

**THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA  
AND ITS PERSPECTIVES ON THEOLOGICAL  
EDUCATION FROM 1900-2016**

by

**JAMES KENOKENO MASHABELA**

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## ACADEMIC DECLARATION

Name: James Kenokeno Mashabela  
Student number: 33151830  
Degree: PhD in Church History

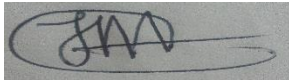
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The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and its perspectives on theological education from 1900-2016

I declare that the above thesis is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.



Kenokeno Mashabela  
SIGNATURE

October 21, 2020  
DATE

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my dearly beloved and supportive wife Londeka Mashabela and our children Tumišo and Khutšo.

*Topa nama Mashabela!*

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This work provides a contribution and conversational act to Southern African Lutheran discourse to sustain Lutheran Theological Education history to remain alive and open debate in history of Christianity.

## ABSTRACT

Lutheranism in Southern Africa was part of the missionary enterprise. The missionary enterprise was interwoven with colonialism. It was in this context that the beginnings of the Lutheran theological education took form. A number of phases serve as defining moments. The first phase was the establishment of schools for the training of the evangelists and teachers. Education was very much integral to mission. Lutheran mission societies during that period had established evangelist schools and training teachers. The second phase was to convert evangelist schools into seminaries to improve the standard of theological education. The third phase was in 1910 when the Co-operating Lutheran Missions (CLM) was established and prioritised to develop theological education beyond “evangelist seminaries” in Southern Africa. This resulted with the establishment of the Oscarsberg Lutheran Theological Seminary at eShiyane, Rorke's Drift (near Dundee) in KwaZulu Natal. What is distinctive about this period of theological college is that the CLM had aim to advocate for the unity of the ecumenical Lutheran missions. Yet, the Hermannsburg Mission Society never agreed to a joint theological education transformation as it remains with the conceptualisation of evangelist seminaries. The fourth phase happened five decades later, that is, in 1962. EShiyane Lutheran Theological College is moved to Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College. What makes this phase unique is that this theological college had strengthened unity and played an important role in the process towards unity between Lutheran churches and missions. This academic leadership college supported the vision of co-operation and the church unity in training African pastors at the central theological education college. The fifth phase was in 2003 when Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College merged with Pietermaritzburg Lutheran House of Studies into the Lutheran Theological Institute (LTI), in Pietermaritzburg. In this unique phase is that the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa is open to an ecumenical education of other church traditions geared towards contextualisation and aims at the degree level training, which led the road to Lutheran Theological Institute in 2003. This phase from 2003 onwards it still unfolding to the current time. Lastly, two key aspects running throughout these phases that to this day are not resolved are: First, the contention between full-time pastors versus self-supporting pastors. The self-supporting pastors are pastors who receive income outside the church. Second, it is the “poverty” state of the black pastors in the Lutheran Church. I wish you a happy and blessed journey through a discussion and learning of this academic research study.

## **SUMMARY OF THE STUDY**

The first chapter provides an overview of the study including literature review and research question.

The second chapter discusses an historical overview of South African theological education from 1900-1999.

Chapter three focuses on the development and role of Christian Education in equipping Christians spiritually and for community engagement in secular professions.

Chapter four provides the necessity of South African Lutheran theological institutions.

Chapter five discusses other emerging threefold Lutheran theological institutions and a Lutheran partnership with South African universities.

Chapter six gives a special attention to a research centre established by one of the Lutheran theological institutions.

Chapter seven discusses an ongoing search of Lutheran theological education in South Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Chapter eight discusses findings of the study and recommendations for the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and its theological education.

## **KEYWORDS**

African women, Lutheran Teachers Association, self-supporting and full-time pastors, decolonisation, #FeesMustFall, African Independent Churches Association, All-Africa Lutheran Conference, Clinical Pastoral Education, South African universities, Lutheran Theological Institute

## ABBREVIATIONS

AACC	All-Africa Church Conference
AALC	All-Africa Lutheran Conference
ACTEA	Advisory Committee on Theological Education in Africa
AICA	African Independent Churches Association
AICs	African Independent Churches
ALM	American Lutheran Mission
ALTS	Augustana Lutheran Theological Seminary
ANC	African National Congress
ASATI	Association of Southern African Theological Institutions
ATJ	Africa Theological Journal
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BATheol	Bachelor of Arts in Theology
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BD	Bachelor of Divinity
BMS	Berlin Mission Society
BTM	Black Theology Movement
CCA	Christian Citizenship Academy
CCLF	Council of Churches on Lutheran Foundation
CE	Christian Education
CLM	Co-operating Lutheran Missions
CLTJSA	Credo Lutheran Theological Journal in Southern Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPE	Clinical Pastoral Education
CSM	Church of Sweden Mission
CT	Contextual Theology
DCC	Department of Church Cooperation
DTheol	Diploma in Theology
EBSEMSA	Evangelical Bible Seminary of South Africa
ELCSA	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa
ELCSA-COR	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Cape Orange Region
ELCSA-DS	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Development Service
ELCSA-GA	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-General Assembly
ELCSA-SER	Evangelical Church in Southern Africa-South Eastern Region



ELCSA-TR	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Tswana Region
ELCSA-TVLR	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Transvaal Region
ELCSR	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Rhodesia
ELCT	Evangelical Lutheran Church Transvaal
ETE	Ecumenical Theological Education
ETHOS	Evangelical Theological House of Studies
FEDSEM	Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa
FELCSA	Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa
FHU	Fort Hare University
GA	General Assembly
GB	Governing Board
GLC	General Lutheran Conference
GLCSA	German Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa
HMS	Hermannsburg Mission Society
IMC	International Missionary Council
JC	Junior Certificate
JCLTT	Joint Committee on Lutheran Theological Training
JCSA	Joint Committee on Southern Africa
LCA	Lutheran Church Archives
LCSA	Lutheran Church in Southern Africa
LCsA	Lutheran Churches in Africa
LCsSA	Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa
LMC	Lutheran Merger Committee
LMF	Lutheran Medical Foundation
LPS	Lutheran Pre-seminary School
LTA	Lutheran Teachers Association
LTC	Lutheran Theological College
LTCA	Lutheran Theological College Association
LTCF	Lutheran Teachers Christian Fellowship
LTCGB	Lutheran Theological College Governing Board
LTE	Lutheran Theological Education
LTI	Lutheran Theological Institute
LUCSA	Lutheran Communion in Southern Africa

LUCSA-CTE	Lutheran Communion in Southern Africa Consultation on Theological Education
LUMASA	Lutheran Ministers Association in Southern Africa
LUMUSA	Lutheran Ministers Union in Southern Africa
LUSA	Luther Varsity in Southern Africa
LUTHOS	Lutheran House of Studies
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MA	Master of Arts
MCSA	Methodist Church of Southern Africa
MI	Missiological Institute
MLTS	Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary
NDF	Native Development Fund
NLTIA	Network of Lutheran Theological Institutions in Africa
NMS	Norwegian Mission Society
OLTC	Oscarsberg Lutheran Theological College
OLTS	Oscarsberg Lutheran Theological Seminary
PAC	Pan African Congress
PLTE	Pietermaritzburg Lutheran Theological Education
PTE	Programme on Theological Education
PTIC	Pietermaritzburg Theological Institutions Cluster
RCC	Roman Catholic Church
RU	Rhodes University
SAACTI	South African Advisory Committee on Theological Institutes
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SALTTT	South African Lutheran Theological Training Trust
SANC	South African Native College
SASO	South African Students Organisation
TEEC	Theological Education by Extension College
TEF	Theological Education Fund
UCM	University Christian Movement
UELCSA	United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa
UKZN	University of Kwa-Zulu Natal
ULTC	Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College

UN	University of Natal
UNISA	University of South Africa
UP	University of Pretoria
UPCSA	Uniting Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa
UTTC	Umphumulo Teachers Training College
UZ	University of Zululand
WCC	World Council of Churches

**LIST OF KEY TERMS**

African Theology	Essential theology that emphasis and embraces spiritual, and culture values of the African people.
Black Consciousness	A philosophy developed by black people to liberate themselves and their South African country.
Black Theology	Theology of liberation that respond to the faith of the oppressed and marginalised people.
Decolonisation	Philosophy that reclaims ownership of the land, mineral resources, education, and others that were taken away by the colonial powers.
Indigenisation	Philosophy that emphasises on indigenous knowledge systems used affectively as they are relevant to African people.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: AN OVERVIEW OF STUDY

#### 1.1. Introduction

This research study examines the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and specifically its perspectives on theological education for the period 1900-2016. The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa is one of the established churches that established theological education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This research study is a new contribution, which fills a gap in the field of the history of theological education in South Africa. It reflects on the Lutheran Church contribution to ecumenical education, educational institutions, and an emphasis on the essential role of women in the church space. The emphasis of this study is on the educational institutions. The epistemological framework of this study is credible and critical to reopen the theological education discussion, as an agent of change in the 21<sup>st</sup> century for service and development of the church and society. Yet, in this study, the terms theological education and ministerial formation will be used interchangeably because the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa has used both. The other thing is that the terms Umpumulo and Umphumulo are used in identified sources interchangeably. This introductory chapter offers the description of the research topic.

#### 1.2. Ongoing search for Lutheran theological education in Southern Africa

The study focuses on five Lutheran missionary societies that established theological education in South Africa. The Berlin Mission Society (BMS) arrived in South Africa in 1834, American Lutheran Mission (ALM) 1835 and Norwegian Mission Society (NMS) 1843 established evangelist schools separately, which are later improved to a theological college or seminary (Du Plessis 1965:211-232,344-385). The Hermannsburg Mission Society (HMS) arrives in 1855 (Baumboch 1929:280-305). The Church of Sweden Mission (CSM) settles in 1876 (Norenus 1929:253-255). South African Lutheran theological education has an impact in Southern Africa as well. Lutheran missionary enterprise is one of research and learning areas that Church History must contribute academically to engage with other theological study fields and discourse, and other general studies. The study is necessity to research and engage a more thorough and all-embracing study on missionary enterprise to black education and theological education.

### **1.3. Research design**

#### **1.3.1. Research problem**

African indigenous/natives' people had their own spiritual theology, which would readily dialogue with Lutheran theology. However, that opportunity was denied, and an African theological voice was subdued and silenced. The study is interested on whether Lutheran theological training was creative and dynamic or de-interesting institution that was prepared to transform the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (LCSA) to become relevant in response to crises of Lutheran congregations and society.

#### **1.3.2. Research question**

In this study, the following questions are being probed:

- (a) Why Lutheran theological education is established to train the indigenous people of Southern Africa?
- (b) Was theological education used as a strategic plan to discourage indigenous people to live their culture and for them to embrace Christianity?
- (c) What is a response of indigenous people to Lutheran theology?
- (d) How pervasive is theological education and learning in the Lutheran space today?

#### **1.3.3. Research method**

The key task of research is to develop suitable methods. Methodology is very central to all research. Thus, research methodology is considered to lead the whole research work (Leedy 1996:9). This thesis depends heavily on archives material as a key methodology. Archives material are engaged carefully and critically as they can be used in history. In historical studies, researchers and students cannot ignore the value of the past (Brandley & Muller 1995:5). Historical events happen in a particular place and time. Thus, they are assessed in context of where those events happened and with respect to chronology. The scholarship history method is grounded in an analysis of Church History in research and writing process. Thus, historian researchers are aware of a clear identified field of research. A deeper research directs to identify sources of many different kinds (Brandley & Muller 1995:6). Research cannot only rely on quantitative sources, but the researcher probes deeper into research to produce quality evidence out of those quantitative sources. The role of evaluation research and research methodology is to analyse a collected information in response to research questions (Kumar 2005:275).

#### **1.3.4. Research and ethical considerations**

The qualitative approach in this study involves an engagement between the researcher and participants. Thus, ethical considerations are observed to respect confidentiality and privacy of participants. This confirms their essential humanity and dignity (Oliver 2010:12). This research affirms that ethical considerations are sensitive to participants without manipulating their views. Individual participants can participate or withdraw from this research project and will not be identified. An open and clear research information is provided to them. In an academic community, plagiarism is critically important. Thus, no plagiarism is found in my research work (UNISA procedures 2018:10,15).

#### **1.3.5. Data collection methods**

The study uses published and unpublished sources and interviews as a centre of oral history methodology. Data must be critically analysed in a form of the authenticity of a document and its content relevance to the study. Primary sources are a first-hand evidence and secondary sources provide second-hand evidence (Kumar 2005:118). Minutes, reports, letters and unpublished papers are a necessary part of this study. Secondary and primary sources differ, but both answer research questions. The research study emphasizes on primary sources than secondary.

##### **1.3.5.1. Interviews**

In this study, interviews form part of the primary sources and serve as a primary tool for data collection (Mears 2012:170). In an interview, participants give different collective voices, which strengthens a research (Gibbs 2012:187 & Cohen & Manion 1994:287). Questionnaires are prepared to guide participants in order to answer research questions (Thomas 1998:162). Clergy, theological students and 'lay' people are potential participants in this research.

##### **1.3.5.2. Archived material analysis**

The archived material has produced fruitful results in this study. It is the task of an historian to critically engage the archived material, which is constructed in various events. I have visited a number of church and institutional archive centres, which includes Lutheran Theological Institute (LTI), University of Kwa-Zulu Natal (UKZN), University of South Africa (UNISA), ELCSA-Western Diocesan Centre and others. The study uses minutes of meetings of church councils and committees, synods, general assemblies, and other related church gatherings. Reports on particular issues are presented at theological conferences or consultations, synods, church

councils and committee meetings are relevant to this research. Letters are used in this study as a form of communication in the church and educational institutions.

#### **1.3.5.3. Secondary sources**

The secondary sources form part of a central resource. The study critically assesses and reviews the published sources on the Lutheran Church and its theological perspectives in general. The online published work is engaged as part of the secondary sources.

#### **1.4. Paradigms on qualitative or quantitative research**

Quantitative studies expose broad patterns in a specific study. Qualitative study focuses on a deeper understanding of the study (Mears 2012:170). Thus, this study is interested and comfortable with a qualitative method, which is about a data collection and deeper understanding. This qualitative method is chosen specifically to fill in the missing gap of an historiography of Lutheran theological education in South Africa.

#### **1.5. Limitation of the study**

The study is limited to the Lutheran Church with only necessary side reflections concerning other denominations, universities, and theological institutions in South Africa when necessary and relevant.

The limitation of this study lacks resources concerning data collection. The period 1900-1945 makes it difficult to conduct interviews in review of existing archived material. This period is relevant because mission stations were established with a result of theological training.

Minutes, reports and other resources from the different mission headquarters in Europe and North America are not investigated due to a lack of more funding for this study. These documents could have helped to give a more perspective on certain actions and policies in the respective educational institutions.

#### **1.6. Demarcation and scope of research**

The study period stretches from 1900-2016. It presents a more general view, given that there does not yet exist a “general” history of the Lutheran Church in South Africa. A focus is on the Lutheran Church in South Africa also only with reference to Southern Africa or Africa as a whole when necessary. The study does not investigate the entire field of Lutheran missionary education

such as training teachers, nurses, industrial workers, and others. These education fields are mentioned when necessary and relevant. Political and socio-economic events in South Africa and elsewhere in the world had an impact on the church and society. They are discussed when necessary and relevant.

### **1.7. Theoretical substantiation**

A theoretical substantiation of this research gives an overview and analysis of Lutheran Theological Education (LTE), which reshapes the patterns and thoughts of the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. The study is intertwined with an historical background of the Reformation of the church on October 31, 1517. Martin Luther critical nailed his “Ninety-five theses”, which are commonly called “Disputation on the Power and efficacy of the indulgences” on the Castle Church in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517 (Grimm & Lehmann 1957:19-22). This initiative has forced the Roman Catholic Church to reform itself because of its sinful practice of selling indulgences for the forgiveness of sins. Theologians and reformers such as John Calvin and others joined this debate of church reformation. They believed that only God’s grace through Jesus Christ can forgive the sins of people (Lohse 1977:5 & Kantzenbach 1977:28). However, a process of the church reformation dates back before 1517. This church renewal sole purpose is to renew the church and sustain it as one church, but this has led to a breakaway and new establishment of churches.

The Reformation is meant to renew the church under the gospel’s justice as a tool to advocate social rights and political reforms. This has forced Western Lutheran missionary societies to develop a strategic move to establish churches and among others theological education in Africa and elsewhere in the world (Kantzenbach 1977:29 & Maimela 1988:98). This has led Lutheran theology to impact on the African soil and elsewhere in the world.

### **1.8. Review of literature**

The review of literature is very key to this study and identified written sources are analysed. A literature review is an analysis of relevant published material that are relevant to a research project (Kissi 2012:28). Lutheran missionary societies in Southern Africa have development a number of educational fields in South Africa and Southern Africa, but little has been written on theological education and education in general. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, these missionary societies have contributed a lot on community development and enhancement in Southern Africa on education.

There is little work written on Lutheran theological education and training institutions in South Africa and Southern Africa. This Lutheran educational history is highly missing in an academic world (Mashabela 2016c). There is little literature on ministerial formation, and it is difficult to locate church sources (Naidoo 2012:ix). In a book *Between the real and the ideal ministerial formation in South African churches* edited by Naidoo, Nürnberger has written little on Lutheran theological education as he primarily covers the early 21<sup>st</sup> century in a book chapter. Various authors have written little about their church traditions on theological training.

### **1.8.1. The question of Lutheran Theological Education formation**

A special written evidence on Lutheran schools and teachers college have been given attention in 1881, 1912 and 1962 (Titlestad 1929, Makhathini 1975 & Leisegang 1933). Furthermore, little evidence has been written on the Oscarsberg Lutheran Theological College (OLTS) and Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College (ULTC). These colleges have contributed to the church's struggle in response of the height of South African realities of colonial and apartheid, which created poverty, injustice, and socio-economic inequality (Nelson, Lwandle, & Keding 1992 & Kok 1992). Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary (MLTS) preceded Bethel Lutheran Theological Seminary in 1958 in Transvaal to survive and responded to these de-interesting moments (Voges 2000 & Schmale 1974). The study fills in a chronological gap of the history of Lutheran training institutions and colleges commitment in a fight against colonial and apartheid systems.

From 1960, the ecumenical church in South Africa has struggle to establish an ecumenical training institution and the Lutheran Church was invited to be part of this ecumenical education project (Scriba & Lislrud 1997 & Lilje 1992). The study engages more consulted work to broaden an historic ecumenical education.

### **1.8.2. Economics and workers of the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa**

Lutheran theological institution is one of the contributors of South African education just as other theological institutions. In its struggling economy, it has benefited from the ecumenical Theological Education Fund (TEF). Younger churches have improved theological education spirituality and academia supported by TEF (Nsibande 1992a:6-7). South African politics have negatively impacted on the economy of the church and society.

In 1966-1969, Lutheran training institutions operated under a racial and discriminatory order. White pastors and lecturers received adequate salary and black pastors and lecturers are paid inadequate salary by the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. The Lutheran overseas donor funds to support black and white church workers are administered according to a racism order (Denis, Mlotshwa & Mukuka 1999:39-40 & Scriba & Lislud 1997:179). The study explores more on an economic context of the church workers before 1966-1969 and beyond.

### **1.8.3. Lutheran research institute in South Africa**

The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa is interested not only to theological teaching, but essential research is equally important for the church and society in Southern Africa. A centre of research is established by one of the Lutheran theological institutions in South Africa (Nsibande 1992a:11 & Malidzhi 1992:53). This research centre provided a learning and research space for different denominations, theological institutions, universities, and the community to address South African inequalities and challenges (Hellberg 1979:83 & Lislud 1967a:1). An analysis of this research centre and its findings is given attention in this study.

## **1.9. Conclusion**

This chapter examined an overview of the study related to the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and its theological education perspectives. It has given a map of community engagement by the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. Lutheran theological education had an impact in Southern Africa, which provides synergy towards Lutheran mission work and witness. This research hopes that faith-based communities and public space to get to know and engage the existential Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and its perspectives on theological education.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE FOUNDING AND HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA 1900-1999

#### 2.1. Introduction

This chapter examines an historical overview of the founding and early development of theological education in South Africa. Theological training institutions of South African churches were originally established at their mission stations. White missionaries trained black evangelists and pastors at these theological institutions under colonial circumstances. Equally and simultaneously so, black people educated missionaries about their African spirituality and culture. Thus, Africans lived their communal life and awareness governed by their African *botho/ubuntu* philosophy. They promoted their circle of Africanness, African communal lifestyle, and equally living and sharing together God's granted resources. This African connectedness co-exists and defines a true theology that was lived by Africans before colonialism.

#### 2.2. The rise and history of education in South Africa

Nolan (1988:70,73) states "In South Africa the white coloniser and the black colonised lived side by side in the same country. The colonialism is internal. South Africa, like most of the world outside Europe, was once part of European colonialism. The Cape Town was colonised first by the Dutch and then by the British. Natal was also colonised by the British, while Transvaal and the Orange Free State were colonised by Dutch settlers (Boers) who for while set up independent republics. In South Africa, the white coloniser had already taken the land and the raw materials, especially gold, but what they need to colonise was the cheap labour". Colonialism disrupted the South African system and life which was at peace with Africans who lived together and protected their economy. There was no segregation of human life Africans lived in a nonbroken circle. The life was a lived quality live.

Early missionaries found Africans economy and land being self-sufficient for all Africans in South Africa. They had a greatly established system of African ancestral education for an early childhood until the end of live. In an early stage, children were trained to obey and respect their parents, elders, the chief and to be loyal and faithful in their tribal space. This meant that life was well organised and safe for all Africans. "Upon hearing of the tranquillity of early Bantu life, many shallow-thinking people asked today, why then did the early missionary come and disrupt the

native way of life” (Evenson 1958:434)? In South Africa, Africans lived and embraced an African education as their cultural, customary, and traditional offering of knowledge from one generation to another. This African connectedness life and education served as a human right and dignity to project Africans in their African soil. The human right and dignity of an African always co-existed with other Africans. The African context provided an interesting educational lifestyle and developed acceptance and trust in the community. However, it was very problematic that a colonised missionary disrupted an African lifestyle, which was highly organised and respected by Africans.

African culture was viewed as the cradle of the education of African people. African education equipped, directed, and edified black family members who shared these same values in society. Education was rooted and evolved from the family, clan, and community. Thus, education in South African did not arrive with white missionaries (Lediga 1973:1-2). Furthermore, African education was affirmed by the Northern Sotho saying “*La hlogo tshweu le rutwa ke la hlogo ntsho maano*”, meaning people with white hair were taught how do things by people with black hair. Oral education was profound and rooted in an African context as the tool of liberation of knowledge (Moila 2006:31). In early African education, African people were using creative technological skills such as metalworking, cloth making, farming, tool making and other components to sustain and develop their African business and communities (Msila & Gumbo 2016:ii-iii). African ancestors existed within families to correct, guard, and protect the living from demons, which were dangerous and evil within a habitation of humanity. Ancestors continued to live amongst their family members (Setiloane 1976:31-34 & Maluleke 2005:365,373). Africans are initiators of their African education. African culture and knowledge construct education to promote the common good in society. African education was the context of connectedness. It was an engagement process and growth in family and community in time and space of teaching and learning. African individuals affirmed a mutual responsibility to pass African education, which continued to unit Africans. This education was the strong hold of African *botho* philosophy to train skilled black people in service of family and community. African education and spirituality were intertwined as everything in Africa was connected.

However, Western and colonial education in South Africa was first developed in the Cape compared to other provinces. Secular and theological nature were leading in some education institutions in the Cape. In Cape Town 1658, a first minority white school was established, white children’s school in 1663 and coloured children’s school in 1667. White children were taught in

spelling, reading, writing and Christian Religion elements on theology of the Dutch Reformed Church. Schools operated together with the church and mission stations (Gqubule 1977:1-6,12). In the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, missionaries taught Africans Western education in South Africa. They claimed that Africans were not educated before their arrival. Africans were primarily taught how to read and write in order to understand the Bible and other Christian literary work. The educational system was structured as Congregational School, Catechumenal School, Confirmation "School" Class, and Evening School for Adults, the Youth School, Sunday School, Children (Elementary) School, Trade School, Evangelist School and Evangelist Seminary (Mminele 1983:54). African philosophy was excluded in a South African education curriculum during the unjust wars of colonisation for at least three centuries. The indigenous epistemology or a philosophy was excluded in any educational curriculum (Ramose 2004:138)

Western education under the coloniser was wrongly introduced because an existential and a liberating African education and philosophy was removed in South Africa. This colonial education was oppressive to African culture and education structure as it was based on racial lines and discrimination. South African education suffered due to a divided racial environment, which was not liberating an educational system. Thus, African education have disassociated itself with this racial discrimination, injustice, and inequality of human dignity. Education was about the need of restoration of people through the means of developed principles of equity and liberation. These are central ideas of an African centred humanity. African education continued to thrive and challenged Western education to respect and allow black indigenous education to claim its space and way of life. For Africans, African curriculum was the rights of human dignity, which offered their basic right to education and a touch of excellence life.

### **2.3. Funding of South African education**

For many years, the various missionary bodies funded education in South Africa without a government financial support. Missionary societies established their African schools and the government interest emerged in African education in 1840s. The government financed African schools from a Schedule' D fund of the colonial revenue in 1854 Constitution Ordinance. In 1887, the Legislative Assembly of government decided to discontinue all grants of native education. This was implemented in 1888. This unfair decision was caused by a fear of African competitiveness of skilled trades, socioeconomic and political factors. In the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the provinces provided some financial support to African education under a control of missionary societies. In 1922, the African tax was directly banned by the central

government. The Financial Relations Act of 1922 was established to give the Union government power to control African education under the provinces. This act was implemented in 1925. African male adults contributed a General Tax of one-fifth to a Native Development Fund later renamed the South African Native Fund. This fund was earmarked for African education (Gqubule 1977:17-19,120). The establishment of African schools by missionary societies was a great community development in South Africa. Missionary societies were committed to financially support the entire school infrastructure and human resources such as teachers, administrators, and other school workers. Education was a fundamental institution that needed financial support to advance African communities. Students were empowered with education in order to raise the productivity of their society to further community development. The colonial government through provinces had given a helping hand to fund African education through a tax system contributed by Africans. The native fund was an essential service to raise productivity of skilled and educated people for community enhancement. South African black workers embraced the native fund, which they understood that the concept of taxation as a means of the equality and dignity of people.

Furthermore, theological education was another education field that churches and missionary societies trained evangelists and pastors (Gqubule 1977:21). Theological education was one of the professional education fields that was committed to community enhancement. Thus, the church had a greater responsibility to train evangelists and pastors as essential church workers in a South African context.

#### **2.4. Beginnings of theological education**

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, foreign missionaries arrived in South Africa and established mission stations, which some of them were used as a place of worship. On a mission station an extra school structure was built, or a church building used to teach elementary education. In this basic education, children of converts were taught to read and write. Adult converts were taught how to read the scriptures, catechism and hymn book. Some qualified converts were appointed to be trained for the ministry. A theological department was formed in a mission station to train candidates in both general and theological education. Theological seminaries such Healdtown, Lovedale, Lesseyton and others trained candidates for the ministry. Theological education was moved to Fort Hare College to train theological students for both general and theological education at a higher level. The entrance at Fort Hare College required a matric level (Gqubule

1977:ii<sup>1</sup>). In an inception of theological education, churches needed to offer theological education themselves for proper interpretation of theological studies. In 1950s, universities and colleges such as Makerere in Uganda, Ibadan in Nigeria, Achimota in Ghana, Salisbury in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Fort Hare in South Africa decided to restructure itself due an apartheid education system on ethnic universities. Secular education in South Africa influenced theological education according to educational government rules and regulations. Theological education was still irrelevant to be applied in South Africa (Madise 2003:72). Foreign missionaries established mission stations for a purpose of worship and educational training. This was for spiritual edification and educational training for converts. This new development amongst converts, the black people was more Western than African. Both converts and theological students were trained for congregational and community work. It was evident that a missionary project was irrelevantly applied in South Africa and Africa. This became a disruptive method to the African culture and spirituality. Western general and theological education were imposed in an African context. This developed a resistance amongst Africans because they were comfortable with their African way of education. It was difficult for Africans to understand God and Christianity from an African perspective. Africans were not allowed to craft their own African theological curriculum in theological institutions of this country.

Interestingly, a candidate experienced an experiential encounter with God to enrol for theological education. These upcoming future African evangelists and pastors would confess that they were called like a biblical 'call of Samuel'. They firstly share their experiences of a calling with their pastors. A pastor would reply that 'God had called you to serve the people of God'. This was a divine vocation of the Word of God, which influenced these candidates to become evangelists and pastors (Sundkler 1960:15-18). This type of calling could be associated with an African context of a divination and divine healer. "Calling refers to the actual entry into divination and its intricacies. The general trend has it that one does not decide to become a healer but is 'forced' into it". This was in essence part of African life: it was related to African spirituality in an existential means that God, the ancestors or the living dead and the living within the connectedness of life. (Masoga 2001:50). This was so central to an African context as far as African spirituality is concerned. A theological student experienced a divine calling with God to God's pastoral ministry.

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<sup>1</sup> The introduction part of Gqubule's Doctor of Philosophy thesis entitled "An examination of theological education of Africans in the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational, and Anglican Churches in South Africa from 1860 to 1960" pages are not numbered, thus, I have included this roman figure type of numbering so that readers would access their further reading easier as they would count pages for themselves.

African evangelists and pastors accepted God's calling within a rich and common tradition of African divination. African people allowed themselves to be evangelised by missionaries because God was central to Christianity. However, they were not covert to agree with a Western method of Christianity.

In 1900, men were the only candidates to enrol for theological training. Women were allowed only for Christian education and not for theological training. This approach was informed by Western and patriarchal policy on ministerial training. The colonial church trained African teachers or catechists through Sunday School with Christian Education (CE) syllabus from a Western perspective. Christian Education was given in a form of baptismal class, children's school and confirmation, which led African candidates to be accepted in pastoral ministry (Sundkler 1960:19-23). The colonial church accepted only men for theological training. It violated the women's rights and dignity to fulfil their calling with God. This church had betrayed the gospel of Jesus Christ and the importance of women's ministerial calling to serve the people of God. The church was challenged to renew its ministerial recruitment in order to see women as equals with men.

Furthermore, it was impossible for missionaries to fulfil the task of mission and evangelism in South Africa. The founding and development of an indigenous ministry was central to assist missionaries to achieve the task of evangelism (Sales 1971:75-76). Missionaries trained black evangelists, catechists, teachers, and 'lay' people as agents of an indigenous ministry to teach, preach and evangelise pastoral work to black South Africans. Later, established churches formed proper theological training structures for the purpose of higher education. In 1902, the Anglican Church established St Paul's Theological College to train its theological students, and Methodist Theological College was established at Bollihope in Cape Town in 1929. From 1948, a white ecumenical theological training of Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches was established at Livingstone House, Rhodes University in Grahamstown as an institution for only white theological students (Gqubule 1977:i-iii). An indigenous ministry was included for an expansion and enabling ministering of the church in African communities. Missionaries would not manage the church properly without an indigenous ministry. South African theological institutions had to be dynamic and transformative to take theological training at a university level, although, the church maintained that theological training could only be qualitatively taught by itself. The church had to renew its theological training in order to move with emerging times and context. A church without renewal would not succeed in an academic space. Churches pushed very hard to

ensure that theological education was suitable and in touch with the social context for developing the South African context.

Furthermore, South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-1905) advocated that an 'Inter-State Native College' to be established for Africans. This was to avoid training Africans outside the country as previously trained at the United States College and denied higher education. White colonists were against this African training within Africa. The 'South African Native College' was opened at Fort Hare on February 8, 1916. Classes commenced with eighteen black and two white students on February 22, 1916. Four months later Indian and Coloured students were accepted by the Governing Council of Fort Hare to enrol at the college (Gqubule 1977:122-124). For colonists, native college was not accepted. Africans forcefully advocated for an establishment of native college. They needed a well-developed African education that was non-racial, but a daring college to unite South Africans. The established of this college was for the restoration of African connectedness of all people.

Furthermore, in 1942, various churches agreed that theological education could be taught at a university. Among South African universities, Rhodes University (UR) in Grahamstown as a white university and an only university with English as medium of instruction led to a possibility of an established Faculty of Divinity at Rhodes in 1946. Fort Hare University (FHU) was a black university, which the Methodist Church had opened a residential student and a chaplain appointed in 1921. Education expenses were shared, a partnership of churches and a training with those who studied for positions of leadership in society (Richardson (2007:137). South African theological education and education in general were based on racial discrimination. Rhodes University was designed for white students and Fort Hare University (FHU) was for black students, this had paralysed the circle of African setting of a sense of belonging. Theological training at university was a good initiative started by established churches to improve the quality of theological training. However, racism continued to divide black and white theological students. The church and societal unity could only be profoundly established in an existentially life of a united and non-racial university. The church supported racism as a method to divide theological education. The church as a divine institution of God was supposed to promote unity to fulfil its political witness and liberation in society and the world.

Another established church that played a dynamic role in theological education was the Roman Catholic Church (RCC). RCC theological students were trained at St John Vianney Seminary in

Pretoria and St Peter's Seminary in Hammanskraal. The uniqueness of this church was that theological education was divided into a three-year philosophy training with a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree and four-year theology unlike a normal three-year theological training of other churches (Cawood 1964:81). RCC was the only church that opposed government to take over its schools. It had not compromised its ecumenical collaboration with other churches on ministerial formation. It maintained its independence of its schools in Southern Africa. Other overseas mission societies opened their boarding schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Lutheran, Anglican, and Roman Catholic churches established their various schools and medical facilities (Sales 1971:76-77). The established churches benefited from an indigenous ministry and local people had to be trained to assist missionaries with mission and evangelism. Evangelists, catechists, teachers, and lay readers were trained to assist missionaries on teaching, preaching, evangelical and pastoral work (Zulu 2002:305-308). RCC was part of an ecumenical contributor of South African theological education. However, it preserved its theological heritage, while proactively ecumenical. Established churches had a common approach on theological training of native evangelists, pastors and 'lay' people in service of the church and society. This native human resource played an essential role in the life of establishing and ministering African congregations. Missionaries depended on African interpreters and knowledge for the preaching of the word and ministering to Africans. These black professionals became agents of effectively building their own communities. They played an important role to nurture Africa and black congregations. This critical realisation showed that an indigenous ministry was initiated as an urgent need of a decolonised and Africanised church.

## **2.5. Forms of theological training institutions**

Colonial missionaries in South Africa introduced three Western forms of theological training institutions. First, theological colleges were designed to train theological students for the ordained ministry. Second, a university was for an intellectual and scientific quality of ministerial training. Third, Bible schools were intended for the un-ordained church workers. The Bible School was primarily to train catechists for the church work. This kind of training was valuable for development of the church in Africa. Catechists were viewed as a bridge between pastor and 'layperson', which was problematic in the church. The well-trained catechists wanted to receive a same salary of a pastor. This was a serious challenge for the church. Vocations in the church were voluntary based. This included 'lay' women and men who volunteered to serve the church locally and to assist pastors for the church development. When the government took over education, a Bible School offered short local catechists' courses, refresher courses, and spiritual treats for youth workers,



elders, and leaders in the church. Evangelists were trained at Lovedale Bible School and worked for the church without a salary (Sundkler 1960:231-232,254-261 & Gqubule 1977:853). A threefold type of theological training was essential for the church training and knowledge growth. This structural training created and sustained relevant ministerial training in Africa. Thus, this threefold theological training contributed hugely to enhance the mission of theological training. The formation of African theological training was to response to a rapidly changing African society. The controversy around an equal salary between catechists and pastors raised a serious concern whether are they vocationally equal or not in the church. Bible schools offered refresher courses and other training to strengthen and equip congregants for the congregational work. This continuation of Christian Education was essential for the church to be relevant to an African society. Studying theological education at an African university was a pillar of strengthen to advance theological contribution in Africa for research and creativity.

## **2.6. Ministerial probation and training**

South African churches created a ministerial probation to thoroughly test and prepare candidates to enroll at theological training institutions. Some churches had a probation programme for six years. This excluded the 'mature-age or emeritus candidates' whose probation period was determined and shortened at the discretion of theological conference (Gqubule 1977:117-118 & Nielsen & Becken 1971a:4). The probation curriculum was structure as highlighted in order to fulfil the called work of God:

- (a) First, a candidate was tested by a regional church committee then theological education committee before an enrollment at a theological institution. During this process, a candidate underwent a ministerial probation period supervised by a gifted, passionate, and experienced pastor. This pastor would present a convincing report about a candidate to the Congregational Council, Bishop and Synod.
- (b) Second, a first year at theological training institution was a ministerial probation. A principal of the institution determines whether candidates could continue with their theological studies or not. The church had a power to determine the spirituality and study ability of a candidate. However, this study period was implemented until a candidate completes her or his theological studies.
- (c) Last, after a completion of a qualification, a candidate enrolls for a vicariate programme at a congregation and supervised by a qualified pastor. A candidate was prepared to be an independent pastor and for ordination. Other churches delayed ordination for a four-year period (Beyerhaus 1963:22-23).

Ministerial probation was a thorough monitoring strategy to equip a candidate for the ministry. A candidate had an opportunity to learn and understand church functions. The church was responsible to use its spiritual institution to create work possibilities for theological students. They were prepared as leaders to serve and pay attention to the needs of congregations. Probation leaders had an opportunity to study and evaluate this probation programme yearly in order to be relevant to church needs. Ministerial probation could not be limited for theological students, but congregants could be taught about a centre of ministerial probation. It could be noted that church leadership had never been consistent that all candidates follow the above probation procedures.

### **2.7. Teaching and learning method**

A 1963 report was presented at a theological institution meeting on an inquiry of South African theological training institutions. How and what to teach was a central issue for a South African context? A European teacher taught theology from a Western perspective of presentation, discussion and repetition, which was very different from a South African theological student background. South African method of teaching discouraged African students to be independent intellectuals. Western teachers regarded African students as less intellectuals due to a lack of absorbing Western knowledge (Beyerhaus 1963:10-11). Missionary teachers imposed a Western method of teaching to African theological students to memorise and reproduce Western content. Missionary teaching and learning method were very problematic for an African theological student and context. This teaching method disengaged a theological student from an African society and a need to build a living community. Thus, theological students would not be able to learn and apply theology in an African congregation. Theological institution meeting had to engage profoundly on how and what to teach in a South African context. This was necessary to resolve and discard this Western method of teaching. African education trained African students to be intellectuals in order to serve the interest of African communities. It was critically important that missionary teachers had to first learn and understand an African method of teaching. This could provide a clear method of how and what to teach in a South African context. The theological institution meeting could know better that an African method of teaching existed and called for missionaries to be liberated from their method of teaching. They needed to acknowledge and prioritise an African education system as a starting point of teaching.

Furthermore, Mminele (1983:58) points out:

As most of the congregants were illiterate, imitation, memorisation and habituation through repetition were fundamental techniques. The sermon was developed by first reading the texts for the particular Sunday and then followed by telling the story as contained in the sermon text against its historical background. During the Bible lessons whatever was read was discussed by the congregation, much in line with the conversation method as used by Christ. Those who could read had their New Testaments at hand for reading and ready reference.

African congregants received an African education. Thus, could not be referred as illiterate people. They were illiterate from this imitation and repetition method of teaching, which was very foreign to them. They had their Africa way of education, which was primarily oral tradition and other methods. This method could had been used effectively in an African context. It could be celebrated that Western method of sermon preparation was taught amongst African congregations. This was to enable them to learn a sermon preparation and discussion. For African congregants to understand and apply a sermon, they had to apply it from an African perspective. This was affirmed by the above discussion of African evangelists and pastors who established African congregations. This breakthrough happened through an established indigenous ministry.

## **2.8. Entrance qualifications in theological education**

The different South African colleges and seminaries decided that a Junior Certificate (J.C.) was a normal entrance qualification for theological students to enroll for theological training. They had few students with lower qualifications, and several seminaries maintain on matric entrance or another educational qualification equal to matric, but not qualified at a university. A decision was taken that matric would be an entrance qualification. The reason was to raise theological training on higher level in order to meet the level of best trained African Christians (Beyerhaus 1963:1). Entrance qualifications in theological education were more essential within education in order to link higher education expectations. Theological institutions had to give a new look and quality of an indigenous theology in order to be relevant and attractive to students who wanted to enroll for theological training. Theological training required an urgent improvement and transformation to prepare theological students. A key concern for theological institutions was also to improve theological curriculum in order for theological students to implement a genuine indigenous theology at congregations. This was to enable African church leadership to provide an African pastoral profession to a congregational life and community enhancement.

Furthermore, the Roman Catholic Church introduced the pre-theological education in its seminaries. The first protestant Lutheran Church provided a Lutheran Pre-Seminary School at Umpumulo Lutheran Theological College. This pre-theological training had to be on an ecumenical basis because South African school examinations, whether JC or Matric were not yet a guarantee for proper qualification of academic studies (Beyerhaus 1963:2). Theological institutions were unsatisfied with matric as an entrance qualification for theological training. Pre-theological training seemed to be best relevant to meet requirements of theological training. This was reasonably implemented on an ecumenical basis for the growth and unity in theological institutions.

### **2.9. The African church economics and employment crisis**

The church in Africa was always viewed as the pillar of African society. The church ability to fulfil its vision and mission of evangelism was related to economy. It employed African evangelists and pastors as church workers who create mission stations, which were later converted into congregations, institutions of teaching, hospital, and other important resources in service of humanity. In 1912, black evangelists and pastors received a low salary from their established churches. Black pastors with a diploma qualification were discouraged to study a BA or Master of Arts (MA) by white senior pastors because of a church low salary (Sundkler 1960:16,42-43 & Buthelezi 1969b:3-4). Enrolment of theological students for a BA or MA was regarded as ungodly. Most African pastors decided not to further their theological studies, instead decided to become ministers. White missionary pastors received an adequate salary or stipend from their missionary societies and black pastors an inadequate salary from their local churches. Accommodation and travelling expenses were paid unequally and according to racial discrimination of black and white pastors (Cawood 1964:16,34). The missionary church leadership operated within the church of God under a colonial period. This church leadership implemented the discrimination rules and regulations of a colonial government. This was evident because white and black pastors shared the same work but were paid unequally. This was an employment crisis created by the church leadership. An economic dimension of the church in South Africa revealed that colonial missionaries violated the socio-economic context of Africans. There was a thread that black pastors would be well established economically, and they would occupy church leadership and support it financially. The church fulfilment of God's mission could not be separated from a just employment and economy of black workers. Missionary pastors denied black pastors to further their theological studies. For black pastors to further their theological studies, this created a serious threat to white pastors. This was a loss of black pastors' intellectual growth to contribute

to the church and for community development. When black theological students, evangelists and pastors were denied an opportunity to further their theological studies it was a violation of an educational right. These black intellectuals needed to improve and strengthen their pastoral skills in order to serve the church as an institution of human resource. The African clergy right of education meant to address rapid changes in Africa and to liberate the African church in order to productively response to African needs.

### **2.10. The role of Theological Education Fund in Africa**

South African theological institutions received donations from overseas bodies and individuals, and churches in South Africa raised funds within the country to support ministerial training. The International Missionary Council (IMC) meeting held at Achimota, Accra, Ghana from December 28, 1957 to January 8, 1958 decided to establish a Theological Education Fund (TEF). This fund was not only an African funding program, it was for the renewal of African theological education for Africans who led the church, theology, and the mission in Africa (Pobee 2013:19). IMC had an historical responsibility of funding African theological education. This assembly emphasised on theological education in Africa and the need to replace Western theological education with an African ecumenical theological education. This was what forced the assembly to form Theological Education Fund. The intention of the fund was firstly, earmarked to Africa, as it was an essential promise. Secondly, it was a project to support all theological institutions in Africa (Werner 2013:70-71). In 1959, churches in South Africa that belonged to the Christian Council of South Africa, now known as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) resolved to open a joint radical federal theological institution funded by TEF (Sundkler 1960:264-268). Beyerhaus (1963:1) points out in January 1963, TEF funded a conference organised by theological training institutions in South Africa. In this conference, a theological institution committee was appointed to ensure that ministerial education thrives in South Africa.

IMC could be celebrated for its fruitful discussion, which led to the establishment of TEF. This resulted with an African church leadership and a theological education renewal as a radical African transformation. Ministerial formation was central to the life and witness of churches in South Africa. TEF was viewed as a great institution that built stronger theological institutions in Africa with their critical relevance to address their social contexts. Theological education supported by TEF was becoming in touch with African people to succeeded within faith and strength of African context. TEF enabled African theological education not only in South Africa to thrive and engage the theological space, but for African and its agenda. For theological education

to survive in Africa; it had to profoundly engage an African life and religion or spirituality to become committed to an African context.

Furthermore, TEF had an action plan, meant to reform theological education in Africa within a contextualisation framework in African churches. Werner (2013:72) asserts:

It might be helpful just briefly to recall the key phases which all had it's own characteristic emphasize:

- First Mandate period 1958-1965: emphasis on indigenous and interdenominational places and institutions for theological education in the South
- Second Mandate period 1965-1970: emphasis on new curricula developments for the churches of the South and new teaching materials written by leading theologians from the South
- Third Mandate period 1970 to 1977: critique over against western concepts of theological education and major calls for contextualization of both forms of ministry and forms of theological education in the South.

This critical transforming and liberating project was to improve higher theological education in order that Christian Education could be relevant and qualitative for churches in Africa. A true unity for society and the church on issues of social justice could be achieved when theological education was taught to benefit communities.

Consequently, since 1958 to 1977, TEF was a strategic role to strengthen and renew theological education in the Third World. In July 1977, TEF was replaced by the Programme on Theological Education (PTE) for a wider six-continent perspective. PTE focused not only with ministerial formation and institutions but society as well (Kinsler 1982:137). PTE was later renamed as Ecumenical Theological Education (ETE). Theological educational institutions, theological publication and theological faculties with scholarships for theological education in Africa was developed by ETE (Oduyoye 2013:xxiii). TEF was never static and only focused on African theological education project. It was dynamic and ready for renewal to serve all the continents. TEF was renewed according to a changing context and demands in a process that led to PTE, then to ETE.

### **2.11. A centre of ecumenical ministerial formation**

South African churches were forced to open a federal seminary due to apartheid laws of South African government. The joint ecumenical churches of Anglican, Congregational, Methodist and

Presbyterian churches established the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa (FEDSEM) at Alice near Fort Hare campus in the Eastern Cape, Ciskei in 1963. External forces and financial challenges forced churches to establish ecumenisms on ministerial formation. Federal seminary had a historical struggle because it was the black institution (Gqubule 1977:203-204, Richardson 2007:139 & Horrell & Hodgson 1976:31-32). The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa was invited to this joint ecumenical seminary, FEDSEM. Lutheran synods and missions decided not to join this ecumenical seminary union because Lutherans wanted to sustain their Lutheran identity, heritage and family. Furthermore, Lutheran churches in Southern Africa were still struggling at several synods and missions on their different theological, ecclesiological, and liturgical traditions in 1960 as a continuation of the 1950s. LCSA had no sufficient qualified theological students to join this ecumenical seminary. Yet, LCSA was in a process to establish a Lutheran Theological College at Umphumulo in Natal as a central theological institution for African pastors (Scriba & Lislrud 1997:189 & Lislrud 1993:3). Theological education in South Africa was forced towards an ecumenical project due an apartheid system. This federal seminary was created for an ecumenical strength in order to survive and fight against an apartheid system. Churches were afraid that black theological students would not be trained together with white theological students in a theological institution. If there was no production of trained black pastors, black congregations would not be given spiritual services by these pastors. A federal seminary was established to push the liberating African agenda. White churches supported the federal seminary, yet, this was implemented under the divisions between black and white institutions. LCSA declined to join this ecumenical project as it wanted to establish a black Lutheran theological college at Umphumulo. White Lutherans were divided as well but supported an ideal of black Lutheran theological college. The Methodist, Anglican, Congregational and Presbyterian churches and LCSA had the same agenda of ensuring that black theological students were trained as well at FEDSEM and Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College. The establishment of these theological institutions was that there was no clear evidence that churches would ensure that black and white theological students would be train equally in the same theological institution. The division within white churches was that there were those who support were against an apartheid policy and others supported it. However, white churches became a dominant supporter of South African apartheid system in order to benefit within this structure.

Black theologians developed Black Theology in their South African land in the mid-1960s in response of the injustices of apartheid government. It started to flourish from the 1970s (Dolamo 2016:43-44). Black Consciousness and Black Theology had a common task of liberating the

oppressed black masses in South Africa (Zulu 2017:223). Fort Hare students and other neighbouring institutions in Eastern Cape were influenced by FEDSEM theological students to be part of Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and Black Theology Movement (BTM) to fight against an apartheid government. FEDSEM was expelled from Alice and moved temporary to Anglican St Bede's College, Umtata in 1974. It was then accommodated temporary at Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre in Pietermaritzburg in KwaZulu Natal. This Edendale centre became a final home for the federal seminary in 1980 (Lislerud 1993:3 & Richardson 2007:140). Theological seminaries in Pietermaritzburg, Natal were a strong hold of BCM and BTM. FEDSEM and these seminaries became a refuge of political engagement and conflict resolution. FEDSEM black theological students formed BCM and BTM at FEDSEM to force FEDSEM administration and white churches to fight against apartheid in South Africa. The English-speaking churches or white churches voted for a closure of this black federal seminary while black churches were against closure. The federal seminary was closed on October 13, 1993. White theological students had a privilege to move to Rhodes University while black theological students were denied a university privilege (Duncan 2004:27). In 1999, the Faculty of Divinity at Rhodes University was closed by a university Senate due to financial challenges. Furthermore, churches were unable to enrol a required number of theological students at a university (Richardson 2007:143).

The formation of BCM and BTM increased pressure to resist apartheid. BCM and BTM were weapons of destroying apartheid in order to liberate the suffering black majority in South Africa. Black theological students who led ideologies of BCM and BTM influenced theological institutions and churches to repent and fight against apartheid. This resulted in a closure of FEDSEM and the education rights of black theological students were violated because they were denied education at a university. If black theological students studied at a university, the Faculty of Divinity at RU would not close because a required number of theological students would be met. Black churches would assist white churches to pay a university.

## **2.12. Conclusion**

This chapter traced the history of general and theological education in South Africa. The positive and negative of Colonial education impacted on African education system, spirituality and culture. Missionaries trained black people because there was a need for an indigenous ministry. Many mission stations were established by black people to create more churches and for the formation of theological and other teaching institutions. It was evident that Western education conflicted with an African education and way of African life. Various theological training institutions were



established, and others closed under a colonial and apartheid context in South Africa. The study will engage further the phenomenon of opening and closure of some theological institutions in chapters 4-5 and 7.

## CHAPTER 3

### CHRISTIAN EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN SOUTHERN AFRICA 1900-1996

#### 3.1. Introduction

Lutheranism always viewed Christian Education ministry as the church backbone and strength to educate the people of God in order to fulfil their different called vocations in service of the church and society. Christian Education in Africa was a potential education ministry in the church. It provided a spectrum to train indigenous 'lay' people under a doctrine of priesthood of all believers. Christian Education was a foundation to effectively train indigenous people to occupy their vocational spaces in the church and secular life. The reflections of this chapter seek to point out the role of Christian Education in South Africa, Southern Africa, and African continent. However, it was important to note that theological education and Christian Education were inseparable in educational ministry, in Sepedi language we could primarily say *ke monwana le lenala* (they are a finger and nail).

#### 3.2. Controversy around native education in an African landscape

In the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, missionaries were divided on an issue of native education in Africa. One group wanted Western education to become a formal education for native people. This led to a rise of establishments of high schools, colleges and industrial schools in South Africa. The other group wanted native people to be taught only how to study the Bible and singing. In 1906, the South African government denied Black people an opportunity to further their studies at a college only white people were allowed at a college. Black people were against the decision of the government. This led to the rise of black political and religious movements, which resisted against both colonialists and missionaries. The Natal Native Congress was established in 1908 to fight against this educational injustice and racial discrimination against black people (Makhathini 1975:132-134). BMS, CSM and NMS established the Cooperating Lutheran Missions (CLM) in Dundee, Natal at a General Lutheran Conference<sup>2</sup> (GLC) in January 12-13, 1910. This formation was to strengthen and improve education of black people in South Africa and Southern Africa. However, HMS and Hanoverian Free Church Mission did not participate in this conference

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<sup>2</sup> The Free Evangelical Lutheran Conference later named General Lutheran Conference and known as General Luther Conference in Southern Africa. This organised structure operated from 1889-1964.

(Schlyter 1953:15-17). On January 10-16, 1912, the CLM Executive Committee began its work of administrative Lutheran education for Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (LCsSA). Its purpose was to restructure Lutheran education system in order to fulfil the requirements of South African government. Pastors were officially trained at OLTS in CSM institution, which was renamed Oscarsberg Lutheran Theological College (OLTC) in the same year; evangelists trained at Emmaus Lutheran Seminary at BMS institution and teachers trained at Teachers Training College at Umphumulo; NMS institution (Leisegang 1933:13-15, Homdrom 1962:7-8,11 & Zikode undated:20-21). The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa became a self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing through a support of CLM. Common institutions of teaching were established by CLM to train church workers and school workers. CLM organised production of common literature, conferences and meetings for LCsSA to unite the Lutheran family (Homdrom 1962:12). The establishment of CLM was primarily to provide a greater focus of Lutheran education in Southern Africa. This body had a task of protecting the heritage and integrity of Lutheran education against apartheid. It restructured general and theological education in an interest of being more focused and sustain a momentum of Lutheran education. It served as a platform of Lutheran churches to engage on the vision and mission of the Lutheran witness in Southern Africa.

In 1912, theological institutions opened with an enrolment of nine students at the seminary, eight-three at the college, and twenty-six at the evangelist school. In 1914, due political interference and the World War I, CLM Executive Committee closed a seminary and evangelist school for two years and until 1920. This affected CLM funds (Homdrom 1962:7-8). After the World War II, the CLM focused on an enhancement of theological college. OLTC was established on CSM farm at Oscarsberg near Dundee. This area was reserved for white people only according to apartheid legislation. The challenge was whether the college would forever remain at this area (Kistner 1993:41-42). Political instability affected CLM work and education activities. In its third year, its task of Lutheran unity was broken due to a financial crisis to maintain college and evangelist school. For eight years, this posed a serious threat to theological training. Southern African society was affected spiritually, politically and socio-economically. CLM was ready for more considerate as an agent of LTE transformation that shared views and identity of African people. It was taken to task to ensure that African Lutherans remained Africans within their space.

The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and other churches in Africa played an important role in the field of education. The African government, society and church leaders were educated in a

mission or church schools. The Lutheran Church in Africa had a strong educational ministry, although, experiencing its own challenges. In 1960s, the church wanted to withdraw from any kind of education because of the apartheid system. In 1968, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania and other Lutheran Churches in Africa (LCsA) at a conference collectively took a decision to fully participate with new governments in Africa on education. A call for African literature became a priority of African education. In education, the church was able to evangelise and present Christianity to natives (Mwakisunga 1969:7). The church in Africa had a greater responsibility to participate in an African education, although, there were political interference and challenges. It was critically important that LCsA had to continue building and renewing African education. This was part of community engagement in order to develop basic education and education in general. Native people were educationally empowered to find solutions of their African context. Community enhancement and evangelism had been the most important aspects activated through the field of education.

### **3.3. Liberating the church position: Women's contribution in the church development**

Women in the church of God were often excluded in the ministry of all baptised believers. In 1912-1933, white male (missionaries) teachers were the highest paid followed by white women teachers. Black male and women teachers were underpaid. The church and the state underpaid black people to further exploit them economically because of the colonial system (LWF documentation 1984:25 & Leisegang 1933:25). In June 1977 at the Sixth LWF Assembly held at Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, African Lutheran churches challenged this assembly and Lutheran family churches to identify the root causes of gender injustice. The assembly acknowledged that human sin had broken equal partnership between women and men. The term partnership for women and men was declared viable to prioritise equal relationship of women and men in Southern Africa and the whole world. This resulted with a theme of "new community or one community in Christ". This meant that the church could not identify itself with structures of oppression (Sovik 1977:175, Lyimo 1978a:7 & Buthelezi 1978:41-42). A new community was profoundly defined by a Tanzanian concept of *Ujamaa*, familyhood, which was against Western ways of life that often dichotomised life. However, white Christians and their white theology had always played an advisory role to theology of Africans. This role was now rejected by Africans and advocated that African theological works could be produced and written by Africans without an advice from white people. The Bible and Holy Spirit were viable sources to advice Africans to produce African Theology and for the fulfilment of African context (Lyimo 1978b:46 & Mbiti

1978:84). An analysis in the Sixth LWF Assembly revealed that most LWF member churches still refused to accept women to be ordained (Bettenhausen 1978:28). This LWF Assembly advocated that “Theological education in Africa must train women and men to fight against the oppression of women by this patriarchal movement until the liberation of women is achieved. Equally so, women must not be trained to oppress and abuse men” (Mashabela 2017b:4). Native people worked very hard for the development of their African community while being economically exploited and unacceptable. This context was combined by the oppression of black women and people, which created an unstable African community. The priesthood of all believers became supportive to women’s ministry to fight against colonial oppression. For decades, the Lutheran family struggled to implement and transform the Lutheran Church on question of women’s liberation. The Sixth LWF Assembly led the Lutheran Church to accept the need of an equal partnership of women and men in the church. This liberated the church from discriminating women who were equally created by God. There was an existential need to engage the women’s ministry and their participation in the church.

In Christian Education, Jesus Christ was the pioneer and centre of Christian hope for educating the people of God. In this context, the church was called to minister in a broken world and proclaim Jesus Christ’s hope through an effective and inclusive ministry. Jesus Christ sent people of God to minister to this world. The Word of God and sacraments enabled them to believe in this divine calling. The Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (FELCSA) revitalised the ministry of all baptised believers as an historic and old Reformation ministry to equip believers in response of the rapidly changing African context. In 1977, the Dar es Salaam Assembly tasked the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) Department of Studies to launch a study programme on CE ministry (Mau 1984:33-35 & Maimela 1980:1-2). The insights here point out that it was necessary that FELCSA revived and declare CE ministry urgently to equip and emphasise the important function of women and men of God in service of the church and community engagement. Christian Education co-existed with the ministry of all baptised believers for a purpose of community engagement Southern Africa.

Furthermore, after LWF historic assembly in 1977, LWF invited other churches to critically identify and engage challenges of women’s participation in the church and community. The World Council of Churches (WCC) initiated a research project themed “Community of women and men in the Church”, as a joint call with LWF since 1978-1982. Lutheran churches and other WCC member churches engaged their respective structures on a partnership between women and men. For the

first time, many people shared their views on this phenomenon (Parvey 1983:12). In 1980s, women were still struggling to find justice in the church. Churches and society viewed women as the second-class people and were labeled as inferior and subordinate to men. Women did not identify themselves with terms such as second class, inferior, subordinate and complementary. Women regarded these terms as dangerous. They challenged churches and society to change and realize that partnership between women and men was necessary to serve each other as equal partners in the created local and global villages of God (Crawford & Kinnamon 1983:66 & LWF report 1984:20). In January 1987, WCC supported a women programme known as the Ecumenical Decade from 1988-1998, "Ecumenical decade of the churches in solidarity with women". Its aim was to improve the status of women in the church and society. Women needed to address issues of women's participation in the church, violence against women in the church and society, language that excluded women, poverty of women, racism and anti-foreigner prejudice. Few churches supported this women's initiative (Xingwana 1988:127). The 1977 LWF Assembly was a radical assembly because it affirmed the existence of women as their own liberators. For decades, the church violated the rights and dignity of women. The LWF extended its radical assembly to join efforts with other churches and the WCC with a decade programme of women empowerment. This was a defining moment for the church to be liberated by a demanding call of women.

In 1990, the Eighth LWF Assembly promoted equality of women and men within the church life. LWF initiated a special fund for the promotion of women as part of ecumenical decade. This was for women to run their projects and conferences based on gender issues (Janhonen & Müller 1992:10-11). Women needed to receive more education, training, leadership and management skills in order to be fully visible in churches and society. African women in churches served their congregations in various vocations, although, not allowed to occupy leadership positions. The All-Africa Church Conference (AACC) Seminar was held at Nairobi, Kenya under the auspices of LWF-Department of Mission and Development in January 11-18, 1991. One of the main issues in the agenda was a concerned of women's role of development. The seminar discovered that in other African countries' women had not yet gained recognition in the church and community (LWF report 1983:28-29 & Khumalo 1991:3). The LWF and AACC continued to give women support in order to achieve their own liberation in the church and society. It was a theological crisis that churches and society in some African countries still oppress women. Jesus Christ critically challenged Jewish oppressive laws to liberate and affirm rights and dignity of women (John 8:1-11 & Luke 18:1-8). This encouraged women in Southern Africa and elsewhere to ensure that they

were equal partners with men both in the church and society. It was theologically problematic that women were not given and empowered by churches to occupy leadership positions to develop their leadership capacity. Women challenged churches to ensure that the whole community was re-educated towards a necessity of inclusive participation. Gender questions and liberation initiatives had inspired women for their visionary direction, which Lutheran churches and others took them as a mutual partnership of women's programme. The church encouraged reform and renewal of its stand on women's participation in Southern Africa and the world. It encouraged 'lay' participation of women to be trained to occupy church and societal leadership positions.

#### **3.4. Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa: Pioneering Christian Education from 1966**

Cooperating Lutheran Missions established the Council of Churches on Lutheran Foundation (CCLF) in 1953 in order to facilitate a Lutheran agenda in Southern Africa. CCLF struggled to unite Lutheran churches in Southern Africa because of identical missionary traditions and issues of apartheid. Its member churches and missions were Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Tswana Region (ELCSA-TR) established in 1963, Evangelical Lutheran Church Ovambo-Kavango 1960, Evangelical Lutheran Church South West Africa, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Transvaal Region (ELCSA-TVLR) established in 1959, Zulu-Xhosa-Swazi Region was established in 1959 later renamed Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-South Eastern Region (ELCSA-SER) in 1963, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Cape Orange Region (ELCSA-COR) 1963, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Natal-Transvaal Church (ELCSA-NT) 1961, Moravian Church Western Cape (MCWC) 1960, ALM, BMS, CSM, Finnish Mission Society, NMS, Rhenish Mission Society, Board of Trustee and Academy, and Lutheran Production Studios (CCLF minutes 1962:1, Transvaal Union Committee 1959:12 & Norwegian Mission Society Memo 1959:1). In 1964, the HMS, Henoverian Evangelical Lutheran Free Church Mission and Free Evangelical Lutheran Church Synod in Southern Africa did not apply to be members of CCLF, thus, they were observers (Pakendorf 1964:15 & Florin 1967:106). CCLF had a task to unite Lutheran churches on the questions of Lutheran doctrinal matters, *sola scriptura* and confessional documents on Lutheranism as far as the Reformation was concerned. The study noted that it struggled to unite Lutheran churches on issues of Lutheran unity in Southern Africa. It strived to promote and unfold a cooperative Lutheran vision and educational curriculum for LCsSA. CCLF was initiated to provide interesting new methods to work on a common Lutheran witness. The CLM wanted CCLF to renew and refocus on Lutheran cooperation in Southern Africa.

CCLF was useful with the purpose of bringing and networking with scattered Lutheran churches and missions together. It had no legislative powers and ecclesiastic character as it served under CLM. The established CLM in 1910 was later joined by ALM, HMS and finally HFM in Natal (Leisegang 1933:13-15 & Homdrom 1962:11-12). CLM was developed in response to unite missionary societies, which operated in isolation. African theological students always advocated and supported for a Lutheran merger not only for Natal region, but for a wider Lutheran cooperation in Southern Africa. Lutheran missionary societies were actual pioneers to establish Christian Education in Southern Africa. In 1961, congregations at their African synods, already, were having discussions on a formation of the Lutheran federation in Southern Africa. Churches made consultations on an issue of merger, as it was a critical stage for the Lutheran Church development to seek unity at all costs (Mashabela 2014:xx & Mutshekwan 1976:2). In 1964, CCLF meeting discussed an establishment and constitutional review of Lutheran federation. This was a decision taken at the Lutheran Constituent Assembly held at Christianenburg mission in Natal in 1958, which included formation of regional churches developed along ethnic and regional lines (CCLF minutes 1964:x & Florin 1965:67,102-103). This approach strengthened South African policy on apartheid, which promoted division in South African society (Molosi 1958:5 & Mabaso 1964:20). The unity of missionary societies under CLM were strongly supported by theological students. This support was a hope of Lutheran witness and unity in Southern Africa and in future. CCLF was not strong enough to unit Lutheran churches and missions in Southern Africa as there was a new federation to be established. Lutheran churches were influenced by a need of Lutheran witness and unity, and more close cooperation. An historical struggle of Lutheran uniformity in Southern Africa reflected a reforming church, simultaneously, struggling to unite. The Lutheran Constituent Assembly was supposed to strengthen the Lutheran Church unity, instead of the apartheid policy. Unity was the life of Africans, enhance, African Lutheran congregations influenced the Lutheran Church to establish the CLM.

Furthermore, The CCLF meeting of 1964 resolved that CCLF remained as it was, and a subcommittee was appointed to research and develop new ways to make it effective. The CCLF chairman was responsible to convene a meeting with all interested Lutheran churches to form a Lutheran federation in Southern Africa. In November 1964, CCLF, its subcommittee and delegates of churches met to discuss the CCLF constitution. The findings of CCLF and its subcommittee led them to establish a one organisation instead of two and a drafted constitution was given to CCLF member churches. This ecumenical Lutheran meeting resolved “that the all-



embracing Lutheran body in Southern Africa be a federation of churches which replaces CCLF” (CCLF minutes 1965:8-10). The Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa was officially established in March 1966 at its first meeting, which was proposed at 1965 CCLF meeting. All Lutherans of various races, colour and ethnic backgrounds came together to collectively form FELCSA. African Lutheran churches from Rhodesia, South West Africa, Swaziland, Botswana and South Africa were part of this important merger (Makhathini 1975:136). FELCSA was tasked with the responsibility to coordinate critical aspects of theological and Christian educational ministry towards educational needs of its member churches on the congregational level. It had to assist them spiritually and financially. It was established as a result of Evangelical Lutheran churches, which failed to fulfil a united Christian and national existence in South Africa. It became a hope of Lutheran churches to ensure that the task of unity, mutual concern and responsibility were achieved (Mutshekwane 1976:3). On September 12, 1967, FELCSA appointed a sub-committee to further a critical research and study of unity and make valid proposals to be sent to regional churches. This committee drafted highlights of the merger. On October 25, 1968, ELCSA-SER, ELCSA-TR and ELCSA-TVL were only churches that showed interest towards discussions of unity. ELCSA-COR was only an observer. It had secret talks with the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa (UELCSA), a Lutheran German Church, to form one church as opposed to a federal unity for all race. Its plan did not work with UELCSA. On January 22, 1969, the unity committee included Moravian Church that joined FELCSA and UELCSA as an observer. It was later that ELCSA-COR and UELCSA joined a federal committee. This committee was called the Lutheran Coordinating Committee as it was tasked with certain assignments. FELCSA had no power to influence churches to make political decisions. Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa and in their synods took their independent political decisions. The dominant white Lutheran churches supported separate development of theology as they wanted FELCSA to allow churches to be autonomous. Black Lutheran churches critiqued FELCSA on allowing churches to be independent instead of influencing churches to stand for justice on political, economic and social issues. Black Lutheran churches proposed urgently to FELCSA that one Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa be formed as alternative ecclesiology and the church with one prophetic voice. FELCSA had not supported this proposal (Mutshekwane 1976:3-4). FELCSA was about the context of organisational, theological and spiritual renewal to strengthen unity of Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa. However, this federal and ecumenical Lutheran initiative was to transform LCSA to be a true non-racial church. It had to challenge Lutheran churches to take seriously the political context of their countries on issues of justice. FELCSA weakness was that it had not supported an idea of a united Lutheran

prophetic voice to fight against apartheid. Black Lutheran churches proposal was to force FELCSA to create a platform of Lutheran political witness in Southern Africa through Lutheran consultations. FELCSA was existentially unstable as it was threatened by a new Lutheran cooperation, which demanded a coordinating renewal to fight against racism, political and economic oppression in Southern Africa. Black Lutheran churches influenced FELCSA to primarily be an instrument of ecumenical movement towards missiological unity and justice to address church and societal challenges. FELCSA struggled to become a true renewal federal not only from organisational perspective, but also to address specifics and realities of society. ELCSA-COR and UELCSA were captured by racism and apartheid system. FELCSA could only be liberated when it responded to political issues in a just way and to indeed facilitate a one Lutheran Church.

ELCSA-SER wrote a memorandum to CCLF suggesting that all overseas partners have LWF-Regional Office as one contact channel with FELCSA. LWF-Regional Office and FELCSA were responsible for theological education, ecumenical encounter, and material aid to Lutheran groups in Southern Africa. ELCSA-SER believed that FELCSA and LWF-Regional Office would resolve church challenges on Church-Mission Relationship agreement in Southern Africa. All church properties would be transferred to LWF-Regional Office as a trustee on behalf of LCsSA. FELCSA represented Southern African churches and LWF-Regional Office represented overseas partners. In 1968, LWF-Regional Office was established in Southern Africa (ELCSA-SER minutes 1965:1-3,11-12 & Florin 1965:105). LWF-Regional office and FELCSA were important institutions that coordinated the needs of LCSA. The formation of LWF-Regional Office was a great flow of communication on behalf of overseas partners to FELCSA. A working partnership between these Lutheran institutions created a greater method of addressing challenges and realities of Church-Mission Relationship.

### **3.5. The Christian Citizenship role in South Africa: A Lutheran academy**

The Christian Citizenship Academy (CCA) was established in 1955 as a theological project to address political issues. A report on CCA was discussed, reviewed, and adopted at the second All-Africa Lutheran Conference (AALC) in September 8-18, 1960 at Antsirabé, Madagascar. LCsSA emphasised that a more church response on political issues need to be prioritised (Sovik 1961:1 & Baëta & Schaefer 1961:109-110). FELCSA was responsible for sponsoring CCA. Christian Academy or Christian Citizenship were also referred as CCA. The purpose of CCA was community development and training Christians in service of effective witness of love to their

neighbours. In 1964, CCLF decided that special effort be made to have multi-racial conferences under CCA held at Rorke's Drift, the former Oscarsberg Lutheran Theological College for pastors of the Lutheran Church. Lutheran Pastoral Institute<sup>3</sup> committee from Southern Africa was tasked to convene and implement this project. This academy was also funded and supported by *Kirchliche Aussenamnt*, Kirchenamt of Germany, European churches and LWF Department of World Service (CCLF minutes 1964:xix & CCLF minutes 1965:6-7). CCA had meetings with teachers at Eshowe, Natal and in Transvaal, meetings were held with young intellectuals on Rand and urban areas, and conventions were held with Coloured teachers in the Cape, 'lay' training institutes were held and conventions with German speaking congregations. Pastors and their councils would engage each congregation to form a church social citizenship committee according to the skilled members. African citizens could equally have access to societal benefits such as education, work opportunities, social protection and justice, equal protection before the law and others (Baëta & Schaefer 1961:109-110). The Christian Citizenship Academy was an institution established primarily to train Christians and clergy in response of community needs. Its work was visible not only in the church, but also for community enhancement. It was mandated to advocate for social justice and stability in order to address the growing inequality of economy in Southern Africa. The study noted that CCA was a Lutheran project to transform socio-economic relations to enhance economic liberation in society. It was introduced to equip Christians to meaningfully participate in their Southern African society as they searched to build a better equal society. The academy engaged with practical community's witness in order to critically analyse through teaching and learning. Pastors were responsible to ensure that people were trained to have tolerance to respect individual's freedom (s). Varying opinions would be engaged through the quest of a common solution towards their challenges. Church members participated in society and government in service of humanity through a common liberation movement. This was an enterprise towards a true African citizenship developed in the best interests of any nation in Africa.

### **3.6. South African Lutheran Church organisations**

Lutheranism in South Africa had churches, which consisted of church groups. Each organisation or church group crafted its own constitution. The church challenge was disagreements on how constitution was crafted and how it would be used in an organisation. Thus, the church constitution was understood as rules governing the church activities and offices or vocations. Other documents were written to enhance growth of organisations with existed constitution and policies.

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<sup>3</sup> In chapter six of this research study, the study would explore in detail on an historical founding and role of Pastoral Institute.

Pastors were appointed to serve those organisations, such as, the Women's League, Youth League, and others (Fortuin 1988:1,6 & Buthelezi 1993:1). Church organisations were established to reorient and reinforce the goals and church structure of mission to address African realities. This was to develop a living society in an inclusive church environment. The church governance and constitution were imperative for order and smooth running in a church space.

### **3.6.1. Early establishment of Lutheran Church organisations in South Africa**

LCSA introduced Women's League in the early decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century, which was regarded as 'lay' women's association (Buthelezi 1993:1). In 1905, the Lutheran women's organisation known as *aBasizikazi*, Women's League contributed towards the establishment of congregations in Natal. *ABasizikazi* was a strong hold of Lutheran women's organisation in Natal. It had strong relations with Zulu-Xhosa-Swazi Synod established in 1911 and throughout Natal. This development took place in Natal, CSM was the first to establish this women's organisation. Lutheran churches in the Transvaal later became Transvaal Regional Church established the same women's ministry in congregations. In Natal, NMS followed and formed *Amadodana*, 'lay' men's association. The use of the term *Amadodana* in LCSA meant Sons of the Gospel. Young girls' organisation called themselves *Ama Voluntiya*, which meant Volunteers of the Gospel. These organisations were established as a revival of LCSA, which attracted Africans to join the Lutheran Church. ALM introduced the Youth league. All the uniforms of these organisations were black and white. Students at Lutheran Teachers' College at Umphumulo met on an annual reunion, which was well-known as the Bible Camp (Zikode undated:28 & Buthelezi 1994:1-3). ELCSA-SER formed what was called Lutheran Teachers' Christian Fellowship, which was among organisations formed at that time. Constitutions of these organisations were approved by the church under the Lutheran church polity. All planning of organisational meetings were implemented in consultation with the Pastor or Dean or Bishop. They carried their duties according to LCSA Constitution and some pastors were also deployed to assist bishops and deans were necessary. A spiritual leader was responsible to lead, revive and correct an organisation (Buthelezi 1996:6). Church organisations helped the Lutheran Church to implement its mission work and help people with their needs. This was visible particularly in establishment of congregations. Organisation constitutions were a sub-constitution of LCSA with specified constitutional mandate. In essence, they carried out a business of the church. Pastors, deans, and bishops served as spiritual leaders and general advisors of these organisations according to church levels. The restructuring of the church was to become a competent church, rather than a spiritual institution. The church was a meaningful and productive in service of society. The

establishment of various organisations was a pillar of the church for basic congregational quality work and organisations worked together for the unity of church. Organisations existed to transform the people of God into better and equal life of living together and sharing God's resources. What was implemented and accomplished could bring honour to God because of the church impact on lives of people.

Around 1950, Lutheran churches in South Africa, which were under CLM, experienced a spiritual awakening and developed a powerful preaching, that was a spiritual reawakening of the youth, women and men in the church and communities. In 1960, the Lutheran merger and revival in Natal influenced other Lutheran regional churches to orderly organise church organisations. African Lutheran congregations revived their congregational divine services with characters such as testimonies, singing, dancing in the church and clapping of hands. The sick were healed, and prayers were answered during and after church revivals (Buthelezi 1990a:5 & Buthelezi 1993:1-2). Church organisations were equipped through Sunday school ministry for community engagement. When ELCSA was formed in 1975, previously church originations operated in regional churches., They were adopted to a new structure of ELCSA for a particular purpose. They were established to participate within the institution of priesthood of all believers. They operated under church leadership and constitution to avoid divisions and chaos within the church (Buthelezi 1993:1). The youth league made an impact throughout the church in singing choruses, dancing and banging of cushions. Other organisations such as *aBasizikazi* and *Amadodana* adopted these forms of revival. During conferences of organisations, powerful revivalist pastors were organised to preach, and this was followed by organisation members to give testimonies of their conversion. Towards the end of 1980s and early 1990s, there was no longer spiritual transformation in black Lutheran congregations, powerful preaching declined, youth league was attacked by church members as they used choruses, and dancing (Buthelezi 1991a:3 & Buthelezi 1991b:5). From 1950 to 1980s, the Lutheran churches in South Africa and Southern Africa experience God's revival and renewal of worship and healing. This was an African spirituality and worship experienced at African congregations. Africans used their African spirituality and religion to renew the Lutheran Church in Africa. This was a decolonial, Africanisation and defining moment at the Lutheran Church in an Africa soil. The church was viewed as an only spiritual institution that could offer communities hope and resources to live.

### **3.6.2. Contribution of Lutheran teachers organisations in a learning ministry**

Lutheran Teachers Association (LTA) was another important form of church organisations established by Lutheran teachers. LTA Constitution was adopted on December 8, 1956 at Letaba District. LTA in Southern Africa was established to create relationship between the school and church. LTA members were teachers and ecumenically opened to membership for other denominations (LTA Constitution 1956:1 & Maimela 1980:7-9). A further Lutheran Teachers Christian Fellowship (LTCF) was established by teachers as its membership was only teachers. Thus, most African Lutheran teachers were responsible teachers under the church leadership. An effective cooperation was established between teachers and congregational workers. It held a biennial Conference before the church synod. Each parish member was a representative at LTCF conference (Ngwana & Matime 1968:1-3 & Mehlaphe 1968b:1). In 1968, LTCF conference decided to amend its constitution by declaring an annual conference for this fellowship. Pastors and church members became non-voting members. On certain Sunday divine services, special offering was made for this fellowship. The aim of raising funds was to ensure that LTCF became self-supporting (Nsibande 1981:69-70 & Mehlaphe 1968a:1). LTCF held a conference in Phalaborwa in August 17-28, 1971, which invited LTCF members, lecturers, inspectors, nurses, clerks, and 'laity' to form part of deliberations of LTCF conference. Circuits were expected to present reports on their church progress (Ngwana 1971:1). LTCF organised seminars and workshops to equip its members to be relevant to serve their congregations and communities. They were responsible in assisting the church on administrative work, design of the church policies, Christian Education programmes and organising lectures and discussions of the church. (Ngwana 1973:1 & LTCF minutes 1978:1). Teacher ministry existed to ensure that support was provided to the aims and activities of church. Its teaching partnership with church schools provided a productive educational growth in the church and community. LTA and LTCF as important contributors of teaching ministry nurtured the value of education to assist LCSA in its evangelical work. This approach was effective in ensuring that social and intellectual concern of communities were addressed. LTA and LTCF engaged in Christian Education research and disseminating of qualitative research on CE. These organisations had broadened the quality of church education, not just as spiritual institution but as a teaching institution as well. This study noted that through motivation of ministry of all baptised believers, people used their endowed gifts and leadership qualities to drive education in church and society.

### 3.6.3. ELCSA-Development Service of the 1995

ELCSA had a partnership with LWF on humanitarian aid. These institutions responded to a Drought Relief Programme occurred in 1992 in the Northern Province, South Africa, and Swaziland Programme. ELCSA community development in partnership with LWF-Development for World Service were committed to serve people in need regardless of their culture, race, faith and political affiliation. 20 years later of ELCSA existence, ELCSA had always prioritised community development for communities in South Africa and beyond. It established the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa-Development Service (ELCSA-DS) in 1995. ELCSA registered ELCSA-DS in 1997 under Section 21, of Company Act of South Africa as non-profit making organisation. ELCSA-DS national office was based at ELCSA Office, Bonearo Park, Johannesburg. ELCSA-DS was a non-profit humanitarian aid institution that provided services to the poor in South Africa and beyond (Moyo 1998b:6 & ELCSA-Development Service document 2012:1). Rural communities were trained on agricultural and environmental activities, and financial support was given to communities to establish their agricultural sector. Women, men and children had benefited in this church project (Moyo 1998b:2). ELCSA necessitated ELCSA-DS as an urgent focused and structural development that intervened mainly to respond to challenges of poverty, underdevelopment, and rural areas economic development. The study noted that ELCSA was committed and integrated to community engagement programme that enabled the poor to economically improve their conditions of living. Thus, ELCSA-DS used skills of Christian Education to educate people on issues of agricultural education and economic opportunities. It championed its work to improve the life of the poor and responded to issues of human suffering and vulnerability.

Furthermore, ELCSA community programmes were drought relief projects, HIV/AIDS, poverty, and training people through various workshops on humanitarian engagement. It created a partnership with Non-Profit making Organisations and government in response of community needs. ELCSA-DS continued to serve people under various challenges of high levels of poverty, economic demand, unemployment and low wages in post-apartheid South Africa. The World Bank report of 1996 declared South Africa, as a country with the most unequal distribution of income in the world (Fortuin 1998:3 & Moyo 1998a:4). ELCSA-DS operated under difficult circumstances of apartheid system, which forced people to be relocated, migrant labour systems, separate education, political dispossession and poverty. ELCSA-DS was established with an agenda for restoration of faith, self-reliance and dignity of African people in Southern Africa. ELCSA created awareness to communities and its authorities to actively address question of human development

in society. CE became an effective education tool within ELCSA-DS to train the church leaders and members, volunteers, communities and established network with other humanitarian institutions to effectively address Southern African challenges. CE ministry in partnership with ELCSA-DS project developed a curriculum programme for development service in Southern Africa to educate people to respond to issues of poverty, unemployment and other economic injustice that existed in society (ELCSA Church Council minutes 32 1982:8-12, Recommendation to Church Council 1989:19-20 & ELCSA-Development Service document 2012:5-7). The potential of ELCSA was to priorities development of communities in South Africa. ELCSA identified its church through its community engagement. It existed for people and communities rather than itself. It was established to empower the people of God spiritually, politically and socio-economically. This was evident as it established its ELCSA-DS and created a partnership with the LWF, non-profit organisations and the government. ELCSA was called to strengthen the poor and its surrounding communities in order to restore their God given rights and dignity in both apartheid and post-apartheid era. It generously supported communities to fulfil God's liberating ministry to serve people in *botho* principles of humanitarian approach. ELCSA was needed for inclusion of social responsibility, hence, ELCSA-DS was aware of its *diaconic* responsibility to address the root causes of injustice. ELCSA-DS could be viewed as ecumenical in fellowship and resources, locally and globally, within the conceptualisation of being created in the image of God.

### **3.7. The theology of church buildings**

The arrival of foreign and colonial missionaries established mission stations by building a structure as place of worship in South Africa. Church buildings were used as schools and in other instances schools were built for educational purposes. Education took place in church buildings. Religious Education or Christian Education was part of educational curriculum offered in a South African landscape (Gqubule 1977:ii). In 1967, Southern African Lutheran churches had a seminar on the importance of theology of church buildings on a theme "Care of God's house". Lutheran churches were reminded to look after their church buildings. This was because churches had a lack of care for the church building and environment. A further Lutheran conference in Southern Africa on stewardship was held in 1981. A church building was a necessity and was set apart for the purpose of a meeting-place where God engaged his people (Berglund 1967a:3 & Müller-Nedebock 1967:9). Southern Lutheran churches were supported by overseas churches to build churches. Church buildings were laid with a corner-stone of the church to remind the community of priesthood of all believers (Bell 1981:i). LWF was encouraging donor churches to support receiving established churches as they continued to experience financial challenges (Dehnke



1981:10). In church buildings, candidates for ministerial formation were trained through post-primary education. They were prepared to enter into a field of ministerial formation, which equipped them to return to church buildings in order to equip African congregations (Ulrich 1981:67). These Lutheran gatherings on a theology of church buildings were critically important for the church life. If a church building was uncared for it loses its identity as the church of God. A church building preached to a surrounding community through its dignified building. It could be viewed as a safe space for people and worship. Christian Education and ministerial education had an influence on the importance of theology of church buildings. Thus, CE and theological education were always intertwined, and both had a continuous influence on the theology of church buildings. Church leaders and congregations were responsible to take care of church properties and the land of God. Church buildings belonged and were owed by God, for the glory of God.

The church building was prescribed as a theological matter. From an African perspective, the church was supposed to be built as a rondavel, a round shape instead of Western rectangle, which was not African. Rondavel was used to build African homesteads (Biyela 1999a:85-86). African poor people remained to build rondavel African houses. Poor Africans had dignity as they believed that the church could be constructed within an African identity (Stauffer (1999:73-74). The church building could be built according people's cultural identity and dignity. Thus, a rondavel house was informed by African ministry of living for one another to necessitate an African principle of belonging or *ubuntu* (Biyela 1999b:154). According to a Western church theology, the church building was a theological matter. For Africans, was an African matter in context of a theology of Africans. Western rectangle was suitable for Western Christians, while remaining a theological problem for Africans. In Africa, a rondavel building had the sense of belonging and connectedness of people. African people built a rondavel necessarily to ensure that the sense of belonging could not be broken. They believed that the church building was a sense of belonging to restore human dignity and right of life. Everything was shared by Africans spiritually, politically, and economically to enhance principles of *botho*. A rondavel was an element of protecting the human rights and an African setting of worship.

### **3.8. The role of Christian Education in theological politics**

In 1960, at the AALC conference, Kitagawa (1960:7-10) asserts:

It is therefore a highly commendable thing if a Christian aspires to enter into politics. It is much better for the nation if a devout Christian becomes a professional politician than if an atheist or secularist does. At the same time there is one thing which he a professional politician must never

do, that is, to use politics to further the cause of the Christian Church as such. To accept politics as one's Christian vocation is to serve society-be it a local township or a nation- and all its citizens, by devoting one's life to make the political structure with its complex machinery and process function so to meet the real need of the people.

Christians were called to engage in political action to sustain the liberation of people. The church was responsible in participating in politics. Lutheranism noted that politics as a Christian vocation had professional politicians who specialised in politics. People were trained for a specific task, which meant that the church encouraged people who aspired to enter political space (Maimela 1980:5-6). Lutheran churches believed that there were those called in political vocation to serve society with quality and to meet the real needs of people. The church was part of social cohesion to participate and be aware of African economic, political and educational needs. LCsA were called for Christian responsibility to the African society.

If the church in Africa was isolate from political affairs and denied its leaders or members to participate in politics, it was not free from politics. The church taught the world the right of justice, equality, and dignity of everyone according to God's theology. Most Africans who were politicians were educated at mission or church schools. Politics was one of major challenges, which brought African churches into great confusion and misunderstanding with African government (Mwakisunga 1969:9). The church in Africa could not avoid its political commitment. African politicians were educated by the church and became politicians. The church was viewed as a spiritual institution without political engagement, yet politics impacted on the church life. Mission or church schools used CE curriculum on theology and politics in response to the church and the state theology in Africa. Both the clergy and the 'laity' were trained on how to respond to political challenges as active participants towards building a better church and society.

The political situation in South Africa during 1967-1969 became very critical and the church had to determine its outcome in response to the political arena. FELCSA organised the church leaders' seminar themed 'the State and the Church' in 1968. This seminar was to engage political injustices that were increasing in South Africa. The church leaders in LCSA had to confront burning questions and challenges regarding issues of apartheid. The State and the Church governments were divided on political issues in South Africa. Lutheran Church leaders were prepared to face head on the various situation and challenges. What was critically important was to clearly define relationship between the State and the Church in South Africa within Lutheranism

perspective (Zulu 2009:6). In 1988, workshops on Contextual Theology (CT) in Southern Africa were held at ELCSA dioceses towards directive response regarding Gospel relevance to Southern Africa. The Church Council and General Assembly took a decision that ELCSA theological training institutions introduce a programme on CT. A 1988 report of Pastoral/Missiological Institute on Theology and Politics was on an appointed manager of the church farmers, which identified violation of human rights where white farmers unjustly treated black workers in farms. ELCSA decided that Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary would offer courses to laity on Biblical and liberation theology in response of Southern African challenges (Mbuli, Buthelezi & Assur 1989b:7,9-11). Furthermore, ELCSA Committee on Theology and Training was tasked to organise workshops, seminars, and action events on theology and political matters. Theological institutions were expected to produce study material on Black Theology of liberation to be used to equip congregations. Theology and Training committee was expected to use this study material to equip congregations. A Lutheran Human Rights and Social Affairs Committee was established and included pastors as its main theological advisor and 'laity' involvement (Mbuli, Buthelezi & Assur 1989a:8). The Lutheran Church in South Africa had no choice, but to engage South African politics. Lutheran theological institutions were tasked to teach and produce Contextual Theology content that response to a South African context. The church was deeply concerned about issues of apartheid and political instability. Thus, it was forced to engage on social justice because black people were marginalized on political and economic factors. The church had to play a critical role on community awareness and liberation. A Pastoral Institute report diagnosed political challenges and provide solutions to the challenges. Theology and human rights committees were established to primarily address political issues. The church was expected to be effective on political awareness and lifestyle of clear majority through its teaching and pastoral material. This was implemented through Christian social teaching to equip congregations.

### **3.9. Conclusion**

The intention of this chapter was to capture an historical Christian Education in the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. The chapter explored an history from mission societies, formation of ecumenical Lutheran institutions such as Coopeting Lutheran Missions, Council of Churches on Lutheran Foundation, Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa, regional churches and others to qualify Lutheran unity and witness in Southern Africa on educational ministry. This chapter attempted to capture a role of Christian Education in theological education, women empowerment and politics in South Africa, Southern Africa and Africa.

## CHAPTER 4

### ESTABLISHMENT OF LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS AND EARLY THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA 1900-1975

#### 4.1. Introduction

The core of theological education was to equip the clergy in service of the common church work. Theological education experienced growth and challenges in Southern Africa. It was a centre of training for churches to serve society with quality and enhancement. This chapter revisited early established Lutheran theological institutions and ministerial formation. Founding and history of Lutheran ministerial formation and theological training institutions were linked to churches. The church members were equipped in order to provide solutions and change in their contextual challenges.

#### 4.2. Theological education during missionary period

Missionary societies came to Africa with an idea to establish mission schools. White male missionaries and their wives were the earliest teachers. Elementary education became a business of day in Africa. The arrival of first missionaries on the African soil taught young African women and men how to read and write. Young black men were taught how to read and write, then recruited to attend specialised schools as evangelists. They were trained as leaders and builders of congregations for their African context. Later, the standard of education was improved for teachers training, industrial schools and seminaries. The missionary was a teacher of all these schools (Evenson 1958:345). Teachers training schools were converted into colleges and evangelists training schools were converted to seminaries. Black teachers and evangelists were important role players in educating white missionaries African languages and culture, and they started building schools and churches. It multiple missionary societies in Southern Africa some time to establish proper schools and education (Leisegang 1933:11-13). It was a great investment for missionary societies to establish mission schools in Africa. The role of these mission schools improved the lives of African people. Mission schools were not just used for educational purpose but added value to the African infrastructure. Missionary education was a key role in training black men who were strategically placed to become teachers and evangelists. The outcomes of missionary education were to train men to establish congregations in African communities. Black women benefited from this education. However, missionary education and infrastructure were not

static. Schools were converted to seminaries as a dynamic sign to improve the quality of education in Africa.

In 1900, Lutheran missionary societies were the most successful in education system than other missionary societies and followed by London Mission Society. Lutheranism emphasised worship, preaching and taking care of congregations. In 1904, Umphumulo Teachers Training College (UTTC) under NMS taught young Zulu girls and boys' courses of teaching and church leadership (Lislerud 1962:6). Missionary societies such as BMS had a Native Catechists School at Emmaus established in 1905, CSM at eShiyane, Oscarsberg established an evangelist seminary in 1908 and ALM established a school at Untunjambili. African students graduated with a Teachers' Certificate awarded by Government in Native Education. Black students then enrolled for theological education, however with lower numbers. An urgent demand for missionary work was to train black teachers for mission work to establish mission stations (Homdrom 1962:6-7). Schools to train catechist teachers were established first. Initially, Lutheran education system was independent from the government. Later, the Lutheran education had to conform to the government curriculum. Lutheran educational institutions were converted into schools, this was partly a school for evangelist and partly a theological seminary. LTE was made possible by primary education and training teachers. LTE system was central to training teachers, evangelists, and pastors to serve African Lutheran congregations and society. African teachers, evangelists and pastors supported all the work and entire missionary educational system. Initially, Africans did not de-value missionary education instead they considered it as part of a contribution and development of an African existing cultural education. However, Africans became unsatisfied of missionary education because of not embracing and advancing the African culture and education. African culture and education were connected to daily African life, informed by structural patterns of African religion (Zulu 2012:6). This development depicted how important education was developed, taught and implemented in the African soil. The establishment of Lutheran training institutions became increasingly influential to benefit the South African government. Africans were so disappointed that missionary teachers intended to kill and de-value African culture and education. The growth of African society could only be a fulfilled promise by the African culture and education. In the African society, African culture and education shaped, sharpened and united the African society. The missionary education tried to de-value and kill the African education, which was a gross violence of the African culture and educational foundation. Africans valued their African culture, spirituality and education in partnership with the renewal of life.

In 1940, the unfolding of theological training and ministerial formation were explained in phases in South Africa. Farup (1940:1) points out:

The present situation and its demand for the adequate training of native pastors. In the first pioneer stage of mission work in any country the main efforts of the missionaries, often laboring under great hardships and in the midst of primitive conditions, are directed towards learning to know the native people, their language and their customs, winning their confidence, and above all to make them acquainted with the gospel of salvation in Jesus, the world's only saviour. We call this first stage, which continues for many years and in fact never entirely ceases, the stage of evangelization. When this important work has been well begun, the second state follows immediately, which the native people, especially the young, are instructed in schools, receive training both in spiritual and secular matters. No one who has instructed illiterates and other people who can read has any doubt about which class can more rapidly advance so as to prepare for baptism and confirmation. The educational stage, running together with evangelistic, has an important place in mission work, although it is not education alone, or even the introduction of European civilization, which is the real object of our endeavors. The third and final stage of mission effort is that in which the missionaries more directly endeavor to build up the self-supporting, self-propagating and self-governing power of the native church in such a way that the native Christian themselves can gradually take over their responsibility, and the daughter church develops its own organization.

With a different view on missionaries, missionaries denied African evangelists' ordination and to lead the African church. They regarded evangelists as not matured to lead the church in Africa. However, African evangelists and congregants took control of their congregations after the Western churches faced a financial crisis. They viewed Africans as 'heathens' because they were not 'Christians' (Bediako 1996:6-7 & Bediako 1992:1-3). Evangelists became agents of pastoral care and work in black congregations. Gradually, this necessitated African people to take over the responsibilities of African Church administration. Christian education and evangelisation became necessary for community development. What was theologically problematic about early missionaries was that they condemned everything that was African (Farup 1940:1). Three educational phases aspired to be evangelic and to empower and transform the lives of native people and that of missionaries. This educational model assisted missionaries to learn the native language and culture to enhance their knowledge. Education and evangelistic work were a major strength of the church growth and mission. However, Missionaries failed to recognise African leadership. Christianity could only apply to Africans from African experiences and context as a form of liberating the African society. The conversion of Africans to Christianity posed a serious challenge to the African society. Missionaries had not allowed African lifestyle and epistemology

the context to engage and thrive constructively within the Christian faith and space. They refused to understand the African worldview and concluded that everything African was evil. In this context, missionaries violated the African communal right and dignity to exist from the African perspective.

#### **4.2.1. Historical background and works of Lutheran ministerial formation: Lutheran missionary administration**

The history of five Lutheran missionary societies, namely, Berlin Mission Society, Norwegian Mission Society, Church of Swedish Mission, American Lutheran Mission and Hermannsburg Mission Society made a special contribution on Lutheran ministerial formation in South Africa. The relationship between missions and theological training institutions was critical in LTE effort for South African development. LTE was necessitated by a demand of evangelists and pastors to serve African congregations.

##### **4.2.1.1. Lutheran Evangelist School: An organised theological training centre**

Lutheran missionary societies established Lutheran evangelist schools individually and gradually as the centre for theological training. BMS established Botshabelo Lutheran Evangelist School in the Northern Transvaal during the early 1869 (Mminele 1983:75). Emmaus Lutheran Evangelist School was established in Natal in 1905 as its formal theological training centre (Schlyter 1953:11-12). In 1908, CSM established the school for evangelists at eShiyane, later called Oscarsberg in Rorke's Drift near Dundee, Natal. Initially, individual missionaries elected and trained elders to conduct services and preached at divine services held in African congregations. Later, missionaries appointed and promoted evangelists for a full-time work in Southern Africa. African teachers and evangelists established many schools and opened new and more mission stations, which became congregations. This influenced missionaries to open formal teaching and learning structures. This phenomenal work created a space for the church members to be theologically equipped on what was meant to be an African Christian (Homdrom 1962:7 & Zikode undated:8,11-12,20-22). The establishment of evangelist schools and training of evangelists was a great achievement for the church. The celebrated evangelist school was designed to specifically train theological students for the ordained ministry and to build bridges between theological training and black Lutheran congregations. The African way of life was profoundly rooted in deep connectedness of people, which would mean that evangelists served black congregations more effectively and daily. Native teachers and evangelists were most important contributors in establishing black congregations and schools. This was a positive change, turning point and

investment in society as a fruit of African connectedness and enhancement. Evangelists' work and hard had a significant impact on establishment of many mission stations and provided a theological hope for Africans to be more spiritually grounded about God's existence and humanity in South Africa. Not only mission stations were established for congregations or congregational purposes or theological training, but another important educational ministry was necessary such as community engagement. However, basic education became the church backbone and a necessity before an evangelist and a teacher could emerge as professionals and workers of the church in South Africa society. All this theological education for ministry was strategically designed within one key of the Lutheran doctrine, namely, the priesthood of all believers. Clearly, the priesthood of all believers' ministry was not a strange ministry in the African context because this ministry had a sense of belonging and participation of all people. Thus, the thesis of this study asserted that missionaries could have ordained evangelists as pastors earlier.

#### **4.2.1.2. Lutheran Evangelist Seminary: An improved theological training centre and curriculum**

BMS, CSM and HMS had individually improved theological training and converted it into education through the years. BMS was the first to convert Botshabelo Lutheran Evangelist School as Botshabelo Lutheran Evangelist Seminary in 1870 (Mminele 1983:54-78 & Nsibande 1981:21). Ehlanzeni Lutheran School was first established in 1866 as teachers' school by HMS to train Zulu congregations. In 1878, it was converted to Ehlanzeni Lutheran Seminary to train evangelists. Another important seminary was Epworth Theological Seminary; however, more information was not found about Epworth Theological Seminary. Black evangelists became powerful voluntary preachers at congregations and others as assistant lecturers. Black women studied as teachers, but not allowed to be trained as evangelists and pastors (Lislerud 1962:6-7). Theological training improved from evangelist school to evangelist seminary. Lutheran training in this case was becoming dynamic, hence, it produced not only evangelists, but lecturers as well. Yet, black women were trained to be school teachers in missionary Lutheran educational enterprise. LTE programme became a disadvantage education ministry because black women were not allowed to be trained as evangelists and lecturers at all Lutheran theological seminaries in South Africa. This paralysed qualified black Lutheran women who were gifted and called to be evangelists and lecturers. A critical question could be researched and engaged to ascertain whether black Lutheran women challenged missionary societies and its theological seminaries to empower them



to study theology and to become evangelists, pastors and lecturers or did black men evangelists advocated for black women's demands of such theological professions<sup>4</sup>.

#### **4.2.2. Lutheran Pre-seminary School: A pre-theological training**

CLM essential role was to ensure that the production of pastors would be able to build the Lutheran Church among the Zulus in Zulu land and other Africans in Southern Africa. CLM established Lutheran Pre-seminary School (LPS) in 1955, which replaced ALM Catechist School in 1955 at Untunjambili to ensure that young men would be trained further for a two-year matric (Homdrom 1962:9). In 1966, LPS was ecumenically enough to train even the Anglican Church theological students who enrolled in 1966 (Sarndal 1966:1). LPS also known as a matric Pre-theological Training was designed to verify that young men were prepared academically and linguistically to study at a theological college (Lindberg 1966:1). Pre-theological Seminary or LPS was an essential school in nurturing candidates for theological education. This building bridge needed to create a solid foundation for candidates to manage their theological academic work. LPS seemed to have the right curriculum to empower and change the lives of candidates for theological training. This meant that LPS curriculum contributed towards the equity and quality of South African education.

In 1954, the South African government took control of church schools, and UTTC and Zulu Lutheran High School which continued under CLM administration. CLM tried to retain more of its schools, unfortunately due to its financial crisis, in 1960; CLM lost all its education institution, sold Zulu Lutheran High School at Eshowe and only retained UTTC. It also had low and education fields of study to train its congregants and community. The South African community especially in Zulu land had benefited in CLM schools and institutions (Homdrom 1962:8-9). LPS prepared candidates for theological training to qualified and enrol for theological studies in Bachelor of Arts in Theology (BATheol) and Diploma in Theology (DTheol). Two courses leading to matric were planned for a preparation to enter an open four-year course up to BATheol degree in cooperation with UNISA (Lislerud, Kruger, Berglund, Makhathini & Strydom 1962:35). In 1967, Lutheran Theological College Governing Board (LTCGB) meeting made closing remarks "We want to express our gratitude to the rector, principal and all members of the staff at both the college and

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<sup>4</sup> Due to a limited space of research, it would be interesting to see black women researching and writing to explore this theological gender aspect studies centred on black women's contribution in Lutheran missionary enterprise.

the Pre-seminary, for their work done during the past year” (Rindahl 1967:2). When South African government took over many Lutheran schools, the CLM experienced a crisis. This showdown had threatened the future of Lutheran educational system. Clearly, this government was an opportunist to disadvantage the Lutheran educational system instead of funding CLM to advance its community development plan. The CLM contribution was from a premise that its educational system offered a potential of empowering students in service of community development. Its education projects such as UTTC and LPS survived the hush realities of South African educational system and politics. It took LPS partnership with OLTC to prioritise the ordained ministry to develop qualitative ministry of African clergy so that church members could receive quality Christian Education workshops for training preachers, CE educators and congregants in service of church and secular work. The thesis of the study noted that the necessary expertise of higher theological training was met through a contribution of LPS. CLM had a social responsibility to contribute to a context of educational system in service of society, as part of assisting government projects.

In 1965, ULTC accepted three women to study at LPS. In November 1971, Jase Mkhize from ELCSA-SER was the first woman to graduate for a DTheol with other fourth year male students at ULTC (Becken 1971a:2). ELCSA-SER decided that women could study a DTheol and BTheol but had not taken a decision on the ordination of women. This frustrated Jase Mkhize (Mashabela 2019c). LTCGB 16<sup>th</sup> meeting in November 10-11, 1971 at ULTC granted Ms C Dlamini a scholarship to complete her two final subjects of BTheol and would be applying for bursary fund to the South African Council of Churches and the Education Information Centre (Becken 1971b:7). The change of church position on women education revealed that basic education in preparation for theological education was a primary need for LCSA to be theologically sound and well established. LCSA showed a critical responsibility to ensure that women candidates enroll for theological studies. This was providing the potential of empowering women candidates to be theologically independent and transforming an educational environment at ULTC. However, it remained a thorn within the Lutheran space not to ordain Mkhize, a woman who experienced God’s calling. Where was God’s justice for women in LCSA? The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa had a task to celebrate Jase Mkhize as the first woman theologian and the first woman who was supposed to be ordained in LCSA. The Lutheran Church in South Africa celebrated a Women’s Day yearly, which meant by right this church could start negotiations with Mkhize family to have a yearly lecturer of Jase Mkhize to honour her in a Lutheran space in South Africa. This historic women’s celebration originated from this context “Early in 1956 the women of East London

took up the cry against passes. "Oh, what a law! We are refusing totally!" said the memorandum they presented to the local Commissioner. A month later, Durban and Cape Town were again protesting, while in March, 1956, the women of Germiston led off Transvaal demonstrations once more with three hundred women, who, undeterred by extraordinary police threats of mass arrests, shooting of leaders, and most severe forms of intimidation, marched to their local offices, declaring "Even if the passes are printed in real gold we do not want them" (Women Against Pass Laws 1956:1).

FELCSA meeting of 1966 resolved that LPS could be a regular Lutheran High School. LTCGB resolved that LPS was a need for a first-class Lutheran High School in South Africa with quality teachers and equipment. Churches and missions could be prepared to finance LPS and all its required theological programmes, not as a general high school (Lislerud 1966:2 & Rindahl 1967:2). A registration of LPS was opened for all students including AIC students to register at the end of 1973. The administrative secretary of LTC was responsible for this registration (Nielsen & Becken 1973b:2). In 1974, LPS had insufficient numbers to continue with its class at ULTC (Makhathini & Nthuping 1974:1-2). FELCSA and LTCGB integrated LPS programme at ULTC and Lutheran churches and missions financially to support the LPS programme. Thus, LPS was earmarked as a school for basic theological education and not a high school anymore. LPS was an important teaching and learning institution to assist Lutheran theological institutions to meet the demands of South African higher education. This merger of LPS and ULTC was necessary to produce qualified students to enroll at a theological college, seminary, and university level. A review and re-curriculating of Pre-theological Training was needed to advance training of theological students to meet requirements of higher education. LCSA because of its embedded ecumenism strengthen its educational partnership with an ecumenical AIC to enroll its students for LPS programme.

#### **4.3. An anti-Cooperating Lutheran Missions: A call for renewal and unity**

Loken (1962:14) wrote:

A greeting from theological students: The splinter groups in our Lutheran family-have robbed us of the joy of belonging together. Again, the course of Lutheranism has suffered a great setback through these differences. One often wonders if Lutheranism will survive and expand in such as divided state. One looks on with envy at the rapid spread of other branches of Christendom in this country, and with something near despair at the comparative snail-pace of our cause because of internal-differences. A house divided against itself cannot stand.

Theological students observed that a division of Lutheran churches in South Africa hindered the growth and progress of church. They believed that a divided church paralysed the mission and church of God. They called for a church unity in order for the church to grow. The question of Lutheran unity for African Lutherans was captured well in the concept of *botho/ubuntu* to explore Lutheranism in South Africa. The existence of Lutheranism was defined by African identity and nothing else. The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa had struggled for a Lutheran unity stressed by African Lutherans.

CLM challenged the HMS and other missionaries that were anti-CLM to become its full members. In 1938, HMS partly joined CLM. ALM joined CLM in 1927, this ALM move assisted to strengthen CLM financially, although, ALM was supposed to join in 1917. Financial crisis of BMS was finally resolved in 1936. NMS and CSM suggested for CLM a renewal on establishment of the Zulu Lutheran Church to deal with the common constitution and agenda (Lislerud 1962:6). Hanoverian Free Church Mission was invited into this CLM renewal. CLM was more than a Zulu regional church, but also to reach out to outside African Lutheran regional churches in Southern Africa. This vision was captured well in its constitution, namely, "To establish a self-supporting, self-propagating and self-administering the Lutheran Church amongst the Zulu and kindred tribes" (Homdrom 1962:12-13). CLM was very passionate to see Lutheran unity and witness identity as opposed to isolated missions' type of ministering. It needed to build a united LCSA and theological learning. It found itself in constant need to renew itself through the unity of LCsSA and missions. This was a demand of true African flight by African Lutherans. It became critically important for CLM not to remain static but dynamic to ensure that all missions' voices and participation emerged to strengthen a progressive CLM. It was necessary for CLM to be established as a transformative theological tool in restoring Lutheran unity, identity, and dignity to create proper Lutheran encounter with African people.

Furthermore, the CLM decided that a process to establish the regional church would start in the year 1946. CLM committee adopted a draft constitution of a federated Lutheran Church of Southern Africa. It recommended that a European and Bantu Synod of advisory meet every third year, the first to be held in 1948. Delegates from each mission were 2 European and 2 African ministers. However, the advisory synod met for the first time on September 8, 1949 and had a close working relationship with the CLM executive. The Preparatory and Constituent Assemblies took over a constitutional task and concluded it (Loken 1962:16). The advisory synod discussed

a common agenda, church fees, equal salary of all African church workers, and common vestments. For the first time an African was elected as a member of the college board than in any representation in any CLM committee or board. These changes included decision of establishing the CCLF in 1953 (Mpanza 1962:13). "To the objection that Africans may make mistakes if given responsibilities for which they are not prepared, one mission board officially replied, let them make mistakes, why should we whites make them all" (Evenson 1958:437)? New established Lutheran committees and bodies were necessary to deliver on issues of Lutheran unity. CLM liberated itself by pushing churches to accept renewal and working together as a united and no-racial church. It was unfortunate that missionaries always wanted to lead an African agenda instead of allowing African clergy and congregations to lead their affairs. The research observed that the agenda of Lutheran unity in Southern Africa was originally initiated by the African clergy and congregations. Thus, this unity agenda from the beginning it was supposed to be led by Africans themselves and not the missionaries. To allow missionaries to lead Africanisation agenda led to a continued theological problem in the church and society. It was encouraging that some missionaries challenged others to allow Africans to leader their African church affairs.

#### **4.4. African Lutheran pastors movement: Being their own liberators**

For many years, African Lutheran pastors were anti-divisions of Lutheran missions in Southern Africa. They organised themselves to find solutions to their challenges and unite Lutherans. When African pastors started their movement, CLM requested African pastors to organise a pastoral conference in 1917. They had their Pastoral Conference meetings since 1919, which led to a top African leadership as delegates at CLM. The HMS and Hanoverian Free Church Mission had not allowed African delegates to participate (Homdrom 1962:12-13). African delegates were against Lutheran divisions as missions followed their home churches traditions. They needed Lutherans to be united in South Africa as they longed for a one Lutheran Church. This was resolved at the Preparatory Assembly at Durban in November 14-15, 1957 and to prepare for a merger of synods or churches of CLM to achieve a union or federation of Lutherans in Southern Africa. African pastors were ready to govern black congregations and society with the ability to analyse the life and work of church and society (Loken 1962:14). This historical background reflected how it became critically important for African pastors to organise themselves and deliberate on issues of African leadership that would lead the African Lutheran Church. African delegates had already challenged CLM to force Lutheran unity. Indeed, Africans were critical of divisions that took place with European Lutheran missions and continued to be implemented in Africa. This came to be a

problem for the church theology for Africans who lived and believed in a belonging society and spiritual community. This pastoral conference was to develop the vision and mission of the African Lutheran Church. African leadership had pushed and influenced CLM to seriously implement African issues by Africans themselves. The African clergy and their congregations believed that human rights and dignity was what God granted them for their daily lives.

#### **4.5. Lutheran theological curriculum in Africa**

Lutheran Churches in Africa and their theological training institutions' delegates gathered at their Theological Faculty Conference for Africa in July 15-22, 1969 at Lutheran Theological College Makumira, Tanzania. The idea of this kind of a conference emerged at the Third All-Africa Lutheran Conference in Addis Ababa in October 12-21, 1965. Hoffman (1969a:1) asserts:

Provision was made for a rather informal consultation on theological education to meet immediately after the conference. This one-day consultation proposed: that between the Third All-Africa Lutheran Conference held in Addis Ababa and the next one there be a meeting of all Lutheran faculties and seminaries to discuss a standard. It was agreed that the LWF be requested to go into this matter within the aim of holding a consultation in three years that will attempt to find some response to the question of quality and quantity of theological education in Africa.

Furthermore, theological training in contemporary Africa must be indigenous. Thus, younger generation and politicians could be trained from social structure and daily life must be African. Africa committed itself to phrases such as in Tanzania *uhuru na Kazi* (Freedom and work), *kujitegemea na ujamaa* (social-reliance and socialism) and *kujenga nchi* (building the country). This was aligned with theological training in Africa to ensure that theological curriculum was relevant to the African church and society (Musa 1969:3-4). LWF, TEF and AACC assisted to prioritise, promote and produce theological literature in African languages (Andrianarijaona 1969:1-2). African lifestyle had influenced other continents on gifts such as music, dance, and other important aspect of African life. 1964 ULTC report showed that ULTC lecturers used TEF to design theological education materials, which were relevant to African context (CCLF minutes 1965:28). This emphasis of a theological education conference called for a review of quality and quantity of theological education in Africa to advance theological curriculum in Africa. The conference provided an African-centred theological content, which would correct the colonial theological education planted in Africa. It had to critically engaged on scrutiny and evaluation of Lutheran theological curriculum in Africa. The colonial theological curriculum was always challenged to ensure its relevance to the congregational work and to respond to societal realities in Africa. The African-centred theological curriculum could assist the church in Africa to provide

guidance to young women and men to choose their vocational professions. It became clear that this call of an indigenous theological education was an essential aspect in the African context. Lutheran theological curriculum had always been guided by God's calling to serve the community of God. Theological institutions were seen to be Jesus Christ-centred tool for spiritual and community development. Theological training for the ordained ministry in Africa called for an Africanised theological curriculum to be seriously taken into consideration in service of African humanity. Africanised training demanded theological institutions to provide theological curriculum that was aware of social structure and cultural influence in Africa. In some way, it was better and effective working plan to educate theological students in African languages and curriculum to advance theological learning and discourse.

Furthermore, theological education was called to be co-existent to take onto account ideological, cultural and economic realities in Africa. The 1969 Theological Faculty Conference appointed A-I Berglund, African Religion (Umphumulo), G Jasper, Liturgics (Makumira), T Sundermeier, Missiology (Otjimbingwe), KT Anderson, Old Testament (Mekane Yesus), M Buthelezi, Dogmatic (Umphumulo), R Wessler, Ethics (Otjimbingwe), S Yakobo, Pastoral Theology (Makumira), H-D Caspary, New Testament (Makumira), D Peterson, Church History (Makumira) and W Glüer, Islamic, Orthodoxy, Arabica (Mekane Yesus) serve on a committee of discipline meetings. This discipline committee would evaluate theological curriculum to ensure that social and culture in African became important tool to guide and ensure an African theological curriculum development (Hoffman 1969b:20). African theologians could be well vested in their own cultural setting as they knew their peoples' ways of thinking to construct their African well-being. This could mean that an application of ecumenical theological education was primarily to train pastors to be able to train 'lay' people to be operational in ecumenical field in Africa. This was related to the African context that people belong and therefore had to work together to build a living African society (Mshana & Nyblade 1969:5-6). New pedagogical approach was urgently needed to fulfil African ministry and ecumenical education. Theological training institutions were expected to offer qualifications within Africa and offered within African languages. Thus, a theological institution was expected as a school of teamwork to allow lecturers and theological students to engage in context of building Africa within an African perspective. Pastors remained lifelong students and the church provided them with refresher courses and furthering their studies in order to be aware of their daily contextual need in response of Africa (Berglund 1969:6,9-11 & Musa 1969:4).

An appointed discipline committee was tasked to critically analysis theological curriculum offered in Africa. This committee had to explore a call to acknowledge a rich African context that could produce an African theological curriculum. In theological academic circles, African theological curriculum meant that theological students needed to be trained to think and provide new strategies to advance an African agenda for community enhancement. This provided a space for critical evaluation, which necessitated a creative thinking and contribution in theological education. Refresher courses and further studies of pastors was a liberating tool for community renewal and enhancement.

#### **4.6. The radical reformation of African Church: A demand under All-Africa Lutheran Conference administration**

African Christians started a radical reformation in the church in Africa. This African renewal could not be delinked from a political initiative of decolonisation. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2020:188) points out “Decolonization is an ongoing liberation project. Colonialism was a vast process of invading spaces, lands, minds—all spheres of the colonized people’s lives. Inevitably, decolonization had to be a similarly vast process of transformation. But the twentieth-century anticolonial struggles did not deliver decolonization beyond the problematic and limited achievements in the political sphere, where independence was constrained by a hierarchical global power structure”. Mignolo (2011:273) states “Decoloniality has its historical grounding in the Bandung Conference of 1955 in which 29 countries from Asia and Africa gathered. The main goal of the conference was to find a common ground and vision for the future that was neither capitalism nor communism. That way was ‘decolonization’. It was not ‘a third way’ a` la Giddens, but a delinking from the two major Western micronarratives”. The 1955 conference that produced decoloniality was to reclaim Asian resources for Asians and African resources for Africans. This conference was against the colonial powers, which have taken way what belonged to these nations. It was based on liberation of Asia and Africa from these oppressive hands. They need to return all resources such as land, education and others that were taken away from them. This political Asia and Africa demand happened in the same year with African church in demand of running the African affairs by Africans. Decolonisation and African Church radical transformation were same coin.

The church in Africa needed a constant change in order to address African realities. Its identity would always be informed from an African experience. The First All-Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu, Tanganyika, in November 1955 directly inspired the First All-Africa Church Conference to be held at Ibadan, Nigeria in January 1958. The First AACC critically engaged the



church and African affairs and operated as an independent organisation. The First AALC decided more on the reformation of Lutheran Church in Africa. It called on the church to be African and to establish regional churches (Birkeli 1960:162-163). On January 10-19, 1958, the IMC and Christian Council of Nigeria organised a first African historic meeting in Ibadan with most African church leaders and not missionaries agreed to establish the All-Africa Church Conference, as an independent institution from WCC in the spirit of unity for Africa. The countries that participated in this AACC included Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, Sudan and South Africa (Oduyoye 1980:31,33,39). The African church leaders established their AALC to primarily ask spiritual, political and socio-economic questions that relate to African problems. LCsA developed what they called *Confessio Africana*, which meant that they formulated the confession that was relevant to addressing their situational issues (Amos 1957:290). "One of suggestions in the statement issued by the African delegates at Marangu in 1955 was, it is strongly felt that it would strengthen the young churches in Africa if more responsible positions were filled by Africans to enable them to realize more fully their responsibility for the work". In 1958, African Lutheran pastors oversaw districts, youth work and evangelism. Some African Lutheran Synods were self-supporting, and Africans managed their finances. Other missions were in a process to fulfil this African mandate. Black evangelist preachers and pastors regarded themselves as missionaries to black communities better than a white missionary (Evenson 1958:437). AALC and AACC were organised in response of spiritual, political and economic well-being of Africa. They viewed missionary agenda as dangerous to African people and affairs, hence, an urgent demand of an African leadership. Missionaries were an obstacle to black missionary growth implemented by black evangelists, pastors and congregations. Africans initiated and demanded radical reformation for their church in Africa and its independence as part of African liberation and transformation of African lives. The Lutheran regionalisation of church was a continuation of Africans who challenged CLM to establish regional churches in Southern Africa. LCsA believed that they could elect their own black leaders who would lead them from African aspects rather than a continued disruptive method of missionaries in Africa. The thesis of this study showed that the purpose of a two-fold African church organisations brought the church in Africa together to construct an African liberated church that was urgently needed without an attachment to fear. African church leaders could be celebrated on establishing their all Africa church organisation, as a platform where they could theologically engage about their African realities.

#### **4.7. Lutheran unity: An establishment of ELCSA and central Lutheran education**

After the Lutheran Constituent Assembly of 1958 to establish regional churches was achieved, which led to a search of a united Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. On October 28, 1969, delegates from ELCSA-SER, ELCSA-TR, ELCSA-TVLR, ELCSA-COR and EL-Transvaal Church met at their 5<sup>th</sup> Unity Committee meeting in Johannesburg to establish the one Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. It was formed by each delegate from regional churches and responsible to draft a constitution. ELCSA-SER and ELCSA-TVLR accepted the church merger. ELCSA-TR wanted a merger committee to further discuss the church merger. ELCSA-COR indicated that it would continue as an observer. EL-Transvaal Church as an observer did not comment. However, the ELCSA Church Unity Committee agreed that those FELCSA members, which were not active in this merger committee could send suggestions to it in the next meeting on April 2, 1970 (Pakendorf & Dlamini 1969:1-2). In April 23-25, 1975 at Tlhabane, Rustenburg, a joint Church Council meeting by ELCSA-SER, ELCSA-TR, ELCSA-TVLR and ELCSA-COR councils approved that the Lutheran Merger Committee (LMC) to finalise preparations of a General Assembly (GA). LMC and Lutheran Liaison Committee worked together until a constituting assembly was held from December 15-19, 1975. Different Lutheran bodies throughout the world as observers attended GA. The ELCSA constitution was critically engaged. In the evening of the third day, December 17, 1975 at GA, teargas bombs were thrown through the windows of the building where a GA meeting was held. Seven delegates were taken to Rustenburg Hospital, fourteen were injured, released after treatment and the other three were still admitted. However, the following day, GA continued and elected Bishop PB Mhlungu as first Presiding Bishop, Rev Dr Manas Buthelezi as first General Secretary, Rev T Homodrom, General Treasurer and Mr MIG Khotshoane, Secretarial clerk, and other Church Council members. On December 18, 1975, these four regional churches approved their constitution and decided to form a joint ELCSA. Regional churches were renamed as dioceses (Mutshekwanane 1976:5). The Lutheran regional churches continued with a search of an agenda of a united Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. Other regional churches were not fully in support of this merger and its future. Negotiations and implementation of merger could had been easy given that context of teargas, which might have meant a resistance to the church merger. Teargas bombs threatened the church unity and unfortunately some delegates were injured as they nearly lost their loved ones. Delegates continue with an assembly as they sacrificed their lives because of the love they had for their church. Thus, future Lutheran Church generations could not afford to destroy the heritage and sacrifice of delegates. This generational task was to protect and build a sustainable church in service of generations to come and society. However, the bold decision to establish ELCSA by

leadership of regional churches showed that ELCSA was a promising hope as a church for ministering in Sothern African society. The main concern here was why did white congregations or UELCSA did not accept the promising hope of ELCSA. The study noted that regional churches had to be united under the banner of ELCSA.

Furthermore, this church cooperation was based on administrative issues and to enable the church to support central theological training institutions. The first ELCSA-Church Council in January 1976, resolved to establish a fifth diocese called the Rand Diocese, later, renamed as Central Diocese. ELCSA-Central Diocese had a high level of ethnic diversity covered by largely urban grouping of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Witwatersrand, and the Vaal, now Gauteng Province (Dlamini 1984:9). In September 24-25, 1976, a first synod of this new diocese was held at Eersterus in Pretoria. This happened just after the Soweto uprising of June 16, 1976. Rev Dr Manas Buthelezi was elected as first Bishop together with his Diocesan Council members. Central Diocesan Council was faced with the huge task of uniting a divided diocese. Some of the congregations started their own Lutheran churches such as the Lutheran Bapedi Church and Lutheran Batswana Church resisting such a merger in the Gauteng Province. Central Diocese had a huge responsibility to also respond to challenges of Soweto uprising at that time (Mashabela 2014:xxiv,69-70). Question of merger was not an easy responsibility as ELCSA-Church Council together with its congregations had to address issues of diversity on liturgical traditions, find common Lutheran heritage and identity, and dioceses to be assisted to peacefully engage with the question of those congregations that resisted the church merger. The ELCSA-Central Diocese was established under a divide church in sense of belonging to a regional church or forming a new church. The church theology was again tested to continue its role of renewal. This diocese had to also equally resolved the Soweto upraising event to unite South Africans.

In a process and transition of the joint regional churches, ELCSA formed a regional and central theological training. All dioceses continued to send their theological students to be trained at OLTC, although, there was a change to relocate OLTC. The Department of Education used UTTC and paid rent. UTTC registered under NMS was closed in 1961. Both OLTC and UTTC were upgraded simultaneously according to their budgeted demands. OLTC commission unanimously voted for transfer of OLTC to UTTC, although, it was not a best placed for all LCsSA (Johannsmeier 1960:4-5). ULTC became the preferred institution, although, it did not meet all requirements for theological training. The other aspect, it was easily accessible to visitors and for theological education meetings. OLTC as an African theological training institution operated until

September 1962 (Nsibande 1992a:9 & Rindahl 1967:1). Lutheran bodies had to restructure the future of Lutheran theological institution in Southern Africa. Renewal of Lutheran theological training could be seen as critical importance in that African clergy and congregations needed an Africanised church in fields of the church polity, liturgy, and Lutheran teachings/doctrine to promote good citizenship in Southern African society.

The Lutheran Pre-Seminary School was linked with ULTC and a title deed of theological college was transferred to a new LTCGB. Theological training commission highly appreciated an impact made by CLM and others for an epoch of 1912-1962 and administration of OLTC. However, OLTC throughout its existence was dominated and led by white missionary lecturers and principals or rectors. This included a removal of OLTC to ULTC, which was firstly led by white male rector and other white male rectors' successors. LTE had been given space at college and university levels. Clearly, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, theological education in the Third World showed a historical development on what policy could be used on training indigenous church workers (Johannsmeier 1960:5 & Becken 1973b:2-3). "The church should seek to establish a non-racial seminary with a view of making the church truly non-racial" (Mogoba 1980:27). In 1962, LTCGB appointed Rev Douglas Duma L Makhathini as the first black lecturer at ULTC (Lislerud 1966:1). In 1969, Rev P Mamogobo left ULTC and Rev Dr Manas Buthelezi was appointed as lecturer at ULTC who served for a year (Sandner 1969:1). In 1972, Makhathini served as a Pro-Rector and it was only in 1974 that he become first black rector to lead ULTC (Makhathini 1975:136-137). Lutheran theological training experienced an institutional transformation of leadership and employment of black lecturers. LTE in Southern Africa had a racial and discrimination concern, which required to deconstructed into a non-racial and justice theological training space. This resulted because of an era inherited from the missionary structures of LTE, which was theologically problematic and confronted at theological institutions and churches in Africa. Process of Lutheran ministerial renewal and liberation had to be initiated to ensure that wholeness of LTE was relevant in Africa. It was necessary that Lutheranism in theological education remained a dynamic process in search of Africanising the church and its ministerial formation in Southern Africa.

#### **4.8. The Lutheran World Federation support of theological training**

The Lutheran Lund Assembly of June 30-July 6, 1947 established the LWF on July 1, 1947 at Sweden and its constitution was also adopted (Proceedings of the LWF Assembly 1948:21 & Mau 1983:v). Initially, LWF was not an aid organisation but a cooperation to develop into a spiritual community and unity of Lutheran churches in the world (Vajta 1983:1,5 & Zulu 2005:7). For

several decades, Lutheran World Federation, ELCSA regional churches, FELCSA and Lutheran missions generously supported projects of LTE in Southern Africa with a profound commitment and God's love (Loken 1970:1). The LWF supported African initiative conferences such as First AALC of 1955, Third AALC of 1965, theological training conference and others. LWF together with WCC funded the 1969 Theological Faculty Conference for Africa. WCC-TEF was used to sponsor half of the budgeted conference. However, WCC sponsored this conference with the conditions of including other denominations in Africa to be part of this ecumenical and education conference. TEF staff attended this conference as well. It is in this theological conferences that Africans challenged and disrupted the Western theological education that was introduced in Africa instead of Africans designing their African theology and theological education for the African church and society (Hoffman 1969a:1-3 & LWF-Commission on World Mission 1966:2). LWF and WCC were committed to support the church and theological training transformation in Africa. Theological education in Africa became a serious concern to be transformed in touch with African aspects. These ecumenical institutions could be celebrated for funding education and research in Africa, which led for reconstructing the curriculum of an indigenous African thinking and communal. They were not a theological think-tank producing directives to theological institutions but responded to plans of various theological institutions. Indeed, theological education in Africa became an essential project supported by LWF and WCC. African churches contributed towards theological education. Sustaining this project remained a challenge for churches in Africa as they depended on other international donors and offering from congregants. Where there any African income generating methods in place? This remained a critical question from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century of which the Lutheran Church in Africa seemed to struggle with. Who were responsible to empathise with pastors on issues of their wellness whether spiritually, materially, and economically, this included wellness of the poor congregants?

#### **4.9. Conclusion**

This chapter presented that missionary education pioneered theological education from congregational schools up to a seminary and college. For decades, Africans benefited from Lutheran educational systems through structures such as schools and other institutions. The Lutheran Church in Africa and its theological training experienced a radical change pressurised by Africans with an African agenda. However, Africans constantly called for theological education and curriculum to be transformed into a decolonial or African theological education. It was very clear that the African clergy forced missionaries to allow them to occupy church positions and run the African affairs. This resulted with a search of a united Lutheran Church. Thus, dominant legacy

of missionaries in theological education and the church structures continued to be questioned and challenged in an African context.

## CHAPTER 5

### ENGAGING OTHER EMERGING THREEFOLD LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTIONS 1950-1993

#### 5.1. Introduction

The Lutheran theological education in Southern Africa had an ending task of equipping the clergy and 'laity' for the church to be relevant in service of society. The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa as God's institution had to partner with its theological institutions to provide relevant and meaningful spiritual, political, and socio-economic well-being programmes in Southern Africa and Africa. Lutheran ministerial education was a pillar of Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa and society. It committed itself to provide values and principles of educational ministry from a theological perspective. This chapter revisits the historical transition and replacement of previously discussed Oscarsberg Lutheran Theological College, Bethel Lutheran Seminary, and new established Pietermaritzburg Lutheran Theological Education. The chapter will further engage an existing partnership between Lutheran and ecumenical theological education with South African universities. When necessary, it is important to also discuss networking of Lutheran theological institutions in Africa.

#### 5.2. Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College: A central theological institution

Since, this study had discussed the establishment of Lutheran regional churches. This had attracted a necessity for a central theological training. The First Commission of inquiry into theological training was held at OLTC on August 31, 1960. Johannsmeier (1960:5) reported:

In the discussions on the various subjects of inquiry, there was unanimity among the members of the commission on all main points. Thus, the commission recommends the following:

- (a) Development of a central theological college on a higher level, discouraging regional or local training.
- (b) Formation of a new College Board and Executive.
- (c) Entrance qualification for the seminary to be raised to matric within the next five years; for the Pre-Seminary to Junior Certificate accordingly.
- (d) As facilities and opportunities at Umphumulo outweigh those of Oscarsberg, the commission unanimously voted for the transfer of the seminary to Umphumulo, which, however, does not mean that Umphumulo is considered to be the only and best place for all Lutheran churches of the whole of Southern Africa for all times.

- (e) Lecturers appointed for the seminary should as far as possible represent the different participating churches or synods.

One theological institution brought tribal differences to unity. Coloured, Indian and Black theological students were trained in a one college in a fight against an apartheid policy. The Coloured and Indian theological students applied for a permit before admission (Nsibande 1992a:8). In April 1962, the Bantu Affairs Commissioner removed tents of the Oscarsberg farm. This has affected the church and people because of the Group Areas Act. Non-Zulu theological students were not allowed to stay and study at the theological college. ELCSA-SER viewed the Group Areas Act as extremely problematic because the government failed the Lutheran theological college to secure its existence at Oscarsberg (Kistner 1993:41-42). The formation of Lutheran regional churches urgently called for establishment of a central theological education. The central theological college was designed to conquer racial divisions of the apartheid system. This was to promote an inclusive lecturers' platform from various Lutheran regional churches and a construction of theological curriculum that was relevant to the LCSA. Thus, this offered a new look in Lutheran space where theological students, theologians, pastors, and congregations to ensure a solidarity of a possible merger of LCSA. The rights of black people were violated as they were removed by the government. Other theological students had not enjoyed their educational rights at the college. It was problematic theologically that the Oscarsberg farm was reserved for white people, black people and theological students were not allowed to stay and to own property even though this land was their historical birthplace. It was precisely this Group Areas Act that violated the existence of black theological college to thrive for training of Black, Coloured, and Indian pastors. The removal of OLTC to Umphumulo was to achieve a non-racial and gender equality teaching environment. This was a balanced context of theological education, which desires a response of changing South Africa.

Furthermore, on October 2, 1962, OLTC was moved from eShiyane, Rorke's Drift to former UTTC and replaced by the new name of ULTC. This move implied that Jesus Christ became relevant to essential needs of the African context and the lives of Africans. ULTC was expected to produce competent pastors who would equip the congregants and provide them with skills relevant to their context. LTE here had provided intimate relationship between LCSA and OLTC to equip pastors not only for pastoral work but also to advocate for social justice during the apartheid period (Zulu 1992:4 & Nsibande 1992a:9-10). ULTC succeeded OLTC to advance the value and work of theological education in Southern Africa. This was to continue to improve the level of the standard



of education offered at OLTC. For decades, the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa built and improved OLTC for advancing Lutheran Theological Education as a special theological education to benefit Lutheran churches and the ecumenical church. OLTC was advancing itself as a valuable African seminary to responsibly care for training of pastors. Both LCSA and OLTC had a responsibility to train African clergy and congregations to have a theological and biblical response to social and economic injustices in South Africa. These institutions were the instrument of God, were called to respond and root out the abuse of human rights, economic and political exploitation of black people because of apartheid and institutional racism.

### **5.2.1. Final work of Cooperating Lutheran Missions administration on theological education**

On January 1, 1964, cooperating Lutheran missions and churches planned to establish a college board of governors to take over theological education administration and the financial responsibility under a newly proposed joint constitution (Nsibande 1992a:10). For 52 years, CLM was responsible for the Lutheran theological education administration, since 1912-1964. On February 5, 1964, a meeting was held at ULTC, delegates from ELCSA-SER, ELCSA-TVLR, ELCSA-COR, Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Rhodesia (ELCSR), Moravian Church Eastern Province, ALM, BMS, HMS and NMS met to elect a Lutheran Theological College Governing Board. CSM did not join as a partner as it supported the work of ELCSA-SER and ELCSR. A new governing partnership constitution was also critiqued, amended, and adopted. Structures of all office bearers and administrative bodies were elected as well. In the same year, CLM continued to be responsible assisting ULTC to maintain the college budget. Lecturers and theological students still came from LCsSA (Beyerhaus 1964:20-21). This college new look strengthened partnerships between LCsSA towards a whole variety of ecclesiastical spirituality, theological and cultural traditions of regional churches. CLM administration had greatly provided well-being of LTE to enable Lutheran witness and unity to be felt by Southern African society and Africa. It would be necessary to celebrate and embrace CLM for its outstanding contribution in theological education especially on issues of theological curriculum, and social justice transformation.

### **5.2.2. The Black Consciousness and Black Theology movements at Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College**

Throughout the years, ULTC gained a world-wide popularity in terms of its theological contribution in Southern Africa. In 1992, LCSA celebrated the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Umphumulo Lutheran

Theological College for its extensive contribution in theological education in South African education. ULTC produced theological students' and graduates who served in Southern Africa and in the world. Some South African universities continued to train these graduates in their faculties of theology. Lecturers and rectors/principals played an imperative role for the construction and consolidation of ULTC on management and in aspects of curriculum and ministerial formation (Kok 1992:1). ULTC as an inclusive theological college produced qualitative work and theological students for ELCSA, Moravian Church, UELCSA and other churches in Southern Africa. In South Africa, ULTC was an ecumenical theological training that worked with other theological institution and universities (Rohwer 1992:5). ULTC provided a theological framework to engage and address challenges that Lutheran churches and society faced. It was through collective hard work of shaping ULTC to a higher teaching and learning institution. It was not a theological institution only designed for teaching and learning, but to respond to the harsh realities in South Africa. It trained theological students in order to further their theological studies at a university.

Mashabela (2019c) said:

In 1968, the Black Consciousness movement and philosophy took root across existing theological institutions in South Africa. This includes ULTC and in 1968 Dr Manas Buthelezi returned to South Africa from the United State of America. In that year, Buthelezi was invited by theological students at ULTC and other theological colleges, seminaries, and universities to address them about the subject of Black Theology. Buthelezi was the founder of Black Theology in South Africa and John Mbiti was the founder of African Theology.

In 1971, senior theological students such as Simon Sekone Maimela, Johannes M Ramashapa and TS Farisani were leaders of Black Consciousness Movement. Maimela was its convener at Umpumulo Lutheran Theological College. ULTC staff was dominated by white missionary lecturers and few black lecturers. ULTC staff was divided on an issue of Black Consciousness and Black Theology movements. In the 1970s, there was a demand that missionaries must return to their countries (Mashabela 2019b). "Along with many others, Buthelezi was an advocate for thousands of voiceless South Africans. He was one of those hot-blooded theologians saying: Missionary, go home and leave the black man; he is mature enough to manage his own affairs" (Mashabela 2004). Black theological students at that in the 1970s were not allowed to discuss Black Consciousness and Black Theology at ULTC or affiliate in any organisation that closed the vacuum of banned political organizations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the

Pan African Congress (PAC). However, theological students of ULTC participated on issues of these black movements that existed at South African universities. BCM and BTM were more visible at universities, although, university authorities were not comfortable with these black movements. Black theological students at seminary and college and students at universities replaced Students Christian Movement with the University Christian Movement (Mashabela 2019c). Individual theological students such as Maimela, Ramashapa and Farisani established BCM at ULTC as they risked and sacrificed their lives to fight against injustices in South Africa. They were a threat at ULTC and surely this theological institution planned to expel them and denied them, their educational rights. BCM and BTM were a serious threat at South African theological institutions and universities. They were established so that black people would lead and teach at theological institutions and universities, hence, there was a demand of missionaries to return to their countries. During a call of missionary go home, there were already qualified black lecturers and leaders to occupy the teaching space. ULTC was unfair to its theological students who were denied a right to join their preferred organisations.

ULTC was not just a theological institution, but a place of political engagement and awareness on key institutions such as BCM and BTM, which found in them a fertile soil. The apartheid regime secrete police visited ULTC time to time to arrest political activists. Many theological conferences were held at this theological college (Zulu 2009:5). Missiological Institute (MI) established in 1965-1978, held twelve theological conferences and produced a number of papers that were presented at conferences, which formed part of the political engagement in South Africa and Southern Africa (Zulu 2011:2-3). BCM and BTM were officially discussed and acceptance by the LTCGB at its 16<sup>th</sup> meeting held at ULTC dated November 10-11, 1971. LTCGB at this meeting resolved that the incumbent question; "What does Christ mean to me as an African", challenged ULTC to work on a research and creative work in the fields of BTM. It was agreed that the MI Consultation themed "Black Theology and African Theology" should be held in 1972 (Nielsen & Becken 1971a:7). In the Sixth ELCSA-GA held at Umphumulo, December 5-9, 1989, Msomi challenged this ELCSA-GA, Msomi (1989:112) asserts "In rating, the activities of ELCSA where do we as a church place theological education?". Furthermore, in 1992, Serote critically asked Lutheran Communion of Southern Africa (LUCSA) at its meeting, Serote (1994:2) points out "What the church is doing to preserve the Lutheran heritage and standard of theological training?". BCM and BTM as political movements, emerged in this context to reshape theological institutions and universities. The good news was that a taboo of BCM and BTM finally got acknowledged by ULTC as part of fulfilling the black agenda. Thus, the Western missionary theological higher curriculum was no longer relevant

to Lutheran congregations in South Africa and society. ULTC allowed BCM and BTM to advocate theology that was in touch with emerging challenges faced by Lutheran Church in South Africa and society. The existence of BCM and BTM were to ensure that well trained theological students were in demand to fulfil the African agenda in context of BCM and BTM. LTE was not the only essential identity of the Lutheran History and Heritage in teaching and learning, but BCM and BTM were providing a new theological curriculum in South Africa. The critical part was how congregations were going to implement this new theological curriculum, which force a renewal of LTE as the education project and engine of the church. South African theological institutions conferences were a platform of making the black movements vital.

### **5.3. Theological student support and students' voice**

In 1969, conditions of college buildings on campuses belonging to the Lutheran Church were renovated and improved. Students' residences were also improved with better furnisher and electricity. This change of infrastructure enabled theological students to feel happy and empowered as they were able to have enough space for accommodation. LCsSA gave their theological students a monthly allowance for catering (Sandner 1969:1). Married students were accommodated with their families and were financially supported (Nsibande 1992a:10-11). ULTC theological students wrote a letter dated October 10, 1972 to request LTCGB to introduce a need that all theological students could attend a driving school so that they could minister well with their driver's license to congregations after they complete their theological education. LTCGB established a task team to investigate and respond to this need (Nielsen & Becken 1972:5). For two decades, since the establishment of Pietermaritzburg Lutheran Theological Education, white Lutheran students enrolled at the University of Natal (UN) (currently the University of KwaZulu Natal) and private accommodation for them was organised by UELCSA. Tuition fees, books, medical aid, traveling allowance and other study material were freely provided through the support of LWF and UELCSA. In 1993, Evangelical Theological House of Studies (ETHOS) and Anhouse were established as residences for all theological students from LCsSA and the Lutheran library was linked with the university and cluster libraries (Wittenberg 1993:1,7). Lutheran churches in Southern Africa and their teaching staff had a collective responsibility to organise a student support programme for accommodation and other available needs. This kind of support enabled theological students to focus on their studies. This was implemented to address the increasing demands of black and white ministers and the role LCsSA had to play in supporting all of them.

Furthermore, LCsSA, LWF and other contributing donors funded the needs of LTE in South Africa. A scholarship fund was designed to fund DTheol course and BA degrees both for South African and international theological students. Thus, theological institutions reported to funders with an expectation to get more funding. Exchange programmes for theological education were also funded by LWF. In 1970, LWF Governing Committee on scholarship and exchange programme at its annual meeting approved theological scholarship for studies in South Africa for BA degree for the academic year of 1971-1972 (Smits 1961:1, Immonen 1971a:1 & Immonen 1971b:2). LWF partnership with LCsSA and theological institutions prioritised LTE as a means to ensure that theological students were trained to serve the church and society. This theological education partnership created a responsibility of theological institutions to a commitment of reporting to LWF and the church. This built good governance that seriously prioritised theological education, which was necessary for Lutheran Church in South Africa. An effective communication between theological institutions, LWF and LCsSA was in place to ensure progressive theological education.

On October 1970, LTCGB in its meeting decided that individual ULTC theological students could freely affiliate in any movement, as long as it advanced their ministerial call (Loken & Dlamini 1970:3-4). In 1971, South African Students Organisation (SASO) theological students committee at ULTC had their meeting to draft a letter detailing why should SASO exist at ULTC. This letter dated March 8, 1971 written to ULTC authorities with Simon Sekone Maimela as its leader and organiser. Maimela explained that SASO was a teaching and learning organisation on political and black consciousness issues and meant to prepare theological students as future pastors to assist congregations in response to apartheid. Furthermore, ULTC individual theological students emphasised that their participation in SASO was a liberating fellowship and platform of students to advance basic Christian principle and a conversation of black students and communities in response to the common challenges in South Africa (Maimela 1971). However, LTCGB meeting dated November 10-11, 1971 declined these theological students' rights and dignity to belong to SASO and UCM after LTCGB made thorough investigation of SASO and UCM. They were only allowed to belong to Lutheran Theological College Association (LTCA), which was missionary centre association (Nielsen & Becken 1971a:6 & Nielsen & Becken 1971b:4). ULTC theological students followed a proper procedure to engage its authorities to request to belong to political organisations such as SASO and UCM. This move of theological students motivated how essential these organisations were essential in terms of community enhancement. However, this case reveals how theological students' rights and dignity were violated by ULTC authorities

denying them opportunity of belonging to SASO and UCM. These organisations empowered theological students about their rights and community engagement. It was problematic to all ULTC theological students to belong to LTCA, while being prohibited from belonging to UCM and SASO. Indeed, theological students' voice was critically important in transformation and decolonising ULTC.

#### **5.4. Challenges faced by lecturers at Lutheran ministerial education**

The early missionary phase was problematic due to missionary being responsible for the load of teaching sometimes with assisted by an African pastor. Theological education experienced a serious crisis because missionaries were self-centred and denied African pastors the right to become lecturers instead of being assistant. African pastors advocated for radical transformation in the field of theological teaching and learning in 1955, as they demanded to be equal lecturers with missionaries. After 1950, LTE programme improved in Southern Africa. African pastors only became lecturers in theological institutions in the 1960s (Msomi 1988:197-199). In 1978, AALC noted that majority of Lutheran seminaries and colleges in Africa lacked more indigenous lecturers. This consultation called for African Lutheran seminaries for employment of indigenous lecturers and indigenous pastors and lecturers be trained in African theological institutions and universities not overseas. However, emerging African theological educators' initiative experienced lack of personal and insufficient funds (Boreš 1978b:137). African pastors urgently called for the Lutheran Church in Africa to better reform their working conditions in the African LTE. Contribution of African lecturers became a significant resource to transform LTE in Africa. This was a new dawn for African theologians to Africanise LTE in Southern Africa and Africa. LTE transformational phases was to be in touch with the emerging societal changes and challenges in Southern Africa. This was to ensure that church leaders were developed through theological education to train the 'laity' for their secular vocation. African Lutheran seminaries and colleges ought to employment indigenous lecturers and further training of pastors and lecturers was critically important in enhancing African theological curriculum and research.

In 1964, the shortage of lecturers at theological institutions led to an overburden of work. They were overloaded with an academic and church administrative work (Beyerhaus 1964:22). Lecturers had critically observed that the church neglected them. South Eastern Diocese, Western Diocese and Northern Diocese did not share their minutes with theological institutions. Lecturers long term programme to recruit and improve a selection theological education programme was urgently needed (Msomi 1989:114-115 & Serote 1994:3). In 1966, LTCGB

decided that it could avoid overburdening lecturers with congregational work than academic work. This meant that lecturers would not lose touch with their churches remaining relevant with their academic life. Several African lecturers were increased to strengthen the theological education work. Thus, ULTC structure was changed with the aim of filling vacant lecture positions with qualified pastors (Rindahl 1967:1 & Becken 1972a:1-2). Lecturers in their theological teaching space had challenges of working conditions, which needed an urgent response from the Lutheran Church. Theological institution was not only expected to train theological students but also as a centre of theological research and innovation, and an ecumenical contact. Overburdened lecturers were becoming scholarly unproductive, particularly in research work. LTCGB was proactive to notify its church about an increase of lecturers at ULTC. LCSA was called to form dialogue partnership with Lutheran theological institutions to ensure that Southern African Lutheran ministerial formation was prioritised in the academic space.

Churches in Africa faced more and deeper challenges. Black theologians were needed to undo and reshape a learnt missionary education in order to address complex religious and secular needs of black society (Nsibande 1992b:26). Nielsen & Becken (1973b:1-2) assert:

The Rector reported on the need of staff for the coming years, especially in view of its Africanization. The Rev. Charles Nxumalo of the Evangelical Lutheran Church-South Eastern Region (ELC-SER) was appointed as lecturer at LTC as from 1/1/1974. Governing Board (GB) passed a word of gratitude for this offer to the ELC-SER. The Very Rev. Dean Paul M. Sihlangu of the Evangelical Lutheran Church-Transvaal Region (ELC-TVLR) was appointed as lecturer at LTC as from 1/1/1974. GB pass a word of gratitude for this offer to the ELC-TVLR. Rev. V. V. Msomi of the ELC-SER was appointed as part time lecturer for Pastoral Theology and C.P.E. training at LTC as from 1/1/1974. GB passed a word of gratitude for this offer to the ELC-SER.

Furthermore, the church was expected to identify assistant lecturers to teach at the college. This unfolding discourse was that Lutheran theological higher academia space offered its lecturers ample time for studies, research and improve their qualification in service of the church (Msomi 1988:194-196 & Nürnberger 1971:2,4). The appointment of black lecturers at the college revealed transformation and filling vacant teaching space. Learning as black lecturer was an important growth for lecturers to professionally be responsible for designing an African theological curriculum that would be in touch with the church and African society. This was central for spiritual and intellectual growth of lecturers to always be critical of their academic environment and reforming structural theological education. ULTC showed an interesting development of employing black lecturers as part of its commitment of Africanisation.

### **5.5. Partnership of Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College and South African universities on theological education**

A first Ecumenical Theological Staff Institute meeting attended by 15 South African theological institutions at Forest Sanctuary Stutterheim in January 1963, established the Association of Southern African Theological Institutions (ASATI). This gathering was sponsored by the Theological Education fund. ASATI was an ecumenical body that was to strengthen and unify theological education in South Africa and to engage with other theological institutions in Africa (Beyerhaus 1963:1). In 1964, the staff of ULTC initiated a process of establishing a BATheol at ULTC. In January 1965, ULTC leadership signed a first agreement with UNISA (Beyerhaus 1964:22 & Rindahl 1967:2). A second arrangement was made between 1969 and 1970 with UNISA and University of Natal, now University of KwaZulu Natal to introduce BA/BD degree studies. The required qualification entrance was a Senior Certificate and also for new Lutheran theological DTheol course (Nsibande 1992a:12). The 16<sup>th</sup> LTCGB meeting critically surveyed the University of Zululand, University of the North, University of Fort Hare and UNISA as identified South African universities for the care and further theological studies of Lutheran students for a BA degree in preparation for BD degree taught at ULTC (Nielsen & Becken 1971b:4). However, another negotiation process was that ULTC needed their theological students to study some theological courses and further their theological studies at University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. This negotiation failed due to South African educational government policy, which did not allow black theological students to study at the University of Natal. On March 1, 1972 at a meeting, ULTC delegation started a new process of negotiating a correspondence theological education programme, a BTh degree with the Theology Faculty of University of Zululand (UZ) and sending two of its lecturers to UZ. ULTC planned that this academic theological initiative would be inclusive with an ecumenical ASATI. ULTC and UZ agreed to include Augsburg Confession in UZ theological curriculum. Yet, due to government education policy, ULTC had no permanent solution due to its advocacy that even its Coloured theological students to study at UZ (Nielsen & Becken 1972a:13 & Becken 1972f:1-2). ULTC withdrew from UZ project due an exclusion of ULTC Coloured theological students. On October 11, 1972, Faculty of Divinity at UNISA decided to revisit its decision that it changed its theological curriculum according to earlier demands of ULTC to strengthen its partnership with ULTC. ULTC agreed to renew its partnership with UNISA (Nielsen & Becken 1972:3). There was a struggle to create a relationship between college and university. Introducing BATheol degree at ULTC was an important achievement for theological education work in South Africa but not an easy one. ULTC maintained that all its theological students be trained in a non-racial learning institution. A racial government education policy was



a problem for theological institutions and universities. ULTC worked with institutions such as ASATI to strengthen its theological education. It was a great initiative that ULTC entered into discussion with South African universities in order for its theological students to further studies at a university. ULTC created a theological training partnership with UNISA to enable their theological students to study at a university.

#### **5.6. African women in Lutheran theological education space**

African women learnt the basics of theological education to contribute in LCSA. In 1955, wives of theology students' study programme was taught at OLTC. The 1964 class of wives of theology students at ULTC had a great number of 33 women, which was divided into two classes. This was compared with the previous years. Wives of theology students were taught Bible-Knowledge, Hygiene, Needlework and Cookery. They had a women's prayer group and took turns in leading meetings, preaching, singing and other activities. Health guests were invited to train women on malnutrition and theology students conducted prayers in local hospital and visited the aged and sick people in their homes. Wives of theology students' course was critically important to equip these women of God about their husbands' pastoral ministry. In 1963 at MLTS, the wives of theology students were trained on the church education to assist their future pastors in the church ministry (Beyerhaus 1964:26 & Beyerhaus 1963:24-25). MLTS had a project called Kitso-Senkge, which was a self-supporting project established on May 3, 1988 to train community on knitting and sewing, and gardening. This project was supported by LWF for MLTS to be committed on community development. These women of faith had nurtured young women on issues of women and importance of their education in shaping their families, church, and communities. When the church faced challenges, they found solutions for it (Modisane 1989:118). LCSA was able to empower women to learn theological education and general education. It was liberating that through this programme pastors' wives were enabled to be most important contributors to the church development and growth. They became influential agents of transformation in serving and liberating the church and communities. They had used the space of *Manyano*, women circle to use their time and space in prayer and ideas to build their dreamed church. Pastors' wives played a responsive and responsible role in various crises facing the church and African societies.

In 1971, LCSA decided on ordination of women at a joint Lutheran Synod in Ga-Rankuwa and further research would be made to quickly ordain those women theologians. LCSA also allowed new women to enroll for theological education for the ordained ministry. The Evangelical Lutheran Church Transvaal (ELCT) Commission on Faith and Order and Theological Commission of

ELCSA-SER played an important role on question of an official part-time pastors' ministry, ordination of evangelist and women in LCSA (Nürberger 1972:1-2). LWF Department of Communication initiated a theological project to survey ordination of women in Lutheran churches throughout the world from 1980-1981. Churches throughout the world were divided on the question of women's ordination. LWF Women's Desk reflected, analysed and written a conclusion on outcomes of women's ordination survey. From an African context, women's ordination was gradually started in the 1960s. In the 1970s, a majority of LCsA began to ordain women. The church conferences and consultations engaged an introduction of women's ordination. Churches lacked to encouraged women to study theology to become ministers. Church members were previously taught that the ordained ministry was only for men and women were kept looking after their families. Some churches rejected women to be ordained but allowed them to study theology and full-time employment. They worked in educational ministry, children/youth, leadership training, diaconic work, preaching, women's work, counselling, organisations and not as ordained workers and lecturers. Women theologians played a critical role to influence Lutheran churches to regard women as equals with men. In the ELCSA-General Assembly 1977, the question of ordination of women was addressed. Gradually, women had more impact on decision making regarding ministry of women in LCsA compared to their theological work (Maher 1984:1-2,6-7,12,19-22). Assur (1984:51) asserts "In view of the fact that no theological reasons for objecting and in view of the decision by the General Assembly no. 2, the Church Council accepted the ordination of women". Lutheran churches were challenged to change attitude towards the ordination of women. This was transformation initiated and needed by women to be part of an African agenda. Women's ordination was necessary becoming God's liberating vocational ordained ministry as equal for women and men. It was disappointing for some churches, which did not ordain women was because they lacked female theologians. Theological trained women were given teaching and learning ministry by churches. This phenomenon had limited women's theological empowerment and for women to fully participate in the church life and society. Un-ordained women were less influential in churches than the ordained women. This women's ordination project was a controversial theme in the Lutheran Church History and Heritage. The critical question on ordination of women would be directed to Lutheran theological institutions whether any theological curriculum of historical contribution of women and gender was? Women empowerment would be that conditions of employment could be equal with that of men. This would provide support and strengthen women's ministry within context of the priesthood of all believers. LTE was challenged to ensure that women's rights and dignity were not violated and needed to be urgently restored.

### 5.7. African Independent Churches' theology impacted on Lutheranism

African Independent Churches (AICs) had a strongest ecumenical partnership the Lutheran Church and Christian Institute. Sundkler & Steed (2000:1034-1035) further assert:

In South Africa a daring initiative was taken by the Christian Institute under the leadership of Dr Beyers Naudé. An African Independent Churches Association (AICA) was formed in 1963 with hundreds of Independent Churches as members, at least the less prominent and the most needy among them, while the larger and strong among them decided that they had better avoid being associated with Dr Naudé' controversial enterprise. The AICA arranged an ambitious educational programme for leaders and members of the independents. An elite of Western volunteers gave of their time and their concern to the AICA work under its African leadership until the end there was a financial debacle on a disturbing scale and AICA came to an end.

The Christian Institute of Southern Africa had a work relationship with AICs as part of an ecumenical journey. However, some independent churches were not in favour of this arrangement. AICA had its theological programme for its leaders and members, which was very profound in independent churches circle. Some Western churches supported this theological education until there was no more funding. This ecumenical initiative had high hopes for the future of theological education and AICA in South Africa.

First MI Consultation of 1965 resolved that theological education was opened to all AICs at ULTC even without theological funds. LCSA provided AICs with scholarship for their theological candidates to study at ULTC so that they could serve AICs. The ordination method of AICs was accepted by the Lutheran Church as they ordained their pastors. AICs were invited to Lutheran assemblies and gatherings of fellowship and worship. This was an opportunity for established churches and AICs to engage on their different doctrinal approach especially questions of baptism, purification rites and the manifestation of the Holy Spirit. Majority of AICs ministers were very poor as they worked in an ordinary full-time secular work while performing their ministerial work in the evenings and weekends (Makhathini 1965:3). An ecumenical fellowship between AICs and LCSA was established to the extent that LCSA allowed their pastors to serve in AICs if there was shortage of AICs pastors. Theological course was offered to wives of theology students and 'lay' women of AICs to strengthen independent churches image. Thus, historical, sociological and theological research was still required on historical establishment of AICs in Southern Africa. Areas of research such as difference between Ethiopian and Zionist groups were accommodated in MI research work (Naudé 1965:1-2,5-7). Interestingly, a new partnership model of discussion was established to engage on matters that build these ecumenical churches and to avoid divisions

and differences. South African established churches to open their theological institutions to allow AICs theological students to study theology. The Lutheran Church and AICs partnership had encouraged ecumenical theology to dialogue on the aspects of African perspective in South Africa. Surely, the Lutheran Church had taken an opportunity to learn the rich history and heritage of AICs work. AICs offered a practical Africanised theological lesson at grass-root level in African society. Ecumenically, Africanism independent movements were able to contribute to the universal church theology.

In 1972, AICA requested ULTC to grant its AICA Theological College a building at ULTC. AICA promised to pay fees for its theological college project. ULTC Faculty was given a task to research about AICA Theological College project and provide a comprehensive report at next LTCGB meeting. Yet, LTCGB resolved to conditionally treat AICA Theological College matter same as ecumenical churches, which used its premises (Nielsen & Becken 1972:3-4). In 1973, ULTC made applications to donor Lutheran churches from overseas to fund theological education of AICs theological students and to those who study at other Lutheran theological institutions (Nielsen & Becken 1973a:4). In partnering with the AICA, Lutherans had to find new theological meaning on what it meant to be Lutheran in South Africa. Indeed, the establishment of AICA was to advance AICs' theological perspective on its theological curriculum. AICA was able to maintain its theology in Africa. The establishment of AICA Theological College demonstrated that theology would be developed from an African knowledge and identity. Thus, AICs theologians could conceptualise frameworks that emerged from a theological curriculum out of an indigenous knowledge and lifestyle. Lutheranism strategy was established to ensure that LCSA had to create contacts of mutual partnership with AICs. From an African perspective, it was ecumenical of AICs to establish mutual partnership with ecumenical LCSA. AICs ecumenism was informed by African principles of *botho*. Lutheranism was influenced by African Independent Churches' theology, as part of being ecumenical church.

#### **5.8. Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary, Western Transvaal, 1958-1992: MLTS administration**

The predecessor to Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary was Bethel Lutheran Seminary (as discussed earlier in chapter four). MLTS was established by Hermannsburg Mission and ELCSA-TR on November 30, 1958 in Rustenburg on a Sunday of the first Advent. This was achieved after HMS had negotiated with South African government to find land to build Lutheran theological seminary for almost three years after the closure of Bethel Lutheran Seminary in 1955 and

struggle to train African evangelists and pastors in a formational institution. LWF, Hanoverian Regional Church, BMS and HMS in South Africa and Tswana Mission later ELCSA-TR financed construction of MLTS. Other LCsSA were disappointed that HMS built a new seminary. However, MLTS worked jointly with Lutheran churches in Transvaal and ULTC (Voges 2000:83-85). Evangelists were accepted with primary school certificate at MLTS and pastors were accepted with high school certificate level. MLTS was under administration of HMS on behalf of ELCSA-TR. In 1968, it trained black theological students from ELCSA-TR, ELCSA-TVLR and ELCSA-COR. Theological classes were held in Tswana. From 1968, theological studies were held in English. From establishment of MLTS was led by white missionaries (Nürnberg 2000:3-4 & Scriba 2014:95). In 1964, first appointment of an African lecturer was not accepted. It was in 1971 that a pastor from the ELCSA-TVLR, Rev Swarishang Makgabo was appointed as a lecturer and followed by other lecturers, which were products of this seminary. LCSA leadership decided to merge ULTC and MLTS in 1974. This was due to financial crisis at MLTS, which led MLTS to be granted a Joint Board DTheol, ULTC was already part of it (Makhathini & Nthuping 1974:2 & Zulu 2009:5-6). MLTS as one of Lutheran theological institutions in South Africa that played a central role of theological training in South Africa. It had a good reason to succeed Bethel Lutheran Seminary for training pastors for developing the congregations. The transforming MLTS presented a clear indication of appointed black lecturers as a new look in a teaching environment that was dominated by white lecturers. The merger of ULTC and MLTS provided a very meaningful contribution to theological education. This was to avoid a closure of MLTS due to financial crisis. This merger resulted on developing a Joint Board DTheol that benefited the growth of MLTS. Indeed, MLTS could be considered a renewed theological institution that had a brand-new meaning for the church.

### **5.8.1. Possible closer cooperation of MLTS and ULTC**

The 11<sup>th</sup> meeting of the LTCGB held on March 7, 1969 at the Swedish Hall, Johannesburg, discussed a further Lutheran unity and theological training. Loken & Tarneberg (1969:1) recorded:

The following resolutions were adopted:

- a. That the Governing Board of Lutheran Theological College request FELCSA to take initiation for closer cooperation between all Lutheran Theological Institutions in which FELCSA members are engaged or interested.
- b. That the Governing Board request the Merger Committee of Regional Churches engaged in merger discussion to consider their relationship to existing theological institutions.

The attention of the Merger Committee and FELCSA is drawn to the implications of these resolutions in regard to Joint Committee on Southern Africa (JCSA) and LWF relations.

Furthermore, the 15<sup>th</sup> meeting of the LTCGB held on March 24-25, 1971 at Johannesburg studied and accepted a paper called “Possible Merger/Closer Co-operation/Unification of Umphumulo and Marang Theol. Inst.” and was endorsed by the Faculty of LTC (Nielsen & Becken 1971a:7). Nielsen (1972:2) clearly reports: “A merger has been proposed due to the financial difficulties and with regard to the further development of the theological training programme. A meeting of the two Governing Boards (of Marang and Umphumulo) was held at Johannesburg on the 20<sup>th</sup> September” 1971. Furthermore, theological students received at a first four years training at ULTC in English. MLTS offered a two-year internship and practical theological training under the department of Practical Theology. Churches were responsible to send their theological students at these institutions. A third plan was to establish a central Lutheran Theological Institution to train all Lutherans including UELCSA at Alice in South Africa (Berglund 1970a:1-2). The insights here revealed that the continuous interest of the LCSA of developing a Lutheran unity. This study noted that merger of theological institutions was forced by financial crisis. The point here was about a focus of creating closer cooperation of all Lutheran theological institutions. Thus, this required a process of transformation for developing a united Lutheran theological education. This could be seen as a potential for growth in the church and Lutheran theological institutions. The question of closer cooperation was cost by financial challenges, but it could be seen as an opportunity to advance theological institutions of their potential growth. Lutheran initiative of a project for Lutheran unity in theological education was to strengthen Lutheran unity and witness in South Africa. Lutheran cooperation had always been a Lutheranism lifestyle and theme to ensure that theological education staff, theological students and Lutheran churches work together for Lutheran unity and growth in Southern Africa. Lutheran theological internship programme could be viewed as agent of theological curriculum reform on theological academic space and internship programme itself. A perspective provided by this theological internship could be relevant to improve the life of LCSA and society. LCSA and its theological academy could not build an empire of an internship programme for its improvement, but this internship programme could become a Lutheran empire that exists for liberating the church members and Southern African people.

### **5.8.2. Unfinished business: The closing of Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary effective from 1992**

In 1992, LCsSA and LWF instructed LTCGB to make a study on MLTS and ULTC geographical accessibility, surrounding languages, training facilities, lecturers and theological students economic state and financial resources. An inquiry was also made to FEDSEM, Pietermaritzburg

in search of a theological institution with good capacity for ministerial formation. However, FEDSEM was disqualified. After a study and consideration of all aspect in search for relevant theological institution, in December 1992, ELCSA-General Assembly decided that MLTS be an education centre for church training seminars and the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg would continue with higher theological education. Due to financial crisis and lack of capacity to accommodate 80 theological students and 12 lecturers, MLTS staff and theological students joined ULTC (Marang Theological Seminary Ad-Hoc Committee report 1996:1-4). MLTS continued to serve as the church training facility for 'laity' and pastors and was closed in 1992, as a theological training seminary. Thus, ELCSA-Church Council endorsed the decision of the ELCSA-GA that teaching staff, theological students and library of MLTS move to ULTC. From January 1, 1993, MLTS and ULTC operated as one theological institution. All theological education on diploma level was operational in ULTC campus. After completion of a DTheol course, theological students were transferred to MLTS for theological practical courses. At this new college, theological curriculum was changed. All subjects constituted the Joint Board Diploma course: ethics, Old Testament and New Testament were taken for a three-year, Hebrew; Greek, General Biblical Knowledge, English were taught at the first year and a proposal was made that Sociology, Psychology, Economics and South African history be part of the new curriculum of contextual theology. Lutheran churches had a responsibility to finance ecumenical theological education at ULTC (Zulu 2009:5-6 & Mahamba 1992:1-3).

Closure of MLTS became a burden to ULTC as compared to theological training demarcation and responsibility share by MLTS and ULTC. This fourth phase of joint Lutheran institutional learning contributed a lot to the church and Southern African society. South African LTE specific goals were effectively delivered in consideration of contextual theological education. This new emerging joint theological college, namely, ULTC was faced with process to develop ecumenical theological curriculum that was in touch with South African society. Ecumenical theological curriculum had to create partnership between South African churches, theological institutions, and university to provide quality solutions to South African challenges Thus, theological students were expected to be trained within a context of a multi-faith in a plural society of Southern Africa. This study observed that a closure of MLTS was due to financial constraints, but it would be liberating for MLTS to exist as theological institution. The understanding was that MLTS could assist ULTC to contribute more to teaching and learning and research in the South African theological education provided there was financial strength. Thus, closure of MLTS was not for Lutheran unity and witness in Southern Africa.

### **5.9. Theological education: A thorn of a university college and the church seminary**

For decades, theological education struggled to enter at a university. In 1951, there was an increasing debate that theological education could be taught at university to improve quality of clergy training in Africa. Theological education was also an important course for clergy profession (Sawyer 1969:3-4). The phenomenon of Department of Religious Studies had appeared in 1960s in African universities for theological education to claim its academic space. African universities were divided based on political upheavals (Pobee 2010:340). Western structural policies introduced in Africa such as separation between the church and the state were problematic. Universities in Africa did not allow theological faculty or a department of religious studies to be established at university (Dike 1967:57-58). Protestant Theological Faculty was introduced at University of Abidjan and Federal University of Cameroon in 1961 (Gelzer 1969:1). An unexpected debate arose around theological education level on question of university colleges and the church seminaries at Lutheran Theological Faculty Conference for Africa in 1969 held at Lutheran Theological College Makumira, Tanzania. Seminaries would be replaced by departments of religious studies, which were institutionalised in universities. This had brought discomfort amongst theological institutions and its churches. On the other hand, pastoral practical training would be offered by churches before and after theological students enrolled at universities (Hoffman 1969a:7). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, theological education had been implemented in theological colleges and seminaries under various denominations. The quality of theological education in Africa was critically reviewed. However, issues of providing theological education at the university had been a long theological engagement. Partnership between theological seminary, college and university theology faculty had showed that theological education grew at university as result of basic theological education offered by seminary and college. In the Lutheran circles in Africa, LTE and its academic life was threatened by the question of theological seminary replacement. It seems that it was necessary to sustain theological seminary, which at its best had a role of developing congregations. With theological education being offered at universities, it meant that theological students would be taught all aspects of theological education, including various denominational doctrines. Churches and universities were called to provide theological education for transformation, which would empower theological students from beginning to end, without the need to start their theological education at the seminary. However, LTE project continued to be a challenge to date in Africa on question of teaching theology at seminary or university.



### **5.10. Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa administration on theological education, from 1970-1993**

The establishment of theological training of white Lutheran churches in South Africa was a difficult one. Mashabela (2019b) asserts:

Settler German congregations of Hermannsburg and Berlin were in deep conflict for mission work in South Africa. This was because of political differences and backgrounds. Finally, they had to come together to establish a theological training institution. They wanted to establish their own theological training institution formed out of racial exclusion and separation from rest of Lutheran Theological Education in South Africa. This was informed out of a deep racial exclusion and discrimination against black people (Africans, Coloured and Indian).

Furthermore, Mashabela (2019a) asserts “The Lutheran Theological Education in Pietermaritzburg was established specifically to train white theological students from German congregations. This kind of theological training was later challenged to be an inclusive black and white theological training institution”. German Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa (GLCSA) denied its white theological students to study together with black theological students. Thus, German Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa had problem of training their white Lutheran ministers and missionaries in South Africa. For a second time, a new theological education committee was appointed with delegates from all white Lutheran churches and missionaries in 1964. Its task was to investigate new possibilities to provide practical plans for Lutheran theological education in South Africa, which led to a BD degree. This committee met on November 6, 1964 to discuss its possibilities and recommendations on the formation of white Lutheran theological institution. It recommended to GLCSA that ULTC was not a feasible training facility, but Pietermaritzburg was an ideal place. UNISA was a second choose to train white theological students and to establish a Lutheran theological college on the Rand in Johannesburg. GLCSA member churches at their first General Synod held in Cape Town established the United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa in March 4-7, 1965 (CCLF minutes 1965:31-32). The point here was that theological institution for white Lutheran theological students in South Africa was a serious challenge. White Lutheran churches wanted their students to be trained in a white institution. German Lutheran churches structure was problematic theologically for Lutheran unity and witness in Southern Africa. In the interest of justice, black Lutheran churches were of the idea that black and white churches would train their theological students in the same space. A work together of these churches was going to build Lutheran unity and witnessing in service of Southern African context. Black Lutheran churches were of view that LTE had implications to

provide quality education. Thus, rethinking and transforming this LTE type was needed and to be implemented within the context of Lutheran unity only.

Furthermore, GLCSA continued to face a challenge of training pastors. This was a serious thorn in white Lutheran congregations. It was forced to continue to construct and consolidate its own theological education. GLCSA failed to establish a partnership with UNISA for its theological students' studies. In 1961, the Board of Trustees for Lutheran Extension Work agreed with the University of Pretoria (UP) to enroll white theological students. Already, UP was a dominated white university, hence why GLCSA was accepted to be part of already existed Faculty of Theology (Hellberg 1979:55-57). The delegation of LWF was in support of GLCSA to establish a white Lutheran theological institution. This was to create Lutheran theological institution in Southern Africa rather than a continued overseas training of white theological students. Yet, delegation of LWF rejected a partnership of GLCSA and UP due to Calvinist influence and apartheid policy. The Lutheran Church did not want to identify itself with apartheid concepts (Kistner 1993:42). It was problematic theologically to support apartheid due to fact that LWF member churches declared apartheid to be a violation of human rights and dignity. The LWF also contradicted itself to allow GLCSA to start its white theological institution. On the other hand, LWF rejected UP arrangement with GLCSA as a sign of solidarity with Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa. The vital issue about Lutheran unity and witness in Southern Africa was to see LWF forcefully engage GLCSA to enroll its theological students at MLTS or ULTC, which were Lutheran theological institutions in South Africa.

In 1970, white Lutheran churches in South Africa had a debate to establish a joint Lutheran theological institution to be opened at a university in Johannesburg to train white theological students and to bring unity between MLTS and ULTC. White theological students were trained only at South African universities (Mashabela 2019c). In 1971, UN in Pietermaritzburg campus decided to expand Department of Divinity to introduce a BTh degree. ELCSA-SER and LWF CWM agreed to support this ideal for UELCSA and ULTC theological students to study at this university (Becken 1971a:4). In 1971, FELCSA appointed FELCSA theological education committee that included Dr Hans Jürgen Becken, ULTC rector, to lead and facilitate negotiations between UELCSA, university and close cooperation and coordination with ULTC on behalf of Southern African Lutheran churches to establish Lutheran Theological Education or BD at University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg (Nielsen & Becken 1971a:7). FELCSA theological education committee had successful negotiations with UN and tasked UELCSA theological committee to sign an

academic memorandum of agreement with UN on August 24, 1972. This served as an agreement between Department of Divinity and UELCSA to train white theological students and for ULTC theological students to further their studies at UN. FELCSA theological education committee appointed and tasked Rev Dr Wolfram Kistner and Rev Gunther Wittenberg to establish Pietermaritzburg Lutheran Theological Education (PLTE). ULTC agreed to work together with PLTE and accepted Kistner and Wittenberg as lecturers at ULTC. They also served as UELCSA pastors and had close contact with ULTC. When UELCSA tried to establish a Lutheran theological training at a university, ULTC was not consulted. This was a profound controversial issue in Lutheran circles in Southern Africa and LWF. This controversy led to an establishment of FELCSA theological committee to facilitate a joint theological training (Nielsen & Becken 1971b:7). Kistner (1993:30) points out “When I left Pietermaritzburg at the end of 1975, I had the impression that neither the situation at the university nor in South African Lutheran Churches justified the hope that this initiative could be widened into an ecumenical venture. I do not regret the decision I took at that time”. Mashabela (2018a) further says “Dr Kistner left a project of Lutheran theological training in Pietermaritzburg because white Lutheran churches were not committed to an inclusive theological training of black and white students at the University of Natal. He decided to join the South African Council of Churches because he believed that apartheid will be defeated through an ecumenical environment”.

The above point out that at least University of Natal would be a common theological institution for enrolment of black and white Lutheran theological students. Again, Lutheran unity was threatened as ULTC was not consulted during the formation of a new university project. It seemed problematic that the Moravian Church in South Africa seminary in Cape Town was not in cooperated with UELCSA and ELCSA-COR. LWF tasked FELCSA to work on this ecumenical ministerial formation. It was difficult to establish a relevant theological degree to meet Lutheran congregational needs in South Africa. UELCSA and other Lutheran churches found a common ground and agreed on inclusive theological education at UN for all races. This was a significant Lutheranism achievement and became a hope for Lutheran unity and witness in Southern Africa. Gradually, divided LCsSA began to develop a Lutheran ecumenical and theological education that needed unity to educate and minister to Southern African society.

In 1982, the church bought land in 27 Golf road in Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg to establish the Lutheran House of Studies (LUTHOS) and UELCSA theological students stayed there. “A petition was drawn up by Scottsville residents who feared that their property values would drop if black

students were housed in the immediate neighbourhood” (Wittenberg 1993:15). In 1984, LTE committee was established between ELCSA and UELCSA to negotiate with the university. On May 17, 1985, ELCSA, UELCSA, University of Natal and LWF representatives signed another memorandum of agreement to establish a new Bachelor of Theology Degree programme (Wittenberg 1993:14-15). “Generous support from the LWF made it possible to lay foundations of an ecumenical training centre which developed first into a department, then into the School of Theology at the University of Natal. The school was adopted by the LWF as regional centre for its postgraduate scholarship candidates from the African continent” (Nürnberg 2012:107). LTE at the university in 1985 was marginalised and was not seen to be successful. LTE struggled to comply with the university requirements, such as requirements of number of theological students as it was rescued by ELCSA theological students (Brown 1989:41). In 1986, BTh degree was launched at UN in Pietermaritzburg campus and permanent staff members were appointed. ELCSA black theological students stayed at Denison Residence in Pietermaritzburg campus. In the same year, black theological students were admitted at university without a permission from South African government and to new theological training programme. Lutheran theological training was ecumenical (Wittenberg 1993:15-16). Hovland & Aaseng (1987:2) states the allocation of separate accommodation at PLTE created divisions among students. Another process by LTCGB in 1987 was to influence ELCSA to restructure Lutheran theological curriculum offered at its two theological institutions, namely, ULTC and MLTS to have a Joint Faculty Meeting and establish one theological internship-‘fathers’ workshop.

For the first time in history of ELCSA and UELCSA introduced a BTh programme without excluding other ecumenical Lutheran churches. ULTC and MLTS were also part of this development. This establishment was an opportunity to provide contextual and Africanisation of the theological curriculum at the university that was relevant to answer questions raised by Lutheran and other denominational congregations due to their spiritual, socio-economic, and political challenges. This Lutheran initiative had also become an ecumenical project in Southern Africa, as Lutherans continued to fulfil their principle that to be Lutheran was to be ecumenical. It was in this context that establishment of PLTE had a great impact in the transformation of religious studies at the university. Theological studies were expanded to suit an Africanised theological curriculum that reflects a multi-faith and spirituality aspect of African realities and context.

### **5.11. Transition from theological institution to the Lutheran Church work**

Cooperation of Lutheran theological institutions and the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa impacted on theological students, evangelists, pastors, and lecturers' life in pre-training and post-training of the church and theological institution. The study could be incomplete without engaging a relationship of theological training and church employment.

#### **5.11.1. Lutheran missionary church economy in Africa**

Ministry of African pastors was in many cases a tent-marking ministry in 1940s and beyond. Even missionaries survived through a tent-marking ministry. African pastors were mostly self-supporting as they depended on their farming in their land. The "tent-maker pattern" became an essential phenomenon as the church was unable to pay its church workers a living salary. The missionary church had introduced a dichotomy between physical, concern of the world or government and spiritual, concern of heaven or the church (Sundkler 1969:7-8). Theological Education Conference in Africa held in 1969 in Tanzania discussed a concern issue of evangelists spending twenty minutes preaching and thirty minutes about finances. This was a huge burden and challenge of the church in African (Kibira 1969:6-7). LCSA was confronted with questions and challenges of ordination of African evangelists and introduction of part-time pastors' ministry. On October 2, 1971, Theological Commission of the ELCSA-SER and ELCT on Faith and Order had a joint meeting in Ga-Rankuwa to discuss the importance of part-time ministry, which was to strengthen full-time ministry of pastors in LCSA. There was a necessity of part-time pastors not only for ELCSA-SER but all LCsSA. Part-time pastors who earned their living salary in a secular work was relatively important to reducing the burden of church and constraints of its budget. They came to serve the church as an expression of a free gift from the Gospel, although, they were expected to live from the Gospel (Nürnberg 1972:1-3). Since 1977-1988, there was growth in an annual income of LCSA to pay salaries of full-time pastors and a rate of self-supporting pastors grew as well. A credit for the church achievement was granted to its church workers, namely, full-time, and part-time pastors for an outstanding work to serve their congregations. Yet, LCSA paid its the full-time pastors an inadequate salary due to the church broke treasuries (Buthelezi 1990:174 & Mashabela 2014:81-83). In April 1980 at AALC, Mwakisunga (1980:29) laments:

Owing to both financial problems and the rapid growth of Christianity in Africa, it is essential that churches in Africa train people for the ordained ministry (pastors) and for the unordained (lay church workers), so that some of them can take up the full-time paid ministry, while others take up an unpaid tent-making ministry (still keeping their secular full-time employment). Unless we are ready to adopt such a less expensive flexible church structure, I do not see how we can possibly cope

with the rapid growth of Christianity in Africa today and at the same time implement effectively our strategy for mission.

The church in African had an economic challenge in order pay its pastors an adequate salary. It allowed other church workers to receive a salary from the church. It embraced the tent-making ministry to allow its workers to build their economic wellbeing. This happened because the church was unable to pay its church workers an adequate salary. Given the needs of the church, part-time and full-time pastors' dignity was very appropriate to work together in developing growth and taking LCSA forward. LCSA needed to be congratulated for accepting a need of part-time ministry in the church. This enabled the church to gain work force and reduction salary expenses. It was necessary for LCSA to accept an aspect of part-time ministry for growth and management of the church growth. LCSA recognition of part-time pastors' ministry was necessitated by emerging African demands. Thus, part-time pastors' ministry was necessary to ensure that LCSA was effective and manageable to serve interests of the church members. It had to implement its economic method of a full-time and a tent making church worker to project the economy of its workers.

In 1960-1974, LCSA had emphasised that human dignity and liberation was God's given human rights. From the perspective of human rights, God produced gifts of life to be shared amongst the people. People were not created for poverty and deprived the gifts of God. Poverty was created by greedy people who never shared God's gifts with others. White people received adequate gifts of God and black people were denied these equal benefits. The system of apartheid created such a situation. The apartheid system expressed that everyone had the right to work, free to choose employment and everyone had the right to equal pay for work. Everyone had the right to form and join trade unions. The payment of salaries was determined by a degree and quality of education. In practicality, this benefited white people only. Economic values were enshrined in the South African labour act and policy (Buthelezi 1974:4-6). God created an equal society for all to benefit all the gifts of life. Everyone had the right to a just and favourable remuneration to care for her and his family with human dignity. This was part of social protection, liberation and cohesion. Government violated this human right because black people received inadequate salary and lived under poverty.

### 5.11.2. Trade unionism: An unfinished task in Lutheranism space

The church was grappling with ordained ministry issues of economic well-being and working conditions. In February 1969, the crisis of African lecturers, evangelists, and pastors' financial support in LCSA brought serious concerns. In the same year, Rev Dr Manas Buthelezi as a lecturer at ULTC wrote a controversial article entitled *Abafundisi nendlala eKerikeni* translated as hungry pastors in the church, his article sought to question the inadequate financial support of black lecturers, evangelists and pastors. Buthelezi (1969b:2) asserts:

African pastors have all long been shy to speak about the inadequately of their financial remuneration. During the past months, however, articles in daily papers have appeared with the aim of focusing attention to this problem. These articles have brought to the surface the truth that there are churches which publicly criticize the Government for its policy of Separate Development, while they harbour structurally entrenched practices of "separate development" within their own ranks. In these articles the salary gap between white and African pastors is the case in point. This fact accounts mainly for the difference in the respective standards of living. The issue raised here is why Apartheid is sinful when it is the policy of a government while it became at the same time a palatable practice which is morally connived at as part of an ecclesiastical structure.

There is an economic gap between African and missionary workers, which divided the ordained ministry. Salaries of missionaries were not disclosed. The church had not implemented a decision that African and missionary church workers would be paid at the same church office. "Do we not have one Bishop who is the Bishop of all in our church? Why is our church Treasurer not the treasurer of all?" (Buthelezi 1969b:7). The insights here reveal that the church leadership entrenched inequality, white missionary pastors and lecturers received an adequate salary while black pastors and lecturers received an inadequate salary. This opened a serious debate throughout LCSA. Accountability and transparency of the church was very problematic theologically, which this study noted that there was corruption and mismanagement of the church funds. Did the 'lay' people become embarrassed to find out that African Lutheran pastors were paid an unbelievably inadequate salary by LCSA or did they support this leadership. African pastors found it difficult for them to meet demands and expenses of their families. The sad part was that African pastors were ashamed to disclose their economic situation. The church hid the salary scale of missionaries and publicly disclose Africans salary. Ethically, this church treasury violated the human rights of the African clergy workers and betrayed African Lutheran congregations, overseas church donors and organisations. Missionary workers knew about the agony of the African clergy, but they decided to silence themselves so that they could corruptly benefit from this corrupt church system. For decades, why did Lutheran donor churches and

organisations allow such a corrupt missionary leadership? They were supposed to act immediately to stop such a criminal act. It was possible that internal and external auditing of finances of LCSA were not implemented in order to expose this sin and corruption. False reports were presented to donor churches and organisations while being aware of such inconsistencies. Corruption allowed in the church of God was embarrassing. How could missionary pastors preach Christianity to Africans while at same time promoting discrimination and corruption in the church? This sinful act remained for decades in the church in Southern Africa and internationally. Separate development in the church remained a theological challenge even in 20<sup>th</sup> and dawn of 21<sup>st</sup> century, respectively.

Furthermore, Mashiane (2005:165), Chapeling assets:

In ELCSA Northern Diocese, three pastors who felt themselves persecuted came together to take the initiative to start an association of all the church employees of all Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa. These were Pastor Abel L. Kgashane, who together with Pastor Silas M. Theledi came to Pastor Mokhuloane, H.M. Nchabeleng to convenience him to join them in the struggle. These three pastors are in fact the founders of Lutheran Ministers Association in Southern Africa (LUMASA). As Rev. M.H. Nchabeleng had just defeated his persecutors in legal proceedings in June 1987 and because he was legally insured against all legal cases by Legal Wise Insurance Company. Only him and his name were made known. All others were kept top secret for fear of victimization by opponents of unity among the ministers of our Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa. In ELCSA Central Diocese and Western Diocese, a well organised group of concerned pastors also grouped together to form a "LIVING WAGE CAMPAIGN" and operated underground. LUMASA traced them and at Bronkhorspruit on 4-10-1990 this group joined LUMASA. The LUMASA petition which was already drawn by the living wage campaigners was accepted as a project of LUMASA.

Discrimination system of wages/salaries in the church was one of the critical issues that led pastors to create a pastors trade union, which was not necessary, if LCSA had used its pastoral structures to address urgent economic and living needs of the ordained ministry. LCSA constitutionally denied its workers to form or to join trade union, hence, it operated underground. Lutheran trade unionism became necessary and was formed by the ordained ministry to challenge the church to introspect itself on economic questions of its workers. The Living wage campaign and LUMSA were signs of economic liberation and working condition.

Buthelezi (1974:6-7) writing on trade union asserts "Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for 'himself' and his family an existence worth of human dignity,



and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. Everyone has the right to form or join trade unions". Thus, every worker could not be discriminated as she or he had the right to just equal pay for equal work. Family had a right to be economically well and to be raised in the family. People were denied creating their human potential and human rights in the church life. The people in Africa and Asia used their decolonisation process to achieve their economic, social rights and independence from colonial powers. The Bill of Rights stated that everyone had the right to form and join a trade union. The church was convinced that human right principle was intertwined with concerns of the Gospel on issues of justice. The greater concern was whether these human rights were visible in the life of churches (Kistner 1990:31-32,36). The Lutheran Church in South Africa was highly challenged by the framework of bill of human rights as entrenched in the biblical concept and African philosophy of *botho*. It was aware that human rights and dignity bill in South Africa required that its workers had the right to work under just and favourable conditions and protection against unemployment and unjust treatment of the church workers. The church working conditions could only be informed by a policy of human rights and dignity for the essential church workers to receive an adequate salary. The church was expected to be led by the aspects of decolonisation. To deny pastors an adequate salary was to deny fellowship and care of their families.

### **5.11.3. An embarrassment: The missionary church leadership on stealing God's resources**

In 1967, the Church Council meeting 13 of ELCSA-SER, it was reported that an African pastor received a car gift and others received some money from overseas friends and others received bursaries to study for economic and learning empowerment (Buthelezi 1969b:4-5). The Church Council agreed on a regulation that all gifts of church workers could be sent straight to the church office. A communication was also written to inform partnerships in Europe and America to follow the same regulation. Missionaries received gifts directly from their overseas friends (ELCSA-SER minutes 1967:1-4). African pastors received some gifts from individuals or Lutheran congregations for a long time. The decision to deny black pastors to directly receive gifts from friends and congregations was unlawful and racist. Black pastors' economic rights were violated while white missionary pastors were projected. The missionary church leadership exploited black pastors by all means to ensure that they stay in poverty and hunger with their families. It was an un-African to deny another person to be economically empowered.

#### **5.11.4. An (un) just church practice to force theological students to marry before ordination**

LCSA passed a ruling that no theological student would be ordained before marriage. This church rule disadvantaged a theological student who recently graduated and married as he could not afford to take care or support his wife and family. This theological student had not worked before and now received an inadequate church salary. This was an unbearable burden of the church to be experienced by African pastors. Some married theological students came from a financially secured background or others worked before as teachers, thus, they were able support their wives and families as they received an inadequate church salary. LCSA misled itself by expecting that wife of an African pastor and their children were called to serve the church (Buthelezi 1969b:5-6). This church practice exploited a theological student who came from a disadvantage background. The family of this pastor experienced difficulties due to an inadequate church salary. Pastors who just join the ordained ministry without working experience and income was an unfortunate. The church could have allowed African pastors to be ordained without marriage so that they could establish their social and financial security first. How could LCSA, which preached the liberating grace of God but punished African pastors with a denial of ordination on marriage.

#### **5.11.5. A thorn of transfers of the clergy: A cause to paralyse a congregational life**

African pastors were placed into a parish for a long time. They were given an opportunity to settle at their parishes to establish farms to cultivate the soil for their food garden, cattle, sheep, and goats for their economic wellness in order to feed themselves, family and parents. African congregations gave gifts of goats, sheep, chickens and cattle to evangelists and pastors to live a better live. They used these livestock for their economic survival. This was augmented by an inadequate church salary (Buthelezi 1969b:6-7 & Mogashoa 2004:654-655). In a normal transfer and the church as a sending church, Molefe (1980:58) asserts "For the two-way traffic to run smoothly, the sending church should communicate regularly with its candidate, and the receiving church should also learn of the progress being made". The study notes that African pastors enjoyed their economic security. Thus, money was not a challenge to African pastors. The transfers of pastors were addressed with a liberating care. Congregations were informed early as they prepared themselves to receive a new pastor. This created stability in the church and showed a quality of church leadership.

In 1950-1964, a question of transfers of African pastors and evangelists was handled with care and consultation by a church leadership. Missionary pastors consulted African evangelists before they transferred them to other congregations. African evangelists differed with missionary pastors

on theological and ecclesiastical views, they would be regarded as stubborn and accused by missionary pastors that they wanted to take a missionary position. African evangelists and pastors challenged LCSA on their frequent transfers that happened during 1965-1968 (Makhathini 1965:1-3 & Nsibande (1981:53-55). This resulted with an unfair transfer of an evangelist without being consulted, at the same time a congregation and fellow evangelists' colleagues would not support an evangelist. The missionary was afraid to lose his income and work. Thus, a missionary told his authorities to transfer a black evangelist or pastor without proper consultation of these clergy and respective congregations. The current African leadership has inherited this injustice transfer policy. The church's policy on transfer allowed a congregation to express its views on transfer matters. The structure of new regional church had to continue to follow the old tradition on transfer policy for sake of the church good governance. A congregation was also not consulted, as the result this created division within the congregation. A transfer was applied for several months as the church leadership engaged with an evangelist or pastor and affected congregations. This unconstitutional transfer approach resulted with other evangelists leaving the Lutheran Church, they served, loved and honoured to join AICs. Evangelists and pastors complained about their regular transfers. A transfer was applied based on mutual consultation, the spiritual interest and considerate of an evangelist or pastor and congregation (Buthelezi 1969b:6-7). The unfair transfers of African evangelists and pastors contributed to an economic loss of farming, life stock and working conditions of church workers. The white church leadership forced African clergy and their families to experience poverty, suffering and agony. An unfair transfer was a huge challenge raised by evangelists and pastors to church leadership. The church policy on transfers violated rights and existence of church workers. This brought instability on congregations and some evangelists left the beloved church.

#### **5.11.6. The church workers cooperation: A paralysed unity of the church**

Behind a successful church there was the workers cooperation. Buthelezi (1969b:7) points out: "Generally it can be said that there is good co-operation among all workers in our church. As far as cooperation is concerned, missionary and African workers are experiencing a spirit of brotherhood and oneness in service. Yet, behind this experience of oneness, there is a great chasm that belies all what is apparent". This study notes that there was good cooperation between missionary and African workers in serving the church. Yet, this oneness was paralysed by a financial gap between African and missionary workers in the ordained ministry. The church tasked all church workers with the same work but there was a challenge of black workers in justice. This

paralysed the church of God. Inequality of salaries between African and missionary workers remained a great concern.

### **5.12. Conclusion**

This chapter discussed the importance of networking of Lutheran theological education at the theological institutions, universities and other teaching and learning institutions. The chapter incorporated an overall view on aspects of partnership between Lutheran churches in Southern Africa and Africa and their theological institutions, ecumenical education, theological students support, lecturers and clergy conditions of employment.

## CHAPTER 6

### LUTHERAN RESEARCH AND COMMUNITY ENHANCEMENT: AN EXISTENTIAL THIRTEEN-YEAR OF HISTORICAL MISSIOLOGICAL INSTITUTE 1965-1978

#### 6.1. Introduction

One of Southern African Lutheran Church theological training institutions established a research centre. This research centre was an urgent theological research project, which necessitated a need for community enhancement in South Africa. This chapter discusses the history and contribution of Missiological Institute. Lutheran churches and other churches, theological education and society benefitted from this Lutheran research institute. Any teaching institution needed a research centre.

#### 6.2. The history of Lutheran Missiological Institute

In the early 1960s, for a brief period the Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College had been forming an enterprise of its research institute for theological education. "In 1965, the lecturers training future pastors at LTC felt the need to raise Martin Luther from the dead by establishing what was called the Missiological (or Pastoral) Institute" (Malidzhi 1992:53). The purpose of this new research institute was to gather material and to research about specific missionary tasks and challenges that face Lutheran churches in South Africa. On June 29, 1965, a first task of Missiological Institute (MI) was to invite all Christian ministers and theological students of Lutheran, Moravian Church and other churches to participate in a prize-winning contest. Participants were required to write an essay on a theme "Zionism-indigenous Christianity or Renascent paganism". The aim of this was to study the fast-growing Sects movement, AICs that surrounded and challenge the Lutheran Church. Second, this theological enterprise hosted a First Missiological Course for ministers to engage a theme "Our approach to the Independent Church Movement in South Africa" held at ULTC on September 28-October 7, 1965. Ministers from different Lutheran regional churches in South Africa, AICs and other churches were invited in this theological gathering (Beyerhaus 1965b:1-2). The establishment of a research institute such as MI was a great achievement of the Lutheran Church to be relevant in South Africa. A research about AICs revealed that AICs impacted on South African environment and challenged the Lutheran theology. MI was founded reasonably because of the living theology of AICs. These two themes showed that AICs were spiritually relevant to Africans who always needed an African

Christianity as opposed to Western Christianity. Thus, Lutheran churches had to seriously research and learn from AICs mission and evangelism method.

Furthermore, ULTC decided to have an annual consultation of Missiological Institute at its theological institution. MI annual consultations were the only attractive theological event held in this sub-continent and all churches in Southern Africa gathered for multi-racial theological study conferences. Delegates from Lutheran, Moravian Anglican, Baptist, Congregationalist, Dutch Reformed, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and AICs churches participated in MI consultations. MI annual consultations engaged the highlighted themes in 1965, Our approach to the Independent Churches Movement in South Africa; 1966, Missiological outreach in an urban society; 1967, The Lutheran teaching on the two kingdoms; 1967, The healing ministry of the church, and 1968, Concepts of death and funeral rites (Becken 1973a:2). Before, it was very rare for ministers of different churches, delegates from universities and other theological training institutions to gather in this context and discuss South African burning issues. These MI conferences impacted greatly on the life of churches and society. MI pursued churches to address emerging spiritual, socio-economic, and political issues in South Africa (Nsibande 1992a:11). Lutheran Missiological Institute influenced the life of South African church, universities, theological training institutions and society to renew themselves. The Lutheran theological institution established a rare research institute in the history of theological institutions in South Africa. This resulted with an important platform of not just a research, but a space to enable denominations to deal with South African realities of faith and socio-economic matters. This space enabled pastors from various denominations to start conversations that affected their churches and society by the unjust apartheid government. For the Lutheran Theological Education in South Africa to thrive, it was necessary to establish MI to ensure that LTE was becoming creative and innovative. MI was a research and innovative theological centre to serve South African Lutheran churches interests in response of specific questions that related to Lutheran mission and ecumenical enterprise and work.

Nsibande (1992a:12) assets “The fact that people from different races came together during these conferences made the government concerned and Umphumulo, like other places was labelled a den of iniquity. Some faculty members were refused permits and were forced to leave the country”. In addition, Malidzhi (1992:54-55) points out “I appeal to any of the public (in South Africa or abroad) who reads this article to investigate whether the twelve Missiological Institute publications have succeeded in addressing spiritual, social, political and economic issues that

affect the public (especially Blacks)". ULTC was viewed as a place of injustice, this labelling came from this government of South Africa. The approach of the government was the method of divide and rule to force some ULTC teaching staff to leave South Africa while others were denied permits. This multiracial gathering with people from all races became a serious threat to the apartheid government. MI served South African churches and theological training institutions as an essential archive theological institution. It created a space for spiritual, economic, and socio-political theological engagement. It achieved its initial purpose of collecting relevant archives of missiological and ecclesiastical materials. Any institution without a research department there was no future in building a relevant institution in response to its evolving context. Furthermore, MI became a theological and ecclesiastical platform to create a genuine and sound theology in South Africa. Common theological work was developed in MI to assist Lutheran congregations to fulfil the question of Lutheran witnessing and unity in respond to needs of an African society.

### **6.2.1. The first Missiological Institute Conference**

The first MI course or consultation was held on September 30-October 6, 1965 with a theme Our approach to the Independent Church Movement in South Africa. The evolving AICs posed a serious threat to the established churches, thus, ULTC urgently organised a first MI Consultation on a theology of the AICs. Southern African mainline/established churches previously neglected this essential historical and dynamic theological AICs' contribution for the study of Church History (Becken 1965a:i). Delegates from the independent movements were invited into this first MI consultation, however due to the government legislation and social structure of South Africa they not present. MI consultation wanted engage AICs delegates about their theology (Beyerhaus 1965a:1). The establishment of MI at ULTC was influenced by the theology of African Independent Churches. This Lutheran initiative rescued the embarrassment of established churches because the theology of AICs was equally important as that of established churches. The founders of African independent movements were not part of this consultation, although, they were consulted. The presence of the Independent African Church Movement leaders was going to provide a rich theology at MI Consultation. This would result with a written and sound contribution of theology of AICs leaders. The established churches' delegates could experience a moment of teaching and learning from the founders and owners of AICs theology. It was in 1965 that for the first time MI Consultation studied the AIC theology as an important theological well-informed contribution to theological discourse and research in South Africa. This was an opportunity for established churches to learn and dialogue with AICs contribution of Africanisation and indigenisation in

church theology. In 1965, the first MI Consultation created a great foundation and learning opportunity to plan and to enable more MI consultations that would follow.

The findings and recommendations of this first MI Consultation were:

- (a) The general name of the African Independent Churches represented most different bodies. They were a pseudo-ecumenical movement in South Africa. They were AICs classified as Separatist churches, Christian sects and Nativistic movement. The Nativistic movement was referred as messianic and healing church groups were Zionists.
- (b) AICs could not be a threat and challenge as it was before. Established churches were called to repent from discriminating AICs. Established churches were not superior from the AICs (Becken 1965b:1-3,8).

These first MI Consultation findings and resolutions revealed that AICs was other ecumenical church that added to a theological discourse and renewal in South Africa. Established churches could see AICs as God's gifted church and equal without being discriminated against. AICs was not thread and challenge, but an added and new theology for church renewal in South Africa.

On ongoing search of 1965 first Missiological Consultation theme was related to the fourth MI Consultation. Holman (1967:96,110) asserts the Missiological Institute Conference on "the healing ministry of the church" was held at ULTC, Natal, South Africa, September 19-27, 1967. "Our church program is preaching, teaching and healing. Our church is people, representing a multitude of resources and talents, professionals from all fields through the spectrum to those without degrees, but through whom Christ can work with equal effectiveness". Lislud (1967b:1) further says "Healing ministry means nothing less than-restoration of man's health as to himself, restoration of man's relationship to his community (family, society), restoration of man's relationship with God. In this total ministry to the total man, we hope to engage every member of the body of Christ". Healing ministry could not be delinked from death, thus, MI organised the fifth MI Consultation with a theme "Concepts of death and funeral rites" held in 1969 (Malidzhi 1992:59). The question of sickness, which might lead to death led the Lutheran Church in South Africa to establish a united Lutheran medical centre. Lutheran medical missions in South Africa and partly Botswana established the Lutheran Medical Foundation. "However, other questions have been asked in connection with healing ministry. From our discussions we recall the following: Why medical missions? What is the different between a government hospital and the mission or church-hospital"? (Lislud 1967b:1). The Lutheran Medical Foundation (LMF) was established in 1966 (LMF annual report 1968:11). Yet, in 1976-1978, the government health department took



over church health centres (Mtalane 1984:5 & LMF annual report 1978:6). In Africa, the Zulu words *phila* meaning health and *imphilo* meaning life were essential terms in Africa, which promoted well-being of people. They were intertwined with importance of healing ministry in the church and society. From African perspective, healing encompassed with social and economic security that was intertwined with spirituality (Berglund 1967b:37 & Moila 2002:20-22). Fosseus (1967:93) points out “The congregation and the hospital together can penetrate very deeply into the community of men were the congregation knows how to use the hospital and the hospital is prepared to be used also for spiritual purposes within the congregational fellowship and be a part of the congregation”. Bodenstein states “African medicine is closer to the concepts of Christian healing than orthodox Western medicine in that it accepts the wholeness of the individual, the indivisible interdependence between the body and soul, between matter and spirit”. It was valid that life and healing could be protected in a partnership between congregation and hospital in service of community. On the other hand, MI Consultation acknowledged the African approach of healing. The ministry of healing was a new reformation of congregational life in LCSA. The question of healing ministry and death became essential phenomenon in LCSA and the church in Africa. The church in Africa contributed to a discovery of healing ministry. The government hospital and the church hospital were critically analysed on their role in service of African people from medical and theological perspective. The healing ministry was analysed within context of human restoration and renewal in relationship with family and the community as part of God’s liberating relationship. To effectively manage the question of healing and death, LCSA with its health facilities, namely, clinics and hospital, had to create partnerships with clinics and hospitals of other established churches and AICs to address the question of healing in South Africa holistically. African way of healing and medicine were effectively useful to African people while the church had preferred Western medication.

#### **6.2.1.1. African Independent Churches: An agent of *ecclesia semper reformanda* for Lutheran Church in Southern Africa**

LCSA believed that the AICs had been strongly relevant in ministry of healing in the African context. Msomi (1967:66) asserts:

Place of healing ministry in the theology of the African Independent Churches, healing plays the central role. One African minister-prophet said, “This is not a church, it is a hospital”. If my coming to church is of *value* I must be healed. The use of “imithi” is strictly prohibited. Healing is a weapon in the battle of evangelism. There is a great concern for the sick members. They don’t believe that there can be a Christian community without healing. In fact the Sunday service is incomplete without prayer for the sick.

Healing within the cultural context was a need for an African to live. A person could be healed in totality (Mashabela 2017a:1). Serote (1967:101-102) points out “Why will these people pull men out of the established church, out of the hospital or even out of the hands of the best doctors that could be offered? I say nothing about heathen. They are so convinced and fanatical about the success of their prayers or the pronouncements of their prophets, that they will let a child rot with cancer rather than take it to the hospital. What a conviction”! Mashabela (2017a:12) asserts “African spiritual healing methods, Pentecostal, charismatic, AIC and Western medical approach by mainline churches could be embraced as a key to healing for the African people. All African churches and governments should collectively be responsible and should support the African approach of healing in its wholeness in Africa”. The study notes that healing was approached from the African and Western perspectives. Both healing perspectives were appealing to the African context. However, it was problematic theologically that a sick child could not be treated at hospital for cancer and African medicine was prohibited by the AICs and established churches. African and Western approach of healing could not address all illnesses, each approach of healing had its speciality. Thus, both methods of healing could be embraced in service of healing the sick. AICs managed to provide unity of spirituality and material gifts. They had their ecumenical responsibility in service of their church members and society. AICs flourished because it was speaking a language and content that was in touch with the lives, thoughts and concepts that were theologically problematic to African people.

Healing was fully understood under God’s love in the Cross of Christ. The congregation had a mutual intercession for the healing of the sick. This was the cross of Jesus Christ who suffered and died on it and brought healing as resurrection of life for people (Becken 1967:22). Wilkinson (1967:136) points out “In the sacrament of baptism there is great healing potential for in this service the person baptised is brought into the Christian family, and the Christian family assumes responsibility for him, and he becomes the concern of all the congregation. It is particularly in the sacrament of Holy Communion that we witness to the healing of the church”. The point here is that Lutheran Church and other established churches emphasised on Jesus Christ as the central saviour for internal life and the teachings of the theology of the cross. The church had abundant theological teaching of the cross of which it could not be possible to serve people without the cross of Jesus Christ. The baptism and Holy Communion, and exorcism were central healing in Lutheran Church and other established churches. AICs was the ecumenical church in South Africa and contributed to the slogan of *ecclesia semper reformanda*, the church must constantly

change. LCSA at its consultations on healing, death learnt from the theology of AICs. It witnessed healing through the Word of God and sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion. The Word of God, sacraments, exorcism and laying on of hands complemented each other. Healing played a central role, which led many people to join various AICs. LCSA and AICs could not be a complete Christian community without healing. Thus, power of the Holy Spirit came to heal people, which was part of healing and restoration. Healing ministry was of Jesus Christ, which was witnessed through the theology of the cross. The church had to carry the cross to engage society as it was necessary to service community. Theologically, Jesus Christ, had liberated people from destructive powers, which brought oppression to people and separated them from God. He continued to provide healing ministry in the church to empower and heal African people who could be destroyed by sicknesses and sin. The Lutheran Church was challenged by healing methods and practices developed by AICs and other African spiritual faith communities.

#### **6.2.1.2. The first Clinical Pastoral Education in South Africa**

ULTC was the first theological institution to establish a Clinical Pastoral Education in a South African soil. Lislrud (1967c:172) recorded that this fourth MI Conference recommends “That the Theological Colleges be encouraged to emphasize the healing ministry of the church in the training of theological students. That a pastoral clinical training programme should be established at Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College in co-operation with the local hospitals”. Lislrud (1967a:1) points out Msomi worked as a lecturer of Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) at ULTC and chaplain at Thulasizwe Mission Hospital, Mahlabathini in 1967. The LTCGB 11<sup>th</sup> meeting held at the Swedish Hall, Johannesburg, March 7, 1969, Loken & Tarneberg (1969:1) states “In view of a letter from Dr. A. Becker that due to other commitments he was unable to introduce pastoral clinical training programme at LTC such a course until 1971, it was decided to postpone the course one year. In the meantime, further planning and preparations to be made by LTC, LMF and Umpumulo Hospital”. The LTCGB had its 16<sup>th</sup> meeting at Umphumulo, November 10-11, 1971, Nielsen & Becken (1971b:3) records “A merger with MLTS could be archived and the CPE programme might be transferred to MLTS”. The study notes that the church could not address the question of healing without working together with Lutheran Medical Foundation and African spiritual healing. This clinical and theological initiative was added to equip chaplains, theological students, evangelists and pastors to strengthen their way of pastoral care and counselling through the means of pastoral clinical training. A structured pastoral clinical training programme was crafted to be used to train the clergy for well-being of the sick. The church and clinical communal partnership on healing ministry was required and initiated for care and support of people. An

introduction of CPE was one of the additional works and healing force for the clergy and congregations in order to be progressive in community engagement to improve and strengthen partnership between the church and society.

LTCGB 19<sup>th</sup> meeting at Doornfontein, Johannesburg, March 14/15, 1973, Nielsen & Becken (1973a:4) asserts “GB authorises the Director of Theological Education of the S.A.C.C. to be involved in the organisation of the C.P.E. Course in order to achieve a broader ecumenical involvement. Churches wishing to invite Rev. V.V. Msomi to conduct a C.P.E Institute should contact the Rector of LTC”. In reflection, the Clinical Pastoral Education programme was not a Lutheran centred programme, but highly ecumenical as well. CPE programme was designed in service of churches in Southern Africa and society. It was the first of its kind to be established in South Africa by the ULTC.

Findings of the fourth MI Consultation were:

- (a) Health and healing in Christianity was found in Jesus Christ teaching. God restored the world through Jesus Christ. Healing was a restoration between God and a person.
- (b) The church needed to integrate the African traditions of healing, which was part of God’s way of healing and for the work of the church.
- (c) The church was called to organise regular healing services that were lacking in the Lutheran congregations.
- (d) ULTC was task to establish a pastoral clinical training to training theological students, doctors, nurses and pastors.
- (e) Create a close cooperation between hospital, church, AICs and African traditional healers to work on healing and health (Lislerud 1967b:167-173).

This MI Consultation created a networking relationship between the church and African traditional ways of healing. A pastoral clinical training was to be established by a formal theological institution. A need to embrace all methods of healing became essential in this consultation.

### **6.2.2. Missiological Institute consultations on urbanisation and economy**

The second MI Consultation at ULTC was a study of “The missionary outreach in an urban society” held on September 14-22,1966 (Lislerud 1967d:4). People moved to work at the cities. They came from their rural areas where the agricultural challenges emerged, and crops failed to grow. In urban area they were expected to pay for taxes and other things. The church had a

theological task to bring and remind people that they were created in God's image and about God's existence. It was within this understanding that God's city and citizens were living in God's world and families could live in connectedness according to God's will. The phenomenon of urbanisation was a preparation for a new mission and to find ways to train Lutheran evangelists and pastors to be aligned with a new era of urbanisation (Bam 1967:13). This second MI Consultation was linked with the sixth MI Consultation on "The Christian family in Africa" held in 1969 to deal with challenges faced by African Christian families and meaning of *botho*. Initially, black people in South Africa depended on their land for agriculture and farming economy, which was shared equally by African communities (Berglund 1970b:1-2 & Becken 1973a:2). This study was within the South African context on the period of social and industrial revolution. LCSA studied this change in order to develop new ways of serving families in South Africa in an industrialised world. The church had an effective response to a new world of urbanisation in response of the needs of people of God.

Unfortunately, the findings of second and six MI Consultations were not recoded on their MI reports.

When the period of urbanisation developed the question of migration labour had to evolve from rural to city and developed into a city. Loken & Sandner (1969:1) asserts that initially the LTCGB 12<sup>th</sup> meeting held at Swedish Hall, Johannesburg recommended to the Missiological Institute committee that in 1970 the Missiological Institute could have two consultation with these possible themes migrant labour and church involvement and worship and church music. It was not clear whether a MI Consultation on worship and church music was held but the Migrant labour and church involvement was held successfully. The seventh MI Consultation was held at ULTC from August 27-September 3, 1970 with a theme Church and migrant labour (Berglund, Bünjer, Lochmann and Bodenstein 1970:170 & Becken 1973a:2). Berglund (1970:8) points out "If the church is to minister to all "men", then indeed its ministry must be equally relevant and challenging in the setting offered by the migratory labour complex, thereby not limited itself only to an approach geared to the labour only". The migrant labour system created poverty, and a difficulty of workers to be trained by employers to gain skills. The consultation seriously engaged to eliminate poverty, stabilising of the labour force, adequate education, and training of labour force. The MI committee decided to link the seventh MI Consultation with the eighth MI Consultation on theology of the church and economy (Berglund et al 1970:173). Becken (1971b:1) asserts "In this spirit, Christians of Southern Africa assembled from September 8-15, 1971, at the Lutheran

Theological College, Mapumulo, Natal, for a consultation on the role of the church in socio-economic development in Southern Africa". Economic policies were designed to exclude the black workers from economic empowerment and better life, while white workers were main beneficiaries. Black economic agriculture was affected when an adult male labourer was absent.

In these MI consultations on migrant and labour and church in socio-economic development, an analysis revealed that an industrialised world created high rate of poverty, illness and job instability as white economic policies favoured white people and excluded black people. This economic system was exploitive instead of empowering all the people of various ethnic and racial background. Immigration labour policies became problematic to African context. This threatened stability and healthiness of black families. In African context, an individual was part of a collective family. Supportive role of relatives was critically important to an individual in an African way of life. The African way of life raised a critical concern for a foreign innovation of individualism in an African landscape. This created a challenge of unity and better economy to sustain black families. African people were rooted into a communal life and not to a disintegrated life.

The findings of the seventh MI Consultation were:

- (a) The absence of migrant labours broke down the system of social and political bond of a family and communities. This system had no connection with Christian values.
- (b) Migration labour system destroyed an African economy, social, legal, religious, and political life.
- (c) The church had to be prophetic and pastoral about migratory labours and their needs and challenges (Berglund et al 1970:174-175).

The findings of the eight MI Consultation were:

- (a) The church could act against the socio-economic development that made black people to be slaves instead of liberated workers.
- (b) The church resolved to train its church members to fight against an exploitive economy in South Africa.
- (c) Missiological Institute collected economic material and design a theological curriculum that would train theological students, ministers, and lecturers to fight against this economic system.
- (d) Pastors could create awareness to congregations in response of the unjust economic system.

Seventh and eight MI consultation showed that South African migration labour and economic systems were unjust structures. Migrant labours were not enjoying their full rights of supporting and daily available with their families. They were economically exploited and receive an inadequate salary. Churches in South Africa challenged the South African labour and economic systems respect the rights of labours. MI resolved to research and design study materials that will respond to challenges of labours.

### **6.2.3. Lutheran doctrine on the two governments: An April 1967 third MI Consultation**

Lutherans all over the world grabbed with their Lutheran heritage of the two-kingdom doctrine. They were criticised for being silent on matters of socio-political nature in respect to Romans 13. However, South African Lutherans were not in a neutral position given the socio-political injustices of apartheid regime. As early as 1947, the LWF took a stand on justice issues in the world and particularly in South African context and Namibia (known then as South West Africa). LWF forums called the white government to repent from its unjust governance and were critical to ensure that white Lutheran churches accounted for as they supported issues of injustice and oppression of black people. The LWF commitment in socio-political issues increased in 1963-1970, 1971-1977. LWF was very prophetic and a lot of declarations were written against an unjust system in South Africa. "From Evian 1970 to Dar-es-Salaam 1977, especially the issue of *status confessionis* from Northfield of Dar-es-Salaam 1977" (Zulu 2009:6). One of the Lutheran Confessional Heritage was on two-kingdoms to dealt with a dominated issue of socio-political injustices cost by apartheid system in South Africa. It was very problematic theologically for any Lutheran Church of being silent in engaging issues of the socio-political atmosphere. Lutherans in South Africa were bold to address socio-political injustices practiced by the apartheid government. LWF committed itself to the struggle for justice to address issues of political and socio-economic injustice across the world. In a difficult time, LWF declarations were produced and adopted at conferences to fight against this unjust system. LWF conferences were more powerful from Evian 1970 to Dar es Salaam 1977 in response of the negative impact of apartheid. However, the LWF of tool of *status confessionis* from 1977 never rested to fight against socio-political injustice systems. It was in this context that MI or Pastoral Institute emerged as an institute and critical prophetic voice in South Africa.

On April 3-14, 1967, third MI Consultation was held at ULTC and delegates from FELCSA member churches studied the Lutheran teachings on the two kingdoms and about its implications and

consequences for the Lutheran Church witness in Southern African society (Lislerud 1968b:223). The two kingdoms doctrine was not only and purely viewed as an academic study, but a basis for a Lutheran response in a socio-political witness of the church. This was a missionary witness and responsibility of Christian citizenship in society. The conference and its memorandum were harshly criticised, but also highly appreciated. This encouraged LCsSA to be more committed of social and political responsibilities (Lislerud 1968a:1-2). One of the key areas in the Lutheran space was that MI organised a consultation on the state and church given challenges of socio-political injustices in Southern Africa. This third MI Consultation grappled with an overdue question of political liberation in South Africa. It was criticised because it was a serious threat to the white churches and government. This conference brought an awareness and education on how Christian citizens could respond to their responsibility of a socio-political witness. MI provided an alternative for a radical renewal of Southern African churches and society in challenging the apartheid system. MI integrity and survival was criticised so that its commitment of community enhancement become real and relevant. Any theological training institution without a research centre became irrelevant if it was not in touch with issues of community enhancement to find useful solutions to societal realities. MI engaged grassroots issues that affected daily life of Southern African citizens. MI Consultation programme became urgently visible in response of realities of South African context. Mutual transformative and liberative MI consultations became a dynamic platform for engagement of South African churches and theological institutions of education in order to explore South African realities.

#### **6.2.3.1. Lutheran Church involvement in the theology of politics**

The Lutheran Church was vulnerable, not only in South Africa, but throughout the world. In the early 1960s, at one of the pastors, workers meetings held at Appelsbosch, in Natal a missionary presented a Bible study and discussed some of the political problems in South Africa. He was threatened to be expelled from the church and sent back to his country. The Lutheran Church reviewed its mission in order to allow its church workers to participate in politics and minister to the world (Mngadi 1968:96). In third MI, Dlamini (1968:49,53-54) further says:

Christians should clearly realise that segregationist ideas are radically opposed to Christian affirmation that all men have been created in the image of God. We know that our government identifies itself only with the interests of the whites and in practice treats us as toys. The church is created by God, the decisive factor in its policy and practices is not the will of men as conditioned by social, economic or cultural patterns, but rather the eternal will of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. Christians ought to exercise their social responsibility by acting in their own communities to



remove whatever injustices exist and to insure for all persons, without discrimination, just and equal opportunities, especially in housing, employment, education, and access to social welfare services.

The insights above challenged LCSA to allow the theology of politics to be engaged in the church. When a missionary was threatened for presenting a Bible Study on politics was a serious human right violation. The church leadership lost its meaningful existence to live according to God's will. However, this third MI Consultation had opened and reaffirmed that the church ought to participate in political work to liberate South Africa and Southern Africa. Individual Christians had a responsibility to fight against any injustices of inequality in their communities. An authentic church had to declare that any policy and polity that was based on discrimination and exploitation was contrary to the Christian principles. In South Africa, discrimination against black people was a thread to unity and contradicted Christian theology on humanity. The apartheid policy violated the unity of society. This policy created discrimination in political, economic and spiritual factors. The church had to fight such a policy to promote human rights and dignity of people to access God's resources equally.

#### **6.2.3.2. Umphumulo Memorandum: A Pastoral Institute memorandum**

The third MI Consultation concluded with a position of political work. Lislud (1968b:223) states:

Having reviewed this doctrine of the two kingdoms biblically and historically, we came to the conclusion that the church has an active and responsible service to the state and society; the church shall protest to the temporal authority when evident injustices have been committed. She is also entrusted with the positive function to interpret and counsel the temporal authorities in terms of the ordinances of creation for the support and performance of human life, namely; matrimony and family, civil community and culture, state and government. This entails intelligent and responsible political participation on the part of the believers.

A third MI Consultation outcome was the so-called Umpumulo Memorandum based on study of the Lutheran doctrine of the two-kingdoms, which attracted the South African public and churches in foreign countries. For the first time, many delegates of all Lutheran churches in Southern Africa openly rejected an apartheid policy in South Africa. A great section of white Lutheran churches criticised and rejected the Umpumulo Memorandum. Congregations in the LCSA were given responsibility to engage and service the state and society from liberating and transforming methods. The memorandum was strongly against apartheid policy, which limited black people, their human rights to free education and freedom of speech, economy, labour, the right to buying and owning property, and to participate in political space (Kistner 1977:165,186). The outcomes

of MI Consultation were that apartheid policy brought agony in South African society particularly to black people. For the first time in the Lutheran historical unity, MI influenced a majority of Lutheran churches in Southern Africa to reject apartheid with the exception of white Lutheran churches. The Umphumulo Memorandum created a conflict of interest between black and white Lutheran churches on the question of liberation of Southern Africa. The task of MI was to provide solutions to Southern African realities. The church had an equal responsibility to effectively resist against racial discrimination in the church and society. A theological Umphumulo Memorandum through Lutheran concept of two kingdoms provided a critical analysis of political situation at that time to combat apartheid policy. What could be celebrated about the existence of MI was that its memorandum was profiled widely known as Umphumulo Memorandum.

#### **6.2.4. IM consultations: A dialogue on relevant theology and salvation today for Africa**

The Missiological Institute had to grapple with an urgent need of relevant theology and salvation today in Southern Africa. Mashabela (2019b) states “In the early 1970, the Missiological Institute organised seminars on Black Theology and invited guest speakers amongst them was Rev Bonganjalo Goba and others. Black Theology was not taught at Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College as there was pressure of Black Theology and Black Consciousness movement in South Africa”. The ninth MI Consultation with a theme of “Relevant theology for Africa” was held at ULTC from September 12-21, 1972 (Malidzhi 1992:59). Becken (1972b:6-7) asserts:

On our sub-continent we today observe two major trends in theology which deserve our attention. They are known by terms “African Theology” and “Black Theology”. Let us firstly turn to the concept of so-called African Theology. The basic issue at stake in this theological school is the insight that Christianity is not a new religion. The African is taken serious in his essence as a human being, with his own characteristics and qualities, with his own ways of thought, concepts and expressions. He will therefore read the Bible with his own eyes, listen to the Word of God with his own ears, ponder over it with his own brain, respond to it with his own mouth and words. This African Theology meets the villager on his field and the labourer in the township, helping him to experience Christ as the Lord in his reborn life as an African. The second trend is a more recent and calls itself Black Theology. It is rather a situational approach to theology which takes the “non-whites” find themselves in South Africa. This situation is supported by an awakening of self-consciousness and solidarity of the black people (this term includes also Coloureds and Indians) on the foundation of the new humanity towards which Christ has set us free. Having its special relevance in its sociological orientation, this trend runs parallel with a modern American approach and is in this way closer to the U.S.A than to the rest of Africa.

The study notes that the ninth MI consultation became an important theological engagement in search for relevant theology for Africa. This theology approach was God speaking responsibly in a given situation with new aspect and new expressions in Africa. Black people needed to develop an Africanised theology, which opposed a Western Theology dictated to the African context. An ongoing search for relevant theology, in African Theology was a methodical theology that related Christian faith to African life and spiritual realities. In Africa, African Theology was more appealing in other African countries. This was evident in an expression of African Theology were the living God, the living dead, ancestors and living people belonged together. Jesus Christ was expressed through the liberating grace of God were Africans experienced the wholeness of life and that of their neighbour. Black Theology was urgently interested to urgently liberate black people from economic and political space, according to Jesus Christ's freedom and will. It was more appealing in South African context for self-awareness and solidarity of black people. The church had an ecumenical responsibility to address the political situation in South Africa. Relevant theology for Africa was to revisit African realities but to be in touch of the rest of Africa.

Another important theology within Lutheran centre of research was an African understanding of salvation for Africa. Becken (1974a:1) points out "The World Mission Conference at Bangkok met from December 29, 1972 to January 8, 1973 under the theme Salvation today; since then this topic has been discussed widely, and the resulting controversies on the results of that conference prove the relevance of this issue in our times. It was therefore that we had to ask ourselves the question: what does salvation today mean in our specific setting in Southern Africa"? LTCGB meeting held in Doornfontein, Johannesburg, March 14-15, 1973 decided that tenth MI Consultation would be held. Nielsen & Becken (1973b:2) recorded "A consultation of Missiological Institute (M.I.) on the theme Salvation today was conducted at the LTC from September 11-20, 1973. The next year's consultation, hopefully on a dialogue with Black Theology, should be planned for the beginning of September 1974". The discussion of a topic Salvation today, in South African context the Parable of the Good Samaritan challenged churches to introspect themselves in order to achieve justice for all (Kistner 1974:68). The consultation findings were that all people of race needed to worship together in all church buildings. Churches were challenged to accept this decision and be applied publicly. Black pastors be welcomed to preach the Gospel at white congregation" (Becken 1974b:133). This study notes that this ninth MI Consultation was a critical moment on the question and nature of salvation today in South Africa. Salvation was delinked from the question of sin and aligned to liberation in social, economic and political means. Clearly, the ninth MI Consultation was of the view that salvation was not only

spiritually, but economically as an inclusive human empowerment and liberation. Human salvation was against authorities who abuse power to oppress society. Salvation was intertwined with human rights and dignity to protect all people. It was identified in context of human rights and equity principles as enshrined in African roots of *botho*.

#### **6.2.5. Towards the end of Missiological Institute conferences in the 1970s**

The last MI conferences were concern about issues of nationalism, poverty, capitalism, and socialism, as a serious threat in Southern Africa. Malidzhi (1992:59-60) points out the eleventh MI critically engaged the question of “church and nationalism in South Africa” at ULTC, in September 1974. Sundermeier (1975a:7) asserts “The theme nationalism in South Africa may, for the present, be a problem which most churches do not see as topical or relevant. However, it needs little prophetic insight to see that it will become very relevant and topical soon” White people in South Africa safely benefited economically and politically from South African government while black people suffered from this kind of nationalism. Sundermeier (1975b:145,147,151) points out:

We find that no black (African, Coloured and Indian) member of the consultation feels that he is free, and that from the heart of every black Christian goes up a deep and passionate cry for liberation. Not only; the white members of the consultation feel that they too are entangled in the servitude of their black brethren. The essence of slavery is the infringement of human rights and diminution of human dignity. We are unable to deny that these exist on a larger scale in South Africa; and everything that gives the black South African the feeling that he is being treated as less than a human diminishes also the dignity and humanity of white South African. It is evident to us that South Africa is facing grave perils. A South African nationalism which uses the plurality model can be given political content by welcoming all the forces and movements of growth in the country as contributions to the greater whole, instead of viewing them as ‘problems’ to be dealt with. We recommend that the findings of this consultation be incooperated in the programmes of all the existing black organisations, in university, schools and church institutions. We recommend to black churchmen that they explore Black Theology in their congregations as a relevant theology for liberating black people from psychological oppression.

The study notes that nationalism was a challenge and simultaneously relevant to be addressed in the South African context. Nationalism grabbed with the question of identity and belonging, which created divisions. On the other hand, it was called to be implemented in an inclusive way to accept diversity. It was problematic theologically for the apartheid government to promote the dignity of white people against the black people. The eleventh MI consultation challenged the white churches and government to repent and push for a one nationalism that would protect and

promote the dignity of the black people. Nationalism was an expression of African people to end oppression and to build their own liberation in their own country. Government could treat its citizens with human dignity without race or colour. Nationalism was one of influential forces in an affair of humanity in Africa. Other people used nationalism to oppress other people in social, political and economic life. A true nationalism was informed by common desire to work together for people to liberate themselves from any injustices whether economic, social and apartheid. Nationalism was a threat for common good and equity of people. The question of nationalism in South Africa had been a theological problem, which most churches had not see its relevance for human development. It violated principles of living together to share God's resources in a perfect harmony and oneness. Black organisations, universities, schools and church institutions were expected to promote human dignity and liberation of the majority in South Africa, Africa and elsewhere in the world.

Furthermore, the MI had engaged realities and inequalities that continued to exist in South Africa and Southern Africa. Malidzhi (1992:60) points out that a twelfth MI discussed a theme of "Affluence, poverty and the Word of God" at ULTC in 1977. Nürnberger (1978a:9) asserts "The study-programme on affluence versus poverty and the Word of God was, however, a new venture. In the present South African scene not only the theme of affluence and poverty, as such is of enormous relevance, but the method of getting people into effective dialogue across the racial and ideologically petrified barriers is almost of equal importance". Khoza (1978a:258) further says "The churches have responded individually and collectively to the homeless during removals, handing out food-parcels, second hand clothing and blankets to warm those who lack warmth in winter. It is, however, to be regretted that what the church could do is minimal in the light of the magnitude of the needs in our country today". Poverty existed more in rural societies and urban ghettos. The rich enjoyed their lives beyond their real needs while the poor remained more poorer (Van Loon 1978:197). Unemployment was higher in Southern Africa as creation of employment was needed (Khoza 1978b:89). This twelfth MI Consultation critically engaged Southern African inequalities, which created agony for the poor and the marginalised. The church was challenged to challenge itself and government to address the agony of poverty in its totality.

This was connected clearly to question of social, political and economic liberation project, namely, 1974 MI Consultation and the last MI Consultation. Malidzhi (1992:60) asserts that a last or thirteenth MI Consultation engaged a theme of "Ideologies of change in South Africa and the power of the gospel" at ULTC on May 20-25, 1978. Nürnberger (1979:5) points out that issues of

capitalism, socialism and marxism made the poor to find themselves in poverty because the rich had created poverty. Moila (1979:322) further states how ideologies of capitalism, socialism and marxism were aligned to God's promises through the message of the gospel given to Missiological Institute to assist and direct the church to change hopeless situations in South Africa and anywhere else in the world. Workers who fought for their workers rights were expelled and others were threaten too. The thirteenth MI Consultation engaged human essential needs as intertwined with spiritual and economic needs. The twelfth and thirteenth MI consultations challenge the church to advocate that evangelism be centred around a social and economic aspects. The MI promoted an action plan in a field of development to challenge Southern African churches to engage more relevant to economic and poverty matters. Spiritual and economic needs were means of wholeness of Africans in their context. Yet, an unequal economic distribution was a theological problem on economic justice and structures in service of society in South Africa. The church would not visit the poor family for prayer without contributing money for family needs. It was unacceptable that companies, which underpaid workers and create unhealthy working conditions expelled workers that advocated for workers' rights.

### **6.3. Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College: An ecumenical research centre**

In a decade, the Missiological Institute was a platform of ecumenical dialogue in Southern Africa on the mission of church matters (Nürnberg 1978b:271). Delegates from various churches in South Africa, the subcontinent, the African Independent Churches Movement, and South African universities and theological training institutions in Southern Africa participated in the success of MI consultations that were held at ULTC (Becken 1974a: 1). Mashabela (2019b) states:

The Missiological Institute was an ecumenical research centre. Theological seminaries such as FEDSEM and others participated in Missiological Institute conferences. However, the last Missiological Institute Conference was on Ideologies of change in South Africa and the power of the gospel: Capitalism, socialism and marxism in 1978. I left Umphumulo to teach at UNISA and a coloured lecturer JM. Kok was appointed. Since, I left MI project was closed.

This research ministerial institute became a place of an ecumenical theological training and consultation in South Africa not only within Lutheran ecumenical churches, but also to other Southern African established churches and AICs including South African universities and theological institutions. MI was a bold ecumenical research institute in response to South African Lutheran churches challenges of racism and structure of denomination and dependence in society. This division was a thread to Lutheran theology and contribution of ecumenism to the

church and society. The church existed for the well-being and common good of all in service of human community. Out of this ecumenical platform, African theologians and pastors developed their own Black Theology in South Africa in response to apartheid system and white churches that supported this sinful apartheid. The MI as the ecumenical body was called to embrace racial and political justice as a matter of Christian principles without fear or favour. The closure of the research institute at ULTC was problematic theologically because research was a heart of ULTC. Any theological institution without a research centre became irrelevant to South African realities and churches. Thus, the potential existence of the Lutheran Theological Institute was going to be strengthened by MI, if Lutherans allowed it to thrive in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### **6.4. African Lutheran theological publications**

Lutheran publication was *Credo Lutheran Theological Journal in Southern Africa* (CLTJSA), Homdrom (1962:10) points out “Successive pleas for a theological journal finally materialized when *Credo Lutheran Theological Journal in Southern Africa* appeared for the first time in 1956. It is printed in the official languages of the country, English and Afrikaans, and received an annual grant from the LWF. Though only four issues are printed annually, it hoped that the African pastors will contribute articles so that it can grow in a valuable forum as well as a source of edification and inspiration for them”. The Council of Churches on Lutheran Foundation eleventh annual meeting held at Lutheran Church, Strand Street, Cape Town, March 2-3, 1965, CCLF minutes (1965:3-4) recorded:

Voted that, we appoint a sub-committee to study the future of Credo with special attention to the following: In what ways can Credo be improved? The possibility of a merger of Credo with ministry. The possibility of having a Lutheran theological journal for all of Africa. Members of Credo sub-committee: Dr. W. Kistner (convener), Dr P. Beyerhaus, Bishop H. Fosseus, Pastors J. Sepeng and S. Abrahamse. Voted, that the Credo editor for 1965 be Rev. A.I. Berglund. Voted, that we request LWF for a subsidy of \$140 for Credo for 1966 as per previous agreement. Voted, that we request the Department of Theology of the LWF to investigate the possibility of having one Lutheran theological journal for all Africa, and that this matter be discussed at the All Africa Lutheran Conference in October 1965.

The insights above note that African Lutheran theological publications served to advance African scholarship and African Lutheran theological training institutions for service and a space to listen to voices of black congregations on their theologies and learning. Lutheran publication was an empowerment for African and missionary pastors and lecturers to grow their skills of research

and learning. In an ecumenical space, the Lutheran Publishing House published individual papers written by pastors from other denominations.

Amongst successive journals that were established the Lutheran circles was the *Africa Theological Journal* (ATJ). In the first Theological Faculty Conference for Africa at Lutheran Theological College Makumira, Tanzania, July 15-22, 1969, Masha (1969:1) reported:

I hope that all those in attendance at this conference have already made acquaintance with the Africa Theological Journal, a journal which made its initial appearance in February 1968. The existence of the journal was instigated by the Third All African Lutheran Conference which met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in 1965 at which time the Lutheran Theological College at Makumira was asked to be responsible for the production of such a journal. The intention of the AALC was that this be an annual publication and up to now the journal has been issued only once annually. The aim of the AALC was to provide a medium through which church leaders, theological teachers and parish pastors as well as 'laymen' could exchange ideas on various topics in our contemporary society within theological implications. To help this hope become a reality the African Theological Journal has an editorial committee composed of people from different nationalities and various Lutheran backgrounds. Its supporting committee includes persons from various denominational and national traditions.

The study notes that the Lutheran ATJ was an ecumenical journal and offered even the 'lay' people were given a space to publish their articles. ATJ was linked to AALC that provided a platform for engagement between the church leaders, theological lecturers, students, pastors and 'lay' people to critically exchange ideas on various topics to find solutions for challenges that were faced by churches and society in Africa. CLTJSA and ATJ publications were most important publication that carried ideas of African Lutheran scholars and other ecumenical scholars. The Lutheran Church was one of the leading churches in Africa that was responsible for theological witnessing, but it was also critically important to publish the Word of God theologically and academically. These journals had published various issues and parts of African continent. They were expected to provide critical consideration on matters of theological education, engage and provide solutions on issues that affected African Lutheran Church and society.

The Missiological Institute was a demanding task for research, publication, organising conferences, seminars, workshops, and organising archives. In 1975, the MI Committee requested LTCGB to employ a person to be in charge of MI. Nürnberger (1975:1) states:



The four tasks of (a) being a lecturer in Missiology and the Science of Religions, (b) organising the regular consultations of the Missiological Institute and being in charge of the official correspondence of the M.I., (c) doing research and collecting relevant material and (d) keeping order in the store room-these four tasks are sufficient to call for a full-time qualified person or at least for somebody who has the time to specialise himself. We have no such person who is qualified or who is free to concentrate on these duties at LTC. If the past achievements of the Missiological Institute are not to be endangered our main task is to get such a person!

The study notes that an appointment of a lecturer played a critical role in a task of MI. The reasons given above why a lecturer was appointed would enhance MI development. Sustaining and growing the work of MI was necessary to provide quality theological education and research at ULTC and for ecumenical theological institutions and universities. The permanent appointment of a lecturer for Missiology and Science of Religions created an employment opportunity to ensure that MI did not underperform. MI was established to provide capacity to organise and lead in research, and teaching and learning at ULTC.

The Missiological Institute was one of the key Lutheran theological educational departments that enable its archival documents to be published in Lutheran publication space and other ecumenical spaces. Becken (1972d:2) points out that papers presented at the Missiological Institute were mainly published by the Lutheran Publishing House. Malidzhi (1992:59) asserts "With this Luther in mind I think one should look at all of the Missiological Institute publication and see how they meet the needs of the oppressed black majority". Johansson (1990:2) asserts:

The main purpose for the existence of the Lutheran Publishing House is, of course, to proclaim and spread the gospel through books and literature. However, to make this possible the Lutheran Publishing House at the same time, and the economic terms, has to make ends meet, ie, be a financially self-supporting business enterprise. In the year of 1990 this has become rather difficult taking into account the general state of the South African economy. The widespread economic recession which, in turn, in many ways is linked to the political instability in the country has now really caught up with the man in the street.

The insights above notes that research papers presented at MI conferences were primarily published by the Lutheran Publishing House. However, the Lutheran Publishing House was established as a self-supporting business enterprise. Due to South African political instability, the Lutheran Publishing House was financially struggling in 1990. The Lutheran Publishing House

operated under the severe realities of apartheid period, although, it wanted to sustain its task of a living and dynamic publishing house. The study notes that the Lutheran Publishing House was perceived as one of the publishing houses in South Africa not only for the proclamation of the gospel, but to keep theological education alive.

### **6.5. Life and history of Lutheran Church archives in South Africa**

Lutheran churches' archives and its theological training institutions in South Africa played an important role for Lutheran publication. Becken (1974c:1) asserts:

The Lutheran Church Archives (or Archives of the Miss.Inst.) (LCA) at LTC serve the purpose of collecting, preserving, registering and making available to research workers, archivalia of the of the Lutheran churches in the Republic of South Africa. The LCA collects hand written, typed and published primary sources which contain valuable information on the history of the Lutheran churches in South African setting, on their mutual and their ecumenical relations in South Africa, on their relations with Lutheran and other churches and church organizations outside South African other missionary efforts. The LCA offer the South African Lutheran churches an opportunity of preserving and making available to research workers archivalia or copies of archivalia which at present are preserved in the archives of regional church offices or of parishes.

Makhathini (1974) further says:

The emerging churches in Southern Africa have in their merger committee and standing committee underlined the need to preserve all documents which have to do with the Lutheran churches and missions as of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Some have brought their papers & records for sorting here at Umphumulo. We plan to employ the services of qualified archivists who will sort out what he feels belongs or does not belong to an archive.

The study notes that MI and Lutheran churches in Southern Africa were committed to preserve and protect the Lutheran archives. Both LCA and LCsSA established committees responsible to collect, restore and record all necessary archival Lutheran churches' documents and evidence of ecumenical churches in South Africa, which were available for research workers. Thus, full-time qualified archivists were employed to collect and organise archives in service of the church, researchers and that of society. It was liberating to establish Lutheran archival department to ensure that the South African Lutheran history and heritage became part of Lutheran contribution in an academic space and Christian Education. Written materials such as Lutheran and other church circles on Christian mission and church in Africa were important information that could be embraced and celebrated by LCSA. Thus, Lutheran archival department in South Africa could

remain a strong hold in producing study materials for the church and theological institutions and other institutions of interest to Lutheranism. Lutheran archival department became Lutheranism heritage in South Africa.

Becken (1974c:2) points out "The researcher workers making intensive use of the archivalia of the LCA for a thesis or for the publication of an article are expected to hand into the MI free of charge, a copy of the respective thesis, book or articles". In reflection, sources were used by theological students and other researchers from various spiritual communities and secular community. Publication was an agent change to build strong academic scholarship and educational resources in Africa. Development of archives were a serious concern to ensure that quality of theological material was recovered to be used for research and quality publication. African Lutheran theological publication was a model that provided ability to teach theological students, lecturers and for public use. Necessary and constant need for committed publication required improvement of theological education growth in response to the church and African issues. Academically, African Lutheran theological publication was a resource to equip others to be academically educated in order to get African vision to be liberating. This kind of theological education investment reflected critically on theological curriculum, the church theology and African life as a way of growing self-awareness in theological education.

Furthermore, Becken (1974c:2) states:

The LCA are to establish and maintain contacts with other institutions in and outside the Republic of South Africa, which collect archivalia on the history of the Lutheran churches in South Africa and other South African history in general. The LCA at the LTC cooperated with the S.A.C.C. and supports efforts to arrive as far as possible at uniform methods and principles in the various church related institutions or church offices which collect and preserve archivalia pertaining to the history of the South African churches.

In reflection, LCA had cooperation with other churches archives committees to enhance productivity of history and heritage of the church in Africa. The church independent research institution established relations with Lutheran archives institutions for its work. Archivists and theological researchers at the church level would ensure that the work of LCSA was relevant and effective to the church in response of the needs of the Lutheran church members and society. LCSA could employ enough researchers to profoundly implement justice to challenges of the Lutheran Church and that of society.

## **6.6. Conclusion**

For a decade, the Missiological Institute operated and promoted interdisciplinary research and innovation, which engaged various issues that affected the South African society and churches. It had served as an ecumenical platform to provide solutions on social, economic, and political inequalities that concerned the church mission in South Africa. Through consultations, seminars and workshops of theologians, pastors, theological students, evangelists and 'laity' from different denominations critically reflected on issues that were an agony to humanity and to provide justice. In the gatherings of Missiological Institute issues of justice, liberation and human rights were seriously engaged in South Africa. Missiological Institute contributed on the unity of the church and in response to the issues in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. The crisis of Lutheran theology in South Africa coexisted between black and white Lutheran churches and the call to collectively fight against apartheid.

## CHAPTER 7

### AN ONGOING SEARCH OF CONSTANT AND SUSTAINABLE LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA 2003-2016

#### 7.1. Introduction

Towards the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Lutheran churches in South Africa searched for a Lutheran Theological Education in South Africa. Yet, there was an integrated form of Lutheran Theological Education in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as discussed in chapter 5. The Lutheran Church struggled to establish a theological institution or an integrated theological institution. Thus, in this chapter, the study revisits a recent historical account of the Lutheran Theological Education. The study will discuss the identified challenges and potentials of ministerial education in Lutheranism and ecumenism in South Africa.

#### 7.2. Establishment of a Joint Committee on Lutheran Theological Training

A new look of Lutheran theological education in South Africa was central in the 21<sup>st</sup> century within the Lutheran space. Lutheran churches in Southern Africa had to review its 20<sup>th</sup> theological education with a guidance of Lutheran theological institutions. Nürnberger (2000:3-4) recorded:

In 1998, the LWF sent an Assessment Team on Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary and Moravian Theological Centre. Among others, the team made the following recommendations: ELCSA should reconsider the location of the seminary (Johannesburg was mentioned as a possibility) in view of the following educational criteria: urban setting, multi-lingualism, proximity to a major university, the vision of ELCSA of its ministry for the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Further consultation committee should take place as soon as possible between LWF and ELCSA on the report and the location of the seminary. A consulting committee on theological education should be established between ELCSA, UELCSA and the Moravian Church in view of the closer coordination and cooperation of the three theological institution. The committee suggested that existing (LUCSA and SALTTT) could perhaps be activated for this purpose. The institutions should serve the training of ordained ministers as well as laity.

Furthermore, ELCSA Church Council minutes (1998:12) recorded “As a response to the LWF report, the ELCSA Church Council: resolved to appoint a Technical Team to produce a document to the next Church Council, Lutheran World Federation to be consulted. This committee produced an interim report to the Church Council in which various principles and options were considered.

This report was forwarded to the General Assembly in December 1998". ELCSA-GA minutes (1998:16) recorded "The General Assembly accepts the Technical Team and that it should continue with its work". The insights here was that ELCSA, UELCSA, LWF and the Moravian Church were in a process of renewing theological institutions to a closer cooperation leading to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. These churches and LWF were developing and fostering new theological institution to meet the new demanding needs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Thus, theological education committees were established to research and make suggestions for a new look of theological institutions in South Africa. It was not easy for churches and LWF to agree on a common identity of a theological education. Thus, an ongoing search for a new look of theological institution was a difficult task for the theological education committee. This theological institution would position itself to add value to a theological curriculum within a South African context.

Nürnberg (2000:4,5-6) recorded:

On the 5 August 1999, a meeting between the presiding bishops, general secretaries and treasurers of ELCSA and UELCSA, as well as a high ranking delegation of the Lutheran World Federation, including the general secretary, the African secretary and finance officer of the LWF, decided to set up a Joint Committee on Lutheran Theological Training (JCLTT) to determine the vision, the needs, the practical implementation and the financing of the Lutheran theological education in South Africa at the turn of the millennium. JCLTT recommended that there is a wide agreement that pastors should be trained at least at first degree level. Lutheran students should be trained together, live together and worship together. There is also considerable openness for ecumenical cooperation in the training of ministers. Most respondents also believe that Lutherans can learn a lot from other church traditions. While traditional theological subjects are emphasised in the proposed curriculum, secular subjects such as psychology, sociology and economics are deemed to be essential. There is agreement that proper remuneration will help the church to attract or retain workers with a better training, although the church might have to reduce numbers. There is considerable openness for the part-time, self-supporting and lay ministries to alleviate the financial burden of the church and increase its corps of workers.

This discussion considered the cooperation of these two Lutheran churches that was always yearning for Lutheran unity and quality of theological curriculum for the church ministry in service of South African society. It was critically important for theological curriculum to include subjects such as psychology, sociology and economics for the training of theological students. The Lutheran Theological Education in South Africa was expected to be aligned with the African theological education agenda of equipping the clergy to equip the 'lay' ministry on matters of

spiritual, socio-economic, and political liberation for community engagement. Simultaneously, this quality of LTE was designed so that LCSA would pay its pastors a living salary, by virtue of paying pastors a living salary it would automatically attract young people to join the ordained ministry. Thus, part-time, or self-supporting pastors were unconditionally accepted by ELCSA and UELCSA to reduce the church financial burden to service the church and society effectively. This sustained and essential profession of pastors in LCSA. Surely, this model of theological education in the Lutheran space would not only prepare theological students to serve Lutheran congregations only, but also theological students attracted secular institutions for employ in service of community engagement.

Nürnberger (2000:7) further recorded “To fulfil its mandate, the church constantly has to formulate new and creative policies to respond to changing conditions”. In reflection, it was not only the renewal of Lutheran theological institution. ELCSA and UELCSA were expected to urgently reform their policies and formulate new, liberating, and creative policies in response of emerging South African changing contexts. Thus, theological education in the Lutheran space was used to possibly train pastors to be responsible to ensure that congregations were quipped to fulfil the common good according to their gifts and skills in service of society.

### **7.3. The 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Lutheran Theological Education in Pietermaritzburg**

The role of black theological students in the Lutheran theological education. Scriba (1993:i) points out:

A Theological Conference to mark the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Lutheran Theological Education in Pietermaritzburg was held from Sunday 29 August to Tuesday 31 August 1993 at the Church of the Cross in Hayfields. A conference was not without controversy. Students of the Lutheran students’ residence had not been adequately informed in the time and felt that there was no reason in celebrating an anniversary which started as “a white project”. During the conference this matter was discussed with the students.

Mashabela (2018a) state:

The 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Lutheran Theological Education in Pietermaritzburg in 1993 was a controversial and racial one. This celebration had not included a true reflection of what was termed the Lutheran unity in South Africa. Black students demanded that Lutheran black lecturers must be employed to work at LUTHOS at that time and the University of Natal. Later in a year or so, one black lecturer was employed, and senior theological students worked as assistant lecturers.

Mashabela (2019d) elaborates:

I was a senior postgraduate student when the conference was hosted through the ELCSA (NT). The venue for the conference was at the Hayfields Congregation in Pietermaritzburg. Professor Simon Maimela was invited as one of the main speakers. As students who were residing at the Lutheran House of Studies (LUTHOS), 29 Golf Road in Pietermaritzburg we have been having challenges with both the inclusion and integration of the black (African) students into the Pietermaritzburg theological plan that was supported by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). We strongly felt that the whole structure and governance favoured white students, to be precise South African (German) white students. This very same challenge had to do with how the content and approach of teaching theology was done at the time. We felt that we were foreigners and our presence as black (African) students was not taken into account. We then used the opportunity of hijacking Prof Maimela's visit to present our concerns at this planned conference. Our plan worked. We briefed him about our concerns a day before the conference. Basically, we felt that the conference organisers undermined the history of theological training in this country. Issues of inequality and access were not at all addressed. I can safely say that Prof Maimela changed his presentation after a lengthy debate at the conference. He looked at Luther's justification by faith in the context of apartheid.

The insights above notes that black Lutheran students were unhappy about the inequalities of Lutheran Theological Education in Pietermaritzburg. They demanded an end to racial discrimination against black students and black lecturers must be employed to work at LUTHOS and the University of Natal. Theological students were clear that Lutheran Theological Education in Pietermaritzburg would urgently transform as a non-racial and inclusive theological training in a university environment. They were not necessarily against the celebration of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary, but the manner in which the anniversary was planned, and long-outstanding demands were not met. Decolonially, these African theological students' boldness to engage Maimela to change an irrelevant presentation from LUTHOS authorities and ELCSA (NT) to a relevant presentation of "Luther's justification by faith in the context of apartheid" to address a question of Pietermaritzburg theological plan on blackness was indeed liberating. Maimela as a black activist and theologian acted in solidarity with African theological students of LUTHOS in response of the blackness concerns.

#### **7.4. A theological discourse remains a thorn of a seminary or university**

The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa grappled with the question returning a seminary or moving to university. LCSA was in search of a seminary or university that offered a contextual



theology. This challenge was facing the ecumenical church and its theological institutions. Mugambi (2013:118-119) asserts:

The dissonance between theological education training and contextual relevance leads to a pastoral workforce inadequate for the delivery of relevant contextual service to the congregations in both rural and urban areas in Africa. An African theological education curriculum that effectively addresses these issues ought to be an African ecumenical undertaking (transcending the denominational rivalry and competition inherited from the mission agencies). To be contextually relevant and effective, tertiary Christian theological education will have to re-think the inherited relationships with North Atlantic Christianity, taking into serious consideration the challenges that the latter is facing in the twenty-first century as a consequence of policies formulated and implemented in the twentieth. Africanization of Christian theological education is necessary and overdue. One model for dealing with this challenge has been the establishment of “Christian” universities.

In Africa, many seminaries were converted into ‘Christian Universities’. This was to attract more students to study theology and for economic empowerment. Computer courses and business studies were amongst other courses that were taught. A theological education at a university was for a purpose of improving to higher learning (Houston 2013:111). The insights above notes that the transformation of theological education was currently an ongoing in Africa as many seminaries changed to become ‘Christian Universities’. In this context, the church needed to own a theological institution with a relevant theology and diverse disciplines. The ecumenical church was grappling to design a new theological education with a new infrastructure. Thus, the church faced a challenge whether to continue with a renewal of a theological institution or move to a university model.

The Lutherans in South Africa joined the struggle of the renewal of theological education in Africa. Nürnberger (2000:33) recorded:

Here the choice is between a seminary only, a university only and a seminary linked to a university. The last alternative allows for pooling of resources, academic quality and ecumenical enrichment without sacrificing specific Lutheran needs. The committee recommended a seminary linked to a university be adopted. Here the choice is between the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, the University of Pretoria and UNISA. The universities in Johannesburg do not qualify. The University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, has excellent qualities and a strong tradition of Lutheran involvement. The committee recommends that the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg be adopted. Here the choice seems to be between Marang, Umphumulo, Pietermaritzburg and Pretoria would only make

sense if the seminary were to be linked to University of Pretoria. If Marang or Umphumulo were chosen, the link could be either to UNISA or the University of Natal.

This study notes that ELCSA and UELCSA were interested to train their theological students in an ecumenical environment of a university. However, the difference about these churches was an approach of theological training which was a link between seminary and university. The other churches' theological training approach was to delink theological seminary and university. Thus, a university was a preferred environment for theological training. It was interesting to note that African churches needed their theological students to be trained within the theological education at university space. In the Lutheran theological space, academic and spirituality could be equally part of theological education. Pastors were trained in service of the church with a balance between their academic and spiritual needs. Historically, African churches had an unending debate on whether to close theological seminary or college to opt for university theological education. This had been an ongoing search for ELCSA and UELCSA, simultaneously, it was an uncomfortable debate to replace a seminary or college with university for theological education.

This Lutheran approach of the church unity and theological education at a university was an African approach. Churches such as the Uniting Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa (UPCSA) had also taken a same approach to train its theological students at the same institution. Mogashoa & Makofane (2017:9) asserts:

Theological and ministerial formation of the UPCSA was marked by a period of unsettled and nomadic experience in a quest to find the most viable location and reshaping its theological training. This vacillation and nomadic experience culminated in the UP Faculty of Theology becoming a major training institutional partner of UPCSA in 2002. The ministerial formation in the UPCSA is facing a number of challenges since joining forces with UP (Faculty of Theology).

The study notes that this church approach was to allow black and white theological students to be trained in a united theological education space at a university. However, this unity of theological training in the 21<sup>st</sup> century was still faced by several challenges. This might mean that training theological students at a university was unstable and could led to a turn to a seminary.

### **7.5. A promising joint Lutheran theological institution**

After a lengthy and radical discussions and research, the ELCSA and UELCSA agreed to establish a joint LTE at the university level to address emerging South African environmental changes. Scriba (2012:3-4) points out:

The JCLTT meeting had accepted a report of a Lutheran theological training in South Africa on March 19-20, 2000 with the recommendations that common training for all Lutheran pastors, an ecumenical setting without losing Lutheran identity, the amalgamation of the two Lutheran theological training centres, Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College and Lutheran House of Studies (LUTHOS) in a new institution located in Pietermaritzburg, Lutheran Theological Institute (LTI) and linked to the School of Theology at the University of Natal and the upgrading of lecturers to university status. In the meantime, the linkage between the LTI to the School of Theology and the University at large was negotiated in terms of syllabi, personnel administration, remission of fees, bursaries, etc. A provisional settlement of the issues of property and running cost contributions by the partners was reached on the 9 October 2002. With that the way was clear for the envisaged establishment of the LTI in January 2003.

The study notes that the JCLTT achieved its task of establishing the Lutheran Theological Education at the University of Natal. The establishment of LTI in 2003 was a third phase of the Lutheran Church in South Africa to promote Lutheran unity and witness in theological education space. For years, ULTC and LUTHOS provided an effective and profitable theological training to serve Southern African Lutheran churches and society. These Lutheran training institutions played the role of theological education to archive its plans. The intention of establishing LTI was a purpose of Lutheran unity and ecumenical growth. The big concern was whether LTI would meet the requirements of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It was critical for LTI to further advance the involving theological education at a university environment.

Scriba (2012:4) further says:

The initial agreement was for the years 2003-2005. From 2005 onwards, negotiations with UKZN were conducted to renew the agreement. These negotiations were difficult and showed little progress. In 2010, UKZN rejected the fundamental principle of the agreement – the quid pro quo of fee reductions in return for staff provision, leading to a breakdown of negotiations and the exploration of other options by LTI. However, after the publication of the intention to pursue other options, the principle was agreed to by UKZN, and a revised agreement, on the same basis as other Houses of Studies in Pietermaritzburg, such as the Anglican House of Studies and the Congregational House of Formation, was signed in 2011.

In a second face of an agreement between LTI and UKZN was not easy given the challenge of remuneration of staff. However, LTI had to reinforce its financial resources by engaging theological houses of studies in Pietermaritzburg to add their financial resources to foster an agreement with UKZN. The whole ecumenical theological training circle and process was to

mobilise financial resources to finance salaries of lecturers and for teaching and research purpose. The primary reason for this ecumenical theological training led to training of theological students from other denominations in South Africa and internationally. LTI engaged these theological houses of studies so that they could effectively and successfully benefit from Lutheran university project.

#### **7.6. Evolving Lutheran Theological Institute: New development and challenges**

The disturbing trend at LTI was that Lutheran theological training was unstable. LTI principal's report (2012:3-4) recorded that in 2009, a great concern was a resignation of lecturers to higher theological institution such as UNISA, ecumenical organisations and others. Five lecturers were appointed and three were seconded to teach at School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics at UKZN. The secondments were restricted to a one-year contracts as South African Lutheran Theological Training Trust (SALTTT) was not committed for a long-term employment with UKZN. The study notes that there was a growing concern of uncertainty of lecturers for full-time employment and sustainable partnership with UKZN. LTI had an exodus of its lecturers to other theological institutions such as UNISA and ecumenical bodies due to a threat of the future of LTI survival and lecturers' human security. New lecturers were employed to replace migrated lecturers. The question would be what happened with the new appointed lecturers. A secondment contract of a one-year threatened the future of theological education at LTI and its lecturers. SALTTT and Lutheran churches in Southern Africa were supposed to be proactive to secure LTI and its workers. This would sustain the quality and future of LTI in South Africa and for the benefit of the ecumenical church.

Mashabela (2016b) point out that mistakes implemented by ELCSA and UELCSA leadership were:

- (a) A theological curriculum that excluded a diploma in theology at LTI to be taught at university according the agreement between LTI and UKZN.
- (b) Failure of these churches to honour an agreement to contribute funds consistently to SALTTT, a trust project. LTI survived with donated funds from LWF and Lutheran donors from America.
- (c) ELCSA Church Council used to oversee theological education at ULTC. It controlled the affairs of ULTC. When LTI was controlled by rules of university, ELCSA lost its support for LTI.

This study notes that initially ELCSA and UELCSA supported their LTI to meet their needs. However, during the years of LTI existence the identified mistakes above created a crisis for the future of LTI. Lutheran theological training committee and churches had not applied a well-researched and well thought evaluation of theological candidates for requirements of a degree at university and those who qualified for a diploma in theology. The problem was that churches agreed to enrol their theological students only for a degree. The failure of churches not to contribute to the theological training trust fund was bound to collapse LTI as the best theological institute model in Africa to benefit Africa. ELCSA leadership had no full interest to sustain its theological training in South Africa to benefit Lutheran congregations. Whether this was true or not, ELCSA leadership had a responsibility to ensure that congregations were furnished with trained pastors.

LTI principal's report (2012:3,8) recorded:

We have not received any students in 2012. We have not heard of any new applicants for 2013. This means there may be no UELCSA students at LTI in 2012, and likely not in 2013. It is obvious that UELCSA churches need to encourage more young people to study theology. The absence of theological students from UELCSA at the training in Pietermaritzburg at present is a concern. In regard to the time of study, the desirability of study at UKZN, at the LTI, and residence at the LTI. Regarding UKZN, it can be observed that many young white people from KZN, studying various disciplines, prefer to do so not at UKZN but in Cape Town, Pretoria or Stellenbosch. This may be due to a perception of lack of academic quality at UKZN, or due to the fact that the large majority of students at UKZN are Black and Indian, and young white people feel isolated and uncomfortable in this environment. This latter point also relates to the residence at LTI, where 95% to 99% of the residents are black.

The study notes that a decline of theological students from UELCSA posed a serious concern at LTI. This could not replace the fact that UELCSA played a great role for the establishment of LTI and commitment of the unity of Lutheran theological training in South Africa. UELCSA had been contributing financial resources to LTI and enrolling its theological students at LTI for training at UKZN. This was based on realisation and possible future for Lutheran theological training in South Africa. However, it was disappointing that UELCSA theological students' enrollment at LTI declined due to the question of race. It was problematic theologically that UELCSA would agree to enroll its theological students at University of Cape Town, University of Pretoria, and University of Stellenbosch. In implementing this, UELCSA paralysed the unity and witness of Lutheran theological training in South Africa. This became an embarrassment within the Lutheran circle

and threat to a build-up theological education of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the so-called South African democracy. The quality and future of LTI faced a serious crisis cost by UELCSA.

### **7.7. Diaconate training programme at the Lutheran Theological Institute**

To strengthen the work of the ordained ministry ELCSA had to revisit and reintroduce the diaconate ministry. In an ELCSA Episcopal Council meeting at Bonaero Park on November 13, 1997, Buthelezi (1997:4) points out:

It is incumbent upon our church to rediscover the office of deacon. We need to avoid the error of confusing elders in terms of the ELCSA Constitution with the New Testament deacons and 'elders' (presbyters). Neither the diakonos nor the presbuteros of the Pauline epistle was a layman. They were ordained full-time ministers of the church. The deacons who distributed the elements of the Eucharist in the Didache were part of the full-time clergy.

Dlamini, Zulu Wasegazini & Biyela (2012:1-4) assert "Diaconal Ministry is ministry concerned for individual person. This ministry was demonstrated by Jesus Christ whose life and deeds centered on individual persons' concerns. It is true that the task of serving does not concern only Diaconic ministry but the whole congregation". In reflection, the diaconal ministry in the church was based on the service of congregation and to strengthen the work of pastors. ELCSA developed an appreciation of diaconal ministry to locate diakonia service to the people of God. An observation was made to revisit diaconal ministry to achieve its renewal of the church service to the people of God. Deacons were part of the clergy to assist to ensure the implementation of congregational work.

A certificate level of diaconate training was moved from the Kenosis Community to LTI campus by ELCSA in 2011 (Scriba 2012:4). Biyela (2012:1) asserts:

Deacons' theological curriculum varied from the office of pastors' ministry curriculum. Deacons were theologically trained for a two-year period. Liturgical and Pastoral Duties of a Deacon: Liturgy of the word, preaching, church administration- help the Parish Pastor with recordings and filling. the deacon should take care of personal contact with those who request the services of the church, e.g. burials and baptisms and Teaching- Christian Education, Confirmation class and Sunday school. To point to the reality of the kingdom of God in the midst of society and to struggle for justice, dignity and a recognized place in society for all.

Ramashapa (2008:4) further points out:

ELCSA Diakonia and Development Ministry cascades down to congregation diaconal activities. This ministry has to be owned by all structures of the church. Church leaders, especially bishops and pastors need to make a conscientious effort to blend ministry of sacraments and proclamation with diakonia in the life of congregants.

The study notes that theological preparation enabled deacons to provide alternative ways and to improve the church and societal situations. They were trained to be well-informed about South African society to use the church available resources in service of community in a realistic and effective support. The principal purpose of diaconal ministry was to expect deacons to work from an ecumenical perspective through the confessing church out God's love and service.

Mashabela (2016a) point out:

Deaconate ministry was politicised, some pastors undermined and sabotaged deacons in some parishes. They were not always given the opportunity to perform their duties such as preaching, assisting in the distribution of Holy Communion in divine services and during home visits. Some parishes had not given them monthly allowances others received inadequate allowance to perform their daily duties. In some instances, deacons were transferred out of parishes to be stationed to other parishes or the church deaconate ministry programmes within the church such as Diakonia AIDS Ministry a project by diocesan councils without a proper consultation of deacons, parish councils and parishes. The question of a living salary remains a challenge in the church as some deacons received an inadequate salary especially in the ELCSA-Central Diocese.

In this discussion, it was necessary that the deacons were part of the clergy ministry to ensure that the church was serviced in full capacity such as that of the deacons. The injustice treatment of deacons within ELCSA by some pastors and councils was uncalled for, un-African and un-Lutheran. In the interest of God's justice, the Ministerial and Episcopal councils were given an office and responsibility to ensure that deacons' rights and dignity were protected just like that of pastors. The required needs of deacons across ELCSA could necessary be met with care of justice and equality.

### **7.8. Lutheran ecumenical support to Theological Education by Extension College**

The Lutheran Church in Southern Africa decided to establish a working theological education relationship with Theological Education by Extension College. This college was designed within an ecumenical context. Richardson (2007:144-145) asserts "In 1965, the participating churches

together established the Joint Board for the Diploma in Theology. The Joint Board became the chief accrediting body for the MCSA for forty years, until in 2005, it lost its official recognition under the new South African education legislation". This led churches in South Africa to enrol their theological students at Theological Education by Extension College as most of their colleges were closed due to this new education legislation in South Africa. Boreš (1978a:196-197) points out the Theological Education by Extension College (TEEC) in Southern Africa, which was established in March 1976. TEEC was viewed as an ecumenical institution initiated and supported by established churches, namely, the Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist and Presbyterian, which also appointed delegates to be part of TEEC Council and AICs. It also offered an opportunity for the employed to study theology while working, contextual theology was studied by theological students. Furthermore, TEEC (2011) asserts that TEEC was an inclusive theological education for pastors and 'lay' people and accessible because as an ecumenical theological education designed in a form of the distance-learning education.

The study notes that theological institutions in South Africa were unable meet the emerging needs of theological education according to the new education expectations. Equally so, theological education was faced with a challenge to meet expectations of the church growth and needs. These churches had a huge responsibility to financially strengthen the self-sufficiency and hope of theological institutions. The renewal of the secular education expected the church to be financially viable to participate in shaping and improving the South African higher learning. Thus, due to churches' theological seminaries and colleges' accreditation challenge, TEEC model alternatively emerged to save and serve the interest of South African theological education. Established churches experienced a heavy burden to fund their established theological institutions. TEEC model as the theological education alternative came in at least as an affordable distance-theological education for self-supporting pastors and 'lay' people. Clearly, TEEC was designed to strengthen a shortage of pastors as it was expensive for established churches to support theological students at universities and to financially maintain their seminaries and colleges.

Furthermore, Serote (1994:2) points out:

In 1993, the continuous clergy training, they regularly send students to the seminary and University of Natal for training. The South Eastern Diocese has ordained 14 pastors in the self-supporting ministry, which was run by the Theological Education by Extension College (TEEC), which is a correspondence college of theology and Rev. J. M. Kok and faculty, who held seminars on Lutheran



confessions and other subjects. Unfortunately, this has been stopped because of lack of funds to have seminars. Different diocese held seminars for refresher courses, whenever funds permit.

TEEC was a most important contribution in Africa on theological education and research work (Msomi 1988:199). TEEC in Southern Africa enabled Lutherans in America on its important studies of theological students' challenge. TEEC lacked critical engagement on prophetic, ecumenical and trans-local reality of the church. Theological education at TEEC was a response to new emerging needs for contextualisation (Cochrane 1996:27). TEEC was another theological education model to contribute to theological education needs in South Africa. The challenge with theological education at TEEC was that theological students studied alone without a face-to-face dialogue with lecturers and students. Yet, TEEC was another important method of theological education and contribution to the church and theological discourse. TEEC and other forms of theological institutions were in a stage of structure renewal to meet the urgent demands of Africanisation, indigenisation and decolonisation aspects. Indeed, Lutherans could not be left out without being part of this ecumenical education for the development of South Africa. Yet, TEEC continued to be questioned whether it was offering an ecumenical theological education that was meeting expectations and hopes of the South African context and agenda or not. Most importantly, were TEEC, other theological institutions and South African churches prepared and ready to ensure that theological education was aligned to the 4<sup>th</sup> industrial revolution.

### **7.9. An introduction of diploma in theology at the Lutheran Theological Institute**

LTI experienced a decline of the enrolment of BTh degree, while many theological students enrolled for a DTheol from ELCSA. Scriba (2012:4) points out "Due to concern about the progress and admission of students from poor schooling backgrounds, ELCSA decided to establish a diploma level theological education on the LTI campus, beginning in 2009". LTI principal's report (2012:3) recorded "Churches are encouraged to identify pastors in service of the church for further studies, and to recommend to them to apply for registration for bridging to B Th Hons, BTh Hons, MTh or PhD, as appropriate. LTI Staff are willing to assist applicants with applications for bursaries". In reflection, it was disappointing that ELCSA enrolled a lot of theological students for DTheol. ELCSA defeated the purpose of Lutheran unity and witness to commit for an initial plan to enroll all theological students for a BTh programme. Thus, It betrayed LTI vision of producing graduate students with a BTh degree. However, the DTheol was a basic theological education for the renewal of churches to ensure that commitment to Lutheran unity and witness became a reality in South Africa. It existed to ensure that theological students were trained to be theologically

competent of the church leadership and fulfilled evangelistic and mission work. LTI leadership had also kept other theological education qualifications as a necessity to sustain the profession of pastors as the vocation to live to enable the church to offer common good services to society. LTE in South Africa had been realised to keep a standard of excellence for theological education at the LTI and UKZN.

#### **7.10. Diploma in Theology crisis at Theological Education by Extension College**

LTI was experiencing continuous challenges, but its teaching staff continued to ensure that LTI met its expectations. LTI in the 21<sup>st</sup> century was the holder and future of Lutheran theological training for Lutheran churches in Southern Africa. Shabele (2015:3) further points out:

The hopeful, positive spirit engendered by the evaluation and the response of SALT<sup>TTT</sup> was abruptly squashed by communications from ELCSA Head office. These announced that lecturers remunerated by ELCSA head office would not be paid their salaries due to financial constraints of the ELCSA Churchwide office. As ELCSA had also not paid both its scheduled contribution to LTI, and the residential fees for the students in its TEEC linked programme, LTI became technically insolvent. SALT<sup>TTT</sup> appointed staff at LTI were informed that there was no money to pay their July salaries. In a crisis meeting of SALT<sup>TTT</sup> on 30 July 2015, SALT<sup>TTT</sup> resolved to cease operations at LTI, retrench the staff there, and make SALT<sup>TTT</sup> dormant.

The study notes that this was the beginning of the LTE crisis for the LCSA life and productive to society. It was hurting and frustrating that LTI ceased operations, which was leading to kill the Lutheran Theological Education. The Lutheran congregations in South Africa would continue to suffer for not receiving new production of trained pastors. This remained a theological education crisis for the LCSA to sustain the LTE in South Africa. LTI crisis affected its agreement with TEEC arrangement of DTheol. Both LTI staff and theological students were equally affected by this crisis.

#### **7.11. A renaming of Lutheran Theological Institute: Saving the integrity of theological education in South Africa**

When LTI faced challenges, the teaching staff had to renew the image of LTI. This theological institution was an investment for Southern African Lutheran churches. It was investing in LTE as a creative institution that would provide relevant research for these churches. Mashabela (2018c) asserts:

In 2015, LTI was facing a serious crisis due to its existence and future. The existed LTI teaching staff from ELCSA saw a dissolution of SALT<sup>TTT</sup> as a recreated opportunity to form a new theological

seminary. Not to so say, it was happy about the dissolution of SALTTT. Thus, it was important that LTI campus could not die with the name Lutheran Theological Institute but die with a new seminary name. In August 2015, LTI was supposed to be closed, yet, teaching staff continued in 2015 to the end of 2016 educating theological students and fulfilling an academic administrative work without a salary. In August 2015, ELCSA leadership retrenched LTI administrative staff. The renewal of LTI was derived from historical Lutheran sources of 1530 as the Augsburg Confession was signed there. It was in this reasoning that LTI teaching staff after its lengthy discussions in finding solutions to the LTI crisis, it had to officially rename LTI as the Augustana Lutheran Theological Seminary (ALTS) in July 2015. Thus, in 2016, a new bank account with a name of Augustana Lutheran Theological Seminary was opened by some ALTS teaching staff and a name Augustana Lutheran Theological Seminary was used throughout 2016.

Furthermore, the ELCSA Church Council meeting held at Lakeview Airport Lodge, Bonaero Park, Kempton Park, September 26-28, 2016. ELCSA Church Council minutes (2016:11,17) recorded:

The diocese requested a clear communique on the new name of LTI and it was clarified that the name was changed since it was the name under SALTTT, and now the name is Augustana Lutheran Theological Seminary. The Church Council resolved to get accreditation for LTI with the help of the specialist, and that in the meantime ELCSA partner with the Methodist Seminary. The Church Council resolved to set up a committee to handle the matters of theological education and report to Church Council in November 2016 prior to the General Assembly.

Mashabela (2018c) further points out:

The ALTS was now under ELCSA leadership. During the renaming of LTI, the ALTS teaching staff had addressed a process of the ALTS accreditation. The plan was that after a process of accreditation, the ALTS would offer a BTh and BTh honours degree and diploma in theology, and ELCSA would end its relationship with TEEC programme. The ALTS would incooperate theological education courses with sociology, economics and psychology. However, the ALTS would continue its partnership with the UKZN for postgraduate studies. The ALTS as ELCSA product would had established a new Lutheran theological education institution in South Africa opened for Lutheran family in Southern Africa, ecumenical and international churches.

The insights above notes that the renaming of LTI and its accreditation was to save the Lutheran theological training in South Africa. It aimed to continue its project of train local and international students who enroll for undergraduate and postgraduate at UKZN. Thus, the vision and mission of establishing and sustaining the early beginnings of the LTE could not die at this challenging period, it actually could be sustained through constant renewal of theological education by ELCSA

and other Lutheran churches in Southern Africa. The 21<sup>st</sup> century was the moment of keeping Lutheran Theological Education alive and productive in South Africa.

The other important aspect about the ALTS was a question of funds. Mashabela (2018b) point out that the ALTS had acknowledged the impact of **#FeesMustFall** campaign in 2016 by university students in South Africa. Thus, ALTS was seriously affected by the disruption campaigning strikes of the #FeesMustFall. To give a historical context about #FeesMustFall, Langa (2016:6) asserts:

Students' protests against fees are not new in post-apartheid South Africa, especially in historically black universities. Student-led protests gained momentum in 2015/16 and spread across the country. The #FeesMustFall movement sparked heated debates on fee increases in universities. Other demands by students included the decolonisation of the educational system, transformation of universities to address racial and gender inequalities in terms of staff composition, as well as insourcing of general workers. The protests generally started peacefully within various universities, supported by academics and other concerned stakeholders. The message was clear that the costs of higher education were too high and unaffordable for the majority of poor black students. The #FeesMustFall movement was widely supported but things changed, especially when protests started turning violent.

The study notes that black students even in the post-apartheid South Africa, they struggle to finance their university studies. It was in this context that 2015/2016 students' campaign of the #FeesMustFall made an historical turning point to demand free education and decolonisation of curriculum at universities. In this 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Lutheran theological education in South Africa forms part of this historical education development. Thus, Lutheran family in South Africa could not afford to lose such a treasure in this important epoch for theological education contribution in the midst of Southern African spiritual, political and socio-economic change, challenge and demand including the question of #FeesMustFall and decolonisation in South Africa. Yet, ALTS had to acknowledge the turning point and defining moment of the legitimate cry of students' free higher education in South African history. LTE was necessary to constantly find solutions of South African challenges.

The question of the future of LTE became complicated as there was a plan to partner with the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (MCSA). Another aspect was that in September 2016, ELCSA Church Council minutes (2016:15) recorded "The diocese requested the Church Council to hand over Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary to Western Diocese. The Church Council

accepted the request". In reflection, it seems that the ELCSA-Western Diocese needed to re-establish theological training at MLTS to train its theological students and laity. Perhaps, this was informed by doubts about the existence of the new ALTS. There was also a question of partnering with MCSA on theological training. These two conversation and approach on LTE in South Africa played an important role in saving the future of the theological education in ELCSA, its dioceses and the Lutheran family in general. However, the study observes that there was uncertainty about a united ALTS and LTE within ELCSA dioceses. There was no clear plan from Church Council on whether to pursue a united ALTS plan or a Lutheran theological training in partnership with MCSA or MLTS. It would be helpful for ELCSA to unite and pursue the existed plan of ALTS, which started the process of accreditation. This would mean that ELCSA continued with a united Lutheran theological training in South Africa. This did not mean that Church Council could not explore its other proposals. Theological education was central for the future of the LCSA and profession of pastors in serving the church and society effectively.

### **7.12. Establishment of the Theological Institutions Cluster in Pietermaritzburg**

The Lutheran House of Studies was one of theological house of studies to establish a theological institutions cluster. This initiative was ecumenically established to enable theological institutions to work together in Pietermaritzburg. Brown (1988:41) reported:

On October 1989, we will have the first Convocation of the Pietermaritzburg of Cluster Theological Institutions. The proposal for the formation of the cluster, which was submitted to the governing bodies of the participating institutions has been accepted by the majority-making bodies. We can assume that we will be able to proceed and implement the proposal by the beginning of 1990. The amount of interest generated the cluster can be gauged by the fact that two evangelical groups are presently negotiating with us a view of possible joining the cluster. One group wants to establish an Evangelical House of Studies in the vicinity of the university along similar lines as we suggested for the Lutheran House of Studies. The Evangelical Bible Seminary of South Africa (EBSEMSA) has also approach us to explore ways of benefiting from the cluster.

The above notes that the Pietermaritzburg Theological Institutions Cluster (PTIC) was already in the process of being established as a cluster proposal was accepted by theological institutions. PTIC had a vital commitment to ensure that ecumenical education became a genuine contribution to academic research and work at the UN and for theological house of studies. Theologically, ecumenical principles were applied to build a progressive and contributing African ecumenical education in an academic space. Thus, the establishment of ecumenical education at UN, Pietermaritzburg campus was a radical change to deliver quality and effective theological

education for churches. PTIC became very instrumental in strengthening theological education in Pietermaritzburg. This theological institution cluster was a model that became attractive to theological training institutions in Southern Africa. The working together of theological institutions in South Africa proved that spiritual, political, and socio-economic challenges were able to be addressed ecumenically.

### **7.13. Lutheran Theological Education Programme in Africa**

The Lutheran theological training in South Africa could not fulfil its theological training mandate without being involved and learning from other Lutheran theological training institutions in Africa. This ecumenical network was necessary for Lutheran theological training in South Africa to thrive. Hobby & Maher (1982:245) assert:

Theological education and training for ministry, in 1980, the Department of Church Cooperation (DCC) and Department of Studies began a major initiative to prepare a five-year development plan for theological education in Africa. Increased requests from several member churches in Africa led to the conviction that a comprehensive approach was essential for all Lutheran churches in Africa if they were to be in a position to meet the challenge of rapidly growing membership and new mission opportunities. A twelve-member Advisory Committee, which includes nine church leaders and theological educators from Africa and three from other continents, along with ecumenical advisors, and serve as a common forum for developing plans and monitoring needs for theological education in Africa. Included are consideration of the financial viability of institutions and programs and the use of extension methods as well as residential study programs.

In the AALC conference on Christian theology and strategy for mission, Moravia, Liberia, April 1980, Lehtonen (1980:289-290) further reported:

The team paved the way for comprehensive five-year strategy for theological education in the whole of Africa to embrace the following main aspects: immediate expansion plans for those seminaries which have already submitted applications, especially Meiganga in Cameroon and Makumira in Tanzania; upgrading of seminary education in the Ethiopia Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, Evangelical Lutheran Church in South Africa, Evangelical Lutheran Ovambokavango Church, Malagasy Lutheran Church and other churches as and when necessary; leadership training; Theological Education by Extension and theological training for lay workers. Emphasis should likewise be placed on inter-confessional cooperation between theological institutions and seminaries to ensure that the needs of Lutheran churches are seen in an ecumenical context and to secure the best possible use of theological and financial resources. It is tentatively proposed that fund of US\$ three million be built up over a period of five years (1981-

1985). This should provide flexibility and the possibility of coordination with the efforts which the churches in Africa are already making to develop patterns for theological education.

The study notes that this five-year initiative was to provide Lutheran theological institutions an opportunity to advance theological education in Africa. This was not only about theological funding, but more importantly to share experiences to develop a common African theological education. The establishment of Advisory Committee on Theological Education in Africa (ACTEA) played a supportive role to produce research consolidated strategy to ensure that all theological training demands in Africa were identified and addressed. This showed that ACTEA function was to ensure that a Lutheran family forum and its theological education plans were shared for theological education growth and development in Africa. ACTEA was established to ensure that theological education programme became contextual to trained theological students and pastors to be in touch and serve their communities. This programme on theological education in Africa was contextualised to address socio-economic situation in Africa. Thus, theological education had to seriously engage issue of the church economics in Africa for churches to economically empower its members. This was to fulfil the new Africa within Pan-African vision of independence. LCsA had a theological task to developing appropriate Lutheran theology to be more contextual in an African context and to dialogue with ecumenical, and inter-religious educational work.

The other important network on Lutheran theological training in Africa was the School of Theology and Mission in Stavanger, Norway and Lutheran theological institutions in Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The Network Consultation of African Lutheran Theological Institutions was held in Stavanger, Norway in November 7-9, 2000, Dolamo (2001:1) points out:

This consultation was facilitated and sponsored by the School of Theology and Mission in Stavanger. A necessity was realised by the school to bring all these institutions together with the sole purpose of forming a network so that exchange in terms of resources both human and physical could be effected. To this end, almost two-thirds of the deliberations were sharing information about our respective institutions.

The insights above notes that a Network of Lutheran Theological Institutions in Africa (NLTIA) was necessary and capable of living in unity within the surrounding theological training space. This theological training network was actively committed in ensuring that theological institutions exchanged and share their resources and information about their theological institutions. NLTIA addressed the need for renewal of theological curriculum in an African context in the light of theological institutions to learn from each other. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Lutheran theological

institutions in Africa were challenged to revisit and reconstruct theological curriculum that would be contextual to the African context. In this theological training network, the School of Theology and Mission in Stavanger had to learn how Lutheran theological institutions in Africa implemented in a learning environment.

Dolamo (2001:2-3) further states:

A general agreement was signed by all of us on behalf of our respective institutions. The school is offering a masters programme since 1994 and ELCSA will be given preferential treatment since South Africa had been excluded by Norway until recently. ULTC and LUTHOS lecturers should avail themselves to teach and do research in Norway whenever they are on sabbaticals. LTS graduates who have performed exceedingly well may be realised to pursue their studies for masters degree in Norway and LUTHOS graduates may enroll for the envisaged Theology Doctorate (Th.D.) programme. The school is prepared to train librarians and archivists from Africa and ULTC would benefit immensely where it to take the offer.

The study notes that the School of Theology and Mission in Stavanger established NLTIA in such a way that it values and developed a useful theological training environment for ULTC and LUTHOS. This theological institution opened an opportunity for lecturers of these Lutheran theological institutions in South Africa to teach and do research in Norway to build on their research skills and teaching. Theological students were given an opportunity to study masters and doctoral degrees in theology to broaden their academic knowledge. The foreign Lutheran theological institutions such as the School of Theology and Mission in Stavanger had far too long funded Lutheran theological training in Africa in response of African realities. Thus, Lutheran theological institutions in Africa could celebrate and appreciate the work and financial support of institutions such as LWF, TEF, the School of Theology and Mission in Stavanger and others. NLTIA became an important institution to engage issues of theological education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and to ensure that it was in touch with this emerging epoch. This initiative was established to advance the quality of theological education in service of churches and community enhancement.

#### **7.14. The Luther Varsity in South Africa**

The Lutheran Communion in Southern Africa (LUCSA) was very interested and supportive of theological education in Southern Africa. LUCSA identity (2013:1) recorded that Lutheran Communion in Southern Africa as FELCSA successor was established in May 1991 at the Lutheran Conference Centre, Bonaero Park, Kempton Park. LUCSA was one of three LWF sub-



regional representatives that understood itself in the context of Lutheran churches communion. The other sub-regions were the Lutheran Communion in Central and Eastern Africa, and Lutheran Communion in Western Africa. Scriba (2014:97) points out Lutheran Communion in Southern Africa was established by former FELCSA 14 member churches. LUCSA-CTE minutes (1992:46) recorded "Theological education should include the following: Tools to analyse needs of society and congregation in order to become contextual in our theological reflection (e.g. sociology, economics, secular history), managerial ability and skills in community development". In reflection, LUCSA as an ecumenical body for Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa played an important role towards a common theological education in Southern Africa. Thus, LUCSA needed to be certain about the future of theological training in contributing to the education of Southern Africa. Thus, its member churches needed to be certain in their contribution for community enhancement. The key theological education for LUCSA was that a pastor would be trained on different aspects of church ministry and community enhancement.

It is this context that LUCSA investigated to establish a regionally coordinated theological education at a university of its own the Luther Varsity in Southern Africa (LUSA) that would be an affordability and availability of theological education for churches. Shabele (2012:7) asserts:

The Principal and ELCSA Director of Studies took part in a discussion on tertiary education by LUCSA, led by Bp Noko. LUCSA is seeking ways to integrate the theological training in the region more. Some propose the establishment of a Lutheran University. LUCSA Council has decided that this matter needs further investigation. In recent discussions with ecumenical partners and Dr Noko, it has become clear that no outside funding for a greenfields development of a University is to be expected. The intention now is to link existing tertiary institutions of the churches through a central overseeing body, and to motivate churches to make available property for the development of new initiatives. So, for instance, would LTI and Paulinum become the theological campuses, while Ramotswa would become a medical campus, with Umphumulo or Appelsbosch an additional possible medical site, and Umphumulo and a Zambian site could become agricultural campuses. Existing teachers training facilities would become the educational faculties. The local churches will need to finance and direct this process themselves and be willing to surrender their control of the local institutions to the university that is to be established. Negotiations around this are likely to be complex and drawn out in time.

LUCSA wanted to establish a Lutheran university that was integrated to Lutheran region churches and teaching and health institutions. The theological education would be taught in the same university. This was a sixth attempt to establish and sustain the LTE with extra education work in

other education fields or as a full university in South Africa. LCsSA agreed that they needed to train theological students not only for their church members but to be witness in service of society. Thus, LUCSA aimed to sustain quality of theological education and education in general. Lutheran university served as education facility not only for theological students but pastors and 'laity', and ecumenical setting. It seemed that the Augustana Lutheran Theological Seminary and Paulinum Lutheran Theological Seminary would be integrated to the Lutheran university. However, the question remained, the Lutheran university would not be posing a threat to close the ALTS and Paulinum Lutheran Theological Seminary?

Mashabela (2019c) states:

Luther Varsity in Southern Africa was a brain and spiritual child of Lutheran churches in the region of Southern African Development Community (SADC). The idea of LUCSA came over a period of time that education in general began to show signs of weakness and crisis was emerging in Africa. Theological education as well was in a crisis. Lutherans wanted to return to a private education, which they knew most than others. Churches such as Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Lutheran and others established and owned schools, seminaries and hospitals. In 2010, LWF member churches assembled in Germany, at that time, I was retiring as the LWF general secretary. In that Lutheran assembly, LUCSA leaders who were bishops Kameta, JM Ramashapa and A Moyo approached me to investigate for an establishment of a Lutheran university in SADC region. The most successful higher education amongst the Lutheran churches in Africa was the Lutheran Church in Tanzania, which owned private universities in Tanzania. In January 2016, LUCSA established the Luther Varsity of Southern Africa (LUSA) at Denel Campus, Kempton Park. LUSA was designed to be funded sustainably by the LUCSA member churches. LUSA received its first loan from ELCSA to basically established itself as a promising private and higher education institution in the 21<sup>st</sup> century for Lutheran churches in SADC region and society. LUSA was accredited by the Department of Education in South Africa. It was incumbent to teach and provide qualifications of secular fields of study and general students would also be theologically grounded.

The insights above notes that a research of LUSA was made and LUSA was a higher education institution on a private basis. In this 21<sup>st</sup> century, LUSA had a different approach on education as all students of various study fields would be equipped with basic theological education. It seemed that LUSA was established to train its students into accountable, well-informed and critical citizens in service of society. The primary challenge for LUSA would be implementation of a curriculum that provided good outcomes and contextualisation of Southern African realities.

### **7.15. A theological education crisis in the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa**

In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Lutheran theological education in Southern Africa experienced a serious financial crisis. Mashabela (2018a) point out:

ELCSA Church Executive Committee decided to disinvest an amount of R 40m of ELCSA from Old Mutual company. The R 40 million of ELCSA was disinvested without the approval of the Church Council and General Assembly. The General Assembly meeting of the 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> December 2016 was highly divided and disappointed about a disinvestment of R 40 million and its disappearance without proper consultation within all ELCSA structures. Salaries of lecturers were unpaid, no catering for theological students and other LTI operational needs such as municipality and tax were unpaid. The church wide staff was not paid.

Mashabela (2018a) further state:

ELCSA experienced a serious financial crisis since from 2015. In the late November 2016 or beginning of December 2016, students were notified that LTI was closed. Therefore, students will wait for a directive from the church wide office on 2017 academic registration. The LTI teaching staff were placed at parishes as from early January 2017. Since, 2017 to 2018, ELCSA experienced a difficulty to have its proper theological institution for its theological students to be educated and mentored for the church ministry formally.

The point here is that the disinvestment of ELCSA R 40m saga had a negative impact on the ELCSA life and existence, as it was unable pay and manage its finances. The 2016 ELCSA-GA discovered that R 40 million disinvestment had a biggest impact on theological education at ALTS, which would take decades for ELCSA to build its theological institution. ALTS had not operated since January 2017 due to a fact that ELCSA was facing a financial crisis. The experience of ALTS was a theological problem in ecumenical network in Africa. ELCSA leadership had dismally failed ALTS to fulfil its ecumenical education task to provide ELCSA congregations with quality trained pastors and in service of society in South Africa.

The question of the R 40m saga created division amongst dioceses and parishes. Mashabela (2018a) asserts:

From 2015 in ELCSA-Central Diocese, some parishes were first to decide not to submit a monthly assessment and others submitted little amount to its diocesan office in demand of R 40m accountability. Parishes which did not submit their assessment were denied the opportunity to participate in the ELCSA 2018 elections and some pastors were suspended, others dismissed and removed from the clergy election roster illegally by the ELCSA-Central Diocesan leadership not to be nominated for elections. In ELCSA-South Eastern Diocese, a new bishop was not elected,

parishes did not send an assessment to the church wide office and deans and pastors were expelled, and others suspended by the administration of the church wide office, ELCSA Church Council Executive. ELCSA-SED members requested their deans and pastors to continue to work. These church workers continue to work in the church.

The insights above note the demand of R 40m led to the unfair suspension and expelling deans and pastors for questioning the missing money, which could not be accounted for. This scenario had instilled fear to other pastors, deans, and 'laity' to call for accountability. This unnecessary challenge had frustrated the whole ELCSA. This church was faced with a huge task to engage this current reality in forms of being creative and authentic as an institution of the liberating and transforming God. Church members were against the decision of church-wide as they allowed pastors and deans to remain working.

The other aspect was that UELCSA was faced with debts at LTI as it shared the responsibility with ELCSA. Mashabela (2018a) asserts "Due to a crisis of ELCSA, UELCSA had to leave a joint theological training at LTI. It sold its property of LTI to pay debts it owed at LTI. ELCSA remained with its property at LTI". In reflection, this development had affected the future of Lutheran theological training in South Africa. UELCSA acted proactively to save its integrity in order to sustain its partnership with the ecumenical church and other institutions.

#### **7.16. Unending debate of African Lutheran pastors' economy and forms of ministries**

Chapter 5 discussed the African Lutheran pastors' economic and working conditions under the Lutheran missionary area and regional churches. However, it is necessary that the study revisits the chapter and connects it to a debate in this chapter, which in a Sepedi language is *ke hloba boroko* (an unarrest issue) in a circle of the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. In 1982, FELCSA in one of its seminars requested Simon Sekone Maimela to present a paper on "The New Testament forms of ministry and Lutheran concept of ministry". Maimela (1982:121) asserts:

This topic, which I have been requested to discuss, has been dictated by an acute awareness that the traditional ministry of the word we have inherited from our mother is seriously inadequate to meet the needs of our situation. It is simply a practical fact that the ideal of having one pastor in every congregation, no matter how desirable, is for us not an option at this point in history. For we know too well that we neither have the financial resources nor the man-power to make this ideal of one full-time pastor for every congregation a practical reality. Indeed, to hold on this dream would just be too unforgivably irresponsible in our circumstances. It is in this connection that some among us have been toying around with the idea of part-time ministry as a practical option in our

circumstances. We can only embark on this alternative if we are convinced that there is support for such a move in the scriptures and our Lutheran tradition.

The study notes that the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa was established by the missionary church with its church structure. White missionaries worked and maintained this church structure of one pastor in every congregation through a funding from overseas churches. The black church leadership inherited this structure of one pastor in every congregation. This church leadership was unable to financially maintain this missionary church structure. Since, missionaries left LCSA, the mother churches ceased to fund LCSA or shifted funding for other church projects of LCSA. The leadership of black church paid full-time pastors an inadequate salary. The church also experienced a shortage of pastors in every congregation. A proposal was made that the part-time ministry could fulfil a ministry of one pastor in every congregation. This would reduce the financial burden of the church, as well. LCSA needed to urgently accept the concept of part-time ministry as it was evidently supported by scriptures and Lutheran teachings.

Lutheran regional churches in Southern Africa allowed ten-making ministry to thrive since from establishment of regional churches in 1958. Part-time pastors were paid by regional churches. ELCSA continued with this remuneration practice. Assur (1984:59) asserts "The Church Council, appreciating the assistance given by part-time workers to the church, decided that: Part-time workers will not be paid any salary after the end of December 1978, Travelling allowances and other official expenses will still be paid to part-time workers and no other allowances are applicable to part-time workers". In reflection, Lutheran regional churches remunerated part-time pastors for their extensive contribution in the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. This needed to be celebrated because part-time pastors enable LCSA to growth in service of the people of God. However, after the establishment of ELCSA in 1975, ELCSA terminated its contract of paying the part-time pastors in 1978.

The Living Wage Campaigners meeting was held at Modiši O Botse Lutheran Congregation, in Soweto on September 28, 1990, Molefe & Morena (1990:1-2,4) assert:

The person supposed to address the meeting concerning the 'unfair dismissal of pastors' could not come due to some commitments. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) could not send the person to address the committee on 'living wage' because no one was available at the moment. The church has sufficient money to pay workers that is why it refuses them to do tent-making ministry. The pastors should involve the congregants on the calling for the living wage because we believe that nothing is impossible to attain if its mass based. The committee resolved

that pastors continue with tent-making ministry. The S.A.C.C. should stop taking matters only from the Church Council without consulting the pastors. Resolutions are to be shared with the LUMASA on the 4<sup>th</sup> October 1990.

The study notes that the Living Wage Campaigners challenged ELCSA on its unfair working conditions of church workers. It was problematic theologically that ELCSA created an unjust pastors' economic and working conditions. The challenge of the Living Wage Campaigners meeting was that both COSATU and Labour relations experts were unable to grace this meeting. However, the committee continued with the meeting. It seems that the Ministerial Council of this church had no interest for the good working conditions of pastors. This negatively forced the pastors to establish a Living Wage Campaigners or trade union in the church space. This Ministerial Council behaviour had reinforced the apartheid legacy to oppress the ordained women and men of God to work for the church in a liberating space. Surely, the pastors had the right to establish a union in response to such unethical church leadership behaviour. The question of a living wage and unfair dismissal of pastors posed a serious crisis for the church.

#### **7.16.1. The engagement and outcomes of the Lutheran pastors' trade union**

In the seventh ELCSA-General Assembly held at ELCSA head office, Bonearo Park, Johannesburg, December 10-14, 1990, LUMASA presented a petition on church workers' rights at this assembly and the assembly responded to it. Assur, Serote & Buthelezi (1990:263-264, 266) point out:

The General Assembly noting that there is an existence of an association of church workers called LUMASA therefore resolves as follows: that the said association be properly constituted and apply for recognition constitutionally. General Assembly notes that there are dissatisfactions among church workers pertaining to transfers and dismissals. General Assembly calls upon all councils involved to adhere strictly to the constitutional procedure and decisions taken by the Church Council and diocesan councils and synods on the matter.

The study notes that it was critically important for ELCSA-GA to accept the proposals made through a LUMASA petition. LUMASA challenged the assembly to fight against ELCSA leadership practice of unfair transfer and dismissal of pastors. LUMASA initiatives were implemented not to disrespect the church leadership but to show how serious pastors economic living was important. Biblically, the African notion of *botho* and Lutheran teaching supported the importance of black pastors receiving a living salary and liberating working conditions.

#### **7.16.2. The thorn of church on self-supporting pastors and qualifications**

ELCSA had allowed discussions on self-supporting ministry, transfer and dismissal of pastors, and qualifications of pastors. Assur et al (1990:264) further states:

The General Assembly, however, further notify that ELCSA is not in a position to pay her church workers a living wage, therefore, resolves: to reinstate part-time ministry as a short-time solution. Details to be approved and worked out by the relevant diocesan councils. The General Assembly resolved to pay church workers in accordance with their educational qualifications.

In 1992, the LUCSA Consultation on Theological Education held in 1992, recommended, LUCSA-CTE minutes (1992:48) recorded "LUCSA member churches consider the possibility of tent-making ministry in order to retain part of the service of well qualified personnel who find employment elsewhere". In insights here note that LUMASA discussed the inadequate spends or salaries of black pastors, which led ELCSA to resolved and to reinstate part-time ministry. Thus, LUCSA member churches were instructed to implement the ministry of self-supporting as a viable church ministry. For decades, pastors engaged ELCSA Church Council to allow the tent-making ministry for pastors to overcome pastors' starvation stipends. ELCSA leadership refused to allow tent-making ministry or what was also termed part-time ministry or self-supporting ministry to exist. However, the assembly responded to the demands of ELCSA workers. This took ELCSA forward in service of society. In the Lutheran Church in South Africa, it was a priority to ensure that pastors were trained to acquire theological education qualifications to provide quality service to society. It was necessary for pastors to have theological qualifications to meet expectations of what the LCSA needed to achieve on its pastoral and evangelistic work. Equally so, LCSA promised to pay its church workers according to their qualifications.

The unfair treatment of self-supporting ministry, and transfers and dismissals of pastors continued even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In 2002, a memorandum by self-supporting ministers was presented to the ministerial council of the ELCSA-Central Diocese. Tsele & Buffel (2000:7) assert "We must make self-supporting pastors full participants and members of the ordained clergy. Self-supporting ministers are part of a democratic process of the church, as such, should be allowed to serve in any position". The study notes that this diocese created a discriminating policy and practice for self-supporting pastors. Thus, the diocese violated the official policy of accepting self-supporting pastors as equal with full-time pastors. Self-supporting ministry memorandum challenged the Diocesan Council and Ministerial Council to reopen a debate on self-supporting ministry to ensure that this ministry became fruitful to the church. This self-supporting ministry was very helpful to ELCSA given the constrained economics and human resources.

Unfortunately, even at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, ELCSA Church Council, Episcopal Council and Ministerial Council had not been faithful to the 1990 ELCSA-GA self-supporting ministry resolution, instead, they created division between self-supporting ministry and full-time ministry.

In 2001, a document entitled “ELCSA-Law on Pastors” was crafted and discussed by ELCSA Episcopal Council, Church Council and dioceses as it was a working document to mitigate challenges of unfair pastors’ transfers and dismissals. Makgatho (2001:17) asserts “The procedure of the committee shall include a fair and proper hearing of the pastor. He/she can be transferred to another post or general church task: if he/she applies for a transfer in accordance with the relevant provisions, if he/she agrees to a transfer and if he/she is transferred to another position”. Mashiane (2005:183) further states “A notice of two months shall be provided to other employees when transfer is to be instituted. There is no time frame within which other employees have to serve in the same area except on request for transfer or the individual’s services are required else where by the church”. The decisions here were relevant and practical to address pastors’ concerns to be implemented with justice and care. It was incumbent that bishops, deans, episcopal and ministerial councils engaged these necessary steps without a harm of a pastor, her or his family and congregation. Thus, a congregation, she or he served and moved to a new congregation would remain united to continue in service of congregational members. Pastors were advocating peaceful and safe transfer to ensure that division within congregational members and the church leadership was avoidable. This was to ensure that justice was promoted to keep the Lutheran unity and witness in a good space of mission and evangelistic vocation.

In 2010, ELCSA Church Council created confusion and division within the church on the question of the ordained ministry. ELCSA Church Council minutes (2010:27) recorded that pastors are called, therefore, are not church workers. In November 2010, pastors of ELCSA Central Diocese held a first Inter-circuit Meeting at Atteridgeville, Pretoria to discuss an establishment of a pastors union, Buffel (2010:1) asserts “Pastors are convinced (correctly so) that they are employees of the church without rejecting the notion that ministers are called. Throughout the history of the church since merger of regional mission churches in 1975 pastors have been treated as employees of the church without denying that they were called”. In reflection, it seems that ELCSA leadership was running away from an economic and working conditions responsibility of pastors as church workers. ELCSA leadership was violating the South African Labour Relations Act. It was disappointing that in the 21<sup>st</sup> century ELCSA leaders denied ELCSA pastors their rights of church workers. It was in such a context that the clergy needed an advocate such as a clergy



trade union, which would fight for the rights of pastors. How could a Church Council resolve on such an unjust law? Where was the voice of the Episcopal Council, the study mean that the Episcopal Council existed to project the rights of the pastors?

ELCSA Pastors' Convention minutes (2009:7-8) recorded that ELCSA Pastors Convention was held in Durban in March 23-26, 2009. It was attended by bishops, deans, pastors, and Presiding Bishop as chairperson of ELCSA-Pastors Convention. The pastors convention resolved to elect a working committee composed of two pastors from each diocese to research on the clergy trade union. In May 19-20, 2009, LUMUSA working committee met to discuss a feedback from dioceses on the reestablishment of clergy trade union. LUMUSA working committee (2009:10) resolved "Lutheran Ministers Association in Southern Africa and Lutheran Ministers Union in Southern Africa (LUMUSA) are identified names for a union. We resolve that LUMUSA should be a preferred name". LUMUSA report (2010:1-2) recorded LUMUSA was officially established at its National Congress held at ELCSA-Central Diocesan Centre, Jabavu, Soweto in 9-10 November 2009. LUMUSA was registered and received its Certificate of Registration from South African Department of Labour on June 7, 2010. LUMUSA Constitution (2009:1) recorded:

Aims and objectives: To recruit and represent all pastors employed by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa. To negotiate and improve salaries, terms and conditions of employment of members through collective bargaining and other lawful means. To combat and expose all forms of unfair discrimination in the church and society. To continuously empower members through training as well as capacity building.

Furthermore, in Easter 2012, Tsele wrote a paper titled "On the question of ministry in ELCSA co-workers in God's vineyard: Discovering Lutheran ministry for our times and celebrating the diversity of service to the church in the world". Tsele (2012:2) asserts:

One is encouraged by the ongoing debate amongst fellow Lutherans around the subject of Ministry. I cannot recall a time when a subject was given so much attention it is receiving at present. Courageous voices have emerged from the likes of former Bishop Johannes Ramashapa, and theologically mature and Biblically sound contributions have been offered by the likes of Dr Olehile Buffel and Dr Willy Willemse. One is further encouraged by the growing number of lay members, who are joining the debate and endorsing the growing call for a Theological Reflection on the subject of ministry in ELCSA.

In the above insights, the clergy at their 2009 ELCSA Pastors Convention discussed urgent issues on unjust terms and working conditions of pastors. Thus, the clergy had no option, but to urgently

elected a working committee on trade unionism. In this convention, there was a revival of pastors' trade union in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The convention revealed that LUMUSA could become a radical tool for ELCSA renewal and liberation. LUMUSA Constitution and trade union spirit of revival had become a powerful and transforming tool used to effectively engage ELCSA on issues of workers' rights and dignity. Thus, LUMUSA revived the former church union of LUMASA to liberate ELCSA oppressed clergy workers from their oppressor ELCSA leadership. For decades, Lutherans had an ongoing debate on the question of the ordained ministry. A discussion on the ordained ministry received more attention than any other Lutheran discussions. Part-time versus full-time ministry continued to be a theological crisis given a context of the ordained ministry in the Lutheran circles. The study notes that the ordained ministry was equally important that even theological education needed to receive this attention.

### **7.17. Conclusion**

In this chapter, the study discussed the primary need of Lutheran Theological Education and justice of the ordained ministry in South Africa. The closure of Augustana Lutheran Theological Seminary and its ecumenical work with the University of KwaZulu Natal and Pietermaritzburg Theological Institutions Cluster had a disturbing effect on the Lutheran Theological Education and ecumenical education in South Africa. It would take decades for ELCSA to restore the Lutheran Theological Education for itself, regain trust in a circle of ecumenical churches and its local and international Lutheran ecumenical bodies. Indeed, ELCSA had to start now to engage appropriately on the question of the future of Lutheran Theological Education in South Africa. It had to take bold decisions to restore its interest and dignity to ensure that both clergy and 'laity' were equipped in this demanding 21<sup>st</sup> century of Africanisation, indigenisation and decolonisation in spirituality, community enhancement and higher learning.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 8.1. Introduction

This study revisited an historic heritage of the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and its perspectives on theological education. The Lutheran Church established mission stations, which were later converted to establishments of the church that facilitated general education and theological institutions. This aspect of Lutheranism enterprise in South Africa has brought transformation in African communities directly through spiritual, socio-economic and political change. Lutheran missionaries worked together with colonial and apartheid government to establish racial separation, which led to the oppression of indigenous people educationally, spiritually, politically, and socio-economically. Yet, the reservoir of the heritage of the indigenous knowledge systems and African beliefs survived regardless of the oppressive and dehumanising influences of the colonial legacy and apartheid. This chapter serves as the conclusion of the thesis. It has shown how important this study can contribute to rebuilding theological higher education and for a renewal of the Lutheran churches in South Africa bound to the service of society. The study argued how the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa was politicised in the development of its unity and that of its theological institutions. The findings and recommendations in this study reflect on how the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa can be a healthy institution to create and manage its healthy theological institution and other institutions in response to the crises in the South African society.

#### 8.2. Summary and identified findings

The findings of this research study conclude that the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and its theological education was challenged by the existential, indigenous knowledge systems in order to seriously engage the African context. Thus, it is critically important for the Lutheran heritage in South Africa to understand the wholeness of the African worldview. This research reveals that there is ongoing research needed on questions around the Lutheran witness and unity in South Africa, and the establishment of an Africanised Lutheran theological education, which is needed to participate in political and socio-economic spaces towards the liberation of the majority. The study engaged the period from 1900 to 1960s context of power tensions between black people and the white Lutheran missionaries on the question of indigenous education and theological education. The study revealed how the Lutheran theological education has been imposed for the

advantage of the Lutheran missionary educators and pastors and in the process disadvantaged black people by making them to abandon their indigenous spirituality and lifestyle.

The study has discovered that in 1900, the South African education system was started with schools that were later improved to seminaries and in 1916 these schools were converted to colleges, and institutions, which some have remained as seminaries. In 1960s, this educational system started to take shape into universities. This process included the transformation of theological education that begun at schools and moved to colleges and later to universities. In 1950s, the South African government took over schools of established churches, while the Roman Catholic Church was the only church that managed to keep and sustain its schools and educational ministry. It is a historical reality that the educational system in South Africa was based on racial separation, which created division in black and white churches and between black and white people in society.

Furthermore, the study identified that in 1916, the black evangelists and intellectuals demanded to be ordained as pastors and participate in the church structures to lead their African affairs. This reaffirms the indigenous values of African leadership, spirituality and lifestyle that was violated by the colonisation. Black evangelists and intellectuals challenged the oppressive missionaries, private and government sectors, to allow indigenous people to lead Africans from an African perspective. As a result, white missionaries did not allow black evangelists to lead black congregations as pastors and minister and from an African perspective. The study reflected on how black evangelists were not paid initially for their church work and community engagement. It needs to be noted that during the missionary period black teachers and other workers were self-supporting pastors who established congregations in South Africa and Africa. Furthermore, the study has revealed how later black ministers were underpaid through the missionary financial system. In 1950s and preceding years black evangelists and pastors economically well established as they had land for farming and owned livestock. However, the missionary church paralysed this black economic system. This was replaced by a system of underpayment of church workers and denying self-supporting ministry to thrive in order to build their economic wellness. The black church leadership consisting of bishops, deans and councils inherited the leadership style of the white oppressive church and entrenched a culture of exploitation of the clergy while the bishops, deans and close colleagues assisted by church councils illegally became rich. This has also led to closure of a theological institution and other important income generating project for community engagement.

It is with regret that the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has severely lost its 1960s to 1990s commitment in response to political and socio-economic injustice for the agenda of black liberation. The church has a responsibility to ensure that black people are truly liberated from homelessness, unjust infrastructure such as hospitals, education, and transportation system, underpayment, unemployment, and poor citizenship.

In context of this study, the question that arise is whether it is necessary for the Lutheran theological education in South Africa to exist? Indeed, the Lutheran theological education is necessary and responsible for offering an excellent theology that is in touch with reality to address the realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century South Africa. The church must exist in order to respond to existing spiritual, political and socio-economic crises that face the church and the South African society, Africa and the world.

It is incumbent that the study concludes that the Lutheran Church in Southern Africa has a serious challenge to address the question of healing from an African perspective. Lutheran theological institution has researched and established the Clinical Pastoral Education in South Africa to train theological students to address the question of African healing and Western healing approaches.

### **8.3. Recommendations**

In the context of this study, it is recommended that theological education ought to challenge governments to redirect itself to good governance and to address the land question, economy, health, education and others in service of people who constitutes God's justice society in South Africa. For decades, Southern African Lutheran churches are unable to pay their pastors and evangelists adequate salaries to support their families including for the education of their children. Thus, these churches will not even attract young people to study theology in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The church economic structure must urgently be improved to meet the needs of church workers and maintain church buildings and other available needs of the church. This will also enable the gifted clergy to be dedicated to their pastoral profession. Southern African Lutheran churches must be liberated and reform to allow their pastors, deacons and evangelists to work in other professional fields to augment their salaries so that they are able to effectively support their families. Salaries of all church workers must be aligned with education qualifications and according to the labour liberating policies. This will assist in destroying economic inequalities in society and promote equal salaries for pastors, deacons and evangelists' families to live a decent life with better living

conditions. More urgently, it will encourage more pastors, deacons, and evangelists to further their studies. Thus, a clear and liberating Lutheran Church economic strategic policies must urgently be crafted to address the church infrastructure, membership, and workers. The skills audit within LCSA must be urgently implemented to ensure that experts' respond to the challenging issues of the church.

The quality of teaching and learning service for South African Lutheran congregations has drastically decreased due to the lack of refresher courses or in-service training for pastors. Thus, the sustainable education funds for 'laity' is urgently needed for this equipping of the laity. The Coordinating Christian Education team of experts must urgently be appointed to suitable actions. This will enable pastors to equip the 'laity' not only for the church ministry but for community enhancement as well. The Lutheran Church and other churches must hit to the call of decolonisation.

The LCSA in conversation with the ecumenical church must allow all theological institutions to introduce courses on theology of the land and socio-economic justice as an urgent need in the context of teaching and learning from the African perspective. This will prepare theological students to address the 21<sup>st</sup> century crises.

This study has pointed out that, LCSA leadership and ecumenical church has abused its powers and policies by exploiting pastors, deacons and other church workers. The most abused policies were that of transfers of church workers, getting inadequate salary and dividing self-supporting pastors and full-time pastors or holy ministry. The church's current financial systems must be reviewed, and human resource management must be employed to assist the church. This can be helpful also to independent Lutheran Churches in Southern Africa and the ecumenical church. Indeed, the church must move to an economic direction that provides income-generating projects, such as, property and agriculture, which will employ its members and community. A dependence on *mokolokotwane* (special offering), Sunday offering, baptismal and Holy Communion offering faces a serious thread in the current economic situation. It is problematic theologically to see a church expecting a congregant to pay for baptism and Holy Communion. This is a serious offence as far as theology of the means of grace is concerned. church councils and some pastors used this abuse of the means of grace as they charged congregants unbelievable moneys.

The church must return to its original form of education in service of the people of God. It must build its educational centres, such as, pre-school and school to educate its church member children and community. It must build its own universities and colleges in order for its members and community members to access education and employment. There is a need to own their health facilities, such as, clinics and hospitals to assist governments and private sectors to address crisis of health. Furthermore, the church must seriously integrate its healing ministry from its spiritual forms, creating a path between African ways of spiritual healing and Western medical way of healing in service of healing humanity as a whole. More importantly, the church must engage theological institutions to reinstate a chaplaincy course so that chaplains could be urgently employed back to hospitals and other health facilities.

Most Lutheran Church buildings are in a bad state and are a serious risk for church members. They need serious revamped and teaching and learning facilities including libraries must be built. This will assist children and adult education to be effectively implemented in a proper infrastructure for education. An expertise coordinating eco-theology committee must be appointed to facilitate a strategic and sustainable programme on environmental and building project.

Urgent reestablishment of Lutheran theological institute for ELCSA and other independent Lutheran churches in Southern Africa is needed to train theological students so that the Lutheran churches may continue to be productive for their membership and society. This can only be achieved when ELCSA can first address their administrative and financial problems. The absence of theological institutions in South Africa from the Lutheran Church is not necessary. Where there is no theological education, already, the church leads itself to a graveyard.

In aligning this research study, there is a possibility and suggestion that future research can be made on:

- (a) The contribution of women's ministries and ordination of women within the Lutheran Church in South Africa as important enhancing and empowering women in service of society.
- (b) The church teachers and education ministry area need to be researched this will assist the church to revert to its original call of teaching and learning, as the church responses to an urgent call of decolonisation in theological education.
- (c) The Augustana Lutheran Theological Seminary has archival documentations such as letters of correspondences, constitutions, minutes and other primary sources on Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary and Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College

theological students, which can produce a research on an education life and contribution of theological students in South Africa.

- (d) The Lutheran witness and unity of the Lutheran churches in South Africa is a stronger commitment in support of theological education and addressing spiritual, political and socio-economic challenges. The study on Lutheran churches unity and witness can be examined on reasons why the Lutheran unity in the past has not been successful.
- (e) The African Independent Churches Association Theological College is one of the important areas of research.
- (f) The research on the Lutheran Church organisations ministry is important for the church growth and community service.
- (g) This thesis captures a comprehensive historic heritage of the Lutheran theological institutions in South Africa. There is an urgent need to research independently about the Oscarsberg Lutheran Theological College, Marang Lutheran Theological Seminary and Umphumulo Lutheran Theological College. The Augustana Lutheran Theological Seminary has sufficient archives on the historical heritage of each of the Lutheran theological institutions.

#### **8.4. Conclusion**

The study has identified recommendations that are as urgent. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century the Lutheran Church in South Africa must urgently redeem itself first in order to address the societal agonies of South Africa. This study challenges and encourages churches in Southern Africa and Africa to seriously engage the relations between theological education and the church. In this context, the church boldly stands to take control to ensure that citizens are trained theologically to become responsible in their own contexts. Thus, the church is called to seriously take theological education as a possibility to implement and live in the spirit of growing an equal society consisting of good governance to ensure societal justice and stability.

It is critically important for theologians, clergy, and theological students to engage the church and education in preparation to build a meaningful society. A bridge must be built between the church and education to ensure that workshops, conferences and seminars on the relationship between the church, theological education and society are held to address crises such as inequality in society on land, gender issues, unemployment and underpayment, poverty and socio-economic injustice. This study contributes to ensure that theological education must be a continuous debate of churches and theological institutions to create a theological curriculum that is informed by



Africanisation, indigenisation and decolonisation agenda. The Lutheran and ecumenical theological education are not just an historic contribution and debate but a process to embrace the African perspective to advance the indigenous knowledge systems. This historical study reminds the South African universities, churches and theological institutions to shape a decolonised and Africanised theological curriculum that is in touch with the African society, use existing written materials by black scholars and for the production of books and study materials written from the liberating and transformative perspective of Africa. This is a challenge for every continent, country, and culture. Churches, universities, and theological institutions in the world are facing similar problems. The churches are in constant need of learning from each other in formulating different theologies with respect to ethnic and societal backgrounds.

The 21<sup>st</sup> century is the moment and space for the ecumenical church in South Africa, and for theologians and pastors to leave their zones of comfort. The burden of theologians and pastors is that most have left the space of being critical of their churches and institution that offer theology.

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