

*Malikambe -
Let the Word Spread*



J A Millard

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Malihambe

Let the Word Spread



J A Millard

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Contents

Introduction

Profiles:

Africaner, Jager Christian (c 1769~1822)	1
Apie, Hans (born c 1840)	4
Benghu, Nicholas (1909~1985)	5
Bokwe, John Knox (1855~1922)	7
Brander, Samuel (b 1851)	9
Calata, James Arthur (1895~1983)	11
David, Gabriel (d 1898)	14
Dube, John Langalibalele (1871~1946)	15
Duma, William (1907~1977)	18
Dwane, James Mata (1848~1916)	20
Goduka, Jonas (1846~1914)	24
Kama, William (1798~1875)	25
Links, Jacob (c 1800~1825)	28
Makiwane, Elijah (1850~1925)	30
Mashaba, Robert Ndevu (c 1861~1935)	33
Mathabathe, Samuel (c 1840~1914)	36
Maxeke, Charlotte Manye (1872~1939)	39
Mgijjima, Enoch (1858~1929)	41
Mogatla, David Modibane (also called Magatta) (c 1814~1874)	45
Mokone, Mangena Maake (1851~1931)	47
Mooki, David (1876~1927)	49
Mzimba, Pambani Jeremiah (1850~1911)	52
Napo, Joseph Mutunye Kanyane (c 1860)	55
Ngcayiya, Henry Reed (1860~1928)	56
Ntsikana, Gaba (c 1780~1820)	58
Pamla, Charles (1834~1917)	61
Soga, Tiyo (1829~1871)	63
Tile, Nehemiah (d 1891)	67
Tikhuie, Vehettge Magdalena (d 1800)	69
Tsewu, Edward (b 1856)	73
Index of names and places	76

List of Illustrations

Title page: Cousins, H T 1899. <i>From Kafir kraal to pulpit</i> . London: Partridge.	
Africaner, Jager Christian ~ Marrat, J 1895. <i>Robert Moffat African missionary</i> . London: Charles Kelly	1
Bokwe, John Knox ~ 1914. <i>Ntsikana</i> . Lovedale: Mission Press	7
Lovedale Institution as it is today ~ R Millard	7
Calata, James Arthur ~ Ed Verwey, E J 1995. <i>New dictionary of South African biography</i> , vol 1: HSRC	11
Duma, William ~ Garnett, M 1979. <i>Take your Glory Lord</i> . Roodepoort: Baptist Publishing House	18
Dwane, James Mata ~ Dwane, S 1988. <i>Issues in the South African theological debate</i> . Johannesburg: Skotaville (cover)	20
Present-day students at Healdtown ~ R Millard	20
Healdtown 1898 ~ R Millard	24
Kama, William ~ Holden, W C 1879. <i>British rule in South Africa</i> . <i>Illustrated in the story of Kama and his tribe and of the war in Zululand</i> . London: Wesleyan Conference Office	25
Kama, William Shaw ~ Holden, W C 1879. <i>British rule in South Africa. Illustrated in the story of Kama and his tribe and of the war in Zululand</i> . London: Wesleyan Conference Office	26
Kama's grave ~ R Millard	27
MacFarlan mission near Alice ~ R Millard	31
Mashaba, Robert Ndevu ~ Wesleyan Methodist Notices 1896	33
Mathabathe, Samuel ~ Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society Notices 1891	36
Maxeke, Charlotte Manye ~ Skota, T 1933. <i>The African yearly register</i> . Johannesburg: Easson & Co	39
Mgijima, Enoch Josiah ~ Edgar, R 1988. <i>Because they chose the plan of God</i>	41
Ntabelanga Mountain ~ J Millard	42
The grave of Mgijima ~ J Millard	44
Mokone, Mangena Maake ~ Skota, T D Mveli 1933. <i>The African yearly register</i> . Johannesburg: Easson & Co	47
Mooki, Obed ~ Skota, T D Mveli 1965. <i>The African yearly register</i> . Johannesburg: Easson & Co	51

Mzimba, Pambani Jeremiah ~ Skota, T D Mveli 1933. <i>The African yearly register</i> . Johannesburg: Easson & Co	52
Ngcayiya, Henry Reed ~ Skota, T D Mveli 1933. <i>The African yearly register</i> . Johannesburg: Easson & Co	56
Ntsikana (Chief Sicana) Gaba, Holt, B 1954. <i>Joseph Williams and the pioneer mission to the South eastern Bantu Lovedale</i> : Lovedale Press	58
Pamla, Charles ~ Taylor, W 1895. <i>Story of my life</i> . New York: Eaton & Mains	61
Soga, Tiyo. Cousins, H T 1899. <i>From Kafir kraal to pulpit</i> . London: Partridge	63
Tsewu, Edward ~ Skota, T D Mveli 1933. <i>The African yearly register</i> . Johannesburg: Easson & Co	73

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National Library of Scotland
State Archives, Pietermaritzburg
Unisa Library, Pretoria
William Cullen Library, Johannesburg (Church of the Province of
South Africa Archives)

Quotations have not all been acknowledged in the text itself, but all quotations are acknowledged in the list of references at the end of each profile.

Two people helped to guide me into doing research on the unheard voices of African Christians in South Africa. The first is the late Professor L Hewson of Rhodes University who pointed out how little was written about African Christians. The other is Professor G C Oosthuizen, of the University of Zululand, who each year gives leaders from the African Independent or Instituted Churches an opportunity to relate the histories of their churches at the NERMIC (New Religious Movements and Independent Churches) Conference.

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Dr J Millard
July 1997

Introduction

*Bless the ministers
of all the churches of this land;
Endue them with Thy Spirit
And bless them (Lovedale translation).¹*

MALIHAMBE ~ the literal meaning is 'may it go' but the Methodist interpretation is *let the Word spread!* The title of the book is taken from the name of a missionary outreach programme of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa. The Presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, the Reverend Mvumi Dandala, who first coined the name, gave permission for it to be used for the book. I thank him for the privilege of using the name 'Malihambe' and hope that the book will show how the Word spread through the efforts of numerous African preachers and lay-people, not only from the Methodist Church but from various denominations.

In selecting the profiles an attempt was made to include leaders from as many denominations as possible. Chronology, therefore, did not become a deciding factor. Men from the twentieth century such as the Baptist William Duma and the Pentecostal Nicholas Bengu were included because of their pioneering contributions in their own denominations. It was not possible to include every important African church leader in this book. 'Malihambe' (volume II) will attempt to provide profiles on further church leaders, especially those from the African Independent or Instituted Churches.

A further criterion in the selection process was the choice of church leaders whose lives and contributions are studied as part of the syllabus in theological seminaries and universities, especially at Unisa. This includes leaders such as Mangena Mokone and James Dwane.

Religious history is not new to southern Africa. From earliest times the San people worshipped their traditional gods. Later when African people

¹ Enoch Sontonga, 1897, 'God bless Africa' (Nkosi Sikele iAfrica). These words are from the original Lovedale English translation.

migrated southwards they brought with them their own traditional religious beliefs. Later still when explorers and then colonists from Europe came to South Africa we find the beginnings of Christian church history in this country. Although the first missionaries, the Moravians, established a mission station in South Africa as early as 1737, it was only after 1800 that mission work by various missionary societies and denominations really started to become established. Among these early missionaries were men and women from the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Glasgow Missionary Society and the Free Church of Scotland, the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church. Although the missionaries were dedicated to the task of spreading the Gospel, the Christian church would not have been planted so successfully without the help of indigenous South African converts who were familiar with the language and culture of the people to whom they preached. These men and women were every bit as dedicated to the Gospel as the missionaries were, but little is known about the work they did. Often, their names were obscured in official documents and they were referred to as 'the evangelists' or some such general term although they were the people who did the grassroots work. The success of the mission work was usually due in no small part to their efforts. This book is an attempt to set the record straight and tell the stories of a number of important African church leaders from the past. It is time that the importance of the role played by indigenous South Africans in the history of the Christian church was acknowledged. The Christian church owes a debt of gratitude to these pioneers who, as much as any missionary from overseas, worked as church planters in southern Africa. While some of the people mentioned played important roles in areas other than the Church, for example in the rise of African nationalism, it is from the point of view of the role that they played as Christian church leaders that their stories have been told.

Long before missionaries arrived in the area, African men left their homes in what was previously known as the Transvaal and went to Natal or the Cape Province to seek work. Their original idea was often to earn enough money to buy guns and blankets and then return home. Many of these migrant workers came into contact with other Africans who were members of one or other church denomination. An invitation to join the church followed. Many accepted the invitation and were converted. The churches provided education to enable new converts to read the Bible.

When these men eventually went home to their families some of them

started home church groups. Some started schools and taught the people what they themselves had learned in the distant cities. When the missionaries arrived later many of them found thriving church groups already formed and waiting for a missionary. The Word had been spread by the men who had worked as migrant workers.

In 1886 gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand and, as had happened when diamonds were discovered at Kimberley just over fifteen years earlier, African tribesmen from all over South Africa and the neighbouring countries flocked to the newly formed mines. Here they hoped to find work and an opportunity to become rich. Many people heard the Gospel for the first time and were converted. When they left the mines and went home to places like the Eastern Cape they carried the Christian message to their families and the Word spread even further afield.

The profiles that follow are a record of some of the people who made 'Malihambe' a reality and who played their part in the establishment of Christianity in southern Africa. They were South Africa's own sons and daughters who played a grassroots role in 'letting the Word spread'. They 'Africanised' the message so that the people could understand the Gospel and through their commitment the Christian message spread throughout southern Africa.

Men like Tiyo Soga have been criticised for being too like the white missionaries, of being 'black Englishmen'. However, although the African preachers may have retained the way they themselves were taught, their preaching came from the heart of their African background and they spoke to the people from an African point of view with an understanding of their listeners which was impossible for any minister from overseas to achieve. The profiles include African preachers from both the mission churches and the African Independent or Instituted Churches. Women lay leaders are included although there were no ordained women ministers. Women have always played an important role in the African church, especially in the Manyano. If there appear to be few profiles of women it is because little has been recorded of the role they played. Even when their names appear in church records little is said about them as people. For example, in the 1896 minutes of the Synod of the Transvaal and Swaziland District of the Methodist Church the names of Eliza Gqosho, Letta Twala and Sarah Jane Ngonzo appear among the evangelists. Here are women listed as evangelists

in an era when women were not widely accepted as preachers, but no comment is added as to what work they did. While the voices of the African preachers have been muted, those of African churchwomen have been even more so.

The profiles that follow are not only for an academic readership. Instead, they are for every church member who would like a broader knowledge of how the Christian church spread throughout southern Africa. The profiles are also an attempt to allow the hitherto unheard voices to speak and in so doing show how, to a large extent, it was through African voices that the

Word spread: *Malihambe*

Profiles



Africaner, Jager Christian (c 1769-1822)

Jager Christian Africaner was an outlaw who became a Christian leader of his people after he was converted. He was a chief of the Oorlams (Khoi) people. His father, Klaas, was a cattle farmer and headman of the Oorlams people in the Witzenberg district near Tulbagh. He was gradually driven from his land by white farmers, his livestock dwindled and, unable to retain his inheritance, in about 1790 Klaas Africaner and his family moved to the farm of a Dutch farmer named Piet Pienaar at Hantam, near Calvinia. They worked as herdsmen and shepherds, protecting the farmer's livestock from attacks by the San. Pienaar gave them guns to protect the herds and often accompanied them on the punitive expeditions. Campbell, the London Missionary Society missionary, wrote in 1815 that the plundering expeditions they carried out for the farmer taught the Africaners how to survive as outlaws (Campbell 1974:376).

In 1795 Jager Africaner succeeded his father as chief of the clan. He was in charge of the family when the quarrel with Pienaar came to a head a year later. Pienaar was an overbearing man who did not understand or respect the Khoi people. When he ordered Africaner and his followers to go on an expedition that they knew would end in disaster they refused to obey. They were summoned before the farmer. An argument followed,

either about the expedition or about wages, and Pienaar knocked Jager to the ground. Titus Africaner, his brother, could not stand by and watch and he fired a gun at the farmer, killing him. Campbell's account reports that the farmer's wife and child were also killed. The Africaner clan now became outcasts, on the run as murderers. They took the cattle and the firearms belonging to the farmer and hurried north to the Orange River. They eventually crossed the Orange River and settled in Great Namaqualand (Marrat 1895:15).

Africaner, now an outlaw, proved a formidable cattle raider among the frontier Boers. He had as his enemies both the farmers in the Cape Colony and the Namaquas, among whom he was an unwelcome settler. He managed to strike terror into them all until at last Governor Dundas at the Cape offered a large reward for his capture (Moffat 1889:27).

After a number of years Africaner met the missionary Christian Albrecht. By this time Africaner was tired of life as an outlaw and had settled in Africanerskraal in what today is Namibia. Africaner lived in peace until 1810 when he attacked the London Missionary Society mission station at Pella and returned to his old way of life raiding and plundering.

Albrecht persuaded Africaner to accept a German missionary, the Rev Johannes Ebner, for his clan. In June 1815, Ebner baptised Jager and his family and from then on Jager became known as Christian (Mossolow 1993:5).

Three years later the Rev Ebner took Robert Moffat, a fellow missionary from the London Missionary Society, to visit Africaner. A farmer they passed on the way warned them of the desperate character of the man they were going to visit. He told Moffat that he was taking his life in his hands by going near Africaner.

At first Africaner was cool and reserved towards Moffat. Ebner quarrelled with the chief's brother and left Africaner's clan to work among the Bondelzwarts people, who had invited him to be their missionary. Moffat was left alone with the clan. Gradually a strong personal friendship grew between Moffat and Africaner.

Africaner took a keen interest in what the missionary taught, attended the worship services and learned to read the Bible and write. His way of life was so changed that in 1819 Moffat persuaded Africaner to accompany

him to Cape Town. Africaner was wary at first because he knew that there was a price of 1 000 rix dollars on his head. On the way to Cape Town Moffat spent the night at the home of a farmer named Engelbrecht, who was amazed to see that he was still alive after visiting the outlaw. As nothing had been heard of the missionary, people feared that the outlaw chief had ordered his death. Africaner was introduced to the farmer who raised his eyes heavenwards and said in amazement: 'O God, what a miracle of thy power! What cannot thy grace accomplish!' (Marrat 1895:23).

The governor, Lord Charles Somerset, was so impressed when he met Africaner that he granted him amnesty and gave him a waggon worth 80 pounds. During the interview Christian introduced his second son, Jonker, as the one who would succeed him (Mossolow 1993:5). Africaner returned to his clan and when Moffat moved to Lattakoo in 1820 he took over as church leader of the Oorlams.

In 1822 Klaas Africaner died, followed soon afterwards by his son Christian. Before he died Christian Africaner reminded the clan that as Christians they should live peaceably with other people.

Christian Africaner was succeeded by his son Jonker. Some years later Jonker decided to separate from his brothers and moved his followers to near Ai in Namibia. He embarked on a series of raids against the Hereros before settling at what is today Windhoek. Here he built a stone church and encouraged missionaries from the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodists and the Rhenish Missionary Society to start work in Namibia.

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Apie, Hans (born c 1840)

Hans Apie was a member of Makapan's tribe who lived north of Pretoria. Unfortunately, his proper African name was never recorded and all the records refer to him as 'Hans Apie'. Some years before the 1880s Apie left his home and travelled to the Cape Colony in search of work. There he attended school and met up with members of the Methodist Church, which he joined and where he was converted.

Some time later he returned home to the Waterberg district in the Transvaal and began to work as a teacher and evangelist. He built a chapel for his new converts and used the Bible for a schoolbook as he had no others available. When he met the Methodist missionary Watkins in 1881 he already had 30 people who had been converted and were receiving instruction. Watkins reported that Apie was 'a good preacher and was gifted with the power to govern' (Minutes of the 1885 District meeting).

At Makapan's Kraal Apie built a chapel (just over six metres long and three metres wide) in which a couple of hundred people worshipped. The chief wanted to learn to read and Apie was able to help him. Although Apie considered himself a Methodist, he was approached by the Hermannsburg Missionary Society to amalgamate his work with theirs. They sent a German missionary to take over the work but had little success. The people remained loyal to Apie, their own missionary. Apie sometimes travelled further afield and joined other African preachers as well as the missionary Watkins on evangelistic tours of the country further inland.

In the minutes of the Synod for 1886 Hans Apie was listed among the candidates for the ministry. Little is recorded of his ministry but he appears to have continued serving Makapan's tribe as a beloved evangelist. Watkins was very impressed with Apie's work and after a visit to his church where 120 people had been baptised he wrote that if the Methodist Church wanted to retrench in this (the Waterberg) mission (which, of course, it had no intention of doing) it should rather recall the missionaries and support the work of Apie and his fellow preachers (Mears 1972:34).

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Bhengu, Nicholas (1909-1985)

Nicholas Bhengu was one of the most successful twentieth-century Pentecostal church leaders in South Africa. He was born on 5 September 1909 at Entumeni, KwaZulu-Natal, where his father was a pastor of the American Lutheran Mission. He received his early education at the mission school but later attended two Roman Catholic schools, at Inkumama and Mariannahill respectively (Dubb 1976:9). When Bhengu completed his schooling he was employed in various capacities ~ as a clerk, a teacher, a health inspector and a court interpreter. For a while he involved himself in the struggle for African advancement when he became a member of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union and worked in their Durban offices. He later moved to Kimberley where he joined the Communist Party.

Bhengu tried various denominations without feeling at home in any of them until, when he was about 21 years old, he was converted at a Full Gospel revival in Kimberley (Dubb 1976:9). He was convinced that he had found his own salvation and felt called to reach his fellow Africans. Soon after his conversion Bhengu returned to Natal where from 1931 he worked under the auspices of the Full Gospel Church.

From 1934 to 1936 he attended the South African General Mission Bible School at Dumisa (today, the Union Bible Institute, Sweetwaters). During these years he became friendly with two other preachers, Albert Gumede and Gideon Buthelezi.

By 1936 a church called the Assemblies of God in South Africa had come into being. This was a predominantly black church with only a few white members (Watt 1991:15). Bhengu became a leader in this denomination.

In 1937 Bhengu, who was at that time a court interpreter, answered an advertisement in a Zulu magazine *Ubaqa* for a teacher at Emmanuel Mission near Nelspruit. He was ordained into the ministry at the Emmanuel Mission (Anderson 1992:45). A number of people from the mission, among them Bhengu, later joined the Assemblies of God. Bhengu's two friends joined him at the mission and the men had a fruitful ministry at Nelspruit, not as helpers of the missionary H C Phillips, but as ministers in their own

branch of the work. Their ministry was characterised by an 'independence of mind, a sense of dignity and self-confidence' (Watt 1991:28).

Because of Bhengu's challenge the Assemblies of God did not become a segregated church like some of the other Pentecostal churches. In 1940 Bhengu became a member of the first multi-racial executive council. From 1945 he worked in the Eastern Cape, mainly in Port Elizabeth and East London. He opened the Pilgrim Bible School in Port Elizabeth in 1950 and held revival meetings in various Eastern Cape towns. However, it is for his 'Back to God Crusades' that he is best remembered.

In October 1950 Bhengu launched his first crusade in Duncan Village, East London. With its highly organised publicity, its equipment and highly trained personnel, the 'tent ministry' was a new experience for the African populace (Dubb 1976:4). Thousands of people attended the services, some to hear the preacher, some in search of healing and many out of curiosity. Bhengu was a successful evangelist and thousands of people were converted. Lives were changed and by May 1951 there was a clearly defined congregation. From 1952 Bhengu decided to concentrate on the congregation in East London. On Sunday 27 October 1957 a church, built with the sacrificial contributions of thousands of African people, was opened in East London.

By 1959 there were 50 assemblies that had been started through the ministry of Bhengu. He himself retained some control over the new churches and continued to work as an evangelist in the expanding work until his death in 1985. According to Anderson (1992:87) these wholly Black churches were autonomous, self-governing, self-supporting and especially self-propagating'. In 1990 the churches which had been under Bhengu's leadership were renamed the Assemblies of God Movement.

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Bokwe, John Knox (1855-1922)

John Knox Bokwe is honoured as one of the most celebrated Xhosa hymn writers. He was a member of the Ngqika Mbamba clan and was born at Ntselamanzi, near Lovedale, on 15 March 1855.

He grew up in the district and it was here that he later became a leader in the Presbyterian Church. His father, Jacob, was one of the first pupils to enrol at Lovedale when it opened as a teaching institution on 21 July 1841.



Lovedale institution as it is today

Jacob named his youngest son after the Scottish Presbyterian churchman John Knox. As a boy, John first attended the local mission school and had as his teachers William Daniel Msindwana and William Kolbe Ntsikana, grandson of Ntsikana, the Xhosa prophet and hymnwriter. In 1866 he was admitted to the preparatory classes at the Lovedale Institution. He continued on to the college in 1869 and finished his schooling four years later (Stewart 1888:22).

From the time he was a young boy Bokwe worked at the institution to help pay his fees. In 1867 he started by helping in the missionary's house earning half-a-crown (25 cents) a month and his food. Gradually both his salary and his responsibilities grew until he became secretary to the head of the institution. During this time he was given piano and organ lessons by Mrs Stewart and became proficient on both instruments. He also joined the Lovedale Brass Band (Huskisson 1969:8).

A young girl, Lettie Ncheni, was also employed in the Stewart household. She worked there from 1868 to 1873 while attending night-classes and from 1871 attended as a day scholar. Five years later she accompanied Mrs Stewart when she went to Scotland. They remained overseas for three years and when they returned Lettie became the wife of John Knox Bokwe (Waterston 1983:31). In 1879 Bokwe wrote from Lovedale to Dr Laws of the Blantyre Mission and told him: 'As far as Lettie and I are concerned we

are well and happy. God and everyone around us seems to be treating us so kindly and so friendly.' He went on to say how they appreciated having their own home (MS 7902:1879).

Bokwe in the meantime held a number of positions. He graduated from being the house and stable assistant in the Stewart household to becoming a clerk, assisting with the publication of the Lovedale magazine, the *Kaffir Express* in 1870. He later took charge of the Lovedale telegraph station and in 1876 became bookkeeper, interpreter and private secretary to the principal. Further tasks were added: postmaster, choirmaster, cashier and on occasion he also helped out as a teacher.

From 1875 Bokwe started to compose hymns. He visited Scotland and sang his hymns in a tenor voice at social gatherings. In 1897 he left Lovedale to join John Tengo Jabavu as joint-editor of *Imvo Zabantsundu*. In an address from the Lovedale staff dated 13 December 1897, his fellow workers expressed their 'sincere regret' that he was leaving the institution. They handed him 25 pounds they had collected and a Bible, remarking that during the thirty years he had been at the institution he had come to be considered an essential part of Lovedale. After he left Bokwe soon realised that his real calling was to be a minister, not a journalist. He returned to Scotland for training and was ordained into the Presbyterian ministry in 1906.

Bokwe was given charge of the congregation at Ugie and also took part in a number of evangelistic campaigns. He was forced to retire in 1920 because of failing health and moved nearer to Lovedale again. His last years were spent helping Dr Henderson, the principal, to translate the metrical psalms into Xhosa.

Bokwe's contribution to Xhosa religious music was exceptional. He helped with the publication of the first Xhosa hymnbook in 1884. He set to music the 'great hymn' (*Ulothixo Omkhulu*) of Ntsikana and also wrote his biography. He published a book of his own compositions in 1885 called *Amaculo ase Lovedale* or 'Lovedale music'. His works include *Ntsikana's bell*, *Heavenly guide*, *Wedding song* and *Vuka Deborah*.

Bokwe was married twice and had five children: Barbour, Roseberry, Selbourne, Frieda, Pearl and Waterstone (Jabavu 1982:18). Roseberry Tandwefika (1900~1963) qualified as a doctor in 1933 and later became

active in the African National Congress. Frieda married 'ZK' (Zachariah Keodirelang) Matthews, the educationalist, church leader and African nationalist. Pearl became the wife of Mark Radebe, the composer.

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Brander, Samuel James (b 1851) _____

Brander, the founder of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion, sought a religious home in a number of denominations before finally establishing his own independent church. He was a Mokgatla Msutu, born in Colesberg, Cape Colony, in 1851 and baptised by the Rev Richard Giddy in the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Brander himself recorded that his mother, Lydia Brander, was an African-American, although when he was born there were very few Americans in South Africa (Constitutions and canons 1919:3).

Brander's father, Jacobus, was a Methodist local or lay preacher. After a quarrel with the white minister of the church to which he belonged he left the Methodists and became an Anglican. Samuel was a class leader in the Methodist Church, but he too joined the Anglican Church. From 1873 he worked as a transport contractor and later went to the diamond diggings at Kimberley.

When the family moved to Potchefstroom in 1884 Brander, who had been an Anglican for ten years, became a catechist. He was sent to work in the

Waterberg district for a salary of 12 pounds a year. He built a school and church and applied to Bishop Bousfield of Pretoria for a refund of the money he had spent. Bousfield refused to refund the money and an argument ensued which led to Brander leaving the Anglican Church after he had been a member for 15 years. The date was 1890 and the Ethiopian movement was just becoming established.

When Mangena Mokone founded the Ethiopian Church in 1892 Brander and a number of Anglicans joined the new church. When the Ethiopian Church amalgamated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC) in 1896 Brander found himself a member of the AMEC. Two years later he was ordained by Bishop Turner into the ministry of the AMEC. Brander never attained leadership status in the new church and was not really happy with the American leadership. He also never lost his love for the Anglican liturgical services.

In 1902 an American minister, Carleton Tanner, addressed the South African AMEC Conference which was held in Aliwal North. He advocated stricter American control of the South African branch of the Church. Brander, Tantsi, Ngayiya and Khumalo sent a letter of protest to the General Conference in America. They complained that the conditions in the AMEC were becoming no different from those in the mission churches where indigenous South Africans had no say in the running of church affairs. Brander was soon to leave the AMEC and establish his own African Independent Church.

On 3 April 1904 Brander and 45 worshippers held the first service of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion in Marabastad, Pretoria. He opened the first church building in May of that year. The same year he testified before the South African Native Affairs Commission and told them why he had formed his own church. He said that he had hoped for financial assistance from the AMEC to build a school. He had requested help when his church was in debt. Money promised to him was not forthcoming and the South African congregations were expected to send money to America. Brander decided to form his own church which would be under African control and where all the money collected as offerings would be spent on helping South Africans.

By 1919, when the 'Constitutions and canons of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion' were drawn up, Brander had progressed from being called 'overseer' to being an archbishop. The new church had a liturgical style of

worship based on the Anglican services. Schools had been built and Brander's church was a vibrant African Independent Church.

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Calata, James Arthur (1895-1983)

James Calata was an Anglican clergyman and African nationalist. He was born in Rabula, near Keiskammahoek, on 22 June 1895, the son of James and Eliza Calata of the Ngqika tribe. His father was a Presbyterian and his mother Anglican. His father was an uneducated farmer, but his mother had reached Standard 4 and practised as a midwife (Verwey 1995:36).

Calata was a student at St Matthew's College, Keiskammahoek, from 1911 to 1914. He then spent four years at the same college as a teaching assistant. He married Milltha Mary in 1918 but continued with his studies. From 1919 to 1921 he trained for the ministry under Canon Benyon and was ordained a deacon (Letter 1973). He served first at Korsten in Port Elizabeth and then between 1926 and 1928 at St Ninian's Mission, Somerset East, where he was ordained into the priesthood of the Anglican Church.

In 1928 he was sent to St James Mission, Cradock, where he remained until he retired in 1968. He lived in the township of Lingelihle just outside Cradock. Although St James Mission served a large area, Calata found time to be involved in a number of activities. He travelled all over the district and, apart from his work at Cradock, visited outstations, supervised the work of 30 lay preachers and, until 1953 when the Bantu Education Act removed authority for mission schools from the churches, he also supervised six

schools. His interest in the schools led to Calata organising meetings in each township to discuss parental control of the pupils (A 1729/A3.1-3/2). He also became the head of the African Parents' Association. In this capacity in the 1940s he was asked to intervene when there were riots at St Matthew's College (where his daughter Mary was involved) and at Lovedale.

His work with young people led to Calata's involvement with the Pathfinders ~ the African Boy Scouts. From 1933 to 1960 he took a leading role as district pathfinder master for the Eastern Cape (A 1729/B6.1).

Calata's health was never robust. From April to August 1933 he was hospitalised at a sanatorium in Nelspoort, Cape Province. He suffered from tuberculosis and the after-effects of the infection would plague him for the rest of his life. While he was in the sanatorium he kept a careful diary of the state of his health and the small events that made up the fabric of his day. By July he was well enough to be allowed to work in the kitchen and by August he was 'on the road to complete recovery' (Diary).

Calata was a central figure in the social and political life of the Eastern Cape. Another of his interests was the Order of St Ntsikana, a Xhosa society dedicated to the memory of the first Christian Xhosa, which had been founded in 1912. From 1938 Calata became the president of the Order.

Calata's political activities were rooted in his Christian faith. He was an African nationalist who desired African unity. To this end he participated in the Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1930 Calata joined the African National Congress when the Cradock Vigilance Association became a branch of that organisation. From 1930 to 1949 he was President of the Cape branch of the ANC. In 1935 he was elected chaplain of the organisation. When he became secretary-general he worked with two ANC presidents ~ Z R Mahabane (1937~1940) and A B Xuma (1940~1949). Calata was instrumental in getting Xuma elected as President because he saw that Xuma would be able to attract more educated people to the movement.

But Calata also worked for unity in the church. In 1938 Calata wrote to the *South African Outlook* and said: 'Congress (ANC) calls upon all African ministers, whether they are in separatist or in so-called "white churches" to establish African Ministers' Associations and Fraternal with a view to

forming in future a Federal Council of African churches as a step towards reunion.' His interest in a united African church was first aroused in 1939. The question of a national church was even discussed by the ANC. Three years later D D T Jabavu made an appeal for a 'national church' as the white church authorities were so slow to ordain black ministers. Calata approached the subject within his own Anglican Church with little success.

Calata became the leader of the Cape Midlands Interdenominational African Ministers Association. In 1950 at a meeting in Port Elizabeth he told the delegates that 'one of main reasons for this organisation is that we as African ministers should establish a central mouthpiece to the Government and other leading bodies.' (B6.3 1950) Calata also believed that 'the Church was the only uniting force for a multi-racial citizenship'. He was convinced that most Africans wanted a national church that would be truly African.

Calata was banned at the time of the Defiance Campaign in 1952, although he was later allowed to continue conducting services. In 1956 he was arrested at the time of the treason trials and was imprisoned for a short while before being acquitted. His licence to marry and permission to keep communion wine were withdrawn. During the 1960s he was restricted to the Cradock district. His political life affected his church life. He had learned about racial discrimination in the church as early as 1943 when he was short-listed for the bishopric of St Johns but was not chosen for the job. He remained at Cradock for the rest of his career.

Calata retired from the ministry in 1968 when his banning order expired. When he died in June 1983 5 000 mourners followed his coffin which was draped with an ANC flag.

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David, Gabriel (d 1898)

Gabriel David was the first person from the Barolong nation to be ordained into the Anglican ministry. He was the son of David Maramane, an Anglican teacher and evangelist at Monyaki's Kraal, near Mafeteng. Here Maramane worked with Isaia Seitheko, the son of a Christian chief. Maramane was a convert of the Paris Evangelical missionaries at Bethulie, who then worked for the Anglicans. From 1869 he worked alone on the banks of the Vaal River. In 1872 he walked the 100 miles to Bloemfontein to ask for a priest. His son Gabriel David, the catechist, was sent as the forerunner until a missionary arrived. Lewis and Edwards report that when Bishop Webb visited the area in 1874 the 'amazing David' brought 200 Africans from the Pokwani area to be baptised (1934:469, Pressley 1971:14).

Gabriel David was trained at Canon Mullin's Institute in Grahamstown (Lewis & Edwards 1934:413-431). In 1872 he was licensed as a catechist to serve at St Patrick's, Bloemfontein. St Patrick's chapel had been opened in 1867 to serve the detribalised Africans who had streamed to the town in search of employment. In 1885 David was ordained a deacon and five years later a priest at Thlotse (Lewis & Edwards:431). Except for the time he spent near the Vaal River David spent all his ministry at St Patrick's. He described the work at St Patrick's in the following way:

On January 21, 1882, 16 persons were baptised, the first-fruits of St Patrick's Church. From that time the Lord added many souls to His flock, until His fold became too small for His sheep We natives began in 1882 to subscribe among ourselves every month to keep this valuable work ... I will tell you why the native catechists ought to be fastened to the hook (the Gospel) in order that their countrymen might be caught and made good fish of our Lord (Lewis & Edwards:432).

David died in 1898, leaving behind him a work that had started in a small chapel and which had expanded so much that the chapel had to be extended several times. He was buried in the 'native village' at Bloemfontein (C/AFR/S/13). His family had always supported him and when Archdeacon Crisp translated the Old Testament and *Lessons for Sunday* into the Bechuana language it was Gabriel David's daughter who acted as a competent language critic.

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Dube, John Langalibalele (Mafukuzela) (1871-1946)

John Dube was an educationalist, an African nationalist and politician as well as an ordained minister of the Congregational (American Board) Church.

Dube was born in the Inanda district of Natal on 22 February 1871, the son of the Rev James Dube, a minor Zulu chief of the Ngcoto clan. His father was one of the first ordained ministers of the American Zulu Mission (Marks 1975:163). His grandmother was one of the first converts of the pioneer American Board missionary Daniel Lindley (Davis 1975:503). John Dube was educated at Inanda and then at the American Board Mission Theological School in Amanzimtoti which later became Adams College.

In 1887 he accompanied the missionary W C Wilcox to America and attended Oberlein College, working at various jobs to support himself. He returned to Natal where he accepted a teaching post and in 1894 married Nokutela. During this time Dube and his brother-in-law, John Mdima, worked at Incwadi where they established two churches and three preaching stations. Dube never lost his interest in education and what it could do for his people in Natal. After completing his theological training at Union Missionary Seminary in America he was ordained as a Congregational minister in March 1897. During this time he again tried to raise money for an industrial school based on the Tuskegee model of Booker Washington. He would later become known as the 'Booker Washington' of Natal (Dube 1909:30).

In 1901 Dube was able to obtain 200 acres of land in the Inanda district. Here he opened the Ohlange School. Eight years later he went to England to collect funds for the school. By this time there were 139 scholars on the books and the teachers included his brother, Charles Dube (BA), who acted

as headmaster, and his wife Adelaide Dube (BSc), both of whom had studied at Wilberforce University, Nokutela Dube, Amy Nhlangu and Ntombi Zama. Other teachers were John Mdima, Ezekiel Kuzwayo and Irving Nyembezi. There were also part-time teachers helping with some of the industrial courses (Dube 1909:24). Dube appealed to the British sense of fairness, pleading for the education of the people of a land that had once been the sole property of the Zulus. 'They the Boers and the British took it from us, the land of my birth. That little spot of God's earth which Providence had given us to be our own, our native land ~ the home of our fathers ~ they annexed to the British Empire' (Dube 1909:4). Now he needed help for Ohlange School at which the people of Natal, who were part of this empire, were educated.

While Dube was establishing Ohlange School he also (in 1904) founded the Zulu-English newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal*. The tone of his writing in the paper often appeared radical and during the Bambata Rebellion of 1906 he was arrested as an 'Ethiopian' and agitator but was subsequently released. Dube then began to take part in a number of political meetings. He attended the gathering in Bloemfontein at which African leaders discussed the South Africa Bill of 1909. Three years later he founded the Natal Native Congress.

His writing for the paper established his political reputation and in 1912 he was invited to become the first president of the South African Native National Congress. He wrote to the chiefs and members of the SANNC and said: 'I recognise the hour is come when we, the Native races of South Africa, must be up and doing ~ for God helps those who help themselves' (Davis 1975:497). Two years later he led a deputation of the SANNC, which included men such as Sol Plaatjie and Walter Rubusana, to protest the Native Land Act in London. Dube fiercely resisted the Bill and wrote: 'Why must we, alone of all the peoples of the earth, condemn ourselves to serfdom in order to be permitted to live in our mother-country, while every nondescript from over the sea, be he black or white, is allowed to thrive on the fat of our land, and to erect a home wheresoever he will?' (Davis 1975:520.)

In 1917 he was ousted from the presidency of the SANNC and returned to Ohlange and Natal, where he remained a member of the Natal Congress. Over the years he was involved in a number of attempts at improving conditions for Africans and fostering better relations between the different

ances in South Africa. He received acclaim for his work in education and in 1936 he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of South Africa. A year later Dube was elected to the first Natives Representative Council, an advisory body to the government. In these later years, then a widower, he married Angelina Khumalo of Pretoria and they had three sons and three daughters.

Dube was an author of note and his works include: *The Zulu's appeal for light, and England's duty* (1909), *Isitha somuntu nguye uQobo lwake, U-Jege insila KaShaka* (1931) (translated by Boxwell as 'Jege the body-servant of Shaka'), *Ushembe* (1936) and *Ukaziphatha khale*.

He died in Durban on 11 February 1946. Dube was a controversial figure. To the Zulu poet B W Vilkazi he was 'a great if not the greatest, black man of the missionary epoch in South Africa'. As Vil-Nkomo, who came from the same mission-educated society, said: 'No one else in his education generation has accomplished so much with such meagre means.' To John X Merriman, the liberal Cape politician, he showed what it meant to be an African in British Natal: 'Dube in conversation gave me a glimpse of nationalism ... How they must hate us ~ not without cause.' Edgar Brookes, the educationalist, summed up Dube's influence when he said: 'He was a Christian gentleman of whom all Natal, Black and White, may well be proud' (Marks 1975:164).

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Duma, William (1907-1977)

William Duma was one of the most dynamic Baptist preachers in South Africa as well as being renowned for his healing and prayer ministry. He was born on a stormy night in 1907 to Nomvula, the wife of Duma. The name 'Duma' means the thunder that brings rain.

Nomvula had come to the Duma 'Big Kraal' near Umkomaas, as a traditional African bride, but two years after her marriage, before William was born, she met an elderly woman named Thokaza Cele, who told her about the Christian faith and she was converted. Thokaza also taught Nomvula how to pray, a lesson she passed on to her son William. He would later become known as a 'man of prayer' (Garnett 1980:5). From his mother, Duma also received his early impressions of the reality of the love of God (Hudson-Reed 1995:11).

When Duma was about eleven years old his Uncle Vika returned from the Kimberley Diamond Mine and soon let it be known that he had become a Christian. This was unwelcome news to a family who worshipped in the traditional African manner. The only other Christians were Nomvula and her son William. Duma later recalled: 'With Uncle at home the paramount question of the sacrifice to ancestors had to be settled' (Garnett 1980:6). When Vika refused to eat the meat that had been offered to the ancestors he and his wife were forced to leave the family home and settle elsewhere. Duma recalled that although most people heard the Christian message from the time they were children 'for my mother and uncle this was not so. For them the thrust of His Name was late in time ~ for me, a boy, it pressed piercingly nearer' (Garnett 1980:8). Uncle Vika became a formative influence in his life.

For eight years, from the ages of twelve to twenty, Duma was often ill. During this time his mother died. When Nomvula was on her deathbed she said to Duma: 'My son, I want you to become an umfundisi (minister or teacher).' Duma continued at school until he was twenty years old. He realised that he was going to be a preacher and prayed to God for healing.

After days in prayer he knew that he was healed. He was also to find that he had been given the gift of being able to heal others.

The first person that was healed through his ministry was a boy called Msomo, who had a needle and thread somewhere in his leg causing him great pain. Duma prayed and laid hands on the boy. To his amazement the leg went into spasm and the needle and thread shot out of the leg. Duma went again to the mountain to pray and ask God whether he had indeed been given the gift of healing. He later related that clear as the sound of running water he heard the words: 'My son, I anoint you with the gift of healing. I charge you to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ ~ to perform in His Name the ministry of healing body, soul and spirit' (Garnett 1980:18). This was the beginning of his ministry as a healer which would become a part (and parcel) of his work at the Umgeni Road Baptist Church and later at the Lamontville church, as well.

Duma went to work in Durban where his employer made it possible for him to attend Bible classes. He started his ministry at a small American Board Church but in 1939 received a call to the Umgeni Road Baptist Church. Here he was to spend the next 36 years of his life as a minister. While he was working as a pastor for the American Board he married Grace Mkize of Umkomaas. They had three children, one daughter and two sons.

Before Duma went to work at Umgeni Road he undertook 21 days of prayer and fasting. During this time he encountered God in a new way and was prepared for the ministry ahead of him. He later referred to this as a turning point in his ministry (Hudson-Reed 1983:304). Duma had only had a little training at Franson Memorial Bible School and was aware of the magnitude of the task before him. Umgeni Road was a struggling congregation with only seven members when he took over. He struggled on until 1944 when revival came to the church. During a mission the church was filled to capacity and many people were baptised. From this time on the work at Umgeni Road increased greatly.

Duma was soon in demand as a preacher and the Wednesday prayer meetings were well attended. He became recognised as a faith healer who gave God the glory for the healing that occurred. He was invited to preach in countries all over southern Africa: Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia. Duma conducted special services for the rickshaw pullers. The manager of one of the Durban hotels invited him to hold services for the staff.

The work grew too big for one person and Duma gathered a band of helpers who later became ministers: the Revs J Gumede, C Nxumalo, C Khumalo, B Mbatha, R Mpomulo and the evangelist E Nxele.

When Duma died in 1977 he left behind a vibrant legacy. He had been the Moderator of the Baptist Convention (for black Baptist ministers), his work had been recognised by Christians all over southern Africa, yet he remained a humble servant of God to whom he attributed the success of his work.

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Dwane, James Mata (1848-1916)

James Dwane is best known as the founder of the Order of Ethiopia, an autonomous African Order under the umbrella of the Anglican Church. The steps leading up to the founding of the Order make interesting reading.

James Mata Dwane, a member of the Amatinde tribe, was born in Debe Nek near King William's Town in the Eastern Cape in 1848. He was educated, trained and later worked as a teacher at Healdtown Methodist Missionary Institution. While at Healdtown he spent some time living in the home of the missionary, the Rev Robert Lamplough.

Dwane decided to enter the ministry and as a first step became a local or lay preacher. In 1872 he returned to Healdtown to study theology. Three years later, his studies completed, he began his work as a probationer minister by assisting his old friend the Rev Robert Lamplough at the Annshaw church, Middeldrift. He was ordained in the



Present-day students at Healdtown

Russel Road Methodist Church, Port Elizabeth, in 1881. Dwane served as a minister in a number of places: East London, Grahamstown, Kimberley, Mount Coke and the Seplan Circuit near Queenstown. He also held important offices in the Methodist Church. In 1888 he was appointed to the committee to enlarge the Xhosa hymnbook. He was one of the ministers responsible for the training and examinations of probationer ministers and from 1890 was an examiner for black probationers.

In 1892 Dwane went to England on a deputation tour to collect money for the Methodist work in South Africa. Dwane hoped to collect money to start an industrial school in the Seplan Circuit (*SA Methodist* 1892:130). His tour was a great success and he collected a large amount of money. However, when Dwane returned, the Methodist authorities insisted that the money be paid into the general fund.

Dwane was thoroughly disillusioned and this dispute over money led directly to his leaving the Methodist Church and joining the Ethiopian Church of Mangena Mokone.

In 1896 when Dwane joined the Ethiopian Church, the amalgamation with the African Methodist Episcopal Church in America was being discussed. Dwane and Xaba, another member of the Ethiopian Church, were elected to go to America, but in the end only Dwane could raise the money so he went alone.

In America Dwane conferred with Bishop Turner and other officials of the AMEC. Eventually the House of Bishops and the Missionary Board agreed to the amalgamation. Dwane was reobligated (re-ordained) and sent back as General Superintendent of the South African AMEC. This move was to cause great dissatisfaction among the members of the new branch of the AMEC, many of whom felt that Mokone, as the founder of the Ethiopian Church, should have been given the honour of being General Superintendent. In any event, in 1897 Dwane 'reobligated' all the Ethiopian preachers.

The following year, when Bishop Turner of the American AMEC visited South Africa, Dwane was made Vicar-General and was left in charge when Turner returned home. This office was only confirmed by the AMEC in America after Dwane had spent a further two years overseas observing how the American church was run.

When he returned to South Africa Dwane told the AMEC Conference that the AMEC in America had promised money to build a school or college.

However, the money was not forthcoming and of the thirty ministers present at the conference all but four agreed to leave the AMEC. The AMEC referred to this breakaway as 'Dwane's revolt'.

Dwane became suspicious of the validity of the orders into which he had been inducted as bishop. The vicar of the Anglican Church in Queenstown, the Rev Julius Gordon, introduced Dwane to Bishop Cornish of Grahamstown. Dwane became convinced that the Anglicans had the true Apostolic (Catholic) succession and in 1899 he wrote to Archbishop West-Jones in Cape Town to negotiate the admission of the breakaway Ethiopians to the Anglican Church as a separate order.

The following year in August a service was held in Grahamstown Cathedral at which Dwane was formally accepted into the fellowship of the Anglican Church. After making the necessary vows he was admitted as the Provincial of the Order of Ethiopia, but he was not consecrated as a bishop. In December a 'Compact' was signed between the order and the Anglican Church, followed by a 'Constitution' the next year.

The Anglican Church was slow to ordain ministers for the Order of Ethiopia. In 1902 fifty-three candidates from Queenstown were confirmed and twelve men were licensed as catechists but not as priests. The same year the Rev W M Cameron was put in charge of training 'Ethiopian theological students' (Verryn 1972:112). Dwane assisted Cameron with the work of teaching the students.

From 1905 various difficulties arose, varying from drought in the Eastern Cape to disagreements with Anglican clergymen. At the Conference of 1905 Dwane complained that Ethiopian ministers had to work under white priests (PR 3181 Cory Library). The bishop firmly reminded the Ethiopians that they were 'first members of the Church of the Province of South Africa and secondly members of the Order of Ethiopia' (Grant 1905:17). Then Dwane was criticised for taking part in 'commercial transactions'. Dwane wrote to the archbishop saying that he was only helping his 'son in the store where he deals as he can neither read, speak or write English' (Letter 1905). Dwane's daughter, on the other hand, became one of the first five trained African nurses in the Transvaal and was employed by the Johannesburg City Council at Klipspruit Location (Skota 1933:152).

Two years later Dwane was replaced as provincial. The Rev W Cameron reported to the archbishop that 'the bishops of the province have not reappointed Mr Dwane as provincial' and that he, Cameron, had been

appointed acting-provincial (Letter 1907). Dwane remained a deacon in the Order of Ethiopia until his death in 1916 and never became a bishop. A bursary for theological study was named in his honour.

The question remains: Why was Dwane happy to remain in the Anglican Church even though he was not a bishop? Was he tired of moving or were the other members of the Order tired of moving? Did the fact that an Ethiopian College was established for training African priests, and he was one of the tutors, make a difference? Dwane's great-grandson, Bishop S Dwane, became the first black bishop of the Order of Ethiopia ~ the position that his great grandfather had sought but never achieved.

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Goduka, Jonas (1846-1914)

Jonas Goduka succeeded Nehemiah Tile as leader of the Tembu National Church. He later changed the name to the African Native Mission Church.

Goduka was born of the Ngqika tribe in 1846 near King William's Town. Not long afterwards his parents moved to Fort Beaufort where he grew up. In 1869 he was married according to Christian rites.

Goduka wanted to be a teacher and in 1874 he started a two-year course at Healdtown. He taught at various places: Somerset East, Zeleni, near King William's town, and Tini's Location.

Goduka continued studying and in 1879 he obtained the Certificate of Competency at the government elementary examinations (MS 14 787).



Healdtown 1898

At the end of that year he was sent to Tyinira, Fingoland, as a teacher but at the same time began to work as a candidate for the ministry of the Methodist Church. In 1885 he was ordained in Durban by the Rev Richard Ridgill who, at the time, was president of the Methodist Conference. He served first at Queenstown and then, from 1890, at Herschel in the Eastern Cape.

In 1892, when Nehemiah Tile died, Goduka was asked to take over as leader of the Tembu National Church, even though he was a Ngqika. He resigned voluntarily from the Methodist Church to do so.

Goduka travelled widely. In 1892, when Mokone started the Ethiopian Church, Goduka was among those who expressed interest in what he was doing. Goduka drew up a statement of faith based on the scriptural truths: belief in the inspiration of the Bible, in the Holy Trinity, Jesus Christ as Saviour, repentance of sinners and redemption, justification, and 'generally the doctrine of forgiveness and brotherly love, faith, hope and charity' (MS 14 787).

Goduka was not accepted by all Tile's followers, especially when in 1904 he wanted to be recognised as leader for life and to be succeeded by his son when he died. When Jonas Goduka died, on 12 May 1914, his son Enoch became the next leader of the African Church.

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Kama, William (1798-1875)

Kama was the chief of the Gqunukwebe tribe and was the first chief to publicly acknowledge that he was a Christian. The territory of the Gqunukwebe was west of the Buffalo River in the Eastern Cape.

Kama was the second son of Chungwa who was killed in a skirmish with the Boers in the early years of the eighteenth century. The Gqunukwebe were not of the Xhosa royal house but were descended from a commoner. Kama was born at the time that Van der Kemp was trying unsuccessfully to establish mission work among the Xhosa. Van der Kemp moved away to Bethelsdorp, but from 1821 the Rev William Shaw of the Wesleyan Methodists tried to establish mission stations in the Eastern Cape. In 1824 Henry Somerset, Commandant of Kaffraria, arranged a meeting so that Shaw could meet the chiefs: Ndlambe, Dushane, Mqhayi, Phato and Kama (Hammond-Tooke 1972:10). Kama was the brother of Chief Phato and second in power in the tribe. The first of the mission stations envisaged by Shaw was established at Wesleyville, near Peddie, in 1823.

Kama was married to Nongwane, the daughter of Chief Ngqika. She had often listened to Ntsikana and had been impressed by his message. After the arrival of the missionary Shaw, Kama noticed that she often stole away by herself. One day he followed her and discovered that she went to pray. This was an important factor in the conversion of Kama.

Kama's final decision to become a Christian came during a visit to Grahamstown. He attended church services and was especially impressed by Holy Communion. The historian Whiteside (1906:180) commented that Kama 'left Grahamstown convinced of the supreme advantages of a Christian civilisation'. After Wesleyville was destroyed in the war of 1834,

Kama moved nearer to the Fish River. When there was no missionary he preached and led prayer meetings himself. Shaw wrote in his journal that Kama 'firmly believes the Gospel and often defends it against the arguments of many of his pagan people. He tells me that he prays to God daily and when he is at home is rarely absent from public worship' (Hammond-Tooke 1972:90).

Soon after this an event occurred which brought out the character of Kama as a warrior. He had always been considered a mild man but when the homes of his people were attacked by strangers one day they fought back and won. When the war of 1846 broke out Phato was drawn into it and lost everything. Kama supported the English and kept the line of posts open from East London to Fort Beaufort (Holden 1877:317). A rift developed between the brothers, Phato and Kama, and Kama and his followers moved away from Phato's territory.

Kama was convinced that he should have only one wife and this led to some difficult moments. The Xhosa tradition was to have more than one wife and Kama had to argue with his councillors. The test came when Mdushane, the son and successor of Ndlambe, sent Kama one of his daughters as a wife. Ndlambe was a chief of higher standing than Kama but Kama still refused to take another wife. He said that he could only rule the tribe according to the will and commandments of God. The daughter of Mdushane was sent back to her father with a generous gift of cattle and tributes to the house of Ndlambe. Shaw relates other incidents of the same kind when Kama refused to entertain the thought of taking another wife. When a complaint was lodged with Maqoma, the son of Ngqika, he answered: 'I, Maqoma, son of Ngqika, do not have authority to question the laws of the God of Kama' (Hammond-Tooke 1972:31). To escape the wrath of Phato, Kama and his followers eventually settled in Kamastone, near Whittlesea. Kamastone was named after Chief Kama and the Rev Shepstone, a pioneer Methodist missionary in the area.

In the meantime Kama's second son, Xhanti, was growing up and learning about the Christian message at Salem. Shaw described how one day Kama asked him to take his son and train him in the Shaw household so that he might be able to read, write and speak English. The boy became known as William Shaw Kama.



William Shaw Kama

In 1829 Kama caused a stir when he attended a meeting of the Auxiliary Missionary Society dressed in 'European costume' and thanked the missionaries for bringing the Gospel. At the same time, he asked the missionaries to open more mission stations. When Mount Coke was established Kama and his brother Phato both brought donations towards setting up the mission. That year, too, Kama and his wife were baptised into the Christian faith by Shaw after attending catechism classes. His baptismal name was 'William'.

When the town of Whittlesea was attacked in 1851 Kama and his followers came to the rescue. In gratitude the governor granted the Gqunukwebe a permanent territory of their own between the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers, near Middeldrift. The Annshaw Mission was established there, named after the wife of William Shaw. Kama became the leader of the church. Sunday was proclaimed a day of rest and worship. Because of the strong faith of Kama, his followers were not affected by the cattle killing of 1857 and so escaped the suffering and starvation experienced by many other tribes.

In 1866 Bishop Taylor of California came to South Africa to hold revival meetings. One of the places where there was a great revival was Annshaw. William Shaw Kama became a local preacher and, with Charles Pamla, accompanied Taylor on his travels. The young Kama wanted to enter the Methodist ministry, but when the time came for his father to die he had to become chief as both his other brothers had already died.

Holden describes how when he went to Annshaw in 1871, he found the chief old and feeble. Kama could no longer walk to church and had to be taken to the services in a cart. He grew gradually weaker until he died on 25 October 1875 (Holden 1879:46). On his gravestone in the grounds of the church in Middeldrift are the words: 'a noble man, a just governor and a faithful Christian.'



Kama's grave

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Links, Jacob (c 1799-1825)

Jacob Links is remembered as one of the first Christian martyrs in South Africa. He was also the first indigenous convert and church leader to write to the Board of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in London. He wrote in Dutch and told them about the Namaqua mission of which he was a part.

He was born in about 1799, one of the sons of Keudo Links, a man of influence in his Namaqua tribe. Among his brothers and sisters were Peter, Jan, Timotheus, Gert and Martha. In 1816 the Rev Barnabas Shaw, a missionary of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, came to live among the Namaqua people. Shaw had been invited by a group of Namaquas who met him as he travelled north from Cape Town. He settled in Little Namaqualand at what became Lilyfountain Mission. The Links family moved to live at the mission too. Jacob was about seventeen years old when he arrived at Lilyfountain.

In 1819 he wrote to the Board of the Mission in London. The letter was published in the 'Notices' ~ the letters from missionaries which reported on their work. The secretary noted that the letter was written in Dutch in 'a very good hand' (Notices 1820:264). Links told them that he had first heard of the Gospel from converts of the Rev Albrecht. He listened; but did not understand. Then he thought that by eating the leaves of a Dutch prayer book belonging to his mother he might be able to have the new religion. He tried getting on to the roof of the house to pray, thinking that God would surely hear him there, but to no avail. He then heard that he must give 'his cause to Jesus', which he did. But then he was persecuted by both 'black and white'. The farmers resented the teaching given by the missionaries. People told him he was mad and his mother cried over him. Then the captain of the clan and four men went to find a teacher. They returned with Barnabas Shaw and his wife, Jane.

Links said that he now 'found that Christ is the way and the sinner's friend'. Whereas before the people had lived in fear of the farmers who threatened them with death if they became Christians, Lilyfountain became a centre for missionary work, both by Shaw and the Namaquas themselves. Jacob Links became a teacher, interpreter and evangelist. Many of the rest of the family also became Christians.

Shaw taught Links and three others how to read. He had no school books but used Dutch religious tracts, of which he had a plentiful supply. Jacob's new-found skill was put to the test when he accompanied Shaw to the farm of a Dutch farmer. At first the farmer mocked the Namaquas, but Links and his brother Jan told the farmer about the book of life and that Christ had said that people must be born again. The farmer realised that the Links brothers could both read and write better than he could (Shaw 1970:81).

On one occasion Links offered to travel into the interior as a missionary. He was away for several weeks preaching to the people he met. In 1822 Links was accepted as a 'native assistant missionary'. He accompanied the missionary James Archbell on a journey into Greater Namaqualand. He also accompanied Archbell to Cape Town and then sailed up the coast with him to Walvisch (sic) Bay. When Archbell was sent to the Bechuanas, Links returned to Lilyfountain.

At the end of 1824 the Rev William Threlfall visited Lilyfountain. He had been ill for some time and had come to recuperate. On 2 January 1825 Shaw held a 'love feast' or communion service. At the service a man named Johannes Jager from the Karee country, a barren land between Garies and Van Rhynsdorp, told how he had heard the Gospel from a Namaqua woman called Delia. A week later permission came from the governor for Shaw and the mission to own the land on which Lilyfountain was built. Barnabas and Jane Shaw took advantage of Threlfall's presence and spent some time in Cape Town. Jager remained at the mission, still hoping for a missionary for his clan.

Shaw, Threlfall and Links had often spoken of travelling to the Fish River to see if the people there still wanted a teacher. Because of Threlfall's frequent illnesses, Links had chosen a friend who would go with them and remain until a missionary could be found. This was Johannes Jager. In the end it was Threlfall, Links and Jager that embarked on the fateful trip. The first letter from the group, which was first read to the wives of Jacob and Johannes and then to the rest of the people at Lilyfountain, brought good

news. The expedition was going well and they had found a guide, Tsaumaap, to take them further.

On 16 October Shaw received a message from Brother Wimmer of Steinkopf saying that he had heard that the party had been murdered. The same report was again brought to the mission a few weeks later, but it was only in March 1826 that the Rev Schmelen of the London Missionary Society was able to confirm what had happened. Their new guide, a man called Nauwghaap, had stoned them to death for their cattle and few possessions. He was caught still wearing Threlfall's clothes (Birtwhistle 1966:137).

Although Links, with his potential, was gone, his family did not leave the Christian faith and continued as leaders in the Methodist Church in Lilyfountain.

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Makiwane, Elijah (1850-1928) _____

Elijah Makiwane was the second black minister trained in South Africa to be ordained in the Presbyterian Church, the first being Pambani Mzimba. Unlike Mzimba, Makiwane remained in the Presbyterian Church for all of his working life, finding ways within the system to express his independence. He was never subservient and became one of the most valued Presbyterian ministers in the Kaffrarian Presbytery.

He was born in 1850 in Sheshegu, in the Eastern Cape. As a child he must have got to know Mzimba even before they went to Lovedale to study as Mzimba's father was the teacher at Sheshegu. Makiwane's parents became Christians some time after his birth.

Makiwane first attended school at Ncera under Joseph Mjila, a Wesleyan teacher, and then went on to Healdtown. He entered Lovedale in August 1865 and made rapid progress in his studies eventually becoming one of the top students (Stewart 1887:163).

While still a student he was appointed an assistant teacher in the mission school, only two years after his arrival at Lovedale. He later taught the junior classes at the institution. At the same time he was busy with other activities. He became assistant editor of *Isigidimi Sama-Xosa* from its first publication in 1870 until 1875. In 1872 he was also in charge of the Lovedale telegraph office.

The course for theological students at Lovedale did not differ much from courses taught in Scotland. Makiwane passed well and in 1875 was licensed as a minister by the Free Church of Scotland. For two years he taught first-year theological students at Lovedale and in 1877 he received a call to be the minister of MacFarlan Mission, not far from Lovedale. In August of that year he married Maggie Majiza, an ex-student of Lovedale Girls' School. When she and Makiwane decided to get married, Dr Waterston, matron of the girls' hostel wrote:



MacFarlan mission near Alice

When I see her face all alight with intelligence and feeling, I know what an amount of brain and natural refinement she has got. I cannot but feel pleased that Elijah with all his deep feeling and sensitiveness has got one so well able to understand and appreciate him as Maggie is (Waterston 1983:27).

Their marriage did not last long because Maggie died in 1883 leaving him with three children. Her obituary reads: 'Mrs Makiwane put her whole heart into her work ... to all she was the same cheerful and warm-hearted hostess, sending them [visitors] away with a very vivid idea of what a native minister's wife could be' (Stewart 1887:443).

The work at MacFarlan Mission prospered, although Makiwane encountered many difficulties. In 1889 he married again to Miss Mtywaku of Peelton. Her name also appears to have been Maggie, as the letters that they wrote to the Mission Board in Scotland are signed 'Maggie Makiwane'. These were the years that Makiwane strove to achieve equal working conditions for black and white ministers in the Presbyterian Church. His wife believed that mission work was a partnership. She encouraged him to write to the Missionary Society to ask for the *Children's*

monthly which was sent as a matter of course to the white missionaries. In 1892 he wrote: 'I believe that MacFarlan is the only Free Church Mission in South Africa to which these publications are not sent.'

When the buildings at MacFarlan needed to be repaired, he first asked the local presbytery. When no funds were forthcoming Maggie Makiwane decided to write to the children of Scotland asking for help. In 1894 Makiwane wrote to the Missionary Committee warning them that a letter had gone out from his wife, beginning: 'Dear praying friends, we suppose you have heard of MacFarlan. It is a mission field.' She provided a photograph of the decaying buildings so that the children could see for themselves. The money for the buildings soon began to arrive.

Makiwane suffered during the schism by his old friend Mzimba from the Presbyterian Church. False charges were made against him by Gaba, one of Mzimba's followers, and Makiwane had to write to the Mission Committee in Scotland warning them that the charges were false (MS 7801). They tried to draw away members of the United Free Church to join the new church. Then in October 1904 Makiwane and his wife arrived home from pastoral visits at villages some distance from Macfarlan to find their house on fire. His children and a niece were all asleep in the house but he managed to wake them and so a tragedy was averted (MS 7645). When Mzimba died in 1911 Makiwane was invited to speak at his funeral. Makiwane pointed out that the formation of Mzimba's church had 'increased if not introduced a distrust between European and Native and Native and Native ... which will be a real difficulty for some time to come (Shepherd 1940:247).

When Dr Stewart of Lovedale died in December 1905 Makiwane took part in the funeral service as interpreter and also said a prayer which was 'full of quiet and deep feeling' (MS 7801).

Maggie Makiwane died in 1917 leaving six children. Her husband moved to Tsolo and retired in 1920 after fifty years' service as a minister. In 1927 he married Mrs Maggie Dlova, a teacher from the area. The marriage lasted only a year as Makiwane died at his home in 1928. He had always remained loyal to the Presbyterian Church and had worked within the system for equal opportunities for black ministers.

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Mashaba, Robert Ndevu (c 1861-1935)

Mashaba, who was a member of the Ronga clan, pioneered the work of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Mozambique.

He was born in about 1850 in Ntembi's Place, near Delagoa Bay, where today a church stands in his memory. His parents followed the African traditional religion. He did not attend school as there were none where he lived. His cousin had been to Durban and returned to Mozambique to tell his uncle, the hunter, that in future he would act as an agent and see that the uncle got an honest price for his wares. The young Mashaba longed to be able to go to Durban too.

As soon as he was old enough, Mashaba travelled south with his uncle and found himself a job at the Bluff Naval Station in Durban. He later found work at the Point, the landing place for ships which could not pass the bar at the entrance to the harbour. He soon realised that he needed to be educated to be able to do his work so he attended a night-school run by missionaries. He learned his ABC, some simple reading and how to say the Lord's prayer.

In about 1875 he heard from other workers that in Port Elizabeth you could earn more money and there were opportunities for a better education

(Choate's papers). He travelled to Port Elizabeth, possibly by ship as that was the cheapest way, and found himself a job there. He made friends with Penny Pikisana, who persuaded him to attend services at the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the township church north of Russel Road. He went reluctantly but found that he was fascinated by the Bible.

One afternoon, while walking on the hills outside Port Elizabeth, he had a vision. He saw a fire burning where no fire should have been. Then he heard a voice which said: 'Pray'. He fell to his knees and was overcome by fear. The same thing happened again the next day. When he approached the fire there was nothing to be seen. He fell on his knees and began to pray. Mashaba joined the Methodist Church and was baptised by the Rev Robert Lamplough, whose name he took.

He resolved to study at Lovedale and after a number of years of self-denial he had saved 40 pounds and in 1879 was able to do so. During his holidays he worked in Port Elizabeth to help pay for his fees. He also received a bursary from the institution. After three years at Lovedale the institution found him employment as a messenger at the Kimberley Telegraph Department. His contract was completed in 1885 and he returned to Mozambique.

Mashaba started a school and a regular church meeting among his own people. The Roman Catholic Church urged him to join the 'only true church' but he refused. He was then not allowed to hold his school at the same time as theirs, so he held his in the afternoon and attended the Catholic school in the morning. Bishop Mackenzie of the Anglican Church wanted to take over his work, but again he refused. Mashaba had to take a job at Komati Drift when he ran out of money. He wrote to *Imvo*, the African newspaper in King William's Town, and said that if the Methodists did not come to his aid he would have to accept Bishop Mackenzie's offer.

The Natal Synod replied by sending William Mtembu to investigate matters. Mtembu baptised some of the converts and invited Mashaba to attend the Synod in Durban. However, the Natal Synod decided that Mozambique should fall under the Transvaal Synod. In 1892 Mashaba was visited by Rev Daniel Msimang and Rev George Weavind and was persuaded to become a candidate for the ministry.

Trouble was already beginning to brew in Mozambique. In 1894 there was an uprising and two years later rebellion broke out. Mashaba was falsely

accused of being one of the leaders of the revolt. He was arrested and sent to the Cape Verde islands for imprisonment. He managed to smuggle a letter off the ship addressed to the Methodist authorities. He also wrote to the *Christian Express* at Lovedale asking for help.

From Cape Verde Mashaba wrote to a friend and told his story. 'Chief Mamatibjana, who was fighting against the Portuguese government, was arrested', given a list of names and then asked who had assisted him. When my name was mentioned he said, 'that is the man who sent me to fight against the government' (Notices 1896:146). Arrest followed and 'a policeman beat me in order that I may tell him what he believes to be the truth'. The next day he was put on board the *Africa* en route for prison on Cape Verde.

The Methodist authorities did all in their power to secure his release. When, after four years, they were at last able to do so it was on condition that he would never return to Mozambique.

After his return Mashaba worked at Germiston and Pimville. He was ordained into the ministry and served on a number of committees. One of his main contributions was the translation of 100 hymns into the Tsonga language. Shortly before he died he was allowed to return to Mozambique, not to work but to live out his last days in the land of his birth.

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Mathabathe, Samuel *(c 1840-1914)*

Samuel Mathabathe was a pioneer preacher of the Methodist Church who, before the missionaries came, established a Christian community in what was at the time the northern Transvaal. He was born in about 1840 in the Soutpansberg area in the territory of the Maphahlele clan.

In about 1862 Mathabathe left his home and went to Natal in search of work. Here he met up with the Methodists and attended the school of the Rev James Allison in Edendale. He learned to read, write and apply efficient farming methods. He also learned how to preach after he had become a Christian. He was baptised by the Rev J Allsop who worked in Durban during the 1860s. When the Rev George Lowe met Mathabathe at Good Hope Mission in 1886 he was shown a well-worn Bible Mathabathe had received in Durban twenty years before (Choates 1951:5).

After a while Mathabathe felt called to return home to his own people. As soon as he arrived back in the Soutpansberg area he began to preach. He asked the chief for permission to preach but was told: 'If you hold meetings to talk about the "new Chief" [Jesus] you will have to leave the tribe or I will put you to death' (Mears 1955:16). However, Mathabathe continued to preach and soon gathered a group of people who wanted to hear the Christian message.

From the outset he encountered opposition. A small church that he had built with his own hands was ruthlessly pulled down. He kept on doing house-to-house visitations and after four years the chief died and the chieftainess who succeeded him was more sympathetic. She allowed a church building that could hold 600 people and a school to be erected.

At about this time the Mathabathe clan, to which Samuel belonged, moved away from the Maphahlele tribe, but Mathabathe decided to remain with Maphahlele's people. He appealed to the Chief, 'Mutle i'hadudi Maphahlele, to allow him to preach and was given permission to continue with his Christian work.

Mathabathe appointed two teachers to work in the school. He sent them to the French missionaries in Lesotho to learn how to teach. One of the teachers was Johannes Maphahlele, a relative of the chief, who later became a minister. Maphahlele had spent time in Port Elizabeth where he was converted. He also worked on the Kimberley mines and used the money he earned to pay for his instruction at the Rev Mabile's school in Lesotho. Mathabathe and Maphahlele gathered all those willing to listen into a Methodist Society class meeting. Maphahlele taught the people the stories from the Old and New Testaments that he had learnt from the French missionaries. He also taught the congregation how to sing the *Magnificat* to the tune of the *Dead March from Saul*.

In 1870 the Rev Albert Nachtigal of the Berlin Missionary Society wrote that two men from the Maphahlele chiefdom had come to him for books and assistance in improving their reading and writing. One had been in British 'Kafferland' (possibly Port Elizabeth) and the other in Maritzburg, Natal, and had known Allison. The names are not mentioned but the description fits Mathabathe and Maphahlele. The Notices of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society recorded in 1883 that prior to 1879 Mathabathe had 'for months got writing materials from the Berlin missionaries'. They had wanted to take over his work, but Mathabathe told them that he 'belonged to the Wesleyan Church'. His people belonged to it, too. 'My missionaries know nothing about me, but in God's own time they will find me, for they are sure to march into the interior.'

Mathabathe once again had to face persecution when the church he had built was burnt down. Converts were beaten and their property destroyed. Children of converts were forced to attend circumcision school. As an unordained preacher Mathabathe was unable to baptise his converts. Because of the problem of people who needed to be baptised Mathabathe sent a message to the Rev Owen Watkins of the Methodist Church in Natal asking him to come and perform the baptisms. Watkins was unable to leave his work in Natal and sent a message to the Rev Stephanus Hofmeyr of the Dutch Reformed Church asking him to baptise the converts. Mathabathe made sure that Hofmeyr was aware that he was baptising Methodists.

Mathabathe twice went against African tribal tradition when it was in conflict with his Christian convictions. On one occasion a convert gave birth to twins. According to tribal custom the children should have been put to death and their bodies used for 'muti'. Mathabathe refused to allow this. When one of the twins died he carried the body to the Dutch Reformed mission in Goodehoop to be buried.

The persecution was particularly bad in 1880 and 1881. At this time Mathabathe removed a boy, Micha Makgatho, from the circumcision school and sent him to the mission school. This was considered an affront to the sacred rite and the lives of Christians were once again threatened.

In 1883 the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society purchased the farm Goodehoop to accommodate Mathabathe's converts and the Good Hope Mission was born. By this time the Transvaal had been named a 'Trial mission' by the Methodist Church and Watkins was in charge. He visited Mathabathe and described him as 'having the courage of the apostle Paul and the tenderness of the apostle John'. He was small in stature and had worked as an evangelist for nine years, 'unknown, unpaid and unvisited'.

Once Good Hope was established Mathabathe travelled to evangelise and 'visit the distant tribes on foot' while Maphahlele remained at the mission. In 1885, at the age of forty-five, Mathabathe was presented as a prospective candidate for the ministry. He found he could not master the study needed for ordination so remained an evangelist. In 1886 the Rev George Lowe was sent to take charge of the mission and to work with Mathabathe and Maphahlele.

Mathabathe died on 2 January 1914 and is buried at Good Hope Mission. His memorial is the work of the Methodist Church which he initiated and which today is evident throughout the Northern Province.

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