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Malihambe

Let the Word Spread

J A Millard

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

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

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Dr J Millard
July 1997

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Profiles

Africaner, Jager Christian (c 1769-1822)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Apie, Hans (born c 1840)

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

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

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

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

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Bhengu, Nicholas (1909-1985)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Bokwe, John Knox (1855-1922)

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

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

Lovedale institution as it is today

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Brander, Samuel James (b 1851)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Calata, James Arthur (1895~1983)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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David, Gabriel (d 1898)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Duma, William (1907-1977)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Dwane, James Mata (1848-1916)

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

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

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

Present-day students at Healdtown

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Goduka, Jonas (1846-1914)

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

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

Healdtown 1898

Goduka wanted to be a teacher and in 1874 he started a two-year course at Healdtown. He taught at various places: Somerset East, Zeleni, near King William's town, and Tini's Location. Goduka continued studying and in 1879 he obtained the Certificate of Competency at the government elementary examinations (MS 14 787).

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

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

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

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

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Kama, William (1798-1875)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

William Shaw Kama

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

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

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

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

Kama's grave

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Links, Jacob (c 1799-1825)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Makiwane, Elijah (1850-1928)

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

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

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

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

MacFarlan mission near Alice

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Mashaba, Robert Ndevu (c 1861-1935)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Mathabathe, Samuel (c 1840-1914)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Maxeke, Charlotte Manye (1872-1939)

Maxeke was a leader in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the first African woman from South Africa to obtain a BSc and the first African woman to be made a probation officer. She may also be called the 'Mother of Ethiopia' because of the part that she played in the amalgamation of the Ethiopian Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church.

She was born on 7 April 1872, near Beaufort West (Skota gives 1874 as the date of her birth but 1872 is used by her sister Katy). Her mother was a teacher and her father a foreman on the road gangs. He was also a lay preacher in the Presbyterian Church. Charlotte attended primary school in Uitenhage and senior school in Port Elizabeth. She planned to be a teacher.

Just before the family moved to Kimberley in 1890 Charlotte and her sister Katy were invited to join the Jubilee singers and tour Britain. This was an exciting time and the choir was even asked to sing for Queen Victoria. During the tour Charlotte met students from Wilberforce University in America and realised for the first time that in America there were opportunities for black students which were not available in South Africa. The two sisters learned to speak English fluently with a British accent. When they returned home both were given the opportunity of touring America with the McAdoo singers. Katy decided to remain at home and later became dispenser for Dr McCord of the American Board Mission. Charlotte travelled to America to join the choir.

While in America she met Bishop Derrick of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, who arranged for her to study at Wilberforce University, Ohio. She managed to arrange opportunities for other African students to study at Wilberforce. One of the students was Marshall Maxeke, who would later become her husband. Others were James Tantsi, Charles Dube, Henry Msikinya and Edward Tolityi Magaya.

While Charlotte was in America, changes had been taking place in the

church in the Transvaal. Her mother's cousin, Mangena Mokone, decided to leave the Methodist Church and form his own Ethiopian Church. Katy read her sister's letters to Mokone. The letters told of a church in America under black control where there was opportunity for education and for leadership. Mokone discussed what he had heard with the other leaders of the Ethiopian Church. In 1896 they decided to invite the AMEC to amalgamate with the Ethiopian Church. Charlotte Manye acted as an intermediary. She became one of the pioneers of the South African AMEC. Although as a woman she could not be an elder, she served on the missionary committee and was invited to give talks on mission at the AMEC conferences. In 1901 Charlotte said that she was thrilled to be asked to speak and 'congratulated herself on the rare opportunity afforded her ... to speak to her own conference for the first time in her lowly life'.

In 1903 Charlotte Manye married Marshall Maxeke, who by now had a BA from Wilberforce. They worked together as missionaries for the AMEC, first in Pietersburg in the Transvaal and then in Idutywa in the Eastern Cape. There they were invited to establish a school by the headman, Enoch Mamba, who had had a disagreement with the colonial authorities.

Education became a priority for the Maxekes and in 1908 they established Wilberforce Institute for the AMEC at Evaton in the Transvaal. The influence of Charlotte Maxeke was beginning to be more widely felt. She was asked to speak at meetings on various subjects. For example, at the 1925 General Missionary Conference she read a paper entitled 'The native Christian mother'.

Maxeke was a founder member and president of the Bantu Women's League, a forerunner of the ANC Women's League. Her husband had been a member of the ANC from its inception so she had the interests of the organisation at heart. Maxeke, through the league, worked for the relaxation of the Free State pass laws.

When the Maxekes moved to Johannesburg Charlotte's concerns centred on the church. She involved herself in social action and started an employment bureau. She was made a probation officer, the first African woman to hold such a post. Her work at the courts brought her into contact with the effects of the break-down of family life and the problems caused by the migrant labour system. She sought a common meeting ground between white and black women but met with little success. Through this she hoped to foster a better understanding of the problems facing urban Africans.

In 1928 Maxeke was sent to America as a delegate to the AMEC Conference. During the 1930s she continued to address meetings such as the 1935 All African Convention at Bloemfontien where she played a leading role in the establishment of the National Council of African Women. Busy to the end, she died four years later in 1939.

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Mgijima, Enoch Josiah (1858-1929)

Mgijima was the leader of the Israelites whose massacre in 1921 caused a wave of concern throughout South Africa. Edgar writes: 'Almost every African household in South Africa knows about the massacre of the people at Bulhoek in the Queenstown district'(Edgar 1988:38).

Enoch Mgijima was born in Bulhoek in 1858. He was the third of four sons of Josiah Mgijima, a Mfengu peasant. There were also five daughters in the family. The Mgijima family were part of one of the Hlubi groups that had to left Natal. The group eventually found a home among Hintsa's Gcaleka Xhosa. According to African custom they were helped to replenish their herds and eventually became an independent group. Josiah and his family followed the Methodist minister John Ayliff, and settled near Peddie and then Fort Beaufort. This was probably in about 1848. Josiah was one of Ayliff's converts and he and his family became members of the Methodist Church.

When Josiah Mgijima decided to move to Ntabelanga, near Queenstown, he was the owner of many sheep, cattle, goats and horses. At this stage he only had daughters and longed for a son. He climbed to the top of Ntabelanga mountain and prayed: 'God you have given me these sheep, cattle, goats and horses but I have no boy among my children.' His prayer was answered; his next four children were sons: Josiah, Timothy, Enoch and Charles.

Ntabelanga Mountain

Kamastone, of which Bulhoek and Ntabelanga were a part, was an overcrowded township where most people struggled to make a living. Schools went as far as Standard 3 and those who wanted to study further, like the sons of Mgijima, had to look elsewhere. All the boys except Enoch went to Lovedale and then to Zonnebloem College in Cape Town. Timothy and Josiah became interpreters, while Charles, before he joined the Israelites, was a court interpreter and a school teacher. Only Enoch, because of headaches which recurred every time he went to Lovedale, never went beyond Standard 3. He became a farmer and hunter. He also became a lay preacher and evangelist in the Methodist Church. Because of his lack of education, he was never able to become an ordained minister.

When Enoch Mgijima began to have visions, he felt that God was calling him to be a leader. This was impossible in the Methodist Church because he could not study for ordination. His millennial visions were not in line with Methodist teaching either.

He had his first vision in 1907 while out hunting for game. He saw three mountains of different heights, which he believed was a sign that some people would receive him immediately, some reluctantly and some with difficulty. He saw an angel who told him about a coming war when only the faithful would be spared (Edgar 1977:26). Mgijima thought that he was unworthy to be a prophet and called himself a drunkard and a sinner. Three years later he saw Haley's Comet and he regarded it as a sign that confirmed his calling as a prophet. He felt he had to return to the ancient religion of the Israelites. Many people started to follow Mgijima and the Moravian missionaries at Shiloh asked him to preach for them. When, in 1912, their converts began to follow Mgijima they asked him not to return.

Mgijima then joined the Church of God and Saints of Christ. This had been founded in America by an African-American, William Crowdy. He claimed that black people were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. This appealed to Mgijima and he joined the local branch, which had its headquarters in Uitenhage. His contact was John Msikinya, who at one time had also been a Methodist local preacher. However, Mgijima's visions continued and eventually he was asked to leave this church as well. He called the new church that he established the Israelites.

Both visions that led to Mgijima being asked to leave the Church of God and Saints of Christ had political implications. In the first he saw two goats and a male baboon fighting. The baboon seized the goats and took the lead. Mgijima explained that the blacks (the baboon) would fight the whites (the goats) and win.

In 1920 he had a vision of children lying on their backs with their feet in the air. This he later interpreted as the Bulhoek tragedy. Later that year he had a 'call' while sitting on top of Ntabelanga mountain.

More and more Israelites moved to Ntabelange to be near Mgijima. Because the land for houses was on swampy ground, the authorities had given permission for a few houses to be built on the common grazing land which belonged to the Crown or government. Mgijima's own house was on Crown land. As more and more people moved into the area they built temporary huts wherever they found space. The people of Oxkraal complained when their grazing land was no longer available. The farmers complained because they said the Israelites were stopping their workers from working. Then in 1921 the Israelites refused to give their names for the census saying that God knew who they were (Bulhoek 1921:6).

The 'Mattushek affair' brought matters to a head. Two Israelites who said that they were buying fodder were thought to be trespassing and were shot. One of them, Charles Dondolo, was fatally wounded. Charles Mgijima, his brother's right-hand man, was subpoenaed to appear in court but refused. The authorities became angry because the Israelites refused to speak to them. If they tried to approach Ntabelanga, they were turned back by an armed guard. There seemed to be a stalemate.

A massive force of policemen under Colonel Truter was summoned to Queenstown. Both sides prepared for battle and it became apparent that neither side would give in. When the time came, they drew up in military

formation. The police and army had guns while the Israelites had only 'broad-bladed assegais, knobkerries and knives', although later some of them were found to have a few guns as well. The Israelites were given the chance to turn back but they answered: 'We will fight and Jehovah will fight with us' (Bulhoek 1921:23). Mgijima promised them that the bullets would turn to water so that they would be safe.

The Israelites fought with great bravery, but the outcome was inevitable as they did not have the same weaponry as the police. After the battle it was discovered that Mgijima had been hiding when he saw the tide turning against him. He was taken prisoner, as was his brother Charles. The battle, however, left 163 people dead, 129 wounded and 95 people taken prisoner (Bulhoek 1921:28). *The Times* of London described how Mgijima watched impassively while the prisoners were being led away.

There was widespread reaction to the tragedy and it was debated in parliament. The reaction of the white church leaders was interesting in that they showed little sympathy for the Israelites. Bishop Carter from the Anglican Church felt that the massacre was the inevitable result of threatening behaviour against the government (Cochrane 1987:128). The Rev Allen Lea from the Methodist Church saw the Israelites as 'a fanatical politico-religious body from America' which had caused a disturbance. The event had direct bearing on the appointment of a commission to investigate the Independent Churches. The question still remains - why was the position allowed to deteriorate to such an extent that so many people lost their lives?

The grave of Mgijima

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Mogatla, David Modibane (c 1814-1874)

Mogatla (or Magatta, as he is known by the Methodists) established the first Methodist society in the Transvaal. He was actually involved with a number of denominations that also claim him as their pioneer ~ the Lutherans from the Hermannsburg Mission and the Dutch Reformed Church.

Mogatle was born in about 1814 in the Rustenburg district of the Transvaal. He belonged to one of the Tswana clans, possibly the Bagamalete. During the 1830s, when Mzilikazi and his warriors stormed across the Transvaal attacking Tswana clans, Mogatla's home was destroyed and he was taken to Mosega as a prisoner. He became Mzilikazi's personal attendant (Notices 1878:62).

In 1836 the American Board missionaries Daniel Lindley and Henry Venables came to Mosega to try to establish a mission station among Mzilikazi's people. For the first time Mogatla heard the Gospel. Two years later a Voortrekker commando stormed Mzilikazi's stronghold and Mogatla escaped and made his way south to Thaba'Nchu, the Wesleyan Methodist mission station.

Here Mogatla was educated and later converted. David was the name given to him at his baptism. Years later he told the Methodist missionary Blencowe that he was 'born of God among the Wesleyans, I have lived a Wesleyan and I shall die a Wesleyan'. This may have been biased reporting as Mogatla continued his friendship with missionaries from other denominations.

Mogatla determined to return home to the Magaliesberg district where he found his family scattered or dead. He received a 'note to preach' from the missionary William Shaw authorising him to preach in the name of the Methodist Church. This was probably in about 1852 as there is an English Bible at a Lutheran mission station near Rustenburg with his name and the date in it. He also worked as an evangelist for the Rev Behrens of the Hermannsburg Mission in Bethany and the Rev Gonin of the Dutch Reformed Mission in Rustenburg.

During the 1850s he worked as a labourer for white farmers in the Rustenburg district. He met Commandant Paul Kruger while he was working there. Mogatla decided to go to Potchefstroom and in 1865 he was

listed as an evangelist on a 'Memorial' for William Shaw (John Rylands Library).

In Potchefstroom Mogatla 'preached in the streets and in their houses' and 'exhorted and commanded them to repent'. Blencowe noted that Mogatla was able to speak and understand six languages: Sechuana, Amatonga, Xhosa, Zulu, Dutch and English.

The landdrost punished and banished him for holding services, possibly because they were held at the same time as those of the Dutch Reformed Church. He wandered first in Natal and then in Sekhukuniland, where he again met Commandant Kruger. Kruger heard his story and gave him a letter granting him permission to preach in Potchefstroom.

Mogatla had been preaching without payment except for donations from his listeners. In 1871 the Methodist missionary George Blencowe arrived in Potchefstroom and met Mogatla. He gave him a stipend of twelve pounds per annum (all that he was allowed to pay without permission from Synod). Blencowe also arranged accommodation for Mogatla's congregation, who called themselves Methodists. He found that some of Mogatla's converts had begun their own mission work in the surrounding district. Blencowe reported that he had heard 'interesting testimonies as to the purity, the benevolence, the constancy and the efficiency of David's ministry' (Notices 1878:62).

A chapel was built in 1873, but the following year Mogatla died while on a visit to the Rustenburg district. He was buried at Bethany where the Rev Behrens recorded that: 'He was a man full of zeal and faith, always busy with the furtherance of the Kingdom of God.'

The Methodist Church in the township in Potchefstroom is named the David Magatta Church in his honour.

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Mokone, Mangena Maake (1851-1931)

Mokone was the founder of the Ethiopian Church in 1892. His move from the Methodist Church to his own inter-tribal African church led in time to the formation of numerous other independent churches. Mokone took as his watchword Psalm 68:31 ~ 'Cush [Ethiopia] shall stretch out her hands to God.'

Mokone was born in Sekhkuniland in 1851, a member of the Bogaga tribe. His father, a secondary chief, was killed in the Swazi War of 1863. The young Mokone and a friend fled to Durban where Mokone found work with a Mrs Steele who belonged to the Methodist Church. She encouraged him to attend night school and taught him to read. Mokone saw the Bible next to Mrs Steele's bed and longed to be able to read it, which made him a keen student. Mrs Steele also encouraged him to attend Sunday School at the Aliwal Street Chapel.

In 1870 Mokone moved to Pietermaritzburg and found work on a sugar plantation. However, after six months he returned to Durban. One day Mokone heard a local preacher, Mr Fine, preaching about the wiles of the Devil and he was converted to Christianity. In 1874 Mokone was baptised by the Rev Damon Hlongwana and returned to Pietermaritzburg to attend Edendale College.

Mokone became a local preacher himself and worked as a carpenter during the day while at night he preached at revival meetings. One day his congregation was so moved that they were noisy and tearful. A white neighbour told them to 'vuka' ('get up') and asked that Mokone be replaced by a more moderate preacher.

When the Methodist Church decided to appoint probationer ministers at the 1880 Synod in Pietermaritzburg Mokone was among those selected. He became a 'native assistant missionary'. After spending two years in Newstead, Natal, he was sent to Pretoria.

In Pretoria Mokone started a school and established a congregation. After serving his probation he was ordained in 1887. The following year he was

sent to the Waterberg district, north of Pretoria. While he was there his wife died of tuberculosis, leaving him with two small daughters.

He next went to Johannesburg, where he met people such as J Z Tantsi who would later join him in the Ethiopian Church. During the years that Mokone worked in the Transvaal, racially segregated district meetings had become the accepted form of church government. Mokone resented this and gave racial segregation as one of his reasons for leaving the Methodist Church. At the so-called 'Native meetings' the work of the evangelists and 'native assistant missionaries' was discussed and tuition given to those 'on trial'. Mokone felt that some of the evangelists had been judged unfairly. One of these was Samuel Mathabathe who was told, after Mokone had resigned, that he was not intellectually astute enough to be ordained and had to continue to work as an evangelist (Minutes 1895). At the time of his resignation Mokone was working as a tutor at Kilnerton College.

Mokone waited for his friend the Rev Owen Watkins to retire before he resigned. In 1892 he wrote to the District Superintendent, George Weavind, and said: 'I hereby give you notice that at the end of the month I will leave the Wesleyan Church and serve God in my own way.' He gave a number of reasons for his decision. Among them were the separate district meetings, lack of understanding from white ministers, no family allowances for African ministers and poor wages (Minutes 1892).

In November 1892 Mokone and twenty others held the founding service of the Ethiopian Church. Among those who joined him was Samuel Brander. He was later joined by a number of men such as J Z Tantsi, J G Xaba and Marcus Gabashane. Later Dwane and Goduka also became members of the Ethiopian Church.

Having learned from the letters of Charlotte Manye how the African Methodist Episcopal Church in America had black leadership and enough money to help educate their members, Mokone and the other Ethiopians decided to invite them to amalgamate and form a South African branch. Dwane was sent to America and returned to 'reobligate' or ordain the ministers of the Ethiopian Church.

In 1898 Bishop Turner of the AMEC visited South Africa. He was welcomed by the Ethiopians and ordained a number of ministers. Mokone became an elder of the AMEC.

The following year Dwane was already restless and at a conference in Queenstown he and others resolved to leave the AMEC. Mokone remained loyal and met with the ministers who remained to try to prevent the trouble from spreading.

At AMEC conferences Mokone took a leading role, although he could not be the bishop as that position was kept for an American. He served on various committees and often led the devotions.

In 1903 the members of conference wanted to hold a 'Mokone day' but he asked them to refrain from doing so while he was still alive. Three years later he was sent to America as a delegate to the General Conference. He continued to serve the AMEC and came to be respected as a 'father figure' until his death in 1931 (October).

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Obed Mooki

Mooki, David (1876-1927)

Mooki came from an African Independent Church background and in his search for Zion joined the New Jerusalem Church.

He was born in 1876 in the Transvaal and lived in the 'Old Location', near Krugersdorp. Mooki was a member of the African Catholic Church, which

Krugersdorp.

In December 1909 Mooki was window-shopping in Krugersdorp when he saw a book in the window of a second-hand shop entitled *The true Christian religion* by Emmanuel Swedenborg. He was intrigued and bought the book and started reading. Swedenborg, who wrote the book in 1771, was a Swedish scientist. He applied his own interpretation to texts in his search for 'the inner meaning contained in the inspired texts of the Bible' (Kingslake 1981:12). Swedenborg taught that a new church was being formed to replace the church of his time. It was called the 'Church of the New Jerusalem'.

Swedenborg appeared to have an understanding of Africans even though he had never been to Africa. He wrote: 'Africans are the best, gentlest and most intelligent of all the gentiles ... They long for information and rejoice when they get it' (Evans 1991:10). Again he wrote: 'because Africans are of this character (ie spiritual) a revelation has this day been made to them, which is spreading in all directions ... ' (Swedenborg 1771: para 840, 387). Mooki believed that he had found the answer to his search and had soon read the whole book. He decided to try to find people who belonged to the New Church and wanted to start a branch himself. In 1911 he established the New Church of Africa.

Mooki did not give up his search for the Swedenborgians. He wrote to the printers of the book, who furnished him with the address of the British General Conference of the New Jerusalem Church in England. In 1917 he was able to establish links with the church overseas. The British church sent him literature and brought his church under the direction of the Foreign and Colonial Missions Committee. His church became known overseas as 'the New Church (Native) Mission in South Africa'.

Mooki had to wait another two years before a New Church minister came to South Africa. By this time his church was a thriving organisation. The Rev James Buss instructed the New Church members in the Swedenborgian doctrines. He ordained Mooki on 23 January 1921, and nine days later nine other ministers were ordained.

Through the efforts of Mooki and Buss the New Church expanded as far afield as Basutoland (Lesotho). There were also branches of the New Church in Nancefield Location (Pimville) and other parts of the Rand.


Obed Mooki

Mooki died of enteritis on 2 April 1927. The missionaries continued the work until Obed Simon David, Mooki's second son who had been born in 1919, had completed his education. Obed then took over his father's work. Under Obed Mooki and his wife, Eulalia, the New Church grew even more. A church and a school, known as the Mooki Memorial Church, were erected in Orlando East. Obed Mooki became a leading member of the African Ministers' Association as well as serving on the Johannesburg Joint Advisory Boards.

Obed Mooki saw many changes take place in the New Church. The Mooki Memorial College was formed in Soweto. In 1961 the New Church amalgamated with the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion which had been threatened with closure by the Government. The ECC in Zion had been started by Samuel Brander in 1904 and now the sons of the two founders met to form one church.

Obed Mooki was made superintendent of the new Church in 1989 and for the rest of his life remained president of the church. He died on 3 June 1990 after a protracted illness.

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Mzimba, Pambani Jeremiah (1850-1911)

Mzimba, an ex-Lovedale graduate, was the founder of the Presbyterian Church of Africa. He was born at Ngqakayi in the Eastern Cape halfway through the nineteenth century. His father, Ntibane, was an old Lovedale student and he and his wife were baptised by the Rev James Laing of the Free Church of Scotland in 1852. Ntibane later became a deacon in the Lovedale Native Church where his son, Pambani, would one day serve as a minister. So it may be seen that Mzimba's roots were firmly grounded in the Lovedale Prasbyterian Church.

Mzimba entered Lovedale as a student in 1860. He remained there until 1875 when he was ordained, the first South African-trained black Presbyterian minister to achieve this status. During his time as a student he worked in the telegraph office to help pay his fees. Like Makiwane, he was a teacher of biblical studies.

The year before he was ordained Mzimba married Martha Kwatsha, a member of the Soga family. She came from Burnshill Mission in 1868 and was a pupil at the girls' school until 1875, when she spent a year in Scotland with Mrs Stewart. She married Mzimba when she returned (Stewart 1887:435).

Mzimba was ordained on 2 December 1875. Stewart was not among those present and Dr Waterston chided him saying: 'Your being away for Pambani's ordination gave me great pain ... Mpambani said little about it ... but he felt it. He has such deep feelings ... I have known Mpambani go off like some wounded animal to some solitary spot where no human eye can see his pain' (Waterston 1983:97).

Although Stewart was absent, there were others who appreciated the importance of the occasion. The *Christian Express*, for which he had worked for a time, published an account of the ordination and how he had been elected by the Lovedale congregation as their minister. The Rev Bryce Ross conducted the ordination service and preached on the office of the Christian ministry from Ephesians 4:11. The girls from the school gave him a

gold chain and his fellow students a gift of money (*Christian Express* 1876:11).

The year that Mzimba was ordained he and Makiwane volunteered to go to the Livingstonia Mission in Malawi, but neither of them was chosen. Instead, Mzimba served the Lovedale congregation and taught at Lovedale Institution.

The year 1891 was Lovedale's Jubilee Celebration. Mzimba was chosen to deliver one of the sermons. In the Jubilee Report he was recognised as a modest and capable minister, a satisfactory pastor and a successful evangelist.

Two years later he was sent to Scotland as a delegate to the anniversary of the Free Church severing its ties with the Scottish government. Mzimba wrote to Dr Smith of the Missionary Society: 'God in his goodness has at last given me my long desire to see Scotland and be in the General Assembly'(MS 1093). He wanted to know what aspect of the mission they wished him to speak about. The delegates were interested in what he had to say, but there is a note of paternalism in the way they received him. One of the delegates wrote: 'The Rev Mpambani Mzimba ... is a splendid specimen of what the grace of God can produce in the African race' (MS 1120). Mzimba collected a large amount of money in Scotland, some of which he hoped would be used to rebuild the Lovedale Church. Stewart thought his plans too grandiose.

The year 1896 was a busy one for Mzimba. A theological school was started at Lovedale and he and Makiwane taught biblical studies. He went to Johannesburg with Stewart to act as a mediator in the Tsewu affair and he continued to serve the Lovedale congregation.

The first National United Presbyterian Assembly was held in 1897. Mzimba was a delegate at this too. The Kaffrarian Presbytery felt that they could not accept union with the other presbyteries if their African ministers did not receive equal recognition.

A year later Mzimba, after twenty-two years in the Presbyterian ministry, felt he could no longer remain a member of the Free Church of Scotland and formed his own independent church. Stewart's biographer wrote that Stewart felt 'peculiar sorrow' because Mzimba had been like a son in the faith to him and 'the matter aged Dr Stewart perceptibly' (Wells 1906:295).

Wells had nothing to say about Stewart's non-attendance of Mzimba's ordination.

The congregation at Lovedale Church was mainly of Mfengu origin and they decided to leave the church and remain with Mzimba. They called themselves the true 'Free Church' and 'joined Mzimba wholesale' (MS 7801:804). Makiwane had trouble with Headman Bovani Mabandla of MacFarlan village who joined Mzimba. There were disputes over property and Lennox wrote from Lovedale that: 'Mzimba's people were very active in asserting that all South African property would pass, or rather had already passed into the hands of the Free Church [Mzimba's Presbyterian Church of Africa] and that they, the Mzimbatites were to have the use and possession of it' (MS 7801:652). Many were even convinced that after the death of Stewart Lovedale would belong to them. These disputes resulted in ill feeling between the Presbyterians of the Kaffrarian Presbytery and those of Mzimba's Presbyterian Church of Africa.

Mzimba died in 1911 and his son became head of the Mzimbatite Church. The formation of Mzimba's church had a direct influence on the formation in 1923 of the Bantu Presbyterian Church ~ the African branch of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa.

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Napo, Joseph Mutunye Kanyane (born c 1860)

Kanyane Napo was the founder of the African Church, an independent denomination in the Transvaal that broke away from the Anglican Church in 1888.

Napo belonged to the Mopedi people and was born in Matlala's Kraal, Sekhukuniland. He was baptised in the Independent Church (Congregational) in Uitenhage by the Rev Paterson. He belonged to this church for a number of years, even becoming a lay preacher.

Napo then left the Independent Church and joined the Anglican Church because he liked their liturgical style of worship (MS 14 787). He had no grievance against his previous church but simply preferred the Anglican service. Napo remained in the Anglican Church until April 1888 when he left to establish his own African Church. At the time he was living in Pretoria. Napo retained the Anglican doctrines and style of worship in his new church.

In 1892 when Mangena Mokone left the Wesleyan Methodist Church and founded the Ethiopian Church, Napo, like Brander and other church leaders, joined him in his venture. Napo's church in Marabastad served to show Mokone that it was possible to have a wholly African church without missionary support.

When the Ethiopian Church amalgamated with the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1896 Napo also became a member. His name is listed among the elders at the 1901 Conference of the AMEC. However, by this time Napo was beginning to feel the lack of freedom he had in his own church. The elders at the conference were angry that Napo had appointed his own preachers 'by consecration and laying of hands' (Minutes 1903).

Napo, in return, retold the whole history of how he came to be a member of the AMEC. He stated that he did not want to join Dwane, as others had done, but asked why the AMEC had taken away his plot for a church in Kimberley. Napo wanted to be made a bishop of his own district. In his Pretoria district he had eight churches, nine ministers, twenty-three local preachers and teachers.

Napo left the AMEC and re-established his African Church. In the 1920s,

when he became old and blind, he was succeeded by his son Joseph Kanyane, Jnr.

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Ngcayiya, Henry Reed (1860-1928)

Ngcayiya was a founder of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa. This is not to be confused with the Ethiopian Church founded by Mangena Mokone in 1892, although Ngcayiya considered that he had returned to the original Ethiopian position.

He was born in 1860 near Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape. He attended Healdtown, the Methodist college, where he obtained a teacher's certificate. After teaching for some years he became an interpreter at the Aliwal North Magistrate's Office. While he was working in Aliwal North, Mokone visited the Eastern Cape in 1893 looking for men to join the ministry of the Ethiopian Church. By this time Goduka and the remnants of the Tembu Church had already joined Mokone. Ngcayiya volunteered and was accepted as an Ethiopian.

As part of the Ethiopian ministry, Ngcayiya was ordained into the ministry of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1898. He became a loyal member of the AMEC and served on a number of committees, for example in 1901 he was listed among the elders and served on the committee to consider the 'state of the church', as well as the finance and missions committees (Minutes 1901). He was also among those delegated to record the history of the Ethiopian movement in South Africa.

In 1899, after Dwane's defection to the Anglicans, Isaiah Goda Sishuba held a meeting at the Friendly Hall in Cape Town. Sishuba wanted to ensure the unity of the ministry of the AMEC. Ngcayiya was not at the meeting, but later he and Sishuba joined forces to establish a new Ethiopian Church.

When in 1900 Bishop Coppin became the first bishop of the South African AMEC Ngcayiya was not among those, such as Mokone and Tantsi, who were granted leadership positions. Even though he had travelled extensively for the AMEC in the Eastern Cape, bringing in many new members, he was not among those listed by Tantsi in 1904 as having 'figured prominently in the struggle' to become established. However, Ngcayiya was made the presiding elder for Natal.

In 1908 a constitution for a new independent church was drawn up and signed by Sishuba, Ngcayiya, Spawn, Sonjica and Phakane. They said that they had seen the 'deplorable spiritual and mental condition of the people' and membership of the new church would be based on 'an intelligent profession of faith in Christ' (Constitution). However, it was only at the 1912 Conference that Ngcayiya, Sishuba and 17 ministers took leave of the AMEC and the new Ethiopian Church of the United South Africa came into existence. Ngcayiya said in 1925 that one of their main reasons for leaving the AMEC was that it was controlled from America.

Ngcayiya was a member of the Executive of the African National Congress and acted as chaplain. He was a member of the 1919 deputation of the ANC to the British government in England. When Sishuba died, Ngcayiya became the head of the Ethiopian Church, a post he held for sixteen years until his death in 1928. Skota described Ngcayiya as 'a good preacher, energetic, very shrewd in his judgment, the soul of generosity who made many sacrifices, a very cheerful disposition' who was loved by all his colleagues (Skota 1933:78).

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Ntsikana (Chief Sicana) Gaba (1780-1820)

Ntsikana founded the first African Christian organisation in about 1815. He was also the first great Xhosa hymn-writer and his 'great hymn' appears in many of the modern hymn books.

Ntsikana was born in about 1780 of the Ngqika tribe and became a hereditary councillor to Ngqika, Paramount of the Rharhabe chiefdom. He lived at a time when white settlement of the eastern frontier was increasing and there was conflict between the Xhosa and the new settlers. Ntsikana's father, Gaba, was a polygamist, as were most of the Xhosa before they were converted (Bokwe 1914:4). His mother, Nonabe, was the second wife. Because the first wife was jealous, she accused Nonabe of witchcraft and Nonabe had to flee for her life. A few months later Ntsikana was born.

When Ntsikana was about twelve years old his father sent for him. As Gaba had only a daughter from his first wife, Noyiki, she adopted the boy as her own. Ntsikana grew up tending his father's herds and learning to hunt.

When he was an older teenager, Van der Kemp of the London Missionary Society came to the area where he lived. From 1799 to 1801 the missionary tried to evangelise but met with little success. From him Ntsikana first heard the Christian message. Van der Kemp left Ngqika's territory and went to live in Graaff-Reinet. A time of war followed on the eastern frontier between the leading Rharhabe chiefs, Ngqika and Ndlambe. This ended with the Battle of Amalinde where Ngqika was defeated. Ndlambe's warriors then attacked Grahamstown in 1819 (the Fifth Frontier War) and a buffer zone was declared between the Fish and Keiskamma rivers.

It was not until 1816 that the next missionary came to Ntisikana'a area. He was the Rev Joseph Williams, who opened a mission station near the Kat River.

After Ntsikana had gone through the ceremony as an Amakweta and was accepted into manhood, two wives were found for him, Nontsonta, who became the mother of Kobe, and Nomamto, who was the mother of

Dukwana and two younger brothers. When his father died, Ntsikana inherited his property.

At about this time Ntsikana had a vision. He had a favourite ox, a large dun-coloured animal, spotted with white and with long horns, which he named Hulushe. One morning he went to the kraal and noticed a ray of the sun, brighter than the others, strike the side of the ox. He went into a trance. When he asked Kobe who was standing by if he had seen what had happened, the boy replied that he had seen nothing. Ntsikana continued to puzzle over what had happened. Further strange happenings took place at a wedding celebration that day. Ntsikana took his family home and on the way washed off his red ochre. Nobody could understand what had happened to him.

During the next few days Ntskana started humming a chant that eventually became his 'round hymn'. He told the people that they should all pray and from then on he held regular services. He said that they must not listen to Nxele, the 'witch doctor'. This was the start of his ministry. Ntsikana did not settle at the mission station but visited Williams and, after his death, the missionary Brownlee regularly. He had been considering moving to Chumie Mission when he died in Thwatwa in 1821 (Hodgson 1981:6).

Ntsikana wrote four hymns, the best known of which is his 'great hymn'. This is still found in modern hymnbooks. Years later Alan Soga wrote a tribute to Ntsikana:

> What 'thing' Ntsikana, was't that prompted thee
> To preach to thy dark countrymen beneath yon tree?
> What sacred vision did the mind enthral,
> Whil'st thou lay dormant in thy cattle kraal?

Ntsikana's hymn praises God as the Great God of the heavens. Much of Ntsikana's theology came from his personal experience and he is remembered as the first important Xhosa convert.

> Ulo Tixo omkulu, ngosezulwini
> (The Great God, He is in heaven.
> Thou art thou, Shield of truth.
> Thou art thou, Stronghold of truth.

Thou art thou, Thicket of truth.
Thou art thou, who dwellest in the highest.
Who created life (below) and created (life) above.
The Creator who created, created heaven.
This maker of the stars, and the Pleiades.
A star flashed forth, telling us.
The maker of the blind, does He not make them on purpose ?
The trumpet sounded, it has called us,
As for His hunting, He hunteth for souls.
Who draweth together flocks opposed to each other.
The Leader, he led us.
Whose great mantle, we put it on.
Those hands of Thine, they are wounded.
Those feet of Thine, they are wounded.
Thy blood, why is it streaming ?
Thy blood, it was shed for us.
This great price, have we called for it ?
This home of Thine, have we called for it ?)
J. K. B.

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Pamla, Charles (1834-1917)

Pamla was one of the first African Methodist ministers to be ordained. In 1866 Bishop Taylor of California described him as 'about six foot high, muscular, well-proportioned but lean ... [with] regular features, very pleasant expression, logical cast of mind and sonorous, powerful voice' (Taylor 1895:361).

Pamla was born in 1834 in the Butterworth district of the Eastern Cape. He was the son of Mdingazwe and great-grandson of Zulu, a prominent chief of the Amabambo tribe. Even before the flight of the Mfengu, Mdingazwe had left his home in Mzinyati, Natal, and settled among the followers of Hintsa in the Peddie district. When Hintsa heard that his name was Mdingazwe, meaning a person with no settled abode, he renamed him 'Pamla' meaning 'wanderer' (Mears 1958:12). When the missionary John Ayliff approached Hintsa for permission to start a mission, Hintsa told him to 'go to the Mfengu; those are the men for whom such a Gospel is fit'. One of Ayliff's first converts was Pamla's grandmother, Mbuya, who was a sangoma. Pamla's father, mother and uncle were also converted.

In 1833 the whole family was baptised by the Rev W Garner of the Methodist Church, so Charles was born into a Christian family. He attended school in Nyara but did not receive much education as he had to look after the family's sheep. He carried his Bible with him so that he could read while in the veld. While he was herding the sheep he used to preach to the trees to practise public speaking because he wanted one day to become an 'umfundisi' or preacher. Pamla, too, was baptised into the Christian faith by the Rev Garner.

At about this time the family moved to Keiskammahoek, where Pamla became a class leader and local or lay preacher. When the Rev Robert Lamplough came to the area Pamla acted as interpreter. Lamplough was stationed at Annshaw Church, Middeldrift, and Pamla began to be involved as an unpaid evangelist. One night in 1866 Pamla had a vision and decided to offer himself for the ministry. He sold his home and farm to concentrate

on his work as an evangelist. He studied Wesley's sermons and often used them as the basis for his own preaching. Pamla became known as a powerful preacher.

In 1866 Bishop Taylor of California came to South Africa to hold revival meetings. When he reached Queenstown he was introduced to Charles Pamla who became his interpreter. At the meetings Pamla would repeat what Taylor had said in words that the listeners could understand. Many lives were changed. As people came to find out more, Taylor found himself continually asking: 'Charles, what are they saying?' (Taylor 1895:409). Taylor wrote: 'Charles Pamla's training for our great work together was going on quite independently of me' (MS 1534 Cory Library).

At Annshaw there was an emotional revival. Here Taylor began to preach in what Pamla called 'low English' so that Pamla could interpret more easily. Pamla was even able to translate the hymns. He wrote in 1916, referring to the service at Annshaw, that: 'There the Holy Spirit came mightily on us all and many wonderful things were seen and done' (Mears 1958:17).

Pamla continued to travel with Taylor. At Clarkebury the Tembu chief wanted to give himself to God. Everywhere men and women, black and white turned to God. When they reached Natal, Taylor's mission came to an end. Taylor said, before he left: 'If my fellow labourer, Brother Charles Pamla, and a few others were set apart as were Barnabas and Saul for this work ... I believe the Holy Spirit would do a work through them he could not so readily do through me.' He also said: 'These are the men to evangelise Africa.'

The following year a theological institution was opened in Healdtown. The first students were Charles Pamla, James Lwana, Charles Lwana and Boyce Mama. They were ordained in 1871.

Pamla started his ministry in an isolated church in Tsitsana. He then worked in Butterworth and Etembeni. He had a long ministry as a pioneer preacher, always standing firm on his Christian principles, such as refusing to drink 'Kaffir beer'. He tried to have the African customs that the missionaries condemned discussed at Synod.

In 1909 he was appointed a connexional evangelist with wider responsibilities, although based in Clarkebury. He continued in this post until he retired

to Matatiele in 1913. The mission station 'Pamlaville' was named after him. He remained active and a year before he died he wrote: 'Time would fail me to tell of all the wonders of God's grace ... My own heart is full of wonder and thankfulness at the remembrance of all my eyes have seen.'

Pamla died on 24 June 1917. Speaking to members of the family, after his death, the Rev T Curnick told them: 'He is not only your father, but is the father of the whole Connexion [the Methodist Church in South Africa].'

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Soga, Tiyo (1829-1871)

Tiyo Soga was the first African minister to be ordained into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in South Africa. He was born in Gwali in 1829, at the time that Chief Makoma was expelled from the Kat River. He was the son of Jotello, one of the chief councillors of Chief Ngqika, and Nosuthu, Soga's 'great wife'. C L Stretch, a member of the Legislative Council, relates how he taught Old Soga to cultivate crops to feed his family and livestock. He became the first Xhosa to use a plough and irrigate his crops with running water and was soon able to sell produce to the military at Fort Cox (Cousins 1899:14).

Nosuthu became a Christian and, after much thought and prayer, asked Jotello, who had eight wives, to release her from the marriage. She wanted her son Tiyo to grow up a Christian. She also refused to allow Tiyo to be circumcised. This would later prove to be a stumbling block where cultural matters were concerned as he was not considered by traditionalists to have passed the test of manhood. Nosuthu took Tiyo to Chumie Mission which had been founded in 1818 by the Rev John Brownlee. Old Soga had been

instructed by Ngqika to promote the interests of the mission. A few years earlier Ngqika had sent him to visit Ntsikana to hear what the Christian message was about. Ngqika was not a Christian but was willing to allow the missionaries to work in his area. Here, at Chumie, Tiyo grew up and attended the school of the Rev Chalmers.

In 1844 Tiyo Soga was given a free scholarship to Lovedale, about thirteen kilometres from Chumie. Two years later, during the 'War of the Axe', Lovedale was closed and the military took over the buildings. Tiyo and his mother were among the refugees at Fort Armstrong. He kept his school-books with him and continued to study, often at night, by the light of the sneezewood fire lit by his mother. The Rev William Govan, principal of Lovedale, decided to return to Scotland. Two of the other missionaries asked him to take their sons with him for higher education. Govan decided to ask whether Tiyo could accompany them and paid all his expenses out of his own pocket. His mother did not know whether she would see her son again, but she let him go with the words: 'My son belongs to God; wherever he goes God is with him ... he is as much in God's care in Scotland as he is here with me'(MacGregor 1978:72).

Soga attended the Normal School in Glasgow. During this time he was 'adopted' by the John Street United Presbyterian Church. While he was in Scotland he made a profession of faith and was baptised in May 1848. Little is known of his school years, but his time in Scotland gave him a sympathy for both the white and the black races which was to last him throughout his life.

He returned to the Eastern Cape, and from 1849 worked as a catechist and evangelist in Chumie. He found that the people in the area were enthralled by the power of a sorcerer called Mlanjeni. At this time Soga was asked by the Rev Robert Niven to help open a new mission station in the Amatole mountains ~ the Uniondale Mission in Keiskammahoek. Here, for the first time, he experienced problems when scholars of the school were withdrawn because of his lack of circumcision.

During this time Soga began to compose sacred songs. When Soga preached it was to a congregation that identified religion with the colonial authorities with whom they were at war. On Christmas day 1850 Uniondale Mission was burnt to the ground and Soga narrowly escaped with his life. He refused to take the side of the chief in the war. He then declined a government offer of employment as an interpreter. Instead, he accompanied

the Rev Niven back to Scotland to embark on theological studies so that he might 'learn better how to preach Christ as my known Saviour to my countrymen who know Him not' (*Christian Express* 1878).

He studied at the Theological Hall, Glasgow, and on 10 December 1856 was licensed as a minister of the United Presbyterian Church. When he left the college his fellow students presented him with a gift of books. Two months later he married a Scot, Janet Burnside, and they returned to South Africa. She was to prove herself 'a most honourable, thrifty, frugal and devoted woman who marched heroically and faithfully by her husband's side through all the chequered scenes of his short life' (Cousins 1899:59). She soon learned what it meant to be married to an African in colonial South Africa. Soga recorded that when they landed in Port Elizabeth 'you should have seen the wonder and amazement with which a black man with a white lady leaning on his arm seemed to be viewed by all classes' (Cousins 1899:67). Poor Janet Burnside was viewed with suspicion by both black and white! Soga had to put up with accusations of trying to become a 'black Englishman'.

1857 was the year of the 'Cattle Killing' and, as the Sogas travelled through the Eastern Cape, their eyes were met with signs of the starvation that the people were facing. Soga started his ministry in Peelton near King William's Town, a mission of the London Missionary Society, but soon moved to Emgwali. In March 1857 Soga received a letter from the Glasgow Missionary Society saying that according to the rules of the Society he was now an 'ordained Caffre missionary', even though his training had been the same as the white missionaries. His salary would be 100 pounds a year, with thirty pounds for incidental expenses, and his life was insured for 300 pounds. He was also given a grant to buy a horse, saddle and bridle (MS 7640 1857:650).

The site for Emgwali Mission was given to the society by Sandile and Soga was to work among his own people, the Ngqikas. Permission to start the mission had also been given by Sir George Grey, the governor. Soga had to negotiate with the chiefs and then supervise the erection of the mission buildings (MS 7640 1857:681).

Soga was often sick and fell behind with his correspondence. He received letters from the Rev Somerville requesting news and reports of his work. During the years in Emgwali the Sogas had seven children ~ four sons and three daughters. Janet Soga returned to England for the births of her

children. For example, in 1864, Somerville wrote to her saying that he was 'glad to hear that she had been safely delivered of a daughter' and could now return home to Emgwali. He asked after John, their first son, who had a crippled leg (MS 7645 1864:592). John's medical care would entail a number of trips to England.

Soga worked in Emgwali but travelled extensively so that the influence of the Presbyterian Church spread throughout Sandile's country. In 1866 he was unable to work for a time because of ill-health. During this time he translated the *Pilgrim's Progress* into Xhosa. Two years later he was on the board to revise the Xhosa Bible.

Towards the end of his life he was sent to open a new mission station in Tutuka (Somerville) in Kreli's country. The burden of work was too much for so frail a man. The *Christian Express* noted in 1878 that 'one cannot help lamenting his removal from Emgwali ... It hastened his end as difficult ground had to be broken.' He wanted his boys to be educated in Scotland as he had been. Before he died he instructed his sons: 'For your own sakes never appear ashamed that your father was a "Kaffir" and that you inherit some African blood. It is every whit as good and as pure as that which flows in the veins of my fairer brethren ... You will ever cherish the memory of your mother as that of an upright, conscientious, thrifty, Christian Scots woman. You will ever be thankful for your connection by this tie with the white race' (Cousins 1899:146).

His older brother, Festiri, came to help him as an evangelist, but Soga had tuberculosis and was very weak. In August 1871 the Rev Cummings wrote to the Missionary Board and told them that Soga was 'suffering from injury sustained by exposure to rain during a lengthened journey on horseback' (MS 7651 1871:765). The secretary of the board wrote back to Janet Soga suggesting that he 'remove for a time to a suitable place for a change and rest' at their expense. But the letter came too late and Soga was already dead. He died in the arms of his friend, the missionary Richard Ross, with his mother, Nosuthu, at his side.

After his death numerous tributes were made to his memory. The Board wrote that they had always had a 'high estimate of his character as a Christian missionary and a man of God' (MS 7651). They recommended that Janet Soga and her four youngest children should return to Scotland on a full allowance.

His epitaph was drawn up by Dr Anderson in Scotland and the gravestone reads: Sacred to the memory of the Rev Tiyo Soga the first ordained preacher of the Caffre race. He was a friend of God, a lover of His Son, inspired by His Spirit, a disciple of His holy Word. A zealous churchman, an ardent patriot, a large-hearted philanthropist, a dutiful son, an affectionate brother, a tender husband, a loving father, a faithful friend, a learned scholar, an eloquent orator and in manners a gentleman. A model Caffrarian for the imitation and inspiration of his countrymen (MS 7652 1872:13). The words were written in Xhosa and English and are a fitting memorial to his ministry.

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Tile, Nehemiah (d 1891)

Nehemiah Xoxo Tile founded an independent tribal church in 1884 which he called the Tembu National Church. He may be called the forerunner of the Ethiopian movement in South Africa.

The origins of Tile are obscure. He was born in Tembuland and is said to have been baptised by the Rev Dugmore of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He was educated in Boloto and eventually became a lay preacher and then an evangelist.

In 1870 he was sent to Pondoland where he became a personal friend of Paramount Chief Mhlontlo and Chief Lehane of the Basutos. The following year he was transferred to Shawbury to work with the Rev E Gedye. In accordance with the Methodist style of an itinerant ministry, 1872 found him in the Clarkebury district working with the Rev Peter Hargreaves. Here he was once more working among his Tembu people and he enjoyed a successful ministry at Cwecini, near Clarkebury. Chief Ngangeliswe allowed him to build a church a year later and his work as an evangelist flourished.

The Methodist authorities decided to send Tile to Healdtown for three years of theological training. Here he got to know James Dwane, who also became the leader of an independent church. Tile was accepted as a probationer minister in 1879, but left the Methodist ministry before he could be ordained.

In 1882 Tile worked in Xora and here he came into conflict with the authorities, both colonial and church. Tile was accused by the colonial authorities of telling the people not to pay taxes. The Cape Department of Native Affairs told the Methodist church leaders to discipline Tile and he was called to account for his actions. Tile had become an advisor to the chief, who wanted more independence for the Tembu people. He had addressed public meetings and even written to the newspapers.

At the same time Tile had a disagreement with his superior, the Rev Theophilus Chubb. Tile had donated an ox to the circumcision feast of Dalindyebo, the son of the chief. Chubb had little patience with traditional cultural practices, while to Tile they were a normal part of life.

In 1882 Tile left the Methodist Church and two years later founded the Tembu National Church in Qokolweni, in what was then the Transkei. Tile had great respect for the British Crown and he made Chief Ngangelizwe the head of the church, a copy of the church in England. The Tembu National Church was meant to be a unifying force for the Tembu nation.

At first, Tile met with great success and he added the words 'South Africa' to the name of the church to include non-Tembu people. The church

membership spread as far afield as the Transvaal where they were known as 'Tilites'.

Tile trained his ministers according to the Church of England priesthood. Tile himself applied to register as a theological student at St John's College in Umtata in order to learn the Anglican doctrines (Evidence SANAC). He was not reacting against the Christian Church but against the insensitivity of the Methodist authorities.

In 1884 Dalindyebo succeeded his father as chief. For a while he supported Tile's church, but in 1895 he returned to the Methodist fold and withdrew his support from the 'Tilites'.

Tile died in 1891 and was succeeded by Jonas Goduka, although on his deathbed he had given three of his ministers, Gqamani, Kula and Mkize, the task of continuing the work of the church. Later, there was a split in the church and some of the membership followed Goduka and others chose Gqamani as their leader.

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Tikhuie, Vehettge Magdalena (d 1800)

Vehettge, or Magdalena, as she was named by the missionary at her baptism, was one of the earliest indigenous church leaders in South Africa. She belonged to the church in Genadendal and when the missionary, George

Schmidt, returned to Europe, she continued to hold services under the peartree that he had planted.

Vehettge was born to Khoisan parents in the early years of the eighteenth century. Her parents were semi-nomadic farmers and moved around in the Rivierzonderend and Sergeant's River area. She first met the Moravian missionary George Schmidt when he settled in Sergeant's River in 1737. In April 1738 the missionary moved inland to Baviaan'skloof (which was later called Genadendal) and Vehettge (or Lena) and a number of other people moved with him.

When Schmidt met Vehettge she was already married to Janneke or Jantjie Tikkuie (Bredekamp 1981:73). Her husband helped Schmidt establish the new mission station and performed various tasks like going to the military post for stores and to collect post. Sometimes Vehettge was lucky and was allowed to accompany him. Janneke was also a hunter and helped to keep the community supplied with meat.

One of the first things that Schmidt did was to start a school. He taught in Dutch because he was unable to master the clicks of the Khoi language. Schmidt recorded that four of his best students were Africo (the first convert to be baptised), Kupido, Willem and Vehettge (Krüger 1966:21). The numbers of those who wanted to learn continued to grow and by December there were four men, two women and four children in the school.

It was difficult for semi-nomadic people to settle down. Janneke and the others sometimes went off on their own for weeks on end. In February 1739 Vehettge decided that she too would go off alone. She marched up to the missionary and announced: 'I'm not going to stay here any longer!'. When he asked 'Why?,' she answered, 'All the people are against me.' Schmidt told her that her own behaviour was the cause of the trouble. 'Didn't I warn you that it is your own fault that they are treating you like this?' She slammed down her ABC school book and New Testament and disappeared, only to return five days later seeking forgiveness.

Schmidt was not an ordained minister, but he knew that there were people at the mission who were ready for baptism. He requested permission to baptise from Count Nicholas Zinzendorf in Hernnhut, Germany, the Moravian headquarters. When a letter of ordination arrived in 1742, he first baptised Willem and Africo, and then it was the turn of Vehettge. Willem

was given the baptismal name of Joshua, Africa became Christian, and Vehettge was called Magdalena. Her husband was not baptised at the same time, perhaps because he was not as mature in the Christian faith as his wife was perceived to be.

In 1744 Schmidt returned to Europe. He had intended to return to South Africa but this was not to be. Gradually the community at the mission dispersed. Christian and Joshua (Willem and Africo) remained in Baviaan's kloof until 1756, when they died in a smallpox epidemic.

Lena (or Magdalena) returned to her old home in Sergeant's River, half-an-hour's journey to the south of Genadendal (Baviaan'skloof). She would gather the people that remained under the peartree in Schmidt's garden, pray with them and read to them from the New Testament. As the families grew, so people taught their children to pray. Inhabitants of the area testified, saying: 'Every evening we all, men, women and children would go to old Lena. Then she would fall on her knees and pray. When her eyes were better we read the New Testament' (Ou suster:1937). As they ate the pears from Schmidt's tree, they would remember the days when the missionary was among them. There were enough pears for everyone, even the baboons!

Lena became something of a legend. In 1775 and 1776 a traveller from Europe was told of the Khoisan woman who used to pray and read the Bible. She carried on with her teaching even after she heard that Schmidt had died in 1785. When the Moravian missionaries Kühnel, Schwinn and Marsveld arrived to re-establish the mission station at Genadendal, she met them and showed them her well-used Dutch New Testament. A young woman, Magdalena Fredericks, read from the Book which had been kept safe, wrapped in sheepskins in a leather bag. When they told Lena that they had come to work in Genadendal, her response was 'Thanks be to God.'

By this time Lena's eyesight was bad and she could only get around with difficulty. Marsveld recorded in his journal that Lena visited the missionaries to offer support. She attended the school lessons and helped those who found learning difficult.

Two years later Lena wrote to the mission authorities in Germany. Her eyesight was so bad that someone else had to do the actual writing. The year 1794 was one of illness in the community and Schwimm recorded that 'three of our baptised folk were so ill that we doubted their recovery. One

of them was Lena' (Bredekamp et al 1992:182). Lena was so grateful for her recovery that she wrote to tell the authorities that her 'good and loving God had let her live so long'. She saw her recovery as a sign of God's great love (Ou suster 1937:6).

Lena enjoyed life to the full. Visitors to Genadendal demanded to be introduced to her. In 1797 Mrs Matilda Smith, who was renowned for her good works and interest in mission, visited Lena. She wrote in her *Memoir* that the people that she met in Genadendal showed 'traces of His holiness and love' (Philip 1824:49). These were the people whom Lena had kept together as a Christian community. Lady Anne Barnard, the wife of the secretary to the governor of the Cape, said that when she visited Genadendal a year later that she had felt as if she 'was creeping back seventeen hundred years to hear from the rude but inspired lips of evangelists the simple sacred words of wisdom and purity'(Anderson 1924:180).

Lena gradually grew weaker until she died on 3 January 1800. For fifty years she had acted as the church leader of Genadendal.

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Tsewu, Edward (b 1856)

Edward Tsewu started an independent Presbyterian Church in Johannesburg, but his church did not last beyond 1905. He was born in Grahamstown in 1856, the son of one of the deacons of the Lovedale (Presbyterian) Native Church. He attended primary school at Gqumahashe and was taught by Nkohla Falati who had been trained as a teacher at Lovedale and who also worked as a catechist (Stewart 1887:58). Another teacher was Gwayi Tyamzashe, who was supporting his theological studies at Lovedale by teaching at Gqumahashe. His third teacher was Bolompana Majombozi, who also trained as a teacher at Lovedale.

With such a Lovedale-oriented background it is not surprising that from 1871, when he was fifteen years old, he too attended the institution and trained as a teacher. He taught at Adelaide to support himself while he studied and in 1875 obtained the Certificate of Competency at the government examination for elementary teachers.

Tsewu felt called to the ministry and during the years 1880 to 1883 he attended theological classes at Lovedale. He was licensed by the Free Church Mission Presbytery of Kaffraria in 1884. He went to work at Toleni Station during the absence of the missionary, the Rev Ross. Two years later he was transferred to Idutywa (Stewart 1888:864).

Tsewu was later transferred to Johannesburg, and although his work appeared successful, some of his congregation accused him of irregularities. In 1895 the Kaffrarian Presbytery, under which his church fell, decided that Tsewu should change places with Elijah Makiwane of MacFarlan Mission. Tsewu refused to be moved and the following year sent a letter from some of the members of his congregation saying that they were satisfied with his work. In 1896 he was still listed in the minutes of the Kaffrarian Presbytery as the minister in charge of the mission in Johannesburg. However, the Presbytery decided that 'the serious charges made against Mr Tsewu were proved beyond reasonable doubt'(*Christian Express* 1897). He was accused of falsifying reports, of not calling banns for marriages, and of

charging exorbitant fees for performing marriages. He also forced people to pay their church dues and appointed his own elders without any regard to the Presbyterian Church rules.

The distance between Kaffraria and the Transvaal did not make the process of coming to an understanding easy. Tsewu accused Stewart, the principal of Lovedale, of causing a split in his church because the presbytery would not listen to Tsewu's witnesses. Tsewu refused all invitations to attend the presbytery meetings. First his child had died and then his brother-in-law passed away and Tsewu did not want to leave Johannesburg. In the end Stewart, accompanied by the Rev Pambani Mzimba, travelled to Johannesburg to examine the charges against Tsewu.

Tsewu went to the newspapers with his story. Once again he was asked to appear before the presbytery and refused. He resigned from the ministry, although according to the rules of the Free Church of Scotland he was 'deprived of his ministry', and started an independent church with those members of his congregation who had supported him. It is difficult to assess how much the distance between Johannesburg and King William's Town, the seat of the Kaffrarian Presbytery, added to the misunderstanding and also to Tsewu's desire to be free of presbytery control. By 1903 the Presbyterian Mission Church in Johannesburg had been transferred to the Transvaal Presbytery and the Rev C B Hamilton was put in charge (Letter 1903).

Tsewu remained in Johannesburg and later joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1905, together with other members of the AMEC, Marshall Maxeke, John Mtshula and James Tantsi, he formally challenged the Registrar of Deeds' refusal to register land in an African's name. Tsewu ignored the proper channels and went to the top officials of the provincial administration. He was successful in his struggle for African land rights and soon after Africans were allowed to buy land in certain urban areas. His desire for religious freedom became channelled into a struggle for political freedom.

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