

PART 2: HISTORICAL ASPECTS

CHAPTER 2: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CPSA AND THE GRAY VISION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the origin and development of the Anglican Church in England and South Africa.

We have to discuss the factors which caused the breakaway from Rome in 1534. It is very interesting to read of the developments that took place during the time that England experienced the Renaissance ideas of nationalism, democratic government, vernacular learning, humanist art and poetry, and the influence of printing.

King Henry VIII, 1509, could be called the originator of the Church of England, because of the political events that brought the general dissatisfaction with Rome to a head. The main objective of the Anglican church seemed to have been to nurture the idea of individual responsibility and the freedom of the person.

A matrimonial affair was the origin of the conflict between the Kingdom of England and the papacy. Because Henry VIII was unable to get the pope to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, which had not given him a son, he sought the annulment from the English clergy and proclaimed himself head of the Church of England. Those who wanted to remain loyal to Rome, Thomas More, Bishop Fisher and many others were executed. However, Henry VIII retained the essentials of the Catholic Faith in the six Articles of 1539 (Comby and Mac Culloch 1989:20).

2.2 ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION

The history of England can be described through the reigns of their monarchs. We begin soon after the ending of the wars of the Roses, which destroyed many noble families, and set up, and put down, kings in the years 1455-1471. This civil war ended with the family of the Duke of York becoming Kings of England: Edward IV, his son Edward V (who only reigned for a few months before being murdered) and his brother Richard III.

Printing was introduced into England during the time of these Yorkist Kings. Richard III, however, was killed in 1485 by a Tudor who, as Henry VII, became the first of a new family of monarchs, the Tudors (T.E.E. Course 353 : iii).

The Tudor kings and queens gradually built up England into a powerful nation. In particular, the Tudors developed England's sea power, although most of the generation of explorers, such as Columbus, Diaz and Da Gama, came from Spain and Portugal. Henry VII, who reigned from 1485-1509, was succeeded by his son Henry VIII, who began the English Reformation.

Henry Tudor (1491-1547) came to the throne as King Henry VIII in 1509 at the age of eighteen. When he became king he was handsome, talented, popular, a good rider and sportsman, a musician, who spoke Latin, French and Spanish fluently, a capable administrator, extremely religious, and married to Catherine of Aragon, a Spanish princess, who was the aunt of the Emperor Charles V (T.E.E. Course 351B, Unit 11:3).

Henry VIII, a capricious man, at first attacked and persecuted Protestantism. He appointed his higher clergy. However, this and the general uncertainty about papal authority caused by the Renaissance ideas, coupled with the corruption of the papacy, account for the ease with which the majority of English church leaders followed him in a break with the Roman Church (T.E.E. Course 353A Unit 24:21).

“Political and economic considerations had therefore an important place in determining the breach with Rome; in fact, the one definite thing that can be said about the Reformation in England is that it was an act of state. But, over against that, it must be remembered that merely political considerations played but a small part in determining the minds of men towards reform, though they had much to do with shaping the form which the movement afterwards assumed” (Mokwele 1988:14).

2.3 THE BREAK FROM ROME 1534

In 1509, Henry VIII succeeded to the throne of a country which could consider itself one of the brighter spots in the Western church. England and Wales were contained within the two ecclesiastical provinces of Canterbury and York. The King could look

back on at least a century of good relations between the Pope and the English crown (Comby & Mac Culloch 1989:46).

It was Henry VIII who made the breach with Rome, mapped out the course which the Church of England was to follow, and helped to give it some of its most distinctive features. It was somewhat surprising, because Henry VIII had a good record of having no quarrel with the Church. He had a Cardinal, Thomas Wolsey, as his chancellor or chief minister. He wrote an answer to Luther called *The Defence of the Seven Sacraments*, which earned him the title “Defender of the Faith” from a grateful Pope (Mokwele 1988:14).

In 1527, however, Henry decided that he wanted to marry a young lady of his court called Ann Boleyn, with whom he had fallen violently in love. This meant he had to get rid of his existing wife, Catherine of Aragon. Catherine had also failed to provide Henry with a male heir to the throne, so a younger wife was also a practical necessity. Henry therefore applied to Rome for a divorce or the annulment (setting aside) of his marriage. The Pope, Clement VII, hesitated, reluctant to risk offending Catherine’s powerful nephew, the emperor Charles V (Comby & Mac Culloch 1989:47).

The fact that Henry broke with the Vatican in order to secure the intended divorce from Catherine of Aragon, has led to a misrepresentation of the English Reformation, especially in Roman Catholic countries, where all the facts were not known. Catherine was the widow of Henry’s deceased brother, Arthur, and it was clearly against scripture and Canon law for the Pope to grant, in the first place, a dispensation permitting the marriage (Mark 10:1-12). This was the emphatic opinion of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of every bishop in England except two. Many of the universities of Europe held the same view (Mokwele 1988:15).

For political reasons, however, Ferdinand of Spain and Henry VII of England eagerly wanted the marriage, and brought pressure to bear upon Prince Henry and Catherine, and even upon Pope Julius II, for, at first, all of them had scruples about it (Mokwele 1988:15).

In the end the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, who bore him a daughter, Elizabeth, was beheaded on the ground of adultery. His third wife, Jane Seymour, bore him a son, Edward. But she was deposed and Henry's string of marriages continued – Anne of Cleves, Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr. We can conclude that the break with Rome therefore was more of a personal and political matter than an issue of fundamental religious principle (Pillay and Hofmeyr 1991:159).

The year 1553AD is usually regarded as the beginning of the history of the Church of England. It was in that year that the supreme authority of the Pope was denied, and His Majesty Henry VIII was proclaimed “so far as the law of Christ will allow, Supreme Head of the English church and clergy” (Mphahlele 1978:11). If the King as head of the church could issue creeds and decide doctrine, he needed to have some sort of authority. England founded the sources for the King's authority in history: Scripture, the ancient creeds (the Apostles', the Nicene and the Athanasian), and the first four ecumenical councils of the church up to the council of Chalcedon in 451 were accepted as valid sources of doctrine.

Clergy and others who refused to take the Second Oath of Supremacy were persecuted and a number were martyred (including the Lord Chancellor of England, Thomas More, the friend of Colette and Erasmus). There was also an uprising in the north of England (the Pilgrimage of Grace) against the religious changes (Comby & Mac Culloch 1989:47). Thereafter the Pope forbade adherents in England to remain in communion with the English Church. The Church of England, however, broke away from the Catholic Church and adopted the current Protestant doctrine. Rome protested against this, arguing that Archbishop Parker of Canterbury was not validly consecrated (Mphahlele 1978:12).

The English Parliament was used to make a complete break with Rome, the decisive step being the parliamentary *Act of Supremacy* of 1534 (Comby & Mac Culloch 1989:47). But, with the actual breach accomplished, other causes of disagreement arose. The Church of England had broken with the Papal See, but was it Protestant? Henry himself was by nature a conservative in churchmanship; he clung to the old ways, and took some pride in his reputation for orthodoxy (Mokwele 1988:16).

In 1534 the Convocation (the meeting of all the clergy) and Parliament passed the *Second Act of Supremacy* which declared that Henry was the only supreme head of the church in England and that the Pope (that other “foreign bishop”) had no more authority in England”. All the clergy had to take an oath to accept Henry as head of the church.

Henry next issued two creeds, *The Ten Articles of Faith* in 1536 and *The Six Articles of Faith* in 1539. These creeds stayed close to traditional Catholic teaching, except in rejecting the authority of the pope. Henry did not approve of developments in the Reformation in Europe; Calvin had more extreme views than Luther, and Anabaptists were even more radical. In his Reformation Henry tried to keep a “middle way”. Henry hoped that his creeds would put him on a level with other European rulers of reformed churches and would help his own people to accept the changes.

Anglicanism was able to steer a middle course to which the whole nation was expected to conform. In any event, among others a very useful catechism was published, setting out the fundamental faith of the church in question and answer form. It also includes the Psalms in a modern version, showing once again the connection between the church of the Old Testament and the New Testament. The Psalter was not only the great hymnbook of Israel, but was also regarded by the Christians and Jews alike as the prophetic word of God (Suggit 1999:24).

The Anglican Reformation should not be evaluated and judged primarily at the point of doctrine. Its distinctive characteristics lie not in its doctrine but in its liturgy, its Benedictine form of worship (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:162).

The Ten Articles of 1536 laid down that the people should be taught the Bible and the three catholic creeds, as already mentioned above. Justification was by faith and good works: Christ was physically present at the Eucharist; masses for the dead, invocation of saints, and the use of image were all desirable (Mokwele 1988:17).

A Protestant Reformation only began in earnest on the old King’s death in 1547. For reasons which are still not entirely clear, he had allowed his son Edward to be brought up under the influence of devoted Protestants, and it was Protestant noblemen who dominated policy in the reign of this boy-king Edward VI (1547-1553). Now Protestant

theologians were given an increasingly free hand to transform Henry's still Catholic church, notably Archbishop Cranmer, who in successive revisions (1549-1552) produced a Prayer Book for the new Church written in majestic English. It has been the basis of Anglican Prayer Books ever since (Comby & Mac Culloch 1989:48).

The CPSA shared in the understanding that the liturgy should be expressed in modern language, hence an Anglican Prayer Book 1989 (APB), was produced, and it is also available in the vernacular versions. The APB contains not only the daily offices of morning and evening prayer and the Eucharist, but also occasional offices (baptism, confirmation, marriage, funerals).

2.4 THE RETURN OF CATHOLICISM (1553-1558)

Queen Mary was the daughter of Catherine, Henry's first wife. In the first year of her reign, before her marriage to Philip of Spain, Mary set out to restore Catholicism in England. In 1553 the religious laws of Edward VI were repealed and the English church reorganised according to the first settlement of Henry VIII. The restoration of the papal supremacy had much popular support. Parliament submitted to the papal authority, though the confiscated church property was not restored (Mokwele 1988:17).

These changes were made from the top, not by popular demand. Some of the people at the top in England were Protestant leaders appointed by Edward VI, and they and many less important people of strong convictions objected to Mary's efforts to reverse the Reformation. In the same way that the Catholics were burned for their beliefs in Henry VIII reign, so were the Protestants in Mary's reign. The martyrs included Archbishop Cranmer, who was burnt in 1556. Cranmer will be ever remembered for his Liturgy and his Books of Common Prayer, with their ordered and dignified liturgy, and their many beautiful prayers. The Anglican Church owes him a priceless debt (Mokwele 1988:18).

2.5 ELIZABETH'S RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT 1559

Elizabeth Tudor was 25 years old when she came to the throne in 1558. She was a mature person who had experienced danger and imprisonment under her sister Mary. She was very well educated and had been taught by some of the best renaissance

scholars in England. England became a great power and trading country and also produced outstanding plays, poetry, paintings and music during the reign of Elizabeth I.

Elizabeth had to deal with a rival to the throne who was favoured by many: Henry VIII's legitimate great niece, Mary Stuart, who was also, for the first years of Elizabeth's reign, Queen of France. Eventually Elizabeth had Mary executed in 1587. The threat of Spain was finally controlled by the defeat of the Spanish Armada (or fleet of worship) in 1588. Queen Elizabeth died in 1603 and was succeeded by Mary Stuart's son, King James I.

Like Edward VI, Elizabeth started her religious changes with a Prayer Book and followed this with Articles of Religion. Her settlement of the religious question in England was built around these two documents. Immediately after her succession in 1558, Elizabeth broke off relations with the papacy. All except two of the bishops appointed or approved by Mary resigned, and she was able to appoint new bishops who would support her settlement. Four bishops remained from the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI and were able to consecrate Matthew Parker as the new Archbishop of Canterbury.

The new queen was Protestant, but whether she had a real and personal faith is open to doubt. Her outlook was calculating and cool, and for her religion was part of the state and could be used as an instrument of policy (Mokwele 1988:18).

Elizabeth moved carefully but firmly, and took the title "the only supreme governor of this realm" in preference to "supreme head of the church". Thereby she did not give offence to Catholics nor Protestants. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in 1559 re-established Protestantism in its Anglican form. In 1563 the 38 Articles of Faith were published, as a compromise between Lutheranism and Calvinism, based on the theology of Martin Bucer of Strassbourg, whose stay in England had been very influential. In 1571, when one more article was added, the 39 Articles of Faith took final form (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:161). The Thirty-Nine Articles were ratified by being "approved" by the Queen and "confirmed" by the Bishops and lower clergy in convocation.

2.5.1 THE TWO EXTREMES

Elizabeth's goal was uniformity in the state and in the church, but as soon as attempts were made to enforce it, rifts appeared in the national life. Archbishop Parker issued a Book of Homilies and a Catechism, and in addition, his so-called advertisements. However, the Protestant tone of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles created two extremes of opposition: the Puritans and Catholics.

2.5.2 THE PURITANS

Puritans is the name usually given to the group in England who felt that the Reformation in their country had not gone far enough. They were also known as independents, and independence was as characteristic of Puritan attitudes as strictness and purity. Extreme Independents were perhaps the most individualistic of the new Christian groups. They held a doctrine of predestination and "inadmissible" grace (grace once given can never be lost) that immediately entitled the members of the group to the name of "Saints".

Many Protestant orientated Christians were not satisfied with the Elizabethan settlement. These "Recusants" gathered in small groups and refrained from attending church services led by the bishop in "rags of popery" and using Roman Catholic rites. They endeavoured to "purity" in liturgy, the canon law and the doctrine of the church. In 1565 they acquired the epithet "Puritans". As time went by the influence of Geneva increased, not only in their dogmatic but also in their church policy. They became one of the branches of reformed orthodoxy (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:161).

This belief also entitled every individual to interpret Scripture without restrictions imposed by Presbyterian rule. Every individual could also preach and expound scripture to others. This meant that opinions among the Independents differed widely, although they were supported in the background by some able scholars, especially at Cambridge University.

Although these reforms had naturally been much influenced by the continental reformers, they were essentially “native”. There were convinced “nonconformists” in the land, and among them were those who looked to Calvin both in theology and in the realm of church order (Mokwele 1988:19).

2.5.3 THE ANGLO CATHOLICS

The Catholics were in opposition to the Reformation, and were strong in the north of England. Their hopes were not strengthened by the action of Pope Pius V in publishing a Bull proclaiming the deposition of Elizabeth, for by this action all Roman Catholics were made potential traitors. They turned to Rome for help: so from 1574 a steady stream of priests trained on the continent started arriving in England to minister to them, and if possible to promote the cause of Catholicism (Comby & Mac Culloch 1989:52). The government passed legislation making it treason even to enter the realm in this way. Many clergy and a few lay people, more than three hundred in all, were executed as a result. Despite this persecution, a minority Catholic community loyal to Rome maintained a precarious existence throughout (Comby & Mac Culloch 1989:52).

Queen Elizabeth and her ministers countered with strong measures against both Protestant and Roman Catholic extremes to enforce the uniformity for which they longed and worked. English Protestantism triumphed and, for the next three centuries, it was to remain the dominant faith of the land until the Oxford Movement of 1833, when a swing to Catholicism took place. However, the English Reformation had succeeded, and the Anglican Church remains as a living witness to the effectiveness of the Elizabethan settlement (Mokwele 1988:20).

2.5.4 THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE SETTLEMENT

The Anglican Church thus came into being as a middle course between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The Episcopal system of the church government was retained, and they believed themselves to be within the apostolic succession. According to Pillay and Hofmeyr, “Anglicanism may be understood as an attempt to settle in England the religious disputes raised by the Reformation (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:162). Anglicanism was able to steer a middle course to which the whole nation was expected

to conform. In any event, the Anglican Reformation should not be evaluated and judged primarily at the point of doctrine.

2.5.5 THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

The development of the Church of England into the Anglican Communion occurred very largely in the nineteenth century, though the church had already been established in the British colonies from the seventeenth century onwards, where Anglican clergy ministered mostly to expatriates. It was only in the nineteenth century that the task of converting the indigenous populations to Christianity was seriously undertaken, especially by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), and the University's Mission to Central Africa (UMCA). All were missionary societies of the Church of England.

In South Africa Anglican chaplains (from England) had ministered to the expatriates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Robert Gray came as the First bishop on the 20th February 1848, and in 1879 the Anglican Church in South Africa became an independent province, with its own constitution and Canons, with its own metropolitan or archbishop. While accepting the standard of doctrine of the church of England, and while recognising the moral authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Church of the Province of South (later, Southern) Africa (CPSA) was now free to regulate its own affairs, provided that it did not enact anything which would break its fellowship and communion with the church of England and other Anglican churches. This growth towards a certain independence was hastened throughout the British Empire in the twentieth century as former British colonies achieved self-government, resulting in an increase in the number of ecclesiastical provinces.

2.6 THE FOUNDING OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN SOUTH AFRICA 1847

The British troops were drawn up on the parade in front of the castle in Cape Town. It was the year 1795. They watched as the Dutch forces with their flags flying and drums beating marched out to lay down their arms. Then the Union Jack rose to fly over the

fortified walls and the Cape had passed into British hands. With the British occupation came the need for Church of England service.

The Rev Griffiths, a Garrison Chaplain, began regular services in Cape Town from 1806. Colonial chaplains were appointed to provide for the spiritual needs of the English speaking civilian population, the first being the Rev Robert Jones in 1811.

It was only after the formal cession of the Cape to Great Britain in 1814 that the English clergy were really allowed any liberty of movement (Hinchliff 1963:7). The first Church of England building in South Africa was opened in 1814 at Simonstown, the naval base. Six years later the first large body of British immigrants reached the country when the 4 000 “1820 Settlers” landed at Algoa Bay in the Eastern Cape, to face the rigours and dangers of life in the wild frontier country. They were accompanied by the Rev James Boardman who became the first minister of the Church of England in those parts of the country (Anthony 1966:4).

After the coming of the 1820 settlers the clergy were to spread further afield from Cape Town. A priest called M’Clelland or McLelland came out with a party of Irish settlers and lived first at Clanwilliam and then Port Elizabeth. McLelland was richly eccentric as well as an honest pastor. He is said, for instance, to have celebrated the Holy Communion from the south end of the altar and not from the north, as was then the almost universal custom in England. He did this for no liturgical reason but because of a private theory about the difference made by the relation of the sun to the earth in the southern hemisphere (Hinchliff 1963:14).

A Mr Wilkinson, the son of an English rector, brought several of his father’s parishioners with him, but there was no clergyman in the party. Many of the settlers, brought up in the Church, finding themselves without the framework of an established organisation in the new land where they were making their homes, joined the more enterprising and self-reliant Wesleyans. Under the very able and energetic William Shaw, and others, who built Wesleyan chapels and gathered congregations of settlers in the Eastern province, religion was kept alive (Edwards & Lewis 1934:12).

The 1820 British settlers were to have a considerable influence on developments in South Africa. These settlers came from Britain, which, after the French Revolution and the following Napoleonic wars, was facing serious political, economic and social problems. Although the influx of English people to the Eastern Cape was small in comparison to their emigration to other parts of the world, this group contributed towards the economic and social activities, because they were strongly determined to improve the quality of their lives (Pillay & Hofmeyr 1991:248).

There were a number of Anglicans among the 1820 British settlers. They had as their minister the Rev W Boardman who settled at Bratwurst. It was hoped that their arrival would be beneficial for those people who already settled on the frontier, thus to help them to see with their own eyes that the gospel being preached can transform them (Hofmeyr 1991:90).

2.6.1 THE NEED FOR A BISHOP

In 1839 the SPCK (Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge) petitioned the House of Commons in London to found a see at Cape Town. The hypothetical oversight of the church in the colony exercised by the bishop in London was obviously not a matter of much practical consequence. Hence complaints of the low level to which the church was sinking, coupled with pleas for a bishop who could improve the position, began to grow in volume and anxiety throughout the 1830s and 1840s (Hinchliff 1963:24).

Until Robert Gray's consecration in 1847, Anglicans were obliged to look to the Governor of Cape Colony as the highest authority in church matters, and for confirmations or ordinations to passing bishops whose ship might dock at Cape Town en route to India. Gray, in 25 years of undaunted labour, laid the foundations of the Church of the Province, organising its dioceses, framing its constitution, and awakening its members to an awareness of the missionary task that awaited at its door. Gray was a man of deep devotion, not sparing himself or others in the performance of duty, for whose life and witness the church of this province can never cease to give God thanks (Good Hope Volume XXXVI. No 9 Sept. 1984).

2.6.2 THE INTRODUCTION OF THE EPISCOPATE

Representations were made for a resident bishop in South Africa, and in due course letters patent were granted by the Crown constituting the Cape of Good Hope a Bishop's See and Diocese. The funds for endowing this were provided in 1847 through the Colonial Bishops Fund by Lady Burdett Coutts, who did so subject to certain conditions, the tenor of which may be gathered from the following statement in a letter written on her behalf by her lawyers in 1873.

That the understanding upon which Baroness Burdett Coutts provide funds for the endowment of the sees of Cape Town and Adelaide was that the Bishops thereby endowed should be branches of the Church of England governed in all things by the laws of that church, and subject to the control, and only to the control of which that church is subject.

The following is an extract from her will on this point: "I hereby expressly declare that such endowments and gifts were not made by me to any community as a spiritual body, or as an independent voluntary association, but to the Protestant Church of England as now by law established under the supremacy of the Crown being Protestant" (Anthony 1966:9).

The Colonial Bishops Fund originated in 1841 when the Bishop of London, recognising that his oversight of the church in the colonies could never be more than nominal, pressed for the creation of machinery to provide colonial bishops. The biggest problem was to find the money necessary to make the new dioceses independent and to pay the bishops' stipends. The Archbishop of Canterbury called a public meeting to discuss endowments. A committee of English bishops was formed to administer such money as might be raised. The response from the public was good, and the fund formed. Gladstone, the future prime minister, was one of the speakers at the meeting and became a treasurer of the fund.

The Cape Colony was on the short list of those places which the bishops thought to be in most need of Episcopal oversight, and in 1843 a special committee reported on the Church in the colony and the way in which the see could function best. Lack of funds delayed the actual execution of the committee's recommendations until in 1845. Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts, heiress of a famous and wealthy banking family, gave the

Archbishop of Canterbury R72 000 to be used for the creation of two new sees. Cape Town was one of them (Hinchliff 963:26).

2.6.3 THE FIRST BISHOP – ROBERT GRAY, 1848

The choice of an occupant for the new see fell on the Rev Robert Gray, the son of another Robert Gray, the Bishop of Bristol. The bishop-elect for the see of Cape Town before his appointment gave no indication of a great man in the making. Instead, one is rather given the impression of a well-connected young man getting on in the world through family connections.

He was of the North Country, born in 1809 in Wearmouth where his father was rector. He went to Eton, and after years of physical suffering, caused by an accident, to the University College, Oxford, till 1831. There he saw the birth of the Oxford Movement, which helped to form in the minds of many the image of the church as a spiritual body, not a department of the state, the creation of various Acts of Parliament. After a year in Italy he was ordained in 1833 by his father, then Bishop of Bristol. While living in Bristol he had first hand experience of the effect of political disputes, when in 1831 his father's palace was burnt and the cathedral itself was threatened by men who disapproved of a bishop who had dared, in Burnet's phrase, to run counter to the current, and had voted against the Reform Bill (Edwards & Lewis 1934:32).

He then put ten years' hard work at Whirlworth in Durham, and in 1835 he married Miss Sophia Myddleton, and their regular, purposeful reading together began. In those first years of his priesthood, in spite of increasing parochial work, he laid the firm foundation of that knowledge of church history and Canon law, which later stood him in good stead in the ecclesiastical crises of South Africa. Mr Gladstone's statement in its relation to the church appealed to his own administrative convictions:

The duty of the sovereign towards the church in virtue of the ecclesiastical supremacy consists of the executive duty of defending it under existing law, the judicial duty of determining all questions which arise in the mixed subject matter out of the relations between the church and the state, and the negative duty of permitting the church to enter from time to time upon the consideration of matters of her own internal government" (Edwards & Lewis 1934:32).

He began to take an interest in mission and in the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Hinchliff 1963:30).

Two years after he had arrived at Stockton-on-Tees, his Durham parish, he received a letter from the Rev Ernest Hawkins, secretary of the Colonial Bishopricks Fund, asking whether he would allow himself to be nominated for one of the new sees to be founded by the Fund. After a great deal of hesitation, and in spite of the discouraging advice offered by most members of his family, Gray agreed and suggested Cape Town as the diocese to which he would prefer to go

Gray consulted Dr Williamson, his brother-in-law and counsellor. The content of the letter he wrote regarding the colonial see not only illustrates Gray's humility, sense of duty, and singular insight, but speaks for almost every bishop, priest, and lay-worker who has left home to follow Christ in any part of the world. Letters poured in discouraging his acceptance of what was partially exile for life, with no hope of "preferment" and already he was marked for that. Dr Williamson, who perhaps knew of his high courage more assuredly than all his friends, wrote with common sense triumphantly.

1. As to fitness, I think you are fit for such a place as the Cape, and in some respects well-suited.
2. The relations between church and state may be unsettled, but the church must do her duty meanwhile.
3. I should think a man is hardly at liberty to decline if he felt sure the church had chosen him.
4. Temporal considerations, family, etc, I think should weigh but little. I cannot justify a priest's marrying except by determining to put wife aside when duty calls. Lastly, I think you are at liberty to be guided by your bishop. In giving this opinion, I consider you are making a sacrifice in almost every particular which regards your temporal happiness if you accept the offer; but I see what the Roman Catholics are doing, and I fancy we should do the same (Edward & Lewis 1934:33).

Gray wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Colonial Bishopricks' Fund, responding to the nomination:

"If you know the archbishop has names of other men whom you deem equally qualified, I had rather not be named. But if there is really a doubt of men who are

both competent and willing to undertake it, I would place myself at the disposal of the church, I cannot judge for myself whether I am really wanted, but if those over me think so, I am ready cheerfully to go to any post that may be selected for me” (Edward & Lewis 1934:33).

The suspense lasted till March, 1847, when the Archbishop wrote to Gray from Lambeth:

“Being very desirous of finding a priest whose piety, soundness, and principle, ability and judgement would do justice to the church in this very important station, I am constrained to offer you for the Cape of Good Hope.”

Gray replied:

“Considering all the circumstances of this case I do not think I should feel justified in declining to accede to your Grace’s proposal. It seems to me that in doing so I should be shrinking from the call of God. I therefore readily and cheerfully place myself at the disposal of the church and am prepared to obey your Grace’s summons to occupy the post of Missionary Bishop at the Cape. It shall be my unwearied endeavour to promote the Glory of God and the welfare of His church in that important colony. But no one can feel so keenly as myself my utter inability adequately to discharge the duties of that office, from which I have shrunk as long as I felt at liberty to do” (Edward & Lewis 1934:34).

Gray was consecrated in Westminster Abbey, in June 1847, at the age of thirty-seven (Hinchliff 1963:30). On February 20, 1848 the sailing ship *Persia*, bound for Ceylon out of Portsmouth, dropped anchor in Table Bay. Among the disembarking passengers was the newly consecrated Bishop Robert Gray, accompanied by his wife Sophy and their children. The Grays and a small group of clergy and lay assistants had arrived in the Cape Colony to establish the See of Cape Town and to expand the Anglican Church’s presence in South Africa (Edward & Lewis 1934:34).

The younger Gray was not a man of great intellectual attainments. He read for a pass degree at Oxford and did well enough to be awarded an honorary fourth class honours degree, a curious distinction. His theological training thereafter consisted of such reading as he was able to manage on his own. In itself this might not have mattered,

since Gray was conscientious enough and able enough to have remedied the deficiencies in his early training. But what did matter was his own painful awareness of his academic shortcomings. It made him over-ready to rely upon the advice of even young and inexperienced men whom he regarded as better scholars than he was (Hinchliff 1963:27).

Robert Gray (Junior) suffered from continual ill health, almost entirely the result of his exertions on the Church's behalf. He had tuberculosis as youth and had been crippled for a time as a result of an accident at school. He was never very robust in later life. His health broke down completely very soon after he arrived in his new See. He became subject to almost incessant insomnia and was always threatened with a further collapse. No one can be at his best when he is perpetually on the verge of a breakdown owing to overwork; yet it is amazing what Gray was able to achieve while under such a strain. It is very clear that where there is a will, there is a way. Gray was determined to come to South Africa, to serve God, thus answering the call to be the first bishop

Gray's intellectual and physical handicaps are almost the only adverse criticism which can be made of him. He has been accused of bigotry, but this is a charge which will hardly stand up to close scrutiny. Gray has also been accused of being a poor judge of men. It is true that his son's biography of him contains evidence of certain occasions when the bishop changed his mind about people in a rather spectacular fashion. It is probably true that he was inclined to make a hasty assessment of character which had later to be revised at leisure; his first judgments were usually favourable and it was only when he was forced to do so that he began to make reservations (Hinchliff 1963:29).

When the Cape first became a British possession the only clergymen of the English Church to minister in the colony were military and naval chaplains, thus birds of passage who only stayed for a short while. It was felt, no doubt, that the numbers of the civil community were so small that it was not worth appointing a priest to serve full time. No thought was given to the inhabitants of this country, the indigenous converts, who would eventually spread the Good News of salvation. The arrival of Bishop Gray, however, resulted in a great stirring of these stagnant waters, for he stood for an entirely new order of things. Robert Gray came to his work with his mind made up in two directions, namely that the church in South Africa should be self-governing, and that

mission work among the native people should be set in the forefront of its activities (Osmund 1931:60).

In the matter of church self-government Bishop Gray was to a large extent a pioneer, and the whole of the Anglican Communion owes him a debt of gratitude for what he saw, fought for and accomplished. Gray's achievements in South Africa clearly show that, although a proud and dedicated servant of the Church of England, he was not bound by old-fashioned parochial traditions. His was a missionary vision, dedicated to spreading the Gospel as epitomised in the Book of Acts, "and you will be witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth (Acts 1:8).

Bishop Gray's first visitation took place within a few months of his arrival. His journey, as far as King Williams Town in the Eastern Cape took four months, covering a distance of 3 000 miles. During the time of his ministry in this country the Bishop travelled extensively throughout South Africa as well as to Tristan da Cunha and St Helena. He visited England on several occasions for the express purpose of raising funds for the development of his diocese (Hinchliff 1963:38).

In the Diocese of Cape Town alone there are more than twenty church buildings which were built under the supervision of the Bishop and Mrs Sophy Gray. One of Mrs Gray's favourite churches was St Saviour's at Claremont. The chancel of the church was consecrated in 1854, but the church was completed only after Mrs Gray's death. Bishop Robert Gray and his wife Sophy are buried side by side in the graveyard of St Saviour's Church.

The work and life of Bishop Gray and his wife Sophy will be remembered with great respect and honour. His contributions as a man of God, who faithfully proclaimed the good news, really marks the beginning of growth for the Anglican Church in this country. May God be praised for making him to be first Bishop of the Cape of Good Hope.

The Church of the Province of South Africa (CPSA) and the Church of England in South Africa (CESA) were two offshoots in the country. The difference between these two churches are strongly seen after the schism. The CPSA developed a "high" church

character, ie stress was put upon the link between the Church and the Catholic Christianity. The CESA developed in a protestant-evangelical direction (Hofmeyr and Pillay 1991:264).

The Anglican Church (CPSA) remain a fellowship within the One, Holy Catholic, and Apostolic Church of those duly constituted diocese, provinces or regional churches in communion with each other and with the see of Canterbury (CPSA 1989:432).

The ministry of a bishop is to represent Christ and his church, particularly as apostle, chief priest, and pastor of a diocese, to guard the faith, unity and discipline of the whole Church in Christ's name for the reconciliation of the world and the building up of the church, and to ordain others to continue Christ's ministry (APB 1989:433).

2.6.4 MISSIONARY EXPANSION

Bishop Gray had a vision of planting churches in Southern Africa, an area which would take centuries to cover. The whole country was by then the Diocese of Cape Town. By God's grace, in due time four more dioceses were established: Natal in 1853, Grahamstown also in 1853, St Helena in 1859 and Bloemfontein in 1863, whose first bishop was Dr Twells (Mokwele 1988:21).

Edward Twells was consecrated in Westminster Abbey in 1863 as bishop of the Orange Free State. He arrived in his diocese later in the same year, with a staff of three priests. Twells has immediately began work of rebuilding the Cathedral and established several new churches in other parts of the diocese (Hinchliff 1963:78). Bishop Twells was a constant traveller, always looking for new areas where mission stations might be set up. His journeys took him into the Transvaal, where he met a handful of Anglicans, poor and isolated, and apparently anxious to have a priest of their own (Hinchliff 1963:80). Twells laid the foundation stone of the first Anglican Church north of the Vaal River in 1864. As a result of this, the diocese of Pretoria came into being, in 1878, with the encouragement from the bishop of Zululand, Bishop Mackenzie.

In December 1870, Bishop Gray wrote again: He discussed the vastness of the Transvaal, which extended to the Zambezi, and that it has within it Dutch, English and

many hundred thousand heathen. He strongly recommended the appointment of a bishop. “Our provincial synod strongly urge for this development”, he said, “I should have rejoiced if the central African mission had been placed there, because of its calls on us, and the wisdom of pushing forward our missions step by step into the heart of Africa by the links of a connected chain. There are two deacons there alone. The Germans have missionaries among the heathens, but we have not one”. This letter contributed much towards the development of missionary work in the Transvaal (Edward & Lewis 1934:574).

In 1870 the Rev JH Willis was appointed to Pretoria, where the few church people were for a long time asking for a minister. That very year the Metropolitan of Bloemfontein wrote: “The church in the Free State will collapse if not cared for, and we hear of no bishop. I am urged to go to the Transvaal, where two deacons, with their congregations, plead that they have had no communion for two years.” The synod of bishops in 1869, and the Provincial Synod of 1870, both recommended the founding of a Transvaal bishopric (Edward & Lewis 1934:574).

In 1872 Bishop Webb of Bloemfontein visited Pretoria, and did clerical duties there for three months. He then asked Bishop Wilkinson of Zululand to go there as often as he could. It is from Bishop and Mrs Wilkinson’s letters and journals that the world could get first pictures of the church life in the Transvaal Republic (Edward & Lewis 1934:574). These visits by the Wilkinsons could be regarded as a response to what Bishop Gray wrote about the church’s mission to the North.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) undertook to support clergy at Pretoria (Rev Shirley, 1873), Potchefstroom (Rev W Richardson), Zeerust, Marico, (Rev Sadler, 1874), Rustenburg (Rev JP Richardson, 1874), and Lydenburg (Rev J Horne, 1874). Of these only Potchefstroom had an English church, and only Rustenburg had anything done for the natives. Mr Sadler was encouraged by the work already started, and wrote in December 1873 that his congregation tried to complete their church, but could not raise the money.

It is clear that the ideas of the English parson on the subject of his rectory and lofty school had to be modified to suit the economic conditions of the country. Some men felt

the life to be too hard, and gave up the struggle. In March 1874, the Bishop of Zululand again went to Pretoria and pleaded for the needs of Europeans and Natives in the Transvaal (Edwards & Lewis 1934:575). This time he was to visit the Northern Transvaal (Limpopo), particularly the goldfields of Eersteling near Marabastadt. Marabastadt is known as an area where the cruel murder of Kgoshi Maraba II took place. The event of his death resulted in the establishment of the Anglican Church in Mashashane, in the Pietersburg West district (Polokwane) (Ledwaba 2000:15).

So the Diocese of Pretoria came into being, in 1878, with the encouragement from the Bishop of Zululand, as he found himself being asked to give help to the people in the Transvaal (Mokwele 1988:21). The Diocese of Pretoria was the ninth diocese to be founded in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Its first Bishop was Dr Henry Brougham Bousfield. He was known to have the reputation of being an eloquent preacher and enthusiast in missionary causes. Bousfield was consecrated in St Paul's Cathedral on February 2nd 1878. In August the same year, he sailed for South Africa with his wife and children, and the helpers, men and women. Among them were those who later served in the office as archdeacons. His arrival in the Transvaal promoted Anglicanism, which had been planted in the 1860s, informally in the east by the young Bishop Wilkinson of Zululand, and officially from Bloemfontein in the west by Bishops Twells and Webb (Lee 1998:130).

At its establishment, the Diocese of Pretoria included Johannesburg. However, in 1922 the Diocese of Johannesburg was established to become the twelfth diocese to be founded in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. The eighteenth diocese, in this process of multiplying dioceses, is the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist at Pietersburg (Polokwane), founded in the year of grace 1987. Up till its establishment the Limpopo Province (Northern Transvaal) has been part of the Diocese of Pretoria (Mokwele 1988:22).

In 1870 the Church of the Province of Southern Africa drew up and adopted its constitution. The Bishop of Cape Town was then accepted as Metropolitan. The diocese became an Archbishopric in 1897, the year of the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. The constitution indicated clearly that the Church of the Province of Southern Africa is doctrinally one with "the Mother Church" in England (Mokwele 1988:22).

The first provincial synod of 1870 was of definitive constitutional importance, for the Metropolitan, Bishop Gray, with the help of expert advisers, had drawn up a Constitution and Canons of the Province. The Declaration of Fundamental Principles was summarised by Dr Wirgman as follows:

- i. That the English Church in Southern Africa adopts as its canons the laws and usages of the Church of England as far as they are applicable to an unestablished church.
- ii. That it accepts the three creeds, the 39 Articles, the Book of Common Prayer, the decisions of the undisputed General Councils, the Authorised English Version of the Scriptures.
- iii. That it disclaims the right of altering any of these standards of faith and doctrine, except in agreement with such alteration as may be adopted by a General Synod of the Anglican Communion, or which are necessitated by special local conditions. Then follows of the famous Third Proviso, over which so many battles have been fought: “Provided that the interpretation of the aforesaid standards and formularies the church of the Province be not held to be bound by decisions, in questions of faith and doctrine, other than those of its own ecclesiastical tribunals, or of such other tribunal as may be accepted by the Provincial Synod as a Tribunal of Appeal” (Edwards & Lewis 1934:194).

The Constitution in its first form consisted of twenty-four articles and twenty-seven canons on a wide range of subjects. The Provincial Synod, Functions of the Metropolitan, Election and Confirmation of Bishops, Formation of Dioceses, Presentation to Benefice, Services of the Church, Judicial Proceedings and Sentences, Appeals, Vestries, Churchwardens and sidemen, etc. (Edwards & Lewis 1936:195).

On the development of indigenous leadership in the CPSA, the subject of this study, the list of members of the first synod reveals a weakness that the Province has not as yet entirely managed to remedy. Gray had been bishop for nearly a quarter of a century, almost a whole generation. Boys who had not been born when he arrived in Cape Town were now grown men. Even if it is granted that the Province cannot be held responsible for neglect of missionary work before Gray’s arrival, it was still a great deficiency that no African clergyman was at that first Provincial Synod of 1870. There was not, indeed,

any clergyman who had been born in this country with a seat in Synod. There were one or two at work in parishes, but the English Church in this country, after nearly three quarters of a century's existence, was still unable to find any priest born and bred in South Africa, of any race or colour, who could represent it at what was probably the most important synod in history (Hinchliff 1963:116).

The social witness of the Anglican Church during the period 1910-1948 was more or less the same as that of the English speaking churches as a whole. The basic difference was the special place which the Church of the Province had as a result of its connection with the British establishment. From a contemporary perspective, much of what it said and did was undoubtedly paternalistic. The concept of white guardianship was prevalent. There were no black Anglican bishops, and the leadership of the churches was firmly in the hands of missionaries and other whites. Yet, throughout the period, the number of black delegates to the synods of the churches increased. The churches and the country were blessed with increasing numbers of black leaders of Christian commitment, stature, and ability (DeGruchy 1979:39).

The fundamental issue that confronted the missionaries was how to establish, in Southern Africa, the sort of church Gray in his vision anticipated. Scripture makes it clear that the church of God does not consist of buildings, but of people. Jesus Christ, "the living stone", which was rejected by men (His crucifixion) but chosen by God as of great worth to Him (1 Peter 2:4), is the foundation. He commissioned the apostles to make disciples of all nations (Matthew 28:19-20). The pioneers of the gospel, who after Bishop Gray's arrival laboured to preach and establish the church throughout Southern Africa, contributed constructively towards the "Great Commission" and the "Gray Vision".

As Anglicans spread to a growing number of countries during the missionary and colonial expansion of the nineteenth century, it was felt desirable that, at least, the bishops should meet together from time to time, to co-ordinate planning, strengthen the bonds of unity and to consult about major issues facing the church. Thus the Lambeth Conference was born. The first Lambeth Conference was held in 1867 at Lambeth Palace, the residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Since then similar conferences have been held, about once a decade (Mokwele 1988:25).

The Church of the Province of Southern Africa acknowledges the supremacy of the Anglican Communion. It is accepted further that the Provincial Synod of the Church of this Province shall be subordinate to the higher authority of a General Synod of the Churches of the Anglican Communion, to which this provinces shall be invited to send representatives, whenever such General Synod shall be convened (Mokwele 1988:26). The Lambeth Conference is the General Synod of the Anglican Communion. The Conference itself helped to make the Anglican Communion real in the eyes of Anglicans. It also makes suggestions about the way in which the provinces of the Anglican Communion outside England might conduct their affairs (Hinchliff 1963:112).

2.7 THE GRAY VISION: “WE MUST PLANT CLERGY, BUILD CHURCHES AND PREACH THE GOSPEL”

Robert Gray cheerfully accepted the call to become a missionary bishop at the Cape, to promote the glory of God and the welfare of his Church in this important colony (Gray 1847:113). Before his departure for South Africa, he had a vision for his mission in Africa: churches and school erected, clergy, catechists and teachers brought out, a college founded, perhaps also a cathedral, also missions planted, and all this by a church enfeebled through the neglect of the Mother Church for half a century (Gray 1847:170).

The challenging task required large sums of working capital, and in the months prior to his departure for the Cape Colony, Bishop Robert Gray travelled the length and breadth of England raising funds to support the new diocese. His untiring efforts were rewarded by contributions exceeding R49 000, and included a magnificent gift of money given by Miss Angela Burdett-Coutts, heiress of a famous and wealthy British banking family (Hinchliff 1963:26)

Bishop Gray’s vision was a missionary one, dedicated to spreading the Gospel as epitomised in the Book of Acts, “and ye shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth” (Acts 1:8).

Although Bishop Robert Gray is justifiably recognised as the founder and first developer of the Anglican Church in South Africa, it is important to remember that the

Church had begun almost one hundred years before he arrived in the Cape Colony. In 1749 the British Fleet, returning from a tour of duty in India, anchored in Table Bay. Admiral Boscawen, the commander of the fleet, requested permission from the Governor of the Colony to hold an English service for the crewmembers on shore leave. Permission was granted, and the fleet's chaplain conducted the first Anglican service in South Africa in the Dutch Church

In subsequent years Anglican services were frequently held in the Dutch Church, until St. George's Church in Cape Town was completed. In 1795 British troops landed at Simonstown and took occupation of the Cape Colony. During the eight years of the first British occupation services were conducted in the Castle. The Rev JE Atwood was the first Anglican clergyman to conduct regular services in the Colony (Edward & Lewis 1934:4).

It is recorded that at one of the Bishop's early meetings with his staff, he outlined the challenge which lay ahead in the simple words: "We must plant clergy, build churches, preach the Gospel". During the twenty-four years of his ministry in South Africa the first Bishop of Cape Town put his words into practical effect, travelling throughout the country, laying down the foundations of what is today the Church of the Province of Southern Africa.

The so called "Gray Vision" came to him while preparing himself for the important office of being a missionary Bishop in the Cape Colony. It is therefore very important to review and try to reflect on the vision and its relevance for the church today. In re-examining Bishop Gray's charge, I want to suggest that our calling as Christians is to commit ourselves to be a pilgrim people, searching with understanding God's plan of salvation (Colossians 1:24-29). As pilgrims we will be turning many new corners as missionaries of the new South Africa. We must pray that the Christ who walked the road to Emmaus will walk our road with us into our new age of missionary outreach, thus bringing about vibrant congregations with a vision of the future church (McGavran 1990:5).

2.7.1 BUILDING CHURCHES

The church is by virtue of its calling obliged to strive to build churches. The fundamental issue that confronts us when we examine this issue is what sort of churches do we need as we come to the end of this present century. What is the vision of the church that Bishop Gray had in his mind? We need to establish the kind of foundation he began to lay in his ministry. How can we translate that vision into action?

Scripture makes it clear that the church of God does not consist of buildings, but of people. In 1 Peter 2:4 Jesus is described as “the living stone, which was rejected by man (His crucifixion) but chosen by God and of great worth to Him”. We as the people of God are also called to be “living stones” to ensure that we are built up into a holy temple, the church, and to “form a holy priesthood to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ”. Our foundation is in God, we are rooted in Christ, if you like, in the cornerstone (Ndungane 1998:9).

The church is in its nature missionary, “It exists by mission, as fire by burning: moreover, mission creates the church, so it comes before the church’s doctrine and theology”. Theology only exists to serve the church in the mission of God. Mission bridges the gap between the church and the Kingdom of God. The goal of the church is not its own good, but the Rule of God. The church was founded for a future in the Kingdom of God and so it is for all humankind (Bowen 1996:12).

What emerges from “Gray’s Vision” is a church built on a sound spiritual base for transformation, ie being transformed by the renewal of our minds, that we may prove what is the good and acceptable and perfect will of God (Romans 12:2). A transformed church is a society in which the life of Jesus lives on, and in which His mission continues in the form of death and resurrection. Mission is an attitude of mind which should be at the heart of the church’s life and work, just as it is at the heart of God, both as He is in Himself and in all He does.

The church that Gray wanted to be planted would be the one which should relate the Gospel to the many different cultures of South Africa, thus being able to put the essential Gospel into forms, which does justice to all cultures equally (Bowen 1996:92). Bishop Gray is said to have had a “burning desire”, from the beginning, for mission work to the heathen. Hence he was so anxious for the diocese of Grahamstown to

organise missions in the newly conquered parts of the native territories, roughly called “Kaffraria”; which made the evangelisation of Basotholand possible through the foundation of a bishopric for the Free State; which made him put his whole heart into the foundation of the See of Zululand in memory of Bishop Mackenzie (Edwards & Lewis 1934:80).

All questions concerning the church are connected inseparably to her actual history, her concrete existence in the world, and her visibility and accessibility. And when we speak of the “mystery” of the church, we do not mean to view the church abstractly or unhistorical. Rather from first to last we must deal with the church as she really is. Church building does play an important role within the Christian community. It is made up of concrete, living men who bow their necks under the yoke of Jesus Christ (Berkouwer 1976:9). In many established churches the building up of congregations is getting priority attention (Kritzinger e.a. 1994:52).

It is true that Christ has not called us to erect church buildings all over the country, but what He most definitely wants, is to send us out into the world. That is our first priority (Kritzinger 1994:53). According to Van Engen, if we are to build missionary congregations in the world we must first carefully consider the relationship between church and mission. The church of Jesus Christ may find its fullest expression in relation to the world, from within the Kingdom of God, only if it lives out its nature as a missionary people.

If meaningful reconciliation, reconstruction and development are to take effect, we require a deepened spirituality. This spirituality, founded on our experience as South Africans, is God centered, biblically based, carved on a mountain of suffering and pain that is modelled on the cross of Christ and exhibits love, care and compassion. And this means that as a people that is community based and spirit driven, we can be a church without walls. Our calling is to love God and to love our neighbour (as ourselves). This is Christ’s great commandment. Combine that with His great commission, and we have all the ingredients to be pilgrims of this new age (Ndungane 1998:9).

The church is the people of God, and will give an account of itself at all times to God who has called it into being, liberated it and gathered it. It is therefore before the Divine

Forum that it will reflect upon its life and the forms that life has taken what it said and what it did not say, what it did and what it neglected to do (Moltmann 1992:1).

2.7.2 PREACH THE GOSPEL

Bishop Gray was faced with the problem of reaching out to the vast diocese. He was forced to plan his work very carefully. There were so many things that needed to be done in order of priority (Hinchliff 1963:35). Preaching the gospel was one of the major tasks, but also required a lot of preparation. Preaching is the proclamation of the gospel. God Himself desires that multitudes be reconciled to himself in the church of Christ (McGavran 1986:30).

Preaching the gospel remains a cardinal element in our strategy as pilgrims in this new age. According to Archbishop Ndungane, in Southern Africa we are poised, as a church, to take the gospel afresh to the people we serve, to the contemporary market place. Like Robert Gray 150 years ago we too face our own particular challenges. In our age we have to take the gospel – the Good News – to the poor and the rich (Ndungane 1998:11), to both “Jew” and “Greek” as a confirmation of their respective particularities. The gospel of Christ crucified for us puts an end to religion as power and opens up the possibility of experiencing God in the context of genuine community as the God of love (Van Engen 1991:32). According to Taylor, Luther’s teaching was that every believer in the gospel is a priest, that is, one who mediates the gospel to others. Every believer must pass on the power of Christ, which has come into his own life. He/she must express the faith in loving action, and in this way communicate it to others (Taylor 1983:23). Bishop Gray may certainly have been encouraged by Peter in his epistle, “You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God’s own possession, called to proclaim the gospel” (1 Peter 2:9-10).

The essence of the church was understood not as hierarchy and institution, but as people in community through the perspective Martin Luther brought to ecclesiology. For Luther’s day this was revolutionary. Luther saw only one church, the “ark” wherein salvation was to be found. He had little tolerance for those who would reject it. But the Church he knew was bankrupt, spiritually and morally. The true church was therefore a

spiritual communion called by God through the gospel, and gathered in a crowd, convocation, an assembly or congregation (Van Engen 1991:105).

Gray's vision of preaching the gospel implies also that the church has a duty to minister to all who hold responsible positions in government, in parliament, in the police force, in the prison service, and to those involved in labour disputes, in upholding human rights and advancing democracy, and also in other issues of the civil importance. For this preaching the full gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, much wisdom would be required (Aina 1987:112).

Preaching the gospel is the ministry of proclamation, which is central to our ministry as a whole. By preaching God's Word, we are expressing what is at the heart of all ministries: God's call to mankind to be reconciled to Him. The proclamation of the Gospel is not just one activity among many in which the church of the New Testament engages, it is the basic and essential activity. The preaching office is the central office in the church (Krass 1974:57). With this Robert Gray, the first Bishop and pioneer of the CPSA, would concur.

According to Krass, there is no better way to understand what Christian preaching really is than to consider what is sometimes called "primary evangelism", ie the proclamation of the gospel to those who have never heard it. We can then apply to our preaching within the church much of what we learned about this preaching of the gospel to strangers (Krass 1974:58). Our preaching too must center on Christ's resurrection, thus going all out to announce Christ's resurrection, to proclaim that He is alive and that God has made Him Lord. Without preaching the gospel, without evangelism, all the planting of clergy and the building of churches will be a vain thing. Evangelism, in its fullest and widest understanding, is the basis of all action. If there is no evangelism, then it is not the Christian faith that we are speaking about (Russel 1984:2).

Preaching the Gospel is the goal of mission, thus the conversion of non-believers; the goal is planting or implanting of the church and the birth and growth of the church as it becomes genuinely and truly itself, in order to live in complete responsibility and in communion in Christ with all other churches (Gibellin I 1994:13).

2.7.3 PLANT CLERGY

Robert Gray's vision was to plant clergy in order to comply with the "Great Commission" (Matt. 28:19-28). In this commission our Lord commanded the gospel to be preached to all nations making disciples, beginning with Jerusalem where many would respond, be taught, baptised and form churches (McGavran 1990:29). Therefore priests have been called by God to be His instruments; it is their great responsibility to be the means of bringing God to man and man to God. It is His joyous task "to make the sacrifice" for the people, giving Himself, and to give the Holy Communion to feed them with sacrificial food.

The formation of clergy and continuing ministerial education is a vital issue for leadership in the life of the church. A church that does not provide for dynamic leadership dies on its feet. Qualitative growth is a prerequisite if you are to be successful missionaries in the new age. This demands that we pay attention to the spiritual and academic formation of our clergy (Ndungane 1998:13). The church is called to life through the gospel of Christ's self giving. Hence it is fundamentally born out of the cross of Christ. At its center is the word of the cross and the Eucharist through which the death of Christ is proclaimed. What makes the church the church is reconciliation "in the blood of Christ" and its own self-giving for the reconciliation of the world (Moltmann 1992:97).

Gray, who was faced with the task of planting the Church in the Dark Continent, had to plan his missionary activities, thus to be sensitive to the spiritual and pastoral needs of the people of Southern Africa. Pastoral care is a ministry done by representative Christians that is to say, people appointed to some official position in the church generally do it. The important thing is not so much who does this work, but the fact that whoever does it brings the resources and wisdom of the Christian faith and life to the people in need (Taylor 1983:31).

Bishop Gray brought several new priests out with him, and he was continually writing to England to ask for more and more priests, even though he was hard pressed to find money to pay them. Gray expected these new men to provide the corporate activity needed to revitalise the church in the colony (Hinchliff 1963:36). According to his vision he had to plan for the planting of clergy, indigenous leadership. This would also

mean that he had to develop appropriate indigenous forms of Christian worship (Krass 1974:129).

The planting of an indigenous priesthood in Southern Africa would reduce the need of importing clergy from overseas, a solution which would promote the autonomy of the churches which have arisen as a consequence of the work of foreign missions (Beyerhaus & Lefever 1964:13). According to Kritzinger the autonomy (self-governing) of the young church was then seen as a sort of reward at the end of an educational process, thus not leaving them under the care of the Holy Spirit and their elders and bishops (Kritzinger 1994:9).

The clergy are by virtue of their calling obliged to preach the gospel throughout the whole world as a preparation for the second coming of Christ (Kritzinger 1994:11). Gray fought for the independence of the Church in South Africa to decide its own affairs, and eventually won. This also led, after many legal battles, to a split between the Church of the Province (Gray's church) and the Church of England in South Africa. When Gray died in 1872, he left behind him a well-organised church, rapidly growing among all the races of the land, and recognised by Canterbury as the Anglican Church in South Africa (De Gruchy 1979:17).

Jesus came not only as one who preached but also as one who served (Verkuyl 1978:211). Gray's vision of planting clergy was along these lines.

Leadership focuses on purpose. For Christian leaders their purpose means pursuing the same goal that Jesus toiled for helping people to become all that they can become under God. Jesus said: "I have come that you might have life – life in all its fullness" (John 10:10). Though Gray's special interest was church education, which he strongly believed to be essential to the future of the church, yet he did more than people realised to found the Church of the Province on a sure basis. This he did not only by direct teaching and preaching and by learned articles in the press on the church questions of the day, but by ready counsel given freely with sound judgement (Edwards & Lewis 1934:112).

2.8 CONCLUSION

Christian leaders have to keep the church's or the organisation's purpose in the forefront of all activities. In so doing, the church will be constituting itself as an autonomous body, with the full power to make its own decisions without any threat of external appeal. Gray proved himself to be an innovator of considerable determination, and his tenacious leadership of the independence issue profoundly affected the direction of growth of the Southern African Church as well as those in other parts of the British Empire (Southey 1998:23). Gray's achievements can thus scarcely be overestimated.

CHAPTER 3 : THE CPSA IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter traces the growth of the church of the Province of Southern Africa in the northern parts of South Africa. It is necessary to provide more background information about the geography and demography of the Limpopo province. Particular attention is also given to the Northern Ndebele tribe, as these people are often overlooked, but also because they played an important role in the establishment of the Anglican Church in the north. Much more could be related about the activities of some of the Ndebele Christians like George Kgolokgotha Ledwaba, Sekgopetjana, Jonas Mantjiu, Sethala Sema and many others whose names do not appear in this work.

The story about the avenge of the death of Kgoshi (Chief) Maraba II receives attention in order to relate how the Ndebele of the Mashashane tribe became the pioneers of the gospel and converted many people, including Kgoshi Maraba III, known also as Morwasethula. He encouraged his family to become Christians. His son Jonathan ended up as a catechist.

Religious organisations played an important role in this part of the world by proclaiming the gospel and the establishment of schools and hospitals. Only a few of them are mentioned in this work e.g. the Church Missionary Society, the Moravian Brothers and the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The Community of the Resurrection has contributed constructively but has not been studied at length. Their work will be referred to when dealing with the institutions they founded.

3.2 GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE (NORTHERN TRANSVAAL)

The Transvaal was the second largest as well as the wealthiest and most populous of South Africa's four provinces. It extended from the Limpopo River in the north to the Vaal River in the South, and from the Botswana border in the west to Mozambique and Swaziland in the East. Pretoria was also the Provincial capital as well as administrative

capital of the Republic of South Africa. From very early, the Transvaal was inhabited by the Bantu people.

The Northern part of the Transvaal became the Northern Province in 1994, when South Africans elected an ANC government, and the name was changed to Limpopo province in 2002. It is now one of the nine provinces of South Africa, one of the poorest and least evangelised in the country.

3.2.1 LIMPOPO PROVINCE, A SOCIO ECONOMIC DESCRIPTION

Limpopo lies within the great elbow of the Limpopo River and is a province of dramatic contrasts, from true Bushveld country to majestic mountains, primeval indigenous forest, latter-day plantations, unspoilt wilderness areas and a patchwork of farming land.

Limpopo has a strong rural basis, its growth strategy centres on addressing infrastructure backlogs, alleviation of poverty and social development. The infrastructure is still somewhat like that of a township, although Eskom has electrified most of the rural villages. Poverty alleviation is improving, and social grants are given to unmarried and unemployed mothers who still have small children to look after.

Underpinning the growth and development strategies in the province are the Phalaborwa S.D.I. and the N1 Corridor, which encompass agro-processing and mining beneficiation activities. Regional ecological integration takes the form of the “Golden Horse Shoe”, which aims to create a single reserve that will arch the Kruger National Park in the east round to Botswana in the West.

Limpopo is the gateway to the rest of Africa. It is favourably situated for economic co-operation with other parts of Southern Africa, as it shares borders with Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Polokwane (Pietersburg) is the capital city and lies strategically in the centre of the province. The Great North Road through the centre of the province strings together a series of interesting towns. Bela-Bela (formerly Warmbaths), with its popular mineral spa, is near the Southern border of the province. Going north there follow Modimolle (formerly Nylstroom), with its table-grape industry and beautiful Waterberg range, Mokopane (formerly Potgietersrus), Polokwane

(formerly Pietersburg), Louis Trichardt (now Makhado) at the foot of the Soutpansberg mountain range, and Musina (formerly Messina), with its thick-set Baobab trees.

The crossing into Zimbabwe is at Beit Bridge, where the South African section of this important route north into Africa ends. Other important Limpopo towns include the major mining centres of Phalaborwa and Thabazimbi, as well as Tzaneen, producer of tea, forestry products and tropical fruits.

The Maputo Corridor will link the province directly with the Maputo port, creating development and trade opportunities, particularly in the south-eastern part of the province. This province is in the savannah biome, an area of mixed grassland and trees, which is generally known as Bushveld. A trip through this summer-rainfall area soon convinces one that this is the tree country.

The largest section of the Kruger National Park is situated along the eastern boundary of Limpopo with Mozambique. Mokopane is enjoying the growth of the Platinum Mines which will certainly boost the economy of the province (South African Yearbook 2002/3:22).

Agriculture is also very important for the alleviation of poverty in the Limpopo province. The Bushveld is cattle and wildlife country, controlled hunting is often combined with ranching. Sunflowers, cotton, maize and peanuts are cultivated in the Bela-Bela / Modimolle area. Modimolle is also known for its table-grape crops.

Tropical fruit, such as bananas, litchis, pineapples, mangoes and pawpaws, as well as a variety of nuts, are grown in the Tzaneen and Louis Trichardt areas. Extensive tea and coffee plantations also create many employment opportunities in the Tzaneen area. Zebediela, one of the largest citrus estates in the country, is situated south of Polokwane. The largest tomato farm in South Africa lies between Tzaneen and Louis Trichardt.

Extensive forestry plantations are found in the Louis Trichardt and Tzaneen districts. Plantations of hard woods for furniture manufacturing have also been established. Many of the rural people practice subsistence farming.

The northern and eastern parts of the summer rainfall region are subtropical with hot humid summers and mist in the mountainous parts. Winter throughout the province is mild and mostly frost free.

Industry: Limpopo is rich in minerals, including copper, asbestos, coal, iron ore, platinum, chrome, diamonds, phosphates and gold. It is a typical developing area, exporting primary products and importing manufactured goods and services. It has a high potential and capacity, and with the right kind of economic development is an attractive location for investors. Resources such as tourism, rain-fed agriculture, minerals and abundant labour force available in the province offer excellent investment opportunities (South Africa Yearbook 2002/3:23).

3.2.2 THE PEOPLE OF THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

The people of this area are predominantly black (Africans). The Blacks of this province can broadly speaking be divided into Nguni, Sotho, Venda and Tsonga groups.

The earlier official collective designation of all the black people of South Africa was “Bantu” which is the plural of “Muntu” (person) and therefore simply means “people”. Because of the history of apartheid the black at present hate the word intensely and would have none of it – just as black Americans hate the word “Negro”. Originally they were called “kaffers” which was simply derived from the term “kafir”, meaning “non-believers”. This word was and still is so detested by the blacks that it virtually came to be regarded as an expletive. Thereafter, as a result of this resentment, the black people were referred to as “natives” (naturelle). By implication they were the only indigenous inhabitants of the country – to the exclusion of the Whites, Coloureds and Indians. The whites who originated from non English speaking Europeans adopted the name of the African continent and called themselves “Afrikaners”. As they consider themselves “natives” of Africa they quickly saw through the potential danger of determining who was “native” to South Africa and who not, so they adopted the term “Bantu”. For the same reason white South Africans no longer refer to themselves as “European” (Mphahlele 1979:20).

What is most surprising is that there is no evidence to show that the blacks themselves were ever consulted and asked what they wished to be called collectively. The end result was that none of the names mentioned above was fully accepted by the people concerned. To the contrary, these designations are all looked upon as offensive and abominable, and their continued and enforced usage has contributed greatly to the deterioration of race relations. The Black people themselves, like people the world over, wish to be called after the place or continent of their origin, that is Africans – they are not interested in the problem of translating this word into Afrikaans without bringing about confusion between “African” and “Afrikaner”. The second obvious alternative is to call them by the colour of their skins, “Blacks” (Mphahlele 1979:21) even though their skin colour is definitely not black, as neither are the others “white”.

The above statement concerning the lack of consultation with regard to the collective designation of the black people of South Africa, gives a clue to the reasons for the lack of competent indigenous leadership. The Whites of this country in general had no respect for the black people, hence no attempt was made to train or offer leadership positions to the indigenous inhabitants of the country and to the black people of the Limpopo Province in particular.

The people of this Province – black and white – need to strive for the development of some inner basis of security, some inner assurance, which can enable men and women to face the storm, and search for wisdom to become one Christian family, thus facing a comparable challenge to its claim to meet the deepest needs of man’s heart and mind (Taylor 1963:7).

3.2.3 THE NORTHERN NDEBELE PEOPLE

The Limpopo Province is inhabited by numerous tribes. It is not necessary to relate the origin or ancestry of these numerous tribes. However, the researcher has decided to introduce one neglected group within the Province, namely the Northern Ndebele. Their language is in a crippling stage, still struggling to make it to be a recognised written language. They have an interesting Christian history. Their conversion to Christianity came about after the death of one of their chiefs, Kgoshi Maraba II of the Mashashane tribe, and the plan to revenge his death (see Ledwaba 2000:15).

The Ndebele of the Transvaal have not been seriously considered by investigators. Some people identified and labeled them under the banner of the Northern Sotho. It is high time that the Ndebele, like other tribes, receive recognition.

The Ndebele tribes of the Transvaal are today divided into two main groups, viz

- A. The Southern Ndebele, comprising
 - 1. The Naala (abaka manala)
 - 2. The Ndzundza (abaka ndzundza)
 - 3. The Hwaduba (aba hwaduba)
- B. The Northern Ndebele, comprising
 - 1. The Muledlana (base muledlane), thus divided into:
 - (a) Baka sibediela (Sebitiela)
 - (b) Baka kekana (Kekana)
 - (c) Baka mogombhane (Mokopane)
 - 2. The Langa (baka Langa)
 - (a) The Mapela section
 - (b) The Bakenberg section
 - 3. The Lidwaba (baka lidwaba or basema une)
 - (a) Baka Mashashane
 - (b) Baka Maraba Kalkspruit
 - (c) The tribe of Eland Maraba
 - (d) The tribe of Ngidighidlana Maraba

(Ziervogel 1958:4).

The Northern Ndebele tribes are not of Nguni (Natal) origin. It is believed they came from the North (Zimbabwe) (Ziervogel 1958:4). However, there is a very strong oral saying that they originated from Pietermaritzburg, and moved with Mzilikazi, but remained in Pretoria (Marabastad), and later settled at Wonderboom.

School education is received through the medium of Northern Sotho, and church services are also conducted in Northern Sotho. Nevertheless the Ndebele language is regularly employed at Mashashane, Maune and at Mugombhane's. There is a group of learned Ndebeles under the leadership of Lesiba William Molomo, who are presently

organising seminars for the development of the language in order to receive recognition as a written language. Much progress is emerging at Mashashane through the principal of Kgolokgotha Mogabudi Ledwaba High School. The school is named after one of the founders of the Anglican Church in Mashashane, one of those who tried to avenge the death of Kgoshi Maraba II (Ledwaba 2000:15).

3.3.4 THE NORTHERN NDEBELE PROPER

Their origin has always caused arguments. It was said that the Ndebele of the Transvaal are the remnants of Mzilikazi's group, but according to Mphahlele Van Warmelo says they are not. According to Van Warmelo, these Ndebeles had settled among the Sothos of the Transvaal "several centuries" before Mzilikazi left Natal (Mphahlele 1979:39).

The problem facing most researchers is that the informants did not know the history of their tribe. This is confirmed by the fact that the older generations could not read and write. Ziervogel records that, at the headquarters of the Maune section, four aged men were put at his disposal by Chief John Maraba, to supply him with information, which of course was oral (Ziervogel 1958:3).

As to the origin of the word "Ndebele", Van Warmelo say "nothing is known". One thing which characterised the Ndebeles, is that they used to carry very big shields (thebe), as big and as tall as the warrior himself. Most probably their name comes from this word (thebe) (Mphahlele 1979:39). This account seems to be supported by the fact that the language of the Northern tribes shows greater affinities with Swazi than with that of their southern namesakes. Apart from Sotho influence some linguistic peculiarities are their own, and this can, in the light of the above account, be attributed to their origin in the north (Ziervogel 1958:5).

Breaking away from the Hlubis they entered the Transvaal and settled near Pienaarsrivier (Moretele). Their first chief was Musi, and his children were Manala, Ndzundza, Mohwaduba, Mthobeni, Ndlomo and Sibasa. The first two remained in the south, Sibasa went up north as far as the Vendas, and Ndlomo went back to Hlubing. While Mohwaduba settled at Moretele, the majority of the Ndebele (of Mthobeni) settled in the Limpopo Province, mainly in the Mokopane district (Kekana and Langa).

Therefore the descendants of Ndzundza found in Limpopo are Tema, Teffo, and Molemane. The totem of all the Ndebele is tlou (elephant), but the latter's totem is mothokwa (mthonghwa) (Mphahlele 1979:39)

The Mugombhanes live at Vaaltyn-Makapan's location just outside the farm Mokopane Lisbon 995. Their chief has jurisdiction over the trust farms, Rietfontein 349 and Tweefontein 1033. Their western neighbours are the Langas (Ziervogel 1958:6) where Kgoshi Kekana and some of the councillors are full communicants of the Anglican Church.

The Sekgopetjana (Lidwaba) tribe lived on the following trust farms, Abrahamsfontein 1641, Bultfontein 1537, Commissioned Drift 928, Eensgevonden 1541, Koppie Enkel 1539, Uitzicht 853, Vlaklaagte 1536, Bergzicht 814, Christina 1531, Cornelia 2012, Kalkspruit 812, Utrecht 150, Waschbank 852, and Zandfontein 2011.

The tribe Felix Eland Lidwaba occupied the Trust farms Gladdespruit 493, Randjies 1635, Schuinsrand 494 and Droogste 1972. The tribe of Ngidighidlana Lidwaba (Nkidikitlana Lidwaba) lived on the Trust farms Weltevreden 709, Sterkwater 862 and Slaapkraal 605 (Ziervogel 1958:6).

The Mashashane tribe occupies Michichaan's location 2404, also the trust farms Mars 189, Glen Roy 71, Waterplaats 793 and 794, Uitvlucht 815, Doornfontein 1652, Diana 1549 and 809, Waterplaats 794, and Doornspruit 816. Their Western neighbours are the Matlala and to the North are the Maune (Kalkspruit) and Moletji (Ziervogel 1958:6).

Mashashane was under the leadership of Kgoshigadi (female chief) Tlakale Mashashane, who is the wife of the late Kgoshi Joel Sibasa Mashashane. Their marriage was blessed with a son whose name is Magandagele II. He was recently installed as the leader (Kgoshi) (on 29 March 2003).

Mashashane is situated approximately 40 km west of Polokwane, the capital city of the Limpopo Province. The villages adjacent to Mashashane are Matlala to the north-east, Moletji to the east, Kalkspruit 6331 (known as the Molwela local government) in the north-east, and Mapela to the west. Mashashane is surrounded on all sides by mountains

of different height. Among these, Ngopane, with its prism-like shape, is the most beautiful and striking. Its rivers, which are known for their unfailing water supply in all seasons, are Mogwadi and Magolobitla.

Mashashane is situated adjacent to the Percy Fyfe provincial game Reserve, a source of income and pride to the local population because it attracts numerous tourists from all over the world. The income that these tourists inject into the area is one of the most vital sources of economic well being for the Mashashane region and contributes to the welfare of the region as a whole. Because Mashashane is situated at a high altitude, it enjoys favourable weather conditions, including a good annual rainfall. Its educational institutions were Mashashane Primary School, St. Andrew Anglican School now (Morwasethula), Grace Dieu (Setotolwane College), Motse-Maria (Doornspruit), Pax College and Shiloh Mission School. From 1959 onwards, many high, secondary and primary schools were built to meet an ever-increasing demand for education. Many of the scholars who attended these institutions carry on to further their education in Colleges of education, Technikons and Universities. Medical doctors, attorneys and technicians have emerged. Situated on the eastern side of Magandangele High School is the pride of the Mashashane community, namely a large and attractive Post Office and tribal Clinic. In addition to the regular schools in Mashashane, there is a well-endowed school for retarded children called Phahlaphadima School. The driving force behind the construction of this school was the remarkable Mrs Annah Manzini, a retired school principal.

The moshate (Royal kraal) is situated between the Mountains that lie to the south-west of Magandangele high school. The site of the Royal kraal was chosen because of its protection against harsh weather conditions such as storms and tornadoes, and because it was a site that could be strategically defended in the event of an attack by enemies. It was built during the leadership of Morwasethula, known as Maraba III; its construction can therefore be dated to between 1905 and 1911 (Coetzee 1980:326).

The Ndebeles of Mashashane are mostly Christians. However, there are also some lesser evangelised people. This problem could be the result of the lack of indigenous leadership.

3.3 THE DEATH OF KGOSHI MARABA II OF MASHASHANE TRIBE

Maraba II was the son of Kgoshi Phatlhaphatla. He married a wife from Eersteling. Their marriage was blessed with a son who was, as Magandangele I, to succeed his father as leader of the Ndebeles.

The Mashashane tribe settled at Mahlungulu in Marabastadt, south-west of Polokwane, as early as 1868. The reverends Hofmeyr and Paulus de Klerk of the Dutch Reformed Church ministered to the tribe during the 1870s. According to Crafford, De Klerk was sent to Marabatown (Mashashane) an evangelist, and did excellent work there. In 1873 a French missionary group mentioned that they had come across a small church over which De Klerk presided in Marabatown. They described him as a very zealous native (Crafford 1991:75).

Maraba II and his followers settled at “Sibindi”, thus at the present Ranch Motel, Polokwane district. The Boers were friendly with the tribe. These Boers were fond of hunting on the mountains, and because they could not climb mountains with their carts, they left them at the Royal kraal (Moshate). These carts were called “Pieter”.

The senior colonel was the best friend to Kgoshi Maraba II. However, it is alleged that a dispute arose between the two groups. The cause was that Maraba II climbed on one of the carts during the absence of the Boers. It was unfortunate, because he was entrusted to take care of the carts, not to touch or move them. He made some of the Bakgomana’s (chief councillors) to push him around the yard. When the Boers discovered the incident, they were angry, and searched for the Kgoshi. Their anger shocked the tribe, because they never took it serious. Yet the leaders ordered that the Kgoshi should be killed. What a pity, because it was a sign of no friendship.

The tribe pleaded for mercy. They offered 7 head of cattle, but the Boers demanded five hundred cattle. This was unacceptable. War was declared, and Maraba II was shot dead. His head was cut off and taken to Nylstroom. What a terrible action... killing a leader for climbing on a cart.

3.3.1 AVENGING THE DEATH OF KGOSHI MARABA II

As already related, the political dispute between the Voortrekker Boers under the leadership of Hendrik Potgieter and Kgoshi Maraba II led to the cruel death of the Kgoshi and some of the Bakgomanas. (The name “Kgoshi” refers to a leader, chief or ruler of the tribe and “Bakgomana” are the chief’s councillors of the Royal Family.) The death of Kgoshi Maraba II created such a volatile situation that it was impossible for the evangelists to continue to minister to the Ndebele, thus no congregations were founded in that area (Ledwaba 2000:)

The death of a leader who dies in the defence of his country and his subject rights always creates tension, anger and a desire for revenge. It was no different in this case. The Ndebele tribe became so incensed with the Boers, that they lost all interest in the work of the evangelists, which, understandably, came to be identified with the high handed, aggressive, disrespectful and predatory attitudes of the white invaders to their ancestral land. As has been mentioned, feelings ran so high among the Ndebeles, that a group of the Bakgomanas, in the company of the senior Mokgomana and son of Kgoshi Maraba II, Sekgopetsana, decided to journey down to the Cape Colony to find work so that they could buy guns with which to avenge the death of their leader.

Among those who went to the Cape colony were: George Kgolokgotha Ledwaba (Mogabudi), Jonas Mantjiu, Sethala Sema, Kgoshi Sekgopetsana and Maphangula. Sekgopetjana who was working in Port Elizabeth at that time, was summoned by Kgoshigadi Mashashane, and returned home in order to reconstruct the royal family (bringing forth the heir to the throne). Heeding this summons, Sekgopetsana returned home with a Bible and the gun. Soon it was discovered that he had been converted to Lutheranism. It is believed that he established the evangelical Lutheran Church in the year 1891. George Mogabudi Ledwaba and Jonas Mantjiu also returned back home, they were both converted to Anglicanism (Ledwaba 2000:15). The death of Kgoshi Maraba II thus inadvertently and indirectly contributed to the establishment and founding of the Anglican Church in Mashashane.

The Anglican Church congregation was named St John Anglican Church. Mogabudi George approached Kgoshigadi Mashashane for permission to use the unused Dutch Reformed Church, and permission was granted (Ledwaba 2000:15). The church

building in question might have been the one established by Cornel Mamathula, the evangelist sent to minister in Mashashane by Reverend Stephanus Hofmeyr. Mamathula is recorded as having been active in preaching and gaining converts to Christianity in April 1894 (Maree 1962:100).

The Dutch Reformed church group had moved to Maserumula, although a few remained behind and built a chapel at Utjane (Ga-Teffu) (Ledwaba 2000:16). A new Church building was later built at a different site, and was named St Andrews Anglican Church. The history and activities of the indigenous leaders shall follow later in this work (Ledwaba 2000:16).

3.3.2 NORTHERN SOTHO, TSONGA AND VENDA

The people of Limpopo are some 5.5 million and live on about 123 910 sq km. The main languages spoken are Sepedi, Xitsonga, Tshivenda and Afrikaans. But the language which is more universal is English, most of the educated black people prefer English and are all taking their children to the English medium schools.

Sindebele is one of the spoken languages, but, as already indicated above, they have suffered marginalisation. They are struggling for recognition, although much progress is made. Several museums and national monuments bear testimony to ancient peoples and fearless pioneers who braved the unknown days of yore. Living museums include Bakone Malapa Museum near Polokwane, where Bapedi tribesmen practice age-old skills for the benefit of visitors, and the Tsonga open-air Museum near Tzaneen. Mapungubwe Hill (Place of the Jackal), some 75km from Musina, used to be a natural fortress for the people who inhabited it from about AD 950 to 1200 (Burger 2002/3:23).

The main language of this province, broadly speaking, is Northern Sotho, though there are differences in cultural beliefs. They are an enormously complex group of tribes, very diverse as to ancestry. They are divided into numerous small independent tribes. Each tribe consists of individuals of widely different ancestry, indicated by the origin or foreign totem of the individual (Mphahlele 1978:22). However, these tribes are ancestry groupings, and according to Mphahlele (1978:23), Dr van Warmelo, the government ethnologist, said that it is not possible to connect all the Sotho tribes with one another,

even in the most fanciful genealogies. He is said to be saying that all three major groups are still much enveloped in the haze of conjecture. It is therefore a highly debatable question how many of these tribes actually are of Sotho stock.

The present political situation does not cherish the divisions according to tribes. The democratic constitution has joined us together, not for the sake of languages, but to develop us into one nation. Leadership is based on trust. For example, the leader and bishop of the Diocese of St. Mark the Evangelist is a white person and is highly respected by all members of the church. Our greatest challenge as leaders is to develop a godly character. The only problem facing the province is that most black people have not been exposed to leadership skills. Hence the researcher decided to investigate the development of indigenous leadership.

The first two black Christians who were ordained as ministers by the Berlin Missionary Society, were Martinus Sewuschane and Timotheus Sello. They were ordained in 1885, 25 years after the society had established its first mission station in the Transvaal (Crafford 1991:48). Their ordination was the beginning of the emergence of indigenous leadership.

The Berlin Missionary Society is the first German missionary society to start work in the Transvaal. This society went as far as the Northern Transvaal and established mission stations in the Limpopo province. Without going into the details, it can be said that they converted the Northern Sotho to Christianity. The lack of indigenous leaders is not a problem for the Anglican Church only, all denominations have the problem of raising leaders.

The development of indigenous leadership need to be a joint venture. I agree with Kritzinger that the leadership problem is not unique, but a world wide one (Kritzinger 1979:39). All language groups need to develop the leadership that will understand the circumstances. It is true that the Anglicans have measured indigeneity in terms of an indigenous clergy, indigenous worship patterns, and architecture. The Anglican Church in Venda is facing this problem, the parish has been without a rector for a long time and the self-supporting clergy can lead church services in Venda and English only.

In Vendaland, in the extreme north-eastern corner of the Transvaal, the Church missionary society has assumed work at the invitation of the Bishop (Gardener 1958:71). The Anglican Church is growing, but at the time of writing (2004) it is served by community priests who are struggling with the congregations to develop indigenous leadership. The Anglican Church in “Giyane”, for the Tsonga speaking population, is served by one ordained community priest and one deacon. The Tsonga people are scattered all over the Limpopo Province and have no problem of being ministered to in Northern Sotho. There are many Tsonga men and women lay ministers who are also comfortable to minister in Northern Sotho. But there is a desire for an indigenous ministry.

3.4 THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES/MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

Christianity had been mainly a European and Asian religion. However, as a result of the voyages of discovery in the late 15th and early 16th centuries it gradually became a world religion. This was not because the explorers wanted to spread the gospel. Their main purpose was to find new sea routes for trade with the East. However, as new continents and countries were discovered, the Christian religion was planted among the indigenous populations.

The first Christian missionaries to central and Southern Africa were Roman Catholics who accompanied and followed the Portuguese explorers. The first Protestants to establish a permanent settlement in Africa were the Dutch, who in 1652 started a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope for their ships travelling between Europe and South-East Asia. Jan van Riebeeck and his party, who established this station, belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church.

The Anglicans began work in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in 1751 when the Rev Thomas Thompson came from America. Thompson had been an SPG Missionary in New Jersey. He offered to go to the Gold Coast because it was the original home of the African slaves. In his struggle he managed to send young African boys to England. The result was that the first African deacon was ordained in 1765 in the Church of England. The aim of these missionaries was to bring the gospel.

The 19th century was not only a time when many missions were started and many people heard the Christian gospel for the first time. There were also new ideas about what missionary work was. For Henry Venn, one of the founders of the Church Missionary Society in England, the purpose of missions was to establish self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating churches. This meant that the indigenous people were to govern themselves, to provide their own financial support and to evangelise their own people (T.E.E course 351B, unit 35:47). We shall study a few of the religious movements who have contributed towards the planting of the Church in South Africa.

3.4.1 THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION

This community was founded in 1892, as a “high church” religious order. The Anglican philosophy of life is most evidently reflected in the Anglican Spiritual Tradition, which is essentially the current doctrinal principles of the church (Mokwele 1988:42).

Father Latimer Fuller joined the community of the Resurrection at Mirfield in 1901 and was one of the first three members of the community who came to South Africa to work among the Blacks on the Witwatersrand.

Soon after the end of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) the authorities of the Church of England (Anglican) showed great interest in the “Native races”. They issued a manifesto in which they declared themselves responsible for the “conversion of the Native races of South Africa” (Mphahlele 1978:214). To achieve this aim they decided to open up mission schools and churches at the earliest possible time. This should be the reason why the Bishop Pretoria, Dr Carter, sent an invitation to the Community of the Resurrection in England to send priests to undertake the founding of these mission schools and churches.

The value of experience and the purpose of their mission are clearly outlined by Father Fuller in the following terms:

We had been at work two years and produced the skeleton for future development; our centre in Johannesburg with Catechists’ College, night school chapel, printing press and shop, our mission stations along the Reef with our body of preaching evangelists, congregations and schools, our visits to the country with their catechists,

diocesan conference and Native Magazine. There was the skeleton fairly complete but wanting in three serious particulars, we wanted Native clergy, a Girls' school and also a school for Training Native Teachers.

With this idea in mind Father Fuller came to Pietersburg.

From Pietersburg he travelled to see something more about the country and of the people. He reported that he found some disadvantages in the country, "it was hot, there was fever, and there was very little water". But there were plenty people, and after all it was the people whom the missionary were looking for (Mphahlele 1978:216). He was certainly right. All missionaries want people.

Bishop Furse, the then bishop of Pretoria (1909), wrote in the "Kingdom", the Diocesan news letter, asking the people to face, "and face cheerfully", the big forward movement. He indicated the need of 30 to 35 more clergy to strengthen the existing work and to begin fresh work. He encouraged leaders to build church schools on a sound financial footing and provide the accommodation required. He sympathised with the Community of the Resurrection who have been living for the past seven years in tin buildings, wholly inadequate and not healthy. And they never complained. The Bishop could not allow that to happen any more.

The Community of the Resurrection eventually formed part of the teaching staff of the training institution Grace Dieu, founded at Mashashane (see later). As a disciplined movement, their contribution inspired many students to become true responsible leaders.

At Grace Dieu, the girls were under the sisters of the Community of the Resurrection, they were trained in all branches of housewifery. Extra-mural activities also played an important part at college life. Sporting competitions between various houses took place. The Pathfinders (Scout) movement had its origin at Grace Dieu in 1922, and later the equivalent girls movement, the wayfarers, was added. An old students association met regularly and a renewed bulletin was published, giving news of the college (Grace Dieu Records Inventory 2004:AB750).

3.4.2 THE SEKHUKHUNELAND MISSION

Sekhukhuneland is a large native location towards the eastern part of the province, with many Black towns. The people were directly under their own chiefs, but these were under Boer commissioners. It is now a well developed area under municipalities of the Limpopo Province Government.

In July 1905 Canon Farmer reported to the board that a man had come to him lately from Sekhukhuneland asking the church to send teachers. Plans for an educational centre to include a Teacher Training College to be known as Grace Dieu were already afoot. In 1906 Archdeacon Sidwell also told the board of a letter received from all Native Deacons of the Diocese asking that a Mission should be sent to Sekhukhuneland (Davies 1984:12).

There was a real need for establishment of the Church. An Anglican Missionary who explored the area in May 1909, bears witness to this need. He told how 200 natives had died in one fever stricken area the previous year. The great need for missionary work there was a daunting project.

By May 1909 Sekhukhuneland was regarded as a new Mission District with pressing needs. In September 1913 the possibility of medical missionary work was being considered by the board.

Then, in August 1914 came the Great War. When the Diocesan Board of Mission met in September of the same year, it was agreed to ask that diocesan estimates should allow funds for the support of a white missionary in Sekhukhuneland. Unfavourable circumstances delayed this project and dragged on until November 1918.

Before the 1914-1918 war had ended, Jane Furse (the wife of the bishop of Pretoria) had died. A Jane Furse Memorial Committee was formed, and by February 1919 schemes were underway to augment the Memorial Fund with a view to setting up a medical mission. Many donations were received towards this project. It was reported by Father Francis Hill that a gift had been made of land suitable for a site for the proposed memorial hospital. In November 1921 the efforts had reached the climax, and an announcement in "The Kingdom" showed that at a long last the Anglican Church had

been able to answer the call for help of Sekhukhune's people. "The Jane Furse Memorial Hospital has begun work" (Davies 1984:15).

The evangelistic work for the Anglican Church had been carried on by Father Hill of the Community of the Resurrection and the Revered Augustin Moeka. Both the Lutheran and Methodist Churches had already established missions and schools in the country round Marishane (Mooifontein). Here Augustin Moeka built up an ardent Christian congregation, the present St Peter's Anglican Church.

The Community of the Resurrection (CR) has been in charge of the mission for some time, but it took some time to build a priory for the four fathers in residence. The community, in their report on the Sekhukhuneland mission, revealed that it is a vast heathen area, where the church made little progress, and where the mass of the people were heathens with all things that accompany heathenism, like witchcraft, superstition, fear, devilish customs and indeed human sacrifice.

The first priests (fathers of the Community of the Resurrection) to minister in Sekhukhuneland were Fr Hill, Fr Alston, and Fr Cotton, later to be followed by Fr Gregory Evans. They lived at first in one of the oldest houses of the mission. They have done wonderful work, but must unfortunately there is still a great shortage of priests. One would not be wrong to describe the area as one of those in high need of indigenous leadership.

Father Francis Black, CR had this to say about the area: "We need an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the Sekhukhuneland Christians that they may have boldness and fervent zeal, and above all, we need the prayers of all our friends and those who care for the church of Christ" (Kingston 2004:24).

The Jane Furse Memorial hospital was handed over on the 1st May 1976 when it acquired a new status as a hospital of the Government of the then Lebowa. The CR fathers had to express their gratitude to the Almighty God in these words "We thank God for being allowed to minister for so long in Sekhukhuneland. There will always be a place for the church and for the people of that district in our hearts" (Blake CR).

It is interesting to receive the news that Jane Furse Memorial Hospital and the whole farm will be returned to the Bishop of the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist and the Board of Trustees on the 6th March 2004, at a handover ceremony at 10h00. The church is presently considering claiming its property from the government. The bishop will be accompanied by the members of the Chapter and Diocesan Finance Board to the historical occasion.

The contribution made by the Community of the Resurrection will not be forgotten, but what strikes the researcher most is that Sekhukhune has the greatest shortage of clergy. The churches need indigenous leaders to emerge, and the only route is to develop leaders within their communities. My observation is that people of that area feel that becoming Christians they are cut off from their own way of life, their families and their community. Much still need to be done to encourage those who have committed themselves to the Lord, not to be discouraged in their efforts to proclaim the gospel.

3.4.3 THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL (SPG)

The society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts came into being with a charter granted by William III on 16 June 1701. It followed the English charters, namely to conquer, occupy and possess lands occupied by heathens and infidels, in whatsoever part of the world, which went back to 1482. The Bishop of St Asaph then thought a new charter was timely, for the European “discoveries” of the previous two centuries were doors opened by God, while the society’s seal, bearing the text from Acts, “Come over and help us” (Acts 16:9), suggested an invitation, which was indeed sometimes the case (O’Conner et al 2000:7). The purpose of the SPG, therefore, was to establish self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating churches. This meant that the local churches founded by missionaries must become able to govern themselves, to provide their own financial support and evangelise their own people, so that other congregations were started. This was a bright idea, which could lead to the growth of indigenous leadership.

The SPG undertook to support clergy at Pretoria (Rev J Sharley, 1873), Potchefstroom (Rev W Richardson), Zeerust, Marico (Rev H Sadler, 1874), Rustenburg (Rev JP Richardson, 1874), and Lydenburg (Rev J Thorne, 1874). Of these only Potchefstroom

had an English Church, and only at Rustenburg was anything done for the natives. It is very clear that nothing was done to indigenise the church. The spirit of division among Christians was promoted. Hence natives were not allowed in the same church as whites (Edwards & Lewis 1934:576).

These missionaries did, However, contribute constructively towards the establishment of the bishopric for the Transvaal. The SPG was more than generous, contributing mainly to its creation, and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) voted a block grant of R1500, and, later gave sums for churches on the gold fields, and for school chapels for natives elsewhere (Edward & Lewis 1934:580).

The SPG became very much involved in the development of and support of the church in its task of witnessing against oppressive laws of the apartheid regime. Noting the legislation on the Native Laws Amendment Bill in 1957, the SPG in July formed a special group, including Huddleston, to review the policy (O'Connor et al 2000:196).

The SPG's role, perhaps its most creative for the propagation of the gospel in the second half of the century, was not primarily about the promotion of "understanding and affection", in which the church of the Province clearly judged the society to have made a worthwhile contribution (O'Connor et al 2000:200), but in its encouragement of the rooting of the gospel in the realities of social and economic marginalisation and in the struggles of the marginalised for freedom and dignity. In a sense, much of the artwork encouraged and sponsored by the society and its missionaries was related to this development. It gave voice to the voiceless. The very act of installing carved wooden panels by Job Kekana of St Faith's Mission, Rusape, Southern Rhodesia, on the pulpit of Johannesburg's St Mary's Cathedral in 1947, had something of this character. (Job Kekana was born at Rooisloot, in the district of Potgietersrus, now Mokopane in the Limpopo Province.) The SPG remains an important society for the propagation of the Gospel.

3.5 THE ANGLICAN MISSIONARY EFFORT IN THE TRANSVAAL

The first bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, had a vision of planting churches in Southern Africa, an area that would take him centuries to spread the Gospel as

anticipated. The whole country was then the Diocese of Cape Town. By God's grace, the vast diocese was reduced by the establishment of four more dioceses: Natal in 1853; Grahamstown also in 1853; St. Helena in 1859 and Bloemfontein 1863, whose first bishop was Dr E Twells (Mokwele 1988:21).

Bishop Twells was a constant traveller, always looking for new areas where missions might be set up. He was a true missionary who carried out the "Gray Vision", thus the building of churches and planting clergy. His journeys took him into the Transvaal, where he met with a handful of Anglicans, poor and isolated, and apparently anxious to have a priest of their own (Hinchliff 1963:80). He laid the foundation stone of the first Anglican Church building, north of the Vaal River, in 1864. As a result of Bishop Twell's activities, and the encouragement by the Bishop of Zululand, the diocese of Pretoria came into being in 1878.

The diocese of Zululand was founded in 1870, its first bishop was Edward Wilkinson, who was consecrated by Bishop Gray of Cape Town on the 1st January 1871. Bishop Wilkinson was also encouraged to visit the Transvaal as often as he could. Both the bishop and his wife wrote letters and journals about their ministry and the life of the church in the Transvaal Republic (Edward & Lewis 1934:574). Their contribution towards the development of missionary work was regarded as a response to Bishop Gray's concern about the planting of churches and missionary growth in the far north towards the Zambezi River.

Bishop Twell's main desire was to explore the country with the aim of fulfilling his vision. He made a statement, which encouraged the idea of founding the bishopric for the Transvaal. Thus, "The church in the Free State will collapse if not cared for, and we hear of no bishop. I am urged to go to the Transvaal, where two deacons, together with their congregations, plead for Holy Communion, since they have not received one for two years". This statement led the synod of bishops in 1869, and the Provincial Synod of 1870, both to recommend the establishment of the Transvaal Bishopric (Edward & Lewis 1934:574).

In 1878, the preparations for a bishopric of the Transvaal were complete, but it was not until 1893 that a bishopric for the east coast north of Swaziland was established. In the

meantime, in 1874, Mr Sharley, priest in charge at Pretoria, rather overcome by the large field of his work, tried to start a school for boys, St Alban's, but there was no money for a suitable building.

In 1875 Mr Greenstock from the Eastern Province, detained on his way to Matebeleland (Zimbabwe), ministered at Eersteling, near Polokwane, Limpopo Province, and other places. He reported to the SPG that the English Church, St Alban's, at Tshwane (Pretoria) was in a "miserably unfinished condition" and the "dilapidation of the spiritual building still worse". For some time the Dutch "would not permit the English Church to be built", and Mr Sharley lived for a while in the unfinished vestry (Lewis & Edwards 1934:577).

3.5.1 THE FOUNDING OF THE DIOCESE OF PRETORIA

In December 1870 Bishop Gray wrote as follows: "The Transvaal, a vast region, extends nearly to the Zambezi. It has within it Dutch, English and many hundreds of heathens. It ought to have a bishop who would shepherd God's flock. Our provincial synod strongly urged for it. I should have rejoiced if the central African mission had been placed there, because of its calls on us, and the wisdom of pushing forward our mission step by step into the heart of Africa by the links of a connected chain. There were two deacons there alone. The Germans have missionaries among the heathens, but we have none" (Edward & Lewis 1934:574).

In March 1874, the Bishop of Zululand again went to Pretoria and pleaded with the authorities for the spiritual needs of the Europeans and Natives in the Transvaal. (Edwards & Lewis 1934:575). This time he was able to visit the Northern Transvaal, to the Goldfields of Eersteling near Marabastadt.

It has been placed on record that the Bishop of Zululand tried to care for the Anglicans in the Transvaal as well as his own diocese. He visited the Transvaal every year and also had a house in Pretoria. When he resigned from Zululand in 1875, Wilkinson hoped to be appointed first Bishop of Pretoria and collected money in England for founding the new diocese. However, when the first Bishop of Pretoria was consecrated in 1879, it was not Wilkinson but Henry Brougham Bousfield.

Bishop West Jones, the second Bishop of Cape Town, shared Bishop Gray's wish and desire for the founding of a bishopric for the Transvaal. He wrote an appeal letter to the secretary of the SPG, asking for an endowment for the proposed see. The letter received a positive reply. Both bishops, Webb of Bloemfontein and Wilkinson of Zululand, who were in England in 1875, also pressed for the matter on the colonial bishopric fund and the SPCK, stating the need for a sum of twenty thousand rand (R20 000) towards the bishopric endowment.

Bishop W Jones advocated, on the advice of Bishop Wilkinson that, "If it be possible to divide the whole area from Tugela to Zambezi into two dioceses, it would give a good hope of a continuous chain of missions (Edward & Lewis 1934:577).

Henry Bousfield, who had the reputation of being an eloquent preacher and enthusiast in missionary causes, was selected as the first Bishop of the Transvaal. He was consecrated in St Paul's Cathedral (London) on February 2nd, 1878. In August he sailed for South Africa with his wife and children and a number of helpers, men and women. Among them were those who later served in the office of archdeacons. Bishop Bousfield's arrival in the Transvaal promoted Anglicanism, which had been planted in the 1860s. Informally it was planted in the east by the young Bishop Wilkinson of Zululand, but officially it came from Bloemfontein in the west, by Bishops Twells and Webb (Peter Lee 1988:130).

The Anglicans might have done better with Wilkinson, for Bousfield was not a very good bishop. He was a lordly person who ran the diocese according to all the correct legal forms and with as much ceremony as possible; he was probably mentally unstable, often pessimistic and depressed, he was tactless and difficult, got on badly with his own clergy and saw the successful Methodist missionaries as rivals.

Time and again, Bousfield almost gave up and returned to England. He did not see any future for the Anglican Church as long as the Transvaal was a Boer Republic. When gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand, Bousfield did not think the mines would last long and almost withdrew all the Anglican clergy from the gold fields. He was prevented from doing so only because his own clergy made public protest. With such a

bishop, it was not surprising that the Anglican work in the Transvaal made a slow start. Being British in a very Afrikaans area further hampered it.

Bousfield arrived in South Africa in the middle of the Boer revolt of 1880, when the Transvaal ceased to be a British Colony. He never got on good terms with the Boer government, and when the Anglo-Boer war started in 1899. Bousfield and all his clergy left the Transvaal, some simply withdrew and others were deported. Bousfield tried to keep the Anglican Church going, rather than plan for expansion. He brought several priests with him from England in 1880, but the scattered congregations were small and poor and little mission work could be done.

The discovery of gold in 1886 changed the work of the Anglican Church, as it did the work of the other Churches. Bousfield appointed Rev John Darragh to take charge of the Witwatersrand area in 1889. Despite bitter clashes with his bishop as to how the work should be carried out and financed, Darragh managed to gather a large staff of clergy together and began ministering to the African and European miners who flocked to the Rand.

Bousfield died in the middle of the Anglo-Boer war (1900). For two years the diocese was without a bishop. During this time, the war ended and the work of reconstruction began. The bitterness caused by Bousfield's quarrels with his own clergy took time to disappear. The appointment of the Bishop of Zululand, William Marlborough Carter, as second Bishop of Pretoria in 1902 marked a new beginning for the diocese.

Carter was an attractive person, a good administrator and a keen missionary. His eleven years as Bishop of Zululand had made him passionately concerned for missions and social welfare work amongst Africans. Although Carter built up the mission work in Pretoria diocese slowly and carefully, he could be outspoken. He criticised the attempts of the Boer government in the Transvaal to restrict the rights of Africans. He also pointed out to the British authorities that they spent more money on the Pretoria Zoo than they did on African education (T.EE Course 354A Unit 27:137).

The diocese of Pretoria was the ninth diocese to be founded in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. At its establishment, it included Johannesburg, however, in 1922, the Diocese of Johannesburg was founded.

3.5.2 OTHER DIOCESES IN THE NORTH

When the Diocese of Johannesburg was founded in 1922 it became the twelfth diocese to be established in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa.

The eighteenth diocese, in this process of multiplying dioceses, was the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist at Polokwane, in the Limpopo Province, founded in the year of our Lord 1987. Up until its establishment, it has been part of the Diocese of Pretoria. More than eighty years have passed before a diocese could be established to try and cope with both black and white evangelisation in the Limpopo Province (Mokwele 1988:32). It covers the areas of the former Transvaal, bordering on Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It is the most unevangelised part of South Africa.

3.6 THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH OF THE PROVINCE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

God's plan of salvation of the world will only take place if the Gospel is preached and a mighty multiplication of living congregations must occur in most of the remote parts of the world. Through the proclamation of the Good News, multitudes of men and women will find peace, joy and power in the forgiveness of their sins and assurance of salvation (McGavran 1990:53).

In 1904 the Vicar of Polokwane, the Rev AG Forbes, asked Bishop Carter for someone to take over mission work in this area. Rev Forbes (himself a former missionary in Natal) could not cope with developing Black Christianity in a populous region like the Limpopo Province (Mokwele 1988:31). Father Fuller accepted the call, and came to Polokwane (Pietersburg) during the summer time to visit any black congregation there might be, and help the Rev Forbes (Mokwele 1988:31).

The Black congregations in the Polokwane East and West mission districts have their origins from the converts from the Kimberley Diamond and Johannesburg Gold Mines. Others, especially the Ndebeles of Mashashane, received the Good News from those men who went to the mines to work for guns in order to avenge the cruel murder of Kgoshi Maraba II (Ledwaba 2000:15).

3.6.1 THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AMONGST THE BLACKS IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

During the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) the congregations were visited by British army chaplains under the auspice of the Pietersburg parish incumbents, through the agency of interpreter and lay preacher Mr WM Phaleng (later Father Fuller's guide on his tour of Pietersburg East and West Mission, co-worker at Grace Dieu, and later priest). The Black congregation in Pietersburg assembled in the old Zoutpansberg Printing Office on Sundays, but the venue was also used as a schoolroom. The founder of the Anglican Church in Mashashane, George Kgolokgotlha used to travel from Mashashane to the abovementioned venue for Holy Communion. According to Mokwele, this Zoutpansberg Printing Office later (1913) became the Khaiso Secondary School under the supervision of deaconess Alice Snow.

The first Black congregation to be visited by Father Fuller was at Witkopje, some ten kilometres southeast of Pietersburg. After Witkopje (presently Silicon Mines) Father Fuller visited Moletji, which is about 30 kilometres northwest of Pietersburg; there he found four little groups of Anglicans at a distance of about ten kilometres. One of the four congregations, St Thomas at Ga-Hlahla, was established well before 1903. At the chiefs kraal, St Mary's, there was also a school established in 1904. The other congregations were St James, Ga-Manamela and St Luke at Ga-Chokoe.

3.6.2 THE INDIGENOUS LEADERSHIP

It is encouraging to note with interest that the church in Mashashane was planted by indigenous men. They evangelised in the medium of their language, with a full and sympathetic understanding of all those cultural, historical and ethnic factors, which together constitute the cultural matrix of the life of a people.

Although the untrained leaders planted the church, no effort was made effort to train and ordain indigenous Christians as ministers of the gospel. In the early period, when the churches were being planted, none was encouraged or considered for ordination. It is only in the 1960s that two men from this area were trained at theological colleges and ordained to priesthood. They were William Lesiba Molomo and Alfred Sepharitlha Phaghane Ledwaba.

As the leadership was often incompetent due to the lack of proper training, the development of indigenous leadership was poor. However, the Anglican Church successfully made use of a pre-existent feature of indigenous social and political organisation in their organisation of the mission work in the Limpopo Province: they used tribal elders, who already enjoyed the prestige of being men of influence among their own people, as the church leaders.

Christian worship is essentially a response to God's word of grace, a response to what He has done for our salvation and us (Abba 1977:3-5). The responsibility of planting the church within the community of Limpopo Province and tending to the spiritual and material welfare of new converts rested squarely on the shoulders of indigenous Christian leaders in those days.

While the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Church trained evangelists, they also used teachers to preach and to administer church funds. The Reverend Stephanus Hofmeyr, who laboured in the Soutpansberg area of the Transvaal, used African evangelists whom he had trained. Hofmeyr did this in order to standardise the approach and methods which the evangelists who worked under the aegis of his ministry would use when they reached out to the unconverted with the gospel (Denis 1995:60). Not so with the Anglicans.

In 1903 the vicar of Polokwane, the Rev AG Forbes, paid a visit to the Anglican congregation in Mashashane. On that occasion he baptised the first Anglican child, Morongwa Helen Kgosana (nee Ledwaba), daughter to George Kgolokgotlha, who established the Anglican church in Mashashane. Later Father Fuller came to Polokwane to assist him in visiting black and white congregations there, and he encouraged the

establishment of Grace Dieu for the training of teachers and catechists (Mokwele 1988:31).

3.6.3 THE INDISPENSABLE PREPARATION FOR SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP

Leadership is to make human strength productive, goal orientated and seeing a bigger picture, with an understanding of the purpose of life. To lead, go before, implies that the leader has foresight and sense of direction. This leadership must truly be called by God and filled with the Holy Spirit, for it is the Holy Spirit with His anointing and spiritual gifts that provides the indispensable preparation for the work of the spiritual leader (Hodges 1978:16).

There was a great need for indigenous leadership in the Transvaal as a whole, but Father Fuller was charged to plant and develop the missionary work in the Northern Transvaal (Limpopo Province). He was in charge of missionary activities from 1920 to 1921. He found the country within a radius of forty kilometres of Pietersburg healthy and charming; but for a priest, there was more than that: there was the call of those hundreds of thousands, turning in a wonderful way to thoughts of God, and very often looking for the white man to show them the way. “For hundreds of miles in the northern country, all the way to the Rhodesian and the Portuguese borders, there was a teeming population of heathen, and we must not tarry too long if we are to pursue this goal” (Mokwele 1988:34).

3.6.4 TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP

Training is the equipment of men and women, young and old, to become actors on the stage of life, a most fundamental and difficult task. It is the primary duty of all colleges to create skills, thus leaders in all spheres of a community life – political, cultural, economical, and educational spheres. The Black communities had to be led by their own people instead of the church spending large sums of money sending white teachers out into the dark regions of the land to act as leaders and to guide them out of darkness in and primitive life towards the light.

The training of indigenous personnel would save the church from importing missionaries from overseas. Thus, the main purpose for the founding of Grace Dieu was to train teachers. But on closer examination of the objectives it became clear that they advocated a religiously orientated type of education. According to Mphahlele, in 1930 the principal conceded that, although the institution's primary object was that of the training of teachers, vocations to the priesthood were fostered and encouraged (Mphahlele 1987:246).

In order to develop indigenous leadership – civic and political – the church and state need to join their efforts in their struggle to have all human beings becoming skilful, thus to have their aspiration realised or better still to fashion indigenous leaders to be advanced in knowledge. According to De Gruchy,

“English-speaking South Africa has produced notable poets and writers, historians and social scientists, and leaders in many other disciplines and fields, but there have been very few who have had the ability and charisma to provide theological insight and leadership that is adequate for the kind of situation in which we now live” (De Gruchy 1979:96).

The Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist is no exception in this regard. The standard of theological education is very low, the present leadership is composed of many untrained self-supporting or community clergy.

Clergy Roll

Stipendiary	Community	Retired
13 trained	31 untrained	6

There are twelve parishes, and five are without rectors, a rector being a Priest-in-charge of the parish. The parish priest has by virtue of his ordination by the bishop, a leading role in all matters affecting worship and the life of the parish. But the people as a whole cannot escape responsibility for parish affairs. Therefore the question of leadership is priority number one (Clerical Directory 2003/2004:182).

Most of the community clergy are doing wonderful work, they are able to take responsibility for decision-making, what they need is to be better equipped in order to share in the leadership of the whole church with self confidence.

3.6.5 THE FOUNDING OF A MISSION CENTRE IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE

At the end of his first visit to the north, Father Fuller identified two problems. The need for a Reef Mission Centre in the Johannesburg area, and also the obvious need for another mission centre in the Northern Transvaal. But since he was commissioned to seek for such a centre in the North, he made a positive decision to find some place where teachers could be trained. The extension of his ministration to the black / indigenous people in the Northern Transvaal was growing more and more pressing. A large piece of land at some distance from the town of Polokwane (Pietersburg) would be suitable, he decided (Mokwele 1988:34).

Father Fuller returned to Pretoria and gave a report to the Bishop of his findings. He returned to Polokwane again later in the year with the aim of searching for a farm that could be developed into a mission station. Mr WM Phaleng accompanied him, and with the help of a storekeeper he met, he discovered a farm, Jakhalsfontein, some thirty kilometres west of Polokwane. As this farm was cheaper than another farm on the road to Blood River, which he really wanted, he decided to buy Jakhalsfontein. About the same time a benefactor in England had sent R600 to Father Nash to be used for some Black Mission, as a memorial for dead loved ones. The amount was just sufficient to buy the roughly five hundred hectares of Jakhalsfontein.

Later in 1905, the Diocesan Board of Mission at Pretoria resolved that a school for black teachers should be instituted at Jakhalsfontein, and be under the management of the Community of the Resurrection, founded in 1892, of which Father Fuller was a member.

3.6.6 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GRACE DIEU 1906

In July 1906 the Practising school opened with seven pupils and Mr WM Phaleng as teacher. In August of the same year, Mr C O'Dell of Zoutpansdrift (Mokopane) arrived as first headmaster, and six students were registered in the training school. The institution was officially registered in 1907 with the enthusiastic support of Inspector Clark of the Transvaal Education Department. The Department made a condition for a grant-in-aid that girl-students should be admitted together with boy-students. This condition was, however, only met in 1913.

Father Fuller described the founding of the institution as follows: "The buildings are necessarily rough and primitive, but we hope that before long young men trained in such arts as building and carpentry will join us and devote their talents to God's service in our mission field; then we will have buildings worthy of their purpose and able by their beauty to inspire those who follow". It is indeed people (students and teachers and programmes) that matter, and not buildings (Mokwele 1988:36).

The Mission Centre as a whole was given the name Grace Dieu – literally meaning "the Grace of God". This was in honour of an old monastic house, Grace Dieu, in Leicestershire, Father Fuller's home area. Situated between two black tribal areas, Moletji and Mashashane, and the Matlala tribal area not very far off, in due course the Grace of God spread into these areas in the form of multiple congregations. This was the Pietersburg West Mission district, now the Parish of Moletji and Matlala.

The mission centre was under the supervision of the Diocesan Board of Mission, but registered as the property of the Diocesan Board of Trustees. It was from that centre that Anglican Mission work spread in all directions to cover the entire territory known as Limpopo Province today. It is at this centre that the Anglican Church trained its teachers who helped to propagate the doctrine of the church of the Province of Southern Africa and provide education to their own kith and kin (Mokwele 1988:37).

Grace Dieu has contributed towards the spiritual development of the province. Most of the teachers from this institution offered themselves to serve the Church as catechists; some of them became ordained to the priesthood.

The Grace Dieu authorities introduced the Anglican Archbishop's Teachers Certificate Examination in Theology for its students, in addition to the "official" religious instruction examination. The Archbishops' Teachers Certificate Examination in Theology was later made optional; but the religious atmosphere of the college remained typically Anglican up to the end (1958), when the Anglican authorities handed the school to the Department of Education (Mokwele 1988:91).

The theological education offered at this institution contributed constructively towards Christian knowledge. Most of the students from this college earned much respect for their contribution in teaching Scripture. They had grasped the essentials of faith. This resulted in an education founded upon a rock, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. The centre of revelation is that a commitment has been made to the students, and this commitment is rooted in a history where messianic dynamics are coming to life.

According to Gerdener (1958:70), Grace Dieu, the Diocesan Training College, was sending out about forty-five trained teachers annually by the end of the 1950s. The girl's department was in the later years continued by the teaching order of the Holy Paraclete. The Parish of Mahwelereng continues to enjoy the fruits of Grace Dieu, thus the foundation laid by some of its students like Rev John BK Tsebe, Asaph Tsebe, Alfred Ledwaba, Nelson Gwangwa and David Masogo who were all ordained priests of the Anglican Church.

The abovementioned candidates' ordination has been a true development of indigenous leadership in the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist. The indigenisation programme of religious personnel would have risen to a climax if Grace Dieu were left to continue. It would have promoted a frequent goal of the Anglican mission, as mentioned above. Good behaviour, family life, the training of their children, all these matter a great deal to the true Anglicans.

The general atmosphere of the college was geared towards the production of men and women who would be ready to cut themselves free from the ties of the world in order to give themselves particularly to the devotion to God and His work. For such men and women there was a great need, whether they be teachers, priests or laymen, provided

that they are earnest and not afraid of obedience and the simple life. For example, the late Rev Alfred Ledwaba's motto: "To be useful, to be loyal to God, the King and parents and also those under him, to obey orders without question, to be thrifty and be pure in thought, word and deed" (Obituary 09-12-2000).

3.7 TWO EXAMPLES OF GRACE DIEU'S PRODUCTS

The Diocesan college (Grace Dieu) would better be described as an educational institution. Like every mission station, it included not only a church, but a school where the Christian faith is taught as an integral part of education. Thus students were helped to be true leaders called of God and filled with the Spirit, for it is the Holy Spirit with His anointing and spiritual gifts that provides the indispensable preparation for the work of the spiritual leader (Hodges 1978:16).

3.7.1 REV ALFRED SEPHARIHLA PHAGHANE LEDWABA

He was born on the 1st December 1911 and was baptised on the 14th July 1912. In July 1931 he enrolled at Grace Dieu for a teacher's certificate. He graduated as a teacher in 1934. In 1934 he was employed as an assistant teacher at St Stephen Anglican Mission School, Rooisloot in the then Potgietersrus district. In 1936 he was promoted to the principalship of Mapela Mission School. He was a true and faithful Scout, a movement for young Christian boys, to guide them according to Christian principles in order to become responsible fathers tomorrow. This movement prescribed the following principles: to serve the Lord and the King; to help other people at all times and to obey the Scout laws, thus to be useful and to be loyal to God.

Alfred developed a wonderful team of scouts wherever he was placed. Hence he ended being ordained to the priesthood. He was ordained by Bishop EG Knapp-Fisher, on the 18th December 1966. As a priest he encouraged the congregations to build churches and renovated those that were old. He also encouraged men and women to become lay ministers. Among them, he encouraged and trained the present researcher and David Maubane, who are at the time of writing ordained priests. Much development took place during his office of ministry. All credit goes to Grace Dieu.

He also contributed towards social activities as local clinic secretary, member of the regional authority and advisor to the chief's councillors. A man of great wisdom. His name is remembered amongst those who strived to develop Limpopo Province.

3.7.2 REV DAVID MANTHOPENG STEPHEN NOKO MASOGO

David was born on the 12th February 1912, in the Parish of Moletji/Matlala in this Diocese. He was born from a polygamous family, but due to the influence of the Community of the Resurrection Fathers, he was converted to Christianity and was baptised and confirmed at Khaiso Anglican Mission Station. He encouraged his mother to become a Christian.

He was married to one wife, whom he also encouraged to study for a certificate in Housecraft. She was offered a post to teach housecraft at primary schools. He enrolled at Grace Dieu College for teacher's certificate and graduated in 1937. Those who worked and worshipped with him, described him as an influential person. His leadership skills were above average, hence he served as a teacher / catechist at all schools where he was principal.

His leadership positions in communities included: Secretariat, Chairmanship and Chaplain to a teachers movement known as Transvaal United African Teachers Association (TUATA). Treasurer of the Wisconsin Farm Association. He offered himself for ordination, and was ordained on the 18th December 1966, as self-supporting priest of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of St. Mark the Evangelist. He has served the church faithfully until his death. His leadership displayed the quality of education he received from Grace Dieu, much credit goes to the college and its staff. Therefore he has encouraged many communities to build churches and helped orphaned children to receive education and also to become Christians

3.8 LEADERSHIP AS CHRISTIAN FOUNDATION

The Grace Dieu authorities believed that it is very good to be clever, but that it is more important to be good, honest and straightforward. They also believed in the ideal of education and training the whole personality, body, mind and spirit, and that all true

education should be based on a strong Christian foundation, thus true spiritual leadership.

The Diocesan Training College (Grace Dieu) succeeded in its mission of training teachers. Its main task was to produce as many as possible per annum. In fact, the college produced about thirty teachers a year by the late 1940s. The Transvaal Education Department was not satisfied, and encouraged the college to improve the number to fifty teachers a year.

One of the past students of Grace Dieu who has contributed much in the development of the indigenous leadership, is the late Sydney Cecil Maaka, who registered at Grace Dieu in 1934 and qualified as a teacher in 1937. In 1939 he became head master until 1975 when he retired as a principal of Rooisloot Anglican Mission School (Parish of Mahwelereng). His motto: Service to others, regardless of reward.

He was highly involved in community affairs, a man of great courage and a true product of Grace Dieu. He also gave much of his time to church work. That would be the fruit of the Archbishop's Teachers Certificate Examination in Theology which Grace Dieu students sat for in addition to the "official" religious instruction examination (Mokwele 1988:90).

At Grace Dieu the authorities and the staff were committed and so dedicated to their work that they created the feelings of security, acceptance, trust and safety in their students. This in itself made the students susceptible to the good and the beautiful, and open to religious and moral influence.

3.9 THE DIOCESE OF ST MARK THE EVANGELIST

The Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist, Polokwane, is the most northerly diocese in the Republic of South Africa. It covers the areas of the Limpopo Province within the curve of South Africa's borders with Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It is the least evangelised part of South Africa. There are more unevangelised and unreached people within the diocese than in the whole of the rest of South Africa put together (Le Feuvre 1990:71).

Because the boundaries of the Diocese of Pretoria stretched from Pretoria to the Limpopo River in the Limpopo Province, it was a very difficult diocese to administer because of its large area and the different needs of those who resided in the diocese. For this reason, it was decided that part of the area that had formally been incorporated in the diocese of Pretoria should become the newly named diocese of St Mark the Evangelist.

There are undoubtedly Anglican excuses for the unevangelised nature of the areas. Inevitably church activity tended to centre around the big city and amongst the mines, which existed in the southern half of the undivided diocese. Consequently the north was virtually totally neglected. The very reason for the creation of a new diocese was to rectify this imbalance. It became clear that the north would continue to be a Cinderella until it has a centre of jurisdiction within itself (Le Feuvre 1990:71)

3.10 THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE

Previously the Diocesan Administrator and Bishops administered the church in the north from Pretoria. Ordination of deacons and priests was done at St Albans Cathedral in Pretoria.

The following bishops of Pretoria visited Limpopo Province for confirmation and special occasions:

1878	Henry Brougham Bousfield, DD
1902	Michael Bolton Furse, DD
1920	Neville Stuart Talbot, MC, DD
1933	Wilfred Parker, MA
1951	Robert Selby Taylor, MA
1960	Edward George Knapp-Fisher, MA
1975	Michael Nuttall, MA
1982-1998	Richard A. Kraft, MDiv

Bishop-Suffragans: The Right Revd Hugh G Stevenson, MDEBA (SA) LLB
Rand

Mark Nye, MA, and

John Ruston, MA

(Source MSJ Ledwaba 2000:20)

3.11 ARCHDEACONRIES

The Pretoria Diocese was divided into archdeaconries for pastoral and financial administration, under the leadership of the archdeacons. After the decision was taken to establish a new diocese, suffrage bishops were consecrated and ministered as bishops and archdeacons.

The Northern archdeaconry was also very large and had to be managed from Polokwane to the Limpopo River. In this area the work of the diocese was weak in that there were very few priests who could speak Shangaan. The then independent Republic of Venda was also within the archdeaconry. Here too there has been resistance to the gospel, Christians were about 20%.

All these areas have a vast number of young people of school going age, and also large numbers of women, particularly elderly women. But the real manpower migrated to the cities. This is a very important factor to bear in mind in seeking to establish Christian mission, to plant churches, and to identify the direction of the ministry. Clearly maximum emphasis has to be directed towards the children and young people, both in the somewhat fractured home situation and through the schools and churches (Lefevre 1990:72).

The economic context is that of a poor, rural society. There is no starvation in the area, and even malnutrition is minimal, but most people battle to make ends meet. A great deal of the money in circulation is imported via the salaries of the men who work in the cities. The existence of relatively wealthy white communities dotted around the diocese also help to keep money in circulation in the rural areas.

Apart from the main centre, Polokwane, the area had a number of towns, which used to be white only. It was only in the 1980s that the residential colour bar was raised. These towns were Duiwelskloof, Messina, Phalaborwa, Mokopane, Louis Trichardt, Ellisras,

Vaalwater and Tzaneen. At the time of writing in 2004 it would be irrelevant to speak about towns, but rather archdeaconries. The diocese is divided into four archdeaconries, namely:

- a. The Central Archdeaconry: Archdeacon the Ven MN Mothiba
- b. The Northern Archdeaconry: Archdeacon the Ven GB Blunden
- c. The Mopane Archdeaconry: Archdeacon the Ven Luke Pretorius
- d. The Southern Archdeaconry: Co-ordinator Rev M J S Ledwaba

3.12 THE BISHOPRIC OF THE NEW DIOCESE

In August 1987, the newly elected first bishop of the new diocese, the Rev Dr Rollo Philip John Le Feuvre, was consecrated and enthroned as its First Bishop. The Metropolitan of Cape Town, His Grace Archbishop Desmond Tutu, conducted the service on Saturday, 30 January 1988 at 09h00 in Christ Church Polokwane.

The mission statement of Bishop Philip was greatly encouraging to the congregations at large. He committed himself to the words of the First Bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray, “Planting clergy, building churches and preaching the gospel”. He also asked for prayers from the Anglican community of his new diocese. This forthright devotion to the fundamentals of mission typified the life and inspired missionary zeal of Bishop Philip Lefeuvre, who was supported by his energetic wife, Charmain, throughout his ministry. She is very courageous and also loves the Lord.

The fact that there is an ordained leader in a local congregation, who is able to celebrate the sacraments, takes a great deal of weight off the shoulders of the stipendiary clergy. It is therefore leading us to give attention to the need for men and women who offer themselves for the stipendiary ministry.

The sacrament of Holy Communion and the healing ministry play an important role in the growth of a rural congregation. Therefore by multiplying the number of self-supporting priests, Bishop Philip contributed constructively towards missionary activities. The aim of missionary work is said to be to produce churches, which are self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting, thus the church becoming autonomous with indigenous leadership. This is the main goal of this work.

3.13 THE BISHOP'S CHARGE TO SYNOD 18 MAY 1990

Philip's charge was within the context of praise, praising God, who is the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, for all that He has done and is doing in the diocese. He expressed his concern for the overall scope of the loving activities of God amongst us, thus our engagement in spiritual warfare, though there was always antagonism, pain, frustration, futility and treachery. He encouraged members of the diocese to be ready and armed for the unknown fear.

The bishop highlighted the symptoms of a vast change, a new liberty, which is God's answer to so many of our prayers. He encouraged us to continue praying without ceasing and deeply with a fasting spirit. It is necessary to pray to the hearts of our people, for the inner victory of the love of Christ, which casts out all hate, prejudice, fear, desire for revenge and greed; giving thanks to the Father for the movement of His good Spirit over the land, pray and work to be His witnesses to as instruments for the breaking down of barriers and the creation of a new and deep trust and oneness. Here, in the far Limpopo Province, be encouraged to take the calling seriously.

He pointed out the evidence of our Father's goodness in the team of clergy, stipendiary and self-supporting, which He has called and given to our diocese. The bishop expressed the delight of his heart. That the clergy, amongst others, should have elected him to be bishop here, is a very humbling thing, and that there are few things he enjoyed more than to be with them and amongst them as fellow-workers, fellow-servants and fellow-soldiers. These are terms St Paul used of his colleagues, and they are terms the reality of which he has come to know in his gospel fellowship with the clergy.

He has emphasised, very properly, that salvation is by God's grace alone, and that our action and words, however praiseworthy, cannot contribute to our being saved. He called for a clear act of decision and commitment on the part of each person through repentance and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, emphasising that mere church going and participation in the sacraments are not sufficient without these things.

He expressed his particular appreciation to the self-supporting clergy. “None of us may be proud that God has called us – that, indeed, should lead us to a deep humility and awe. So it is not for responding to a calling that I thank you, but for the sacrificial way in which you fulfil your calling. I believe that the role of the self-supporting clergy may well become more vital to the life of this diocese”.

Bishop Philip praised God for the services rendered by men and women as priests and deacons, thus stipendiary and self-supporting community clergy. “They are a very gracious gift from God, a gift that we ought never to take for granted. As already mentioned above the community clergy are untrained and are in the majority in this diocese”.

He supports the training for ordination, though with some reservation, due to financial constraints. The idea of non-residential in-service training, a scheme that it is believed has its advantages and disadvantages, but would develop the indigenous leadership and reduce stress suffered by the church leaders. It is true that the Lord will meet the personnel needs of this diocese – but in His way only and through the obedience of His people.

The researcher shares the sadness of Bishop Philip caused by some lay ministers and some community clergy, who discourage the emergence of other ministries in the congregation, for fear of himself being displaced. Most of the present community clergy are not prepared to study theology or to attend in-service-training.

3.14 THE SECOND BISHOP OF THE DIOCESE OF ST MARK THE EVANGELIST

Bishop Martin Breytenbach was installed and welcomed on the 12 th February 2000, as the second bishop of the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist. The occasion took place in the Parish of Mahwelereng at Mokopane College of Education. The service was conducted by the retired bishop of the Diocese of Johannesburg, Bishop Duncan Buchanan (deputising for the Metropolitan). Bishop Joe Seaki of Pretoria and the outgoing bishop Philip Lefeuvre were among the quests.

Bishop Martin's charge at this service was inspiring. The theme was: "When He arrived and saw how God had blessed the people, He was glad and urged them all to be faithful and true to the Lord with their hearts" (Acts 11:23). His family, and many people from his former parish in Pretoria, attended the service. In the diocese, which has little money for the training of full-time priests, Martin has organised the stewarding of resources responsibly and has been able to send two students to the Cornerstone Theological College in Cape Town, during the year 2002.

The diocese with its structures is specifically looking at training colleges for their stipendiary clergy, which have a strong outreach and mission emphasis. It has been discovered that there is a need for the training of evangelists, who could be deployed in the remote areas of the diocese in order to reach out to the unevangelised and unreached persons and also to encourage youth ministry, thus reducing a high degree of confusion and frustration.

3.15 BISHOP MARTIN'S CHARGE TO SYNOD 2000

A transforming church

Martin and his family expressed their desire to share their lives with the diocesan community: "We loved you so much that we were delighted to share with you not only the gospel of God but our lives as well, because you had become so dear to us" (1 Thessalonians 2:8). He thanked the people of the diocese who welcomed his family so warmly and that their commitment was to share the gospel with the congregations, just as Barnabas did when God called him to Antioch (Acts 11:23-24).

At the heart of God's call to the church are mission and ministry, which are derived from Jesus' Great Commission (Matthew 28:18-20). Our commission from God is to make individuals and nations into disciples of Jesus, so that they become like Jesus. We do that by baptising (leading them to know and experience God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit for themselves through faith) and teaching them to do the things that Jesus did. If the church is not doing these things, then we are not really the Church of God.

The Bishop encouraged the congregations to embark on training for mission and ministry by quoting our Lord Jesus Christ's training of His disciples and giving them power and authority to drive out demons. According to the researcher's observation, He was concerned about the leadership of the diocese. Hence his priorities are to appoint the right people as rectors and arch-deacons whose task shall be team leadership, to train and equip those who work with them, so that the mission and ministry to the Body of Christ are effective.

It is true that there is a leadership vacuum, leading to power struggles, loss of vision and poor co-ordination between different groups. Due to the lack of suitable priests to fill the vacant posts at parishes, (as already mentioned above) the spiritual life of the parish deteriorates, prayer decreases, teaching and theological understanding fall short.

People of this diocese have an obligation to support the Bishop in his endeavour to develop training for lay leaders (lay ministers, wardens and councillors). They should help him to clarify the process of selecting and training people for the leadership and ordained ministry.

3.16 CONCLUSION

The church's struggle to evangelise and to transform the vast unreached Limpopo Province is a process which needs proper planning. The first bishop of the young diocese of St Mark the Evangelist, Bishop Philip, has during his term of office tried to meet the challenge of reaching out to the unevangelised. He encouraged more lay ministers to become community, self-supporting clergy.

In order to develop an indigenous leadership, one would encourage the present bishop, Martin Breytenbach, to revive his charge to synod 2000. The bishop mentioned the value of leadership training, thus developing training for lay leaders. True enough, there is a leadership vacuum, leading to power struggles, loss of vision and poor co-ordination between different structures that need attention in order to develop the life of the church.

The missionaries have done good work by building churches in this vast province, but much credit goes to the late Father Fuller for establishing Grace Dieu College. It is from this centre that the Anglican Church trained its own teacher catechists, who helped to propagate the doctrine of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa and bring education to their own kith and kin (Mokwele 1988:37).

Church growth is of the highest importance, and such growth is seen as the fruit of successful evangelism. Evangelism is the core, heart, or center of mission, reaching out to non-believers, announcing forgiveness of sins, and calling people to repentance and faith in Christ.

The archdeaconries could play an important role in the growth of the church. Much still need to be done. Intensive study of evangelism would promote the “Gray Vision”, as already discussed in chapter two of this work. Bishop Gray, the first Bishop of the Anglican Church had a vision, which is part of our Christian challenge.

History has already provided ample evidence that the Christian church has even been culpable of complicity and participation in the massive genocide of indigenous peoples in different parts of the world. The role of the Christian church must now surely be to put an end to all those forces which mutilate God’s people and that destroy life. As a first step, the church should develop the culture of learning leadership skills. There is an urgent need for the Anglican Church to make a public confession and repentance before God, and in the presence of indigenous people of the Limpopo Province Christian Community that too little was explicitly done in training leaders.

CHAPTER 4: THE CPSA AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the development of leadership in the CPSA, with the hope of discovering how best the church could find ways and means of establishing the indigenous leadership that could cope with the present social and political situation.

The church can only witness in humility. The dream of the researcher is a church in which all the people of the diocese of St Mark the Evangelist can be active members within a committed Christian community, embracing Christ as Saviour and Lord, and be committed to God's purpose of placing all things under the rule of Christ (Ledwaba 2000:82).

Christian Mission is a response to the "Great Commission" (Matt. 28:19-20). A responsible Christian community is by virtue of its calling obliged to propagate the Gospel. The Grace Dieu Mission station, as other Theological colleges, helped the South African Anglican Community to develop the "Gray Vision", thus "building the churches, planting clergy and preaching the gospel". The spiritual tradition and a sense of mission are some of the issues discussed and studied in this chapter.

4.2 THE ANGLICAN SPIRITUAL TRADITION AND MISSION

The Anglican Church has a very strong sense of mission. The history of its work in the world is remarkable. Men and women went all over and gave their lives, in Africa or elsewhere, in order to win souls for Christ and to build up the church of God. Their work and their sacrifice are now bearing fruit abundantly (Mokwele 1988:52).

The real important thing is to convince the unbeliever of the existence of God, of His goodness and love towards mankind, of His demands on us His creation, and the joy of serving Him. The task of the mission is to bring men to God and face both the guilt and

the grandeur of the human soul. The goal of mission is an inescapable issue and one of great importance, for it determines missionary strategy and the choice of means and methods (Verkuyl 1978:176).

The important thing is to study how can we in the presentation of the gospel relate it dynamically to the cultural life of a nation without compromising the essential nature of the Christian Faith (Anderson 1961:15). Essential to the possibility of the idea of Christian mission is the existential reality of a discrete fellowship group. We call this the church, though it has other biblical names, the flock, the body, the fellowship, the household, the temple and the priesthood of believers (Tippet 1987:57).

In their life and worship Anglicans are guided to by the use of reason, the context in which they live, and their own spiritual experience. Since reason is an important feature distinguishing human beings from other animals, it may never be neglected in our attempts to understand the mysteries of life and of the Godhead (Trinity). Certainly, God can never be defined that we may think we know exactly who God is (Suggit 1999:19).

Leadership should be vested with the Christian knowledge of the spiritual. Hence it is important for the spiritual leaders to continue studying. There is need also for the man set apart by gifts and training to be the spiritual director and healer, the Christian “medium”. Sometimes he may be the gifted one. More often he will be the trained professional, and it is such a professional as this that the theological colleges of Africa should be training (Taylor 1963:152).

In its missionary obligation the Anglican Church established missionary societies who concentrated on the education and health services. They were known as religious communities. For example, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) and the Church Missionary Society (CMS). For a long time the Anglican Church as such had made no attempt to do direct missionary work among the population in South Africa (Cecil & Lewis 1934:22).

The church is a happening, it is not something that can be static. As soon as we try to imprison the happening in rigid forms, the life goes out of it. The spirit thrives on

freedom. The aim of His activity in the church is to create life in God's people (Rom 8:2).

The epithet "Anglo-Catholic" has been applied to the Anglican Church of England as a whole because of its claim to be the English branch of the Catholic Church, but it usually refers only to a party within the Anglican communion which, though it had plenty of antecedents, became self-conscious and more or less identified from the time of the Oxford Movement of the 1830s (Richardson 1983:20).

The Anglican Communion is a family of churches within the universal church of Christ, maintaining apostolic doctrine and order, and in full communion with one another and with the see of Canterbury. In South Africa it is known as the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, thus a self-governing province of the Anglican Communion. It proclaims and holds fast the doctrine and ministry of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church (APB 1989:433).

The missionaries who planted the Anglican church in Southern Africa were, by virtue of their calling, obliged to spread the gospel country-wide, thus reaching out to the unreached and unevangelised. It is a known fact that Africa was known as a dark continent, not only dark because of the dark inhabitants of the continent, but because of the lack of education, and its unevangelised status. Hence it was essential to establish schools and churches.

The Holy Spirit is the power behind Christian mission. He builds up the church so that it may take part in mission. The church must be responsive to His working and His leading. Although there is no one plan for mission and ministry everywhere and at all times, there is one Spirit who enables people to exercise ministry at all times and each place (Krass 1974:21).

The church always has to be ready to meet the spiritual and moral needs of the people. If meaningful reconciliation, reconstruction and development are to take effect, we need a deepened spirituality. The "Gray Vision", as discussed in chapter two, is the basic model of the Christian growth. From the South African point of view, the CPSA was encouraged to promote Christian mission, thus planting mission stations, where

indigenous people could be easily reached, and develop the culture of worship, thus sharing resources and planting a community of faith – a place of worship and of care and compassion (Ndungane 1998:10).

The decision of the 1988 Lambeth Conference, which has brought evangelism to the top of the Anglican church's agenda, challenges us to ask ourselves what we know and believe about evangelism. For the whole Anglican Communion finds itself obliged to face a responsibility which it has often shirked, namely the call to bear witness to Jesus Christ. The Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist has developed its vision which was established at the same time as the renewed emphasis on evangelisation, with the eye on the development of vibrant self-sufficient congregations (Stott 1990:13).

This vision was to serve as a guide, and is fundamental to all the decisions taken at congregation, parish and diocesan level. It includes how resources are used and how ministry is carried out. It affects the appointment of key staff at diocesan level, including ministry trainers, administrators and new bishops in case of a vacancy.

In order for the CPSA to develop indigenous leadership, it was obliged to lay certain basic indigenous principles. "The church which will make Jesus Christ and His claims a serious adult proposition will need to have at least four characteristics: a church of and for the area, a believing and worshipping church, a common life providing unjudging and thought provoking fellowship, and local leaders and decision makers" (Stott 1975:79).

Christian leaders are by virtue of their calling charged to focus their leadership on purpose, and to pursue the same goal that Jesus' Christ pursued: helping people to become all that they can become under God. Jesus said, "I have come that you might have life – life in all its fullness" (John 10:10). To achieve or gain the fullness of salvation, the church's best resolve is to develop indigenous personnel of quality and appropriate number, people who would interpret the Christian faith to their compatriots with a true sense of belonging (Sawyer in Parrat 1987: 13).

The church of the Province of Southern Africa therefore had no alternative but to establish schools, and build theological colleges. In a way this was a response to Bishop

Gray's vision. Bishop Webb (1872) already wanted to establish a college to train the sons of the country, European and native, as clergy or catechists, and the Rev Bernard Puller and other Cuddesdon students thought it might be a memorial to Bishop Wilberforce. Bishop Wilberforce was among the notable men who gladly faced the benefit of their experience and their judgement (Edward & Lewis 1934:65).

Much effort was put into the development of leadership that could evangelise and establish congregations. The secretary of the SPG wrote letters to the laity of the country, inviting them to support the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and also calling on the clergy, chiefly in the large towns, to motivate them to form Parochial Associations (Edward & Lewis 1934:32).

What caused the delay in the field of ministry and mission? It could be that the laws of the country promoted the divide and rule policy. This view is expressed in the oftenquoted saying of Africans, "When the missionaries came they had the Bible and we had the land (in other words, the wealth). They said, "Let us pray", and when we opened our eyes we had the Bible and they had the land". This is what most missionaries, even the most philanthropic among them, never realised: that all their high sounding idealistic defences of colonialism (which they used in order to justify the entanglement between mission and colonialism) would shatter themselves on the hard rock of capitalist economic exploitation (Saayman 1991:26).

Eventually there were White theological colleges and those catering for Blacks. For example, St Paul's Theological College in Grahamstown was serving the White ordinands and at St Peter's in Rosettenville, black students were trained. The resistance to this apartheid eventually spilled over also into black schools. The standard of black education had always been woefully low when compared to white education (Saayman 1991:86).

The Northern Province (Limpopo) has never been exposed to theological education, except the contribution by Grace Dieu College, which introduced an introductory programme of theological education. It is through this knowledge that the teachers from this institution helped to propagate the doctrine of the Anglican Church and education to their own kith and kin (Mokwele 1988:37). Grace Dieu College came into being

through the efforts of Father Fuller who was in charge of the mission district from 1920-1921 (Mokwele 1988:34) and has contributed much towards the planting of the churches and the indigenous leadership. It made it possible that the church could cope with developing black Christianity in a populous region like the Northern Transvaal.

At Grace Dieu, the authorities and the staff were committed and so dedicated to their work that they created the feelings of security, acceptance, trust and safety in their students. This in itself made the students susceptible to the good and beautiful, and open to religious and moral influence. This institution was the centre of a happy and useful Christian community, where white and black alike worked and played together in preparation for the difficult yet vital task of racial co-operation, which must succeed in South Africa if the country is to survive in the years that lie ahead.

Through the establishment of the teacher training college at Grace Dieu there emerged the teacher-catechist leadership, which has played a very important role in both the expansion of the church and in leading the young and growing Christian communities in the north. The only unfortunate thing was that the volunteer catechists lacked training, they had too little knowledge of the Christian faith, so that they could not even explain the Sunday Gospel. Hence there was a leadership crisis.

4.3 LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Many types of leadership are essentially important to cater for the social, economic and political needs of the people. Leadership formation is supposed to start early out in the life of the nation or church, thus capturing the “Gray Vision” at an early stage. The Christians and their foreign missionaries never achieved this goal as such. It is the indigenous leadership within the African Independent Churches, who through their ministry of healing, happened to win converts to Christianity.

Among other things church leaders need to be trained in the methods and values of Christian stewardship. Christian stewardship is a commitment to the promotion of God’s Kingdom by way of pledges or tithing in the form of money. A failure to understand the true (spiritual and practical) meaning of stewardship has become one of the main causes of the Exodus of members of the mainline churches to the African

Independent Churches (AICs). The church should at all costs encourage the young and trainee leaders to be better equipped to help bring about an autonomous church.

The Limpopo Province is predominantly Black, hence when referring to indigenous leaders; one is forced to think of the African community. African theologians need the insights, and can gain from the methodology of historians of Africa, who have patiently sifted and carefully pieced together the vast mass of oral tradition and converted them into coherent historical patterns (Fashole - Luke 1978 : 145).

The indigenous leaders of African communities need to be vested with a deep sense of responsibility and commitment to the Word of God. For the Christian, the decisive act of God is seen in the person and work of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, believing this in faith does not rule out entertaining the possibility that this decisive act may point to that which has been experienced as reality in other modes and under other names. A faith experience cannot justify a particular concept or interpretation of that experience (Anderson 1961:219).

The church of the Province of Southern Africa is heir to the apostolic mission. Like St Paul the institutions need to be aware of its apostolic mission, thus to be Christ's servant in building a church through whom "the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known, a household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets" which was to be "a dwelling place of God in the Spirit" (Eph. 2 : 19-20). Through the Scriptures the Holy Spirit guides the church to reflect, so that doctrines obscurely stated in the Scriptures are elaborated by the church and promulgated (Dickson 1984 : 25).

There is rekindled interest in African life and thought, which is being demonstrated by people from a wide range of specialisations (anthropologists, linguists, musicologists, etc). African societies, notwithstanding many foreign ideas and institutions, have retained enough of the past to give their life-styles an unmistakable distinctiveness even in the urban areas (to the extent that many African Christians hold on to traditional religio-cultural ideas and practices while calling on the name of Christ). Hence the call to develop indigenous leadership in order to work out a Christian theology that suits the African situation, and expresses a genuine African apprehension of the Christian faith (Dickson 1984:36).

4.4 LEADERSHIP IN THE CHURCH

There are many leaders in the Christian community, since the congregations are normally composed of organisations, each with leadership structures, for example, the Mother's Union, Men's Guild, Youth Guild, etc. The prayer unions of women existed in many areas from early on. The Methodist women prayer groups are called "Manyano" and the Anglicans are called "Mother's Union" (MU) (Elphick and Davenport 1997:253).

The first women's prayer union seems to have evolved not from the mission schools but from devotional meetings started by white missionary women for "uneducated" adults. Such women developed a strong leadership, though they first met in weekly sewing classes, which later turned into seeking Christian instruction or baptism. This widespread emphasis on sewing probably, from the earliest years, brought women together in church groups in a way that men never had.

In order for the church to grow, each structure needs to have a sound, well-trained leadership. The training of leaders need to be encouraged because they must be prepared for many responsibilities. According to Taylor, "If the primal view of man and community is to be taken up and fulfilled in the church, the centrality of the leader in that view must be taken into account. If the congregation is to grow up into Christ within the fabric of society by its hidden responses and mutual caring it will need a special kind of shepherd" (Taylor 1963:134).

The leader in the Anglican community should be a person with the ability of organising the congregations to be able to strive for the fulfilment of the diocesan vision as discussed in chapter three, thus encouraging congregations to become vibrant, self-sufficient and to become linked to each other for the purpose of sharing in Resources, Ministry and Service, Outreach and Evangelism. Bishop Philip, the first bishop of the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist, has emphasised the need for training colleges for the stipendiary clergy, to have a strong outreach and mission emphasis (LeFeuvre 1990:76).

The indigenous leadership of the church will be expected to develop the richness of faith lived by the community, to encourage the congregations to spread the gospel to every aspect of parish life and beyond through the forming of small Christian groups – though it might not be possible for all parishioners to participate in a small group. Those taking part should be encouraged to commit themselves to Christ's Service (Romans 12:1-2).

Learning to cope with the dynamics of community and interpersonal relationships will challenge everyone. The goal must also be to equip the people of God with skills to heal families and society. A responsible leadership is the kind of leadership required for the Limpopo Province, which has vast areas of unevangelised and unreached people. The chief task of the church is to proclaim the universal Lordship of Jesus Christ, helping in this way to prepare for His return. Her Lord gave this task to the church. The mandate is clear: "Preach the gospel to every creature, make disciples of all nations, occupy till he comes" (Kane 1976:251).

The leadership of the church has an important role in the community. Following the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, the apostles, in obedience to the Great Commission, launched the missionary enterprise of the early church. They went everywhere preaching the gospel. They had one and only one message: Jesus Christ. When they preached Christ, they preached the gospel; and when they preached the gospel, they preached Christ. This is what is required of the church leader as he continues in his ministry of outreach and evangelism (Kane 1976:206).

Preaching the gospel is one of the most important duties of the Christian community, but the church is also obliged to teach its members to become disciples. Continuity must be maintained between the earthly Jesus and the exalted Christ. Those made disciples and baptised by Christ's messengers are to follow Jesus just as the eleven did (Bosch 1991:67).

It is worth taking note of the fact that, Jesus never "preaches" to his disciples; but "teaches"... also in the synagogues and in the temple (that is, among "believers"). His main concern seems to have been the task of making disciples (Matt 28:19-20).

Paul also summarised one of the aims of his ministry as “warning” and “teaching or counselling” every man (Colossian 1:28), and with the same word Christian leaders were urged to “admonish” the idle and careless, i.e. to rebuke, correct, and straighten out their ideas and their attitudes (1 Thess. 5:14).

Every believer in the gospel is a priest, that is, one who mediates the gospel to others. Every believer must pass on the power of Christ, which has come into his own life. He must express his faith in loving action, and in this way communicate it to others. Luther said, “all Christians are ministers: God has placed His Church in the midst of the world among countless undertakings and callings in order that Christians should not be monks, but live with one another in social fellowship and manifest among men the works and practices of faith” (Taylor 1983:23).

According to Taylor, those who are not Christians should not be neglected. Those strong in faith are to be further strengthened and encouraged. Those weak or lazy, or who have turned away from their faith, are to be given special attention, and should be helped to repent and start again (Taylor 1983:23). Paul, in his letter to the Galatians says, “encourage the church to be considerate of one another” (Galatians 6:1-6).

Theological education would surely help the church to grow in the right direction. However, the challenge is to indigenise theology, since the world in which we live is culturally and religiously pluralistic, and it is constantly changing in both smaller and greater degrees. Indigenous theology is a process concept. There is no finished indigenous theology. Indigenous theology means the indigenisation of theology, which is an essential function of theology itself (Richardson 1983:291).

The main call of this study is to develop leadership with the hope of converting people of this province to the faith and love of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Christian faith should be presented in relation to the totality of the questions raised by the local situation, and it should not be assumed that certain questions are relevant to all times and situations. The present situation demands that all the people be vested with intensive knowledge of what they teach, preach or live. For example, the conference on theological education in South East Asia in Bangkok, Thailand in 1956 expressed the spirit of indigenisation of theology in the following words: “The teaching of systematic theology must be relevant

to the environment. It must, on the one hand, be grounded in the Bible, and on the other, related to the actual situation (Bowden & Richardson 1983:291).

It is important for those who are responsible for the ministry and mission in the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist to investigate the manner and methods which were used by the church of the Province of Southern Africa, in order for them to promote the “Gray Vision”.

4.4.1 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AND WORK AT GRACE DIEU

The year 1903 signalled greater and better prospects for Anglican mission work in the Transvaal as a whole. The English had won the war, their population vastly increased, and their mission work appeared much more promising. The newly appointed Bishop Carter was very concerned about developing the African work of the church. In the same year another enthusiast for mission work, Fr Latimer Fuller CR, took charge of “Native Missions”. In 1905 “a purpose long cherished” was carried out when Bishop Carter presided over the First Missionary Conference in the Transvaal, held at Pretoria (Mphahlele 1978:51).

The year 1905 marked that new ventures were showing that the Diocese was full of life and enterprise. One of the ventures was to ask the Community of the Resurrection Fathers to open up work in the Northern Transvaal and to start a training college for native teachers in the Polokwane (Pietersburg) district. This was a genuine request, because it would lead to the development of indigenous leadership (Mphahlele 1978:52).

John Latimer Fuller, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge and of the Community of the Resurrection, had worked in missions at Johannesburg and Pietersburg (Polokwane), and was made Archdeacon of Limpopo Province.

Fuller was a man with a policy. He saw that if the new Christians were ever to become self-reliant, and if an indigenous ministry was to be built up, the young Christians had to learn to pay for their church, and gradually had to be given responsibility in administration. It is a slow process with endless disappointments. Because of his aim of

assisting the people to take responsibility for the mission, by way of self-sacrifice and spiritual growth, Archdeacon Fuller had been unsparing in his approach, and the missions in the diocese were moving in the direction of great self-reliance (Edwards & Lewis 1934:761).

Fuller must have found that much of what he had been fighting for in the Transvaal had been already attained in many parts of the poorer and less well equipped parts to which he was called. The people without diocesan help had raised many of the little churches, and a large army of unpaid native readers and helpers helped those who had a very small stipend to carry the gospel to their brethren (Edwards & Lewis 1934:761).

Father Fuller, as described above, was a man full of great interest in the Africans, and in planting a clergy and administrators. One would say he was keen to develop leadership skills and gifts. Every gift is justified in the measure that it contributes to the faith and knowledge, peace and order, of the church and must be exercised with deep sense of responsibility to God, who called Christians to be “good stewards” of God’s “varied grace” (1 Cor. 14:33,36; 1 Peter 4:10-11) (Campbell & Reiersen 1981:26).

Father Fuller came to Polokwane (Pietersburg) in the summer of 1905 to visit any Black congregations there might be, because the Rev Forbes (himself a former missionary in Natal) could not cope with developing Black Christianity in the populous region.

The Black congregations in the Pietersburg East and West Mission districts have their origins from the converts from Kimberley Diamond and Johannesburg Gold mines. During the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) these congregations were visited by British army chaplains under the auspices of the Pietersburg Parish incumbents (Mokwele 1988:31).

4.4.2 GRACE DIEU’S ROLE IN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

The philosophy of life is the way we see our lives and the lives of others, what meaning there is in our lives and the lives of those we are responsible for, and what principles we hold in regard to the way we live our lives in relation to others. The philosophy of life is the means by which man tries to understand himself and the world he lives in. As

Christians we are obliged to love one another. Therefore philosophy is a person's guide in looking at life and human conduct, it is a person's guide in determining his ideals and the way he utilises these ideals. Thus our attitudes towards Christian morals.

The Anglican philosophy of life is most evidently reflected in the Anglican spiritual tradition, which is essentially the current doctrinal principles of the Church. Great power is given to the Bishop, who is the chief source of authority in the church. He is taken very seriously in all Anglican teaching. The Prayer Book says that where there is any doubt about how the service are to be conducted, reference is made to the Bishop of the diocese.

After his visit in 1905 the Diocesan Board of Missions at Pretoria resolved that a school for Black teachers should be instituted at Jakhalsfontein, and be under the management of the Community of the Resurrection. The initial provision of buildings, water supply and bursaries would be financed by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel to Foreign Parts, the Bicentenary Fund Committee and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The government would provide the initial equipment and some part of the schoolmaster's salary (Mokwele 1988:35).

The whole exercise was accomplished in 1906, when Father Latimer Fuller CR bought a farm named Jakhalsfontein, about 50km west of Pietersburg. On this farm was erected the only Anglican teacher training institution to be founded in the Transvaal. It generally became the focal point of the Church's thrust in the Northern Transvaal (Limpopo Province) terms of black evangelisation and education (Mphahlele 1978:52).

The mission centre as a whole was given the name Grace Dieu – literally meaning "the Grace of God". This was in honour of an old monastic house, Grace Dieu, in Leicestershire, Father Fuller's homeshire. It was situated between two Black areas, Moletjie and Mashashane, with the Matlala tribal area not very far off, so in due course this Grace of God spread into these areas in the form of multiple of congregations. In this mission district, Grace Dieu has always been affectionately referred to as "Kholetšheng" i.e. at the College (Ledwaba 2000:18).

The aim of establishing this institution was to educate and train teachers for the development of leadership skills. The basis for the philosophy of education for the Diocesan Training College at Grace Dieu can be briefly discussed. The authorities were determined to train their own teachers according to their own philosophy of life.

All those who trained at Grace Dieu received spiritual formation: they read their Bibles and were taught to think a good deal about God. They attributed everything that happens to them to God, who told them precisely what He wants them to do, does everything necessary for them, and is their universal provider and guide.

The Anglican Philosophy of life was the basis for more specific and practical values for effective and satisfying personal and social life. Some of these specific and practical values are: recognition of the importance of every individual human being as a human being regardless of his race, nationality, social or economic status, and opportunity for wide participation in all phases of activities (Mokwele 1988:53). These were values aimed at at Grace Dieu and all Anglican missionary educational institutions in South Africa and elsewhere.

Grace Dieu Training College gave a good background to its students, the philosophical attitude to be a fundamental socio-religious factor in human society. The Anglican philosophy served the desired purpose. That is to say, an African theology must according to Sawyer (1987:23) be built on a philosophical basis.

At Grace Dieu the Anglican spiritual tradition was the philosophy of life and education and pervaded all teaching. An eExamples of the good and disciplined character of true leaders could be seen in the life and leadership of some of the past students, like those mentioned before (Rev Alfred Ledwaba, and Sydney Maaka). Hence, according to Mokwele (1988:72), every Anglican student product of Grace Dieu was expected to extend the work of the college. (The reader is referred to chapter 3 of this work for more information about Grace Dieu.)

The passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953 came as a thunderbolt (Mphahlele 1978:479). The uncertainty of the future of Grace Dieu, even as a “Private School” or a “Secondary School” haunted the church authorities, until ultimately it was decided to

close the school at the end of 1957 and to invite the government to take responsibility for the place. But this was not without a fight. By 1955 all missionary schools in the country were reported to have been closed except Grace Dieu and the Roman Catholic schools. Grace Dieu was finally closed down in 1958, and the following year re-opened as a state school. It was renamed Setotolwane High School, a Sotho name in the line with policy, and was offering post matriculation courses.

The educational aim to be achieved by this institution was always discernible. The ultimate aim of all education is to accompany the child to responsible and total adulthood as understood by the persons involved at that time. When one makes a study of the teacher's products, this ultimate aim must always be borne in mind (Mokwele 1988:55).

The college produced teachers / catechists, who contributed constructively towards the propagation of the gospel. It was from this mission centre that Anglican mission work spread in all directions to cover the entire territory known as Limpopo Province today. It is also from this centre that the Anglican Church received the candidates from whom priests emerged. A good number of their products became men and women of great integrity.

4.5 THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

The vision of the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist is to see vibrant, self-sufficient congregations. In order to give effect to the requirements of the vision, the question of ministries should be addressed in terms of the situation and needs of Christian communities, and not as part of the crisis of the clergy. According to Ela, the needs of autonomous communities should dominate our study of Christian ministries. The vision of a Christian community incarnate in the life of a people requires that the community have full autonomy in organising itself (Ela 1988:60).

Our commission from God is to make individuals and nations into disciples of Jesus, that they become like Jesus (Matt. 28:19-20). God calls men and woman to study theology in order to equip them to propagate the gospel within the scope of this call, those who believe are called into fellowship of Christ (1 Cor. 1:9). Theology should be

studied for the purpose of evangelising, and to gain knowledge about the power of God as the creator of the universe. This is not knowledge or thought in an objective sense, something which is totally independent of a person's claim to know and is also independent of a person's belief. Knowledge in the objective sense is knowledge without a knower; it is knowledge without a knowing subject (Bosch 1991:266).

Theological education brings about clergy who would serve the Christian community. The clergy are trained for the purpose of helping the local church to live out their life as disciples of Christ, and to build them up as members of the body of Christ in the world. In the CPSA this has been helped by the development of lay ministry, they who serve within the church's pastoral work and social concern (Suggit 1999:22).

Today the CPSA in the north is dependent on the Theological Education by Extension College (TEEC). This college teaches quality education up to the diploma level of the Joint Board of Diploma in Theology. Its standards are recognised by the universities as high enough to gain entrance into the faculty of theology for the furthering of studies. A student is allowed to register for an honours degree, depending on the marks and recommendations of the TEEC authorities.

There is however a problem facing the candidates who studied through distance learning. They lack the practical knowledge gained through the kind of interaction which is offered at residential theological colleges. The researcher studied through TEEC and has first hand experience of this. Therefore it would be of great value, should the Churches consider a form of practical courses. The church needs to be encouraged not to do away with residential theological colleges. The planting of autonomous, national churches should be encouraged, autonomous and self-supporting. There is a tendency to say that the Limpopo Province is too poor for this to happen. In my observation that is not true, there is only lack of commitment from the Christians.

Theologians have a duty to transform people's thinking on Christian stewardship. Many of the congregants own expensive cars, and also live in good expensive homes. Teaching about giving is important, the change of attitude in order to excel in the grace of giving (2 Cor 8:7, 2 Cor 9:7). As we give generously so God will bless us (Proverbs 3:9 & 22:9).

4.5.1 ST CYPRIAN'S THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

There was a great need for a theological college in South Africa, because all trained priests came from overseas. The lack of local trained clergy became acute. The massive presence of foreign missionaries made it clear that the solution was to develop an indigenous ministry. Such a ministry had to involve number of ministries in order that a local church can develop (Ela 1988:62). An organisation of communities that gives the laity its proper place in this ministries will go far to solve our problem.

Bishop Webb of Bloemfontein wanted to have a college to train the sons of the country, European and native, as her clergy or catechist. The Rev Bernard Pulter and other Cuddesden students thought it could be a memorial to Bishop Wilberforce, so Mr Pulter himself gave R1 000,00, and the SPCK a grant for R2 000,00, on condition that R3 000,00 was raised for a small house. In August 1876, writing from St Cyprians Theological College Bloemfontein, the Rev WV Gaul tells that it had taken form with five students (Edward & Lewis 1934:421).

The Bishop and Archdeacon Crogham gave lectures when in Bloemfontein. At first Mr Balfour, then Mr Grisp, trained the native students, and in 1877 he had four students, one training directly for Holy Orders By the end of 1879 there were at work in the diocese nine clergy who had been trained at St Cyprian's. The college was too isolated to serve the whole Province, and in 1883 it was closed (Cecil & Lewis 1934:421).

The closure of this college must have been a blow to the CPSA. It must have been a disappointment to those who established it, together with the entire Anglican Communion. However, it had shown the need for such an institution.

A ministry that fits the situation demands that both pastors and people need much more education and training if they are to understand the many changes that are taking place, and apply the meaning of the gospel in the light of these changes (Taylor 1983: 276).

4.5.2. THE PROVINCIAL THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE, ST PAUL'S, GRAHAMSTOWN

It was already customary for the Anglican Church in South Africa to be ministered to by the priests from England. Although this was not acceptable to the indigenous people, they had no power to introduce Theological Colleges. The need of Church schools with low fees was also felt to be urgent. The Provincial Council was asked to discuss the possibility of such Church schools in few centres, or the provision of bursaries (Edward & Lewis 1934:203).

Each parish needed a priest, and it is unfair to expect from the Dioceses in England to raise clergy out of their resources and then post them to other Countries. Hence it was important for every Diocese to take responsibility for the training of its own clergy. Archbishop West Jones was anxious that there should be some standard attained in religious knowledge by the clergy of the Province. It was encouraging and a step in the right direction which would improve the standard and level of education of the clergy.

At first the idea was that an institution was to arrange for lectures and examinations for diplomas or degrees in order to stimulate the systematic study of all that may be included in the term “Divinity”(Edward and Lewis 1934:204). The provincial Synod of 1891 recommended Grahamstown as a Centre. In 1902 St Paul’s opened as the Provincial Theological College, and Canon Espin, theological tutor, and until that year Principal of St Andrew’s College, Grahamstown, was the first warden (Edward & Lewis 1934:204).

God be praised for the work of Canon Espin, because he contributed towards the enlightenment of the Anglican Church in the field of training the clergy. Before he died, 125 candidates had passed through his hands. The SPCK, with its ever-ready sympathy, gave R60,00 a year for South African students, and there was also an endowment for the theological tutorship.

At the end of its first year two students were ordained as deacons, Mr Farre and Mr Mather, and three in the following year. In 1905, Dr Espin and the Rev EC West, who had been Chaplain of Cuddesden Theological College in England, and in 1903 came out to be chaplain to the candidates for ordination in the Ethiopian Orders, succeeded

him. The library was increased, Lady Barry gave a scholarship of R100,00 a year, and Miss Cuyler left the legacy of R1 000,00 to the College (Edward & Lewis 1934:205).

The most pathetic but encouraging thing was the salary given to Canon West, R100,00 a year. As he wrote, there was no provincial grant, and he had to find his way, asking for donations all over the Province. The Province, largely through the advocacy of Bishop Furse, gave a small grant. They built a new wing, including a chapel, library and more rooms, and opened it free of debt. The memory of West's contribution towards this college and the Anglican Communion in Southern Africa, was an inspiration. He was later called to a similar post in England (Edward & Lewis 1934:205).

St. Paul's Theological College has contributed much towards the development of indigenous leadership. By 1934 the numbers of those at work in the ministry who have received part or all of their training at the college amounted to nearly 80. Another 8 had already died. The large majority of the candidates went to work in the Church of the Province, but a few worked in England and other parts of the world. So the college has done and is still doing something solid towards supplying the great needs of the church of the Province, a ministry which is South African in the fullest sense, attached to the country by ties of birth and training (Edward & Lewis 1934:206).

According to Gerdener (1958:255), Prof J du Plessis wrote, in 1910, about the point of "better staff for training schools and theological colleges as the great missionary desideratum in South Africa". Although there was a great improvement during the first half of the twentieth century, it is still true, most unfortunately, that the Diocese of St Mark the Evangelist was tempted to ordain untrained men to the priesthood which has led the church into a disaster. Hence the researcher embarked on the investigation of the possibility of changing the present position.

St Paul's College had to change its policy of being an institution for "European Candidates" to the priesthood. This became a legal issue at the time, but as the country was facing a time of change, from 1976 bishops began sending black students to the college. There was the inevitable issue of permits, and the college body reached a position of defying the law and refusing to apply. The government authorities were

obviously aware of what was happening, but there were never any prosecutions (Hewitt 1998:120).

St Bede's and St Paul's went through controversial and painful situations after the decision to close them. Relationships between the two colleges, had generally been good but circumstances were moving towards closure. From the financial point of view, as diocesan finances throughout the CPSA came under strain, the theological education budgets were often the first to be cut. In this regard, it is quite clear that Christian stewardship is very important for the development of leadership.

According to Hewitt (1998:121), a group of bishops hastily convened and within twenty-four hours recommended the closure of both colleges. Chichele Hewitt, the chaplain of the college during the controversial period, was appointed warden, and remained in this position until the closure of the college in 1992.

The closure of both St Bede's and St Paul's resulted into the process of their amalgamation at the beginning of 1993. A new college emerged, namely the college of the Transfiguration on the old St Paul's campus. Canon Luke Pats began as the new principal. The continuing ministerial education programmes of the college, both pertinent and empowering, are enjoying well-deserved support.

Due to financial constraints, the pressure on a closure on the college of the Transfiguration must not be ignored. The CPSA along with a number of other denominations experiences its own educational crisis. As a people of hope, the Christian community need to develop new visions and schemes towards the prevention of its closure. Those who have committed themselves to God's service need to display a sense of generous giving in order to save any negative situation.

4.5.3 ST PETER'S THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

The first general missionary conference of South Africa held in Johannesburg in July 1904, discussed the training of indigenous ministers. The writer agrees totally with the statement at the conference by the Rev JS Morris, Methodist minister at Edendale, who said that if our Africa is to be won for Christ, the work will to a great extent have to be

done by native agents, most important would be the selection and training of these agents (Gerdener 1958:256).

The training of clergy remains as important today as it was a century ago. The transition of the indigenous ministry from the potential to the actual, may yet prove to be the outstanding characteristic of the Christian Mission in the first half of the twentieth century, said Gerdener (1958:257).

In 1903, the Community of the Resurrection, as an order of the Anglican Church of the Province, started training candidates for ordination at the College of the Resurrection and at St Peter's, Rosettenville, near Johannesburg. A three years training for the diaconate and six months' practical service as deacon, with a short course thereafter, led to ordination in the priesthood.

The Church itself awarded a Licentiate in Theology (LTh). The admission level was the Junior Certificate or its equivalent, the medium of teaching was English, with Afrikaans as a recommendation. Besides four full time tutors, there was also outside assistance from the community, so this was one of the best equipped theological schools in South Africa in the middle of the century (Gerdener 1958:259).

Training for the ministry is supposed to be shared responsibility between the school and the Church. The Christian community has a great task, as God is raising and calling people to the different types of ministry in response to our prayers and as a challenge to our financial generosity. A large number of ordination candidates who believe they are called to serve the church as priests and deacons need to be trained. Training for ordination takes into account both the gifts, talents and responsibilities of prospective candidates.

Honour is due to the Community of the Resurrection Fathers for the responsibility they have displayed in the establishment of St Peter's Theological College. They have sacrificed their energy and financial resources. It is evident that each diocese has some cost to bear, but much credit goes to the community of the Resurrection Fathers, God be praised. The church in the Transvaal also owes much thanks to one of the past Bishops of Pretoria, Bishop Carter (1902-1909). He asked the Mirfield Fathers and the Wantage

Sisters to do the work to which the church in the Transvaal owes so deep a debt (Cecil & Lewis 1934:141).

The Community of the Resurrection, founded in 1892, with their head office in Mirfield, England, is a “high church” religious order. They have contributed constructively towards the uplifting of educational standards in South Africa. The Church of the Province of Southern Africa is therefore also of a very “high church persuasion

St. Peter’s College also suffered pressure towards closure by the apartheid government. The college found itself in the midst of suburbs, through no fault of its own, a black spot in a white area, with the uncertainty of tenure that fact involved.

The need to train quality black leadership was not widely recognised by the church at the beginning of the period, but there were some who had the foresight to do so. According to Ndungane (1998:109), Father Godfrey Pawson, the principal of St Peter’s College (which was later incorporated into Fedsem), asked whether the time had not arrived for a determined effort to be made “to provide the church with better educated priests”. I agree with his question. Two of the reasons given by Father Pawson are identical to what was in the mind of the researcher, the first that “there is much evidence that, most of the highly educated people can not accept being led in worship by a poorly educated lay person or clergy. Hence frequent defections”. The second reason is that we are living in a democratic South Africa, most of the African leaders have not be exposed to quality leadership skills. The time has come where African bishops and African theologians are needed. e need quality leaders for the church.

4.5.4 ST BEDES THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE IN UMTATA

St Bede’s was established in 1879, through the efforts of the missionaries. Dr Henry Callaway, a priest from Natal, became the First Missionary Bishop of the Diocese of St John. He had a concern for indigenous leadership to emerge, thus a feeling that African Christianity could best be propagated by Africans themselves, hence he took some “native boys” to board with him. This led to the founding of St Johns Theological

College. The purpose of this institution was the training of young "natives and colonists" as clergy and teachers (Hewitt 1998:116).

The St John's institution was primarily for the training of teachers, and the ordination training formed a separate department. Bishop Bransby Key, who succeeded Callaway, realised that priests could never be adequately trained in an institution like St John's, and so theological students moved to the premises of St August in 1899, which by that stage had been vacated. This centre became known as St Bede's College (Ngewu 1994:23). Both Callaway and Key saw the need for providing a firm establishment of a black indigenous ministry in Transkei and so St Bede's primary task was to train clergy and catechists for the diocese (Hewitt 1998:116).

St. Bedes was an Anglican institution for the theological training of Black students. Its admission level was standard 8. It gave a two year's deacon's course which would be followed by a third year's training for the priesthood. Devotional training and pastoral care received the emphasis here as well as at St Peter's. While St Peter's attracted city students which envisaged a future urban parish, St Bedes drew its students mostly from the rural areas (Gerdener 1958:260).

The college had courses also for students who received their theological training through private studies. So students who completed their teacher's certificate at Grace Dieu in Polokwane, and who wanted to become ordained into full ministry, were also admitted there for pastoral and practical liturgical training. The institution was closed down at the end of 1992, on the grounds that the Church could not afford to subsidise four theological colleges, three of which were full-fledged provincial seminaries

The closure of St Bedes College has reduced the growth of leadership. The diocese of St Mark the Evangelist still needs well-trained evangelists in order to cope with the high demands for evangelism. The TEE College has become the alternative, but there is still great need of a full-time residential theological training institution. Learning on the job, at the side of the pastor, or sent out on special pastoring or church planting errands, they pick up essentials of ministry. How vital to see and experience healing, prayer counselling, demonic deliverance, planning a service, preparing a church retreat, helping to plan next year's programme, or a day of fasting and prayer. Correspondence

type of training does well, but does not really replace colleges like St Bedes (Cooper 1990:108).

A theological college was to engender a unique ethos that no secular institution could possibly have. The rationale behind the establishment of St Bedes College was that it would provide a firm establishment of a black indigenous ministry in Transkei. As St Bedes was founded primarily to train clergy and catechists, it was hoped that such a college would provide a constant and overflowing supply of native catechists, deacons and priests (Schuster's letter, 18th September 1993).

St Bedes Theological College played an important role in the training of priests, catechists and deacons and as such made constructive contribution towards the empowerment and enrichment of the indigenous spiritual leaders. The lack of well trained priests does establish the possibility for equality among Christian believers in carrying the responsibilities. It is true that those who threw their energies into winning our liberation, now need something deeper than what the untrained priest / leader can provide. It is important for the church to provide better training for the clergy.

Leadership is a call from God, but it requires learning through institutions vested with wisdom for the indispensable preparation for the work of the ministry (Hodges 1978:16). Better staff for training schools and theological colleges are the great missionary desideratum in Southern Africa, according to Prof Gerdener in 1958 (1958:255).

The aim of this study is to follow the development of a mission into becoming an indigenous church, standing on its feet with respect to "self-support", "self-government" and "self-propagation", thus an autonomous movement (Tippet 1987:85). The three-self-idea fall short of the ideal in any case. Financial independence, organisational autonomy, and missionary outreach are in no way marks of the church. Nevertheless, these things are important. Financial independence requires a well-trained staff, vested with a proper financial knowledge.

The purpose of the church and its ministry is to remain faithful – before God – to the tradition of the church as well as the contemporary situation. Hence all ministerial

functions require some training of higher learning, including administrative sciences – interrelated with the functions of ministry (Campbell & Reiersen 1981:32).

4.5.5 THE THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION BY EXTENSION COLLEGE (TEEC)

Theological Education by extension is a form of distance education with tutorial support. This college started functioning in 1976 and is continually improving and investigating new and better methods of operation. It is an ecumenical college, with among others the CPSA as major sponsor. It offers contextual and relevant theological training which equips the whole people of God for effective ministry.

The central office is located in Johannesburg. Its services are however extended beyond this office to twenty (20) regional centres all across Southern Africa. At each regional centre is an appointed regional co-ordinator, who gives assistance to students in time of need. It has already contributed much towards the training of indigenous leaders and has enabled hundreds of office bearers from many independent churches.

The researcher has studied for certificate and diploma through TEEC, and has met a number of independent church's bishops who were registered for diploma courses (1989 to 1995). The college encourages a combined ministry of lay and ordained people. Today's ministry must include both ordained and lay members of the fellowship. According to Taylor (1983:276), ordained or appointed leaders are important, but they must give priority to sharing the work with others.

TEE strives to equip and empower anyone anywhere for ministry. It offers accreditation through the Joint Board for the Diploma in Theology in Southern Africa. Diploma students may proceed with university studies because of their well-proven standard.

4.6 CONCLUSION

History teaches us that training cannot be in a void; it always comes within a particular context, hence the development of indigenous leadership. In our case the situation of poverty in Limpopo Province, the lack of evangelisation, and the vast areas of

unreached people show that much need to be done to change the situation. In order for this diocese to prosper, there is no alternative but to develop indigenous leadership, well trained and relevant to cope with the realities of the situation.

As already mentioned in the statement of the problem, the educated members of the diocese are faced with a dilemma because of the failure of the untrained community priests to help them. They now need something deeper. A theology of sacraments has been developed, either consciously or unconsciously, and it has been the dominant one in the diocese. The untrained community priests are failing dismally. Some even resist further training. They are indigenous, but with no competent knowledge. Hence higher education is of great importance in the development of leadership structures.

From the Independent Church's perspective training may not be so important, but according to the principles of the mainline churches, it is imperative that the quality of education should be high. In fact, the Independent Churches are also changing their attitude towards training of ministers. They also encourage them to read through correspondence institutions.

“Reading maketh a man”. All church structures are concerned about who should lead them, and the standard of his/her education. The researcher discovered that most of the Europeans have leadership skills, hence they do not have confidence in most of the African leaders, be it in business or social activities. Sometimes a Black man is appointed to a higher position only to use him as a rubber stamp, and again in order to win the confidence of the rest of the staff.

It is high time that those who were never exposed to studies should be offered some kind of training, thus empowering and enabling them to lead with confidence and to develop a sensitivity to the needs of those with different behavioural styles, and to find ways in which people within each category are helped to perform with excellence and fulfilment.