems to have continued to teach more or less the same subjects that he taught to his ministerial students at Healdtown. In 1915 the Principal, the Rev. E.O. Barratt, M.A., reported that the standard of entrance for candidates for the ministry was the

1. J. Whiteside: op. cit. p. 285

2. See L.A. Hewson: op. cit. p. 258

3. J. Whiteside: op. cit. p. 286

4. Minutes of the British Methodist Conference, 1883, p. 150.

Primary Teachers' Examination (P.T.3). Those who had not attained this standard had been practically eliminated by 1917. In view of the plans to move theological training to Fort Hare he pleaded for the raising of the entrance qualification to the Matriculation or equivalent standard.

In 1917 he reported that the following subjects were taught: Bible History and Introduction, Dogmatic Theology, Methodist History and Polity, including Schedules. 'A student who fails to obtain the required 50 per cent will devote another year to préparation for the Leaving Examination'¹

At first some students remained in training at Lesseyton for five years and others for three years, but the normal course seems to have settled down to two years and remained so until the end of the Fort Hare era. By 1917 Barratt was saying that the course should be three years. The Methodist Conference of 1916 resolved 'that students in the Training Institution, Lesseyton shall be permitted to remain for a third year whenever suitable arrangements can be made'.²

The Rev. Z.R. Mahabane, who was a student at Lesseyton during the period July 1908 - June 1910, reports that this colleagues Solomon Mdala, Alexander Makalima, B.B. Rwairwai, Ambrose Mazwai, and Joseph Bam remained at College for a third year 'because there were no vacancies in circuits for them'. He also reports that the emphasis of their training was that they should be good pastors. However, there was very little Homiletics taught. The Principal of the Theological College was also superintendent of the Lesseyton circuit. Therefore, he used students to do the pastoral work in the circuit. Sermons preached by students in the district were discussed with the Theological Tutor usually on Mondays.

George Chapman was succeeded as Principal and Theological Tutor at Lesseyton by John Cameron,

C.S. Lucas,

Edwin Gedye,

Wesley Hurt,

E.O. Barratt, M.A., who died there in 1919.

1. E.O. Barratt: Suggestions for the Training of Native Ministers; See Appendix D.

2. Minutes of Conference, 1916, p. 90.

The Rev. James Pendlebury, B.A. who succeeded him, moved with his students to Fort Hare in July, 1920.

COMMENT ON METHODIST THEOLOGICAL TRAINING

Both Healdtown and Lesseyton were 'One-man Colleges'. The Principal and theological tutor decided what subjects were to be taught, the area to be covered in each subject and how it was to be taught. He alone was responsible for all the College administration, all the financial transactions of the College and building projects, all the pastoral care of his students and the general supervision of their field-work. In addition in both places the Theological Tutor was also superintendent and sole minister of the local circuit. At Lesseyton he was also Principal of the Girls' Industrial and Teacher Training School and shouldered all the responsibilities related to that job. As if this burden was not enough the Church placed other responsibilities such as membership of various committees on the man's shoulders. Under such conditions it was impossible for any man to prepare lectures properly and to keep his reading up to date.

This situation suggests that the Methodist church had never seriously considered this aspect of its work. Nor was it yet ready to commit itself to the financial and other implications of running its own theological school. The inability of any church to provide a viable denominational theological school was already woefully apparent. The situation clearly called for an interdenominational centre for theological training. Yet the failure of Stewart's Joint Theological Scheme at Lovedale shows that the churches had not yet accepted this necessity.

In spite of these limitations, however, Lesseyton managed to produce some men of real calibre. Up to this time Tiyo Soga had been the only African to write worthy hymns in the Xhosa language. Lesseyton produced some outstanding hymn-writers like W. Jijana, S.J. Mvambo, R.L. Conjwa, Alfred Mji, P.G. Mdebuka, E.J. Mqoboli, F. Nomvete, E.G. Rani and the musician Cannon Sidyiyo. This was probably the result of the influence of Edwin Gedye, who was Tutor at Lesseyton for seven years and was himself a prolific writer of Xhosa hymns. E.G. Rani said that he was inspired to write hymns by his Tutor, Wesley Hurt. Lesseyton also produced some outstanding preachers and

administrators such as Alexander Giwu, E.J. Mqoboli, J. Bam.

The most outstanding of the alumni of Lesseyton was ZACCHAEUS R. MAHABANE, who was born at Thaba Nchu, in the Orange Free State in 1881. He was educated at Morija, Lesotho, where he qualified as a teacher. He was trained for the ministry at Lesseyton during the period 1908 - 1910 and was ordained in 1914.

As Circuit minister in Cape Town he identified himself with the Cape Province Native Congress, a provincial branch of the South African Native National Congress which was founded in 1912 as the African response to the white-controlled government of the newly created Union of South Africa. In 1919 he was elected President of the Cape Congress and in 1924 he was elected President of the national body which had changed its name in 1923 to the African National Congress. He was also associated with the Non-European Unity Movement which tried to weld into one political movement Africans, Indians and Coloureds.

Together with his political activities Mahabane consistently pursued his task and duties as a minister of the Gospel. In 1956 he was appointed President of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa (IDAMASA) which made representations to the government to ease the implementation of apartheid. He attended international religious and political conferences in Britain, Belgium, Ghana and Nigeria. He was a powerful influence in the Conferences of the Methodist Church of South Africa. He died on the 21st September, 1971, in his 90th year after 63 years of ministry.

(c) THE TRANSVAAL

Methodism in the Transvaal was pioneered not by white missionaries but by African laymen who were converted at Mission stations outside the Transvaal and returned to their homes declaring the glories of Him who called them 'out of darkness into his marvellous light'. Often untrained or untutored in theology they went on venturing for the Kingdom. These African pioneers were David Magata, Samuel Mathabathe, Daniel Msimang (of Swaziland), David Mlokoti, Silas Molema and his son Joshua, and Mangena Mokone. After many years as an evangelist and teacher, Mangena Mokone was ordained a Methodist minister in 1885, but he resigned from Methodist ministry 'because of racial discrimination, not doctrine', and started the Ethiopian Movement.

A beginning with the training of African ministers seems to have made at Potchefstroom in 1885 under the Rev. J.G. Benson. The institution was later moved to Kilnerton, near Pretoria, named after John Kilner, to whom reference has already been made. Ten evangelist-teachers were trained at Kilnerton in 1886. They were taught English, Arithmetic, Bible History, Hymnody, the Lord's Prayer and manual work as well as some geography and history. In 1903 eight evangelists were trained, but one candidate was given special training apart from the others. 'Trained godly natives were urgently required for extending Missions and establishing schools'.¹ A three-year course was run but had to be discontinued because of lack of funds. Many men who were trained as evangelists at Kilnerton were later ordained. Many candidates were ordained without any formal training.

(d) THE ORANGE FREE STATE

In the Free State no formal training of ministers was done apart from what each missionary did to train his local helpers-preachers and evangelists. The Mission station at Thaba Nchu trained teachers who were only indirectly missionary agents. African candidates for the ministry from all four provinces were sent to Lesseyton for theological training.

SUMMARY

It has been pointed out in this chapter that the story of ministerial training in South African Methodism began with the training of African candidates for the ministry at Healdtown in 1867 only 32 years after the establishment of the first Methodist Theological College in Britain. When the first African candidates offered themselves for the ministry the missionaries attending the Grahamstown district Synod expressed a desire that these men should receive some training. The response of the British Methodist Conference and the Methodist Missionary Society was quick and in less than two years a Theological Institute was

1. J. Whiteside: op. cit. p. 428.

established. This was a remarkable development especially when we remember the unsatisfactory arrangements that were made for white South Africans who offered themselves for the Methodist Ministry.

To begin with there was no question of training black and white theological students together as was the case at Lovedale. The educational background of the African candidates was so low that black and white candidates could not be taught together in the same classes. They could, however, have been taught at the same institution at different levels. But this would have demanded more theological ^utors than the church could afford at that time. It is doubtful whether such a possibility was ever even considered. There is no record that the joint training of black and white probationers was ever discussed. The few white candidates were sent overseas. Unlike the Church of Scotland which had a tradition of the parity of ministers, the Methodists, with their Anglican background, had no such tradition. The idea of the equality of all ordained Methodist ministers developed later in the history of Methodism. At that time Africans were ordained to be 'Native Assistant Missionaries'.

The development we have just considered needs to be set alongside the policy of ministerial education for white candidates.

The provision of such training was discussed as far back as 1891. White missionaries who came to South Africa received their training in Britain. White South Africans who offered for the ministry were sent to Methodist Colleges in England. There was a strong move for the establishment of a theological college for 'English' candidates within South Africa and there were long debates about the rival merits of British and South African training. As late as 1933 Conference decided to send white students to England. When eventually a decision was made to train white candidates in South Africa there were protracted discussions as to the most suitable venue for the College.

By 1928 there were nineteen probationers and candidates who required theological training but could not be absorbed by colleges in England. Therefore, in the same year a start was made with the training of five white candidates in Grahamstown under the Rev. James Pendlebury, B.A., who was then a supernumerary. In July, 1929, the Rev. E.L. Cragg, B.A., B.D., succeeded Mr. Pendlebury as Theological Tutor in Grahamstown. At the

beginning of 1930 the College was moved to Bollihope, Mowbray, in Cape Town, with the Rev. W. Flint, D.D. as Principal and the Rev. E.L. Cragg, B.A., B.D. as Vice-Principal and Tutor. The College offered a two-year course. Qualified students did University of Cape Town degrees in non-theological subjects. Here the College continued until the end of 1940 when it was closed because, with the outbreak of the war in 1939 and the resulting decrease in the number of candidates for the ministry, men were needed both for active service and for circuit work. The next page of theological education for whites opened with the establishment of a Department of Divinity at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, under the Rev. Dr. Horton Davies.

As in the case of African candidates many 'European' candidates who were not sent to Britain, or to Bollihope were ordained without any theological training. E.L. Cragg remarked:

Some probationers were still deprived of College training because of the demands of stationing, which often seemed to weigh more than the need for a trained ministry.¹

So the training Methodism gave to all its ministers was geared towards circuit work and evangelism. Evangelistic fervour was more important than theological training. As Cragg put it there was 'lack of real connexional interest... in the need for ministerial training'.²

In answer to the question: Would a minister without college theological training really be a minister? Methodism would say: We ordain any one who shows evidence of a clear call of God as well as other 'gifts and graces'. Moreover, Methodism has never regarded college training as the only way of training ministers.

From the beginning Methodist ministers and Probationers were encouraged and required to continue studying. They had to undergo a six-year period of probation. Normally three of the six years were spent at a theological college. After a man had been accepted by Conference as a candidate for the ministry he might, depending on the 'exigencies of stations', be sent directly to college for training or might go to circuit. During the pre-

1. Garrett, A.E.F. (Ed.): South African Methodism, Cape Town, n.d., p. 68.

2. Cragg, E.L. : The Story of Bollihope, Cape Town, 1967, p. 12.

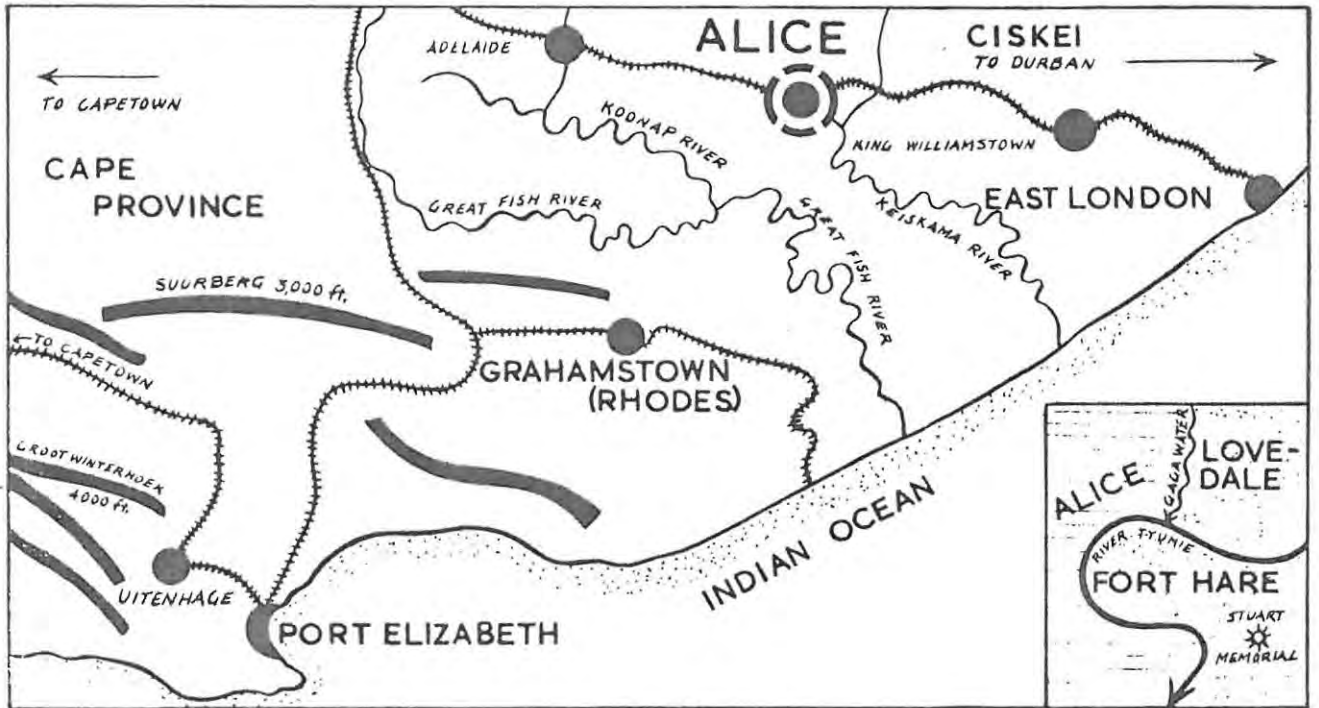
collegiate and post-collegiate period of probation he had to follow a set programme of studies depending on the number of years he had 'travelled' on probation. The subjects covered were Biblical Studies, Theology, Church History, Methodist Polity and Homiletics. Advancement on probation depended on passing three courses a year.

A Board of Examiners and two secretaries of the Board of Examiners, who, together with a Board of Studies, framed the syllabuses, appointed examiners for each course and reported on the results of probationers' studies to the annual Conference. In each of eleven districts in the country two District Supervisors of studies advised and helped probationers in one centre for a number of days.

The success of the system depended very much on the efficiency and diligence of the District Supervisors. Where it was run properly it could be a very good system, indeed. Unfortunately, not all District Supervisors did their job efficiently.

If, for any reason, a probationer was unable to go to a theological college, he followed the set programme of studies for the six years of his probation until he was ordained, except for 'Mature-Age or Emeritus Candidates' whose period of probation might be shortened at the discretion of Conference.

Coloured and Indian Ministers came in smaller numbers and were trained together with African candidates. More of them were trained at Fort Hare where the next phase of Theological training for African, Coloured and Indian candidates opened. To this phase we must now turn in the next chapter.



CHAPTER FOUR

(a) THE AFRICANS CLAMOUR FOR HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE BIRTH OF FORT HARE

The birth of Fort Hare must be seen against the background of the development of higher education for whites, the increasing opposition of whites to African education, the Africans' clamour for higher education and the feeling of whites that Africans educated overseas come back with ideas that were inimical to white interests and that, therefore, it was advisable to provide higher education for Africans in this country.

Early in the nineteenth century there was a desire among the Cape colonists for higher education. As a result of a petition sent to the Governor a fund was started and the South African College opened in Cape Town in 1829. For many years the college, like its European forebears in their early stages, devoted itself to school rather than university work; it was only from 1900 that it devoted itself entirely to post Matriculation work.

Reference has already been made to institutions offering more advanced education such as the Diocesan College, Rondebosch (1848), Grey College, Bloemfontein (1855), St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown (1855), Grey Institute, Port Elizabeth (1856) and other Colleges in Graaff-Reinet, Somerset East, Pietermaritzburg, Stellenbosch, Wellington in the decade 1860 - 1870.

In 1873 the University of the Cape of Good Hope was established in Cape Town. This university, however, was an examining and not a teaching institution. It was responsible for High School, Matriculation and higher examinations. By the University Act of 1916 the Universities of Cape Town, Stellenbosch and the University of South Africa were established.

While these developments were taking place to cater for the educational needs of the white community there was a growing opposition among whites to the education of Africans. Indeed, 'the 1880s saw the beginning of an extremely high level of European hostility towards African education of any kind at all'.¹

1. Michael Ashley: African Education and Society in the Nineteenth Century, Eastern Cape, n.d., p. 207.

The Classics debate discussed in the second chapter of this study reveals that Africans gained the impression that the missionaries, as exemplified by Stewart and Lovedale, like the rest of the whites in the Colony, were hostile towards African education. Missionary attitudes corresponded to those held by the government at the same time.¹ But, as has been stated before, Stewart was against those whites who maintained that Africans should have no education at all. He believed that education for Africans should be different from education for Europeans. Education for Africans should be broad and practical and should be designed to fit Africans for the realities of South African colonial life where the European was superior. He did not permanently exclude Africans from higher education. On the contrary he had envisaged that Lovedale or some other place would eventually become a university for Africans, and worked assiduously in this direction until his death in 1905. Such a university would thus be the crown of an education system for Africans that would be broad, practical, different and therefore separate.

The views of the ruling whites were expressed by leading men in the public service. For example, Sir Langham Dale, Superintendent-General of Education, in his Report of 1868, said that intellectual power among Africans was 'dormant'.² In 1887, Mr. van Rhyn moved in the Legislative Assembly that 'the time has now arrived that the Government should henceforth discontinue all grants for the instruction of Natives'.³ The following year there were severe cut-backs on expenditure on African education by the Cape Parliament.⁴ The new Superintendent-General of Education, Dr. Thomas Muir continued the same policy. Some of this white hostility towards African education was due to fear of African competition in the skilled trades, as well as in the social, economic and political spheres. But the more enlightened whites wanted a carefully controlled expansion of African education that would not endanger white interests.

1. M. Ashley: *op. cit.* p. 206.

2. Cape of Good Hope, Report of the Superintendent-General of Education, 1868, p.8.

3. Shepherd: *op. cit.* p. 222

4. Davis: Nineteenth century Education, p. 274

The reaction of the African elite was to demand a kind of education that would equip them to compete in a South Africa offering increasing economic and social opportunities. Their views were expressed in the Christian Express, Imvo Zabantsundu, and Izwi Labantu. Joseph Moss, a former Lovedale student, in an address in Kimberley Town Hall said that Africans were receiving 'half an education'.¹ He demanded for his people 'the finest European education available, which included the classics'.² The whole debate on classical education never really died out.

The Rev. Elijah Makiwane, President of the Native Educational Association declared that 'among many the conviction is growing that there is a settled policy to decrease seriously the small educational advantages which the natives have enjoyed'.³

The refusal of Dale College, King Williamstown, to admit the son of J.T. Jabavu as a student at the College on racial grounds made it clear to the Africans that the kind of education for which they clamoured was not available for them in their country. As others had already gone overseas for further studies young Don D.T. Jabavu was sent to Britain to pursue his studies. Many others were sent to British and American Colleges and universities where, at least, they would not receive a colour-conscious education.

The reaction of whites was one of alarm and fear that foreign educated Africans came back with ideas of equality that were not good for the South African way of life. In a letter to Lord Milner, Sargant expressed the fear that 'Negro propagandists' were 'inoculating the better educated natives with the virus of racial prejudice and hatred'.⁴

However, the exodus to America and Britain continued. Jabavu, Mzimba and Damane⁵ helped African young men to proceed overseas for 'the education that is denied them in this country'.⁶

1. Christian Express, 1 Oct., 1884

2. Ibid.

3. R. Young: African Waste Lands Reclaimed, p. 234.

4. E.B. Sargant's letter to Lord Milner, dated 24.6.1904

5. N.B. This name is Damane not Dwane. The Damane family exists till this day.

6. Izwi Labantu - quoted by the Christian Express, Sept., 1901.

The most popular institutions in the U.S. were the black colleges of Lincoln, Howard, Wilberforce and Tuskegee. Towards the end of the century it was estimated that about 100 Africans went to America for further education¹ In an attempt to stem this tide & by no means negrophile South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-1905) recommended that an 'Inter-State Native College' be established to give higher education to Africans.

The immediate advantages of such a scheme appear to be, the creation of adequate means for the efficient and uniform training of an increased number of Native teachers, and the provision of a course of study in this country, for such Native students as may desire to present themselves for the higher school and university examinations.²

The aims for the establishment of this College are clearly stated in the Report of the Select Committee on Native Education, 1908, section 18:

The establishment of a Native College has been recommended, partly in order to provide for the higher education of Natives, and partly to prevent Natives from going out of the country in search of it. The evidence shows that upwards of a hundred South African Natives have in recent years gone to Colleges in the United States and elsewhere.

It has already been pointed out that some white colonists opposed any kind of education for Africans. Others suggested that Africans should receive no more than an elementary, practical education which would make them useful servants to the whites. These views as C.T. Loram points out, are due to 'the fear of ultimate Black supremacy'³ in South Africa.

Stewart had for a long time envisaged the possibility that Lovedale might become 'the future Native Christian University of South Africa',⁴ and towards this goal he had geared the life and programme of Lovedale. He believed that at this college Africans should be trained as ministers, teachers, hospital assistants, and court interpreters. But he warned:

Unless a course is framed capable of development to a standard equivalent to a degree course in a British

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1. D.D.T. Jabavu: Life of John Tengo Jabavu, p. 70.
 2. Report of the S.A. Native Affairs Commission of 1903 - 1905, Section 347.
 3. C.T. Loram: The Education of the S.A. Native, London, 1917, p. 301
 4. J. Wells: Stewart of Lovedale, London, 1909, p. 413

University, and in time justifying the conferring on the students of a degree, this college will not fulfil the expectations of the natives, nor check the exodus to America.¹

Hence it was decided that the college 'should be developed into a college of recognized University standing'.²

The Church of Scotland, the Methodist and Anglican churches agreed to build denominational hostels at the college with an ordained minister of each church looking after the interests of his church, exercising a spiritual oversight over members of his denomination at the college, and 'the training of those wishing to enter the ministry of the Church'.³

The Africans welcomed the scheme enthusiastically. Conventions were held at Lovedale in 1905 and 1908 to consider and plan the building of the college. Each convention was attended by more than 150 Africans from all over South Africa, 'Basutoland' and 'Bechuanaland'. Jabavu went all over the country explaining the scheme and collecting money. His newspaper, Imvo Zabantsundu, consistently advocated the establishment of the college until the idea finally came to maturity.

Africans from 'Basutoland' promised to give £6000 on condition that the scheme was supported by at least one of the self-governing colonies of South Africa. The Transkeian General Council gave £10,000 unconditionally, and friends of the scheme in Scotland promised to give £15 000 on certain conditions. However, there was a delay in the building of the college for the following reasons:

1. Financial support from the governments of the four colonies was not forthcoming. One reason was that none of the four colonies wanted to commit itself on matters of 'native policy' while Union was still being negotiated. It was, in fact, the preoccupation of the four governments with union that proved to be the biggest obstacle in the way of further development in the plans for the building of the college.
2. As a result of this the promise of money from Basutoland was withdrawn.

1. J. Wells: op. cit. p. 416.

2. Minutes of a conference of representatives, .. 2-4 Oct., 1907 p. 31.

3. The Christian Express, December, 1, 1905.

3. Some promises made by Africans were not fulfilled.
4. Some promises of financial support by some Europeans also were not fulfilled.
5. There were influential people who argued that in the light of the educational achievements of Africans the scheme was premature.
6. In 1912 government circles announced that 'public opinion' (i.e. white public opinion) was not yet ripe for the government definitely to support the scheme.

So things dragged on and the Executive Board, appointed in 1907 to be midwife to the scheme, bravely and patiently shared in the birth pangs, until on the 8th February, 1916, the 'South African Native College' at Fort Hare was formally opened by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa the Rt. Hon. General Louis Botha, under the Principalship of Mr. Alexander Kerr, M.A. The only other member of the teaching staff was Mr. D.D.T. Jabavu, B.A. (Hons).

A point of interest here is that Africans who had consistently opposed a differentiated form of education accepted the scheme from the beginning, although it was quite clear that this was to be a 'Native College'. However, when classes began on the 22nd February, 1916, there were eighteen black and two white students. Four months later the Governing Council of Fort Hare unanimously agreed to accept Indian and Coloured students because no provision existed for them elsewhere. Maurice Peters, an Indian student from Pietermaritzburg, was admitted to the Matriculation class in 1917.

In 1908 the Hon. J.W. Sauer pointed out that 'it was humiliating to feel that a separate college was necessary in consequence of racial prejudice and other obstacles'. Yet the presence of General Louis Botha, Prime Minister of the Union, at the opening of Fort Hare in 1916 signalled the dawn of a new day in African education in South Africa. African education was no longer only a provincial matter; it had become a national concern. Moreover, the involvement not only of Africans from all over the Union but also from the High Commission territories of Basutoland and Bechuanaland pointed to an international future even though at that time it was envisaged that these territories would eventually become part of the Union.



DR. A. KERR AND PROFESSOR D. D. T. JABAVU
(Photo by East London Camera Shop)

Seen after the Fort Hare graduation ceremony
in April, 1957.

When classes began in 1916 none of the twenty students admitted had more than two years of secondary school work and none had matriculated. Most of them had to strengthen their post-primary education or to study for diplomas in commerce or agriculture. It was only in 1923 that the college produced its first graduate when Z.K. Matthews obtained the B.A. degree of the University of South Africa. In 1937 the college no longer accepted students apart from ministerial students who were not matriculated and concentrated on degree work. Like other South African University Colleges, Fort Hare later became a constituent college of the University of South Africa.

Developments were taking place in South African universities whereby most constituent colleges of the University of South Africa became independent. When in March, 1951, Rhodes became an independent University, Fort Hare was affiliated to it and Fort Hare students were admitted to Rhodes University degrees.

During the period Fort Hare was affiliated to Rhodes the social relations between students of the two institutions were never good.

As a result of an incident in 1953 where Fort Hare students were refused service at a Rhodes cafeteria, Fort Hare students decided to cut off all social dealings with Rhodes students. Thus there were no social dealings between the students of the two institutions throughout 1954. But in 1955 theological students from Fort Hare and Rhodes met at Wesley House, Fort Hare, in an attempt to heal the breach and re-establish social contact between students of the two campuses. It took another year to re-establish such contact.

When, as a result of disturbances at the college, Fort Hare was closed in 1955, theological students identified themselves with the rest of the student body and were sent home with other students.

On October, 3rd, 1952, the name of the college was changed to the University College of Fort Hare. Under the University Education Act of 1955 Fort Hare was ranked as a University and was afforded all the benefits of that Act on the same basis as other South African University institutions. The Fort Hare Transfer Bill went through Parliament in June, 1959. It contained clauses that enabled the government to expropriate the buildings of the three Church Hostels including Wesley House and Iona Hostel where

Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist theological students were trained. Thus on the 1st January, 1960, the government assumed control of the college and brought to an end a significant phase in the ministerial training of black candidates for the ministry of three major churches in the country.

(b) THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT FORT HARE

Reference has already been made to theological students from Lovedale going to Fort Hare for some of their classes during the period 1917 - 1920. This was part of the recognition by the churches that trained their ministers at Lovedale of the necessity for the training of men for the ministry at an institution where the highest educational facilities were available.

Lovedale training was unsatisfactory because of the standards set which the shortage of men and money could not maintain. When training was transferred to Fort Hare it was in the expectation that churches would provide tutors along with the hostels and those tutors would form the basis of the divinity staff. Fort Hare was chosen because of its proximity to Lovedale in the hope that Lovedale's experience and facilities would be available to the infant college in its first crucial years.

The theological education of Methodist candidates at Lesseyton was also unsatisfactory and the opening of Fort Hare created possibilities for improved training facilities at a higher level than had been possible previously and at an undenominational college.

The Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican), the Methodist Church of South Africa, and the Church of Scotland Mission (Presbyterian) had tentatively undertaken to erect hostels for the housing of their students. Later the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, with the consent of the Governing Council of Fort Hare, decided to transfer their theological classes from Lesseyton and Lovedale respectively to the hostels they proposed to erect at Fort Hare. Thus accommodation was provided for ordinary college students under a Warden who would also be Theological Tutor. This arrangement 'planted the seed of a future Faculty of Divinity by means of which the standard of theological training might be raised, a seed that bore

fruit some twenty or twenty-five years later'.¹

Two dominant ideas led the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches to move their theological training to Fort Hare. First, the hope that training ministers at a University institution would raise the academic level of theological education. Secondly, the hope that training would be undenominational, and would thus save both money and men. J.T. Jabavu was speaking for all the churches concerned when he said 'This College would be a great help in educating a ministry and it must be undenominational'.² In other words, 'The primary significance of the Fort Hare teaching in theology lies in its provision of a university standard of training'.³ Moreover, it was felt that daily interaction between theological and other college students would afford the ministerial students an excellent opportunity of meeting men and women of different religious and cultural backgrounds and of acquiring tolerance and mutual understanding. How far these hopes were fulfilled (or not fulfilled) will be seen in the following pages. It is worth stating at this stage that the Anglicans did not train their candidates for ordination at Fort Hare.

At first the churches that trained their theological students at Lovedale, the Church of Scotland Mission in South Africa, the Presbyterians, and the Congregational Union of South Africa, conducted their own classes at the Presbyterian hostel, Iona, while the Methodists conducted their own classes at the Methodist hostel. Fort Hare recognized both courses as part of its college Matriculation course.

1. THE PRESBYTERIAN (IONA) HOSTEL

The Presbyterian arrangement showed the close links between Lovedale and Iona Hostel. The course was designed by the Rev. H. Booth Coventry in 1920, and was adopted by the first warden of Iona, the Rev. John Lennox in 1921. Lennox had been a member of the Lovedale staff, and then a chaplain to the 'Native Corps'

1. A. Kerr: Fort Hare, 1915-48, Pietermaritzburg, 1968, p. 56.

2. D.D.T. Jabavu: The Life of J.T. Jabavu; p. 80; cf. The Christian Express, January 1st, 1906.

3. Goodall & Nielsen: Survey of the Training of the Ministry in Africa, Part III, London & New York, 1954, p.53.

in France. The United Free Church of Scotland donated a site for Iona House and the cost of the hostel itself which was completed in 1924. It also nominated Mr. Lennox to the post of warden and paid his salary. The Presbyterian syllabus was as follows:

CONDITIONS OF ACCEPTANCE

All candidates seeking to join the course must have been accepted as theological students by the Church or Missionary Society to which they belonged and must be recommended by the proper authority of the said Church or Missionary Society. Each candidate must produce an official letter of acceptance from his Church or Missionary Society and also a certificate of character and suitability for training for the ministry from the Presbytery or other corresponding local Court under whose oversight he is.

Candidates must also have the following qualifications:

- (a) They must have passed the Matriculation Examination of the University of South Africa, or of the South African Native College;
- (b) or an equivalent examination;
- (c) or have obtained the Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate of the Cape Education Department, or the First Grade Certificate of the Natal Education Department, with two years' approved service as teachers and Christian workers. Students with this qualification must also possess the Junior Certificate or pass a similar examination conducted by the Committee for the Training of Theological Students of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa.

Candidates must also produce a Medical Certificate of Health.

LENGTH OF COURSE

The course extends over four years, of which the first, or Preparatory, year is occupied with Scripture and with Arts subjects provided in the courses of the South African Native College, the three succeeding years with the study of Theology proper. During these three years students have the opportunity of attending further college classes in the Arts Course.

During the Course the following subjects are studied:

1. Scripture.
2. New Testament Introduction and Exegesis.
3. Old Testament Introduction and Exegesis.
4. Systematic Theology.
5. History of Religion.
6. Pastoral Theology.
7. Greek New Testament.
8. Psychology.
9. Logic.
10. Ethics and Social Science.
11. English Language and Literature.
12. History and Geography.
13. Science.
14. Book-keeping.
15. Agriculture.

PRACTICAL TRAINING

Practical training for the work of the Ministry, for which the district offers a wide field, is systematically carried on under the oversight of the Warden.

EXAMINATIONS

The students are examined at stated periods by the Committee for the Training of Theological Students of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa. On completion of the Course a certificate is given by the Committee to all students who have acquitted themselves creditably in their class work and have satisfied the Committee in the work of the stated examinations.

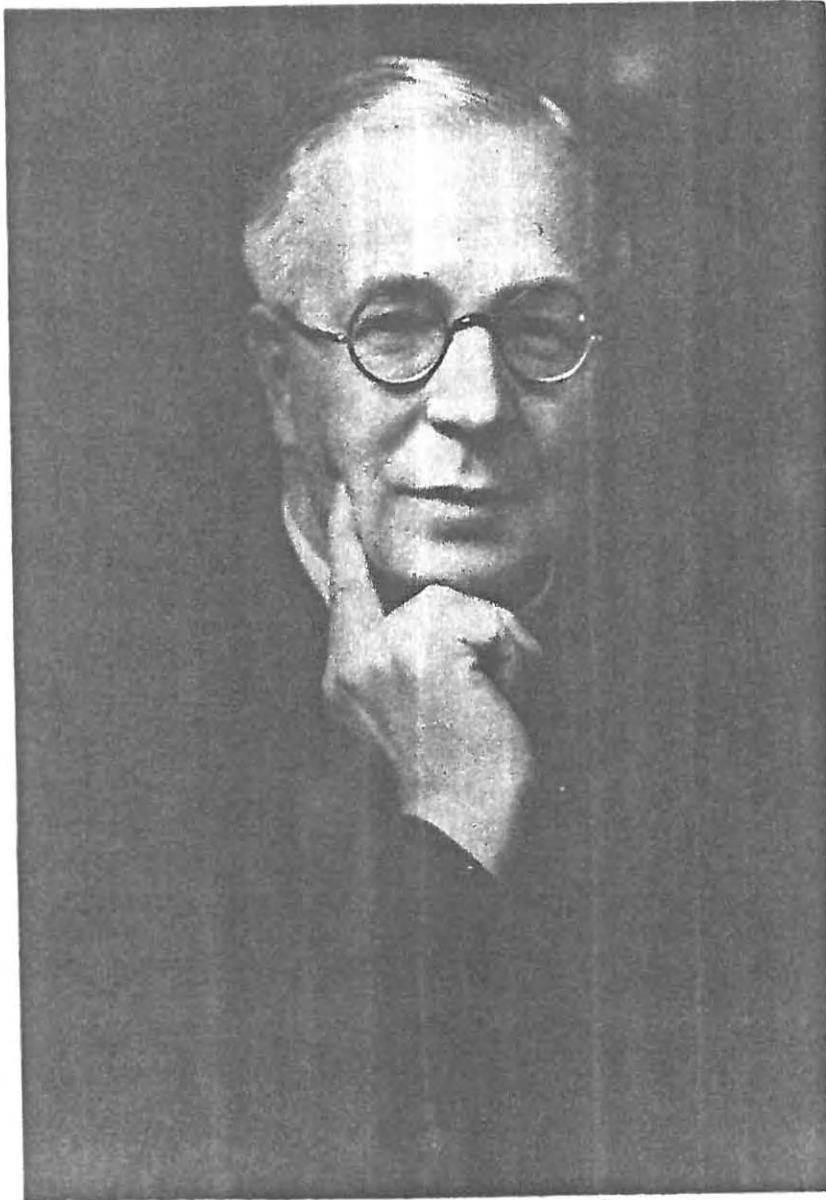
SESSIONS

The course opens in February and the year consists of two sessions, February to June and July to December, approximately forty weeks.

The course was similar to the Lovedale course which was followed from 1913 until the theological course was transferred to Fort Hare. The main difference was that the preparatory year was taken up with the study of non-theological subjects which were prescribed for the college Matriculation course. This arrangement helped to raise the academic standard of those students who had not yet qualified for the Matriculation Certificate of the University of South Africa, or the South African Native College.

2. THE METHODIST HOSTEL (WESLEY HOUSE)

In 1883 the first Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa was constituted. At this first Conference the subject of higher education for Africans was discussed, and the Conference referred to its General Education Committee



The Rev. W. W. Shilling, B.Sc.,
Warden, Wesley House, Fort Hare, 1941-47.

'the subject of Higher Education amongst the Natives'.¹ The Conference of 1906 viewed with satisfaction the proposal of the South African Native Affairs Commission to erect a Central Native College for the Higher Education of Native Students'.² The same Conference appointed the Rev. James Robb to be its correspondent with the committee entrusted with the Central Native College Scheme. In 1909 the Methodist Conference agreed to establish a hostel at Fort Hare. In 1913 the Conference formally associated itself with the South African Native College Scheme, appointing the Rev. R.F. Hornabrook and James Robb as its representatives.

For quite a time the Methodists had been dissatisfied with theological training at Lesseyton. As early as 1903 the Methodist Conference was investigating the advisability of removing the theological institution to Mount Coke, but later decided against the move. The Conference of 1916 referred to a committee 'the question of the future possible relation of the ministerial students at Lesseyton to the South African Native College'. Two years later the Conference approved the principle of the transfer of the Lesseyton Native Ministers' Training School' to Fort Hare. The transfer took place in July, 1920.

In 1919 the Methodists suffered two tragic blows: The Rev. James Robb who had been a Methodist representative on the Fort Hare Council from 1913 died, leaving Mr. J.T. Jabavu as the only Methodist representative. The Rev. E.O. Barratt, M.A., who had been nominated as the first Warden and Theological Tutor at Wesley House, Fort Hare, died the same year at Lesseyton where he was Theological tutor. This was a severe blow for he was a fine linguist and a mature scholar.

The Methodists were the first to build their hostel and a house for the Warden at a cost of £14,000. The Methodist Hostel, as it was then known was completed and opened in 1921. Before that its students were accommodated in a marquee 'which developed a bad habit of descending upon its tenants, frequently on wet windy nights'.³ The first Warden and Theological Tutor was the

1. Minutes of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, 1883, p. 38.

2. Minutes of Conference, 1906, pp. 100-101

3. A. Kerr: Fort Hare, p. 75.

Rev. James Pendlebury, B.A. It was later called 'Wesley House' after Wesley House, Cambridge, England, which had opened in 1926. The name 'Wesley House' was officially adopted by the Conference in 1933.

Funds for the new Methodist Hostel at Fort Hare included £1 000 from the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London and a further donation of £500. In turn the South African Methodist Conference agreed to train at Fort Hare students from the Transvaal District, then under the British Conference. (In 1922 three out of eleven theological students at the hostel were from the Transvaal District). Up to this time the cost of theological training had been met from collections and subscriptions. But faced with the larger costs of the Fort Hare scheme, the conference of 1921 decided that the whole church was responsible and levied an assessment on African circuits.

Following their own course Methodist students were taught the following subjects:

Theology,

Bible (Introduction and Exposition of a book, a gospel or an epistle)

Pastoral Theology and Methodist polity

Homiletics

Church History

'Some subject on Bible Study'¹

This course, which was a two-year course, was lower in quality than the four-year Presbyterian course.

From 1920 to the end of 1959 when the Government took over the control of Fort Hare, 1 Indian, 8 Coloured and 266 African theological students had gone through Wesley House, Fort Hare.

3. THE DEPARTMENT OF DIVINITY

In the early days of theological education at Fort Hare one could hardly speak of a Department of Divinity since the Methodist and Presbyterian hostels conducted their courses independently of each other and of the Fort Hare administration. But soon it became necessary for the University College to have a say in the subjects taught to theological students and in the academic standards attained. Thus both hostels had to conduct their

1. Fort Hare Calendar, 1949, p. 50.

theological classes under the umbrella of the University college. The Fort Hare Department of Divinity was born out of the desire to co-ordinate the work of the two colleges and to help the churches to raise their standards of ministerial training.

In the course of the period under review Fort Hare made several attempts to help the churches improve the academic standards of their candidates and offered the following courses at different times;

(i) COLLEGE MATRICULATION

When the South African Native College of Fort Hare opened in February, 1916, twenty students were registered. Of these only five had passed the Junior Secondary Certificate, ten had passed the Teacher's Course elementary examination, and the rest had no more than two years of secondary school education. Fort Hare then had to prepare its students for the Cape Matriculation Certificate. None was qualified to do degree work.

The College Matriculation Course was introduced to meet the needs of theological students and others who wished to study agriculture, domestic science and commerce without having qualified for admission to the Matriculation class. The College Matriculation differed from the University Matriculation in that it allowed subject successes to accumulate, demanded knowledge of a greater range of subjects, but only insisted strictly upon the Matriculation standard for a few.¹ But the aim was to keep the standard as near matriculation as possible.

The requirements for theological² students studying for the College Matriculation Certificate were as follows:

A. A student must gain twenty units selected from the undernoted list. Six of these units must be gained in language.

B. Subjects and units possible:

English	4
Bantu Language	4
Theology	2
Church History	2

1. Fort Hare Calendar, 1927, p. 35.

2. Non-Theological students did subjects other than those listed above.

Old Testament Introduction	1
Old Testament Exposition	1
New Testament Introduction	1
New Testament Exposition	1
Psychology	1
Ethics	1
Logic	1
Economics	1
Agriculture	2
Book-keeping	1
Physiology and Hygiene	1
Biology	1

C. Credit may be allowed for Matriculation passes held by the student.

D. Regulations for Matriculation Examinations.

1. Examinations are held at the end of the session in which the study of each course is held.
2. Students who desire to be re-examined in any subject may sit only at the time of the regular examination of the class. No supplementary examination will be set at other times but special consideration will be given to candidates who require no more than two subjects to complete their College Matriculation Certificate'.

Members of the College Staff and U.E.D. (University Education Diploma) students taught the general school subjects. The Wardens of Iona Hostel and Wesley House were responsible for teaching Psychology, Ethics, Logic, Economics, the theological subjects, Pastoral Theology, Church Polity and Discipline.

The courses given above were organized on the basis of three periods per week for one session of the year. Each lecturer taught a minimum average of $10\frac{1}{2}$ periods per week throughout the year, which in addition to their other duties was too heavy a burden for the Wardens to bear. Apart from the fact that theological training has never been priority in the thinking of the churches, the man-power situation was such that the churches wanted men in churches rather than in theological colleges.

From 1919 until 1951 when the course was discontinued 95 students obtained the College Matriculation Certificate in Theology.¹

(ii) THE LICENTIATE IN ARTS

By special arrangement with the University of South Africa, theological students who had successfully completed the requirements for the award of the College Matriculation Certificate, could proceed to study for the Licentiate in Arts which was convertible to a B.A. Degree of the University of South Africa under certain conditions. Edwin Ncwana, a theological student and a son of a Methodist minister, is the only one who ever qualified for this course. He entered Fort Hare with a Teachers' Certificate in 1917 and because he had not previously satisfied the regulations of the Joint Matriculation Board he could not be awarded the College Diploma in Arts. He remedied the deficiency later and gained the B.A. Degree of the University of South Africa, thus becoming the first African Minister of the Methodist Church of South Africa to gain a B.A. Degree in South Africa.

(iii) THE COLLEGE CERTIFICATE IN THEOLOGY²

This was a two-year course open to non-Matriculated students studying for the Christian Ministry and recommended by their Churches. It was introduced in 1950 to take the place of the College Matriculation in Theology. The entrance qualification was the Junior Certificate. Candidates were required to secure a minimum of 20 points out of a possible 23 points to secure the Certificate.

The subjects for the Certificate were:

Theology-a two-year course - 4 points

English - a two-year course - 4 points

Old Testament Introduction - half-year - 2 points

New Testament Introduction - half-year - 2 points

Old Testament Exposition - half-year - 2 points

New Testament Exposition - half-year - 2 points

Church History - two one-year courses - 4 points

Ethics - a one-year course taken in the second year - 2 points

Book-keeping - a one-year course taken in alternate years - 1 point

Psychology was added in 1956 as a one-year course in alternate years

1. Fort Hare Calendar, 1954, p. 91.

2. Fort Hare Calendar,, 1954, p. 27.

and carrying 2 points.

The course was under the direction of the Wardens of the Methodist and Presbyterian Hostels.

During the period 1951-1959, about 64 students qualified for the Certificate in Theology.

(iv) THE COLLEGE DIPLOMA IN THEOLOGY

In the late 1930s two events forced the churches to reconsider the academic standards in the training of men for the ministry. First, in 1936 the Governing Council of Fort Hare decided that by the end of 1937 the college would cease to offer Matriculation classes; that at the beginning of 1938 no Sub-Matriculation students would be admitted to the college, and the churches training theological students at Fort Hare were advised of the rise in standards. Nevertheless the college continued to admit non-Matriculated theological students, who had been sent by their churches, but the Junior Certificate was the minimum standard of entrance allowed.

Second, the Tambaram Conference (1938) of the International Missionary Council drew the attention of the churches to the need for the raising of standards in the training of men for the ministry.¹ The Tambaram Report stated the need for a highly trained ministry able to win the respect of the laity, to lead the Churches, and zealously to serve the community. This would require a higher level of general education than had been possible hitherto. The problem had global dimensions, but was particularly acute among the 'younger churches' of Africa and Asia.

In response the Wardens of Iona Hostel and Wesley House submitted to the Governing Council a scheme for a College Diploma in Theology. The Fort Hare Governing Council meeting on Friday 17th March, 1939 gave its general approval to the scheme in the following terms:

1. Report of the Tambaram Conference, I.M.C., - 'The World Mission of the Church', pp. 77 - 83.

The Council has learnt with interest and gratification of the institution of a diploma in theology course and while recognizing that the course of study as set forth may be modified after experiment gives its general approval to a scheme which in a day of advancing education among the Bantu marks a step to a better educated ministry and also envisages the possibility of closer co-operation among the Churches.¹

This Diploma carried the award of Licentiate in Theology (L. Th.). The entrance qualification was University Matriculation, the Fort Hare College Matriculation or the Cape Senior Certificate.

The subjects offered were: Five Arts subjects as for the B.A. degree: English, Psychology and Ethics were compulsory, and students could choose any two of: a natural science, Social Anthropology or Education. Six courses in Theological subjects were offered comprising Introduction to the Old and New Testament, Apologetics, Church History, Theology, and the Church and Social Work, Comparative Religion, Psychology of Religion, Christian Ethics. The Arts courses were planned so that they counted 'for degree purposes' provided the student satisfied the University Matriculation Board or was exempted from Matriculation. Thus after gaining his professional diploma a student could complete his B.A. if he so desired. The course was spread over three years.

Pastoral Theology, Church Polity, and the supervision of practical work were not part of the Diploma and were in the hands of the theological tutors appointed by the churches to train their men for the ministry.

While this course lasted only six students qualified for it, which shows again the difficulty the churches had in finding candidates with higher academic qualifications.

(v) THE UNIVERSITY NON-GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN THEOLOGY

This was a three-year course for non-Matriculated theological students who evidenced greater ability than those doing the two-year Certificate in Theology. The diploma, awarded by the University of South Africa and later by Rhodes University, was under the charge of the Senior Lecturer in Divinity who was appointed by the college.

1. Minutes of the Fort Hare Governing Council 17th March, 1939.

(vi) UNIVERSITY DEGREE COURSES: B.A. & B.D.

In 1947 the University of South Africa instituted a B.A. degree with theological options. In order to qualify for the degree students could do up to six theological courses chosen from Biblical Studies I, II, III:

Systematic Theology I, II;
Ecclesiastical History I, II.

In addition they were required to do five Arts courses. Hellenistic Greek and a course in English were usually included among the Arts Courses.

This arrangement appears in the Report of the Fort Hare Governing Council for the year ending on the 31st December, 1947, which declared:

Another direction in which development took place during the year was the recognition by the University of South Africa of a degree in Arts with theological bias. The Churches have been pioneers in establishing and maintaining facilities for the education of non-Europeans and it has been rather an anomaly that their own candidates for the ministry have, until now except in isolated instances, not been able to avail themselves of the increased facilities so provided. From its establishment the college has endeavoured alongside of the professional training given in the denominational hostels to raise the standard of general education by providing a special Matriculation course and subsequently a Diploma course for divinity students. By the institution of the theological B.A. the University has carried this process a stage further and it is now open to Fort Hare students as to all others to mark the completion of their theological course by the hall-mark of a degree. Subsequently it is hoped that it will also be open to them to follow the B.A. with a B.D. It will readily be recognized however that if highly qualified students are to be attracted to the ministry members of churches everywhere will require to see that civilised conditions of service are secured for their ministers who are still the principal, and sometimes with the teachers the only, social agents in the community.¹

When in 1951 Fort Hare became affiliated to the newly independent Rhodes University in Grahamstown, similar arrangements continued for the B.A. degree with theological options. The first theological graduates under this scheme were G.T. Mnonopi and T.S. Moyana who fulfilled the requirements for the B.A. degree with majors in Biblical studies and Systematic Theology

1. Fort Hare Calendar, 1949, p. 28.

at the end of 1952. From then on a steady stream of theological graduates followed. However, during the period under review no student registered for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.). Two students could have registered for the B.D. degree in 1955 and 1957, but were for one reason or another prevented from doing so. The few who did pursue higher studies in divinity did so overseas.

When provision was made at Fort Hare for theological students to do a B.A. degree with theological majors, the possibility was thereby created for postgraduate studies in theology. Theoretically these could be pursued at Fort Hare. Practically there were the following problems:

First: there was a staffing problem. There was at that time only one lecturer in the Divinity Department who was appointed by the college to be responsible for all subjects in the B.A. and Diploma Programmes.

He was assisted in a part-time capacity by three Hostel Wardens, two of whom were fully engaged in training non-matriculated ministerial students for their respective churches.

Secondly: even if the college was in a position to appoint additional lecturers the number of students who were willing and able to do post-graduate work was a tiny trickle that came at unpredictable intervals so much that there was no point in mounting up a staff to meet such an eventuality.

Thirdly: none of the churches involved in the Fort Hare scheme had the machinery and the means to pay for post-graduate studies.

It was, therefore, easier, and, in many ways advantageous, for the occasional post-graduate student to find a scholarship and proceed overseas. This is what, in fact, happened, and the number of those who went overseas for further studies in theology has increased.

Two questions have been raised about those who did further studies overseas:

One concerns those who do not return to South Africa after their training overseas. In the four churches under review 46 blacks have done further theological studies overseas and only 6 have not returned.

The other question concerns the suitability of these people for 'our work' when they return. I think this is a more serious objection because there are those who, on their return, expect the church to create and provide special jobs (for them) that would be more in keeping with their qualifications. If this is not done (as, in fact, it cannot always be done) they become disgruntled and frustrated. This is more a personality problem. If a person has studied his theology properly he ought to have the grace, the humility and the adaptability to do any job within the general run of the Christian Ministry. He should be able to adapt the skills learnt abroad to local conditions and circumstances.

All things considered it is a worth-while and valuable experience to go outside South Africa, live outside the South African way of life, gain some perspective and look at South Africa and the Church in South Africa from another angle. Moreover, specialized theological studies are more likely to be available abroad rather than within South Africa.

(vii) THE POST-GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN THEOLOGY

This was a two-year course instituted in 1952 for candidates who were already university graduates in non-theological subjects. G.M. Setiloane, B.A., completed the course at the end of 1953 and proceeded to Union Theological Seminary, New York, where he became the first past student of Fort Hare to obtain the B.D. degree.

The subjects covered were the theological options of the B.A. degree to which reference has already been made.

THEOLOGICAL COURSES OFFERED AT FORT HARE DURING THE PERIOD
JULY, 1920 DECEMBER, 1959.

COLLEGE MATRICULATION (theological students only)

1919 - 1951 95 student successes

THE COLLEGE CERTIFICATE IN THEOLOGY (a two-year course)

1951 - 1959 64 students qualified for it

THE COLLEGE DIPLOMA IN THEOLOGY

1923 - 1950 6 students qualified for it

However, there was a growing measure of co-operation between the two hostels. In 1931 there were combined classes in which each of the two Wardens taught certain subjects to both Methodist and Presbyterian students. Through the initiative of the Rev. Mungo Carrick (Warden of Iona Hostel) and the Rev. W.W. Shilling (Warden of Wesley House) the two denominational courses were merged and Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational students studied together under the tuition of both Tutors. This meant that Wesley and Iona students doing degree or diploma courses remained in college for three years while those doing the College Matriculation courses were in college for only two years.

When diploma and degree courses were started at Fort Hare a senior lecturer was appointed to be Head of the Department of Divinity. He obviously could not teach all subjects in all the classes alone. He was then assisted by the Wardens of Wesley House, Iona Hostel and Beda Hall (the Anglican Hostel). Although the Anglicans did not train their ordinands at Fort Hare the Warden of the Anglican Hostel shared with the others in teaching in the Divinity Department. So there was a happy co-operation among these churches in the training of their ordinands. By 1949 there were at Fort Hare theological students from the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches as well as those from the Paris Evangelical Mission, the Moravian Church and the American Board Mission. By the mid-1950s practice preaching classes were conducted alternately at Wesley House and Iona Hostel.

College Sunday services were conducted on an undenominational basis by the wardens and other ministers from the districts around Alice.

The Fort Hare experiment in ecumenical ministerial training had only Stewart's partly successful Joint Theological Faculty at Lovedale as a precedent. It had no parallel within the country in the training of white candidates for the ministry. The Livingstone House scheme at Rhodes University was born out of the experience gained at Fort Hare by people like Mungo Carrick, A. Kerr and W.W. Shilling. These schemes have proved that Biblical Studies, Church History and Christian Doctrine can be taught and studied jointly without any sacrifice of denominational principles. This was again confirmed much later by the experience

of those involved in the ecumenical experiment at the Federal Theological Seminary. Mutual understanding of the practices and beliefs of other denominations as well as knowledge of others as persons during the period of training certainly do make for better understanding and co-operation in the actual work of ministry afterwards.

The experience of those who are involved in ecumenical work and study has revealed that Christian unity does not mean reducing differences to a common denominator, but recognizing the given unity in spite of the differences. Obviously those who began ecumenical training at Fort Hare did not begin by first sorting out all the problems in the very act of working together: the training of men and women for the ministry was one of the areas in which Christians were called upon to manifest their God-given unity.

b) ACADEMIC STANDARDS

For a number of years the Third Class Teachers' Junior (T.3) Certificate or its equivalent was accepted as an entrance qualification to the theological courses.

In fact many of the candidates for the ministry had scarcely reached the Junior Certificate level. But they were older men who had already proved their worth and had been recommended by their churches as suitable for training for the ministry.

When the University College of Fort Hare began it was a little more than a Junior Secondary School. Very few students had the equivalent of a Junior Certificate. But in 1922 the Junior Certificate classes were discontinued and the college prepared its students for Matriculation and post-Matriculation examinations until 1937 when Matriculation classes were discontinued. Even when Matriculation classes were discontinued the college continued to admit theological students with lower entrance qualifications, the Junior Certificate being the minimum standard accepted.

The Governing Council said:

We fear, however, that with certain classes of students such as those studying for the ministry it may not be possible to have a clear break and some degree of patience may be required before this class reaches a Matriculation

entrance standard.¹

The Rev. Mungo Carrick called 'the attention of all (those) interested in the training of the African ministry to the fact that this profession is educationally far below the attainments of those who have qualified for the other professions open to Africans... The time was when the African Ministry was the best educated of African professions ... If the African people are to have an intelligent interpretation of the scriptures presented to them and to have their congregational and Church life work carefully planned they must be led by men of education as well as inspiration'.² He appealed to the churches to make Matriculation the entrance standard if African ministers were to play their rôle in the emerging society.

In the years that followed the college periodically advised the churches to raise their standards of admission to the ministry because

It would be an anomaly if the church which had pioneered higher education for the Bantu should itself fall behind in reaping the fruits of its policy.³

The practice of some churches, especially the Methodist Church, to allow some men to leave college before completing their studies, did not help to improve the academic standards of the ministry. Similarly ordaining poorly educated men without college training did not improve the image of the ministry.

Reference has already been made to Edwin Ncwana who graduated with a Diploma in Arts in 1923 and later converted it to a B.A. Degree. The next ministerial graduates appeared when James J.R. Jolobe and G.B. Molefe qualified for the B.A. degree at the end of 1931 and graduated in April, 1932. Jolobe entered Fort Hare with a Junior Certificate in 1926 and registered for the Cape Matriculation Certificate and then obtained his degree in 1932. G.B. Molefe graduated with a distinction in Ethics in 1932. In 1939 he graduated M.A. at Columbia University, New York.

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1. Fort Hare Calendar, 1942, pp. 58-59: cf. The S.A. Outlook, 1/6/1938, p. 138.
 2. The South African Outlook, October, 1937
 3. Fort Hare Calendar, 1942 pp. 58 - 59.

After that we note the following ministerial students who qualified for the B.A. degree at Fort Hare:

- 1938 - A.H. Zulu - distinction in Social Anthropology
- 1949 - C.C. Kuzwayo
- 1950 - H.J. Hendrickse and D.M. Zondeki
- 1951 - H.H.S. Ramaila, later M.A. (Columbia)
- 1952 - G.T. Mnonopi and T.S. Moyana
- 1954 - J.F. Thorne - distinction in Biblical Studies
- 1955 - J. Fourie
- 1956 - T.S.N. Gqubule
- 1957 - I.N. Mlungwana (Miss)
- 1958 - L.L.N. Monakali
- 1958 - G.M. Ntlabati
- 1958 - E.A. Swartz - distinction in Systematic Theology
- 1958 - L.M. Taunyane
- 1958 - F.J. Tokota
- 1958 - L. Mutambanengwe
- 1958 - C.J.N. Nteta

After this the numbers began to increase. In addition other theological students who were qualified for university studies obtained their degrees by private study through the University of South Africa, though not necessarily in theological subjects.

Fort Hare was subjected to two distinct pressures: on the one hand it was under pressure to raise its academic standards to match those of other universities. On the other hand it felt it had an obligation to the churches that helped to establish the university college to help them train for the ministry the human material they had at their disposal. Nevertheless Fort Hare continued to encourage the churches to raise academic standards of admission. The very atmosphere of the University college inspired some theological students to aspire to higher studies in Theology. So the two aims that motivated the churches to transfer their theological training to Fort Hare were fairly reasonably met. Provision was made for many students to further their general education while pursuing their theological studies.

Part of the problem with Fort Hare in 1959 was that the university was taken over by a new ethos which its associates did not recognize as having any continuity with the original foundation.

In fact the University was secularized; and the ethos of the saeculum was apartheid.

There was another problem looming here which neither the churches concerned nor the university seemed to recognize at the time. It was the problem as to whether the university is, in fact, the right place for the training of men for the ministry. The university has to set and maintain academic standards. Therefore, it tends to have a certain rigidity in its syllabuses and regulations. Theological seminaries and colleges on the other hand often need to act outside fixed rules and regulations in order to accommodate some of their students whose special circumstances cannot be fitted within university regulations.

At the present moment theological schools and seminaries in South Africa are faced with this very problem. On the one hand they are under pressure from some churches and some of their students to seek some kind of university link that would give a certified status to certain seminary courses. On the other hand they wish to guard their freedom to act in specified cases in the light of their knowledge of special circumstances. Seminaries are anxious to frame syllabuses, regulations and methods of assessment that suit their particular task of training men for the ministry. The problem facing black seminaries in South Africa at this time is particularly acute because by law they can have links only with black universities whose underlying philosophy they do not like, and the University of South Africa, whose syllabuses have not always been suitable.

The problem would be solved if South African theological seminaries were, like American seminaries, able to confer their own degrees. It seems to the present writer that the only way out of the impasse is for the churches to help promising students to acquire a secular degree before going to a theological seminary to be trained for the ministry.

Certain theological colleges in Britain are in a fortunate position of having cordial relations with universities with which they are associated. The theological colleges are then able to have the university's imprimatur for some of their courses at least.

The churches in North, West and Central Africa face other problems occasioned by the growth of universities with departments of religion, in which a number of religions are treated on an equality. Can such a university be the right place for the training of future ministers of the Christian Church? This problem came before they could consider an earlier one, namely, does a department of Christian theology at a university provide an adequate training for the ministry? Further, what influence, if any, should churches have in the appointment of members of staff in theological faculties of universities?

What Fort Hare tried to do was to provide at the same time both general and theological education to ministerial students and by the time the experiment was forced to an untimely end the churches were no nearer a solution to the central problem of the relationship between a university model and a seminary model. Perhaps a further problem was the failure of churches to agree about what a common ministerial training should be.

c) OTHER ASPECTS OF THEOLOGICAL TRAINING AT FORT HARE

(i) PASTORAL THEOLOGY AND PRACTICAL WORK

These subjects did not form part of the curriculum for the degree and diploma courses and they were never satisfactorily done in the 'College Matric' and Certificate in Theology. The two Wardens taught Homiletics, Worship and Church Polity and arranged for someone to teach students some Book-keeping.

Fort Hare suffered from an inadequate staff. The Wardens ran their hostels, had a heavy teaching load, arranged for denominational and college services and a hundred and one other duties, were unable also to mount a programme of supervised field work. The Rev. E.L. Cragg, who was Warden of Wesley House during the period 1948 - 1959 wrote:

This meant for me a time-table of 20 to 25 lectures a week in addition to sermon classes, religious services, devotional meetings and hostel administration, and in my time at Fort Hare, I lectured on most biblical and theological subjects as well as psychology, ethics and economics.¹

1. E.L. Cragg: Fort Hare and Other Memories; Somerset West, 1973, p. 28.

He went on:

Looking back I think our theological courses were deficient on the practical side ... I think the University courses were too academic and our elementary Certificate was better adapted to the needs of the average minister.¹

Students went out on their own during week-ends to the villages around Alice to conduct services and Sunday Schools. The Rev. Mungo Carrick, Warden at Iona Hostel and Senior Lecturer in Divinity commented on these excursions:

I feel there is need for a more carefully prepared plan of such week-end activity by the Department of Divinity.²

(ii) TRAINING IN PERSONAL SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE

Ministerial training ought to provide training in personal devotion and spiritual discipline. Mungo Carrick noted the difficulty of doing this in the framework of Fort Hare:

I feel that ... personal contact between lecturer and student must be such that intimate counselling of each individual becomes possible and natural. Where a lecturer is responsible for 19 theological students, a considerable programme of lecturing, and supervision of a large hostel, this intimate and less obvious work gets pushed into the background.³

At both 'Iona' and 'Wesley' theological students were accommodated in the same way as students doing secular courses. This had its advantages as well as disadvantages. It gave theological students opportunities of exercising pastoral care and exerting a christian influence over the lay students. This, in fact, was so in some cases. But it also worked the other way round with theological students who were weak personalities and who were conscious of their lower education compared with other students. To organize special devotional services for theological students alone was not very easy under these conditions.

1. E.L. Cragg: Ibid, p. 50.

2. M. Carrick: The Training of Candidates - An address to the Ciskeian Missionary Council, 7th September, 1949.

3. M. Carrick: Ibid.

Very few leaders visited Fort Hare for the purpose of attending to the problems of theological students or to the theological education in general. Among these very few must be included the visit to Fort Hare by the Rev. Dr. Norman Goodall and the Rev. Eric W. Nielsen both of the International Missionary Council.

(iii) RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE GOODALL AND NIELSEN REPORT

Since the publication of the Report of the Tambaram Conference of the International Missionary Council, 'The World Mission of the Church' (1938) there had been discussions on the training of the African Ministry. In 1953 the Rev. Dr. Norman Goodall and the Rev. Eric W. Nielsen visited Fort Hare as representatives of the International Missionary Council as part of a survey of theological training in Africa.

Goodall and Nielsen believed that Fort Hare 'should be developed as the acknowledged centre in South Africa for theological training of an academic standard'.¹ Because of this conviction they recommended that Adams College in Natal and Morija in Lesotho should teach only students who had already completed their basic theological course and that students doing this course at Adams and Morija should be sent to Fort Hare. In today's jargon Adams would be an 'In-service' or 'Internship' Centre. The Rev. W.R. Booth, Principal of Adams, had been pressing for a united theological training centre, but not at Fort Hare, but the idea was never seriously considered by the churches. Goodall and Nielsen went on further to recommend that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which controlled Adams College, should be invited to supply a member of staff to the theological department at Fort Hare.

They recommended:

That instead of the present arrangement by which theological students reside in the two hostels, Wesley House and Iona Hostel, a separate hostel for theological students should be built, on an interdenominational basis, comparable to that enjoyed by Livingstone House at (Rhodes University)Grahamstown.²

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1. N. Goodall & E.W. Nielsen: Survey of the Training of the Ministry in Africa, Part III, p. 52.
 2. Goodall and Nielsen: Ibid p. 52.

The main argument in support of this recommendation was that such an arrangement would provide facilities for a much stronger and more ordered devotional life than was then possible for theological students at Fort Hare.

We believe that this emphasis is much needed and that without it the capacity of the students to influence the general life of Fort Hare spiritually will remain slight. ... In our opinion the advantages of such a hostel would greatly outweigh the apparent disadvantages of removing the theological students from the present hostels.¹

They also recommended that:

University recognition be sought for the present sub-Matriculation Certificate in Theology.²

The primary recommendation of Goodall and Nielsen was that the churches in South Africa should raise their standards of theological education so that a significant number of students should study for the B.A. and B.D. degrees. They realized, however, that for many years to come most of the students would not have university entrance qualifications. Their recommendation, therefore, aimed at giving a higher status to the Certificate in Theology so that students would regard it as something worth having. The relevance of this recommendation would be readily seen if it is realized that every year less than half the number of students in the final year class qualified for the Certificate. This was not because the course was difficult, but because many students did not think it was worth their while making the effort to qualify for the Certificate. Moreover, their churches would ordain them, whether they qualified for the Certificate or not, which shows how little the churches cared for proper theological training. This particular recommendation was acted upon and the University College issued the Certificate to successful candidates. The names of the successful candidates appeared on the programme for the Graduation Ceremony.

The recommendation regarding a theological hostel was an attractive

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1. Goodall & Nielsen: op. cit. p. 52.
 2. Goodall & Nielsen: op. cit. p. 53.

one, but it was not acted upon because of other developments that were soon to overshadow the future of Fort Hare.

CONCLUSION

In the year that Goodall and Nielsen visited Fort Hare (1953) the South African parliament passed the Bantu Education Act (No. 47 of 1953) which transferred African education excepting University education, to the Native Affairs Department. One of the crucial provisions of the Bantu Education Act was that the mother tongue would be the medium of instruction throughout the Primary school. While educationally this would not be objectionable, in the South African context the requirement had far-reaching educational and political implications. In the first place it meant the division of African schools on ethnic language lines. This affected staffing and determined which school scholars might attend. In the secondary school half the subjects were to be taught through the medium of English and half through the medium of Afrikaans. The confusion thus created in the mind of the African child had to be experienced to be believed. The child who did his primary school education through the medium of the mother tongue with only a smattering of English and Afrikaans had to use both these foreign languages as media of instruction at the same time and was taught by teachers whose knowledge of both these languages which were also foreign to them, left much to be desired. This dual medium of instruction had failed in white schools where one of the official languages was the mother tongue of both pupils and teachers. Thus the principle of mother tongue instruction and the enforcement of dual medium instruction were used to cripple African education. Just at the point where African education was beginning to achieve a measure of parity it was dealt a blow that sent it tumbling backward.

There could be no doubt that this fact alone, apart from questionable curricula, made for a lowering of academic standards because the matter taught was not first understood. Institutions that taught through the medium of English were severely crippled by the fact that students arrived at theological colleges, for example, with a very limited knowledge of English yet they were expected to learn from instruction in English.

During the period under review theological studies were not affected by this because all the men who went to Fort Hare at the time had not gone through Bantu Education schools. But from the beginning of the 1960s the effects of Bantu Education were being felt at theological colleges. The quality of the men who had done a Bantu education Junior Certificate was far lower when compared to the men who had done a Cape Junior Certificate, for example.

But the Bantu Education Act was something more. It was the king-pin of the ruthless logic of apartheid which demanded separate universities for the different racial and ethnic groups in the country.

The rest is quickly told. In 1958 a Bill, euphemistically entitled 'The extension of University Education Bill', was passed by the South African Parliament. The Bill made provision for separate ethnic and racial universities. The following year the 'University College of Fort Hare Transfer Bill', which transferred Fort Hare to the Department of Native Affairs and Bantu Education, was passed by Parliament. For academic purposes the college was transferred from Rhodes University to the University of South Africa.

When the Government took control of Fort Hare and bought out the denominational hostels at the college the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches were left without premises for the training of their men for the ministry. So 1959 marked the end of an era in theological education for Africans, Coloured and Indians. At the beginning of 1960 these churches hired the Lovedale Bible School where they worked and scanned the horizon of the dim future.

WARDENS AND THEOLOGICAL TUTORS

IONA HOSTEL:

The Rev. John Lennox, M.A., OB.E.	- 1920 - 36
The Rev. Mungo Carrick, M.A., B.D.	- 1936 - 49
The Rev. James Rodger, B.A., B.D.	- 1950 - 56
The Rev. John Summers, M.A., B.D.	- 1957 - 59

WESLEY HOUSE:

The Rev. James Pendlebury, B.A.	- 1920 - 26
The Rev. T.R. Curnick, B.D.	- 1926 - 28
The Rev. Samuel Clark	
The Rev. J.M. Watkinson	
The Rev. W.M. Crampton	
The Rev. Joseph Ward	
The Rev. A.J. Cook, B.A.	- 1931-40
The Rev. W.W. Shilling, B.Sc.	- 1941 - 47
The Rev. E.L. Cragg, B.A., B.D.	- 1948 - 59

SENIOR LECTURERS IN DIVINITY AND HEADS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DIVINITY

The Rev. Mungo Carrick, M.A., B.D.	- 1949 - 51
The Rev. A.G. Rooks, M.Div., D.D.	- 1951 - 57
The Rev. F.W. Sass, B.A., B.D. M.Th., Ph.D	1958 - 59

In the next 2 Chapters we shall consider the theological work done at Tiger Kloof, Adams, and at the Anglican Colleges, none of which did any theological work at Fort Hare.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MOFFAT INSTITUTE - TIGER KLOOF BIBLE SCHOOL

A sum of money was collected in Britain to build a centre of learning which would be a token of regard for Robert Moffat, missionary to the Bechuanas. Towards this end the Moffat Institute was established at Shoshong in 1873 for training evangelists. In 1876 the institution was moved to Kuruman where Moffat had set up his printing press in 1831. It was hoped that this move would facilitate the education of the tribes and the spreading of the translation of the Scripture. Here some faithful evangelists were trained some of whom were later ordained. But the institution found little financial support from the local churches. It struggled on until 1897 when it had to close for financial reasons. By 1895 the railway line had reached Mafeking, but it passed about 100 miles from Kuruman. Thus when plans were made for the re-opening of the Institute, a site near the railway line was selected.

In 1903 the London Missionary Society bought a farm on the railway line seven miles south of Vryburg. On part of this farm chosen for its accessibility by road and rail, a new institution was started by the L.M.S. with the name of Tiger Kloof. The Rev. W.C. Willoughby was appointed to start the new institution on the new site. Mr Willoughby had long experience as a missionary in Bechuanaland. He knew the language and customs of the people and brought all this knowledge and experience out in his book entitled 'The Soul of the Bantu'. With the arrival on the site of the Rev. & Mrs. W.C. Willoughby, on the 8th March 1904, the new institution could be said to have started. They lived in tents while building operations commenced.

In May 1908 the Bible School was started. The minimum standard of admission was standard three. Four students began the course in 1908 and three more the following year. Thus a beginning was made in the training of men for the ministry.

Like all similar institutions Tiger Kloof had a diversified education programme with an elementary school, a Teacher Training department, Industrial departments for men and women and a theological department. But it was clearly stated that the primary aim of the institution was 'the equipment of an African church.'

And the first work of Tiger Kloof is to train their ministers in true leadership, knowledge and spiritual vision ... We believe that if we can send out a trained and inspired African ministry into the African Churches ... the field is ours.¹

The London Missionary Society aimed at:

the establishment of indigenous churches that shall be self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating.²

Africa will never be won for Christ by white preachers ... What is more serious than all the above considerations taken together, (is that) the white man is a foreigner, with foreign ideals and a foreign method of thought.³

With these aims and ideals Tiger Kloof started on a four-year course, setting apart a Theological Tutor, but also allowing theological students to take advantage of other departments, so as to gain a broader general knowledge.

The curriculum of the Bible School over the four years included:

Biblical Introduction,
Revelation and Inspiration,
Exegesis of selected Old and New Testament Books,
Church History,
Church Polity,
Comparative Religion,
Ethics,
Hygiene,
Relation of African religion and custom to Christian thought,
Preaching and the conduct of Public Worship.

In addition missionaries in parish work were occasionally invited to give courses in Homiletics and Pastoral Theology.

The Students take services in rotation at outside preaching stations, conduct classes for catechumens resident in the Institution, and act as deacons of the Institution Church.^{4,}

The curriculum made no attempt to reproduce a home model at Tiger Kloof: It was simple and reasonably adapted to the low

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1. W.C. Willoughby: Tiger Kloof, London, 1912, pp. 28-31
 2. W.C. Willoughby: Tiger Kloof, London, 1912, p. 33.
 3. W.C. Willoughby: Tiger Kloof, London, 1912, p. 37.
 4. W.C. Willoughby: Tiger Kloof, London, 1912, p. 42.

educational attainments of the students. It emphasised the study of the Bible; omitted any reference to Systematic Theology, but provided for practical work in neighbouring churches and for practical theology taught by men in parish work. What is remarkable is the place given to the relation of African religions and customs to Christian thought.

At this stage only married students were admitted to the course and the institution was planned to give each family a detached cottage for its own use. Students could have money or rations (at their own choice) for the maintenance of themselves and their own families. Classes were organised for the wives of the students.

The above is an account of the Bible School when it started in 1908. There were further significant developments especially in regard to the subjects taught.

In a letter written in August, 1916, by the Rev. A.J. Haile, M.A. (Oxon) Principal of Tiger Kloof, to Mr Walton, it is reported that the Theological School was recognized in 1914 as the Theological training school 'for native ministers of the Congregational Union'.¹ In 1915 three out of nine theological students were from the Congregational Union of South Africa. The rest came from L.M.S. Stations in Bechuanaland.

Much of the course depended for its contents on the tastes of the Tutor. In 1920 the Rev. Gavin Smith, M.A., was Theological Tutor. He designed his course as follows:²

Introduction and Exegesis of the Book of Exodus
Introduction and Exegesis of the Gospel according to Luke
Modern Church History - the growth of Non-Conformity
Pastoral Theology,
Parables of our Lord,
Scripture - Selections from the Old and New Testaments,
Reading in English and Vernacular,
Homiletics.

The subjects covered in 1923 were:³

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1. This letter is in the L.M.S. archives, in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
 2. Tiger Kloof Bible School Report, 1920.
 3. Tiger Kloof Bible School Report, 1923.

Introduction to Christian Theology,
Old Testament History,
New Testament Introduction - Matthew, Acts, Paulines,
Early Church History to Monasticism
Jeremiah - Introduction and Exegesis
1 Corinthians - Introduction and Exegesis
The Life of Christ by J. Stalker.

Smith reports that his work was severely hindered by the 'low educational standard of the students'. He insisted that candidates must pass before proceeding to the next class.

Work with the wives of the students was done by Miss Mackenzie Smith.

Considering the low educational background of the candidates this was a reasonably good spread over a period of four years. It is significant that the course on the relation of African religion and custom to Christian thought was dropped by Smith. The course reflected Willoughby's interest.¹

Gavin Smith had to leave because of a prolonged illness during which no theological classes were conducted until February 1940 when a new class of ten students started.

The next and final stage in the life of the school came with the Principalship of the Rev. Alan G. Knott, B.Sc. He had studied Science at Manchester University and Theology at Mansfield College, Oxford. He was Principal of the Tiger Kloof Bible School during the period July, 1950 - December, 1953. He spent the first six months of 1950 in visiting mission stations and getting the necessary background.

The Staff of the Bible school itself consisted of Mr Knott and his wife. As the Bible school was part of the large Tiger Kloof Institution, other members of the staff were called on occasionally.

1. It must be remembered that Willoughby wrote a book entitled 'The Soul of the Bantu'. He had retired from the Principalship of the School in 1914.

Mr Knott concentrated on the New Testament with a special study of Mark's Gospel and selected passages from the Pauline Epistles. Mrs Knott, who had a degree in History taught Church History and the second half of Acts. She also taught students' wives Bible Study and brief biographies of outstanding Christians. A Doctor (wife of Training School principal) gave talks on maternity care, a nurse took First Aid, and another staff wife took cooking classes.

Each student had a dwelling in the grounds of the School, and brought his wife and children with him. The children attended the school which was part of the Institution. The wives received training from Mrs. Knott and others.

In retrospect, Mr Knott stated that 'The whole thing was on too modest a scale'.¹

'It was necessary that the English language should be well understood', as it was the medium of instruction and the lingua franca of students who came from South Africa, Botswana, Rhodesia, and therefore, spoke a variety of languages. So English was taught both to theological students and their wives.

Knott's approach and emphases can be seen from the questionnaire²

1. In his letter to the author dated July, 1975.

2. TIGER KLOOF INSTITUTION

(London Missionary Society)

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED BY CANDIDATES FOR THE BIBLE SCHOOL

1. State your full name; your age, your tribe and the district in which you live.
2. Are you married? If so, is your wife a Christian? How many children have you? If not married are you engaged to be married and when do you intend to marry?
3. Is your wife or intended wife a Christian worker? If so, what work has she done?
4. What is your present occupation?
5. Give name of the Missionary and the church recommending you.
6. What schools have you attended and what standard have you passed?
7. Give an account of your Conversion and Christian life.
8. What Christian work have you done?
9. Why do you wish to become a Christian Minister?
10. Where do you desire to exercise your ministry? Are you willing to go wherever you may be sent?
11. What do you believe about Jesus Christ and His work?
12. What does belief in Christ require of you?
13. If accepted will you promise to obey (a) the rules of the Institution and (b) the Rules of the L.M.S. Church.

he designed to be answered by prospective students, as well as for the course itself.

He also framed a three-year curriculum to cover, to begin with, the period January 1951 - December 1953.

SUGGESTED SYLLABUS FOR BIBLE COURSE

(January 1951 - December 1953)

FIRST YEAR: O.T. History of Israel. Psalms concerning the period.
N.T. Gospel of Matthew and Luke

Church History, Acts. References to the Church in Paul's Epistles. P.T. Sermon class. The devotional life of the minister. The Conduct of Worship.

SECOND YEAR: O.T. The Prophets. Psalms concerning the period.
N.T. The Ethical Teaching of Jesus. John's Gospel.
C.H. Short History of the Church to the World Council of Churches.
P.T. Sermon Class. The practical work of the ministry, with special reference to Prayer and the Lord's Supper.

THIRD YEAR: O.T. The History between the Testaments. Psalms concerning the period. Extracts from Job. The Revelation of God in the O.T.
N.T. Selections from the Epistles. A short account of Revelation.
C.H. The Church in South Africa, with special reference to strange sects.
P.T. Sermon Class. The practical work of the ministry, with special reference to Youth Work, Sunday School Work, the conduct of Baptisms, Marriages, Visitations, Funerals, Church Meeting, Deacons Meetings, Church Finance.
N.B. A class on Book-keeping will be arranged during the course.

For Pastoral Theology the help of some senior and experienced African ministers was enlisted.

The kind of ministerial training given here was the best possible under the circumstances and given the low educational background of candidates. The practical work seems to have been well done. The enlisting of the services of experienced African pastors to help with Pastoral Theology was a wise move. The products of this training seem to have met adequately the needs of their simple, unsophisticated parishioners. They communicated to their people the gospel as they understood it relating it to the circumstances of their day. In the language and idiom of the people they spoke from the simplicity of their own faith

kindling faith in others.

The school continued until Tiger Kloof was taken over by the government in 1954 and the Bible school became part of Adams United College in 1956.

Principals of the whole institution were:

The Rev. W.G. Willoughby - 1904 - 1914

Rev. A.J. Haile - 1914 - 1945

The Rev. Aubrey D. Lewis - 1946 - 1956

Theological Tutors were:

The Rev. Gavin Smith

The Rev. Alan G. Knott

4. ADAMS THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

The oldest theological institution in South Africa is Adams Theological College, founded in 1865 at Adams Mission in Natal for the training of ministers and evangelists. It has an unbroken history, and at the moment of writing, continues as Adams United Theological College in the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa. Its origin goes back to the history of the American Zulu Mission in South Africa.

The American Zulu Mission in South Africa began with the arrival of six missionary couples in South Africa early in 1835. They were Dr. Newton Adams, the Rev. Aldin Grout, the Rev. George Champion, the Rev. Daniel Lindley, the Rev. Dr. Alexander E. Wilson, and the Rev. Henry J. Venable and their wives. They had been appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to spread the gospel in this country. The American Board, as it was popularly known, was an inter-denominational organisation in the United States of America where its earliest and strongest supporter was the Congregational Church. The beginning of the mission was the immediate result of strong representations from the Rev. Dr. John Philip of Cape Town, who was then Superintendent of the L.M.S. in South Africa.

Adams, Grout and Champion worked among the Zulus under King Dingane in what is now Natal and Zululand. They were later joined by Lindley, Wilson and Venable. Adams started working at Umlazi and Champion at Ginani (Nginani - I am with you). They began a serious study of the Zulu language, established schools, printed and translated pamphlets on a small press at

Umlazi.

Many misfortunes afflicted the small band of missionaries. By 1840 only Adams, Lindley and Grout remained in Natal. The others had either died, or, for some reason, returned to America. In 1844 Adams was ordained in Cape Town and returned to his station at Umlazi. In October 1847, however, he built a new station at Amanzimtoti, about 22 miles down the coast from Durban, leaving Umlazi under the care of an African assistant whom Adams does not mention by name. On the 26th June, 1846, Adams baptised the first Zulu convert, Mrs Mbulasi Makanya.

The next significant development was the building of boarding schools where the missionaries made a concerted effort to train Zulu preachers and teachers for the churches and primary schools.

THE FIRST ORDINATIONS

As early as 1853 the first cry went out for African clergymen. The American Board heeded this cry and began informally to prepare certain African Christians for ordination. Some people wondered whether an African minister would expect the same standards of morality and discipline from his parishioners as did the white missionaries or whether he would have the same authority over a congregation that the missionaries then exercised. By the early 1860s some missionaries had trained African 'helpers' whom they thought ought to be ordained because they had found them faithful in the discharge of their duties as 'helpers' and lay pastors. The training they had received from their respective missionaries was considered sufficient for the needs of the churches to which they were to minister.

In 1869 Nathaniel Clark, a secretary of the American Board who had had no experience in Africa, called for the ordination of Zulu pastors, to control seven churches which would be organized by the mission. The missionaries obeyed this order immediately and began ordaining some of their 'helpers'. On the 30th May, 1870, Rufus Anderson, whose Zulu name was Mguzana Mngadi, was ordained pastor of the church at Imfume and James Dube was ordained to take charge of the church at Inanda. Two years later Benjamin Hawes at Itafamasi and Ira Adams Nembula at Amanzimtoti were ordained. In 1878 Mbuyana Ngidi was ordained pastor of the church

at Noodsberg near Table Mountain.¹

The results of these ordinations were disappointing: Nyuswa died in 1876, and Dube in the following year. In 1877 Rufus was deposed from the ministry for immorality. Benjamin Hawes was temporarily relieved of his duties for 'insubordination'. So by 1878 there was only one ordained African pastor in the field, namely, Ira Adams Nembula. Between 1872 and 1883 there were only two ordinations, Ngidi (1878) and Nqamba Nyawose (1883). So this first attempt to use Zulu pastors for the creation and shepherding of Zulu flocks ended in apparent failure as did some other attempts. The case of Rufus Anderson was a severe blow and disappointment to the missionaries. He had been to them an example of trustworthiness and service and all spoke highly of him.

The immediate reaction of the missionaries was to refuse to ordain any more pastors. Stephen Pixley was speaking for all of them when he said: 1870-73 4 2 166

It makes us all sad at heart to find we cannot put trust in natives who have stood faithful and done good work so long a time. You will understand why ... we are becoming more and more cautious in ordaining native men for the work of the ministry.²

The missionaries learnt the hard way that an indigenous ministry can be produced only by a long patient way of giving the people a general and christian education. As a result they concentrated more than ever on education. By 1903 twenty-five out of 31 missionaries in the field were engaged in educational work.³ Education demanded and received the bulk of the missionary's time and money.

From the 1880s onwards christian and non-christian Africans took a keen interest in education. They swamped the primary schools and flooded the missionary boarding schools. Many Zulu students went to study at places like Lovedale, Healdtown, Edendale, Impolweni, Umpumulo, while a good number went to Britain and America in search of education. In 1899 the Rev. John L. Dube

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1. A.F. Christoferson: Adventuring with God (ed. R.W. Sales) Durban, 1967, pp. 48-49.
 2. L.E. Switzer: The problems of an African Mission in a White-dominated, multi-racial society, unpublished thesis, Univ. of Natal 1971, p. 232.
 3. Ibid. p. 232.

built Ohlange Institute, near Inanda, as a boarding school, the only one built entirely by African effort.

AMANZIMTOTI SEMINARY AND THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

As a result of discussions with Robert Mann, Superintendent General of Education for Natal, a grant of £100 was obtained from the government to build a school at Amanzimtoti. It was called the Amanzimtoti Seminary and was opened in 1865 to give a general and Industrial education, as well as to train teachers. A further grant of £100 was obtained from the people of Durban. The intention was also to train pastors, but it was considered unwise to create a separate theological institution. Instead a theological department with two or three married men was attached to the Seminary. Between 1853 and 1865 the school was shifted from Amanzimtoti to Umtwalume where Wilder was available as teacher, then to Esidumbini where there was a printing press and finally in 1865 to Amanzimtoti with the Rev. William Ireland as Principal. Not until 1875 did the Rev. Elijah Robbins succeed in establishing a distinct theological school to supply pastors and evangelists for the churches of the mission.

The Amanzimtoti Seminary was regarded as a feeder to the theological school. Hence the subjects taught were chosen with a view to giving a broad general education to possible prospective candidates for the ministry. In fact, very few students from the Seminary went to the theological school. About 1902 it was estimated that only 2.2% of the Seminary students entered the theological school. Between 1875 and 1902 only 54 theological students actually 'graduated' and of these only nine were ordained.¹ The rest sought secular employment.

The subjects taught included Greek, Latin, Algebra, Geometry, Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Zoology, Anatomy, Astronomy, Moral Philosophy, world History and the History of Christianity.² In 1876 English was made the principal language of instruction

1. L.E. Switzer: op. cit. p. 295.

2. Ibid.

and soon after that it was an offence for students to use Zulu even in conversation while at school.

The Rev. Elijah Robbins, Principal of the theological school (1875 - 1880) wrote:

It is a discouraging feature on our missionary work that comparatively few of our best-minded and best-educated men are studying for the ministry.¹

He went on to plead for the raising of standards of admission to the ministry. It was Robbins who fought successfully for the separation of the theological school from the Seminary. Although this had been achieved by 1875 he complained that his theological students spent a lot of time doing subjects that had no bearing on their theological studies. Actually to make theological students do secular subjects was a reasonable means of improving their standard of general education.

In 1876 there were twelve students. Of these six were married and five had their families with them at the Seminary. The Principal argued that 'present conditions' required a married ministry. Their studies for the year included:

Bible Expositions

Theological Lectures (twice a week)

General History

Arithmetic

English

In addition students preached and taught at Sunday schools in surrounding villages. Robbins represented an ambivalent position. On the one hand he pleaded for the raising of academic standards of candidates for the ministry. On the other hand he argued that the academic standards of the students should be determined by the needs of the congregations they would serve; and since these congregations were not educated 'no great degree of learning is necessary... A clear knowledge of what the gospel is, and a talent to make it known to others, is what is chiefly needed. As people become more educated a corresponding advance will be required'.²

1. Report of the Amanzimtoti Theological School, 1875.

2. Report of the Amanzimtoti Theological School, 1876.

This is in striking contrast to the belief of the Lovedale missionaries that a high standard of training for the ministry is necessary so that the ministry may educate the congregation.

In 1878 there were eleven students. Their programme of studies¹ was arranged as follows:

A.M.	9 - 10	10 - 11	11 - 12
Monday	Exegesis	Arithmetic	Scriptural Biography
Tuesday	"	"	Theology
Wednesday	"	"	Prophecy
Thursday	"	"	Theology
Friday	"	"	Essays
P.M.	2 - 3	3 - 4	Evening
Monday	English	Writing	Singing
Tuesday	Acts (Mr Ireland)	Gospel	Arithmetic
Wednesday	English	Writing	"
Thursday	Acts (Mr Ireland)	Gospel	"
Friday	English	Writing	"

N.B. Students were kept busy throughout the day.

Writing consisted largely of copying notes. In addition to the above 'Biblical Antiquities' were done in place of 'Scriptural Biography'. Exegesis for the year covered II Corinthians 7 to Colossians 2 - a verse by verse exegesis of the portion.

Exegesis of the Gospel consisted of Matthew 1 - 13 with parallels.

Prophecy meant the study of chapters from Isaiah and Jeremiah with historical and exegetical comments and 'practical applications'.

In Theology the general plan of Hodge's Systematic Theology was followed and notes were given on each chapter. Notes were also given on Bible Lessons.

Essays were 'written weekly by pupils and teacher on topics selected from passages of Scripture previously studied'.²

According to their teacher these students were far in advance of any African ministers that had been produced ever since the school started. 'We have no text-book but the Bible'.³

1. Report of the Amanzimtoti Theological School, 1878.
 2. Robbins in the 1878 Report of the Amanzimtoti Theological School.
 3. L.E. Switzer: op. cit. p. 299.

From about 1890 the number of students at the Seminary declined. There was also a corresponding drop in the fees paid by the students and since Government grants to missions had always been unsatisfactory mission funds were severely strained.

In the Theological school conditions were even worse:

... No institution established by the Mission suffered more from the poverty of finances, personnel and a policy irrelevant to the churches' needs than the Theological school - nor was any other so bitterly rejected by the Zulu Christian Community.¹

The theological school suffered from the same financial stringencies as the rest of the institution. In addition there was uncertainty about what should be taught and how it should be taught. It has been criticised for irrelevance, obsolete methods and above all being a dumping ground for eccentrics who could be accommodated nowhere else. Above all the constant recurrence of the basic dilemma expressed here by the Rev. Charles Kilbon, Principal of the theological school, 1889 - 1904, when he said:

It does not require great talents or extensive learning (to be a teacher at the school) ... but it is necessary that a teacher in this school should possess spiritual discernment ... for our main work is to transform character in these men ... We let Hebrew and Greek alone ... and even systematic theology, and depend on a careful analytical study of God's word together, always with the distinct purpose to form character - this is all important.²

Again he said:

The importance of the Theological School consisted in its power to infuse into the community Gospel influences ... You must not think of the Theological Schools as corresponding with American institutions. The name itself is perhaps misleading. Bible training school might be a better term. We have few pastorates in the Mission and many of them are filled so we cannot think of our work as the training of pastors only, or even principally... It has from the first been of the highest importance that true spiritual men be drilled close at hand, in Gospel truth, as applied to all the walks and relations of life, and be sent to these communities ... to be examples in everyday life.³

1. Ibid. p. 299.

2. Kilbon's letter to Smith, General Secretary, 25/7/1895.

3. Kilbon's letter to Smith, General Secretary, 31/10/1902.

The aim of the American missionaries in all their educational endeavours was to make their converts effective christian witnesses. This aim is clearly stated in the 1895 Report of the Amanzimtoti Seminary:

The aim of the school is not so much to produce scholarship as Christian manhood. It aims to send forth those who will be leaders and teachers; and who will be living epistles wherein all may read the transforming power of the Gospel... In order to do this the boys' lives, as far as we are able to control them, are hedged about by an atmosphere of prayer, Bible instruction, and moral training. ... The whole aim of the school is to fit men for usefulness in Christ's service. There is no attempt to make them intellectually acute.¹

In pursuit of these aims, the teachers had almost unlimited freedom:

Those responsible for the school taught what they liked, issued what textbooks and notes they thought were required, and set their own standards of achievement".²

a) 1853 - 1875

At this stage the Theological School was part of the Amanzimtoti Seminary. A few students used to be given special training as evangelists. The Rev. David Rood started theological training at Amanzimtoti in 1854. Reference has already been made to the 'fantastic perambulations' of the seminary from one mission station to another during these early years. It was while the Seminary was at Esidumbini from 1858, under Mr Taylor that Nyuswa, Dube and Hawes were trained. The following year the Theological School was discontinued and no mention is made of theological education until 1865 when it was re-established at Amanzimtoti under the Principalship of the Rev. William Ireland. In 1870 Mr Pixley was appointed theological teacher and was succeeded by Mr Stone in 1873.

b) 1875 - 1900

In 1875 the Rev. Elijah Robbins took charge of the theological class. After a great deal of controversy he succeeded in setting

1. Report of the Amanzimtoti Seminary, 1894.

2. L.E.Switzer: op. cit. 291.

up a separate building for the Theological School which from that time became known as 'Adams Theological School'. The Rev. Charles Kilbon who taught at the School from 1880 became principal in 1889 and continued until 1904.

During this period conditions at the school were described as 'appalling'. Students in the first, second and third year were lumped together in the same class. Many of the better type of student left because they were impatient with the system. Only two of the thirteen men enrolled in 1898 - 1899 had any education beyond the minimum sought for.

c) 1900 - 1910

In 1900 the Mission decided to appoint a committee to investigate as thoroughly as possible the entire educational situation of the Mission. To meet this purpose, the American Board Deputation arrived in 1903. As far as the Theological School was concerned one of its most important recommendations was for a permanent increase in the teaching staff. This was done immediately. Unable to stand the pressure of change Charles Kilbon like Govan of Lovedale resigned in 1904. James Dexter Taylor and Charles Ransom were appointed as instructors at the Theological School.

The School was divided into a 'higher' and 'lower' department. In the 'higher' department the minimum standard of admission was Standard IV and instruction was in English. A three year course was started covering the following subjects:

Homiletics, Church History, Biblical Geography, Hymnology, English literature, and General Science.

There were regular examinations and no lumping together of students in all three years.

Successful students were awarded a Theological Diploma at the end of three years and were ordained after a period of probation in Church. Taylor concentrated mainly on this smaller upper class.

The lower department was roughly a continuation of the course as it had always existed. Instruction was in Zulu. It was also a three-year course for the training of evangelists. At the completion of this course a Certificate in Theology was awarded to successful students.

In 1907 three out of four students qualified for the Diploma in Theology, and became the first properly trained men in the Church. Certificates were given to four out of nine students in the lower class.

For financial and staffing reasons the school was closed during the period 1907 - 1910. Taylor left on furlough and Ransom was assigned to other duties.

d) 1910 - 1918 - IMPOLWENI

During 1908 a series of meetings with the United Free Church of Scotland led to a merger between Adams Theological School and the Church of Scotland Mission station at Impolweni. There a Union Theological College was inaugurated in August 1910, with great enthusiasm and good will on both sides. Each denomination appointed one teacher. Taylor introduced into the new School the ideas he had initiated at Adams. A lower class for the training of preachers and evangelists through the medium of Zulu, with an enrolment of 12 was started and also an upper class with Standard V as the minimum standard of admission and instruction in English for the training of pastors. Nine candidates were registered for this three-year course. Two three-year groups finished their courses, but this historic ecumenical venture was finally given up at the end of 1917 because by that time the Church of Scotland was committed to the building of a Hostel and Theological Department at Fort Hare.

e) 1918 - 1957 - Amanzimtoti

In 1918 the School returned to Amanzimtoti as part of that Institute. The standard of admission for the pastors' class was raised to Standard VII or a Teachers' Certificate; the Evangelists' course was discontinued. Some theological students took advantage of non-theological courses in other departments of school to broaden their education. The course covered the usual theological disciplines - Doctrine, Church History, Old and New Testament and the Pastoral subjects.

The Rev. Henry Stick was the new Theological Tutor from 1918. For the next thirty years he ran the School as a one-man theological faculty, calling upon helpers from the other departments at Adams. Mrs Stick trained the wives of the students.

Stick's plan was to recruit a class which for three years would be prepared for ordination. Then for the next three years he would train a group of evangelists in Zulu. The scheme never worked out as neatly as all that. The tendency was for the evangelists' class to be missed out because of the church's need for pastors.

The next Principal of the Theological School was the Rev. William R. Booth who arrived in South Africa in 1946 and became principal when Mr Stick retired in 1948. 'His first task was to improve the content of the three-year course and to gather around him others dedicated to a better-trained ministry'.¹

A problem that repeatedly faced Booth was the shortage of students and periodically (e.g. 1953) the School had to close because no students came for the course. The entrance standard aimed at was the Junior Certificate, but students with a Teachers' Certificate were admitted. There was a three-year course covering the traditional theological disciplines through the medium of English. Special emphasis was placed on field work. Students were allocated to specific out-stations where they went out in pairs and conducted services, organised Sunday Schools and youth work and engaged in visitation. This practical field work related their theological studies directly to the practical problems of life in the community.

When Dr Norman Goodall and Rev. E.W. Nielsen visited Adams in 1953 the school was closed because of the persistent difficulties Adams had in securing students. Goodall and Nielsen recommended that students normally trained at Adams should be sent to Fort Hare and that the American Board be invited to supply a member of staff to the theological department at Fort Hare, provided the main recommendation regarding Fort Hare was accepted.²

Adams would then be used by a number of churches for a year's post-Collegiate course in supervised field-work and Pastoral Theology in the languages of the area, and for refresher courses for men already in the ministry.³

1. A.F. Christofersen: op. cit. p. 140.

2. See p. 150-151 above.

3. Goodall and Nielsen: op. cit. p. 55.

Here as elsewhere in South Africa the visit and recommendations of Goodall and Nielsen led to a serious re-thinking of theological education. The most significant recommendation of the Goodall-Nielsen Commission was that small, struggling theological schools then operating separately should combine with others to form larger, more viable Theological Schools. One idea entertained at Adams was to draw to Adams students from other churches, especially the 'independent' (separatist) churches who would thus be given the opportunity for training their men for the ministry at Adams. In pursuance of this aim the Rev. W.R. Booth investigated the possibilities of union with other churches. The response was encouraging. The A.M.E. Church transferred its Theological School from Wilberforce Institute, Evaton, to form a union at Adams. The Rev. L.C. Gow and five students were sent to Adams. The London Missionary Society (having lost Tiger Kloof where they trained their men), the Bantu Congregational Church and the Presbyterian Church of Africa participated in the foundation of a United School called 'Adams United Theological School'. Unfortunately the decision of the A.M.E. Church to close down its school at Wilberforce and join Adams was for some unexplained reasons reversed after a few years and its college returned to Wilberforce.

Along with other institutions.

The year 1957 was the last year Adams United Theological School met at Adams College. Government purchase of the property forced the school to move from there to rented quarters in Modderpoort, in the Orange Free State. But the year is significant because for the first time the church was able to provide an African, the Rev. Clifford C. Kuzwayo, to be in the theological school staff. Mr Kuzwayo had a B.A. degree and taught homiletics in the school.¹

Unfortunately he could not go with the school to Modderpoort, as he had been appointed Executive Secretary of the whole church until his untimely death in April, 1966.

Meanwhile at Modderpoort, the Anglican Schools, consisting of a training college and a High school, had been closed under the Bantu Education Act. The church authorities, with no possibility of continuing to operate the training college, and with the

1. A.F. Christofersen: op. cit. p. 142.

institution situated in what would obviously be declared a white area, elected not to continue the high school privately, and closed the institution at the end of 1955. The Bantu Education Department was not interested in continuing any educational activities there, since it was a 'white' area. The Adams authorities were particularly interested in this location, however, because they were at that time engaged in conversation with the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society and the Swiss Mission, looking towards a possible union with their Morija Theological School. In the end Morija decided that they could not move their school from Basutoland to South Africa, and the Adams group considered it most unwise, in the circumstances, to move outside South Africa, so the plans had to be abandoned. But in the meantime the Adams United Theological School was very happy to find that Modderpoort offered facilities for a temporary stay, which, with some alteration, would be well suited to accommodate the dozen students with their families, and two staff families, of which the school consisted. The original two-year period expired with the school growing in numbers of both staff and students, and a second period of two years, ending in 1961, left Adams United Theological School practically bursting its seams, but very thankful for a delightful temporary home.

Notice was received from the Bantu Administration and Development Department that Adams United Theological School would not be allowed to continue at Modderpoort, since this was a white area. But this was in any case anticipated by plans for the Federal Theological Seminary. The government consented to extend the school's permission to remain at Modderpoort until the end of 1962. When the Federal Theological Seminary opened its doors at Alice on the 1st March, 1963, Adams was one of its four constituent colleges.

Heads of the Theological School were:

The Rev. David Rood	1853-- 1875
The Rev. Elijah Robbins	1875 - 1880
The Rev. Charles Kilbon	1880 - 1904
The Rev. James D. Taylor	1904 - 1917
The Rev. Henry Stick	1918 - 1948
The Rev. William R. Booth	1948 - 1964

Others who taught in the school up to 1960 were:

The Rev. William Ireland

The Rev. Abraham Pixley

The Rev. Mr. Stone

The Rev. Charles Ransom

The Rev. Mr. Bunker

The Rev. Mr. Dorward

The Rev. John Dube

The Rev. M. Sivetye

The Rev. C.C. Kuzwayo

The Rev. P.A. Myrick

CHAPTER SIX

THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

THE ROLE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN AFRICAN EDUCATION

'Education and missionaries have always travelled together'¹. This has been true of christian missions the world over as well as of all missions that have laboured in South Africa. The achievement of the Church of the Province in the field of African education in this sub-continent is particularly remarkable because of the quality of education offered at their schools. The distinctive Anglican contribution was the work of its missionary orders in education.

With the arrival of Bishop Robert Gray, D.D. in South Africa on Sunday, February 20th., 1848, a new chapter opened, not only for the Anglican Church but for education as a whole in South Africa. For him 'as for many of our best pioneers that followed him, the founding of schools was every bit as important as the founding of churches'.²

Robert Gray brought with him the conviction that the spread of true education was an integral part of the Church's obligation towards her children.³

The Anglican Church has built and run some of the best African schools in the country. St. Peter's College, Rosettenville, Johannesburg; Zonnebloem, Cape Town; St. Augustine's, near Dundee; St. Matthew's, Keiskama Hoek; and St. John's, Umtata, (as they all used to be) speak of only part of the story.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AFRICAN MINISTRY IN THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Bishop Smithies once said:

We are more and more convinced, as the years go on, that if Africans are to be converted in any large numbers, it must be by the ministry of Africans themselves.⁴

1. A.F. Christoferson: op. cit. p. 38.

2. C. Tugman: What the Church has done for European Education, in the Gray Centenary Pamphlets, First Series, No.2.

3. Ibid.

4. O. Victor: The Thin Black Line, n.d. p. 5.

A Principal of St. Peter's College, Rosettenville, Johannesburg, said:

If the growing Native Church is to express native ideas and meet native needs; if it is to bring any special contribution of its own to the fulness of Christ it must be more and more taught, built up and held together by men of its own race.¹

With these convictions the Anglican Church proceeded to train African men for the Christian ministry.

In the Anglican Church, as in the Methodist and other churches, three stages have been noted in the development of an African ministry:

First: there emerged from Mission Schools men with a sufficient knowledge of the English language that enabled them to interpret the sermons of the missionary.

Secondly: these men began to exhort their own people and to preach the word. 'Thus arose a class of simple, barely-literate evangelist, catechist or reader - the nursing fathers of countless little congregations to whom the European priest could bring the sacraments only at rare intervals'.² Some of these men were given further training and ordained.

Thirdly: there was the type of man who had sufficient general education and a sense of vocation to the full-time work of the ministry to be trained at a theological college.

For a number of years the most promising African students were sent to St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, England; 'to complete their education',³ without necessarily being committed to join the ministry. Indeed, some of the men were never ordained. The usual period of study at St. Augustine's was two years. One of these students, Hami, was found on his return to South Africa, 'reading a treatise of St. Cyril of Alexandria against Nestorius, in the original Greek'⁴ for pleasure! This experiment broke down for two reasons:

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1. Ibid.
 2. Quoted from an article by C.F.G. Goodall in the Gray Centenary Pamphlets, First Series, No. 2.
 3. The Net 1st Oct., 1870, p. 152.
 4. The Net. 1/10/1889, p. 158.

1. The students found the British climate too severe for them; they did not get good advice as regards suitable clothing; therefore, some of them died from pneumonia and tuberculosis.
2. The Church authorities who sent them to Canterbury believed that some of them got 'spoiled' by the kind of life they experienced in England. As a result on their return they were unable to fit into the kind of life 'allotted to the Native' in South Africa. A few of them however, returned 'unspoilt' and made the necessary adjustments.

Towards the end of the 19th century a group of men began as Catechists, and if their education was good, say Std. IV or V, and if in the judgement of their priests and bishops, they were considered worthy, then they were ordained deacons and later priests. Thus they had no formal theological education but were trained by the senior clergy under whom they worked and then moved onto ordination. Such men were Peter Masiza (St. John's), Titus Mtembu and John Ncamu (Zululand), Paulus Masiza (Grahams-town) Jemuel Pamla (St. John's).

DIOCESAN COLLEGES

Some catechists of long standing had proved themselves to be able and devoted pastors, and missionaries believed that such men needed further training in the environment in which they lived and worked. Thus the era of Diocesan Colleges began, training three or four students at a time from the same neighbourhood and speaking the same vernacular. 'At one time there were eleven of these colleges in existence, domestic and patriarchal in character, the students closely in touch with the Bishop who would eventually ordain/and licence them'.¹

THE DIOCESE OF NATAL

Natal was constituted as a diocese of the Anglican Communion by letters patent on the 23rd. November, 1853, and on St. Andrew's day the Rev. Dr. John William Colenso was consecrated at Lambeth as the first bishop of the diocese of Natal. He was a man of

1. C.E.G. Goodall: The Church and the Ministry, in the Gray Centenary Pamphlets, First Series, No. 2.

considerable powers of intellect and singleness of purpose. At St. John's College, Cambridge, his tutor regarded him as a young man of the greatest promise. Soon after his consecration he desired to see his future field of labour. With Bishop Gray of Cape Town he left England and landed in Cape Town on the 20th January, 1854. After three days in Cape Town he sailed to Durban and then on to Pietermaritzburg. After a reconnaissance of his diocese he returned to Britain to collect funds for work in his missionary diocese. In this he was eminently successful and returned to Pietermaritzburg to begin his enormous task.

With the help of Theophilus Shepstone, 'the colossus of Native affairs in Natal',¹ Colenso started a school for African children at Ekukanyeni near Bishopstowæ, the episcopal residence, on the 1st. February, 1856. Most of the 19 boys were in the 5 - 12 age group. By 1859 there were 42 boys and 12 girls at the school. The boys were taught the 3Rs, carpentry, agriculture, and brick-making while the girls, in addition to the 3Rs, were instructed also in needlework and other domestic arts.

A school for white boys was started in Pietermaritzburg by Messrs. Barker and Rivett both of whom had come with Bishop Colenso as candidates for the ministry. By the end of 1885 there were 100 boys at the school and soon another school had to be started. Mrs. Colenso and some of the lady missionaries started a school for the 'daughters of some of the principal people in the city',² free of charge.

The new bishop soon learned the Zulu language so well that in a short time he translated into the Zulu the entire New Testament, the books of Genesis, Exodus and Samuel. In addition he published a Zulu dictionary, a Zulu Liturgy, a tract on the Decalogue and readers in Geography, Geology, History and Astronomy.³

In July, 1856, Bishop Colenso wrote a letter to Sir George Grey, Governor of the Cape expressing his desire to establish 'local industrial native schools and a central native college for

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1. Burnett, B.B.: Anglicans in Natal, Durban, 1953, p. 44.
 2. C. Lewis and G.E. Edwards: Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa, London, 1934, p. 313.
 3. Burnett, B.B.: op. cit., p. 46.

Europeans, a theological college, a hospital and an orphanage'.¹ As has been seen a beginning was made with the establishment of a school for African children and another for European children. For Colenso education was designed to go hand in hand with mission. The school and the church must go together and jointly uplift the whole society. He was influenced by Shepstone's policy of retaining Zulu customs and institutions, where they could be reconciled to Western standards.

He regarded the missionary's task as that of leavening the whole social system of the African with the light of the Gospel, and not merely converting detribalised individuals and turning them into black Europeans. He hoped to retain what was good in tribal life, and particularly their sense of mutual responsibility, and to sanctify it with the gift of the Holy Spirit.²

Colenso had intended to make the founding of a theological college one of his first objects. In fact the darkening clouds of the heresy trial that soon gathered around him disrupted many of his schemes. His idea was to train black and white ordinands jointly. They were to be trained ideally by the Bishop or some senior clergyman while they were actively involved in the work of the church. The 'Zulu' had his own contribution to make to the total life of the church.

The first two Zulus to be ordained were William Ngcwensa and Mpengula.³ Henry Callaway, priest and doctor in Pietermaritzburg, desired to see 'simple and earnest men' ordained, but he did not favour sending them overseas. So he trained these two men privately and orally, there being no suitable books in Zulu. He taught them the history of the Old and New Testament, the history and significance of the Creeds, the office for the making of Deacons, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the Church Catechism. In addition he encouraged them to read the Bible themselves and to prepare written sermons. They were ordained by Bishop Macrorie of 'Maritzburg', at St. Saviour's Church, Pietermaritzburg, on the fourth Sunday in Advent, 1871.

William Ngcwensa exercised his ministry at Springvale (1871 - 74),

1. Lewis and Edwards: op. cit., p. 313.

2. Burnett, B.B.: op. cit., p. 40.

3. I have not been able to find his first name.

and was transferred to Kaffraria. He had no fixed station in 1875 - 6. He served at St. Andrew's, Pondoland (1877 - 80) and at Clydesdale (1880 - 92).

ST. ALBAN'S, PIETERMARITZBURG AND ESTCOURT, DIOCESE OF NATAL

St. Alban's College had a checkered career. It was started in 1880 by the Rev. F.J. Green. It began with eighteen young men who were apprentices to various trades in the city of Pietermaritzburg. They resided in a small rented cottage. In January, 1881 the college was moved to larger quarters and began industrial work. The aims of the college as stated by its first Principal were:

1. To give the boys a simple education up to standard VI;
2. To employ them in industrial work;
3. To train those suitable as catechists and clergy.¹

Two months after the college began Mr. (later the Rev.) H.T.A. Thompson arrived from England and was appointed by Bishop Macrorie to the staff of the college. He was later succeeded by the Rev. A.P. Troughton who also came from England.

The subjects done were carpentry, printing, book-binding and shoe-making. A newspaper, 'Inkanyiso' was published fortnightly in English and Zulu, and an illustrated magazine, 'Umhlobo Wabantu', was published monthly in Zulu, and for some months the diocesan magazine was also published!! 'In 1895 the college collapsed, ... owing to the withdrawal of the government grant, on the plea, "that the black artisan would take the bread from the mouth of the white one"'.² When the college reopened three or four years later under the Rev. W.A. Goodwin as Principal it concentrated on the training of catechists some of whom became the first trained, ordained Africans in the diocese of Natal.

what of Ndawana & Mpongwala 177
When Mr. Goodwin resigned in 1905 Bishop Baines appointed Canon Troughton as Principal. At the same time the bishop decided that the college should be moved to Estcourt and that new buildings should be added to those of St. Bede's School near

1. C. Lewis & G. E. Edwards: op. cit. p. 381.
2. Lewis & Edwards: op. cit. p. 382.

Estcourt. A small but steady stream of students trained for the ministry. The college continued till it was closed in 1931 when the Bishops of Natal and Zululand decided to have one training college at Isandhlwana. By that date sixteen Africans who had studied at St. Albans had been ordained and about forty catechists and evangelists were labouring in the diocese of Natal. At the same time Canon Troughton was obliged to resign as Principal through increasing deafness.

The course of study followed was that prescribed by the Church of the Province for the training of Deacons.¹

THE INDIAN MISSION AND MINISTRY²

India has featured already in this study as an indirect influence on the development of mission institutions. With the arrival of Indian indentured labour in Natal, the churches had to face an additional responsibility. The same principles held good for Indians: they too would be most effectively evangelized by their own people; they too would at the same time need to maintain contact with the rest of the church and be influenced by the general environment. From 1876, 30 000 Indians were brought from India to Natal to work in the sugar cane fields. They had several religions of their own which they continued to observe and the fact that most of them spoke no English at all made the work of christian missions among them very difficult.

Two years later the Rev. H.F. Whittington started a small day-school and a Sunday service in Tamil, in Field Street, Durban. Mr. Whittington died after a long illness in 1888. A Durban medical practitioner, Dr. Booth, offered himself to the bishop that he might be ordained for service to the Indian community. The bishop gratefully accepted this offer and in 1883 he ordained Dr. Booth as deacon to this work.

The same year an Indian Schoolmaster, John Thomas, offered himself as catechist to the Bengal Indians, for he could speak only Hindustani, and could not, therefore, keep his job as

1. See above.

2. Grateful acknowledgement is made here for material obtained from Lewis & Edwards, op. cit; S.P.G. Records and 'Net', an Anglican Missionary Magazine, for use in this section.

teacher to one Indian language group only. However, the number of Indian schools in Natal increased. By the end of 1884 there were twenty-one Indian schools in Natal nine of which were run by the Church of the Province. 508 pupils were registered in them.

In 1885 Dr. Booth was ordained priest. He continued his work in the Indian community in Durban until 1900 when he resigned to become Dean of Umtata.

Bishop Macrorie had commissioned the Bishop of Madras to ordain an Indian deacon for the Maritzburg Mission, and in 1892 the Rev. J. Nullathambi began his work in Maritzburg.

The Rev. Samuel Vedakan (a Tamil) was ordained deacon in Madras in 1876 and priest in 1880. He was sent to Durban where he began his ministry in 1890. In the same year the Rev. Simon Peter Vedamuthu was ordained deacon in Madras and was sent to serve the Durban Indian community.

THE D. MCKENZIE MEMORIAL COLLEGE, ISANDHLWANA,

DIOCESE OF ZULULAND

There was no training college for the clergy of the missionary diocese of Zululand. Yet the need for African agents was felt quite early in the history of the diocese. Financial considerations and the shortage of manpower delayed the founding of a theological college. But the training of 'helpers' for the mammoth task of evangelizing Zululand could not be delayed any longer.

So the Rev. Charles Johnson soon gathered around himself at St. Augustine's, Nqutu, a group of about seventy men whom he trained to be catechists and evangelists. He conducted simple Bible classes; he trained his men to prepare and write sermon outlines and also the use of the Book of Common Prayer. Charles Johnson had spoken Zulu from childhood, so he taught his men in perfect Zulu.

The fifth synod of the diocese met in May, 1892. On the first day of synod three Africans were ordained deacons. All had worked for years as catechists under Charles Johnson and had studied also under Dr. Smyth. They were John Ncamu who was catechist at Mafitleng, Kumkani Kayo teacher and catechist

at Blood River, and Titus Mthembu, catechist at Hlazakazi. By 1900 there were two African priests (Mtembu) and (Ncamu) and three African deacons (Martin, Afrikander and Kayo) in the diocese. None of them had had formal theological training.

Bishop W.N. Carter regarded the training of the African ministry as a top priority. 'I am very anxious about the clergy school' he wrote, 'It seems to me that if this country is to be won for Christ, it must be done very largely by native workers, with English clergy over them'.¹ (Thus agreeing with all the rest about a hierarchy of African workers under white supervision).

In the Zululand Mission Report for the year 1892 - 93, the bishop wrote:

In my opinion the Training College for Native Teachers and Clergy is the most important work in the Diocese. Upon this the future of our work must very much depend. ... There are now ten boys in the college whose ages vary from twenty-three to sixteen, all of whom are being trained with a view to their becoming Teachers, Catechists, or Clergy ... In the opinion of all, Isandhlwana is the place for the college, and I am very anxious that what was originally the Bishop's house should be devoted to this purpose, that the college should be called 'The Bishop McKenzie Memorial Native Training College', and that the money (upwards of £500) raised as a memorial to Bishop McKenzie should be invested and form the beginning of an Endowment Fund.. To carry out this proposal I am anxious that a special fund should be raised, to be called the 'College Fund'.²

The bishop appointed the Rev. R.B. Davies, M.A., and the Rev. M.S.H. Spink (a deacon) to be on the staff of the college, The same year the bishop felt that the 'clergy school' should develop independently of the teacher training school, if it must succeed. Therefore, he made part of the late bishop's house the 'clergy school'. Seven boys were in residence in 1892. The students did missionary work and evangelistic work in the surrounding villages under the supervision of Dr. Smyth and Mr. Gallagher.

The curriculum was that set by the Church of the Province for Deacons' Orders, but in addition students were required to do

1. 'The Net', April 1, 1892.

2. Ibid. p. 6.

carpentry. Only on this condition could the school qualify for the necessary government grant.

In 1895 Miss Acutt and Mr. O. Nxumalo appeared on the staff list together with Davies. A former student, Gregory Ngcobo, was expected to join the staff later that year.¹ He had been in England for almost seven years, first at Hurstpierpoint and later at St Augustine's College, Canterbury. The Rev. Gregory Ngcobo appears as a member of the Faculty of Divinity of the Church of the Province in 1906. The Rev. W.L. Vyvyan, M.A., joined the college staff in 1901. The Rev. G.R. Terry and the Rev. C.E. Carey-Brenton were appointed to the staff in 1905 in addition to Mr Davies the Principal of the college.

When the Rev. A.W. Lee was appointed head of the school in 1909 he trained both ordinands and catechists at the school.

Because of a generous gift² received in 1912 from Miss Vialls the whole work was transferred from Isandhlwana to Kwa-Magwaza in 1913. Both boys and girls were admitted. As a result of a change in government policy as regards grants to African schools, the teacher training college was closed down in 1920, and the students were transferred to St Chad's near Ladysmith. The High School continued and flourished at Kwa-Magwaza. The clergy school which was closed in 1918 was taken back to Isandhlwana where it re-opened in 1923 under the Rev. G.H.M. Gray, M.A. who in the following year was assisted by the Rev. E. Mbatha. For four years the school did good work until it was closed again in 1926. It was re-opened again in January, 1933 under the Rev. Dr F.H. Brabant who ran it until 1938 when it was finally closed and candidates for ordination from then onwards were sent either to St Bede's College, Umtata or St Peter's College, Rosettenville, Johannesburg. Catechists were trained by Archdeacon A.W. Lee at St Augustine's, Nqutu.

ST CYPRIAN'S THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE-BLOEMFONTEIN

Bishop Webb had wanted to have a college to train South Africans, black and white for the ministry. Generous donations made it possible for the college to open in 1876 with five students and

1. The Net, December, 1896.

2. The Zululand Diocesan Magazine, Feb.-May, 1920, p.3

the Rev. W.T. Gaul as Principal. The Rev. R.K. Champernowne was appointed chaplain and tutor. The bishop and Archdeacon Croghan gave lectures when they were in Bloemfontein. The Rev. Francis Balfour and later the Rev. William Crisp trained the African students one of whom was training for ordination. By 1879 nine men from the college had been ordained and were working in the diocese. But as a centre serving the whole Province, Bloemfontein was too isolated, and so in 1883 St Cyprian's was closed. At about the same time the missionary society of St Augustine was busy at Modderpoort and Thaba Nchu selecting suitable African men for the ministry. One of them was Gabriel David.

Gabriel David (a Morolong) educated at the Kaffir Institute, Grahamstown, was ordained deacon in 1884 and priest in 1890. He was 'the first native ordained in the diocese'. For a long time he served as a catechist under the Archdeacon Croghan and others. He was 'a most admirable worker'² despite the fact that he could barely keep himself alive because for a long time he worked without receiving a stipend.

ZONNEBLOEM - BISHOP GRAY'S COLLEGE - CAPE TOWN

Soon after his arrival in South Africa from England the Rev. Hopkins Badnall was charged by Bishop Gray to set up, in a wing of the bishop's home, a theological college for the handful of ordinands whom the bishop had collected together. The school called Zonnebloem thus started in 1858. As a theological college its life span was brief, but Zonnebloem continued to give a good general education.

A hundred years later a theological college, called Bishop Gray's College, was started in one of the buildings of Bishopscourt in Cape Town. Bishop Gray's College was a small non-racial college started by Archbishop Joost de Blank for the training of ordinands. Most of them were preparing for the L. Th. (Licentiate in Theology) examinations. Students who studied here include Clive McBride and Patrick Matolengwe. The college closed when the Federal Theological Seminary came into being in 1963.

1. S.P.G. Records, p. 897.

2. Ibid.

ST MATTHEW'S COLLEGE, KEISKAMA HOEK - DIOCESE OF GRAHAMSTOWN

In 1854, John Armstrong, the first bishop of Grahamstown, in consultation with his clergy, decided to establish four mission stations - St Matthew's, St. Mark's, St Luke's and St. John's (Kubusie - now defunct). St Matthew's was established in 1855. Two years later the staff of the mission consisted of a priest, a catechist, a matron for the school and 'five native ... fellow helpers'¹ of the missionary under his direction and superintendence. St. Matthew's developed into a great christian centre. The first four Africans to be ordained deacons were trained at St Matthew's. Of one of them, the then bishop of Grahamstown wrote: 'He had written as good an examination paper in Scripture and theology as many English candidates for deacon's orders'.²

Bishop Merriman of Grahamstown (1873) was determined to provide for the training of an indigenous ministry.

The following entries in the S.P.G. Records are interesting. They give brief notes of Africans and Coloureds who had been ordained Deacons or Priests up to 1892 in the diocese of Grahamstown.

1. BOOM, Jacob; ordained Deacon in Grahamstown 1874, stationed at St Matthew's 1874 - 8; Cwapu 1879 - 80; Rura, 1881 - 2, and was then transferred to the diocese of Kaffraria.
2. GAWLER John William; ord. Deacon in 1887; stationed in Port Elizabeth 1887 - 92.
3. KAWA, Peter; Educated at the Kaffrarian College, Grahamstown; ordained Deacon 1889, Priest 1892, in Grahamstown; stationed at Keiskama Hoek, 1890, Kubusie, 1891 - 2.
4. MALGAS, Daniel; Educated at the Kaffrarian College, Grahamstown, ordained Deacon in 1879, Priest in Grahamstown, 1885; stationed at St Luke's 1879 - 80; St Andrew's, 1881-2; Port Elizabeth, 1883-5; Fort Beaufort 1887-92.
5. MNYAKAMA, Stephen, ordained Deacon in Grahamstown in 1874, stationed at Fort Beaufort 1874 - 84.

1. P.B. Hinchliff: op. cit. p. 60.

2. St Matthew's College Magazine, April, 1924, p.2.

6. MOMOTI, Philip William; ord. Deacon 1885, Grahamstown, stationed in Graaff-Reinet, 1885 - 91.
7. MTOBI, Hezekiah; ord. Deacon 1887, Priest 1892, Grahamstown stationed at Cradock, 1887 - 92.
8. MZAMO, Daniel, ord. Deacon 1877, Gr'town, stationed in Port Elizabeth 1877 - 82 transferred to Natal.
9. MGWANI, E. stationed at St. Matthew's, 1877-82.

THE DIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

In 1860 Bishop Cotterill started a school in Grahamstown for the education of African youths, which was called 'The Kaffir Institute'. Here also a theological college was established for the training of South African born candidates for the ministry under the Rev. Canon Mullins. The school continued until 1903 when it was transferred to St Matthew's.

At St Matthew's the theological school trained both catechists and candidates for the ministry; it had great difficulty in continuing its work on a shoe-string budget. In 1924 Goldsmith Jonas and Hamilton Rolom successfully completed the catechists' course and received their licenses. In the same year Theodore Limekaya, Lennox Malghas, Alfred Kuse, and Henry Maselwa were admitted as new students. In 1925 Kuse and Maselwa were the only students attending school as funds did not permit of the admission of more candidates. Consequently the Diocesan Theological School closed down temporarily in June 1925 pending increased grants to the Native Ministry funds. The 1925 report of the Theological School reads:

The Theological School remains empty, sad to say. We have good news of past students and hear of the good work being done: Mr Alfred Kuse is at King Williamstown; Mr. Goldsmith Jonas has moved to Adelaide and Mr E. Tshezi to Alexandria. Messrs T. Limekaya and L. Malghas are very disappointed not to come back for the diaconate training, but we hope some way may be found to increase the Native Ministry Fund and allow of their return.¹

In those days with small numbers, there was more personal association with the students.

1. St. Matthew's College Magazine, April, 1924, p.2.

When the school re-opened in 1927 Limekaya and Malghas returned for a year to complete the deacons's course. The school did not re-open at the beginning of 1928 because 'the state of the Native Ministry Fund' precluded its re-opening. However, it did re-open on the 20th July, 1928, with four students, namely Joel Mguqulwa, Alfred Fasi, Miles Kika, and A.P. Mtshemla. By the end of the year Kuse was the only student attending the school. He continued alone until 1930 when he completed the course. 1930 opened with W.S. Gawe and C.C. Ngunga as students in the Catechists' class. When these two completed their course they, together with A.P. Mtshemla, proceeded to study for the diaconate which they completed in 1933. No new students were registered until 1935 when J.J. Skomolo and J.P. Khwele were admitted. The Theological Tutors were the Rev. A.C. Grant and the Rev. L.M. Morran, L. Th. In 1933 the Church of the Province of South Africa came to the conclusion that the practice of having a theological school for each diocese was both extravagant and 'a hindrance to the best possible training being given'.¹ Training was centralized at Rosettenville, Johannesburg for the North and St Bede's, Umtata, for the South. Therefore, at the end of August, 1935, the Diocesan Theological School at St Matthew's was closed and its two students transferred to St Bede's.

THE IDEA OF ONE CENTRAL THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

The Church of the Province had several poorly staffed, financially starved colleges with a few students. It was following the pattern in England where most dioceses had their own colleges. While there might have been some advantages in running small diocesan colleges geared towards the needs of each diocese, the advantages of having one central college for the whole Province outweighed the disadvantages. In 1934 the Heads of Theological colleges met in Johannesburg and noted that as early as 1906, the Johannesburg Provincial Missionary Conference had passed two resolutions on the subject:

1. That this Conference, whilst recognizing the advantages of the existence of Theological Colleges in the several Dioceses, thinks that, as soon as needful, a Central

1. St Matthew's College Magazine, November, 1935, p.3.

Native Theological College or Colleges should be provided for those capable of a higher Theological training.

2. This Conference recommends that in order to carry out efficiently the provisions of Canon XVIII of the Church of the Province, licences be not granted to Catechists, Sub-Deacons and Readers until each candidate for the office shall, after due examination, have given proof to the Bishop, or those appointed by him, of his being able to discharge the duties of his office with intelligence and due fitness. It is desirable that each Diocese should endeavour to make suitable provision for the training of candidates for these offices.¹

but that in 1918 the Heads of Theological Colleges meeting at Modderpoort had stated:

We are of the opinion that the time has not yet come for the establishment of one Central Theological College for the Training of Native Candidates for Holy Orders in this Province.²

The same year the Bloemfontein Provincial Missionary Conference felt otherwise:

A central Theological College for the Training of Natives for Holy Orders will be necessary for the Province in the near future.³

1. That the Church of the Province stands alone among religious denominations in South Africa in its possession of more than one college for Native Ordinands.
2. That the very fact of a rising standard of native education has strengthened the case and increased the demand for a central Theological College.
3. That the present system of isolated priests, dealing with a tiny handful of students (six at the most) might well give place to the setting up of an institution with a well equipped staff dealing with a larger and more variegated group of men.
4. That at present the Province is in a transitional stage: the principle of Regional Colleges having been accepted (in Provincial Missionary Conference) formally or officially demarcated.⁴

1. Report of a Conference of the Heads of Theological Colleges, Johannesburg. 10-12/April. 1934. p. 2.
2. Ibid. p. 2.
3. Ibid. p. 2.
4. Report of Heads of Theological Colleges, p.3.

An important development at this conference was the recognition that ministerial training was a Provincial rather than a diocesan concern.

So the smaller colleges were closed: St Bede's, Umtata, would cater for the Southern part of the country, and St Peter's, Rosettenville, for the North. The Church was thus able to concentrate its resources on two provincial colleges.

ST BEDE'S COLLEGE, UMTATA - DIOCESE OF ST JOHN'S

St Bede's was situated in a diocese in the Transkei established in 1872 as a result of a joint endeavour by the Church of the Province of South Africa, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Episcopal Church in Scotland. Henry Callaway, the first bishop of the new diocese was consecrated in Edinburgh in 1873. Callaway made Umtata the headquarters of his new diocese of St John's.

Dr Callaway had always believed that the Gospel ought to be preached to Africans by Africans. It has already been noted that while he was still in Natal he prepared two men for ordination. These were Mpengula and William Ngcwensa.

On the 24th July 1877, Bishop Callaway ordained Mr. Peter Masiza as the first African Anglican priest in the diocese. Since there was no theological college Mr Masiza received whatever training he had in the course of his ministerial duties under the bishop or some other senior clergyman.

In his charge to the synod on the 24th June 1879, Bishop Callaway said:

I wish to dedicate to God all my remaining power, and bind it to the purpose of raising a native ministry; and for this purpose to establish such an institution at this place as shall ensure for the whole of Kaffraria a more educated class of society and an efficient christian ministry, so that when we have passed from our labours, we may leave behind us a body of good and leal men, and well-trained servants of CHRIST, our one Master to take up our work and carry it on to the glory of God.¹

1. G. Callaway: A Shepherd of the Veld, London, 1912, p. 103.

From this statement it appears that Dr Callaway's aim was two-fold: first to build a school that would give its students a general education; and secondly to provide at the same school the kind of christian atmosphere that would encourage young men to offer themselves as candidates for the ministry. Towards this end, the bishop on the following day laid the foundation stone of St John's college, Umtata, 'for the purpose of training young natives and colonists as clergy or lay-teachers'.¹ In other words St John's College was meant to be a multi-racial College offering a general education. Added to this there was to be a theological section. This was the usual purpose of diocesan colleges established by the Anglican church the world over during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

In 1887 the African ministry consisted of one priest, the Rev. P. Masiza, and three deacons, one of whom was a candidate for the priesthood. Mr Masiza conducted services for whites as well, and prepared their children for confirmation. The life and work of Peter Masiza encouraged other Africans to offer themselves for the ministry and disproved the fears of some white christians who were opposed to the idea of ordaining Africans.

Ever since St John's College started the bishop looked to the college to produce potential candidates for the ministry. Incorporated with the Teacher Training College there was a theological department in which men were trained for the ministry by the Warden, the Rev. W.M. Cameron. The first group of theological students started training in 1884. Some of these were men who had been sent for further training by Mission stations where they had been doing evangelistic work. Generally these were married men without much previous education. They were required to gain general knowledge of the Bible and the Prayer Book, and to make some acquaintance with the provincial canons and the acts of the diocese. Others who had gone through most of the college course might be required to take a higher standard. Some remained as deacons for the rest of their lives. Others proved their worth in the course of the years they spent as deacons and were advanced to the priesthood. Cameron and, after, him, Goodwin, devoted much of their time to the training of these men.

1. M.S. Benham: Henry Callaway, London, 1896, p. 321.

By 1889 there were six students in the theological department. Africans had to pass the same subjects as whites at the same standard. The subjects were Bible, Prayer Book, Provincial Canons, Diocesan Canons, Diocesan Catechism for deacons. In addition to these priests were required to do Pastoralia, after 15 years of approved evangelistic work.

In 1898 Bishop Key felt that a better training could be given to candidates for the ministry if there was a theological college distinct from the Teacher Training College. A beginning was made under the Rev. A.C. Kettle who died soon after starting on his work. The theological department of the college was moved to a larger neighbouring building originally built for a girls' school, close to the bishop's house. This became St Bede's Theological College, Umtata, which was opened as such in 1902 and was described by Osmond Victor as 'one of the best known Theological Schools in South Africa'.¹

In 1911 there were nine African priests and fourteen deacons in the diocese of St John's. Most of them had gone through St Bede's.

In 1911 there were three leaders of the Order of Ethiopia, including its Provincial Rev. James Dwane, studying at St Bede's. Dwane was an ordained minister of the Methodist Church of South Africa. He broke off from the Methodists and after a period of involvement with the Ethiopian Movement he formed the Order of Ethiopia which he affiliated to the Church of the Province of South Africa. In the year 1900 Dwane was ordained deacon and on the 29th January, 1911, he was ordained to the priesthood at St Mark's by the bishop of St John's. Dwane negotiated with the Church of the Province of South Africa over the matter of episcopal orders. They mutually agreed to a relationship in which the order of Ethiopia was attached to the Church of the Province. The Order has continued to train its ministers both at St Bede's and at St Peter's College, Resettenville (and at Alice from 1963). St Bede's trained men as catechists and also as deacons and priests. Some St Bede's

1. Victor: The Thin Black Line, p. 6.

men have qualified for the Licentiate in Theology (L. Th.) of the Church of the Province. Most of the men trained were from the diocese of St John's. The remarks of the Goodall-Nielsen Commission on St Bede's are interesting:

The general academic standard is fairly low, but here again the main emphasis is upon devotional training and pastoralia. The student body is drawn almost exclusively from the rural areas... Within the severe limits of its teaching resources, we felt that St Bede's was offering a good training for the priesthood; but the teaching limitations are serious. Very little is provided, for example, in church history.¹

The number of students at St Bede's rarely exceeded twenty; the average was nearer ten.

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE, ROSETTENVILLE, JOHANNESBURG

The Anglicans found in the Transvaal what the Methodists had already discovered before them in the same province as well as in Zululand, that the work of evangelism was started by a band of untrained, untutored, but dedicated African men. Towards the end of the last century African work in the Church of the Province fell on the shoulders of one man, Canon Farmer. He reported as follows:

When I came to the Diocese I was surprised to find there were no less than sixty native men working hard for the Church. They had been amongst those who at different times had gone from the Transvaal to work in other parts of South Africa for money to pay their taxes or supply their needs. They had gone away from locations or villages on Boer farms, some to Kimberley, others to Maritzburg, Grahamstown or Cape Town, and while there they had come under the influence of some of our Missions, been converted and baptised.

Then they went to their own homes in the midst of heathenism, and instead of falling away, as might have been expected - without a thought of pay, and with no other idea but the glory of God and the salvation of souls - they set to work to preach the Gospel to their fellow creatures... I found that I had to register in the Church books thousands who had been converted by means of these men. Each year my baptisms exceeded 500, and just before the war broke out, I went round the Missions to administer the Holy Communion to all I could reach, putting down their names in a book. When the tour which took a month, was over, I found I had the privilege of administering the Holy Communion to over 2 000 natives.

... I was also surprised in going up and down the country

1. Goodall - Nielsen Report, p. 15.

to find that these natives had built for themselves, without any outside promptings or assistance, rough buildings for churches. These buildings were only of rude structure, with walls of mud and roofs of thatch, with holes for windows and a rough screen of reeds for doors. They were often decorated inside with crude ornamentation in coloured earth, and on the wall at the further end would be drawn a large Cross in some coloured pigment.

These churches were some of them quite small, but often were capable of holding from one to two hundred people. They had done this in the midst of a great amount of difficulty in finding time and means of building as well as from opposition on the part of their Boer masters. ... I must say I could conceive of no more valuable help than these laymen gave, and no more devoted band of workers.¹

Canon Farmer continued:

These men were very capable missionaries, even though they were uninstructed and laymen. There can be no doubt that the very best missionary must be the properly trained native, and the end of our work must be a Native Ministry. ... But to ordain natives without their being properly trained would be fatal to the spiritual life of the Church. This training we must set ourselves to give.²

Canon Farmer began to do just that. With financial help from the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. he built a 'really decent church' for the African congregation in Pretoria. Next to it he put up another building which he called St Cuthbert's College. Here he made a beginning by training about a dozen men 'in habits of prayer, and study, and work'.³ Some of these men had been accepted by the bishop as candidates for the ministry when the outbreak of the Boer War (1899-1902) stopped the whole venture.

Canon Farmer thought 'a College of English Clergy and Natives' was needed. The dream came to fruition in a rather different way. It was imperative to restart in Pretoria after the war. But meanwhile the Community of the Resurrection had established a community House and Mission Centre at No. 10 Sherwell Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg. To this they attached a Theological college, St Peter's College, which was opened in April 1903, with one student, Matthew Mntande. Later in the year he was joined by Titus Malape, Stephen Mashupye, Michael Mpumlwana and Apollos

1. O. Victor: The thin Black Line, Johannesburg, n.d. pp. 7-8.

2. O. Victor: The Thin Black Line, pp. 7-8.

3. Ibid, pp. 7-8.

Monare, all of whom had begun their training as catechists at St. Cuthbert's College, Pretoria, before the war.

THE TRAINING OF CATECHISTS

The course for catechists was of six months duration though some catechists stayed longer at the college to improve their general standard of education. The catechists' course covered basic school subjects like Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, History, etc. which were usually taught by an African teacher. In addition there were such theological subjects as Scripture, Doctrine, the Prayer Book, and Church History. Doctrine followed the general scheme of the Provincial Catechism because one of the duties of the catechist was to teach the official catechism of the Province of South Africa to catechumens and candidates for baptism and confirmation.

Catechists' training ceased at St Peter's in 1937. From that date only ordinands were trained. By 1937, 188 catechists and 75 ordinands had gone through St Peter's.

TRAINING OF DEACONS

The Bishop's Examination for Deacons' Orders was spread over the two years of the college course, and was taken in three parts.

The subjects were:

General New Testament

General Old Testament

An Old Testament Book

English and South African Church History

Early Church History

Prayer Book (General and two special services)

Church Doctrine (on the basis of the three creeds with a few selected Articles)

Constitution and Canons of the Province of South Africa.

Pastoralia

Later English and Latin were added to the course.

From the beginning of the college until 1922 a student was admitted to the college on the recommendation of his priest and bishop with no stipulation of a minimum standard of education required for admission.

In his book 'The Thin Black Line', Osmund Victor gives the procedure followed by the diocese of Pretoria in 1914 for the

testing of ordinands. Any one who wished to read for Deacons' Orders had to:

1. Come to the college for six months on trial, with a letter of recommendation from his priest. The bishop was at the same time informally notified.
2. Take the first Deacons' Examination at the end of that period.
3. If successful in the examination, to obtain testimonials as to character and fitness from his priest, the Head of the college, and the congregation which he had served.

The whole matter was then carefully considered by the Bishop. If he gave his consent the student could return to college to continue with his studies. After two years the candidate should be ordained as deacon. 'Some five years would then be served in the diaconate before the question of Priests' Orders is brought up. When that time came more testimonials would have to be forthcoming, and the Deacon would come to college again for one year, during which time he would take the two Priests' examinations'.¹

THE TRAINING OF PRIESTS

The examination for Priests' Orders covered much the same ground as that for deacons, but was taken in two parts only. Moral Theology and Apologetics were added. Latin and Greek which were compulsory for white Priests were not expected of black Priests. English had to be learned as it was the medium of instruction and examinations.

THE DEVOTIONAL LIFE OF STUDENTS

This is one of the most difficult aspects of theological education both to cultivate and to measure. The staff at St Peter's tried to help students develop a life of devotion by the example of their own personal and corporate life of worship. More than this it is hard to know what any theological teacher can do.

1. O. Victor: op. cit. p. 26.

In the final analysis all depends on the fellowship that each person has with his Lord.

At the same time it must be recognized that there are different schools regarding the spiritual formation of ministers. There are those who believe that devotional exercises should be compulsory. Most Roman Catholics and Anglicans fall within this school. Certainly at St Peter's all students were expected to share fully in the devotional life of the college. On the other hand 'Protestant' training has tended to stress the primacy of the academic and left decision on devotional life largely to the individual. The monastic traditions, as represented in this case by the Community of the Resurrection which ran the college, laid stress on compulsory corporate worship which had no real parallel in the Protestant tradition. The Protestant principle questioned any exercise which was not freely entered into and always found itself embarrassed when it insisted on compulsory exercises. However, experience has taught that certain things in education cannot be left to individual inclination alone.

ACADEMIC STANDARDS

When St Peter's started in 1903 the educational facilities for Africans in the Transvaal were very poor. Indeed, a letter written to the Community of the Resurrection by the Secretary for Education in the Transvaal, dated 22nd February 1909, stated 'There is no provision at present for carrying the education of natives above standard III'¹

In view of this low level of education for the Transvaal African men went to St Peter's College on the recommendation of their priests and the bishop, to be trained mostly as catechists. Only those students who came from the Cape or Natal had qualifications higher than Standard III. In addition to their low standard of education the students were elderly married men who were interested in qualifying as catechists or deacons.

1. Reproduced by A Winter: Till Darkness Fell, n.d., p. 56.

In order to improve general educational standards the Community of the Resurrection took over St. Peter's Day School and raised the ^{stan}standards until in 1925 they started secondary school classes and in 1927 the school produced its first two Junior Certificate 'graduates'. In 1932 matriculation classes were started.

In 1922 the theological school fixed standard six as the minimum entrance qualification. In 1934 a Conference of Heads of Theological Colleges agreed:

1. That the Junior Certificate or a Teacher's Certificate be the minimum standard accepted;
2. That the Deacons' Course be lengthened from two to three years;
3. That such candidates as were capable be encouraged to read for the Provincial L.Th.

Since then many St. Peter's students have qualified for the L.Th.

In 1938 John Tsekiso went to St. Peter's with a B.A. Degree from Fort Hare. The following year Alphaeus Zulu entered St. Peter's with a B.A. degree also from Fort Hare. Zulu had been teaching at Umlazi, near Durban for some years. When the call for the ministry came he decided that he must first do a university degree. Thus he went to Fort Hare where he graduated in 1938 with majors in Ethics and Social Anthropology. At St. Peter's he read for the L.Th. which he received at the end of two years. In December, 1940, he was ordained deacon and was appointed to St. Faith's Mission, Durban. Two years later he was ordained priest and continued there, becoming Rector in 1953, until 1960 when he was appointed Assistant Bishop of St. John's, Umtata. Then he was appointed diocesan bishop of Zululand and Swaziland thus becoming the first African bishop in the Church of the Province of South Africa. His university and theological studies as well as his gifts and personality fitted him well for the distinguished leadership role which he has played in the life of the church in this country and in the world church as a member of the Praesidium of the World Council of Churches. In 1974 he received an honorary Doctor's degree from the University of Natal and in July, 1975, he retired to Edendale near Pietermaritzburg.

There is no doubt that St. Peter's has been the best theological college in the church of the Province of South Africa. Compared with St. Bede's whose students came mainly from the Diocese of St. John's and the Order of Ethiopia, St. Peter's has attracted students from all over the country. Staffed by members of the Community of the Resurrection, St. Peter's had a larger teaching staff (usually three or four) and, therefore, more specialization in the teaching. Financially St. Peter's was built and maintained by the Community of the Resurrection, though bishops paid for the students they sent there for training. St. Bede's, on the other hand, was a one-teacher theological school supported financially by a poor diocese. Whereas St. Peter's stopped training Catechists in 1937 and concentrated on the training of Ordinands, St. Bede's continues training catechists to this day. Many St. Peter's students qualified for the L.Th. examinations and very few St. Bede's students qualified for these examinations.

The following have been principals of the college until 1960:

Fr. Latimer Fuller,	C.R.	1903 - 9
Fr. Francis Hill,	C.R.	1909 - 10
Fr. Osmund Victor,	C.R.	1910 - 16
Fr. Aidan Cotton,	C.R.	1916 - 24
Fr. Gregory Evans,	C.R.	1924 - 36
Fr. Eric Goodall,	C.R.	1936 - 42
Fr. Christopher Millington,	C.R.	1942 - 52
Fr. Phillip Speight,	C.R.	1954 - 57
Fr. Godfrey Pawson,	C.R.	1958 - 60
Fr. Aelred Stubbs,	C.R.	1960 - 72

THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE

'Archbishop West Jones was anxious that there should be some standard of attainment in religious knowledge by the clergy of the Province, and this was fully discussed in the Provincial Synods of 1876 and 1883, and again in the Episcopal Synod of 1898'.¹

1. Lewis & Edwards: op. cit., p. 204.

As a result of these discussions and resolutions coming from these Synods, a Faculty of Divinity was constituted in 1898. The Faculty consisted of the archbishop and the bishops of the Province together with priests of the Province who were graduates in Divinity.

The aim of the Faculty was to arrange courses of study, lectures and examinations for diplomas and degrees in divinity. In this way the executive board hoped to stimulate a systematic study of divinity. Candidates for the ministry as well as deacons and priests were eligible for examination for the diploma of 'Student in Divinity', for which they were entitled to wear a hood. Synods of bishops in 1907 and 1908 agreed to accept the Studentship Examination of the Faculty of Divinity as sufficient literacy qualification for Deacon's Orders.

SUBJECTS OF EXAMINATION FOR CANDIDATES FOR HOLY ORDERS¹

Agreed to for uniform adoption by the Metropolitan and Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa in Synod assembled, in 1891.

FOR DEACONS (European)

1. Old Testament - A general knowledge of the Old Testament, and more particularly of the Pentateuch and Historical Books, with a special knowledge of at least one book.
2. New Testament - A general knowledge of the New Testament, with special knowledge of one of the Epistles in English and one Gospel in Greek.
3. Prayer Book - A competent knowledge of the history and contents of the Book of Common Prayer, with a special knowledge of certain appointed portions.
4. Dogmatic Theology - (1) Creeds (2) Articles
 - (1) A competent knowledge of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds in Latin, and of the Nicene Creed in Greek. Introduction to the Creeds by Maclear.
 - (2) A general knowledge of the XXXIX Articles.

1. There were special books for the Diocese of Cape Town.

5. Church History

- (1) History of the church up to A.D. 325.
- (2) A general knowledge of English Church History was contained in Cutts' Turning Points.

6. Constitutions and Canons of the Church of the Province.

7. Candidates will be required to read aloud in the presence of the Bishop.

8. Woodford's Great Commission to be read.

FOR DEACONS (Native)

The same subjects, omitting Latin and Greek, will be required from Native candidates as from European, but they must be competent to read and compose correctly in English.

FOR PRIESTS (European)

1. The Bible - A competent knowledge of the Bible, with special knowledge of set portions from the Old Testament, and from the New Testament in Greek.
2. Book of Common Prayer, with a special knowledge of the Liturgy and the Ordinal.
3. Church Doctrine, including a full knowledge of XXXIX Articles, together with Pearson on the Creed.
4. Pastoral Theology
5. Church History, up to the 4th General Council of A.D. 451, and English Church History.
6. Evidences - Butler's Analogy and Liddon's Bampton Lectures
7. Selected work or works of an Ecclesiastical Latin Author and the Latin of the XXXIX Articles.
8. Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province.

FOR PRIESTS (Native)

The same subjects, omitting Latin and Greek, are required from Native candidates as from European.¹

1. South African Provincial Directory, 1910.
The syllabuses continued unchanged for many years.

The Licentiate in Theology (L.Th.) which was open to priests and deacons of all racial groups in South Africa had a similar syllabus, except that African, Coloured and Indian candidates were also required to take the Greek examinations.

The Church of the Province did its best to adopt a uniform standard of training for all its ministers with no distinction of race. The ruling, in the above syllabuses, that Africans were not required to do Latin and Greek was a realistic assessment of the educational background of Africans which the church tried very hard to improve.

During the Second World War three European candidates received part of their training at St. Peter's, Rosettenville, and Archbishop Joost de Blank sent two African students to study at St. Paul's, Grahamstown, in 1961-62.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, SOME CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

A. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

Having reached this point in this study certain conclusions may now be drawn:

1. In this study an attempt has been made to trace the unfolding of a missionary strategy, namely evangelism through education. Therefore, the aim of missionary education was evangelism. In other words, from the beginning the education of Africans in South Africa has been the handmaiden of evangelism. It was essential that new converts should be able to read the scriptures themselves in order to understand them and pass their message on to others. Therefore the missionaries believed themselves obliged to educate their converts.

Secondly the missionaries realized that they had certain limitations in the proclamation of the gospel message, such as their inability to speak the languages of the indigenous people. Even when some of them had managed to learn the dominant language in the area in which they worked, they neither understood nor did they have sympathy with the customs and ways of life of the people they came to evangelize. Moreover, they paid insufficient attention to what the hearers understood. It then became necessary for them to train 'native agents' who would be able to communicate the saving message to their people from the same background. In order to ensure that the 'native agents' communicated the real saving message, education became increasingly important.

Thirdly as the people developed and the numbers increased it became clear that foreign agents could not cope with the task. Moreover, the missionaries realized that: 'Africa will never be converted by white missionaries. The only hope is to build up a native church with a native ministry. ... The key to the whole position lies in the native ministry'.¹

Thus the need for the training of Africans for the ministry arose.

1. 'An African Ministry' a pamphlet appealing for funds for St. Peter's College, written in 1925.

Each missionary body or denomination trained its men to meet the need it perceived. As a result the various ventures into the theological education of Africans in this country were sporadic, unco-ordinated and very often unplanned efforts. Only Lovedale appears to have had a planned scheme before starting. The rationale for training Africans for the ministry, the curricula, the status and remuneration of African ministers were all worked out in detail beforehand.¹

2. The Alpha and the Omega of ministerial training was evangelism: all else was subordinate to this all-consuming aim. Theological education was a logical development and extension of this aim. Stewart was passionately concerned about the evangelisation not only of Southern Africa, but of the whole continent of Africa.

He believed that because of the shortness of the lives of the European missionaries in Central and West Africa, Africans from the South should assume the duty to evangelize their benighted brethren further north. With this in mind he sent groups of students from Lovedale to Livingstonia in Nyasaland (now Malawi) to preach the gospel there. Some caught tropical diseases, others died, some returned. Very few remained and did a good job. On the whole this project was not a success.

This emphasis on evangelism was understandable in a missionary situation where the missionaries were surrounded by hordes of heathens and where language and culture constituted such a barrier. For the Methodists evangelism was particularly important. For Wesley had told his preachers categorically: 'You have nothing else to do but to save souls'.²

3. Theological training was done on a denominational basis. The different colleges worked in almost complete isolation from each other. Writing on their visit to South Africa as late as 1953 Goodall and Nielsen say:

1. The Kaffrarian Watchman, Feb. 1, 1869.

2. Wesley's 'Twelve Rules of a Helper'

We were surprised to discover how slight is the contact between the theological colleges of the different areas and churches. Some college principals, even, were unaware of the existence of certain other colleges. Few theological teachers have ever met their colleagues in other institutions; rarely does there seem to have been a thorough and widely representative discussion of common problems, method of work, literature resources and needs, etc.¹

A notable exception again here was Lovedale which from the beginning opened its doors to all other missionary bodies to share in the training of men for the ministry at Lovedale. The first four theological students at Lovedale included an L.M.S. student and later Lovedale had students from most of the major denominations including the Dutch Reformed Church. A bold step was taken by Lovedale in 1883 when it invited the L.M.S., the Congregational Union and the United Presbyterian Church to join in the establishment of a Joint Faculty at Lovedale. Admittedly financial considerations played a major role in this decision but on other grounds also this was a realistic move.

In the country at large there was the General Missionary Association, (1904) and later the Christian Council of South Africa (1936) which brought together missionaries and Christian workers from various parts of the country to discuss common problems such as education and evangelism.

Adams College was pressed by man-power and financial problems to embark on a joint training scheme with the United Free Church of Scotland and Mpolweni in 1910. It was pressure from the Government that made Adams College to open its doors to the A.M.E. Church, the Presbyterian Church of Africa, and the independent Churches in 1954. Indeed, it was Government pressure which made all the Churches considered in this study to come together in the Federal Theological Seminary in 1960.

Nothing has forwarded the ecumenical movement more than Government pressure - forcing the church to be the church and not just a congress of denominations. There is something profoundly disturbing that we have to be prodded by financial, political, social or international pressure to do what as brothers it should be our delight to do.

1. Goodall & Nielsen Report, p. 55.

The Anglican Church started by running a number of small diocesan colleges. These might have served the needs of each diocese and geared the training of their men to these diocesan needs. But it was a wasteful undertaking both in terms of money and man-power. In 1934, for example, it was discovered that five priests were giving their whole time to training eighteen ordinands at four different centres.¹ Ultimately, it was resolved that St. Peter's would serve the north and St. Bede's the south. This was never strictly adhered to; the bishops sent their students to whichever of the two colleges they preferred.

Theological training has been forced into ecumenical patterns. This has happened not because the churches suddenly became ecumenically minded, but because outside forces began to operate on the churches.

The transfer of Fort Hare University College, Alice, to government control at the end of 1959, forced the churches (Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Union of South Africa) which had played the major part in the establishment of Fort Hare to look for a new site. About the same time, the operation of the Group Areas Act and the Bantu Education Act forced other churches (Anglican and American Board) to leave centres where some had been training ministers for more than a century. This common adversity led the different bodies involved, Anglican, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian, to consider a joint scheme for the training of their ministers. The Theological Education Fund, set up in 1958 by the International Missionary Council, was at that time preparing to assist such interdenominational schemes. So, in 1963, the Federal Theological Seminary was brought into being on a fine site of 220 acres given by the Church of Scotland in conjunction with the Bantu Presbyterian Church.

4. The Seminary was Federal because of the denominational backgrounds; denominational emphases tended to predominate in each college. For example, some emphasized academic studies, others practical work and others the devotional

1. E. Goodall: Forty Years on, Johannesburg, 1941, p. 24.

life of the ministers. While all these aspects ought to find their place in the all-round training of each man irrespective of denominational affiliation, there were differences about what that place should be.

5. Training was at one level because even though students came from various educational backgrounds, they were often too few to justify teaching at more than one level. The staffing position of most of these schools (especially the one-tutor schools) made it almost impossible for staff to teach at different levels. Fort Hare was the only exception because the staffing situation, though never satisfactory, was much better. Yet even at Fort Hare degree and diploma students were taught together in the same classes. As has already been noted at one stage at Adams first, second and third year students were herded together in one class for instruction. This was educationally very unsatisfactory and had soon to be dropped.

6. Except at Lovedale, and possibly also at Fort Hare, training tended to be more practical than academic. This point is discussed at length in the chapter on Fort Hare. As has already been said there should always be the closest association between the 'academic', 'practical' and 'devotional' training.

7. All the colleges examined here taught the traditional disciplines, Old and New Testaments, Doctrine, Church History and Pastoralia. This is inevitable as the literature, life, teaching and history of the church should be known by Christians of every age the world over. Adaptations in the application of the Christian message may vary from age to age and from one situation to another. But the kernel of the message remains the same, and requires the teaching of these traditional disciplines.

8. In every case instruction has been in English, except where evangelists were also trained in which case the vernacular was also used. The medium of instruction will continue to be English because not only is English the lingua franca among Africans themselves but it is also the gateway to the wider world, to higher studies and a rich literature. In other words instruction in English was not just for the convenience of the tutors; it was a benefit to the students in other ways than theological.

9. In the introduction to this study it was stated that the purpose of this study is to... examine the nature, aims, and results of the theological education of Africans in South Africa. As regards the nature of theological education it was reasonable that the missionaries should impart to these ministerial students the kind of theological education they themselves had received in the countries of their origin whether these be European or American. Thus: (a) The Scottish missionaries tried to reproduce the Scottish model at Lovedale. Their students toiled through history, literature, mathematics, science and philosophy so as to gain a broad knowledge of 'the Arts' before going to the study of 'theology proper'. At the beginning they insisted on students doing the biblical languages (Hebrew and Greek) in order to equip them for the exegesis which every minister was expected to do himself. It was, however, impossible for a Missionary Society with limited financial resources to transplant the Scottish model on 19th century Africans who came from a non-literary culture with no libraries. Eventually the Scottish missionaries had to be satisfied with a course that was lower than the 'home model', but more relevant to the local situation.

(b) Unlike in Britain and the United States where there were long debates as to the necessity of theological training the Methodists immediately provided facilities for the training of their first African candidates for the ministry, though, in contrast to Lovedale, they made no adequate preparations for the course. There was no attempt to reproduce a 'home model' because in Britain that model had not had sufficient time to become established and consolidated. Training then tended to aim at giving students the 'necessary tools' for the work of evangelism in the circuits.

(c) Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who started their work in Natal in the mid-1830s began with the aim of 'reproducing the American experience' among the 'primitive Zulus'. They hoped to establish Christian Zulu communities each of which would be guided in spiritual matters by an African pastor, 'liberally educated' by missionaries who were themselves college graduates, for only 'liberally educated college graduates' could train liberally educated African pastors. Soon after their arrival they started planning a Theological

Seminary that would be as nearly as possible a replica of similar institutions in America, providing a three-year course in biblical languages, theology, history, and science. Here would be produced a Zulu clerical elite for without educated pastors there could be no christian leadership.

These aims failed, however, because it was impossible to reproduce the American model on the hard realities of African life in the South Africa of the 19th century, where there were no books, no literature and virtually no religious background.

(d) When Anglicans began their work among Africans in this country they were faced with scores of little flocks without a shepherd all over the country, and tried to prepare indigenous shepherds to care for these flocks. So in little diocesan colleges (as in England) men were prepared to be catechists, deacons and priests. They began where the people were and raised academic standards as the educational and spiritual quality of their candidates improved.

Perhaps more than any of the churches under review the Anglicans concentrated in training their candidates in habits of prayer, devotion and discipline more than on academic achievements.

Some attempt was made at Tiger Kloof to relate Christianity to African traditional religion and African customs. This is always doomed to failure because the foreign missionary can never look at African life and customs from within and understand them from within. Only an African who has thoroughly understood and accepted Christianity can relate it to African life and customs. Africans themselves must be interpreters and mediators between the old and the new. It is they who must do the job 'of Christianizing the life of their peoples in such a way that what is genuinely Christian is not confused with what is merely European, that nothing that is valuable and beautiful in the old culture is discarded, but that the Gospel is not corrupted by a sentimental attachment to features in the old life which are incompatible with it'.¹

1. S. Neill: 'African Theological Survey' - an unpublished document

B. RESULTS

10 (a) Now as regards the results of this kind of education, the question is: What was the end product of theological education? In order to answer this question mini-biographies of some outstanding men in each college have been given which show how the most significant products of theological education exercised their ministry. The list begins with Tiyo Soga who belongs to a type by himself. Then follow Mzimba, Makiwane, Rubusana (Lovedale); Charles Pamla (Healdtown); Z.R. Mahabane (Lesseyton); A.H. Zulu (St. Peter's). Basic to all these men was the faithful exercise of a pastoral ministry. But all of them were deeply involved in the social, economic, political and educational affairs of their day and country.

All of them lived at a time when every educated African was ipso facto a leader though their education was not necessarily and consciously geared that way. The small number of educated Africans stood up above the uneducated masses like mountain peaks rising from an undistinguished plain. So they became leaders of their people not only in the church, but also in the community, in education, politics, economics and social welfare. This was an unplanned, indirect, but inevitable result of their education.

There were many reasons for the establishment of Fort Hare and training for leadership was not foremost among these in the minds of its architects. Nowhere in the documents arising from the planning of the university college is training for leadership specifically mentioned. Yet leadership was an inevitable outcome of university education.

(b) The trained African minister in South Africa has on the whole been a good pastor preacher and evangelist. Some have been outstanding leaders in the church and have been able to take equal place with the foreign missionary or the European minister in the leadership of the Church. But the African minister so far has not creatively worked out a liturgy which is suitable for the needs of the African worshipper. One reason for this is that the African has not felt free to depart from the liturgy or ways of worship that his denomination brought from Europe. His training has not given him that creative freedom which is

so necessary if new forms of worship are to be explored. It is significant that even when Mzimba had seceded from the United Free Church of Scotland he continued its forms of worship in the Presbyterian Church of Africa which he had formed.

In all black Methodist Churches in South Africa lay preachers and ministers use, with little or no variation, the Order of Morning Worship which John Wesley adapted from the Anglican Prayer Book. They do this more rigidly than white Methodist churches where this form of worship is very rarely, if ever, followed. White Methodist Churches, however, do stick rigidly to other Orders of Worship in services such as the Ordination service, the Covenant service, etc.

Under the inspiration of E. Gedye and Wesley Hurt some students and past students of Lesseyton wrote a good crop of hymns which are now in the Xhosa and Sesuto Methodist Hymn Books. Some have found their way into other Hymn Books as well. But apart from this group and the notable contributions of Tiyo Soga, very few Africans have written hymns.

It must sadly be confessed that Africans in South Africa have not contributed to Christian literature in the vernaculars and there is a dire need for this. It is interesting to note that since independence there has been a luxuriant growth of Christian and secular literature in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya and Uganda.

Because of the under-staffing of theological colleges in South Africa, the members of staff have not been able to do more than the routine tasks. It has not been possible for them to be on the frontiers of theological thought.

C. THE FUTURE

11. And what about the future? In the past training was geared towards the pastoral ministry. This was necessary at the time because the pastoral care of growing numbers of African Christians was an urgent necessity. In any plans for the future of theological education it must be realized that there are 'diversities of gifts' and 'diversities of ministries'. Training then must not aim at producing the same type of sausage from the same machine.

While the pastoral ministry will, for a long time to come, call for the greatest numbers of those who come out of theological institutions, training must broaden out to open up possibilities for others whose gifts lie outside the pastoral ministry, for example, Urban Industrial Ministry, Community development, education, etc. Of course, no one theological institution can give both the general and specialized training. Some other institutions must emerge to give specialized training to men who already have gone through their basic, general training, and also to provide for further training.

It must be realized that no theological institution can give all that a man needs for a ministry of 30 - 50 years. There must be continuing education after ordination. It is for the churches to decide how this could be institutionalized. The United Church of Canada requires every minister to be involved in some form of continuous education or post ordination training every four years. What theological educators must aim at is to give their students the basic tools or skills which they will use and adapt in the varied situations of the ministry and the on-going process of education.

12. It was stated in chapters 2 and 4 that towards the end of the last century Africans were sending their children to schools, colleges and universities in Britain and the United States. Africans have desired overseas education for their children so that they might counter the effects of a colour-conscious education in South Africa. The whites, on the other hand, have always opposed this tendency arguing that overseas education made Africans resent the discriminatory South African way of life. This came out clearly in the Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1903 - 1905, and also in the Report of the Select Committee on Native Education, 1908, and was one of the main reasons for the establishment of Fort Hare which would provide higher education for Africans in this country. Theological students also followed and proceeded overseas for further theological studies. In 1938, G.B. Molefe went to Columbia University in the United States where he graduated with an M.A. in Ethics. From 1954 to 1960 four Africans went overseas to do higher studies in Theology. All four returned to serve their churches in this country. The growth in the number of qualified

Africans in the church has opened a new trend for which the churches were not prepared and a steady stream of men and women going to study theology has continued. This is something which the churches must encourage and support as it broadens the outlook of its ministry. Yet it must also be emphasized that it is important that students should do their basic training in this country and relate their studies to situations in this country before they proceed overseas for higher studies. The number of those who remained abroad permanently is far smaller than the number of those who have returned to do good work in their country. The Sogas, Dube, (founder of Ohlange), Molefe, Sikakane, are a good illustration of this point.

13. The opening of facilities at Fort Hare in 1947 for students to do degrees in Theology was a very good development. It meant that African theological students had entered the world community of university men and women in their own particular discipline. In the eyes of the community the African minister could also have the status of a university graduate. The churches were also challenged to raise their standards of admission to the ministry. Though not readily discernible at the time, this good development brought into black theological education the problem of relationship between training for the ministry and university studies.

The reason why the problem did not arise immediately at Fort Hare was that the lecturers who taught in the Divinity Department had been appointed by the churches concerned to train ministers. The Head of the Divinity Department who was not directly connected with the hostels, was appointed by the University, on the recommendation of theological tutors who were appointed by the churches. This gave the Church indirect control of the appointment. The churches also had a say in framing what was called 'the syllabus of the English churches' (as distinct from that followed by the Dutch Reformed Churches) adopted by the University of South Africa. The tutors who were appointed by the churches for the purpose at Fort Hare taught and interpreted the syllabus.

In 1960 the denominational hostels were taken over along with the University College by the Department of Bantu Affairs. The new regime at Fort Hare no longer required the services of the

denominational Wardens of hostels who were also theological tutors. The University accepted only matriculated students or non-matriculated students qualified to do university diplomas in certain fields of study, and since the great bulk of theological students were not so qualified they could no longer be admitted to the university. The churches had no share in the framing or teaching of the syllabuses then introduced, or in the appointment of those who taught in the Divinity Department. Pastoral subjects, essential since most students were being trained for the pastoral ministry, were not offered. The churches rightly refused to regard university studies for degrees in Theology as training for the ministry. Nor were they prepared in new circumstances to delegate the task of training their ministers.

Apart from anything else university Faculties tend to be rigid as they must satisfy certain university requirements and ensure quality. Generally they do not allow the kind of freedom and experimentation which are possible for theological colleges which are not tied to university programmes. To meet the black students' clamour for university degrees the ideal would be to assist qualified students to do degrees in non-theological subjects before going on to the study of Theology.

14. Theological education or training should be done on a non-racial basis. This is a South African problem which does not exist anywhere else in the world. No other country in the world legislates for the separation of races in all walks of life and even in the training of men and women for the sacred ministry. On this matter Goodall and Nielsen commented:

We believe it to be contrary to the basic nature and ethos of a university to restrict, on racial grounds, admission to its study and research, and to prevent its students from experiencing at this level of inquiry the encounter of races, cultures, and beliefs. 1

In the early days of theological training in this country whites either came as trained ministers from overseas or were sent

1. Goodall & Nielsen: op. cit. p. 51.

overseas for training. Local theological institutions trained a 'native agency'. Lovedale, however, did train a few whites. Differences in educational backgrounds and the social conventions of the country were the main reasons for the establishment of separate theological institutions for the training of white candidates for the ministry. It may be argued that given the social and political realities of South Africa today people should be trained for the situation in which they are to exercise their ministry. In other words, as South Africa is today white pastors will serve white circuits, parishes, pastorates and congregations and should, therefore, be trained for that situation. Similarly blacks who are to serve black churches should be trained to minister to the unique problems of black Christians in South Africa today: that is, they must equip blacks on how they could be Christian in the South Africa of today. This would be relevant, contextual training.

It is true that no white man knows the black man's situation in this country today in the same experiential way in which a black man knows it. He can know it only in an academic, non-involved way. In the same way the black man can never identify himself completely with whites in their situation. The logic of the situation, therefore, would be to train the various groups separately to serve 'their own people', as the saying goes. But Christians in South Africa as anywhere else in the world, are committed to seek and manifest in their daily lives that unity for which their Lord agonized when He prayed 'that they may be one'. Moreover, we have been entrusted with the message of reconciliation. (II Cor. 5: 19-21). It so happens that ministers have a very strong influence over their congregations. It is only ministers who have lived in a non-racial community for a considerable time in this country who can best influence the members of their churches about the possibility of manifesting Christian unity in a non-racial society. The ministers of the church at least should have a vision of what things ought to be. On this Goodall and Nielsen remarked:

We are of the opinion that, in principle and wherever it can be made possible, European and African ministers should receive their training together. There could be great gain in a real meeting of minds, from student days onwards, between those who are to serve as Christian Ministers in a multi-racial society.¹

1. Goodall and Nielsen: op. cit. p. 25.

The corollary of training ministers on a non-racial basis is that the ethos of church life in South Africa must be non-racial at the congregational level and in all its services.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ACTING COMMITTEE FOREIGN MISSION OF FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

MINUTE OF MEETING OF 18TH OCTOBER 1864

SUGGESTIONS FOR MANAGEMENT OF MISSIONS IN KAFFRARIA

The Convener having drawn attention to the fact that at present all matters connected with the management of the Mission in Kaffraria devolved on the Presbytery, and that much difficulty and confusion arise in consequence, submitted the following suggestions as calculated in his opinion to remove these, and to bring the whole organization of the Mission, into a healthy state viz:

1. That the Presbytery henceforth restrict itself to the proper functions of a Presbytery.
2. That the ordained European Missionaries reared in the Colony or sent from this country to be constituted into a Mission Council for the regulation of the general affairs of the Mission.
3. That the ordained missionaries in charge of the Seminary, and a representative appointed by the Presbytery be constituted into an educational Board to regulate the course of instruction in the Seminary and subordinate schools &C., and that a member of this Board shall be charged with the superintendence of said subordinate schools, with a view to secure their thorough efficiency.
4. That there should be a Financial Board for the management of the pecuniary affairs of the Mission, and,
5. That these several bodies should communicate with each other on points that fall within their respective provinces, and all of them directly with the Home Committee on all points requiring the approval of confirmation of the latter.

The Committee cordially approve of these suggestions and request the Convener to communicate with such explanations as may seem to be necessary to the Presbytery of Kaffraria for their consideration previous to their final adoption.

MINUTE OF MEETING OF 20TH NOVEMBER 1866

KAFFRARIA MISSION: SUGGESTIONS AS TO FUTURE MANAGEMENT:

The Committee adopt the following Minute of the Standing Sub-Committee containing recommendations and instructions as to the future guidance of the Kaffraria Mission, a copy of which has been furnished to Dr James Stewart previous to his departure for Lovedale.

27th October 1866:

'The Committee's Minute of 10th October, 1864, having been read, the Convener stated that the recommendations embodied therein had remained in abeyance until now, it being the desire of the Committee that Dr Stewart whose departure has been delayed beyond the originally contemplated, should go out as charged with the views of the Committee in regard to them as well as with any further instructions which may be likely to conduce the prosperity of the Kaffrarian Missions. This meeting had accordingly been called for Conference with Dr Stewart, and for the purpose of drawing up said instructions, agreeably to the said remit of the Committee.

The following recommendations additional to those contained in the Minute of 10th October 1864 were unanimously agreed upon:-

1. That the financial Board should be composed of at least two missionaries and two or three laymen, friends of the Mission, though not necessarily connected with it.
2. That as, in the opinion of the Committee, English should, as in India be regarded as the sole classical language of the Seminary; and as the teaching of Latin and Greek, especially in the case of the natives seems unnecessary, the whole subject should be reconsidered, and a Report sent home, as to the best way in which this suggestion can be carried out. At the same time it is important that in the case of candidates for the higher grade of the christian ministry so much of Greek and Hebrew should be studied, as will enable them with advantage to consult the original Scriptures.
3. That as much time as possible should be devoted to the teaching of religion and religious subjects, so that the Seminary may become increasingly an essential Missionary institution.
4. That it is of much consequence to have the right of the Church

to the different properties presently in possession of the Missionary body ascertained and put upon a legal footing comprehending as far as the Committee can see the vesting of the property in Trustees: and that the Presbytery be requested to commit this matter into the hands of a party competent to investigate and to report to the Committee upon what terms and conditions, and in whose names the several properties are held, secured to the Free Church in a regular and legal form.

5. That, with the reservation of the interests of existing Agents all the agents charged with the management of the Farm or other Industrial departments connected with the Seminary should hereafter be paid from the proceeds of these departments.
6. With regard to the qualifications of native agents for the propagation and maintenance of the gospel whether in India or in Africa, the deliberate judgement of the Committee is that these should be of a diversified character.

Everywhere there is a demand for a small class of thoroughly educated labourers - men so far initiated into literature, science and philosophy as to be capable of grappling with the perplexing questions which have been raised in connection with the hearing of such themes on the Evidence and Doctrines of our most holy Faith - men capable of expounding and exegeting its different parts in their mutual relationships and due proportions, as well as of vindicating them when assailed, whether by avowed enemies or mistaken friends. It is, therefore, desirable that the educational machinery of the Central Seminary should be organized so as ultimately to train up a few native christian men of the highest order of attainment.

But God has given a diversity of gifts, and corresponding to these there may, and ought to be a diversity of operations in the mission field. Under the general guidance of the highest class of labourers who may be the first ordained evangelists and pastors in towns or great central stations, there is ample room for a variety of subordinate agents. There may be a class of readers who can do little else than read portions of the scripture or religious tracts and books to the wholly illiterate. There may be a higher class of purely vernacular catechists, whose attainments may be equivalent to those of an ordinary licensed preacher of the gospel. In the training of these classes respectively the Seminary may be so

organised as to render effective aid.

Ordained ministers and pastors already in charge of considerable districts with several scattered Congregations might employ labourers of these different grades and systematically superintend their labours. The less educated of them might be regularly brought to their homes once a week and some portion of the Scriptures thoroughly expounded to them, which they in turn might thoroughly explain with endless varied illustrations and applications to the natives in their several allotted spheres.

In this way in the course of years, a few of the humbler class of labourers might be found to have made such aptitude in preaching the gospel, that, if endowed with ardent piety, sound judgement and discretion, a conciliatory temper, and other such like qualities, they might be deemed worthy of being appointed the Pastors of simple rural congregations. Or previous to their being so appointed they might be for a short period separated and constituted into a class for the perfecting of their biblical knowledge and theological attainments. A class of men may thus in time be reared up, who though destitute of classical and scientific education, may be endowed with such gifts and graces as to constitute an effective native pastorate for the rural districts.

On another score, even that of the cost of support it must be obvious that such a class of labourers is absolutely needed. While a few of higher order may be maintained in cities or at great central stations, it is clear that throughout the country generally it would be impossible from purely native sources to expect the necessary means for maintaining them, and to purely native sources of support alone we must ultimately look.

We are then, temporarily, to introduce the gospel; its onward maintenance and perpetuation must be left to natives themselves and native support. So soon, therefore, as native congregations are formed, the care of them ought as speedily as possible be consigned to a native pastorate, and the general supervision to educated native ministers, all in time should be supported by natives themselves - while the European Missionaries should be free to pass on to the regions beyond and pioneer the way for new native congregations to be in time delivered over to additional native pastors.

7. That the standard of education in the Seminary should be gradually raised by the adoption of a higher standard for the entrance examination and other suitable measures for extending and elevating the curriculum.
8. That it is desirable that a connection of some kind should be formed between the Mission and the Presbyterian churches in the colony with the view of sympathy and support being derived therefrom.
9. That in view of the contemplated union of Presbyterian churches in the Colony the Committee see no reason why the Presbytery of Kaffraria while discharging its proper duties as a Presbytery might not also co-operate Synodically with the churches proposing to unite, in so far as respects all local ecclesiastical matters, - the management of the purely Mission Affairs relating to home support &C being in accordance with the Minute of 18th October, 1864.
10. That in furtherance of the cause of Female Education Miss Waterston could devote the first year at least mainly to acquisition of the native language.
11. While recognizing the importance of a medical mission among the Kaffirs, and expressing their readiness to give it their cordial sympathy and support, the Committee do not feel themselves in a position at present to issue any instruction to Dr Stewart regarding it. They shall defer doing so until he had had time to report his views on the subject.
12. As the Basuto Missions of the French Protestant Church have recently been broken up by the Dutch Boer Government of the Orange Free State resulting in the exclusion of the missionaries from the country; and as the Society may find it difficult for the present at least to employ the missionaries so expelled the Committee instruct Dr Stewart to co-operate with the brethren in Kaffraria in giving effect to their minute of the 16th inst. in terms of which it is suggested that enquiry might be made by them as to the willingness of the said missionaries, Messrs Rowland and Dyke in particular to join our Mission with the view of their being appointed to labour in the Transkei territory.
13. That with a view to the maintaining of the interest in the Kaffrian Missions frequent and full communication respecting its

~~views should be sent to the Committee.~~

varied operations should be sent to the Committee.

14. In consequence of the annexation of Kaffraria to the Colony the Committee do not feel themselves in a position to give specific instruction in regard to the connection between the Mission and the Government as regards Grants-in-aid to the educational department but they cannot doubt that after conferring with his brethren Dr Stewart will effectually co-operate in securing the most satisfactory arrangements.

DEPARTURE OF DR STEWART

The Convener intimated that Dr Stewart and his wife had sailed on the 7th inst. accompanied by Miss Jane Waterston appointed by the Ladies Society to be the Superintendent of the new Female Seminary at Lovedale.

APPENDIX B: EXAMINATION QUESTION PAPERS, DECEMBER, 1878

EXEGESIS OF THE ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT: MR MOIR

ST JOHN XVIII - XXI; 1 & 2 Thess

1. Who were Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate; Silas, Timotheus?
2. Mention various testimonies to and proofs of the innocence of Jesus found in the account of his trial and crucifixion.
3. Give the probable order of events from the burial to the ascensions of Jesus.
4. Make short notes on John 19:15, 30, 34; and 20:17; 21:22.
5. Relate the circumstances of the first preaching of the Gospel in Thessalonica.
6. Where and when were the epistles to the Thessalonians written?
7. What is the chief subject of both epistles? Give an outline of Paul's teaching on it.
8. Make short notes on 1 Thess. 5:19,22; 2 Thess.2:1,2.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY: MR YOUNG

1. State the leading Biblical definitions of God, and show how the majority at least, of his attributes can be derived from them.
2. State the doctrine of the Trinity. How was it taught by our Lord? How was this doctrine expressed or implied in the Old Testament?
3. Give the Scriptural doctrine of (1) Angels, (2) God's Providence.
4. What is sin? What are its consequences? Give Scriptural proof of your statement.
5. Give the New Testament doctrine of the Person and Work of the Redeemer.
6. Prove from Scripture the distinctive nature of Justification, adoption, and the other doctrines of salvation. What is the connection between faith and Justification? Remark on the doctrine of Justification as taught by St James.

N.B. There is no indication as to how long the paper was to be and how many questions were to be attempted.

APPENDIX C

AN EXTRACT FROM THE KILNER REPORT

THE NATIVE MINISTRY AND NATIVE AGENCY GENERALLY.

This is really to us, as a Missionary Society, the most important question of the day. Our future work among the natives in South Africa depends upon a right appreciation of this subject. It must not be cursorily glanced at, nor summarily dismissed. We are now verging upon a very grave crisis in South African social development, in which a well-directed Native Agency might take a very prominent part.

My fears on this head were many; some hopes I ventured to indulge. The absence of recognized 'Native Ministers' in the Minutes of the Conference, and the abundance of men recognised as 'Evangelists', &C., led me to hope that there were men who needed special training only to fit them for the Native Ministry.

It was a grand surprise to find that my fears were groundless. There were many men who doubtless had a call to the work who were kept back by a timid, if not at times, a jealous hand.

Several of the districts have recommended a large number of native men to be received as Native Ministers on trial. The recent wars and tribal disturbances may have interfered somewhat with the lists of such candidates, but I suppose some fifty or sixty names in all will come before the Committee and the Conference this year. Of these men I can most cheerfully testify, as follows:

1. These native men have been for many years doing the greater part of the vernacular work of their respective stations, preaching, teaching, visiting &C.
2. They are soundly converted men; of singular force of character, many of them men of mark among their fellows; some of them connected with the ruling chiefs, and acknowledged to be of noble descent.
3. The Lord has blessed their labours abundantly. Hundreds of heathen have been converted through their instrumentality. There is not a man among them who has not had seals to his ministry.
4. They have the spirit and bearing of gentlemen. Their manners and address having a grace about them indicating much mental

susceptibility and considerable polish.

5. They are generation in advance of their own people generally; indeed they are as much superior to those among whom they will labour, as any batch of English candidates that ever offered themselves to Conference for work in England are superior to the people among whom they will have to labour.
6. The Native Churches desire, I may say demand, them as their pastors.
7. They have passed unanimously through the Native Quarterly Meetings.
8. They have all passed a searching examination by their district meetings, and have been almost to a man unanimously recommended by those district meetings.
9. They will work under the direct superintendence of a European Missionary and will not be entrusted with the sole superintendency of a Native Circuit until they have satisfied the district meeting of their unquestionable competence for such an office.
10. Their term of Probation is to extend until the district meeting is fully convinced that they are fit to be received into 'full connexion' as Native ministers.
11. Though several of them are somewhat advanced in years, yet not a man was accepted whose physical vigour was questionable, or who did not give fair promise of full ten or fifteen years' hard and valuable service.
12. These men will be entirely supported by the Native Churches. They have pledged themselves to be content with such allowances as the Native Churches can supply.
13. They have agreed to give up all secular work, and devoted themselves wholly to the work of saving souls.
14. They have cheerfully agreed to go wherever the Conference may appoint them.
15. Those of them who are married have maintained the sanctity of Christian homes, and their wives are Christians; the children are all baptised; and the family is pledged to accompany the husband to such station as he may be sent to work.
16. The Native funds will provide for all claims arising from removals, afflictions, and ultimate failure of health by a charge of 5 per cent on native income and by sundry native

contributions, and thus a Supernumerary Fund will be established, and the Society's English grant relieved from all prospective changes on these accounts.

17. Only by some such arrangement, as this scheme contemplates, can we set the English Missionary free from the routine of a Native pastorate, and enable him to give his time and energies to the central teaching and training institutions, which must be organised for the raising of an adequate Native agency for the future.

It must be distinctly remembered that these men are thoroughly well-known in their respective localities, and have had most searching local scrutiny brought to bear upon them. It was profoundly interesting, and equally gratifying, to see how cautiously the Quarterley meetings moved in each case. Some, who offered, were rejected on grounds that would do honour to any English Quarterley meeting, when considering the character and qualifications of candidates.

They are men for whom I would have thanked God to have had as helpers in my Mission in India and Ceylon. With such men I would not hesitate to work any Native Circuit in South Africa.

Here is the lever of the Native Mission in South Africa. A few gifted and devoted European leaders of this rising Native ministry will, by their means, do more for the evangelization of the millions of South Africa in ten years, than is likely to be accomplished in a century by the present appliances and methods.

A P P E N D I X D

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE TRAINING OF NATIVE MINISTERS IN THE WESLEYAN METHODIST CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA, PRESENTED TO THE JUBILEE GATHERING AT THE LESSEYTON INSTITUTION, OCTOBER 18TH 1917, BY THE REV. E.O. BARRATT, M.A., PRINCIPAL OF THE LESSEYTON THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION

1. For the present it is necessary to maintain and develop the existing Training Institution; but any proposals that are made by the authorities of the South African Native College to establish a Union Training Institution for Native Ministers at the Hostels, to be erected there by the various Churches deserves the most sympathetic consideration of our church. Such an Institution could not for many years open its doors to all our candidates, but in what follows it is assumed that approximately one fourth of our accepted candidates might be transferred to Fort Hare within the next 10 or 15 years.
2. The standard of the Entrance Examination for candidates in our Church should be steadily raised. The new scheme introduced two years ago has already practically eliminated those who have not reached the level of the P.T.3 Examination; and it is to be hoped that the Examination will be gradually raised in scope and standard till it may become possible to insist on the Matriculation or some similar Entrance Examination for the majority of our candidates, especially if the establishment of a Methodist High School for Boys, makes it easier for the children of our Native people to obtain some degree of Secondary Education under our care.
3. The usual course at Lesseyton should be three years. Before leaving the institution it should be necessary to pass a Leaving Examination, the standard for a pass in which should be not less than 50 per cent in the subjects prescribed. The latter will in the main be Bible History and introduction, Dogmatic Theology, Methodist History and Polity, including Schedules. A student who fails to obtain the required 50 per cent will devote another year to preparation for the Leaving Examination.
4. In the first Year of Probation there will be no written examination, but an oral examination at the Synod on a prescribed portion of Scripture or some other subject. In

the 2nd, 3rd and 4th years of Probation there will be two examination subjects every year - one written and the other oral. The subjects in the 4th year shall refer to Methodist Doctrine, Practical Theology, or the History of Missions.

5. The proceeds of the Jubilee Fund up to the amount of £300 shall be allocated in two equal halves to the provision of fuller educational equipment at the Institution, and the provision of Furniture for the Dining Hall, Class Rooms, and the Students' Quarters, see Resolution of Conference Min., 1917, p. 90, para.9. Any amount above £300 shall be ear-marked for New Buildings and be added to such other Funds as Conference may authorize to be used for this purpose.
6. That Conference be requested to devote the amount raised for the Twentieth Century Fund, and at present invested for the benefit of the Theological Institution, to the following purposes, viz.: £750 towards the erection of suitable quarters for single students at Lesseyton, £250 towards the Educational Equipment of our Hostel at Fort Hare for the purpose of a Theological School, if that course should be decided on; the interest on the remaining £80 being devoted to the encouragement of proficiency in Theological Studies, three quarters of the Annual Interest being devoted to Prizes for the 3 Students who distinguish themselves most in the Leaving Examination at Lesseyton; one quarter to be allocated to the Theological School at the hostel for prizes. Till such a School is established the interest on both the amounts designated for use at Fort Hare is to be paid as hitherto to Lesseyton.
7. The Capital of the Century Fund Investment for the Theological Institution having been used as is described in the previous suggestion, and the Ministerial Students' Fund Collection never having yielded a satisfactory income, and, further, the Sustentation and Mission Fund having been burdened with the provision of the main portion of the income of the Institution to the detriment of other more aggressive work, the Conference is requested to take steps to ensure a steady and sufficient income for the Institution by an assessment on all circuits in which Native work is carried on, the S. and M. Fund in future contributing only the amount necessary for the support of the Principal.

ABBREVIATIONS:

- C.U.S.A. - Congregational Union of South Africa
- F.M.C. - Foreign Mission Committee
- L.M.S. - London Missionary Society
- Cory M.S. - Manuscript in the Cory Library, Grahamstown.
- N.L.S. - National Library of Scotland.
- S.P. - Stewart Papers, Univ. of Cape Town.
- S.T. - Stewart Papers, in Salisbury.
- n.d. - No date.