

THE CREATION OF INDIGENOUS CLERGY FROM  
NATIVE SCHOOLS IN MARIANNHILL:  
1884 TO 1910

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*Abstract*

The article analyses critically to what extent the early missionary schools for boys influenced young men to become priests. It examines the factors which made these schools for boys and girls become catchment areas for native vocations in the diocese of Mariannhill from 1884 to 1910. The study looks at the background of the first four black catholic priests (Edward Mnganga, Alois Mncadi, Julius Mbhele and Andreas Ngidi) and one seminarian (Charles Mbengane) in Mariannhill, South Africa. By using archival sources and oral history the article tries to establish the emergence of early education amongst the Zulu community in Mariannhill and its influence on potential seminarians and priests.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The evangelisation of the Africans in the Catholic Church in South Africa was spearheaded by the Trappist monks (later known as the Congregation of Mariannhill Missionaries - CMM). The evangelisation process also encompassed the building of schools and hospitals. In this article, we shall focus on the creation of indigenous clergy from native schools in Mariannhill from 1884 to 1910. To do this, we shall firstly briefly introduce the Trappists monks, then, highlight key themes in their missionary approach whilst simultaneously stressing the role of the native schools in the creation of indigenous vocations.

Then, finally we shall look at cases of the first four Catholic priests and establish their link with the native schools in Mariannahill. This period has been chosen because by 1884, the first four boys were baptised from the Mariannahill School and by 1910, four Zulu priests had been trained and ordained in Rome.

## 2 THE TRAPPISTS IN NATAL

In 1882 the Trappists arrived in Durban. Prior Franz Pfanner purchased the farm 'Zeekoegat' from the Colonisation Company and met Bishop Charles Jolivet of Durban in Pietermaritzburg on 19 December 1882. The bishop welcomed the monks, but declined to have any financial involvement in their undertakings. A few days later the prior gave the farm a name:

He called it Mariannahill: In the Cistercian tradition in honour of our Lady, and St. Anne, the grandmother of the Lord. He did it also in pious remembrance of his stepmother, who bore the names of Mary and Anne.<sup>1</sup>

Under Bishops Jolivet and Delalle, the Trappists expanded their mission - they erected a school, cultivated lands, printed material, and other things. During the expansion of the mission most of the activities were done by the Trappist monks. "They only employed African boys to lead the oxen, and they were paid for the job."<sup>2</sup> This was an attraction as gradually more and more children arrived at the mission attracted to work of the monks. This led the monks to build a school for them. "By September 1884 the school had become a boarding establishment in which 100 African and about 50 white boys - English and German - were fed and clothed and taught in the classroom free of charge."<sup>3</sup> In the afternoons the children worked in the fields or in the shops of the monks. This system of manual labour became entrenched in all Mariannahill Mission schools. "Benjamin Makheba, a young Mosutho, was their first Catechist and Fr David Bryant - a young English monk - was their first real school master."<sup>4</sup> This was also the beginning of the creation of the indigenous clergy vocations. It was from this school where the first Zulu priest - Edward Mnganga - came from.

Girls came to the mission. However, they were cared for in a separate institution. Miss Mary Lassak, a daughter of one of the Polish settlers living on the farm was employed to look after the girls and also taught them.

Towards the end of 1884 the first four boys trained at the mission were ready for baptism: "This was done with great solemnity and may be considered the beginning of the missionary work of the monks. This event demonstrated in a nucleus the missionary method of Mariannahill, which combined practical work with school education and catechesis."<sup>5</sup> The schools were to become catchment areas for the early vocation in the Catholic Church.

In 1885, the monks had baptised 203 Christians, the school children had also increased in number. The brothers in most cases were assisted by African men in various crafts and trades.

The monks also increased their missionary endeavours and by 1886 they had expanded to Polela, Einsiedeln and Mariathal; in 1887 to Oetting. It was during this expansion that in 1887, a young promising boy from his 'Latin' school at Mariannahill presented himself and it was decided to send him to Rome to study for the priesthood. In the meantime, the Mariannahill mission expanded to Kevelaer, Loretto, Lourdes, Rankweil and Centocow in 1888.

In February 1889 Father Gerard Wolpert took charge of Centocow mission and started expanding the mission. He started building a school, chapel and houses for the priest, brothers and extending the cottage for sisters. Though a boarding school was not very popular at Mariannahill, a similar idea was extended to Centocow when its first boarding school was opened in August 1889 and 36 children turned up. Most of the parents did not allow their children to be boarders. As the school was completed some parents eventually allowed their children to sleep away from home.<sup>6</sup> As expected there was some confrontation between the parents and the monks, however these were tactfully handled by Fr Gerard. When the girls got older the parents wanted them to get married so that they could get *lobola* whilst the missionaries wanted to keep them at the mission school

longer. At Centocow the teaching was conducted by sisters, with the assistance of Aloisa Engel, a local Christian girl. The special subjects were taught by the brothers. The school developed into an excellent school and the Natal Education Department always praised the school after inspection. In the 1890s Fr Bryant spent some time at Centocow he also trained catechists and teachers.

By 1890 the Mariannahiller had established missions at St Michael's, and two years later at Maria Ratschitz. They used the same missionary method of combining practical work with school education and catechesis,<sup>7</sup> during which seeds of the early vocations were sown and the fruits reaped later on. Thus, in this early period, the abbot had already started initiatives to indigenise the local clergy. In 1887, Edward Mnganga, who was to be the first black Catholic priest in South Africa, was sent to Rome to train for the priesthood. He was ordained in 1898 and worked for sometime in Zululand.<sup>8</sup>

Abbot Pfanner was succeeded by Abbot Amandus Schölzig, who was in charge from 1893 to 1900. He also continued the training of converts, and on 24 August 1894 he sent two more young men to study at the Propaganda College - Alois Mncadi from Mariathal and Charles Mbengane from Mariannahill. The latter fell ill and was taken to Würzburg in Germany for treatment, where he later died. He is buried in the Würzburg cemetery. Alois Mncadi successfully completed his studies and worked in the Mariannahill missions until his untimely death in 1933.<sup>9</sup> Two more Zulu students were sent to Rome in 1899. They were ordained in 1907 and came and worked in various mission stations in Mariannahill.<sup>10</sup>

### 3 THE TRAPPISTS' MISSION APPROACH

When the Trappist monks started their initial work among the Zulu people, their approach was different from that of some Protestants<sup>11</sup> and early Oblate missionaries. The latter's approach was to build a mission first and then invite the people to come and listen to the message; educate their children and hopefully attract some catechumens - a slow but steady process. The Trappists, on the other hand, had a different method.<sup>12</sup> They started with the

development of a huge fertile farm by planting food crops and erecting buildings which were necessary for their survival. "Only when they were virtually self-sufficient did full scale evangelisation begin."<sup>13</sup>

This was intended to attract the interest of blacks (in the surrounding countryside; they came themselves to see it rather than being approached by the missionaries [it was a] living amalgamation of Christian religion and genuine culture, which in the final analysis takes its origin from manual labour.<sup>14</sup>

The missionaries came to spread the gospel, but they were also influenced by their political and religious background, and deeply attached to their western culture. This surfaced in their work in mission stations and also, in turn, influenced the perceptions of the new converts. As the Comaroffs say, whilst being evangelised, the Zulu converts were inevitably drawn into the culture of modern capitalism "... only to find themselves enmeshed, willingly or not, in its order of signs and values, interests and passions, wants and needs".<sup>15</sup> By 1879, after the Battle of Ulundi, the Zulus were fully subjected to the British rule.

In 1885, Franz Pfanner became abbot, and by the end of that year he had built roads, residences for monks, workshops, schoolrooms and huge fields were already ploughed or in the process.<sup>16</sup> In establishing this, Pfanner "intended to develop [the Zulu peoples'] agricultural potential, while nurturing the spiritual and educational development of the Africans living on the properties. He planned eventually to divide the properties among the African tenants."<sup>17</sup> Seen from another perspective, bearing in mind that when we use the Comaroff's study on the Tswana people to shed light on a similar situation in Natal, we can say that the abbot and his men came to "... save Africa: to make her peoples the subject of a world-wide Christian commonwealth. In so doing they were self-consciously acting out a new vision of global history, setting up new frontiers of European consciousness, and naming new forms of humanity to be entered onto its map of civilised mankind."<sup>18</sup> The abbot was to embark on this project through schools,<sup>19</sup> where he would have access to the local people. His first

school was opened in 1884, and by 28 December 1884 the first four converts, some schoolboys, were baptised.

The following year a girls' school was opened. At first the schools were day-schools, but the monks realised that when the children went home they were still exposed to their 'pagan tribesmen'. It is evident that the monks wanted the schools to be one of the means to convey Christianity and civilisation to children at an early age. The children had to think like the Germans, and at times they became alienated from their own cultural background. This kind of practice created the situation whereby the *Kholwas*<sup>20</sup> did not really know where they belonged. They thought they could associate with the whites but, due to racism in South Africa, they were treated differently. Their kinsmen were also alienated from them because, *inter alia*, some were not circumcised so they were considered as 'half men'. For example, Tiyo Soga was not fully accepted among his own Xhosa people and some missionaries despised him though they were supposed to be his companions.<sup>21</sup>

A boarding facility was then provided, first for boys and later for girls. "At the same time, at the suggestion of David Bryant, the curriculum was altered so that every child spent the morning in the classroom and the afternoons in the fields or workshops under the supervision of the many skilled monks."<sup>22</sup> This practice was to be inculcated in the training of priests in South Africa, and up to today, manual labour is part of the training.

Abbot Pfanner's aim was to keep the new converts together, away from their 'heathen' tribesmen. The converts also had to dress in European style as this was the missionaries' understanding of civilisation and so garments were provided on request. This also happened at other missionary stations. As mentioned earlier, the conversion of African people is a typical example of missionaries acting as vehicles for western hegemonic world-views. The Zulus were becoming deeply entrenched in the system of capitalism and they had to buy Western clothes and materials to build their houses in the Western style.

The *Amakholwa* emerged mainly at a time when market forces were developing in the 1880s, and when chiefs had a better opportunity to

obtain land and labour needed for participation in the market. The *Amakholwa* were well placed to respond to the market opportunities due to their exposure to white technology and education. As a result they brought about changes in the homestead economy.

There were relatively few mission-educated *Kholwa*, who by 1881 numbered approximately 7 500 individuals. The growing prosperity of this community of wealthy African Agriculturalists is shown by the increasing amount of freehold land they owned. After 1880 it became possible for the public to purchase crown lands of the Colony on extended credit of ten years at ... (a) price of ten shillings an acre.<sup>23</sup>

The job of native clergy was not an easy task and many factors come into play - such as funds, power, the requirements for training, and the lengthy programme of training - a minimum of seven years! I shall now look at the first four indigenous vocations in South Africa.

#### 4 EDWARD MULLER KECE MNGANGA 1872-1945<sup>24</sup>

In November 1887, “a promising boy’ from the ‘Latin School’ at Mariannhill presented himself. Pfanner, the superior decided to send him to Rome to study for the priesthood.”<sup>25</sup> Edward Mnganga came from the Mangangeni in Mhlatuzane,<sup>26</sup> as Mrs Malukati Mncadi recalled: “... The thing he used to tell me was that he was coming from Mangangeni [...] as he (Edward Mnganga) was called Mangangeni. I think that place is close to Mariannhill but I do not know where about”<sup>27</sup>.

Mnganga travelled to Rome with a young Mariannhill priest from England, David Bryant.<sup>28</sup> The latter had been ordained in the same year. After Bryant came back to South Africa he worked in the Transkei and was later transferred to Ebuhleni, near Emoyeni. This station had been founded as a result of a series of events closely associated with the white Zulu chief John Dunn. Earlier, Bishop

Jolivet had despaired over whether a mission in Zululand would be possible. However, an opportunity arose when Dunn, with 40 wives and over 100 coloured children, saw that his life was coming to an end and wanted to secure a good future for his offspring.<sup>29</sup> He therefore discussed possibilities for his children with the British resident Commissioner, Marshall Clarke. Bishop Jolivet and Clarke were good friends, having been prisoners-of-war during the first Transvaal War of Independence and this relationship continued when Clarke was resident commissioner in Basutoland.<sup>30</sup> William P Murray, the vicarial bursar acted as go-between and an agreement was reached and Catholic missionaries were sent to Dunn's farm which was at Emoyeni just outside Eshowe. The object of the mission was:

to provide for education of the children of the late John Dunn, and Dunn's chief wife, Nontombi, was willing to provide a schoolroom and quarters for the teachers. The official application to open the mission was made by Murray and approved by Clarke. Fr Anselme Rousset, Brother Boudon and three Dominican sisters from Oakford setting out in February 1896 to begin the new venture. The party was accompanied by Father Mathieu, the most experienced amongst the Oblates missionaries to the Zulus, who assisted with the luggage and with the setting of the mission itself.<sup>31</sup>

After establishing themselves, the missionaries then built a school at Emoyeni, near Dunn's homestead. In June 1896, Anselme Rousset applied for land on nearby Entabeni Hill which was to be used for cultivation. He later established the Holy Cross Mission there, which catered for the Zulus in the area. The first visit by the bishop to this station was carried out in December 1898 and he confirmed "about 30 neophytes, most of them being of the Dunn family."<sup>32</sup> Also a number of white children had been accepted at the school so the mission was due to grow.

Bryant,<sup>33</sup> in the meantime, was moved from the Transkei to Zululand in October 1896. He stayed for a short time at Emoyeni, and while there he negotiated for a mission site. He was granted a site of 10 acres at Ongaye Hill at Ebuhleni. As he wrote



After I had spent a few month there (Emoyeni), roaming the Zulu country looking for a suitable site for my first Native mission (R.C.) among the Zulu, I at length struck upon one of the loveliest spots in all South Africa, and I immediately named it Ebuhleni. Situated just below the oNghoye all-range (with its great forest, 10 miles long by two through), the country was an extensive expanse of hundreds of gentle hills, all of various shapes and heights, and all covered with beautiful woodlands, and having numerous crystal brooklets running along the valley. The whole place was furthermore thickly covered with Kraals, all heathen, there being not a single 'town Native' anywhere around.<sup>34</sup>

A chapel and hut were built for Bryant. A well-attended service was held after Christmas in 1898.

In 1898, Mnganga returned to South Africa after successfully completing his studies at Collegium Urbanum.<sup>35</sup> The College had been established in 1627 by the Bull *Immortalis Dei* and placed under the direction of the Congregation of Propaganda. Its purpose was mainly to train candidates from all nations for the secular priesthood, who, if commanded by the pope, would promote or defend the faith anywhere in the world, even at the risk of their lives. Urban VIII had realised that it was necessary to establish a central seminary for missions where young ecclesiastics could be educated, not only for countries which had no national colleges, but also for those that were endowed with such institutions. He thought it desirable to have, in every country, priests educated in an international college where they could get to know each other and establish future relationships. This vision of future relations which Urban VIII had is captured in the extract from a letter to Mnganga by one of his former classmates at Urbanum:

I have the honour to enclose a small alms for the Zululand mission. I was a student some 30 years ago in Rome with a Zulu priest, but I fear *lapses est a gratia*. I think his name

was Muller. May I ask a kind prayer, as my health is very poor.<sup>36</sup>

So the college not only gave the student priests an international education and degree but also helped them establish relationships which could be helpful in the future.

Upon Mnganga's arrival, "Bishop Jolivet decided that he would be of most use to the vicariate among his own people in Zululand and sent him there to assist A T Bryant (later David) who was working amidst the Zulu at Ebuhleni."<sup>37</sup> We read that:

After April 1898 Bryant was assisted by the first Zulu priest, Father Edward Mnganga (Kece) who was to *take charge of the school*. Father Mnganga, who had left for Rome in 1887, was a secular priest who had his early education at Mariannahill and was to spend most of his life in the Black missions. Once the school was on its feet and a reasonable number of pupils attending each day, two Dominican sisters were brought from Newcastle to undertake the teaching; and when the number of pupils reached 30 Bryant applied for a government grant.<sup>38</sup>

By 1898 the Emoyeni mission was serving about 80 Christians and catechumens, while at Ebuhleni Bryant had 200 people at his Sunday services.

## 5 ALOIS MAJONGA MNCADI (1877-1933) AND CHARLES BENGANE

Alois Majonga Mncadi, from Mariathal and Charles Mbengane from Mariannahill were sent to Rome on 24 August 1894. Charles took ill in Rome and was sent to Wurzburg to recover - he, however, died and was buried. Alois on the other hand, was ordained in 1903.<sup>39</sup> *The Catholic Directory* records that in 1921 he was working at Maria Linden, and from 1925 to 1927,<sup>40</sup> he worked at Mariannahill and also at Lourdes, Centocow, Ixopo, St. Michael's, Himmelberg, St John's and Maria Trost.<sup>41</sup> Shortly before he left the Mariannahill Vicariate, he

worked at Highflats and finally went to Zululand in 1933 and died the same year on 28 October. He had been a priest for 30 of his 59 years.<sup>42</sup> Both Alois and Charles, went to the mission schools were they decided to become Catholic priests.

From the available sources, we see that Mncadi was involved in two conflicts as a priest in Mariannahill (1903-1932). The first was with Fr Florian, rector at Maria Trost mission in 1918, where Florian vehemently objected to Mncadi's staying with his niece at St Michael's; and the second conflict was with Bishop Fleischer and involved the ownership of a farm.

## 6 ANDREAS MDONTSWA NGIDI (1881-1951)

Andreas Mdontswa Ngidi was born in the year 1881, after the Zulu War of 1879, just after the capture of King Cetshwayo, of Impande, younger brother to Shaka and Dingaan. His father Mbhemiwegudu Ngidi had three wives. His third wife was Nomakholwa Ndlovu and she had two sons Mdontswa and Mbhelekwana. Mbhemi's early career was that of an ox-wagon driver from Durban to Johannesburg.<sup>43</sup>

When he was eleven years old, the urge to become a Christian increased. One day he saw an ox-wagon passing on its way to Umzimkulu. In those days, if you wanted to leave your employment, you had to ask your master to increase your pay. Mdontswa worked for Mr Williams for eight months and he was paid seven shillings per month. When he asked for an increment, the European employer set him free. He travelled with a middle-aged woman who had relatives in Richmond. When they reached Inondi store the owner recognised him and wanted to employ him as a cook. As he knew that Centocow was nearby, he consented. In a month, he saw all his old friends and prepared to start schooling and drop cooking.

### 6.1 School

Ngidi was admitted to the mission boarding school on 1 October 1892. He offered himself for the baptism classes and two years later

on 19 March 1894 he was baptised, choosing the name of Andreas. From then onwards he decided to live a good life. Things became easier for him, as he says, "Even learning seemed easy after baptism as if the waters of salvation had washed even the brain in the black head of the African boy."<sup>44</sup> Bede Gramsch arrived from Lourdes and took charge of the boarding house. He saw that Ngidi was very clever and thought that he could become a priest. "Andrew Ngidi who has never attached any love for any place or familiarity with home surrounding agreed on the moment to try his best in following this ideal."<sup>45</sup> In 1896, three other boys came forward and also offered themselves to be priests. Letters were sent to Rome applying for the four boys. The life style of Andreas Ngidi, offers us some perspective on who the early *Kholwa* were.

During the Griqua rebellion which broke out near Kokstad, Ngidi was sent to Lourdes mission by Bede Gramsch with letters which stated that the Lourdes school children should be sent to Centocow. In 1897, the rinderpest cattle sickness broke out and then swarms of locusts devastated the mission lands and fields. At times school children were requested to drive away the swarms. Ngidi used to go out with the superior of Centocow to pray and sprinkle the cattle on the veld.

Meanwhile, the application letters which had been sent to Rome for the four boys to be priests came back. They were all accepted, however, the other two boys who had offered to go for the priesthood withdrew, leaving Andreas Ngidi and Julius Mbhele. Another incident which encouraged his vocation is related as follows:

In the meantime, in 1898, the first African South African priest Dr Edward Mueller, had arrived in Durban and visited some of the mission stations and in Centocow Andrew saw him celebrating Holy Mass and he served for Mass. All that went to confirm his vocation and gave him more courage. If this African went to Rome and came back as a priest, why not I? Of all the Mariannahill mission stations only Lourdes in Griqualand East answered the call and Julius Mkomazi and our Rev. Dr. Julius Mbhele became available to go with Ngidi overseas.<sup>46</sup>

Ngidi was in standard VI, and as the time to leave for overseas grew closer, he worked hard and revised his Latin lessons. Before he left he practised English with the coloured students from Kokstad.

## 7 JULIUS UMKOMAZI MBHELE (1879-1956)

Julius uMkomazi Mbhele was born in 1879 into the Amabela tribe. He was received into the mission station at Lourdes in 1894 and was baptised in 1896. In 1899 he entered the Collegium Urbanum in Rome.<sup>47</sup> Upon his return from Rome, Julius Mbhele was involved in mission work at Mariannahill from 1907 to 1924. In 1910, while working at Mariannahill, Mbhele was incarcerated in Einsiedeln and was not allowed to practice as a priest. Mbhele had problems staying at any mission because of differences with the rectors and the bishop of Mariannahill.

## 8 CONCLUSION

In this article, I have established that the creation of the initial indigenous clergy was greatly influenced by the setting up of native schools in Mariannahill. The first school was set up in 1884 and by the end of the year the first four boys trained at the mission were ready for baptism. The missions expanded to Polela, Einsiedeln, Mariathal, Kevelaer, Loretto, Lourdes, Rankweil and Centocow by 1888. The Trappists when setting up their stations were influenced by one method of combining practical work with school education and catechesis. To a great extent the missionary schools had some influence over the young Zulu men to become priests. So much so that, by 1910, the following priests were trained and ordained in Rome: Fr Edward Mnganga (1898); Fr Alois Mncadi (1903); Fr Andreas Ngidi and Julius Mbhele (1907). All these priests received their initial training in Mariannahill diocese. The article started by introducing the Trappists monks, then highlighted key themes in their missionary approach and finally looked at cases of the first four

Catholic priests and established their link with the native schools in Mariannhill.

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## ENDNOTES



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- 1 Hermann, A. *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill*, (Mariannhill: Mariannhill Press, 1984), 10. See also Brain, J. *A new beginning? The Umzimkulu Diocese fifty years later*. (Mariannhill: Mariannhill Press, 2004), 20.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid, 11. See also Brain, *A new beginning?* 23.
- 6 Brain, *A new beginning?* 26.
- 7 Ibid, 11.
- 8 'Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus' in *Vergissmeinnicht*, no 63, 1945, 235-238.
- 9 See Otto Heberling, 'Mariannhill: neueste Missionsnachrichten' in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1934, 38-40. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery.
- 10 'Ein freudiges Ereignis' in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1907, 194. Archives of the Mariannhill Mission.
- 11 It is important to note that some other missionaries had a similar approach, for instance, Bishop Colenso at Ekhukhanyeni, see Hinchliff, P, *The Anglican Church in South Africa: An account of the history and development of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963).
- 12 Hermann, A, *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*, 10-14.
- 13 Brain, *A new beginning?* 23.
- 14 Brain, *Catholics in Natal II: 1886-1925*, 131 and J Dahm, *Mariannhill: seine innere Entwicklung, sowie seine Bedeutung für die katholische Missions-und kulturgeschichte Südafrikas* (dissertation zur Erlangung des theologischen Doktorgrades an der kath.-theol. Fakultät der Universität Wien, 1949, Mariannhill, Missionsdruckerei, 1950), 177.
- 15 Comaroff, J & Comaroff, J, *Of revelation and revolution: Christianity, colonialism and consciousness in South Africa*, Volume 1. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), xii and Ela, J, *Africa Cry* (New York: Orbis Books, 1986), 21.
- 16 Hermann, A. *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*, 12.
- 17 Joy B Brain, 'Moving from the Margins to the Mainstream: The Roman Catholic Church' in Elphick, R & Davenport, T R H (eds), *Christianity in South Africa: A political, social and cultural history* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997), 199.
- 18 Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 309.
- 19 Hermann, A. *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*, 12.
- 20 For Norman Allan Etherington a *kholwa* was an 'African who chose to reside on mission stations (and) were, for the most part, outcasts from traditional society and detribalised people from all parts of South Africa who came seeking land, security, and employment.' *The rise of the Kholwa in south-east Africa: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand, 1835-1880*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Yale University, 1971. In his publication he states that, 'The first converts, or *kholwa* ... about half ... came from outside the region where their mission station was located, this alien character being especially marked in Zululand because of the official ban on missionary activity. They were often accused of being morally peculiar as well. A magistrate grumbled in 1858 that missions were not "particular about the character of the natives they admit to reside on their stations" and warned that the knowledge that some of the worst crimes are committed by those residing upon mission stations must have an injurious effect towards the spreading of the doctrines of Christianity among the surrounding population. "Some missionaries acknowledged there was truth in the charge that their missions were 'refuges or characters of the worst description'." According to the Anglican Henry Callaway, it was "not the elite of ... society which first gathers around a Missionary; it is not even an average specimen of the natives". Norman Etherington, *Christianity and African society in nineteenth-century Natal*, in Duminy, A & Guest, B (eds), *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910, A new history* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989), 282-283. This point is further emphasised by John Lambert, "Of considerable importance in facilitating their break with traditional values was the fact that many of the original converts came not

- from the district surrounding a mission but from as far afield as Zululand, Swaziland or the Transvaal. Mini, for example, was a Swazi; and Kumalo Zulu and Africa came from the Transvaal. They were accordingly hampered neither by tribal restraints nor by the disapproval of their kinship group, nor by the authority of their chiefs. Many of the new elite of Kholwa ministers appear also to have had a similar background which would have made it far easier for them to take the necessary psychological step to a full commitment to an alien religion”, in *Africans in Natal, 1880-1899: Continuity, change and crisis in a rural society*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of South Africa, 120.
- 21 See, Attwell, The Transculturation of Enlightenment: The exemplary case of Rev. Tiyo Soga, African Nationalist, in Philippe Denis (ed), *The making of an indigenous clergy in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publication, 1995), 41-58.
- 22 Brain, Catholics in Natal II: 1886-1925, 139.
- 23 John Lambert, From Independence to Rebellion: African Society in Crisis, c 1880-1910, in Duminy (et.al), *Natal and Zululand*, 378.
- 24 See also George Mukuka, The experiences of the first indigenous Catholic priest in South Africa: Fr Edward Müller Kece Mnganga 1872-1945. In *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* Volume XXXI(2), October 2005, 77-103.
- 25 Monastery Chronicle 1882-1895, 50. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery. See also; Respondek, 'Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum', 48 and [Hermann], A, *History of the Congregation of the Missionary Of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*, 19.
- 26 *Vergismichnicht*, 1899, 11. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery; where the writer talks of the first Zulu priest to be ordained and describes the astonishment and the joy of especially the girls at a mission school in Pinetown, when the Prior of Mariannhill arrived with the priest. Müller had been a pupil of a Mariannhill mission school since 1884 and was sent to Rome in 1887 by the then Prior Franz Pfanner; *Izindaba Zabantu*, (7 September, 1928); Respondek, 'Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum', 48.
- 27 Malukati Mncadi, interview conducted in Mariathal, Ixopo, September 1994.
- 28 Monastery Chronicle, 1882-1895, 50. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery.
- 29 A T Bryant describes the coming of the Trappist missionaries to Dunn's household as follows:- "when Dunn had died, the Res. Com. of Zululand requested our authorities in Durban to send up a missionary to advise and instruct the very large family now left stranded, with a considerable amount of property of all sorts - a tin-box full of golden sovereign (as his principal wife, Nontombi, told me; and which, she said, had mysteriously 'disappeared' after his death, and was never found), thousands of cattle dispersed among hundreds of Native kraals (nobody knew which!) And so on. Well, this missionary had already arrived at Emoyeni a few week before myself, and had already started his 'half-cast' mission there among his flock. Manuscript of David Bryant entitled "Some sweet memories" 1947. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid.
- 30 Brain, J B, Early history of the Roman Catholic Church 1846-1885. MA Thesis, University of South Africa, 1974, 245.
- 31 Brain, Catholics in Natal II, 1886-1925, 118.
- 32 Ibid, 119.
- 33 Bryant was a Zulu ethnographer. He made the term 'Nguni' referring to Zulu-and Xhosa-speaking fashionable in academic circles when he collected oral traditions in Natal and published a book entitled *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal in 1929*. He also published other works on the Zulu people, for instance, *A Zulu-English Dictionary*, (Mariannhill, 1905); 'The Zulu cult of the dead man' (London) 17, 140-145 and *The Zulu people as they were before the white man came* (Pietermaritzburg, 1949). See also Respondek, 'Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum', 47. Interestingly, Bryant heard of Zululand during the 1879 war and he describes it thus, "Suddenly I came to hear, for the first time, of 'Zululand'. *The Graphic* and *London News* were filled with pictures of ferocious savages, decked out in flowing plumes and heathen girdles, rushing wildly down, with assegais and up-raised shields, upon (apparently) quite fearless British squares. Poor deluded things! The assegais and flowing feathers always got the worst of it. That was the Zulu War, of 1879." Unpublished manuscript of David Bryant entitled 'Some sweet memories' 1947 . Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid.
- 34 Manuscript of David Bryant entitled 'Some sweet memories' 1947. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid.

- 35 'Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus' in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 11 and no 63, 1945, 235-238 and 'Der erste Zulu Priester' in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1887, 11.
- 36 Rt Rev Mgr Hook, A letter to the bishop for Mnganga, The Presbytery, Queen's road Aberystwyth Wales, England, 5 Sept 1923. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first black Catholic Priests.
- 37 Chronicle Monastery 1896-1911, 111. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery; See Hermann, A., History of the Congregation of the Missionary Of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa, 19; Brain, Catholics in Natal II, 1886-1925, 252 and Respondek, 'Die Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum in der Mariannhill Mission', in Zeitschrift fur Missionwissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft, 34, 1950, 47-49.
- 38 Brain, *Catholics in Natal II, 1886-1925*, p.120 (Italics mine) See also *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1899, 11. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery. *Izindaba Zabantu*, 7 September 1928, where it says that after his arrival he was speaking Latin, English, Italian, Germany, Greek like his mother tongue. In 1928 he was contributing two articles to the newspaper *Umlando we Bandla* and *Nohambo lwabangcwele*.
- 39 *Um-Afrika*, 3 November, 1933, 3.
- 40 Catholic Directory, 1921-25.
- 41 See Otto Heberling, 'Mariannhiller: neueste Missionsnachrichten' in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1934, 37. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery. See also *Um-Afrika*, 3 November, 1933, 3.
- 42 *Um-Afrika*, (10 November, 1933), 1.
- 43 Ngidi, A, 'Autobiography of Andreas Ngidi'. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.
- 44 Ibid, 5.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Ngidi, A, Autobiography of Andreas Ngidi. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.
- 47 'Ein freudiges Ereignis', in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1907, 194. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery.