

# METHODISM IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE TEACHING MINISTRY OF FIVE NATIVE MISSION AGENTS

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## *Abstract*

Very little is said about the unique contribution of Methodist native mission agents into teaching of the Christian faith in their communities. These were people such as Samuel Mathabathe a native preacher from the Northern Transvaal who, in 1869, began work within his community and founded the first Methodist Church there. Robert Mashaba who founded the Methodist Church in Mozambique, and Daniel Msimang who founded Methodism in Swaziland.<sup>i</sup> If it were not for these native mission agents, Methodism would not have become one of the largest denominations in South Africa. However books, pamphlets and records of the church tell of the heroic work that was done by white missionaries from Europe in planting the church among often unwilling and very pagan people. If the native mission agent is mentioned at all it is only in passing or they are seen as probationers or assistants to the white missionary who were the “missionaries par excellence”.<sup>ii</sup> This gives the impression that the work of evangelisation and teaching of the Christian faith relied almost exclusively on missionaries. Little or sometimes nothing is said about the fact that in other communities the missionaries found thriving churches and schools that had been going on for decades, after having been initiated by native mission agents. Thus the history of the missionary enterprise in Africa is one-sided and wrong – especially when it comes to Christian education. The purpose of this article is to make a small contribution to the correction of that history by telling the stories of five of these native mission agents and their contribution to the teaching of Christian education in their communities.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

At the funeral service of the late Professor Gabriel Setiloane, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, a student of the deceased, shared the conversations he had had with his former promoter and teacher. One conversation was about the fact that Setiloane always complained about the Methodist Church not taking African culture seriously and not having done enough to deal with apartheid within its ranks, which had led to the marginalisation of black people. Having heard the complaints several times Mosala asked Setiloane why he did not leave the Methodist Church because obviously he was not

happy with it. After a pause and a sigh Setiloane replied “Son it is because the Methodists bewitched me. I cannot do away with being a Methodist, but Methodism is me, it is part of every bone and flesh of my body, I cannot leave it and still be me, since it was handed to me through my ancestors through Christian education.”<sup>iii</sup>

Taken from a simplistic point of view Setiloane’s laments can mean that he was colonised by Methodism, that he was no longer able to free himself from it. However those who knew him would know that he was a conscientious African Christian whose faith was built on the Methodist heritage but this was founded on a strong belief in his tradition and culture as a Motswana. He was always conscious of the fact that he had received his faith from his ancestors, who had come into contact with the missionaries some one hundred and eighty years ago. His state of unease was caused by the constant struggle to strike a balance between living the Christian faith as expressed through his Methodist heritage and his Africaness as expressed in his Tswana traditions.

Setiloane’s difficulty freeing himself from the influence of Methodism results from the understanding that his Methodist tradition was integrated with his culture and values, so that he became a Motswana-Methodist. This is made possible by the fact that black Methodists who were the pioneers of Methodists spread an inculturated faith, one that became more African than European. His struggle is similar to that of the native mission agents who, although they appreciated their church, their teaching was built on their culture which, even though they tried, they could not successfully divorce themselves from. As a result when you visit a Methodist church in a township which has a majority of black people you find that it is a totally different church from one in the suburbs, where the majority of people are white.<sup>iv</sup> The reason for this can be attributed to the work of the native mission agents who embraced a European church, interpreted, translated to their language and appropriated it to their context. They imparted it to their people through Christian education, sometimes for years without the help of white missionaries, thus having the liberty to be innovative in adapting the Christian faith to their communities. As a result in some communities by the time the missionaries arrived “evangelization and Christian education was already underway”.<sup>v</sup> Phillip Denis notes:

The indigenous missionary workers, catechists, lay preachers, deacons and priests were the backbone of the missionary enterprise. Without them, the white missionaries would have achieved almost nothing.<sup>vi</sup>

There is a need to tell the stories and experiences of the native missionary agents who were the first Christian educators in their communities.<sup>vii</sup> When we do that we are not only liberating their silenced voices, but we are also liberating the contribution they made to the africanisation of the church which had initially been biased in favour of euro-centrism and the denigration of African culture. Three people have told the stories of native agents in the Methodist church. These are Joan Millard who approached their accounts from a historical point of view.<sup>viii</sup> Daryl Balia also wrote and told their stories in the context of the quest for liberation within the Methodist Church of South

Africa (MCSA).<sup>ix</sup> Gordon Mears wrote from the perspective of the missionaries. However there is still a need to give an account of the African converts who initiated work in often remote areas where they started to teach people about this new faith. Arthur Attwell in his book *The growing of the saints* notes that:

It must not be assumed that the white missionaries alone were responsible for the conversion and conservation of African members ... It is noteworthy that throughout the century of missionary advance it was often African converts who enthusiastically initiated new work in remote areas.<sup>x</sup>

This article is not just interested in their historical records, but rather on their approach to Christian education. I understand Christian education as follows:

By Christian Education we mean the educational activities of the Christian community, involving the Christian story, its past, present and future, enabling the learning community to engage the Christian story in its context with the aim of individual, ecclesial and social transformation.<sup>xi</sup>

The main argument of this article is that the native agents did not transplant a faith that they had received from the missionaries. They did a lot of work interpreting it to their language and cosmology. Then they imparted it to their people through three aspects of Christian education: church-based, school-based and socially based education. The factor common to all of these is that they used the indigenous language and symbols of the people. They shaped the faith to fit their contexts and communities. That is their contribution to the development of an African church that could later be embraced by the African people as something that could not be taken away from them, because it had become part of their heritage, as Setiloane claimed.

The article has three main sections. First the article tells the stories of the lives and work of the five missionary agents. Second it analyses their approach to teaching the Christian faith. Third it looks at their struggle for the right to recognition and ordination as education for equality within the church. It concludes by looking at the implications of their stories for the contemporary church in South Africa.

## 2 THE NATIVE MISSION AGENTS

### 2.1 Samuel Mathabathe

Samuel Mathabathe is associated with the founding of Methodism in the northern Transvaal where he was a pioneer. Mathabathe was born in 1840 at Soutpansberg ka Mphahlele in the northern Transvaal.<sup>xii</sup> The date of his move from Sekhukhuniland to Natal is uncertain. Mears records that he moved in 1867 whereas Millard says he moved in 1862. However there is common

agreement that he moved to Natal in 1862 in search of job opportunities. He was welcomed by the Methodists at Edendale, during the time of Rev James Allison and he joined the mission school where he learned to read and write. Over and above literacy he also learned preaching and farming methods soon after being baptised by the Rev J Allison. It is not clear what year Mathabathe went back to his people in Soutpansberg. On his return to his community he sought permission from his chief to start preaching and it was refused. It looks as if he was refused but he proceeded to preach anyway and ended up getting a stern warning from his chief not to preach if he still wanted to remain in that community. The chief said:

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.<sup>xiii</sup>

His determination to preach even without the permission is a sign of the resilience that early Methodists like Barnabas Shaw demonstrated when he arrived in the Cape.<sup>xiv</sup>

Mathabathe did not give in to the threats of the chief but continued with his work of preaching. The first church that he built was torn down. After the death of the chief he built a church that could seat 600 people and also erected a school.<sup>xv</sup> He appointed two teachers to teach at the school and he sent them to Lesotho to French missionaries for training. One of the teachers was Johannes Mphahlele, who was a cousin to the chief and he later offered for the ministry. Mphahlele came back and taught the people and they organised the society into Methodist class meetings and began to educate them about the faith. They had also contacted the local missionary from the Berlin Missionary Society asking for assistance in terms of books to read. It was then that the Berlin Missionaries wanted to take over his work, but he refused saying:

I belong to the Wesleyan Church. My people also belong to it. 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.

Since Mathabathe was not ordained, he always sought help from the missionaries of other denominations in his area to conduct baptism and sacraments. However what he knew was to preach and sing with his people in his Northern Sotho language. That he did to the best of his ability until the local chief threatened him, seeing his messages as rivalry to the traditions of his people. In 1883 the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society discovered Mathabathe and his congregation. They purchased the farm in Goedehoop for Mathabathe's mission work and the name was changed to Good Hope Mission. The Rev Owen Watkins was appointed as the superintendent and Mathabathe as an evangelist. Watkins had this to say about Mathabathe.

... 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.<sup>xvi</sup>

However the fact that Mathabathe was only given the status of an evangelist

for the work he had built, whilst Watkins was superintendent, gives a glimpse of the low opinion their white colleagues had towards black missionaries.

## 2.2 Robert Mashaba

Robert Mashaba was the pioneer of Methodism in Mozambique. He was born in about 1850 in Ntembi's Place, Delagoa Bay. He came from a traditional Ronga family that had had no contact with the Christian religion. He went to Durban to search for job opportunities and settled at the Bluff where he got a job at the Naval Station. He came into contact with the Methodist missionaries and he attended a night school, which was run by the missionaries.<sup>xvii</sup> He was taught the basic skills of reading and writing and also to say the Lord's Prayer. In 1875 he moved to Port Elizabeth in search of better work and education opportunities. Through the invitation of a friend he attended the Methodist Church in the township. Mashaba is said to have had a vision of a burning bush and a voice that instructed him to pray. Then he worked to save money so that he could take himself to school. His dream was realised when, having raised 40 pounds, he registered himself as a student at Lovedale in 1879. He studied during the year and worked during holidays to raise money to support his studies. In 1885 he went back to Mozambique where, with the help of the Rev James Stewart, he started a school and a church at Lourenco Marques among his people. He had problems because his area had been given to Catholic missionaries, who monopolised it as their mission field. He had also established a number of schools for which he trained teachers himself.<sup>xviii</sup> Like Samuel Mathabathe, Mashaba was not ordained when he started his ministry in the early 1890s so he could not preside over the sacraments. As a result he relied on missionaries of other denominations for such services. It was only in the 1930s that he was ordained but in the early days of his ministry he was not, so could not preside over sacraments.

After a long time of struggling with the work he wrote to the *Imvo ZabaNtsundu* newspaper in King Williamstown urging the Methodists to come and assist him in his work comprising 200 people in nine mission stations along the Tembe River. The Natal Synod sent the Rev William Mtembu to investigate and he met the converts and presided over the sacraments there. In 1892 he was visited and urged by the Revs Daniel Msimang and George Weavind to candidate for the ministry. In 1894 he was accused of having incited a rebellion against the colonial government in his area. He was arrested and sent to prison on the Cape Verde Islands. He wrote in protest and asked for help from the Methodist authorities who were only able to secure his release four years later. It was while in Soweto that he translated 100 hymns into Tsonga, the language of his people. An asset to Mashaba's ministry was his ability to speak a number of languages such as Ronga, Xhosa, Zulu and English.<sup>xix</sup>

## 2.3 Daniel Msimang

Methodism in Swaziland is associated with the name of the Rev. James Allison, the missionary who arrived in Swaziland in 1845. This was after king Sobhuza I sent a delegation to Thaba Nchu to ask for the missionaries to come to Swaziland to offer education and the gospel. He was acting on a

dream that had earlier been dreamt by his grandfather Somhlolo who had seen a vision of white people coming out of the sea. In one hand they had a book (*umculu*), and, in the other they had money (indilinga).<sup>xx</sup> Then he saw his aunt who advised him not to accept the coins but the book.

Allison's work failed within a year because of the conflicts between Mswati and his brothers. His lack of understanding of the Swazi protocol also contributed to the failure of his mission work. As a result of his ignorance of the Swazi culture he did not visit King Mswati 1 to pay tribute as required by royal protocol. Thus he was viewed by the king as aligning himself with the enemies and this resulted in the mission being attacked. Allison escaped with his wagons to present day Indaleni where he settled but later bought a farm known as Welverdiend that had been owned by a Trekker leader, and there he built the Edendale mission. He took with him a number of Swazi people, thus creating more anger in the king. Daniel Msimang was fifteen when the mission station was attacked and he went with the missionaries to Natal. He became the village accountant. In 1887 he was ordained to the ranks of the Methodist ministry.<sup>xxi</sup> He grew up on the mission station in Natal, receiving his education there until he was ordained as a Methodist minister. He went back to Mahamba to revive the Swaziland Mission thirty-five years later in 1880. He was accompanied by two of his sons and his brother, who acted as volunteers. Daryl Balia notes that Msimang went back to reconstruct the mission in Swaziland. When he arrived, for some time he lived in his wagon. He had prayers in the open and through his prayers and preaching the people were driven to tears.<sup>xxii</sup> The impact of his preaching and prayers was so huge that it raised opposition amongst the people and some witch-doctors threatened to kill him, to which he replied saying:

When I came to Swaziland I knew it was possible I might be killed.  
This does not trouble me. I am in the hands of the Lord.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Balia notes that within a year Msimang had built a church that could take up to 150 people, and a manse. His work was such that in a space of a decade (in 1886) he had established three circuits with four hundred and nine members. Over and above the circuit work, a thriving school was built at Mahamba and his daughter was teaching the children there. Msimang died in December 1904 after a successful and faithful ministry. In 1911 the Rev W Wilkins was appointed to Swaziland and he then helped build the present Methodist church at Mahamba. The church was dedicated in 1913 and was named the Daniel Msimang Memorial Church. The work grew up to a point where there was a big mission school and a hospital. Today the Methodist Church in Swaziland boasts of 14 schools in total, both primary and high schools and all these can be attributed to the work of Daniel Msimang the native missionary to Swaziland.

### **3 ANALYSIS**

#### **3.1 Socially based Christian education – teaching to transgress**

Mathabathe had to face his culture head on when it conflicted with his new

faith. Joan Millard tells of an incident where Mathabathe challenged his people's beliefs and tradition. 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 Goedehoop to be buried.<sup>xxiv</sup> In 1880 Mathabathe removed a boy from a circumcision school and sent him to a mission school. The native mission agents could understand the need for integrating cultural practices into Christianity and the need to abandon some of them entirely because they also came from those cultures. He was not threatened by witchcraft. The success of the mission in Swaziland after the failure of the white missionaries is an example of the significance of the native mission agents who had the understanding of the language and culture of the people.

### 3.2 Teaching the mysteries of God in our own languages

The other unique contribution of the native mission agents was their ability to interpret the message of the gospel into their own language and culture. They spoke the people's language and they lived their culture, so that when they conveyed the message of the gospel it was received and to some extent appropriated by both the languages and the cultures of their people, thus making it speak more clearly to them. Balia notes that:

On the whole these were men who had no training but were equipped with the rudiments of reading and writing their own language and who preached in the kraals with *extra ordinary success*.<sup>xxv</sup>

Msimang used his Zulu and siSwati, Mathabathe spoke northern Sotho, and Robert Mashaba spoke his Ronga language. The issue of language was important because sometimes the people misunderstood the white missionaries when they preached. An example of this confusion is noted by D Chidester in his book *Religions of South Africa* (1992), when he quotes a classic example of this in the mission to the Zulu people.

Most Zulu speakers initially found the message of the Christian missionary incomprehensible. In response to his theological language about 'the chief above', Owen encountered skeptical reactions: 'Is there one? Can he see us if he is in the air? He must be a good climber.' In general, Owen found a fundamental misunderstanding of his message, 'as people did not know I was speaking of God, they thought I was talking of King George'. Even Dingane was understandably confused when Owen talked about God as supreme chief. Dingane asked, 'Was God among the English Kings?'<sup>xxvi</sup>

The message that the missionary brought cannot therefore be understood without analysing the entire framework in which that message was communicated.

It was not an easy exercise to articulate the message that was passed to them

through a foreign language, because they were not experts in the English language. However once they understood the message they had an advantage compared to the white missionaries because they could articulate it to their people. The other thing that must be noted is that in their preaching of the gospel the native mission agents actually coined the African theological language which was not there before them. For instance Bishop Manas Buthelezi notes that words such as *ukuthandaza*, (pray) and *ukuthanda* (love) which are at the heart of the Christian faith had not previously been coined.<sup>xxvii</sup> It was the native mission agent's work to coin them. This is a tremendous contribution that they made and handed over to our generations. It was a daunting task for them, and sometimes frustrating to translate the message of the gospel for their people in their language, but it became a valuable gift. By translating the gospel into their language they also began a process of owning the Christian religion as well as the church so that it could no longer remain foreign to them and their people.

### 3.3 Teaching self-reliance

Another example of the struggle for church ownership is visible when one reads the story of the church and Unzondelelo. Unzondelelo was set up in Natal in 1875 as a mission fund for native mission agents (mostly Zulu) engaged in mission work, who did not receive financial support from the Methodist Church.<sup>xxviii</sup> Its aims were summarised as "an ardent desire, an intense passion, and an irresistible impulse to save souls, combined with practical endeavour".<sup>xxix</sup> It came as a response from Methodist evangelists in Natal, who felt that the church had no interest in the development of the native ministry. Daniel Msimang was one of the key founders and first president of this progressive movement. In their first meeting in 1875, they raised an amount of 100 British pounds and the money was put aside to assist black evangelists to spread the gospel. In retrospect we can see Unzondelelo as an attempt by the native agents to teach their people self-reliance as far as mission is concerned.

### 3.4 Teaching for ecclesiastical transformation

When they started their ministries all the other native mission agents with the exception of Daniel Msimang were lay people. When the assistance of an ordained minister was needed they sought it from any minister nearby – even from non-Methodists. It was not easy for the church to ordain black people to the ministry, for two reasons. Firstly, because they were unknown when they started their work. Secondly, some of them had no good education to qualify for ordination. There was also the reluctance on the part of missionaries who did not want to lose control of the church to indigenous clergy. The deliberations at Unzondelelo meetings bring us to awareness of the struggle for the white missionaries to ordain the native agents. It also shows that the native mission agents' concerns were mostly about the need for native ministry and concern about the lack of funds to support full-time evangelists for the work among blacks. It demonstrates the pressure they exerted on the church to ordain black people to minister to their own people. At one meeting when missionaries were being evasive about the issue of ordaining black people, the missionary agent, Nathaniel Mathebule openly challenged the

white missionaries. He protested by asking:

Why did you not ordain the old teachers as Ministers? The first missionaries passed away without a Native Ministry. You may pass away also, without doing it. The English Missionaries are not enough to occupy Natal, and my heart is painful because of the condition of this land. In Fiji the missionaries ordained converts, and the work prospered greatly. When one hears that we desire to form another church this is not our aim. You do not wish the work here to be great! We have now been six years at Driefontein, and have 100 members. Who did that work? The Natives themselves. The Missionary lived at Ladysmith.<sup>xxx</sup>

This statement shows the dissatisfaction that black people had about the lack of interest shown by white Methodist missionaries in promoting the native agency in the church. Mathebule had also demonstrated that these leaders were not just timid, subservient helpers of the missionaries but that they were mature leaders who were ready to take full responsibility for the ministry of what they viewed as their church too. The missionaries met this attack by Mathebule with more excuses, retaliating by taking over the control of Unzondelelo, giving it a different name 'called altogether' and writing regulations to govern it.<sup>xxxi</sup> The black members of Unzondelelo did not accept this new name; neither did they give up the leadership of Unzondelelo. The Rev John Kilner who was the general secretary of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was sent in 1880 to survey the field and make recommendations. One of the key things he did was to look at and evaluate the black mission agents and see if they could be ordained. To the disappointment of the white missionaries, who were delaying the ordination of black people, he wrote a report that called for their ordination arguing that they were highly mature and ready for ordination. He wrote.<sup>xxxii</sup>

1 These native men have been for many years doing the greater part of the vernacular work of their respective stations, preaching, teaching, visiting etc.

2 They were soundly converted men, of singular force of character. Many of the men are of mark among their fellows; some of them connected with the ruling chiefs, and acknowledged to be of noble descent.

3 The Lord has blessed their labours abundantly. Hundreds of heathen have been converted through their instrumentality. There is not a man among them who has not had seals to his ministry.

4 They have the spirit and bearing of a generation of gentlemen, their manners and address having a grace about them indicating much mental susceptibility and considerable polish.

5 They are a generation in advance of their own generally; indeed they are as much superior to those among whom they will labour, as any batch of English candidates that ever offered themselves to Conference for work in England are superior to the people among whom they will have to labour.

6 The Native Churches desire, I may say demand, them as pastors.

7 They have passed unanimously through the Native Quarterly Meetings.

8 They have all passed a searching examination by their district meetings, and have been almost to a man unanimously recommended by those district meetings.

9 Most of these men have already given a full ten or fifteen years' hard and valuable service.

The point that I am making here is that even the right to ordination did not come without a struggle to native agents; they had to fight for it. It took time for white Methodist missionaries to succumb to the pressure to ordain indigenous clergy. The first Methodist ministers to be ordained were Charles Pamla, James Lwana, Charles Lwana and Boyce Mama. All four were ordained by the Conference of 1871, being the first graduates of Healdtown theological institution.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Methodism has also experienced a number of cessations, so that it is estimated that there are about 3 000 African independent churches in South Africa and a big number of those broke away from the Methodist Church. The Rev Andrew Losaba opined that "in the majority of cases the African Independent churches have been the work of black Methodist ministers and lay leaders who learned leadership skills as members of the Methodist Church."<sup>xxxiv</sup>

## 4 SACRIFICE AND SERVICE FOR SHALOM

When one looks closely at the lives of these mission agents one can see that they were committed to a new form of life that God had given them and they wished this life to reach their people. They were not satisfied with the status quo in their communities where people were ravaged by poverty, ignorance and constant fear of wars that broke out at any time. Having met Christ and been part of the church of God made them aware that God's vision for humanity and creation was much bigger than they had been taught in their communities and tribes. This resulted in their building churches and schools in the hope that their people could come to experience and participate in God's vision for a new and better society. They did this with much sacrifice to themselves and their families. Now and again they faced opposition and humiliation from their families and chiefs. They saw this as a sacrifice that they needed to make in order to serve their people. One can also value the deep and free service they offered to God, the church and their people. For a long time after they had started their ministries they were not paid, nor were they recognised but this did not deter them from doing the good work. Mashaba and Mathabathe had to resist the Anglicans and Catholics and Lutherans from the Berlin Mission respectively who wanted to take over their work but they were faithful to their own church. They paid the price for not wanting to be absorbed by other denominations. South Africa is faced by poverty, unemployment and HIV/AIDS. The need is for people who will sacrifice their lives by working for the upliftment of their communities, without expecting benefits for the good work. Anne Hope noted: "Sacrifice and service bring

forth new possibilities in life.”<sup>xxxv</sup>

## 5 AGENTS OF A LIBERATING AND TRANSFORMING GOSPEL

Although these agents’ thinking may not fit in with our modernist framework of understanding liberation and transformation, there is no doubt that, in their work, they had a vision of their ultimate goals. They offered a holistic gospel, one that took into account the need for both intellectual and spiritual growth. This was seen by the fact that they built the churches and the schools at the same time. They desired to see the impact of the gospel on all the other aspects of people’s lives. Their understanding of salvation was not just at the personal level, but rather it went beyond that to touch the rest of the community. This brings awareness of the type of faith they held, and that was motivated by Wesley’s understanding of the gospel, that was social. “There is no holiness but social holiness”<sup>xxxvi</sup> Through their work as preachers these men acted as catalysts who challenged and enabled people and their communities to see an alternative way of living through Christianity and education. They acted as local theologians who enabled people to see their lives in the light of the vision of God. The other important thing is that these agents were aware of the power of the gospel to liberate their people from a life of ignorance, and victimisation by the forces of civilisation. Through Christianity and education their people were no longer going to be victims of these forces but rather actors and participants in the processes of change.

The MCSA is no longer an English or a foreign church but an African one. This is confirmed by the form of worship, music, liturgy, drums, uniforms, et cetera. All these demonstrate the success of the work of the mission agents in struggling to appropriate the gospel and Methodism for their people. As a result, even though they are dead, they still speak to us through their faith and resilience.<sup>xxxvii</sup>

## 6 CONCLUSION

South Africa has gone beyond the liberation phase and is now in the phase of development. As a result it is struggling with the high levels of poverty and poor service delivery, especially in townships and rural areas. Furthermore the country is struggling with the HIV/AIDS pandemic and high levels of illiteracy and ultimately unemployment. Being the strongest NGO in South Africa the church has a very important role to play. The unrecognised laity, men and women, who are leaders of the church in local rural and township communities, play an integral role in the development not only of the church but also of South African society. The present situation in the MCSA which makes it difficult for the church to station ministers in every church requires the church to mobilise the laity and their potential to be involved in the work of the church and community transformation. This is a resource for the church

that needs to be retrieved from the example of these undaunted leaders of the church.

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  - 19 Mears, *Methodist torchbearers*, 22.
  - 20 Perkins, J 1974. A history of Christian missions in Swaziland. Unpublished PhD thesis completed through the University of Natal.
  - 21 For information in this paragraph I am indebted to Dr Joan Millard of the University of South Africa.
  - 22 Balia, D. *Black Methodists and white supremacy*, 44.
  - 23 Mears, G. *Methodist torchbearers*, 43.
  - 24 Millard, J. *Malihambe*, 38.
  - 25 Balia, D. *Black Methodists and white supremacy*, 18.
  - 26 Chidester, D 1992. *Religions of South Africa*. London: Routledge, 55.
  - 27 Buthelezi, M. God bless Africa. A historic three-part series movie. The Film Resource Unit. 2005.
  - 28 Unzondelelo has remained in existence in KwaZulu-Natal and serves the Zulu community only. Other ethnic groups have tried to be part of it, but they have not been able to understand it nor to buy into it. There was also very little attempt to extend it to the rest of the MCSA.
  - 29 Balia, D. *Black Methodists and white supremacy*, 36.
  - 30 Balia, D. *Black Methodists and white supremacy*, 41.
  - 31 Balia, D. *Black Methodists and white supremacy*, 35.
  - 32 Balia, D. *Black Methodists and white supremacy*, 46.
  - 33 Millard, J. *Malihambe*, 63.
  - 34 In Attwell, A. *The growing of the saints*, 216.
  - 35 In Van Schalkwyk, A 2001. The story of Anne Hope's quest for transformation, *Missionalia*. 3, 444-475.
  - 36 In Marquardt, M 2000. *John Wesley's social ethics*. Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 89.
  - 37 Hebrews, 11: 4.