

THREE SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES ON CALVIN: WILLIAM THOMPSON, TIYO SOGA AND KLAAS HOFMEYR

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Abstract

On 27 May 1864 William Thompson, who succeeded the famous Dr John Philip as pastor of the 'Union Chapel' in Cape Town, delivered a lecture in memory of Calvin, three centuries after his death – probably the only meeting of this kind in 'Calvinist' South Africa. Thompson's interest in Calvin centered mainly around Calvin's evangelical soteriology and his successful anti-Roman Catholic polemic.

Klaas Hofmeyr, professor at the Stellenbosch Kweekskool, was not only a strong critic of modernism, but also rejected contemporary Reformed orthodoxy. He appreciated Calvin mainly for laying a solid theological foundation on which others could build freely – only bound by Scripture and enlightened by the Spirit and their religious experience. Hofmeyr's own Christology was a remarkable example of this approach, but, in his emphasis on the real humanity of Christ, he went much further than Calvin.

Tiyo Soga was born into a traditional Xhosa family that came into contact with Christianity as a result of Ntsikana's conversion. While he fully internalised the evangelical and experiential traditions of Scottish Calvinism, he also had an exceptional cultural

sensitivity that enabled him to preach the gospel in a culturally relevant way. As a Calvinist he uncompromisingly rejected modernism, but, like Hofmeyr, he did not see himself as a follower of Calvin, but of Jesus Christ.

1 INTRODUCTION

During the nineteenth century several European countries saw a revival of Reformation theology.¹ This was mainly a reaction to the negative influence of 'modern' or 'liberal' theology.² While 'modernism' was also remarkably influential in certain circles in South Africa³ it would seem that, generally speaking, there was, in this country, only a limited revival of interest in Calvin during this period (cf Reid 1982:346f). This paper will focus on the different ways in which three South African theologians looked at Calvin's theology: the English-born Congregationalist, William Thompson, (who succeeded the famous Dr John Philip as pastor of the Union Chapel in Cape Town), the Presbyterian Tiyo Soga of Mgwali in the Eastern Cape, who was trained in Scotland, and the Dutch Reformed professor, Klaas (NJ) Hofmeyr of the Stellenbosh Seminary or *Kweekskool*, who received his theological training in the Netherlands.

2 WILLIAM THOMPSON

On 27 May 1864, three hundred years after Calvin's death, Thompson delivered a commemorative lecture on his life and work in Cape Town (Thompson 1864). After discounting any form of 'hero worship' as a motive for the lecture, he emphasised the high regard various British and European scholars had for Calvin, because of

his commanding intellect, untiring diligence ... self-denying and fruitful life, exceptional dedication to God and to the welfare of the Church, as well as the abiding quality of his Biblical commentaries.⁴

Thompson subsequently gave a useful summary of Calvin's life and work, lightly touching on all its important facets. He referred in some detail to the incident in 1554, when the Small Council of Geneva gave permission to Philibert Berthelier to take part in the Lord's Supper – against the decision of the Consistory. The following Sunday Calvin preached the sermon, fully expecting to be exiled for the second time.

Like Chrysostom he [Calvin] declared that he would rather suffer himself to be murdered, than give the sacred elements to those who are judged to be despisers of God. (Thompson 1864:34)

The tension was tangible in the Church when Berthelier, at the last moment, withdrew from the communion table. Thompson saw this incident as a major turning point in the history of Geneva, as the supporters of Calvin afterwards gained a majority in the Small Council for the first time.

However, in spite of his high regard for his piety and theology, Thompson (1864) was outspoken in his criticism of Calvin. He mentioned the following:

1 Calvin's 'very quick and sometimes harsh temper', which he often 'confessed and lamented' (1864:15, 31).

2 The fact that Calvin was 'too strongly influenced by the old notion' that Church and State 'should be allied for their mutual support, and that men might be dragooned into religion and orthodoxy'.⁵

3After quoting the high praises given to Calvin for his development of the Presbyterian form of church government, Thompson observed that the Scriptures teach a more excellent way'. With this he obviously meant the Independent or Congregationalist form of church government, which he considered to be in full accord with the New Testament (1864:33).

4He made no attempt to defend Calvin's role in the trial and execution of Miguel Servetus; indeed, he emphasised that it could not be defended from any point of view (1864:34). On the other hand, Thompson did contextualise Calvin's views, indicating that it was generally believed in Europe at the time – by Protestants as well as Catholics – that people who blasphemed the Trinity should be executed. He further observed that Calvin did not adhere to his own views, expressed in the first edition of his *Institutes* (1536), when he pleaded for 'a very wide religious toleration' (1864:36).

5Thompson was further unable to appreciate Calvin's views on the Lord's Supper, viz a memorial of the death of Christ, as well as a divine assurance of our union with Him, both in his perfect sacrifice on the cross and in his session at the right hand of the Father. He preferred the 'clearer views' of Zwingli, ie that the Supper is a memorial of the death of Christ and the bread and the wine (only) signs or 'emblems' of Christ's body and blood (1864:59).

The third part of this lecture is a strong polemic against Roman Catholic doctrine, with special reference to the decrees of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Thompson observed, by way of summary, that Calvin's major argument against Rome was that

the Reformers were not innovators – as their opposers claimed – but that, from the perspective of Scripture and the Ancient Church, it was, in fact, the soteriological system of the late medieval Church that was an innovation (Thompson 1864:48).

Calvin's arguments against Roman Catholic theology, the details of which are beyond the scope of this paper, are extensively quoted. With Thompson as our guide, we find ourselves clearly in the period around the first Vatican Council (1870).⁶ Towards the end of the lecture he explicitly warned against the growing influence of Catholicism in England and South Africa (1864:81).

3 TIYO SOGA

Tiyo son of Soga⁷ was born in 1829 in the Tyhume valley in the Eastern Cape, near the present-day town of Alice. His father, Soga son of Jotelo, was a senior councillor of Ngqika ('Gaika'), king of the Rharhabe-Xhosa. When Ntsikana started to preach the gospel, after his 'sudden conversion' around 1815, Ngqika instructed Soga to listen to Ntsikana's message. The Soga family thus came under the influence of the gospel and subsequently came into contact with the Scots missionaries associated with Lovedale. His mother, Nosutu, became a convert, as did his eldest brother Festile. Tiyo progressed so well in the primary school at Gwali that he was sent to Lovedale. Because the border was disrupted his education, William Govan, the first principal of Lovedale, took Tiyo to Scotland in 1846, where he was trained as a teacher.⁸

Although he had a very high regard for Govan⁹ it would seem that it was Dr William Anderson of the United Presbyterian Church (UPC) in Glasgow who led Tiyo to Christ. "It was his exceeding *fellow feeling* towards a strange boy that won my heart" (Williams 1978:18). He was baptised by Anderson on 7

May 1848 after confessing his faith.¹⁰ During his second visit to Scotland, he was trained and eventually ordained as a minister of the UPC.¹¹ Before returning to South Africa early in 1857, he married a Scots lady, Janet Burnside.¹²

Tiyo was appointed missionary at Mgwali near Stutterheim, where he built up a thriving congregation, using as nucleus a group of converts from the Tyhume valley, which included his own extended family and Dukwana, son of Ntsikana. In addition to sterling educational and pastoral work, he wrote a number of Xhosa hymns, translated the first part of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* into Xhosa and contributed to the revision of the Xhosa Bible. In 1868 he was asked to open a new mission in the Transkei, near the headquarters of Sarhili ('Kreli'), king of Gcaleka-Xhosa. Tukurha became a small replica of Mgwali, but, having suffered chest and throat problems for many years, Tiyo's health broke down and he died in 1871, at the age of 42.

3.1 Tiyo's theology

Gideon Khabela expressed the opinion that Tiyo's theology was thoroughly Calvinistic (cf Khabela 1996). This seems natural if we keep in mind that the first generation of Scottish missionaries were, generally speaking – like their counterparts in the Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) – evangelical Calvinists.¹³ Khabela emphasised the Trinitarian and Christocentric dimensions of his theology, but especially highlighted Tiyo's 'deep understanding of Calvin's eucharistic theology'. His evidence comes mainly from Tiyo's hymns, which are indeed, generally, strongly soteriological and Christocentric (cf Williams 1983:195f).

According to Khabela, Tiyo's eucharistic hymns were steeped in Calvin's understanding of the Lord's Supper. They specifically suggest the Calvinistic teaching that, in order to obtain the true blessing of the eucharist, communicants should not seek the

Lord in the bread and wine, but should 'lift up their hearts where Christ is' at the right hand of the Father (cf Khabela 1996:136f). He also commended Tiyo's emphasis on the very point not appreciated by Thompson viz, that believers have communion with the real body and blood of Christ by faith and the power of the Holy Spirit (1996:138).

While Khabela's arguments appear convincing, it should be pointed out that Tiyo was one of those thousands of Calvinists who very seldom referred to Calvin by name.¹⁴ The present writer could find only one place where he explicitly referred to Calvin, and that was in a lecture delivered at a meeting of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) of Cape Town, held on 7 June 1866. The topic was: 'Some of the current popular religious opinions and tendencies of the time' (cf Williams 1983:183f).

This lecture was mainly concerned with the 'modernist' theological movement.¹⁵ Tiyo came out strongly as an upholder of the theology of the Reformation and the 'Calvinistic system', without, however, discussing the issue in any detail.¹⁶

In his uncompromising rejection of the claims of 'modern theology' Tiyo argued that it would totally destroy the mission of the Church. He claimed that he knew what his 'own countrymen' would say about the 'new theology':

Old or new, it is all the same to us, you may now take it all away! We have been suspecting that this thing which you said was God's word was only a fabrication of the white man, and this uncertainty [created by rationalism] is a proof of it! (Williams 1983:189)

Of course, some psychologists may argue that Tiyo's uncompromising adherence to the Reformed faith was the typical attitude of a convert, only able to see things 'in black and white'. However, while this lecture confirms his commitment to Christian orthodoxy, Tiyo also made some significant critical comments on European society. He referred, for example, to the 'sickly and careworn' workers in London and Glasgow "pent up from week to week in the confinement of warehouses, manufactories and shops". He laid the blame for this and other abuses at the door of "'the commercial world' and did not hesitate to say that he found 'some aspects of your boasted civilization ... very repulsive and uninviting'" (Willaims 1983:190). Obviously this critical attitude towards 'British Christian civilisation' does not tally with the idea of 'the uncritical spirit of a new convert'.

While there is no evidence that Tiyo studied Calvin's own writings, there are enough indications that he fully internalised Reformation theology. His love for and translation of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, was certainly a very definite theological statement. It clearly indicates his love for the evangelical and experiential Reformed tradition – as opposed to a speculative-cerebral one – where faith and experience, knowledge and obedience, went hand in hand.

What we can glean from his letters and reports seem to confirm that Tiyo understood election as Calvin did, viz from a soteriological perspective (cf *Institutes* III: 1, 21-25). In his pastoral work, Tiyo consciously depended on the gracious work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of sinners. He often asked 'the Christians of Scotland' to pray for those who listened to the Word of God. He realised that some indeed came to Church for the wrong reasons, but

others came to hear the strange, startling, the
pleasing news of the word of God ... and I labour in

the strong faith that the Lord will, before long, mark a few as his own, and call them by his grace. (Williams 1983:133)

In a report, dated 2 January 1871, he wrote about Vanto, a 'promising young man', whose uncle, Maki, was a leading councillor of king Sarhili. After a period of doubt and consideration, Vanto took the decisive step of "coming forward to confess the Saviour, whose truth and love 'have conquered him'". Tiyo added, significantly, that it was Vanto himself who described his conversion in these (evangelical reformed) terms.¹⁷

It may be added that Tiyo's experiential Calvinism was the opposite of a superficial *sola fideism*. In his diary he often lamented his own lack of spiritual fervour, although he preached it to others. After a 'Sunday of blessings', when he preached three times and also baptised his brother Festile's infant son, he privately prayed: "May those who weep for their sins move me to weep for my own sins. Give me grace to believe what I preach to others."¹⁸ When some young people expressed their desire to enroll as catechumens, he wrote in his diary: "These enquiring souls should awake me to a greater concern of my own state before God" (Williams 1983:24).

3.2 The 'psychological argument'

Gideon Khabela has suggested that Tiyo's opposition to the traditional Xhosa male initiation ceremonies was due to the fact that he was 'too thoroughly Westernised' and because Tiyo was not circumcised (1996:53). Although Khabela fully accepted the integrity of his faith, this interpretation may support the 'psychological argument', viz that Tiyo's Calvinism was not really internalised, but mainly due to the fact that he was a convert from a very different religion and culture, which

allowed him no compromise with or leniency towards traditional religion and culture.

It would seem, however, that Khabela, who comes from a Zulu background, failed to recognise the strong religious dimension of the traditional Xhosa initiation ceremonies, and could therefore not appreciate possible theological problems with this practice.¹⁹ Tiyo, on the other hand, like most nineteenth century missionaries, did not realise that such customs could be 'transformed' or 'baptised into Christianity'.

In addition to Tiyo's criticism of 'British Christian civilisation' noted above, there is substantial additional evidence that would contradict the 'psychological argument'.

- In spite of his good Western education, Tiyo was remarkably sympathetic towards many aspects of traditional society. Whereas the white missionaries generally did not show much respect for 'pagan' chiefs and kings, Tiyo had a genuine and dignified respect for Sandile and Sarhili, in spite of their rejection of the gospel (cf Williams 1978:123). He was, indeed, proud of and grateful for his Xhosa ancestry. His friend and colleague at Mgwali, Robert Johnston, emphasised the fact that Tiyo "exhibited to perfection the Xhosa patriot and Christian missionary".²⁰ It is significant that Tiyo encouraged his own children to identify themselves fully with the Xhosa people, and not to become 'black Scotsmen', as it were (Williams 1978:103).
- Equally important was Tiyo's collection of oral histories, traditional stories and Xhosa proverbs. His first biographer, Chalmers, said

He knew all the brave warriors of his race; and when he met any of them his face would brighten up, and he would say, 'That is So-and-

so; I shall draw him out, and you will hear his adventures.'²¹

Significant in this respect is the pseudonym he chose for himself, viz *Unonjiba waseluhlangweni*.²² Accordingly, he encouraged others to share their knowledge of Xhosa history with the readers of the *Indaba*:

Let us bring to life our ancestors: Ngconde, Togu, Tshiwo, Phalo, Rharhabe, Mlawu, Ngqika and Ndlambe. Let us resurrect our ancestral forebears who bequeathed to us a rich heritage. All anecdotes connected with the life of our nation should be brought to ... our national newspaper, the *Indaba*.²³

The bulk of this collection has unfortunately, been lost, but those that we have, eg the story of *UGxuluwe naBatwa*,²⁴ are so naturally narrated, without any 'Victorian' prudishness or moralisation, that they easily demolish the 'psychological argument'.

- In light of the above, it is small wonder that Tiyo had a remarkable gift of presenting the gospel in terms that were culturally relevant to his people.²⁵ Apparently his Reformed theology did not inhibit his ability to communicate the gospel in culturally relevant terms, if anything, the opposite.²⁶ Of course, Tiyo was fortunate to grow up within the evangelical tradition of Ntsikana, who made very effective use of authentic Xhosa cultural forms, especially in music and poetry.²⁷
- Both Tiyo's *Uhambo Lomhambi* and his hymns are remarkable for its idiomatic Xhosa. His hymns are still highly regarded and his *Lizalis idinga lakho* ('Fulfil your promise') is

virtually a 'national anthem' among Xhosa-speaking people. The most striking example of cultural relevance in his theology is the title *Tshawe lamaTshawe*, used for Jesus in his hymns. As *Tshawe* is the clan name of the Rharhabe/Gcaleka royal house, it means that Jesus is the true prince or king, indeed, the King of kings.²⁸ This 'praise name' for Jesus – mainly used in prayers – is still today popular among the Xhosa of all denominations, in spite of the fact that the *Tshawe* is only one among a number of royal Xhosa-speaking clans.²⁹

Tiyo's utilisation of the principle of cultural relevance was the result of his being very close to his people. He showed great respect for the poor, the illiterate, the uneducated and the 'red-blanketed' ones. Tiyo was terribly shocked when he realised that non-believers experienced little hospitality from 'Church-people' who stayed on mission stations, that, they in fact looked down on 'red-blanketed' people. At his station at Thuthura, on the other hand, 'red-blanketed' people dropped in at any time and always felt welcome (Williams 1983:137).

In a report written in 1862, Tiyo relates how he met and sympathised with a 'pagan' who was inconsolable in his grief after he lost both his wife and two children. His comment reveals as much about Tiyo as it does about the grieving man:

His excess of sorrow was one that did honour to our humanity, and showed that, even in the bosoms of men accounted savages, God has implanted the noblest instincts of our nature. (Williams 1983:89)

4 KLAAS HOFMEYR (1827-1909)

Nicolaas J Hofmeyr and John Murray, elder brother of Andrew Murray, were the first two professors at the Stellenbosch

Theological Seminary or *Kweekskool*, which opened in 1859. Its aim was to alleviate the shortage of ministers in SA, but it was also a protest against the influence of 'modern theology' in the Dutch Universities (Reid 1982:350).

It has been assumed by many that Hofmeyr was 'a very strict Calvinist', but J D Kestell, his son-in-law and first biographer, did not describe him in such terms. On the contrary, in Kestell's opinion Hofmeyr was far too daring in his contact with 'liberalists'. He specifically questioned Hofmeyr's participation in the 'World Parliament of Religions' held in Chicago in 1893, a gathering which was condemned by many Christians as a denial of the mission of the Church (cf Kestell 1911:58, 203).

Hofmeyr certainly had great respect for Calvin as a Reformer, so much so that he suggested the name of 'Calvinia' for his first congregation in the Hantam district. However, while he strongly opposed 'liberal theology', both in its rationalist and pantheistic forms, he was not in favour of contemporary Calvinist orthodoxy. He believed that systematic theology 'should never become a finished system' and that a mere restatement of Reformation theology would inspire nobody. Accordingly, he welcomed the 'new emphasis on the human side' of the Bible and on the historical Jesus as 'a process of *enrichment and correction*'.³⁰ There was clearly a considerable distance between Hofmeyr and the great Calvinist theologians of the nineteenth century, such as Charles Hodge, Abraham Kuyper and C H Spurgeon.³¹

Hofmeyr did not consider himself 'a Calvinist' – he wanted to be totally free in his devotion to Christ alone. He was fascinated by the fact that the love of God was perfectly revealed in the 'utterly human' historical Jesus of the gospels. He seems to have found the answer to the Christological problems of his time in the realities of the historical human life and spiritual development of Jesus – in the *religion* of Jesus.

However, in his view the 'religion of Jesus' was not the moralistic Deism imagined by the modernists, but an experience of Sonship, assured by the Spirit, continually challenged by a multitude of temptations.³² It would seem that Hofmeyr, in his strong emphasis on the humanity of Christ, indeed built on the foundations laid by Calvin (cf Torrance 1978), but went much further.

As far as the present writer could trace, there is only one explicit reference to Calvin in Hofmeyr's published works. This reference is as strange as it is significant. Like John Murray, Hofmeyr accepted the idea that God would have become man even if there was no Adamic fall.³³ In support of this view, Hofmeyr quoted Calvin, where he wrote: 'Had man remained free from all taint, he was of too humble a condition to penetrate to God without a Mediator.'³⁴ While Calvin does not draw this conclusion, Hofmeyr seems correct in assuming that such a hypothetical Mediator could only be the Incarnate Son.

There are a number of remarkable things here. The first is the fact that Calvin actually made such a statement in the definitive (1559) edition of his *Institutes*, and secondly, that he strongly criticised Andreas Osiander, only a few paragraphs later, for developing this idea (cf *Institutes* II: 12:5-7).

Equally strange is the fact that Hofmeyr quoted Calvin in support of his teaching, but remained silent about Calvin's criticism of Osiander.³⁵ One is left with the impression that Hofmeyr, who seldom quoted any authority other than the Scriptures, either did not read Calvin himself – which is very unlikely – or quoted Calvin only in order to confound his conservative critics,³⁶ who believed that he was too lenient towards 'the newer theology of Schleiermacher', as a Scottish student, who studied at the *Kweekskool* from 1881-1884, expressed it (cf McKinnon 1887:30).

5 CONCLUSION

It would seem that William Thompson was a typical enlightened British Calvinist of the middle of the nineteenth century, who freely criticised Calvin, but who appreciated his evangelical soteriology as well as his effective polemic against Roman Catholicism.

Hofmeyr, on the other hand, appreciated Calvin for laying a solid theological foundation for others freely to build on (as he saw it), unfettered by traditions and creeds. In his recognition of the crucial importance of the humanity of Christ, Hofmeyr indeed built on the Calvinist tradition, but went much further than Calvin. His remarkable emphasis on the religion of Jesus – which he understood as an experience of Sonship, continually challenged by a multitude of temptations – still awaits full recognition by South African theologians.

Considering the fact that Tiyo, son of Soga, died at the early age of 42, it is remarkable that he, who internalised the evangelical and experiential traditions of Scottish Calvinism, also had an exceptional cultural sensitivity. Undoubtedly this was mainly due to his participation in the evangelical tradition of the Xhosa poet Ntsikana. It is possible that the independent Calvinist spirituality of the United Presbyterian Church also contributed to this cultural sensitivity.

Of these three theologians, Tiyo seems to have been the closest follower of Calvin. In his own view, however, he was not a follower of Calvin, but of Jesus Christ.

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ENDNOTES

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- 1 Eg the Lutheran revival under E W Hengstenberg in Germany and the Reformed revival under A Kuyper in the Netherlands. The Oxford Movement in England was likewise a reaction to 'modernism', but went back beyond the Reformation to the early Medieval tradition.
 - 2 These terms are often used interchangeably, but in my understanding 'modernism' referred historically to the rationalist re-interpretation of Christianity – denying (ia) the miracles, the divinity and the resurrection of Christ – while 'liberalism' also includes less radical interpretations of Christian orthodoxy.
 - 3 It probably reached its high-water mark around 1869, with the publication of *Modern Theology* by D P Faure, minister of the Free Protestant Church in Cape Town. The original Dutch edition was published in 1868, followed by a rejoinder by Andrew Murray, *De Moderne Ongeloof* ('modern unbelief').
 - 4 Thompson 1864:5. He even quoted favourable comments on Calvin by an 'eminently learned' Roman Catholic scholar, a certain Dr Dupin, who was, as far as the present writer could make out, Regius Professor of Philosophy at Oxford. Thompson (1864:7) also quoted Pope Pius IV who said: "That which made the strength of that heretic, was that money was nothing to him".
 - 5 Thompson 1864:25. Of course, the Congregationalists were still suffering under some legal disabilities in England at the time.
 - 6 There was in fact great unrest in Protestant circles in England at the time as a result of the proliferation of Catholic bishoprics, a process popularly labeled as 'Papal Aggression'.
 - 7 It seems wrong to refer to him as 'Soga', as it was in fact his father's first name, not his own. As in medieval Europe, the 'surname' changed with each generation. In referring to him as 'Tiyo', the present writer therefore means no disrespect, if anything, the opposite.
 - 8 It may be added here that, as his father 'entrusted him to the missionaries', he did not arrange for him to be circumcised, as Xhosa tradition prescribed (Williams 1978:13).
 - 9 Tiyo's translation of *The Pilgrim's Progress* was dedicated to Govan "one of the long-ried, unwearying, constant friends and benefactors of the native races of South Africa ... with much affection, esteem and admiration by his friend and pupil" (cf Bunyan 1972:5).
 - 10 Tracing its history to the Secession of 1733, the UPC had an independent tradition, exemplified in Anderson's criticism of the British military actions in the Eastern Cape during the baptismal service.
 - 11 He studied for two semesters at Glasgow University and then proceeded to the 'Divinity Hall' of the UPC in Edinburgh, where he did the full theological course (Williams 1978:23).
 - 12 They had six children. The eldest, William Anderson, was an ordained medical missionary in the Eastern Cape and the second son, John Henderson, wrote a number of important books on Xhosa history and culture. It may be added that Tiyo Burnside Soga, author of *Intlalo kaXhosa*, was the son of Tiyo's half-brother Zaze (cf Williams 1978:132).
 - 13 After the Disruption of 1843, the Church of Scotland missionaries in South Africa identified themselves with the Free Church of Scotland. In spite of the obstinate accusation that the Scottish ministers in the NGK were 'Methodists', Robert Shand of Tulbagh is reported to have read only the Bible and Calvin's *Institutes*, and Andrew Murray of Graaff-Reinet prayed regularly for a sovereign visitation of the Spirit, like the one at the Kirk of Shotts in 1630 (cf du Plessis 1920:33).
 - 14 Partly because his followers called themselves Reformed or Presbyterian Christians etc, and not 'Calvinists'.
 - 15 Tiyo referred to the views of Dr Tulloch, 'the leader of this new school in the Scottish universities', who was Rector of St Andrew's University (Williams 1983:187).

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- 16 He commended William Cunningham's lectures: *The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation* (1862), who was professor of Church History at the 'New College', Edinburgh.
 - 17 Williams 1983:136. For Maki, cf 131.
 - 18 While most of his diary is in English, it seems significant that these words were written in Xhosa (Williams 1983:22).
 - 19 It may be added that king Shaka discontinued circumcision among the Zulu, hence it was not practised by the 'Fingo' refugees who lived among the Xhosa at Mgwali at the time.
 - 20 Williams 1978:123; cf also Williams 1983:131.
 - 21 Williams 1978:112. These were obviously warriors who survived the 'Cattle-killing' period and who took part in the wars of the first half of the century. His grandfather, Jotelo, fell in the battle of Amalinde, between Ngqika and Ndlambe, in 1818. (Tiyo's father, together with Dukwana kaNtsikana, was killed in the 'War of Ngcayecibi' (1878), fighting on the side of Sandile seven years after Tiyo's death.)
 - 22 "An enthusiastic enquirer into [the culture] of our nation" (Williams 1983:150).
 - 23 Williams 1978:99. These are Xhosa kings, some going back to the 17th century (cf Peires 1981:17).
 - 24 'Gxuluwe and the San' (cf Williams 1983:160f).
 - 25 It should be noted that 'cultural relevance' does not equal 'religious conformity' (Cf Thom 1998).
 - 26 The Biblical doctrine of the Incarnation demonstrates and guarantees cultural relevance. When Yahveh became man, He did not become a 'cosmopolitan' or 'universal man', but a Jew, born into a Jewish family, and brought up within Jewish culture. At the same time the 'most Jewish' books of the NT (eg Matthew, John and Revelation), are remarkably universalistic.
 - 27 Ntsikana brought a culturally relevant but revolutionary message to his people, viz that, because of his perfect sacrifice, Jesus, *and not the ancestors*, intercedes for us with the Father. Apparently he derived this emphasis from J T van der Kemp and Joseph Williams (cf Holt 1954:112-117; Khabela 1996:78).
 - 28 Williams enumerates 27 hymns by Tiyo in the *Incwadi Yamaculo AmaXhosa* of the Reformed Presbyterian Church (1978:131).
 - 29 Eg the Madiba, the royal clan of the Thembu.
 - 30 Kestell 1911:57; emphasis added.
 - 31 Hofmeyr was very critical of Reformed scholasticism and pointedly rejected one of its pillars, viz the so-called 'covenant of works'. In his published works the present writer could find no discussion of the Reformed Confessions, not even of the very irenic Heidelberg Catechism (cf Thom 1990).
 - 32 The temptations, in Hofmeyr's view, were mainly aimed at denying his Sonship (cf Thom 1990:35).
 - 33 Through the centuries, this was espoused by various theologians, ia by Wessel Gansfort (1419-1489).
 - 34 *Institutes* II:12:1; cf Hofmeyr 1887:194.
 - 35 Which was, basically, that Oseander 'went further' than the Scriptures would allow.
 - 36 Probably under the influence of the charismatic champion of the Afrikaans language and Reformed orthodoxy, S J du Toit.

