

Apartheid and Theological Education:
An Investigation of the Theological Education provided at
St. Bede's Theological College in Umtata, 1950-1992



A dissertation submitted to the Discipline of Theology, College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree: Master of Theology.

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PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

I, Emilio Kasaba, declare that:

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This is to certify that the contents of this dissertation are the original research work of Emilio Kasaba. As the candidate's supervisor, I have approved this dissertation for submission.

Supervisor:



/ Date: 6 February 2023

Prof Philippe Denis

DEDICATION

I dedicate this to my family: wife Dr. Zamadonda Xulu-Kasaba, and sons Malachi, Kataya and Kalela, to my brother Matthews and his wife Petronella, my extended family members in Zambia, as well as my deceased family members, in loving memory of them all.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACSA- Anglican Church of Southern African

CPSA-Province of Southern Africa

CTR – Critical Race Theory

PA – Private Investigator

NP – National Party

OAU - Organization of African Unity

UN - United Nations

SATA - Southern African Theological Association

IAMA - Igreja Anglicana de Mocambique e Angola or the Anglican Church of Mozambique and Angola

COSATU - Congress of South African Trade Unions

NUM - National Union of Mineworkers (NUM),

UCT - University of Cape Town

ABSTRACT

The Church of England came to South Africa with British missionaries, and settlers who had a hard time with indigenous people whom they tried to evangelize. The Church grew under Robert Gray the first Bishop. Before Gray, the bishops from India managed the South African places. Bishop John William Colenso came with a follower named Henry Callaway whom he inspired to do good work among the natives. Callaway had a passion for the growth of the Church to other parts of the country. He became the first bishop in the new diocese called the Diocese of St. John, which was established in Transkei. The National Government could not allow whites to mix with blacks. The early Anglican missionaries realized the need for the growth of the church which depended on the establishment of colleges. Three theological colleges were established, St. Peter's in Rosettenville, St. Paul's in Grahamstown and St. Bede's in Umtata. The first two were for whites, while St. Bede's was specifically for native students for ministry.

So, the establishment of the theological colleges was racially-based. Apartheid had a huge impact on theological education in the Anglican Church. This research looked at St. Bede's Theological College as a case study on the separation of races in the Anglican Church of South Africa. The primary and secondary sources, used for the study are, the archives and the interviews with former students of St. Bede's and people who had closer contact with St. Bede's Theological College in Umtata. The aims of the study to understand the impact of apartheid, with its racial separation of people, on theological education and know more about Transkei as a homeland, whose independence was only recognized by South Africa. The used Critical Race Theory analyses race and matters around race, power, justice and equity. Participants did not observe racism in the college but rather in the effects of apartheid on the college.

CHAPTER 1

General Introduction

1.0 Introduction and background to the Research Problem

1.1 The Anglican Church of Southern Africa

The Anglican Church of Southern Africa is an independent church that is part of the Worldwide Anglican Communion. The church developed in South Africa following the works of British clergy among the British soldiers and settlers in the Cape of Good Hope around the 18th and 19th centuries. Prior to the consecration of Robert Gray, the first bishop of Cape Town, the bishop of Calcutta was in charge of the area.¹

The church spread in other places of South Africa under Robert Gray who was consecrated as a Bishop of Cape Town in 1847 at Westminster Abbey, appointed as metropolitan bishop and arrived in South Africa in 1848.² Gray was influenced by the Oxford Movement in the Church of England.³

In 2006, the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) changed its name into the Anglican Church of Southern African (ACSA). It is composed of 25 dioceses in 6 Southern African countries namely, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland and the island of St. Helena. The current Archbishop, Thabo Makgoba, was installed in 2008.⁴ It is worth mentioning that, in 2021, the Anglican Communion formally approved the formation of a new province of the Communion called Igreja

¹ John, Suggit. *The Anglican way. South African Perspective*, (Cape Town, Credal Press, 1999) 15.

² John, Mlungisi, Vilakazi. *Critical Analysis of a Large Parochial Structure Model for Black Parishes in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, with Reference to the Diocese of Natal*, Phd diss. (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2014).

³ James, E, Griffiths. *Church ministry and unity*, (London, Basil Blackwell Publications, 1983) 28-29.

⁴ Matt, Gardner. "We can name the evil that is racism: A conversation with Archbishop Thabo Makgoba", *Anglican Journals*, (2012)1.

Anglicana de Mocambique e Angola (IAMA - the Anglican Church of Mozambique and Angola). The new province was inaugurated in September 2021.⁵

1.2 The church and apartheid

The Anglican Church, like other churches, generally failed to protest against the apartheid laws. Instead, the Anglican Church applied the policy of the separation of black and white congregations. Several Anglicans fought apartheid, especially in the 1980s. As alluded to by Mbaya and Kumalo, the mainstream churches challenged apartheid and its discriminatory policies.⁶ Bob Clarke shows how Archbishop Geoffrey Clayton responded in favour of the abolition of Bantu Education and against removal of blacks from the Western Areas, and that Bishop Ambrose Reeves refused to rent any diocesan school in Johannesburg to the state. In a way, this would retard the true education of Africans.⁷ Clayton made his Cathedrals in Johannesburg and Cape Town great interracial centres. Clayton fought a good fight, and, finishing his course, he kept the faith. On Ash Wednesday, 1957, he signed, on behalf of all the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, a letter to the Prime Minister refusing to obey and refusing to counsel his people to obey, the provisions of section 29 (c) of the Native Laws Amendment Act. This Act would have forced apartheid in all Christian congregations.⁸ However, there were times when the Anglican Church was complacent in challenging apartheid laws.⁸ Yet, some parishes and priests confronted racial discrimination by the government in all spheres of life.⁹

⁵ <https://www.episcopalnewsservice.org/2021/08/26/anglican-communion-formally-approves-new-province-in-africa/> (Accessed 20th March 2023).

⁶ Simangaliso, Kumalo and Henry, Mbaya. "Against all odds: Alphaeus Zulu and racism in church and society", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, (2015, 2), 4-6.

⁷ Bob, Clarke. *Anglicans against Apartheid, 1936 – 1996*, (Pietermaritzburg, Cluster Publications, 2008) 81-83,91. ⁸ Alan, Paton. *Apartheid and the Archbishop. The Life and Times of Archbishop Geoffrey Clayton*, (New York, Charles Scribner's son, 1973).

⁸ Peter, Lee. *Compromise and Courage: Anglicans in Johannesburg 1864-1999: a Divided Church Seeking Integrity*. (Pietermaritzburg, Cluster Publications, 2005)156.

⁹ AB 1363, File 1, 1973.

1.2.1 Transkei

Following the promulgation of the Bantu Self Government Act, Transkei as a homeland was administratively created by the South African government in 1959 as a non-independent Bantustan designated for Xhosa speaking people. It was made independent in 1976 as a legal homeland for the Xhosa people that were no longer part of South Africa and became citizens of the new country.¹⁰ The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations (UN) were against this move since supporting it would mean acceptance of apartheid.¹¹

After 1994, under the interim South African constitution that abolished the apartheid system, Transkei was reinstated into South Africa as part of the newly created Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal provinces. As a Bantustan, Transkei was able to provide academic facilities for black people as this aligned with the laws of the country. Ministerial training of black clergy needed to be aligned with Government guidelines.¹² As this was in a homeland, St Bede's Theological College in a way conformed to the apartheid laws of the country.¹³ Besides St. Bede's, the Anglican Church had other theological institutions that are mentioned below, St. Paul's in Grahamstown and St. Peter's in Rosettenville Johannesburg.¹⁴ The Church of the Province of Southern Africa had three main seminaries namely, St. Paul's in Grahamstown, St. Peter's in Rosettenville, Johannesburg, which later moved to Alice to be part of Fedsem in 1963 and St. Bede's in Umtata.¹⁵ These institutions were racialised except Fedsem.¹⁶

¹⁰ <https://www.history.com/topics/africa/apartheid> (accessed 13th March 2021).

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Thatho, Paul, Molipa. *Racism as a contradiction of the official social teachings of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (Anglican) and in particular the diocese of Johannesburg from 1948 to 1990*, Phd Diss, (Pretoria, University of South Africa, 1997) 30.

¹³ Livingstone, Ngewu. "A review of the history of St Bede's College: 1899–1992", *The College of the Transfiguration Journal*, (1994, 23:1) 20.

¹⁴ Denis, Philippe. "The Beginnings of Anglican Theological Education in South Africa, 1848–1963". *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, (2012, 63:3) 516.

¹⁵ AB 2414, K8. Black clergy meeting. See also Henry, Mbaya. *Resistance to and acquiescence in apartheid: St. Paul's Theological College, Grahamstown, 1965-92*, *African Sun Media*, (2018) 17.

¹⁶ Denis, Philippe and Duncan, Graham. *The native school that caused all the trouble: A history of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa*, (Pietermaritzburg, Cluster Publications, 2011).

1.2.2 Theological education in the Anglican Church

The next paragraph lists the work of a few scholars who have written on this topic. The experiences of the students make the historical study much clearer. The main focus of the dissertation is on St. Bede's even though reference is occasionally made to St. Paul's and St. Peter's at Fedsem. The motivation is to investigate the experience of the students at St. Bede's.

1.3. Review of Literature

The literature review shows the effects of the apartheid system on theological colleges like St. Bede's. In this study the critical race theory will be used to analyse the experience of black students at St. Bede's Theological College in the Transkei.

Mary Mandeville Goedhals in her thesis on Nathaniel James Merriman relates the church with the state. Goedhals gives a comprehensive relationship between the church and the state in England during the 19th century, stating the conditions that existed between the two entities. The state had more power to direct the church on the operations. The author points out that the church claims to possess authority yet the state controls the church. This was the assumption at least within the Church of England where Merriman originated.¹⁷ The author points out that, seldom has the church possessed the power to exercise the authority she claims, and the pattern of history has therefore been an assertion of rival claims by secular and ecclesiastical authorities, together with the achievement of a working relationship, usually at the expense of the church. Goedhals writes on the racial prejudices Merriman noticed within the church upon arriving in Cape Town in 1848, and the fact that the church was under the visiting bishops from Calcutta in India before the consecration of Robert Gray.¹⁸ The larger part of the thesis show the Western mentality and attitude of church in its initial years in South Africa in dealing with the new converts the

¹⁷ Mary, Mandeville, Goedhals. *Nathaniel James Merriman. Archdeacon and Bishop 1849-1882. A Study in church life and government, Phd thesis*, (Grahamstown, Rhodes University, 1982). 6-8.

¹⁸ Mary, Mandeville, Goedhals. *Nathaniel James Merriman. Archdeacon and Bishop 1849-1882*, (1982)33.

²⁰ Lee, *Compromise and Courage*, (2005)36. ²¹ "Ibid", 42.

black people. This suits well in the research under discussion and applies to the critical race theory that is used in this research.

Peter Lee in his book entitled *Compromise and Courage*, writes on the expansion of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa during the early years but fails to give details on the inclusion of black men training for ministry.²⁰ He raises critical issues of natives needing their own black bishop throughout the church, but no mention of where the many native clergy he mentions were trained despite extensive discussion on the native question.²¹

Livingstone Ngewu seems to doubt the relationship between the Diocese of St. John where St. Bede's was and the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, especially on the involvement of the Anglican Church in the Province, in the black college, in his article entitled "Training of the natives at St. Bede's".¹⁹ Ngewu gives no further information on the closure of St. Paul's when it was incorporated into the College of the Transfiguration, unlike St. Bede's that was closed completely.²⁰ The perception might be that St. Bede's closed in 1992 simply because it was a black institution and St. Paul's was indirectly left to continue in the form of a new college called the College of the Transfiguration.²¹

Even though Henry Callaway, the first bishop of St. John, supported training of blacks, some of his comments were not clear on his willingness to see black clergy in leadership positions rather than merely as assistant priests. The first native priest, Peter Masiza seems not to be an example of a subservient native clergy, on the contrary, Masiza is a problematic figure. Deeply involved in Christianity, and thoroughly imbued with white views and values, he has been labelled as being alienated from his own culture.²²

¹⁹ Ngewu, "History of St. Bede's", 20.

²⁰ "Ibid", 30.

²¹ AB 2546, S4, File 5.

²² Mandy, Goedhals. "Ungumpriste: A Study of the life of Peter Masiza, first black priest in the Church of the Province of Southern Africa." *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, (1989, 68)22.

However, Callaway did not see him from this point of view but saw a man devoted to Christianity, the extension of Christianity, and thus a great asset to the diocese.²³

It was not until 1985 that Wilson Ndungane became the rector of the college after it reopened. Ngewu says ‘Ndungane was the first black rector’ almost hundred years after the establishment of the college,²⁴ but there seem to have been other black rectors as shown in Chapter Four. It took the same period for the Diocese of St. John to have a black clergyperson becoming a rector.²⁵

In the article “Seminary training and Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa in the early 1970s”, Philippe Denis writes that black clergy were trained separately in institutions for blacks, and white clergy also in their own seminaries.²⁶ This in a way ensured the segregation based on race. Mbaya later concurs with this sentiment in the book *Resistance to and Acquiescence in Apartheid*.²⁷ Philippe Denis and Graham Duncan in their book entitled *The Native School that caused all the trouble* wrote on Fedsem but also discussed the Anglican formation including a fair mention of St. Bede’s which housed Fedsem, and the implications this had on the college.²⁸ Even though the two colleges were established for different purposes and in different contexts, it seems Fedsem was more contextual and active in social issues than St. Bede’s. Fedsem addressed social issues directly and caused trouble to the political leaders of the day.²⁹

²³ Andrew, Malcolm, Thomas, Dibb. *An historical study of the Diocese of St. John of the Church of the Province of South Africa, with special reference to Bishop Callaway’s vision of a black clergy*, Master’s Thesis, University of South Africa, (1997)171.

²⁴ Ngewu, “History of St. Bede’s”, 23-28.

²⁵ Stanier, Green. *The First Hundred Years, 1873-1973. The Story of the Diocese of St. John*, (London, Paul’s Mission Press, 1974) 22.

²⁶ Denis, Philippe. “Seminary networks and Black Consciousness in South Africa in the 1970s”, *South African Historical Journal*, (2011,62:1)162.

²⁷ Henry, Mbaya. *Resistance to and acquiescence in apartheid*, (2018) 7.

²⁸ Denis and Duncan. *The native school that caused trouble*, 34, 35,132,261.

²⁹ “Ibid.”

The research has noted that the training of black priests took the formation pattern of the English Church into the South African context.³⁰ The college and the ordinands were “set apart” from the rest of society.³¹ A question that can be asked is why one should isolate students, from the communities they would be serving in future as ordained priests? This isolation of theological students from their societies makes theology impractical.³²

Theological colleges used “passive resistance” to fight apartheid. The subtle resistance by the colleges was counter acting segregation.³³ This research discovered that there is not much information in the history of St. Bede’s students acting as such. Denis and Duncan gave a fair history of Anglican clergy training at the beginning of the Anglican Church in South Africa, involving John William Colenso, the first Anglican bishop of Natal.³⁴

It is on this basis that the researcher finds it worthwhile to explore further the apartheid tendencies which black theological students experienced in the period 1952 to 1992, at the College of St. Bede’s. The theological and pastoral impact this had on the life of the church in post-apartheid South Africa, coming from those students of the college, is worth exploring. For Duncan, the training of clergy followed apartheid trends.³⁵

In an article entitled ‘theological education in the last fifty years,’ Njongonkulu Ndungane writes that theological education in the last fifty years has been both ecumenical and denominational, referring to

³⁰ Mbaya, *Resistance to and acquiescence in apartheid*, (2018) 6.

³¹ Percy, Martyn. “Sacred Sagacity: Formation and Training for Ministry in a Church of England Seminary”, *Anglican Theological Review Journal*, (2016, 90:2) 289.

³² Desmond, Tutu. *The genesis of liberation theology in Africa*, in *African theology en route*, Appiah-Kufi Kobi (ed), (Accra, Orbis Books Publishers, 1981)164.

³³ Duncan, Graham. “Passive-Aggressive Resistance Against Apartheid at the Federal Theological Seminary of South Africa”, *Acta Theologica Journal*, (2013, 33:1) 55.

³⁴ Denis, Philippe and Duncan, Graham. *The native school that caused trouble*, 30-35.

³⁵ Duncan, Graham. “Passive-Aggressive Resistance Against Apartheid”, 1.

Fedsem as the ecumenical, St. Bede's and St. Peter's as the denominational ones.³⁶ Ndungane takes into account the major influential factors of theological education such as the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Ecumenical initiatives, and how these brought about unity among the churches even in the formation of clergy. The issue of race within the churches here is clearly manifested as black people tended to have their own theological college and critically addressed the impact of apartheid in society. One sees the contextual and holistic approach to training at Fedsem.³⁷ In this way, the approach to priestly formation at Fedsem relates to the views of Critical Race Theory used in this research on the respect and values that need to be given to all races. This is also decolonizing and transforming higher education within the church as is in government institutions.³⁸

Chichele Hewitt writes on the 'History of St. Bede's and St. Paul's' in the book entitled 'Change and challenge,' that it was established by Dr. Henry Callaway a missionary priest from Natal who became the Bishop of the Diocese of St. John. He saw the need for the local young men to be trained for priesthood, though the initial purpose of the college was to train them as teachers. Hewitt points out the emphasis by Callaway and his successors on the need for training native young men for ministry for the continuity of the church among the local people. What is surprising is that Callaway found the intellectual capacity of blacks not attainable saying that, "not usually men of the highest intellectual attainment."³⁹

The rationale for choosing this topic was that it had never been studied extensively in comparison to St. Paul's Theological College.

³⁶ Njongonkulu, Ndungane. *Theological Education in the last Fifty years, in Change and Challenge*, John Suggit and Mandy Goedhals eds, CPSA Publishing Committee, (1998) 107.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Lesley, le Grange. "Decolonising the university curriculum or decolonial washing?", A multiple case study. *Journal of Education, Ukzn Publication*, (2020, 80)26-28.

³⁹ Hewitt, Chichele. *A History of St. Bede's and St. Paul's, in Change and Challenge*, John Suggit and Mandy Goedhals (eds), (Cape Town, CPSA Publishing, 1998) 116-117.

1.4. Research Question, Aim and Objectives

The question this study attempted to address is the impact that apartheid had on theological education in the Anglican Church, with a focus on St. Bede's which was in Umtata. The study used the Critical Race Theory as a framework since the research explored the impact of apartheid racial policies on theological education. The study looked at the differences on the formation of clergy within the Anglican Church in South Africa to see how much the Western style of training impacted the formation of black clergy.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

This study used the "Critical Race Theory" (CRT) as the theoretical framework. Critical Race Theory originated in America in the 1980s, when law students' experiences used Critical Law Studies (CLS) and feminism to scrutinize race and racist attitudes and practices directly or indirectly affecting a minority ethnic group.⁴⁰

Critical race theory interrogates policies and practices (overt and covert) in which racist ideologies, structures and institutions create and maintain racial inequality.⁴¹ As a framework, it provides the researcher with critical lenses to deal with oppressive policies and practices and to contact more emancipatory systems for racial equality and justice. Tinyiko Maluleke argues from the environmental perspective that blacks ended up with the Bible in their hands while Europeans had taken possession of the land.⁴²

The Critical Race Theory (CRT) has assisted in understanding why St. Bede's College was exclusively for black students. This theory helps to analyse some structural features of apartheid and what other

⁴⁰ Nicholas, Daniel Hartlep. "Critical Race Theory: An Examination of it's Past, Present, and Future Implications", *University of Wisconsin Publications*, (2009) 4. See also Rozena Maart. "Consciousness, Knowledge and Morality: The Absence of the Knowledge of White Consciousness in Contemporary Feminist Theory", *A Reader in Feminist Ethics*, (1993)136.

⁴¹ Angelina Cichocka. "Review of Michael MacDonald, Why Race Matters in South Africa", *University of KwaZulu-Natal Publication*, (2007) 245.

⁴² Tinyiko Maluleke. "Black and Africa Theologies in search of Comprehensive Environmental Justice", *Journal of theology for Southern Africa*, (2021).

scholars describe as ‘colour blind’ in similar contexts in America.⁴³ Race is at the core of this theory. The power dynamics might be different between South Africa and America but the experiences are the same. The fundamental point is the redressing of poverty and economic inequality. This is why the champions of CRT are vocal in South Africa today. There is always a group of people that is politically or religiously stronger than the other, exercising power to the disadvantage of the other group or groups.⁴⁷ The power dynamics would be the unrest caused by the governments in both countries. In the case of South Africa, there was detention and banning of the activists. Racial integration emerged earlier in America benefiting blacks.⁴⁴

Looking at the South African context in relation to the original context of the theory, scholars might ask critical questions regarding the theory such as; what relevance might a critical race perspective bring to our understanding of transformation and decolonisation at South African universities (and other institutions) and what is the transformative potential of such a perspective?⁴⁵

Critical race theory is relevant to the historical moment in South Africa and the need to readjust the racial and economic order. CRT invites a radical approach to South African social and economic relations that advance the centrality of race. According to Pontso Moorosi,

‘These events in South Africa, and those happening in the world, most notably the Black Lives Matter protests in the USA and globally, suggest that racism is still raw in many parts of the world. Scholarship on race and racism in education confirms that South Africa remains “deeply racialized” despite the deradicalization enforced in the democratic dispensation. Yet, race remains

⁴³ Aja Y. Martinez. “Critical Race Theory: Its Origin, History, and Importance to the Discourses and Rhetorics of race.” (2014, 27:2) 27. ⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Susan, Olzak and Joban, Olivier. “Racial Conflict and Protest in South Africa and the United States”, *European Sociological Review*, (1998) 255.

⁴⁵ Kendall, Thomas. “What is Critical Race Theory and why it is relevant to South Africa”, *University of Cape Town* (2018).

⁵⁰ Pontso, Moorosi. “Colour-blind educational leadership policy: A critical race theory analysis of school principalship standards in South Africa. Educational Management Administration & Leadership”, *SAGA Journal*, (2021, 49:4) 644–6447.

an elusive subject that is not well-covered as a social construct in the educational leadership literature.’⁵⁰

1.6 Research Methodology

This historical study used a retrospective approach to collect and analyse published material qualitatively. The approach was used to evaluate articles, transcripts, and other literature for evidence relating to ministerial training at St Bede’s in Umtata. Thereafter, one on one interviews were conducted with clergy who had been trained at the institution.

1.6.1 Archival resources

The main source of data for this phase was extracted from archives and reports from the Anglican Church’s repository at the William Cullen Library, at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. These documents contain reports by the rectors of St. Bede’s College, minutes from the college meetings, communication and reports from the metropolitan’s office and the bishop of the diocese of St. John in Umtata. Other archived resources included books, journals and academic articles.⁴⁶ Content analysis was used to interpret the training of clergy.

1.6.2 Oral history

Philippe Denis defines oral history as,

“the complex interaction between an interviewer and an interviewee about events of the past, which requires questioning, as well as listening, on the part of the interviewer. The interview is tape recorded and, when deemed necessary, transcribed for the use of the research community and

⁴⁶ AB 2546 S4, File 1. William Cullen Library. University of the Witwatersrand.

the public at large. An oral history interview is a historical conversation or rather a conversational narrative.”⁴⁷

The use of oral history is not new. It is the lived experience which is as old as history itself.⁴⁸ Oral history already existed when Academic History was developing among the educated strata of society. It was a community-based tradition, where most societies have always recognised the worth of preserving and passing on some kind of knowledge of the past, protecting an accumulating heritage.⁴⁹ The emphasis oral history practitioners put on literary analysis has contributed to the development of memory studies. The first aspect which is usually stressed is the origin of oral sources in that they give us information about social groups whose history is either absent or distorted in the written record. Another aspect concerns the content of the daily life and material culture of these peoples or groups.⁵⁰

As an area of academic study, it got its start in 1948 in the United States when a historian named Allan Nevins founded the oral history office. His main interest was diplomatic history, and he began by recording the accounts of scores of government officials who might not have left written memoirs. The field began to take off during the 1960's and early 70's with the emergence of the civil rights and feminist movements. From that time, scholars have regarded oral history as a means of documenting and giving voice to blacks, women and other groups that had often been pushed to the margins of society.⁵¹

The researcher in oral history might have to deal with memories of pain and needs to be empathetic in approach.⁵⁷ Sean Field narrates the story of his own father John Field not wanting to tell the experience

⁴⁷ Philippe, Denis and Radikobo, Ntsimane. *Oral History in a Wounded Country. Interactive Interviewing in South Africa*, (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2008)3.

⁴⁸ Sean, Field. *Oral History Methodology. South-South Exchange Programme for Research on the History of Development*, (Amsterdam SEPHIS, 2007)8.

⁴⁹ Marietjie, Oelofse. “The Need for Oral History in a Changing South Africa”, *University of the Free State*, (2004) 2.

⁵⁰ Alessandro, Portelli. “The Peculiarities of Oral History”, *Oxford Journals* (1981, 2) 97.

⁵¹ <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/03/10/arts/prospecting-for-truth-in-the-ore-of-memory.html> (Accessed on 15/09/23). ⁵⁷ Sean, Field. *Oral History Methodology*, (2007) 8.

of the German Nazi wars. It calls for total trust between the interviewer and the interviewee.⁵² The meaning and ethics of the person-to-person encounter in the fieldwork experience are crucial to the meaning and ethics of the practice.⁵³

Some scholars might question the role of oral history, memory and what we learn about how history lives on and is transmitted. Therefore, this section of the study attempted to understand what happened listening to how people tell their stories. This explored the lived experiences, interpretation, and conceptualization by respondents to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations.⁵⁴

A purposive snowball sampling approach was used to recruit participants, as they knew one another and were best placed to refer the Primary Investigator (PI) to each other.⁵⁵ The researcher approached the authority of the dioceses and asked for one or two priests who studied at St Bede's. The identified participants then referred the PI to others. The final sample size was nine (9) participants.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Content analysis was used to interpret the data and afterwards align it with the themes in the existing literature.⁵⁶

1.7 Ethical Clearance

This was sought from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal under reference number HSSREC/00004159/2022.

⁵² Sean, Field. "Shooting at Shadows: Private John Field, war stories and why he would not be interviewed", *Oral History Society*. (2013, 41:2) 82.

⁵³ Alessandro, Portelli. "The Battle of Valle Giulia. Oral History and the Art of Dialogue", *University of Wisconsin Press*. (1997) 57.

⁵⁴ Richard, Delgado and Jean Stefancic. *Critical race theory: An introduction*, (New York, NYU Press, 2017).

⁵⁵ John, Creswell and Clark, Plano. *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*, 3rd Ed, (Michigan, University of Cincinnati, 2017).

⁵⁶ Mojtaba, Vaismoradi and Sherrill, Snelgrove. "Theme in Qualitative Content Analysis and Thematic Analysis." *Forum Qualitative for Schung*, (2019, 20:3).

1.8 Summaries of the chapters

Chapter Two raises sensitivity to the matter of decolonization and the intent to dismantle it, in any institution where this might be found in any form, including the Church or in the case study of St. Bede's. There is a call to end the attitude that a particular race is superior to other races, resulting in racial segregation,⁵⁷ which apartheid applied and at times was practised even in the church and the colleges as shown already in this research. Chapter Two fully describes what this theory is all about. This research highlights the treatment that black people received from colonisers and the settlers during apartheid in South Africa.⁵⁸ This has brought about the struggle for decolonisation and racial justice globally.⁵⁹

Contrasted to all the resistance and justified stand against segregation in America, Europe, and Africa described in Chapter Two, the resistance by students at St. Bede's Theological College was not that strong. The students were not very forthcoming against the system even though one can see that they were impacted. But their resistance and voice were not loud enough – verbally or in action like the other Anglican institutions that this research has looked at. It should be mentioned that not much information is at our disposal on how the students at St. Bede's Theological College really reacted to the apartheid system, but they expressed concern especially that they were not on the same level with other Anglican colleges such as St. Paul's.⁶⁰

Chapter Three looks at the history of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, dealing with the ecclesiological, missiological and liturgical aspects of the church as they relate to the theological education and the training of the black clergy at St. Bede's Theological College during the apartheid period. The chapter addresses the issue of settlers who fought for the land with the natives especially in

⁵⁷ South African History online, article accessed 15th January, 2023

⁵⁸ Adina, Campbell. 2021. "What is Black Lives Matter and what are the aims?".
<https://www.bbc.com/news/explainers53337780> (Accessed on 17th February, 2022).

⁵⁹ <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/jun/18/oxford-uni-must-decolonise-its-campus-and-curriculum-say-students>, (Accessed on 15th February, 2022).

⁶⁰ Ignatius Zwane and other participants in the interview (2022). Note the interviews were done by telephone calls since it was done during or soon after covid restrictions or lockdown.

the Eastern Cape. This had several outcomes such as the natives losing their land and having limited or no land for their livestock.⁶¹

As stated, St. Bede's Theological College advocated equal treatment of all people.⁶⁸ Standing with the entire Anglican Church, in a way the college encouraged black people to accept and believe in themselves, and stressed that the relationship among people from different races and cultures should be mutual and respectful.⁶²

Chapter Four looks at the history of the Diocese of St. John and St. Bede's. The chapter addresses the issue of white leadership in the periods discussed. The chapter links the history of the Diocese of St. John to the Diocese of Natal with John William Colenso as the Bishop of Natal. He had an influence on the first bishop of the Diocese of St. John, Henry Callaway.⁷⁰ The arrival of Callaway made the natives sure of his intervention in the conflicts about land.⁷¹

In the periods studied in Chapter Four, no direct signs of discrimination are shown within the college, but there were indirect effects of the apartheid system from outside the college,⁶³ such as the struggle to get permits to study in the homeland. The chapter discusses the amalgamation of the racially separated Anglican theological colleges to form the College of the Transfiguration in 1992.⁷³ The bringing together of racially divided institutions was a real challenge to the Anglican Church.

Chapter Four discusses how the Anglican theological colleges were racially separated, with a focus on

⁶¹ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/britain-takes-control-cape> (Accessed on 15th July, 2022) ⁶⁸ AB1886, F1. Diocese of St. John, Transkei.

⁶² AB1886, S8.5. Diocese of St. John. St. Bede's College on Finances, 1950 – 1964.

⁷⁰ AB 2414, H2. General Admission of Students. ⁷¹ Andrew, Malcolm, Thomas, (1997).

⁶³ Livingstone, Ngewu, (1994).

⁷³ Ibid.

St. Bede's, where the participants in this research went for their ministerial training. The history of the establishment of the Diocese of St. John is given and the first Bishop Henry Callaway, who is the pioneer of theological training in the diocese, is explained.

CHAPTER 2

The apartheid ideology in the light of the Critical Race Theory and similar recent theories.

2.0 Introduction

This chapter will address the theories that related to Critical Race Theory and explain closely to apartheid ideology. The theories such as Black Lives Matter Movement, Fees Must Fall Movement and the Decolonization relate to Critical Race Theory. These will be related to the experiences of the apartheid system in South Africa, in general, and in the Bantustans and in the Church. The chapter will investigate the experiences in America, some parts of Europe and South Africa, and the extent to which racial discrimination impacted the lives of people. The study will employ “Critical Race Theory” (CRT) whose genesis is in the United States in the early 1970s and was later developed in the 1980s by Critical Law Students (CLS) and feminism activists.⁶⁴

2.1 The origin of the Critical Race Theory*

In the 1970s, law students in the US realized the need to advance civil rights which were disregarded by various sectors of society, as well as the legal fraternity. There was an urgent need to form strategies to combat subtle forms of injustice. In an attempt to correct this, the theory began as a discipline in legal studies dealing with inequality, power and relationships.⁷⁵

This theory scrutinizes race, segregating attitudes and the preference of one group over another.⁶⁵ It also interrogates policies and practices which are taken for granted to uncover the overt and covert ways that racist ideologies flourish.⁶⁶ The chapter will discuss Critical Race Theory (CRT) and its alignment with

⁶⁴ Richard, Delgado and Jean, Stefancic. “Critical Race Theory: An Introduction”, (2001) 4. ⁷⁵
Richard, Delgado and Jean, Stefancic. (2001) 1-2.

⁶⁵ Rozena Maart. “Consciousness, Knowledge and Morality: The Absence of the Knowledge of White Consciousness in Contemporary Feminist Theory”, *A Reader in Feminist Ethics*, (1993) 66.

⁶⁶ Angelina, Cichocka. “Review of Michael MacDonald, Why Race Matters in South Africa”, *University of KwaZulu-Natal Publication*, (2007) 245.

the idea of apartheid. The recent happening in United State of America and South Africa on the attacks of black people relate to the critical race theory and challenges the apartheid system.

Black Lives Matter is a political and social movement originating among African Americans, emphasizing basic human and social equity for black people and campaigning against various forms of racism.⁶⁷ The Black Lives Matter movement began much more recently even though racism in the Unites States goes years back. The movement came out of the acquittal of the white man George Zimmerman after he murdered a young black man Trayvon Martin in 2013. The movement has now become a worldwide movement against racial discrimination.⁶⁸ It must be mentioned that, the term Black Lives Matter, does not mean that other lives do not matter, every life matters.⁶⁹

In 2020, the United States was outraged following the brutal murder of the black American man George Floyd by a white man Derek Chauvin. However, Floyd had served five years behind bars in 2009 and committed two robberies before that. He had also been convicted of charges ranging from theft with a firearm to drugs possession.⁸¹ Floyd did not fight against injustice. He was a victim of it. It is the people who protested after his death who were fighting injustice. The two black men, Breonna Taylor and Ahmaud Arbery fought for the end of racial injustice. This is in line with the message of Black Lives Matter which is critical of the treatment that Black people receive from white people.⁷⁰ This has brought about the struggle for decolonisation and racial justice globally.⁸³

⁶⁷ <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/black-lives-matter>. (Accessed on 18th February, 2022).

⁶⁸ Lizz Schumer. 2020. "What Black Lives Matter means (and Why It is Problematic to Say 'All Lives Matter')", Saying that Black Lives Matter does not Mean Others Lives do not Matter". (Accessed on 17th February, 2022).

⁶⁹ <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/08/black-lives-matter-movement-explained/> (Accessed on 18th February, 2022). ⁸¹ <https://nypost.com/2020/06/02/george-floyd-had-violent-criminal-history-minneapolis-union-chief/>. Accessed 25.03.23

⁷⁰ Adina Campbell. 2021. "What is Black Lives Matter and what are the aims?" (Accessed on 17th February, 2022). ⁸³ <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2015/jun/18/oxford-uni-must-decolonise-its-campus-and-curriculum-say-students>, (Accessed on 15th February, 2022).

In Uganda and Ghana, a Black Lives Matters event led to violence and arrest of some protestors. There are examples of such violence in South Africa, like the Marikana case in the North West Province. On the 16th of August 2012, 34 mineworkers by the British multinational mining company called Lonmin PLC, were killed over low salaries complaining and 78 were injured by the South African Police Service (SAPS). The workers felt that the country's Labour Relations Act (LRA), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) let them down in negotiating salary increases. Some workers felt that this was black on black violence.⁷¹ Critical Race Theory can be applied to black on black violence or injustice as well as white on black.

It must be pointed out that Critical Race Theory has influenced scholars outside the legal and racial spheres to other fields of study. Issues of gender, education in general, migrants, voting rights and others can be analysed using this theory. Sociological issues like the 'operational dudula' would fall under the study of this theory. On the 15th July 2022, the United Nations (UN) strongly condemned the attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa, and recently, there has been a call on to stop "Operation Dudula", which targets migrant-owned homes and businesses, and even the murder of foreign nationals.⁸⁵

In most African Countries, demonstrators have faced police brutality for protesting against the murder of blacks and racial injustices. In Kenya and Nigeria, police used violence to disperse protestors. Africans have stood in solidarity with American blacks fighting against racial injustices as shown when George Floyd was murdered.⁷²

The Black Lives Matters Movement protests against racism. Protestors are mostly young black people who raised concerns about racism and police brutality. We can relate this scenario to black youth protesting against racial segregation at a South African University (#RhodesMustFall), protesting to

⁷¹ Siyabonga, Sithole. "Marikana Massacre. Ramaphosa reliable and complicit," (2013), (Accessed on 27th April, 2023). ⁸⁵ United Nations Report. South Africa: UN experts condemn xenophobic violence and racial discrimination against foreign national (2022). (Accessed on 27th April, 2023).

⁷² <https://www.wbur.org/hereandnow/2020/06/12/black-lives-matter-africa>. Black Lives Matter Movement Resonates Across Africa. (Accessed on 19th February, 2022).

racial segregation with the global black youth who protest of similar experiences, at tertiary institutions and sports.⁷³

The English-medium universities namely the University of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand University have admitted non-whites for the same qualifications as whites, and treated their non-white students in exactly the same way as their white students in all academic and some social matters, while separating them in other social matters, such as sports, dances and residences.⁷⁴ This part of the study highlights ‘*educational racism*’ experienced at some tertiary institutions such as the University of Cape Town. The black students are considered as lacking in competencies, lowering academic standards and undeserving of their places at university.⁷⁵ This has several effects on the students such as, causing low self-esteem, less or no sense of belonging, and poor academic performance.⁷⁶

There is a problem in the perception of black students in previously white universities, which seem to present black students as ‘the problem, and lacking in hard work.’ This contradicts the idea of transformation that the institutions are preaching.⁷⁷ Transformation and decolonization in higher education in South Africa from the perspectives of black students should be taught.⁷⁸

In a way using CRT would be encouraging black students to rigorous reflection on the complex issues surrounding transformation at University of Cape Town and other institutions of learning. Through this theory, black students can be granted an opportunity to be heard and recognized as active and full members of a learning institution. The theory highlights the identity and position of black students within educational institutions, the daily *experiences of segregation, othering and inequality*, exposes the ways

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ The Round Table. “Academic apartheid Segregation of South African universities”, (1960: 50,198)134-139.

⁷⁵ Shoes, Kessi and Josephine, Kessi. “Coming to UCT: Black students, transformation and discourses of race”, *Journal of Students Affairs in Africa*, (2015: 3,2) 3-4.

⁷⁶ Awethu Fatyela. Tackling systemic racism in South Africa’s higher education system, in Mail Guardian, 18 November 2022.

⁷⁷ Shoes, Kessi and Josephine, Kessi. “Coming to UCT”, (2015: 3,2)3.

⁷⁸ Mlamuli, Nkosingphile, Hlatshwayo. “Being Black in South African higher education: An intersectional insight.” *Acta Academica*. University of KwaZulu Natal (2020; 52:2) 164.

in which their experiences of being black are reinforced in many aspects of their everyday lives on campus.

Black students begin to construct their black identities in relation to white identities and take on the responsibility of *reverse racism*, which also leads to the feeling of isolation, a lack of belonging and low self-esteem amongst black students who are left to grapple, with the reality of what it means to be black in South Africa today.⁷⁹ There are times when black students perceived themselves as ‘second class students’ (regardless of their academic ability) and have lower academic performance. Mlamuli, Nkosingphile, Hlatshwayo writes that,

Post the 1994 political dispensation, higher education institutions in South Africa have done very little to transform the epistemic identity and assumptions of the modern South African university itself. This has meant that the natives of nowhere produced by the apartheid system continued after the democratic dispensation to linger in the academy and to feel isolated, excluded and institutionally segregated.⁸⁰

The racial segregation exists on campus, during encounters between white and black students. This can be seen in the way students sit in classes according to race, religion or class. Black students congregate alone and at times in small areas even though they might be the majority of the class.⁸¹ The statue of the British colonialist Cecil John Rhodes, reminds black students the power of the colonisers and their own relations with other races on campus. That calls for a need to adjust one’s way of speaking, and refine the accent and the English language which is foreign to them all the time, they need to adjust into whiteness, they must take on the values and culture of the white world.⁸²

⁷⁹ Shoes, Kessi and Josephine, Kessi. “Coming to UCT”, (2015: 3,2) 6.

⁸⁰ Mlamuli, Nkosingphile, Hlatshwayo. “Being Black in South African higher education”, (2020)170.

⁸¹ C. Soudien. “The intersection of race and class in the South African university: Student experiences”, *Unisa Press*. (2008: 22;3) 662-663.

⁸² Shoes Kessi and Josephine Kessi. “Coming to UCT.” (2015: 3,2).

Critical race theory would raise the issue of the whiteness of the curriculum which is Western and the lack of black representation in the academia. Here comes the issue of identity, coping mechanism and resistance to their experience. Imbued in participants' experiences are feelings of inadequacy, not belonging, self-doubt and confusion. In response to these dynamics, students adopted strategies to cope with the dominant culture of the university. Many students silence themselves and are thus not able to participate fully in university life. Others distance themselves from the transformation discourse as one that applies only to *other* black students whilst many students assimilate into the dominant culture by taking on certain cultural practices, such as modifying their language and changing their accents, making friends with and engaging in the activities of white students. For some students the coping mechanism is simply to silence themselves in the classroom, or joining the predominantly white rugby team, even though there the black students' capability would be doubted.⁸³ The students' selfsegregation is not only by race but also by class by referring to the "upper middle class black students" and the "rest of the black students". In 2022 the university of Cape Town rolled out an anti-racism policy which focused on keeping the dignity of every person and dismantle the racism attitudes at the campus. A call was made for transformation in education where nobody feels excluded but welcomed and is part of the system.⁸⁴

The brutal murder of George Floyd angered a lot of people in the world. From the initial anger about the anti-black racist police brutality in the United States, the number of protesters has grown exponentially across the world and so has their anger. This has caused a radical demand that the world must change for better for all people of all races and that we should not return to the old days of injustice. Some scholars

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Wendy, Martin. "Anti-racism policy sparks debate on dignity and harm." (2022).

have expressed concern about the lack of professionalism by the law enforcement officers who kill their own people.⁸⁵ Cornel West calls it disproportionate abuse of power by the law enforcement officers.⁸⁶

In South Africa, the Black Lives Matters issues began in 2015 with the students at the University of Cape Town as the *Rhodes Must Fall Movement*, leading to the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes from the campus. Oxford University students took the same method from the South African students and campaigned for the removal of Rhodes' statue from Oriel College. The global Black Lives Matters protests inspired the Oxford campaign. The statue of Rhodes was removed as already mentioned above.⁸⁷

The reaction was a reminder that students at Cape Town University were fed up with colonial statues which can be interpreted as symbols of white supremacy. Since then, change has been noticed in South African universities in terms of discussions, since the 2015-16 protests took place. This simply means that;

‘Universities in the South and the world are now actively doing work to revise their curriculums so they demonstrate a commitment towards the decolonial project. Universities are boasting of better and diverse inclusion of the student population. The South African government is seriously talking about free education in a way that we have not seen in a new democracy. Free education is a big factor in conversations building up to the upcoming elections. This is all because of the co-operative work that students have had to put in.’⁸⁸

The Black Lives Matters Movement has been significant and the source of inspiration for innovative activity, the most sustained radical force driving towards transformation for a better non-racial society.

⁸⁵ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/opinion/south-africans-outraged-by-police-killings-in-us-but-silent-about-those-at-home>. (Accessed on 20th February, .2022).

⁸⁶ Cornel West. *Race matters*. “With a New Preface”, (Boston, Beacon Press, 2001) 13.

⁸⁷ Shepherd, Mpofu. “University of Johannesburg Disruption as a communicative strategy: The case of #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall students’ protests in South Africa.” *Journal of African Media*, (2017, 9:2) 351 – 355.

⁸⁸ Welcome, Lishivha. “The fullest movement and the changes it has made.” In the Mail-Guardian. (Accessed on 3rd May 2019).

In South Africa, universities critically expressed their experiences at the ‘colonial’ post-apartheid university. Academic freedom is still under threat for blacks students hindered by racial injustices as expressed by the authors of the article entitled “Academic freedom and racial injustice: South Africa’s former ‘open universities’”. Actually, the so called open universities are more closed universities since they are full of white system which excludes black students.⁸⁹ Hence, for Du Toit the ‘key issue’ for academic freedom today is ‘how to define and strengthen internal accountability, bearing in mind the growing pressures for forms of external accountability.’⁹⁰

The open universities would simply mean those universities which seem to be accepting transformation and yet are still not practising the principles of change in terms of leadership. There is no external transparency since there is no openness in the manner that they operate as a public institution. This can open discussion on the black management practising segregation on their own people, and this becomes tribalism or something else.

These are just a few examples of the multifaceted forms of resistance against racial injustice. There are several innovative forms of protesting white supremacy, all connected to Black Lives Matters and related to Critical Race Theory.

The Black Lives Matter Movement was poignant raising concerns about the number of murders that took place in black neighbourhoods at the hands of law enforcement officers and soldiers during the Covid-19 lockdown. The best reference is the death of Collins Khoza, a resident of Alexandra township near Johannesburg who died after being tortured by soldiers at his house.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Taylor Y. “Academic freedom and racial injustice: South Africa’s former ‘open universities’”, *University of the Witwatersrand*, (2010) 900-902.

⁹⁰ Du Toit, A. “From autonomy to accountability: Academic freedom under threat in South Africa. *Social Dynamics* 26”, (2000, 129:1) 76.

⁹¹ <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2021-04-08-slain-by-soldiers-collins-khosas-death-and-the-failure-of-the-sandfto-embrace-cultural-evolution/> ¹⁰⁶ Christian, Abraham. “Toppled Monuments and Black Lives Matter: Race, Gender, and Decolonization in the Public Space.” An Interview with Charmaine A. Nelson, *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice*, (2021, 42:1)1-69.

In South Africa, as elsewhere, race and class connect a history of slavery, and racist oppression. As a result protestors demonstrated against the abuse and killing of black people by destroying public monuments which symbolise colonialism, slavery and imperialism. They demanded the removal of symbols associated with colonial powers or representing historical figures of slave traders, the people that supported racism towards black people.¹⁰⁶

So far, all that has been critically argued is that slavery in a way is still in existence in the United States and in other parts of the world like in South Africa. It exists in the form of racialized policing, the incarceration of African American men such as George Floyd and Collins Khoza, and many others by law enforcement officers over the years.

It can be reasonably argued that there is lack of political will in South Africa to protect certain groups or race from other groups. The best examples would be the need to protect the white farmers with a fair policy, the reality that women of any colour are not feeling safe to report abuse to the police, and unfair discrimination where a majority group forcefully remove the minority group such as the Khoi/San people from certain areas.

According to the information released by the AfriForum, which is the organisation that speaks for the farmers nationwide, there is still more killing of the farmers in South African.⁹² Farmers, according to , the Freedom Front Plus leader Pieter Groenewald (FF+) have been “massacred for decades” with government refusing to declare farm attacks and murders a priority crime, notwithstanding “constant pressure” from the FF+ as well as organised agriculture forums.⁹³

⁹² Thobeka, Ngema. “Gruesome details surface from AfriForum’s 2022 farm murder report”, (Accessed on 25th May, 2023).

⁹³ <https://www.defenceweb.co.za/security/human-security/eight-farm-murders-in-six-weeks/>

It is estimated that a woman is killed in South Africa every four hours, and mostly by intimate partners.

The violence has been normalized and accepted in society. It is not challenged as it should be.⁹⁴The

Khoisan have refused to be evicted from Knoflokskraal in Grabouw by the Department of Forestry, Fisheries and the Environment.⁹⁵

Even though the history may bring about the painful memories, historians cannot ignore the past since the past leads to the current events in any given place or country.⁹⁶ As historians discussing the racial issue through the lenses of Critical Race Theory, we cannot simply erase the past by getting rid of reminders of it in the present time.⁹⁷ Philippe Denis states during an interview with Helené van Tonder that;

‘I think apartheid is just a continuation of colonialism: more racist, more horrible, because it came late. But, in fact, there is no real difference between colonialism and apartheid, in my opinion’⁹⁸

The divisions now in South Africa are across races and tribes, not only between black and white but also between blacks of different ethnic groups. While many people from all races express dissatisfaction with the current government, there are those South Africans who maintain these positive views about the current government.⁹⁹ Denis argues that the future of South Africa looks promising as he says, “I have

⁹⁴ Lloyd, Vogelmann, and Gillian, Eagle. “Overcoming Endemic Violence against Women in South Africa.” *Social Justice Journal*. (1991, 18:1) 206-228.

⁹⁵ Alex, Mitchley. “Public Works seeks court order to evict protesting Khoisan from Union Buildings”, *News24*. (Accessed on 20th November, 2022).

⁹⁶ Philippe, Denis. “Teaching Christian history in the postmodern world”, *HTS Teologiese Studies/ Theological Studies*, (2019, 75:1).

⁹⁷ Philippe, Denis. “Teaching Christian history in the postmodern world”, (2019, 75:1) 3.

⁹⁸ Helené van Tonder. “Interview with Professor Philippe Denis. University of Free State.” *Acta Theologica*, (2015, 35:1) 34. Denis stated that, “So I like to see apartheid as an extreme form of colonialism. Now seen from Europe, you cannot measure what it means to invade the rest of the world, change a culture, change a religion, loot the economy, etc., etc. Now South Africa is a bit more complicated”.

⁹⁹ Christine, Tamir and Abby, Budiman. “In South Africa, racial divisions and pessimism about democracy loom over elections”. *Pew Research Center*, (2019).

seen in my lifetime incredible changes - in South Africa, of course, coming out of apartheid.”¹⁰⁰ Critical Race Theory is objective and seeks facts. Historians are also objective and seek facts in their study in search for what Denis calls constructive knowledge, be it religious or historical knowledge, with the objective to see the changes made, if at all there is.¹⁰¹ Simply by observation, it can be stated that the democratic government has made some progress in attending to some of the problems caused by a deliberate system of dehumanisation that was in place for decades.¹⁰²

This chapter argues that the overarching objective of BLM, *RhodesMustFall* in Oxford and decolonization is to identify more effective strategies for dismantling racism, wherever it is to be found and in whatever form it manifests itself. These recent movements are to the CRT. They are all about campaigning for greater racial sensitivity and representation of other races in a white culture at tertiary institutions and society at large. Generally, there is a call for the decolonization of educational institutions and everywhere this global phenomenon can be found in any of its forms. The death of Floyd and others due to police brutality has awakened the world to this reality. The task is to recognize it and find more effective ways of dismantling racism. *Decolonization* should be understood in the constructive manner such as replacing some pictures symbolizing *colonialism* in public spaces and replacing them with local ones, and not in a destructive way. The intention is to share equally in all spheres of life and none should be unjustly treated by anyone. It should move from conceptual to actualization, from decoloniality of the mind to physical intervention in the public spaces, not focusing

¹⁰⁰ Helené, van Tonder. “Interview with Professor Philippe Denis.” (2015, 35:1) 3-4.

¹⁰¹ Philippe, Denis. “Teaching Christian history in the postmodern world”, (2019, 75:1) 5.

¹⁰² <https://www.gov.za/government-has-achieved-lot-and-apartheid-blame-underdevelopment-majority-south-africa>.

on *othering* transcending the dualisms can we move towards truly integrated spaces celebrating everyone's stories.¹⁰³

2.2 Apartheid: An overview

Long before the actual apartheid system, policies were implemented in South Africa that intended to segregate the population. In principle, the apartheid system of the National Party implemented similar policies of separation long before 1948. There were countries in the world which did not have segregation laws but in reality, they practice the same segregation. One point that needs to be made clear is that racism was not unique to South Africa, but was widespread in the world at the time. While it is true that racism was not systematically legalized everywhere, it certainly was practiced. The idea was racial superiority (a hierarchy of one race over another), motivated by a fear of the minority losing their culture and self within the majority who were blacks. The white government pretended that apartheid (which they called “separate development”) was good for black people, which of course was a fallacy.

The apartheid government passed numerous segregation laws. The ideology of the National Party was *apartness* whose main objective was the separate development of different racial groups in South Africa. It meant no social integration between different racial groups which caused some races to perceive themselves as racially superior while others were viewed as inferior.¹⁰⁴ Between 1950 and 1960, immediately before the period in which this study falls, several laws were made by the government. These included the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Population Registration Act (1950). The latter demanded that people be registered according to their racial groups (black, white,

¹⁰³ Karina, Landman & Kundani, Makakavhule. “Decolonizing Public Space in South Africa: from conceptualization to actualization” University of Pretoria, *Journal of Urban Design*. (2021, 26:5) 541 – 455.

¹⁰⁴ South African History online, article (Accessed 15th January, 2022).

coloured or Indian). Further to these, were the Group Areas Act (1950), and the Bantu Self Government Act (1959), on which the formation of homelands was based.¹⁰⁵

The Bantu Self-Government Act meant that different racial groups had to live in separate areas, with most blacks living in small areas called *homelands*. Likewise, the training of priests in the seminaries followed these separation guidelines.¹⁰⁶ Blacks were removed from the cities that were designated for whites and placed into townships or underdeveloped places far from cities or work.¹⁰⁷

2.3 Apartheid in the Bantustans

Critical Race Theory acknowledges the dignity and equality of all people. The Apartheid policies relate to the exclusive stories of segregation in America. Basing on all the above-mentioned movements used in the chapter, it is worth stating that with the movements used here and the African concepts of community and unity, there is a call for the deconstruction of segregation theories and of the exploitative principles of self-idolizing, self-dignifying and a superiority complex at the expense of black people. Dehumanizing and abusive powers also need to be deconstructed.¹⁰⁸

For Critical Race Theory, attitude on how other races perceive others in society requires change on how people are identified in their communities. It can be argued that even among the blacks, there was division in terms of tribes. The segregation based on race meant blacks stayed in disadvantaged areas while whites stayed in more advanced areas. Michael Nuttall, in trying to talk about relationships during apartheid, explained “with yourself which is loving yourself leading to love God and others unconditionally, and that you are loved, with no inferiority complex, self-worth, in loving others we

¹⁰⁵ South African History online (Accessed 15th March 2023).

¹⁰⁶ Philippe, Denis. “Seminary networks and Black Consciousness in South Africa in the 1970s”, *South African Historical Journal*, (2010, 62:1),162-182.

¹⁰⁷ Henry, Mbaya. *Resistance to and acquiescence in apartheid*, 1965-92. *African Sun Media*, (2018) 7.

¹⁰⁸ Daniel, J. Louw. “Black Pain is a White Commodity: Moving beyond postcolonial theory in practical theology”, Caesar MustFall, *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies*, (2017, 73:4)12-14.

move from hostility to hospitality, to be good Samaritan, hospitality speaks of openness, even to the stranger and alien”.¹⁰⁹

There are instances when this was not the case at the colleges of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. The reports from the bishops allude to relationships in general of the Anglican theological colleges that “the difficulties could better be dealt with by mutual consultation between white and black, staff and students, integration of staff and students, whites learning one or more of the vernaculars, brotherly love, prayer”.¹¹⁰

As part of its decolonization, theological studies at the College of Transfiguration are becoming more contextualized and thus give a better definition of the researcher as, “a contextualizing person who is conscious of her or his context and other people’s context, reflects critically on it and begins transforming it.”¹¹¹

2.4 Apartheid in the Church

Stuart Bate writes of a racist Church mirroring a racist society. He notes that the Roman Catholic Church like the Anglican church existed as two separate entities. Stuart called it ‘settlers Church with segregation attitudes’ and ‘mission Church for blacks’. The Church experienced and applied the apartheid laws, but it resisted in some areas.¹¹²

Bate further shows how the Roman Catholic Church had two seminaries within 50 km of each other. St. Peter’s in Hammanskraal for blacks and St. John Vianney in Pretoria for whites. He argues that generally the bishops were against segregation even though it was practiced within the Church. This separation within a denomination on the basis of race was not only in the Anglican Church but also in other denominations such as the Methodist Church as shown by Ndikho Mtshiselwa in the article on Black

¹⁰⁹ Michael Nuttall. “A Voice within Church and Society: A personal anthology. Christian Lives in Africa.” (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2015) 129.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. See Report to the College Council by the Principal, (1983) 2.

¹¹¹ Ibid

Methodist Consultation. That calls for racial transformation since the new dispensation in the country. It argues against the idea that whiteness exclusively provides reliable rationality and objectivity that produces knowledge.¹¹²

Within the Church, discrimination was subtle, Denis shows the manifestation of institutional and practical segregation whereby the white superiors questioned how black candidates could be incorporated into the Dominican Congregations of Oakford, Newcastle and eventually Montebello in inter-war Natal. With different timeframes, the Congregation ended up consenting to segregation between white and black sisters even though the black sisters preferred integration.¹¹³ This institutional and practical segregation can also be seen in the training of the first indigenous Roman Catholic priest in South Africa. Father Edward Muller Kece Mnganga (1872-1945) was made to feel inferior by his white fellow priests especially Father Bryant who assumed that Mnganga was mentally sick and needed rehabilitation since he would be violent.¹¹⁴

Henry Mbaya explains how white clergy had their own worldview of being superior to black clergy with a special reference to Bishop Alphaeus Zulu in Zululand whose house was in the location instead of town. In 1922, Bishop Fredrick Samuel Baines asserted that under one Church, whites and blacks can operate independently, which in a way affirms the assumption within the title of the article, 'Natives as God's step-children.'¹¹⁵

Simangaliso Khumalo and Henry Mbaya show Bishop Zulu experienced institutional and practical segregation inside and outside the Church including the time when he was suffragan bishop of the

¹¹² Ndikho Mtshiselwa. "The Emergence of the Black Methodist Consultation and its possible prophetic voice in postapartheid South Africa", *HTS Teologiese Studies/ Theological Studies* (2015, 71:3) 9.

¹¹³ Philippe, Denis. "Crossing the Lines of Race and Gender: The Quarrel on the Integration of the First Black Dominican Sisters in Natal", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, (2021, 47:2) 2,5,8.

¹¹⁴ George, Mukuka. "The Experience of the First Indigenous Catholic Priest in South Africa Fr. Edward Muller Kece Mnganga", *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, (2005, 31:2) 77-80.

¹¹⁵ Henry, Mbaya. "A native Ministry for God's Stepchildren. The Evolution of Missional Policy towards the Zulu in the Anglican Diocese of Natal, South Africa: 1904-1917", *International Review of Mission Journal*, (2015, 104:2) 361-365. ¹³³ Simangaliso, Kumalo and Henry, Mbaya. "Against all Odds: Alphaeus Zulu and Racism in Church and Society". *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* (2015, 41:2) 5,8-9.

diocese of St. John with very little powers in 1960. He would not do confirmation of white children. He was against apartheid and violence as the means to sort out the issues.¹¹⁶

The current archbishop of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, Thabo Magkoba, explains how difficult it was during apartheid especially for a black priest to be Vicar General or Dean in Johannesburg, because the rectory was in a white suburb. As the first black Archbishop Desmond Tutu had difficulties in moving into Cape Town suburb of Bishopscourt which was designated only for

whites. The segregation based on race meant Blacks had to stay in certain places and whites had to stay in different places.¹¹⁶

The European view was that blacks needed civilization first since they could not think for themselves. Blacks were *others* who needed supervision even within the Church. They were benefactors and subordinate to whites. This belittling of blacks by whites justified the aggression by the blacks. The reports of the secretary of the Southern African Theological Institutions in which the Anglican participated affirmed that,

“as the Church we have every reason to be aggressive for what we believe to be just and correct. Furthermore, we should move out of a situation of defence and excuses to a more aggressive and robust position. It was concluded that, as aggression was not the end, or we are caught in the atmosphere of self-satisfaction and pride, God forbid that we reach an awful stage and his spirit keep us from such great danger.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ <https://www.episcopalnewsservice.org/2021/02/03/we-can-name-the-evil-that-is-racism-a-conversation-with-archbishopthabo-makgoba/>

¹¹⁷ WCL, AB, J 2414. See minutes of the Association of Southern African Institution, the secretary’s report. (1975) 2.

While some Churches supported the liberation of black people from the discriminatory laws and policies of apartheid, others continued with the status quo.¹¹⁸ Even though the Anglican Church and other Churches seemed complacent, inactive, or silent in challenging apartheid laws,¹¹⁹ the Church confronted the racial discrimination by the government in all spheres of life.

Scholars have written on the justification of apartheid, based on the Scriptures which stressed the divine plan of division among races, as in the story of The Babylonian Spirit of Unification acting against God as the divider.¹²⁰ Different scholars have shown that the Church had to be a powerful presence inside out, not compromising the biblical message of acceptance of all people and not promoting unjust treatment of others. In relation to the theological justification of apartheid to maintain injustice, Gerald West articulates that “the Bible was successfully used to affirm the segregation laws by the colonizers, and by the missionaries as the two worked hand in hand.”¹²¹

The Anglican Church in Southern Africa had no intention to put the standard of education at the same level as the English formation since the two contexts are different,¹²² and was an agent in the fight against apartheid and other forms of segregation in education and other areas of life. The Anglican Church of Southern Africa (ACSA) discussed the liberation of blacks.¹²³

¹¹⁸ Simangaliso, Kumalo and Henry, Mbaya. “Against all odds: Alpheus Zulu and racism in church and society”, *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, (2015, 2), 6.

¹¹⁹ Peter, Lee. *Compromise and Courage: Anglicans in Johannesburg 1864-1999: a Divided Church Seeking Integrity*, (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2005). ¹³⁸ AB 1363, File 1, 1973.

¹²⁰ Robert, R Vosloo. “The Bible and the justification of apartheid in Reformed circles in the 1940's in South Africa: Some historical, hermeneutical and theological remarks”, *Stellenbosch Theological Journal*, (2015, 1:2), 196-197.

¹²¹ Gerald, O. West. “Accountable African Biblical Scholarship: Post-colonial and Tri-polar”, *Canon and Culture*, (2016, 10:2) 42.

¹²² WCL, AB 2414, H2. See Report to the College Council by the Principal Robin Briggs. (1983) 3.

¹²³ Bob, Clarke. *Anglicans against Apartheid, 1936 - 1996*. (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008) 123.

According to Tutu liberation theology is “the genesis of liberation and black theology which starts with addressing social and political issues of people who are victims of organized oppression and racism.”¹²⁴ The argument is that all people need to feel and realize their humanity and not doubt their dignity as truth. The Black Consciousness Movement awakened black people on their intrinsic worth not as slaves for bondage and labour. Boesak states that “blackness was the only reason blacks were oppressed and not born white, therefore, they did not deal with us as human”.¹²⁵

2.5 Conclusion

Following the presentation in the chapter, it can be concluded that apartheid of the old system is over,¹²⁶ yet racial discrimination is still here for some years to come. Thus, the theories Black Lives Matter, Fees Must Fall movements and decolonization connect well with the Critical Race Theory. The issue of racial injustice will always be a topic to be discussed and will continue to be into the future.¹²⁷ In a similar vein, Cornel West argues that the colour issue remains as from the twenty first century, with blacks though less in drug addiction but they suffer more in convictions.¹²⁸

Chapter Three will discuss the history of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa and the three Theological Colleges namely, St. Peter’s, St. Paul’s and St. Bede’s.

¹²⁴ Desmond, Tutu. “The genesis of liberation theology in Africa”. *In African theology en route*. Appiah-Kufi Kobi ed. (Accra: Orbis Books Publishers, 1981) 163.

¹²⁵ Allen, Boesak. “A Consciousness liberation theology in South Africa”. *In African theology en route*. Appiah-Kufi Kobi ed. (Accra: Orbis Books Publishers, 1981) 169.

¹²⁶ <https://www.episcopalnewsservice.org/2021/02/03/we-can-name-the-evil-that-is-racism-a-conversation-with-archbishopthabo-makgoba/>

¹²⁷ Michael, MacDonald. “Why Race Matters in South Africa. Pietermaritzburg”. (2006) 169, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

¹²⁸ Cornel, West. “Race matters”, (2001) 8-10.

CHAPTER 3

The Anglican Church of Southern Africa

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the history of the Anglican Church in South Africa. It also looks at Anglican theological colleges where ordinands for ministry were trained. The first part of this chapter deals with ecclesiological, liturgical and doctrinal matters that the students at St. Bede's learnt and were called to apply to the ministry. They relate to the topic on the education and training of clergy at St. Bede's during apartheid era.

3.2 Political background

3.2.1 *The British and the Boers conflicts*

The British occupied the Cape of Good Hope from 1795 to 1802, and then permanently from 1806 onwards. They occupied the coastal region of Natal in 1843.¹²⁹ The discovery of diamond in 1869 and of gold in 1886 in South Africa caused the influx of European investors into the territory. Land was on demand by the foreign and the local businesses.¹³⁰ This caused conflicts between them and blacks as the latter tried to defend their land.¹³¹ The shortage of land caused conflicts even among the settlers themselves. The Boers and British settlers fought for control over the land.¹³² Many black farmers were forced to work as labourers on the land they had previously owned.¹³³ The effect of mines on blacks was

¹²⁹ <https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Africa/British-occupation-of-the-Cape> (Accessed on 18th April, 2023). ¹⁴⁹ James, Cochrane. *Servants of power. The role of English-speaking churches 1903 – 1930*. (Johannesburg: Ravans Press, 1987) 25-27.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*

¹³¹ AB1236. "The community of the resurrection. Article of 1918." *In the native problem. Pronouncement by Provincial Synod of 1904, the Church's duty to the native races in South Africa*.

¹³² <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/britain-takes-control-cape> (Accessed on 15th July, 2022).

<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/land-dispossession-resistance-and-restitution> (Accessed on 16th July, 2022). Bob, Clarke. *Anglicans against Apartheid, 1936 – 1996*, (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008) 279.

institutionalised forms of black labour control such as the closed-up compound/ hostel system, in which men lived alone without their families.¹³⁴

Migrant labour ensured a supply of cheap wage labour to the mining and the farming sectors. Mine owners found prison labour cheaper and tractable. The ethnic groups were separated from each other to make it difficult for 'natives' to form groups with others to riot against their living conditions. There was population displacement around 1815. The British caused wars with the local tribes, defeated them and took their land as Colonies.¹³⁵ The mining industry was controlled by the labour force which ensured no questions or strikes by the workers. According to Clarke, both Bishops Philip Russell and Alpheus Zulu had spoken and preached against such inhuman acts. Church structures were dominated by whites, including theological colleges.¹³⁶

3.2.2 Impact of mining on women and families

The closed-up compounds/ hostels system for many men from within and outside the country had effects such as the spread of tuberculosis and HIV-related diseases and the separation of men from their families. St. Bede's theological college experienced difficulties in bringing in the families of married students.¹³⁷ This is still a challenge for the college today.

3.2.3 How the early Anglican Church dealt with the racial issues

The Anglican Bishops like Archbishop Robert Selby Taylor felt the church was persecuted and needed to speak with one voice against injustices of apartheid.¹³⁸ This was also part of the standing together with the

¹³⁴ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/land-dispossession-resistance-and-restitution> (Accessed on 16th July, 2022).
Bob, Clarke. *Anglicans against Apartheid, 1936 – 1996*, (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2008) 279.

¹³⁵ Clarke. *Anglicans against Apartheid, 1936 – 1996*, (2008).¹⁵⁵
Ibid, (2008) 278-279.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ AB1886. Diocese of St. John: Transkei. Federal Theological Seminary of South Africa – correspondence – 1960 – 1976.

¹³⁸ Clarke. *Anglicans against Apartheid*, (2008) 221. And AB1886, F1. Diocese of St. John: Transkei.

rest of the Church for St. Bede's, to witness the justice of Christ in the turbulent socio-political environment without being biased. The Anglican Church encouraged black people to accept and believe in themselves, and that the concept of 'Catholicity' which universally refers to all people as created in the image and likeness of God, be understood by all. The Church also argued that the relationships of all people from different races and cultures be mutual and respecting.¹³⁸ The clergy of the diocese of Natal expressing their concern over the closure of St. Peter's college saying , "it is very heartening to see, and

hear our bishops taking a stance in the fight against government by the oppressive minority in South Africa..."¹³⁹

In one of his addresses to the students as rector of the college at St. Bede's. Rev. Njongonkulu Ndungane addressed the students saying,

"the perception that blacks have nothing to contribute... can the spell be taken away? ... it can be taken away ... it is a matter of urgency ... what needs to be done, for blacks to come together to take a corrective action in a society that is extremely tainted by racism ... it is time for blacks to come and reason together about so many things that happen in the life of the church, and indeed in the life of the nation ... we need to develop ourselves ...transformation must happen ... we need to rediscover who we are ..." ¹⁴⁰

3.4 The Anglican Church – ecclesiological, liturgical and doctrinal matters

By the time Hinchliff wrote his book, the Anglican Church had 14 dioceses across Southern Africa, consisting of British settlers and Portuguese in the South East and about 1,250,000 members.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ AB1886, S8.5. Diocese of St. John. St. Bede's College on Finances, 1950 – 1964.

¹³⁹ AB1886 (S8.4), File 1. Diocese of St. John. St. Bede's College, minutes and Reports, 1973 – 1983. Letter to the bishops of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, June 1983.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Peter Hinchliff. *The Anglican Church in South Africa. An Account of the history and development of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, (London, Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963) 1, 243-245.

Before the Anglican Church had formal theological colleges, the training for ministry was done by the clergy in their local churches. They did not have formal theological training institutions.¹⁴² But the bishops had the idea of establishing theological colleges. In 1872, the year of his death, Robert Gray, the Metropolitan bishop took the initiative and asserted that theological colleges were institutions that the province needed most. Many attempts to open colleges had been made before but failed. Upon arriving in Cape Town in 1848, Bishop Gray set up a theological school in a wing of his residence for a very few ordinands whom he had gathered. Hopkins Badnall, who was his companion on the ship from England, became the theological tutor. They could have discussed this on the journey to South Africa.¹⁴³

The arrival of Bishop Robert Gray in 1848 brought positive changes in the early Anglican Church in South Africa. He was considered a high church bishop and so Anglicanism has a strong Anglo-Catholic ethos even in ministerial training.¹⁴⁴ This is commonly agreed among scholars such as Andrew-John Bethke, Peter Hinchliff, Michael Nuttall.¹⁴⁵ A simple distinction is set between *high* and *low churchmanship*, since high churchmanship tends to draw a distinction between sacred and secular. A priest is set apart with a specific role and authority, while low church practice is the opposite.¹⁴⁶

The first colonial bishop was supported by the Colonial Bishopric's Fund and the Society for the propagation of the Gospel. The *English Church* as it was known reflected or reproduced British

¹⁴² Goedhals. "Ungumpriste, A study of the life of Peter Masiza", (1989)68. Alludes to the training of the Anglican clergy. ¹⁶⁵ Charles, Norris. *Gray, Life of Robert Gray, bishop of Cape Town and metropolitan of Africa*, London 1876, ii. 552. See Hinchliff, *Anglican Church in South Africa*, (1963) 36.

¹⁴³ Nuttall, "Theological training in historical perspective", 35.

¹⁴⁴ Micheal, Nuttall. "Theological Training in historical perspectives: A South Africa Anglican Review", (2006) 318 and Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa* (1963) 137.

¹⁴⁵ Andrew, John, Bethke. "Fledgling South Africa Anglicanism and the Roots of Ritualism", *Studia Historica Ecclesiasticae*, Unisa Publication, (2020, 46:3) 1.

¹⁴⁶ Alan, Peter, Beckman. *A Clash of Churchmanship: Robert Gray and Evangelical Anglicans 1847–1872. MA thesis*, (North-West University, (2021) 16.

churchmanship, the parochial life of the British of the 18th century ¹⁴⁷ and Andrew John Bethke attests to this.¹⁴⁸

The early Anglican Church in South Africa had a low church worship style that was visible throughout the Church infrastructure. The vestments were simple and the colonial clergy chaplains were more evangelical in ministry. Despite the attachment to the Calvinistic tradition, there was still a need for a local bishop through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which was responsible to the British government.

Prior to the arrival of Gray in 1848, there was no Anglican bishop in South Africa. Indian and Australian bishops performed episcopal duties,¹⁴⁹ and the secular episcopal duties were assigned to the governor. There were no parishes and there was no clergy formation yet. The Anglican Church came under the control of the governor and the military chaplains.¹⁵⁰ Gray, the new bishop of Cape Town, arrived in 1848. He was regarded as a high churchman with a belief in the apostolic succession, inherited Anglican liturgy and sacramental emphases, a strong belief in the supremacy of the Bible and accepted creeds, the importance of the Early Church and its witness, sacramental grace and its outworking in good works; and a belief in the divine right of a royal line of rulers, exemplified in a strong bond between Church and state. Following his belief in the apostolic succession, with its idea of hierarchy and pastoral oversight of an episcopal area, Gray implemented the practice of appointing a bishop in a local geographical area by appointing Charles Mackenzie (1825-1862) as missionary bishop to Zambezi before a diocese was

¹⁴⁷ John, W. De Gruchy. "Grappling with a Colonial Heritage: The English-speaking Churches under Imperialism and Apartheid", in *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social & Cultural History*. Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport (eds), (Creda Press Cape Town, 1997)155.

¹⁴⁸ Andrew, John, Bethke. "Fledgling South Africa Anglicanism and the Roots of Ritualism." (2020, 46:3)1. ¹⁷² Peter, Hinchliff. *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, (1963) 24-26.

¹⁴⁹ Alan, Peter, Beckman. *A Clash of Churchmanship: Robert Gray and Evangelical Anglicans 1847–1872*. MA thesis. (North-West University, 2011) 26-29.

¹⁵⁰ Peter, Hinchliff. *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, (1963) 10-11, and *Historical Fragments on the Establishment of other Churches after 1804 in 'History of the Church in South Africa': A Document and Source Book*. Hofmer JW, Millard JA and Froneman CJJ (eds), (University of South Africa, 1991) 90. ¹⁷⁵ Alan, Peter, Beckman. "A Clash of Churchmanship: Robert Gray and Evangelical Anglicans 1847–1872." (2021) 37. ¹⁷⁶ Arrival of Bishop Robert Gray in 'History of the Church in South Africa': A Document and Source Book. Hofmer JW, Millard JA and Froneman CJJ (eds). (University of South Africa, 1991) 91.

established there. Gray was devoted to the *Book of Common Prayer 1662* ¹⁵¹ and requested his clergy to hold on to the liturgy of the United Church of England and Ireland. He introduced daily services at the Cathedral in Cape Town and emphasized the observation of Lent, including fasting, almsgiving and prayer.¹⁵² Gray defended the Bible constantly and the structure on which British society and the British Empire were built. He valued high church practices and appealed for synodical Church governance. Gray would be considered a high churchman in his views on the Holy Communion and baptismal regeneration. According to Bethke,

‘in terms of the sacraments, Gray would probably be considered high church. His views on the Holy Communion never took him to the Tractarian extremes which James Green (1821–1906), one of his clergy recruits, espoused. He tended to accept what he had received without any change. Likewise, in terms of baptism, he did not rock the boat, although it seems that he advocated baptismal regeneration.’¹⁵³

It is a bit difficult to conclude whether Gray was high or low church. Scholarly works seems to support the idea that he started his episcopal ministry much in the high church. However, the situations in South Africa influenced him to a Tractarian position. Eventually, in terms of the Province of South Africa,

¹⁵¹ Charles, Villa-Vicencio. *Trapped in Apartheid*, (United States of America, 1988)16.

¹⁵² Cecil Lewis and G. E. Edwards. *Historical records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, (London, 1934) 34. ¹⁷⁹ Peter, Hinchliff. *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, (1963) 49.

¹⁵³ Andrew, John, Bethke. “Fledgling South Africa Anglicanism and the Roots of Ritualism”, (2020, 46:3) 9. ¹⁸¹ Ibid.

“Gray's influence and actions meant that the ideals of Tractarianism, and later ritualism, could begin to characterize Anglicanism. Since the church was not linked to government, ritual and doctrine were not a matter of secular law in the South African context.”¹⁵⁴

Gray can be viewed as a pioneer of missionary expansion since he had the vision of finding a Church independent of the English. It covered a huge geographical area where he could administer and expand the Anglican work.¹⁵⁵

The Anglican Church was ecumenical with other churches such as the Dutch Reformed Church. However, the relationship was not fruitful since the Anglicans insisted on episcopal authority, whereas the Dutch Reformed Church did not have this hierarchical system.¹⁵⁶ In any case, Gray showed willingness to look beyond the bounds of Anglicanism itself,¹⁵⁷ and not forgetting that the Great Trek (1835) had an impact as well on the two churches' relationship. Somehow, this also demonstrates his own Calvinistic perspectives, which he may have absorbed over many years of Anglican worship through the strongly Calvinistic *Book of Common Prayer 1662*.

Here it can be argued that Gray did not compromise on the three-fold ministry of bishops, priests and deacons, with bishops as leaders, who, in a way, were reinforcing apostolic succession. He appointed clergy who had the Tractarian spirituality.¹⁵⁸ Tractarianism can be described as the religious opinions and principles of the founders of the Oxford Movement, in favour of the restoration of certain Catholic doctrines and practices such as the real presence of Jesus Christ in the eucharist.¹⁵⁹ According to Bethke,

¹⁵⁴ Joseph, Hardwick. “Anglican Church Expansion and the Recruitment of Colonial Clergy for New South Wales and the Cape Colony, c. 1790-1850”, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, (2009:37,3) 361-381.

¹⁵⁵ Joseph. “Anglican Church Expansion and the Recruitment of Colonial Clergy, (2009:37,3) 361-381.

¹⁵⁶ Peter, Hinchliff. *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, (1963).

¹⁵⁷ Alan, Peter, Beckman. “A Clash of Churchmanship: Robert Gray and Evangelical Anglicans 1847–1872”, (2021). ¹⁸⁵ Andrew-John Bethke. “Fledgling South Africa Anglicanism and the Roots of Ritualism”. (2020, 46:3)13.

¹⁵⁸ Alan, Peter, Beckman. “A Clash of Churchmanship”, (2021) 33-35.

¹⁵⁹ <https://www.yourdictionary.com/tractarianism> [Accessed 13/07/22]

“one of the broader movements, which sought to revive an awareness of the Catholicity of Anglicanism during the nineteenth century, was Tractarianism.”¹⁶⁰

One would say that Gray gradually introduced Episcopal Policy in South Africa. This can be seen by Gray's practical initiatives, such as his establishment in 1869 of a religious community called the St George's Sisters in Cape Town. However, Hinchliff seems to suggest that Gray was not a product of this movement. Bethke also comments that the Anglican Church in Southern Africa was not always Tractarian.¹⁶¹ Gray's influence and actions meant that the ideals of Tractarianism, and later ritualism, would begin to characterize Anglicanism in the Province. This meant that the Church could be independent of the government. Ritual and doctrine were not a matter of secular law. The bishop of Natal, John William Colenso, whose controversy was mostly over his interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans, the liturgical analysis of the hymns and the psalms has been the object of a detailed study by Ian Darby.¹⁶²

John William Colenso, once the bishop of Natal, was ex-communicated due to controversy in his interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans, as affirmed by Ian Darby. Further to this, Colenso's liturgical analysis of the hymns and the psalms were subsequently problematic too.

Hinchliff seems to deny that the controversy was between those who held a *high church doctrine* and those who held a *low church doctrine*, that is Tractarians and Evangelicals, saying that it was rather like

¹⁶⁰ Andrew, John, Bethke. “Fledgling South Africa Anglicanism and the Roots of Ritualism”, (2020, 46:3). ¹⁸⁹ Peter, Hinchliff. *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, (1963) 30.

¹⁶¹ Andrew, John, Bethke, (2020, 46:3) 1. ¹⁹¹ Ibid, (2020,46:3) 51.

¹⁶² Darby, Ian. *Anglican Worship in Victorian Natal. MA thesis: University of Natal*. (1977). and see also Andrew-John Bethke. “John William Colenso's Collection of Psalms and Hymns for St Peter's Cathedral”, (2021, 47:3) 2-3.

labelling of the Province a *high Church* province.¹⁶³ From reading Hinchliff's writing on this subject one would concur with the statement that the Province was high church by then.

The World Anglican Communion rejected Colenso by distancing itself from his churchmanship, missionary style and biblical commentaries,¹⁶⁴ which were shaped by his belief in God's presence in all cultures. His mission work and published works were unacceptable to his Dean and Metropolitan and this led to his excommunication.

The Colenso saga was one of the main matters that led to the first Lambeth Conference in 1867. Gray advocated a system of provincial and diocesan synods, the latter being subordinate¹⁶⁵ to the former. This was accepted and mechanisms for the development of local constitutions were created by a subcommittee of the Conference.¹⁶⁶ In reality, Gray hoped that the Anglican bishops from around the world would gather in synod to debate and promulgate international Church law, discipline and doctrine. Their vision was hierarchical and fell very much within the areas of Tractarian teaching regarding the authority of the bishop.

In 1863, Gray disapproved of Colenso's heretical teaching, took him to court which found him guilty of denying the authenticity of some of the books in the Bible.¹⁶⁷ Gray later excommunicated Colenso. However, the leaders of the Church of England argued that the Anglican Communion had no institutional hierarchy to impose discipline on its members, but may simply consult or advise, since each bishop has only jurisdictional power over his province or diocese.¹⁶⁸

During its first synod in 1870, the independent Church of Southern African discussed the constitutional separation of the Church from the Church of England so that it could have its own canons and metropolitan archbishop, though still recognising the doctrinal standards of the Church of England and

¹⁶³ Peter Hinchliff. *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, (1963) 190-191.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. Page 190.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. Page 112.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. Page 113.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid pages 92-93, 96-98.

¹⁶⁸ Andrew, John, Bethke. "Fledgling South Africa Anglicanism and the Roots of Ritualism", (2020, 46:3) 12. ¹⁹⁹ Peter Hinchliff, (1963) 114.

as long as fellowship was not broken, as affirmed by Suggit.¹⁶⁹ This can be seen in the constitution of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa that was adopted around that time and is still in operation.¹⁷⁰

It was within this context that South Africa's Anglican constitution was drafted in the 1860s and passed in 1870 at the Church's first Provincial Synod. The synod adopted the standards of faith of the Church of England, its doctrines, sacraments and its general discipline. However, unlike its English mother church, it was specifically created as a voluntary association which voluntarily accepted the diocesan boundaries, the authority of bishops and the respective legislative synods.¹⁷¹

Thus, it did not allow any interference from secular legal bodies, unless the Church specifically requested their advice or when a direct reaction arose against the numerous secular battles which characterized the episcopal mission of the 1850s and 1860s. But it allowed for the amendment of some practices like liturgy, provided that any change was done in the spirit of the general Anglican ethos and did not infringe on the *Book of Common Prayer 1662*, the accepted creeds and the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion.¹⁷² It was these specific concessions which allowed Anglo-Catholic doctrine and practice to begin to take root.

Thus far, we have presented the earliest days of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa as being characterized by autonomous congregations, served by unlicensed clergy, and functioning mostly on a democratic system where laity held a great deal of power. This might have caused friction between clergy and the laity because there was a lack of clarity about where clergy and laity duties overlapped.

¹⁶⁹ John, Suggit. *The Anglican Way*, (1999) 16.

¹⁷⁰ AB2891. Article 1. Constitution of Church of the Province of South Africa (1870).

¹⁷¹ John Suggit (1999) 114.

¹⁷² Beckman, Alan, Peter. *A Clash of Churchmanship: Robert Gray and Evangelical Anglicans 1847–1872. MA thesis*. (North-West University, 2011).

The fact that the Anglican Church was (and still is) episcopal did not necessarily mean that it functioned “independently” of the state. In South Africa as was the case in England, the Anglican Church was very much subject to the state. Even though institutionally independent but for all practical purposes it was subject to state. But as an independent church from the state, the episcopal Church was not answerable to the state on matters of doctrine, liturgy and ceremony. The highest authority in these matters was now the Metropolitan Bishop. If the Metropolitan accepted the Tractarian tradition, then out of respect for the bishop and clergy, the laity accepted matters of worship without questioning or opposing the authority of the clergy.

Finally, the fact that Bishop Gray was willing to consecrate a missionary bishop, Charles Mackenzie, showed ordinary Tractarian and ritualist clergy that he was positioning himself directly within the auspices of the general Catholicizing movement within Anglicanism. An evangelical bishop is unlikely to have taken such a bold step, especially since it entailed creating a bishopric outside of the British Empire. Such a move would, no doubt, have lifted popular Tractarian, ecclesiastic and ritualist opinion of him fairly high, and thus encouraged young men of such views to opt for South Africa.¹⁷³

3.4 The notion of high church

The notion of high church in the Anglican Church refers to the valuing apostolic succession and its expression through the traditional three-fold ordained ministry (deacon, priest and bishop); the inherited liturgy and sacraments of the Church; the supremacy of the Bible, along with the accepted creeds; the importance of the Early Church and its witness; sacramental grace and its outworking in good works, embodied in self-denial and charity (as opposed to the evangelical focus on individual spiritual conversion and ecstatic experiences); and a belief in the divine right of a royal line of rulers, exemplified in a strong bond between Church and state.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Peter, Hinchliff. *The Anglican Church in South Africa*, (1963) 47.

¹⁷⁴ Andrew, John, Bethke. “Fledgling South Africa Anglicanism and the Roots of Ritualism”, (2020, 46:3) 3. ²⁰⁶ Ibid. (2020, 46:3) 6 -7.

Moreover, it supports the belief in apostolic succession; divine right episcopacy; the Church as legitimate interpreter and custodian of Scripture as mediated through the Catholic traditions of antiquity; priestly vocation and anointing; the real presence at the Eucharist; Eucharistic sacrifice; baptismal regeneration; the power of the ordained clergy to forgive sins; and the autonomy of the Church from the state.

Hinchliff notes that clergy were not necessarily against the diocesan structures that a bishop would bring, but the congregations themselves seemed to prefer the independence to which they had become accustomed. *Democratisation* of hierarchical ecclesiastical models was not unique to Anglicanism, or to the Cape. Hewitt claims that the colonial clergy of the time were not licensed and were only subject to the governor of the Cape Colony. Gray's diocese covered what is now the geographical region of South Africa. It was one of the largest dioceses in the world at the time.¹⁷⁵

Between the 1830s and the 1860s, a new and more militant form of Anglo-Catholic revival began with its emphasis on ritualism. One aspect of such ritualism was the doctrine of the real presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist. For the early Tractarians, real presence was a "spiritual" reality; but for the ritualists it had become a physical one.¹⁷⁶ The reality of the physical presence required, in their minds, the appropriate liturgical and ceremonial context; hence the revival of Roman Catholic ceremonies and manual actions, as well as the introduction of incense. Reading Peter Hinchliff, one would suggest that high churchmen embody these characteristics, distinctive understanding and practice of doctrines, structures and liturgy.¹⁷⁷

Upon visiting one church in the Eastern Cape, Gray concluded that, "the people are too often coarse and offensive."¹⁷⁸ In 1840, the congregation had accused their chaplain of paganism for advocating fasting

¹⁷⁵ Peter, Hinchliff, (1963) 24-26. see Denis (1998)75-82 on ecclesiastical model.

¹⁷⁶ Andrew, John, Bethke, (2020, 46:3) 2.

¹⁷⁷ Peter, Hinchliff, (1963) 49,94-95,137.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, 39.

and wearing a surplice.¹⁷⁹ When Gray was coming to South Africa in 1848, he recruited James Green to accompany him. In 1854 Green was appointed Dean of the newly created Diocese of Natal and was to become a thorn in Bishop John Colenso's flesh. Green became highly ritualistic throughout his ministry.

It is worth mentioning that, besides Tractarianism, other movements such as the Ecclesiology movement were part of Catholicizing initiatives within Anglicanism.

Around 1795, the Anglican Church in South Africa had external military governors who exercised power over the bishop in Cape Town. The governor appointed chaplains, but they could not confirm lay people or ordain priests. This was done by the Asian bishop for a while.

3.5 Theological training in South Africa

According to Denis, prior to 1883 half the Anglican clergy had never attended theological education.¹⁸⁰

While the theological colleges that came earlier practiced segregation between blacks and whites, it is worth mentioning that some black clergy travelled to Canterbury to attend St Augustine's College. While overseas, they would have studied in an interracial community, with students from across the Anglican world. While this was not a fully integrated programme, it certainly was looking towards that model.

Also worth mentioning is that the earliest model for missionary white clergy and black clergy was that they sometimes trained together. An example of this is Daniel Malgas (black Xhosa priest) and one of his white counterparts who were trained together at the Institute in Grahamstown in the 1870s. They remained friends for their lives and worked on translating Xhosa hymns together.

A theological college was opened in Grahamstown for white ordinands in 1902 and seven were opened around the country for blacks. In 1930s, they were reduced to three: namely, St. Peter's College in

¹⁷⁹ Andrew, John, Bethke, (2020, 46:3) 7.

²¹² Ibid. (2020, 46:3)10.

¹⁸⁰ Philippe, Denis. "The Beginning of Anglican Theological Education in South Africa", (2012:63,3) 516.

Johannesburg and St Paul's in Grahamstown were predominantly white, and St. Bede's in Umtata was for blacks. St. Peter's became part of the Federal Theological Seminary in Alice in 1963.¹⁸¹

The Federal Theological Seminary was formed on an ecumenical basis by the Anglican, the Methodist, the Presbyterian and the Congregational Churches. It opened in Alice but became problematic because of the support that was given by the staff and the students of Fedsem to the students of nearby Fort Hare University who were protesting against segregation in higher education.¹⁸² Segregation existed also in the training for ministry, showing contrasting models of training for white and black ministers. In the early sixties close to 100 young men trained for the priesthood in the Anglican Church, around thirty at St Peter's in Rosettenville, thirty-five at St Bede's in Umtata, and a similar number at St Paul's in Grahamstown.¹⁸³

3.5.1 St. Paul's in Grahamstown

From its establishment in 1902 to the mid-1970s, all the students of St. Paul's were white.¹⁸⁴ While most students went to St. Paul's, some candidates for the ministry continued to be trained in England. Under the rectorship of John Espin in 1902, the college had one student by the name of W. Farre. But in 1906 there were six students at the college. After an extension of the building the number of ordinands continued to increase. By the time the college celebrated its thirtieth anniversary in 1932, 108 students

¹⁸¹ Hinchliff, *Anglican Church in South Africa*, (1963) 245; Philippe Denis and Graham Duncan. *The Native School that caused all the Trouble* (2011) 47.

¹⁸² Philippe Denis. "The Beginning of Anglican Theological Education in South Africa", (2012).

Philippe Denis. (2012) 517.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Henry, Mbaya. *Resistance to and Acquiescence in Apartheid*. (2018)5. Philippe Denis' Personal communication with Jonathan Draper, 31 Dec. 2008. According to Gqubule, Archbishop Joost de Blank sent two African students to St. Paul's in 1961–2: 'An examination', 200. On St Paul's College see Lewis and Edwards, Historical records, 204–7, and Chichele Hewitt, 'A history of St Bede's and St Paul's College' in *Change and Challenge* (1998) 120, *The College of the Transfiguration Journal* (1994) 38–46. See also notes by Philippe Denis on Anglican Theological Education (2012), courses offered at St. Peter; Biblical studies, early church history, pastoral theology, prayer book, the constitution and the canons of the church of the province, the three creeds and thirty-nine articles, (2012) 560.

had been admitted and 82 of them had proceeded to ordination. During the early years of St Paul's, the college followed English colleges' standards and rules, with six services daily, and silence was observed especially during the mid-day prayers.¹⁸⁵

St Paul's whites-only¹⁸⁶ character caused uneasiness in some parts of the Church. At a diocesan synod held in Johannesburg in 1941 Bernard Sigamoney, an Indian priest, moved that all restrictions on the admission of non-white students to St Paul's be removed, but his motion was defeated.¹⁸⁷ While he was bishop of Grahamstown in the early 1960s, Robert Selby Taylor took steps to desegregate theological education in his diocese, but it was not until 1976 that the first black student was admitted to St Paul's. From then onwards the number of Coloured and African students gradually increased.¹⁸⁸

3.5.2 St. Peter's in Johannesburg

Another initiative in theological education for black people was the opening of St Peter's Theological College in Doornfontein, Johannesburg, in 1903. This was under the oversight of the Community of the Resurrection (CR), an Anglican religious community for men founded in England in 1892. St. Peter's became the only option for black and coloured ordinands, and the college relocated from Rosettenville to Alice in 1963 to become a constituent college of Fedsem.¹⁸⁹

In 1927 South Africa counted seven theological colleges for blacks.¹⁹⁰ This number was subsequently reduced to two: one for the North and one for the South. Pretoria had opened a theological school, St

¹⁸⁵ Philippe, Denis, (2012) 530.

¹⁸⁶ Peter, Hinchliff. (1963) 245.

¹⁸⁷ Philippe Denis. (2012) 523, and see Peter Lee, *Compromise and courage*. (2005).

¹⁸⁸ Hewitt. "History of St Bede's and St Paul's College", (1998).

¹⁸⁹ Peter, Hinchliff. (1963) 245.

¹⁹⁰ James, Dexter, Taylor. *Christianity and the natives of South Africa: a year-book of South African Missions*. (Lovedale, General Missionary Conference of South Africa, 1927) 203.

Cuthbert's College, for training students in prayer, study and work.¹⁹¹ Edwin Farmer, the Director of Native Missions, arrived in Pretoria in 1894 and gathered 60 black men to work for the Church, aiming to have them outshine whites in ministry.¹⁹²

The bishop of Pretoria, Henry Bousfield, invited the CR Fathers to establish a theological college at St. Cuthbert's as a response to Edwin Farmer's appeal. Unfortunately, there was a misunderstanding among them and the project was put on hold until 1903 when it was revived with the establishment of St Peter's College in Doornfontein under the direction of three CR Fathers from England.¹⁹³

Under the CR Community, in 1920 15 black priests were ordained and the diocese of Pretoria had trained 150 catechists. The increase in people joining ministry could have forced St Peter's to relocate to bigger premises in Rosettenville, in the south of Johannesburg. Until separation was possible, the catechists continued to be trained at St. Peter's as the standard of education in the college were high. By 1937, there were 188 catechists and 75 ordinands training at St Peter's.¹⁹⁴

Charles Johnson the first archdeacon in the Diocese of Zululand trained ordinands from the diocese at St Augustine's, Nqutu in the 1880s. By 1892 three were ordained deacons. Another theological college was established in Isandlwana for the training of catechists, evangelists and teachers. It was opened in the same year but closed in 1918 after having moved to KwaMagwaza near Melmoth.¹⁹⁵ It was taken back to Isandlwana in 1923 for only three years. In 1933 it opened again, this time as a joint theological school,

¹⁹¹ Osmund, Victor. *The thin black line*. (Brighton, 1914). 7–8, quoted in Gqubule, 'An examination', 192. A copy of this rare 32-page pamphlet is kept at WCL, BX 5185 VIC.

¹⁹² Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3) 525.

¹⁹³ Philippe, Denis and Graham, Duncan. (2011) 36.

¹⁹⁴ Philippe, Denis and Graham, Duncan. (2011)193. On St Peter's College see also WCL, AB 2414, A7 and Lee (2005) 86. Philippe, Denis and Graham, Duncan. (2011) 37, see also <https://sanationalsociety.co.za/rorkes-drift-st-augustinesmission-1898/> (Accessed on 19th July, 2022).

¹⁹⁵ Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3) 526.

with St Vincent's College, for the dioceses of Natal and Zululand. Later, in 1938, the training of theological students from the diocese of Zululand was transferred to St Peter's.¹⁹⁶

3.5.3 St. Bede's in Umtata

It is important to note that the name 'Umtata' hereby has been preferred to the name 'Mthatha' because that was the original name when the college was in existence, otherwise the city today is referred to as Mthatha, the name change happened in 2004.¹⁹⁷

Henry Callaway, who became the first bishop of the Anglican diocese of St. John, Umtata, was a pioneer in theological education for black clergy. He paved the way for the establishment of St Bede's College in Umtata. Henry Callaway was a follower of Bishop John Colenso as the first African agent. Callaway came from England in 1854, and while stationed at Springvale, many young men were trained for ministry. More will be said about Callaway in chapter four.

When a new diocese was formed between the dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal, Callaway was consecrated as the bishop of St. John, Kaffraria in 1876. Callaway's initiative was to move students into board with him, so much so that by 1878 there were fourteen black boys staying with him while studying catechism.¹⁹⁸ In 1879, Callaway established St John's Theological College in Umtata with the intention of training young blacks as lay ministers. Although the new school was primarily a teachers' training college, there was a separate department for young men who were preparing for ordination.¹⁹⁹ By the end of 1911,

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ <https://www.wildcoast.co.za/towns-of-historical-interest> (Accessed 28th May, 2023).²³³

Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3) 524.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ M. S. Bentham, Henry Callaway M.D., D.D. First bishop for Kaffraria: his life – history and work, (London 1896) 318, 321, quoted in Ngewu, 'A review', 21.

nine African priests and fourteen deacons had been trained at St. Bede's, and were serving in the diocese of St John's. The notion of a central theological college was in the pipeline.²⁰⁰

3.7 A central theological college for black ordinands

Long before the third Provincial Missionary Conference in 1906, the idea of a central theological college for black ordinands was discussed with St Paul's College in Grahamstown as the point of reference for black students. The question was whether they wanted the theological colleges for 'blacks' to be diocesan, combined for two or three dioceses, or centralized at the level of the Province. By the 1930s, suitability and location of the central college for black candidates had been addressed conclusively.²⁰¹

According to a report by the meeting of the heads of theological institutions held in 1934, South Africa had only four theological colleges left, namely: St. Bede's, Umtata; St. Peter's, Rosettenville; St. Matthew's, Keiskammahoek; and St. Vincent's, Isandlwana. St. Augustine's, Modderpoort was suspended for some years. St. Matthew's closed in 1935 and St. Vincent's in 1938.²⁰²

In 1938, the Provincial Missionary Conference recommended to the episcopal synod that, St. Peter's in Rosettenville was to be recognized as a 'Provincial College for black ordinands', while the idea of the development of St Bede's, Umtata as a Theological College for black ordinands was to be maintained.²⁰³ The two suggestions were accepted by the episcopal synod.²⁰⁴ In practice, after 1938 the two theological colleges in the Province were operating as provincial centres of ministerial training, St Peter's for the

²⁰⁰ Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3) 530.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid

²⁰³ Provincial Missionary Conference, Bloemfontein, (1938).

²⁰⁴ AB 2414, A2.1. Appendix to minutes of St Peter's College Council, (1938).²⁴¹
Wilkinson, Community of the Resurrection, 11–12.

North and St. Bede's for the South. St. Peter's, the bigger of the two, drew students from the dioceses of Pretoria, Johannesburg, Kimberley, Zululand, Lebombo and Southern Rhodesia with the later addition of Bloemfontein.

St. Peter's was the finest Theological College in the Province, with corresponding European tests, and accommodated 36 students sharing rooms, two in a room. Alphaeus Zulu, the first black Anglican bishop in South Africa (1961), and Desmond Tutu, the first black secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches (1978) and the first black Archbishop of Cape Town (1986), were among the Anglican priests trained at St. Peter's.²⁰⁵

St. Peter's theological college maintained good educational standards, while the college also had a distinctly monastic lifestyle. It was a must for students to attend Mass at 6.55 am, meditation at midday, Evensong and Compline. Everyone was expected to speak in English most of the time. The students were to master the basic skills of reading and writing. From an analytical perspective, all that sounds like merely a highly academic ordination syllabus for the study of the Bible, early Church history, the Prayer Book, pastoral theology, the Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province, the three creeds and Thirty-Nine Articles. Some services were conducted by the students in their own languages while on Sunday students were involved in pastoral and evangelistic work in the surrounding areas.²⁰⁶

Apart from St Peter's, St Bede's was the only theological college for black ordinands in South Africa after 1937.²⁰⁷ In 1955 it became a 'diocesan college with some provincial recognition', as Bishop Schuster put it in an interview.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3) 530

²⁰⁶ Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3) 530.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ngewu, "A review", (1994) 26.

For Livingstone Ngewu, Bishop Key had a vision of a seminary for black leadership but that major shift in the training of black clergy in the diocese of St. John in Umtata only happened when Joseph Watkin Williams was the bishop (1901–22). For Williams and his successors, the role of St Bede's was mainly to supply assistants to the white priests and not to be trained for leadership positions in the diocese.²⁰⁹

When Norman Goodall and Eric Nielsen came to survey the state of theological education in South Africa on behalf of the International Missionary Council in 1953, they found that the general academic standard was 'very low' at St Bede's and that too much emphasis was placed on 'devotional training and pastoralia'.²¹⁰

The situation started to change in 1955 with the appointment of Michael Carmichael as Principal. For the new head of St Bede's, the college's mission was to prepare black priests to take over the administration of the CPSA. As most students did not possess a matriculation certificate, a good number ended up doing further studies. Under Carmichael's leadership the first black tutors, Sydwell Thelejane, Matthew Makhaye and Ephraim Mosothoane, joined the staff of the college.²¹¹ It was only in 1955, however, that the status of St Bede's as a 'diocesan college with some provincial recognition', was officially approved by the bishops.

In 1955 the Modderpoort Mission College for the training of teachers and high school was closed because of the application of the Bantu Education policy.²¹² The result of this was another development in Anglican theological education. In 1957 the Society of the Sacred Mission, which had been running the Modderpoort mission since 1902, opened a pre-admission centre or a test school for black candidates

²⁰⁹ Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3) 530.

²¹⁰ Norman, Goodall and Eric, Nielsen. Survey of the training for the ministry in the younger Church today. (London, Basil Blackwell Publications 1954)15.

²¹¹ Ngewu, 'A review', (1994) 26.

²¹² Peter, Hinchliff. (1963) 237-238.

for the ministry at the request of the Anglican bishops. The school building had no furniture inside. This caused black students to feel discriminated against, resulting in conflicts between them and the staff.²¹³

The Society of the Sacred Mission ran the Test School on behalf of the bishops of the Province since 1957. The school was independent from the state with no external interference in the way it was run, the subjects offered or administration. The warden did all that to ensure that only contextual education was offered, relevant to the African Church and her needs.²¹⁴

In 1960 the Anglican model of theological education for black candidates for ministry had to be reenvisioned for reasons entirely external to the Church. After forty years of peaceful existence, St. Peter's had become a problem to the apartheid government, simply because of the skin colour of its students.

With the growing of white suburbs and the tougher enforcement of racial segregation laws, many black people were removed from cities to townships. In the last few years of the existence of St. Peter's at Rosettenville, it was surrounded by unfriendly white neighbours who regarded the College as a 'black spot'. The blacks protested and claimed that it has been their land years before the arrival of the whites in that area. The Urban Areas Act (1923) only allowed blacks with a permit to stay in an area for more than 72 hours.²¹⁵

In June 1960 Stubbs, who by then was the principal of the college, received a letter from the Ministry of Bantu Affairs and Development instructing the municipal authority not to give permits for any new student after 1 January 1961. It was in this context that the CPSA negotiated the inclusion of St Peter's in the Federal Theological Seminary. St Peter's College moved out of Rosettenville at the end of 1962 to reopen at Alice in early 1963.²¹⁶

²¹³ Ian, Darby personal interview, Pietermaritzburg (27 March. 2022).

²¹⁴ 'Suggested memorandum on S.S.M. in South Africa: for the great chapter of the society (1962)', WCL, AB 2409, L2. In November 1963 St Augustine's Test School relocated to St Luke's Mission, Newlands: minutes of seminary council, 13 Feb. 1964, Howard Pym Africana Library, University of Fort Hare, Fedsem, box 1. ²⁵¹ Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3) ²⁵² Ibid.

²¹⁵ Philippe, Denis. (2012)

²¹⁶ Philippe, Denis and Graham, Duncan. (2011) 33.

It can be said that the Anglican Church faced internal and external factors in the theological institutions. Besides the internal issues that will be looked at later in this chapter, the Church encountered challenges from the South African government's segregation policies which conflicted with the premises on which the decision to form a unified theological institution consisting of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregationalist Churches in the field of theological education was based.²¹⁷

Based on a survey and analysis in the early 1950s by the International Missionary Council, which was later to join with the World Council of Churches, it was noted with concern that despite occasional contacts between the heads of theological institutions, among Anglicans in particular, most South African theological colleges lived in isolation. There was very little contact among the theological colleges of the different areas and churches. Some college principals were even unaware of the existence of certain other colleges. The common problems were not discussed together. The representation of staff from institutions was not fairly done, for discussion of common problems, methods of work, literature resources and needs.²¹⁸

It was clear that the time for a new shift towards ecumenical theological education was necessary and coming. During the 1960s Lesslie Newbigin, the IMC secretary, D. G. S. Mtimkulu, the secretary of the All-Africa Church Conference, and Milton Martin, the acting secretary of the Christian Council of South Africa, contributed actively to the negotiations that led to the creation of Fedsem. Without their cooperation the decisions that led to the four Churches sharing the project might never have been found.²¹⁹

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Goodall and Nielsen, Survey, 55, quoted in Booth, 'How we came together', 1.

²¹⁹ Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3)

In 1960 St. Bede's was briefly considered as a site for the Federal Theological Seminary. It was not chosen presumably on account of St. Bede's diocesan status. The new Anglican college would only have been affiliated to and not integrated into the seminary.²²⁰ In 1975 St. Bede's accommodated Fedsem after it had been issued an expropriation order by the apartheid government from its premises in Alice. But the seminary was compelled to leave Umtata a few months later because of difficulties with the Transkei government.²²¹ St. Bede's itself closed in 1992 because of the decision, taken the previous year by the Provincial Standing Committee, to amalgamate it with St. Paul's into a new institution called the College of the Transfiguration based in Grahamstown.

3.7 The beginning of unity and end of institutional segregation

The foundation of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa in 1963 with St. Peter's College as one of the participating colleges pointed to the start of a new era in Anglican theological education. These churches were victims of the apartheid government which closed their institutions of learning. The Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches joined forces and formed an interdenominational seminary under the Church Unity Commission (CUC) with a view to uniting the churches within a common organic structure.²²²

Even then, theological education in the Anglican Church continued to be segregated. Most white ordinands were trained at St. Paul's while nearly all black candidates were trained at St. Peter's and St. Bede's. It was only in 1993, the year of Fedsem's closure,²²³ that a truly multi-racial institution opened in Grahamstown. It was called the College of the Transfiguration. By then, most Churches had decided to revert to the denominational model of theological education for several reasons, one of which was

²²⁰ The planting of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa. (Lovedale, 1973) 3.

²²¹ AB 2414, B5.2. On this episode see, among other sources, the narrative compiled by Theodore Simpson CR under the title 'The exodus and the agony', (1975.). See the resolution of the Provincial Standing Committee in September 1991, in Winston Njongokulu Ndungane, 'The story of the amalgamation of St Paul's and St Bede's Colleges and the formation of the College of the Transfiguration', *The College of the Transfiguration Journal* (1994) 4. ²⁶⁰ John, de Gruchy. (1997) 356–65.

²²² AB 2414, B5.2

²²³ Philippe, Denis. "Unfinished business: The painful closure of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa." (2009:1).

financial. In the Anglican Church, ministerial training was no longer segregated, but the idea of an ecumenical seminary had been rejected.

3.8 Brief history of Transkei as a homeland

The South African National Party government strongly believed in separate political powers. However, the National Party also believed that both internal and external forces require the extension of political rights to Blacks. The result of this, was the development of the homelands policy under which Blacks would be granted political rights in their own "states" and Whites will retain exclusive political control over the remaining bigger part of the Republic of South Africa. The homelands policy evolved over the years and in 1976 Transkei was granted independence. Since then until at the retirement of B.J. Vorster as Prime Minister in 1978, the final goals were clear, 'all homelands would become independent states; the entire black population of the Republic would be granted political rights and citizenship in these independent states; and, consequently, there ultimately would be no black citizens of the Republic of South Africa requiring accommodation in South Africa's political order.'²²⁴ Chief Kaiser Matanzima became President of Transkei in 1979.²²⁵

In the Collins English Dictionary, Transkei is described as (formerly) the largest of the Bantu homelands in South Africa, which was declared as an independent state in 1976 but this was not recognized outside South Africa, and this was abolished in 1993, with the capital in Umtata, now Mthatha.²²⁶ During the apartheid era, the South African political system categorised people through registration and identification, from birth, into one of the following racial groups: White, Indian, Coloured and Black. The establishment of homelands which were known as Bantustans followed the same principle of separation. The Bantustans were for each of the African ethnic groups. The idea was that the groups

²²⁴ John, Dugard. "South African Independent Homelands. An exercise in Denationalization", *Denvan Journal of International Policy and Law*. (2020, 10:1) 12.

²²⁵ Ibid. (2020, 10:1) 20.

²²⁶ Collins English Dictionary. Copyright © HarperCollins Publishers.

would be independent in future. The Matanzima brothers, Kaiser and George, ruled sequentially in Transkei, but during George's reign things declined with allegations of corruption surfacing in a spate of commissions of inquiry into various government departments.²²⁷

There were ten homelands but only four got independence early, namely; Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda. The development of the homelands depended on external support but they were deprived of this as they could not be recognised by the European funders as independent countries.²²⁸ The name Transkei translates roughly as the 'area beyond the Kei'. Although the borders were once more rigidly defined around 1970s and early 1980s, today the Transkei generally refers to the stretch of coastline between the Great Kei River and the Umtamvuna River, which marks the border between Zululand and Transkei KwaZulu. It is the ancestral home of the Xhosa people, an ethnic group established in the area long before the arrival of settlers from Europe in the 19th century.²²⁹

First the Dutch and then the British realized the agricultural potential of the fertile Transkei, and from the 1800s onwards conflict over land flared up regularly between the colonial settlers and the cattlegrazing Xhosa tribes. Ultimately, the Transkei region became part of the British Cape Colony in the late 1800s. However, it was only during apartheid that the Transkei became a formally defined area.²³⁰

The year 1994 marked the end of apartheid and the Transkei government was incorporated in the new South Africa's negotiations. The Transkei was integrated back into South Africa and became part of the Eastern Cape province. Although Transkei is part of the new South Africa, the region has retained its own identity and culture. It remains a Xhosa land, with its own political heritage, with many political leaders having *Transkeian* roots, such as, Chris Hani, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela.

²²⁷ Peires, Source. "The Imposition of Transkei and Ciskei", in African Affairs. *Oxford University Journal*, Oxford University. (1992:91,364) 369, and Vijay, Makanjee. "The First Homeland, self Rule, mis-rule or failed Experiment". *Homeland Series 8. Indicators South Africa*, (1988,5) 42.

²²⁸ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/transkei> (Accessed 19th July,2022).

²²⁹ Transkei and Ciskei in African insight, A politically independent publication which promotes insight into the process of change in Africa. *Sabinet African Journal*. (1987, 17:2) 142. (Accessed on 21st July 2022).

²³⁰ John, Dugard. *South African Independent Homelands*. (2020).

The Transkei is still largely rural where people do subsistence farming on a limited scale,²³¹ and livestock roams freely across the region's gently rolling hills.

The Transkei retains its cultural ethos with the round Xhosa huts or rondavels painted in shades of vivid green and pastel pink. On one hand, Transkei has some spectacular scenery and beautiful sites such as mountains and beaches, while on the other hand the infrastructure is basic, although now showing signs of modernisation. The Transkei has developed over the years.

²³¹ Michael, Aliber. "The Former Transkei and Ciskei Homelands are still Poor, but is there an emerging Dynamism?" *University of Fort Hare*. (2017).

CHAPTER 4

History of St. Bede's Theological College, 1873-1992

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will explore the establishment of the Diocese of St. John as a Mission Diocese in South Africa. The period chosen includes that of the initial training of ministerial students in Springvale and later the earlier period of training in Umtata. The research has shown that there are not many sources and not much information for the period 1895 to 1950. The only probable reasons could be loss of the sources, or the fact that information was simply not recorded.

4.1 Bishop Callaway and the early years of St Bede's (1873-1882)

During the 1880s, the area between the Cape Colony and Natal was being explored by the bishops of the Province, with a view to establishing a diocese. The bishops of Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Grahamstown were among those who saw the need for a new diocese in the Transkei. Nathaniel James Merriman, who was among those priests recruited by Gray from England, and who became an archdeacon (and later Bishop) of Grahamstown around the 1880s, had travelled around the area and investigated the possibility of a new missionary diocese.²³²

It must be noted that Gray wanted an organized mission system, which he envisioned to spread across South Africa bringing the missionary mix of Christianity and civilization, which included fields such as mechanics, agriculture, schools and hospitals. The mission work would spread also in rural places and motivate people to maintain their own ministers. In other words, the church would develop according to the needs and means that were at its disposal. Gray was aware of the church's entitlement from the state, but believed that each parish should work towards its own well-being. This basic concept of self-

²³² HIPSA. "Nathaniel James Merriman, Archdeacon (later Bishop) of Grahamstown", The Cape Journals of Archdeacon N.J. Merriman, 1848-45, <https://hipsa.org.za/publication/the-cape-journals-of-archdeacon-n-j-merriman-1848-55/>. (Accessed on 4th September 2022).

sufficiency carried over from the established 'white' congregations into the mission field itself and impacted the local people.²³³

It is important to discuss the ways in which the Anglican Church was supported by the State. Matthew Esau writes that the Anglican Church needed to have its own laws to stand on, with no external doctrinal laws to follow. He bases this on the Colenso doctrinal controversy and the doctrine of obedience discussed in this study.²³⁴ This statement says that the state had influence in the church and thus would only support the church if the church listened to the state. The Anglican Church continued to follow the British traders who were interested in acquisition of land and the minerals therein such as diamonds and gold. The British government ensured that the church did not have any financial problems.²³⁵ A number of white Anglicans were part of liberal political groupings and began raising difficult issues in synods and parish councils which caused conflict in suburban parishes.²³⁶

In 1874, the area had started going through a period of transition, as old customs fell away and were replaced by new aspects that affected black culture. One of these aspects was Christianity. The British occupation of the Eastern Cape had brought conflict to the land which was once purely African. Since the economy of the people was based on land and cattle, lack of land meant shortage of wealth for both the natives and the settlers, both colonizer and missionaries alike. It was not only the white settlers who seized the land but also the colonial government, leaving the natives with less for their domestic use.²³⁷ It is in such a context that Callaway came to minister to the people of the Transkei. Two forces militated against effective and smooth evangelism.

²³³ Peter, Hinchliff. (1963).

²³⁴ Matthew, Esau. "Law and religion in South Africa – an Anglican perspective", *Nederduitse Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif*, (2013) 64-65.

²³⁵ Peter, Lee. *Anglicans in Johannesburg: A divided church in search of integrity. Degree of Intercontinental Partnership Concerning Mission and Development in Africa*. (Sage Publications, Ltd, 2001, 18:4), 232-246.

²³⁶ Peter, Lee. *Anglicans in Johannesburg: A divided church in search of integrity*. (2001,18:4) 242.

Andrew, Malcolm, Thomas, Dibb. (1997) 6. ²⁷⁶ James, Cochrane. (1987) 21-24.

²³⁷ Ibid

4.1.1 Ambiguous role of mission and colonialism

Not only did the local people see their land being taken away from them, they also felt that power was also being taken away from them. The two forces, colonialism and the church, had robbed the native of much of what they had, especially land. One would share a similar sentiment with Dibb who says,

'It would be interesting to note what Callaway's personal beliefs were, that he came with from England, and that he might have seemed to impose on the natives in the Diocese. And what could have been his reaction to the natives who may have resisted being converted to Christianity. Keeping in mind that the natives had viewed Christianity as being closely linked to British culture.'²³⁸ By the time of the establishment of the Diocese of St. John, the area had already been filled with colonizers, which could have made the natives hold on to their negative experiences with the foreign teachings. Both the colonizers and Christianity manipulated the minds of the natives.²³⁹

Both colonizers and Christianity had perceived the culture of the natives as uncivilized and felt civilization was needed by the natives. The colonizers had stolen the power of the natives and there was simply no hope for gaining it back. It was in such a context that Callaway came into the picture.²⁴⁰

According to Dibbs,

'the partnership between church and state extended beyond educational and developmental boundaries into the social arena, as churches from time to time were drawn into the work of spreading government aid to those in need. For example, after the great cattle killing of 1857 amongst the AmaXhosa, when the people were starving.'²⁴¹

²³⁸ Dibb, (1997).

²³⁹ Dibb, (1997). It is known that before Callaway's arrival to the area, there were tribal and chieftainship issues such as loss of land as the colonizers took more land from the indigenous people. So, Callaway's arrival was viewed as a possibility for saving them from such issues.

²⁴⁰ Dibb, (1997) 23.

²⁴¹ Dibb, (1997).

Taking it from this perspective, the colonial period in South Africa would be characterized by exploitation and impoverishment of the local people by the colonizers. Some historians have written on the view that missionaries did not always support the views of the colonizers. In some instances, the missionaries were against the colonizer using blacks as cheap labour, and that the colonizer did not like equal education that the missionaries offered to blacks. However, the missionaries and the colonizers were coming from Europe, they supported each other so closely, to the extent that it became difficult to differentiate one from the other. There was much interconnectedness between the two on religious, political and economic issues.

Dibb says that,

‘From this perspective the ideals of the individual missionaries were subordinated to their general impact on the African community; and especially on their role in assisting the imperial government in its subjugation of the people. Radical scholars point out ways in which missionaries had internalized their culture, thus claiming the superiority of their own culture at the expense of any other. This kind of cultural imperialism is reflected in the relationship between church and state, especially perhaps in Africa where the church aided and supported the state in its progressive development into Empire.’²⁴²

The conflicts between the natives and the settlers over land issues displaced many tribes. It was within this period of dispossession that the Christian mission was also expanding among the indigenous people.²⁴³

4.1.2 Henry Callaway before his episcopal appointment

Callaway was born in England at a place called Lymington in 1817 and married Anne Chalk in 1845. He moved to France in 1852, after leaving his work as a medical doctor in search of better

²⁴² Ibid

²⁴³ Stanier, Green. *The First Hundred Years 1873-1973. The history of the diocese of St. John South Africa*, (1974) and Cochrane, *Servant of Power*, (1987) 28.

medical attention since he was not well. While in France, he joined the Church of England. He graduated from King's College but with the aim of continuing with his career as a doctor.

Callaway received a "sound classical education" at Crediton Grammar School, and at age sixteen he was appointed assistant teacher at Heavitree. This move was to have a lasting significance in Callaway's life, for there he was drawn by the headmaster into the Society of Friends, and thus as a young man he became a Quaker.

“The Quakers are members of the Religious Society of Friends which derives from a puritan group which formed around George Fox in the 1650's. They have no sacraments and no ordained ministry. Instead authority derives from the 'inner light of the living Christ' in each believer”.²⁴⁴ But Callaway found Anglicanism more to his taste in the end.

Whilst in France, he changed his mind and became interested in mission work. In 1854 Bishop Colenso ordained Callaway as a deacon in Natal, and he was stationed at St. Andrew's church. Later, he was ordained in 1885 and became the rector of St. Andrew's Parish in Pietermaritzburg.²⁴⁵

4.1.3 Callaway and Colenso

Although Colenso has been mentioned in the previous chapters, we shall refer to him again when discussing the contribution of Bishop Callaway to theological education in the Anglican Church in South Africa. This research has discovered other significant bishops such as John Armstrong and Henry Cotterill as former bishops of the Diocese of Grahamstown who were also influential to Callaway besides Colenso.²⁴⁶ Although Colenso had no direct influence on the initial formation

²⁴⁴ Dibb. (1997) 51.

²⁴⁵ Mlungisi Zigode. “A Rainbow Community of St. Bede's College”, Life and times at St. Bede's College, in Umtata. An amazing experience of living in a Rainbow Community. Apartheid Church Historical Multiracial South Africa Theology. <https://www.wattpad.com/amp/895458251> (Accessed on 14th September, 2022).

²⁴⁶ Stanier, Green. *The First Hundred Years 1873-1973*, (1974), and see also Lewis Cecil and Edward. *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, (1934) 58.

of the Diocese of St. John, like the other two bishops, he played a significant role in shaping the mindset of Callaway.

By the time the Diocese of St. John was established, Colenso was out of the picture, even though he remained very active in the colonial life until his death in 1884. By 1863 the church tribunal headed by Gray made a pronouncement for Colenso to leave the position. Colenso refused to leave his seat as the legally appointed diocesan bishop. In 1868, Gray the bishop of Cape Town offered William Macrorie the bishopric of the diocese of Maritzburg, which was not recognized by the mother church in England. The appointment was not in line with the legal Acts of Uniformity of the church.²⁴⁷

Therefore, the attitude and the relationship that Colenso had with the black people, which Callaway imitated from Colenso, will be discussed, not the biblical interpretations that brought Colenso into a difficult situation with the Anglican Church. Colenso, the first bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Natal (1853), studied the culture and the language of the Zulu people. While at Ekukhanyeni, he developed the mission and worked on the translations of the religious literature into the isiZulu language. The controversy he had with the church was over Paul's epistle to the Romans, which Colenso explained in the objective and universal perspective of atonement. To the charges brought against him Colenso wrote,

'I believe that I have said nothing in my book which is not in accordance with the teachings of the Bible, or which transcends the limits so liberally allowed by the Church of England for freedom of thought on the subject.'²⁴⁸

According to Hinchliff, Colenso did not perceive African cultures and customs negatively, like other missionaries, who viewed native customs as barbaric and heathen, and who felt there was a need to

²⁴⁷ https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1912_supplement/Macrorie,_William_Kenneth (Accessed 20.04.23), and see also Lewis Cecil and Edward. *Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1934).

²⁴⁸ Jonathan, Draper. "Bishop John William Colenso and History as Unfolding Narrative." *Journal of Theology for Southern African*, (2003:117) 97-105. ²⁸⁸ Hinchliff. (1963) 63-67.

reconstruct the native mind by British civilization and Christianity. Colenso had the opposite opinion about African culture. He tried to focus on putting the native Christians first and did not destroy or condemn their cultural practices that were a way of life for them.²⁴⁹

Like in any other African territory, the indigenous people experienced competition for land with the Western farmers, which led to more land being expropriated. The land of the natives was invaded and at times blacks were sanctioned by the state that should have rescued them. By losing land the native chiefs gave away the powers that went together with the loss of land. Like in the case of the amaNgqika, amaNdlambe and amaGqunukhwebe who had land in their areas but gave the larger part of the land to the Cape Colony for the European occupation.²⁵⁰ This was the situation that the new Blacks in the new Anglican Diocese of St. John, where Callaway had become bishop, were faced with. Early in the 1870s,

Callaway had experienced such matters in Springvale before coming to the Transkei.²⁵¹ Dibbs mentions a letter written and presented by Callaway to England stating that,

“we are getting a congregation of whites settling around us; they are interfering with and disturbing a good deal of the natives. They are taking up the land, and the natives have no place to herd their cows in and must go further back. No efforts made artificially can preserve them from quiet extinction. It is possible that they may try an issue of strength with us.

We are disturbing them in many ways, making them work, beginning to interfere by law with their customs, and unsettling them in many ways; and we do not give much in return that they can appreciate. They have security for life, good roads, market for producers and they can work,

²⁴⁹ SAHO. “Transkei. An early history of the Transkei area”, South African History Online. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/transkei> (Accessed 18th October, 2022).

²⁵⁰ SAHO. “Transkei. An early history of the Transkei area”, South African History Online. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/place/transkei> (Accessed 18th October, 2022).

²⁵¹ SAHO. “Transkei. An early history of the Transkei area.”
Andrew, Malcolm, Thomas, Dibbs. (1997) 67.

and thus the means of living better is brought home to them. But when they put these things in the scale against what they are obliged to give up, they think very little of the advantages.”²⁵²

It is important to mention that not all missionaries were against African cultural beliefs and practices. Callaway had the approach of Colenso in his mission among the Xhosa people in the Transkei, taking the culture of the people and mixing it with Christianity. For that reason, issues such as polygamy and the native names of God like ‘uNkulunkulu’ were not such a problem to Callaway, just as these were not to Colenso. Faith was to be brought to the natives by embracing their ‘Africanness’ and not trying to replace it with the Western culture. So, Callaway kept the natives united, and thereby cultivated a good relationship with the chiefs. In that way it was easy to convert the chiefdom.²⁵³ For the Zulu and other Southern African tribes, ‘uNkulunkulu’ is the ‘uMveliqabha, the Creator, the preserver of all, the first man, the old-old one, the most ancient man, first male.’²⁵⁴

It is evident that Colenso had impacted Callaway’s mission establishment even though it was not done directly. Callaway adopted much of Colenso’s style towards the natives and mission establishment. Callaway believed in keeping good relations with the natives so that ministry could easily flourish. However, it must be noted that Callaway was not as flexible in accepting these African practices as was Colenso. At some stage Callaway is reported to have stood against polygamy or identifying God with the African names.²⁵⁵

Although Bishop Colenso had played a role in the ministry of Callaway, he developed in his own way of doing ministry. Callaway and Colenso’s attitudes towards the natives had a lot in common.²⁵⁶ Both aimed at being free from the influences of the white settlers and to rescue the natives from the white settlers and

²⁵² Dibb. (1997) 25.

²⁵³ Dibb. (1997).

²⁵⁴ Henry, Callaway. 1817-1890: The religious system of the Amazulu ... in their own words, (Springvale, Natal, J. A. Blair; London, Trübner and co.; [etc., etc.], 1868-70).

²⁵⁵ Dibb. (1997) 30.

²⁵⁶ Dibb. (1997) 35-36, 47.

from themselves. They saw the need to break the stereotype approach to the natives which called them derogatory names such as ‘kaffir’ and they wished all people would feel that they were one within the one body of Jesus Christ.

4.1.4 Informal training of priests

In his desire for education and the expansion of ministry, Callaway approached the chiefs and asked for land for building purposes especially schools. He was offered land nearby the Umkomaas river, where he settled on the banks of the river and called the place Springvale. Introduced to Bishop Colenso’s first African agents on his arrival from England in 1854, Callaway trained several young men for ordination to the diaconate while stationed at Springvale after his ordination. From that area, he learnt the Zulu traditions and culture. He participated in the writing and translation of English books into Zulu. This includes the Book of Common Prayer.²⁵⁷ Among his first black students were William Ngcwensa and Umpengula Mbanda who travelled and worked with him. The two impressed Callaway by their commitment and willingness to serve as ministers. Since the two were fine with the language and the customs, Callaway saw potential in them for the ordination.²⁵⁸

Callaway was helpful in settling Colenso’s controversy in 1861, when Colenso was summoned by Gray to Cape Town for the heresy. Callaway gained experience from this. He worked at Ekhukhanyeni, and then became rector at St. Andrew’s church near Pietermaritzburg. He worked in Springvale until 1871 and started home training for young men to be catechists in 1871.²⁵⁹ He was consecrated in England as the bishop for the new diocese St. John in 1873, and moved the seat to Umtata in 1876.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ Dibb. (1997).

²⁵⁸ Ibid

²⁵⁹ AB 2414 (H2). General Admission of Students. St. Peter’s Theological Training Reports and Memorandum. 1953-1985.

²⁶⁰ Peter, Hinchliff. (1963)161-163.

In his charge delivered at the Diocesan Synod in 1879, Callaway expressed his desire to raise a native ministry by establishing an institution to train the natives for ministry. The idea was to have the natives to take over ministry after the missionaries are no more present in the areas of the natives. For Callaway, ‘when missionaries have passed on from their labour, they will leave behind good and loyal men who are well-trained servants of Christ, to take up the work and carry it on to the glory of God.’²⁶¹

Callaway had a programme which was simple and free from the English requirements for ordination.

The programme had,

1. The basic and general principles of the Old and New Testaments.
2. The three creeds, their history, differences and importance.
3. The catechism for the church parishioners, focusing on the Sacraments.

With these principles, Callaway taught his students the Office of ordination for deacons. He translated and studied with them the Thirty-Nine Articles.²⁶²

The students were taught to be systematic in their studies and practice writing sermons, even though their writing skills were below standards. His style of teaching was adapted to their lack of earlier, formalized teaching, and he ‘taught them as he would teach children... questioning them daily on the lesson of the preceding day’. In 1871 William Ngcwensa and Umpengula Mbanda were ordained as deacons by Bishop William Macrorie at St. Saviour's Church, Pietermaritzburg.²⁶³ This shows Callaway’s conviction that the church would have flourish in South Africa through black clergy who were well trained. To do this, the church needed to break the attitude of ‘white importance’ and be inclusive of the blacks.²⁶⁴

²⁶¹ Ibid

²⁶² The Mission Field: A Monthly record of the proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at Home and Abroad (Classic Reprint) Paperback-February 9, 2019, (1874) 196.

²⁶³ Mlungisi, John, Vilakazi. *Critical Analysis of a Large Parochial Structure Model for Black Parishes in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, with Reference to the Diocese of Natal*. Phd diss. (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal, (2014) 109.

²⁶⁴ Callaway in Benham. 1896:187.

The initial training was done in the bishop's house but Callaway had the vision of establishing a larger and formal institutions for the diocese. In the mind of Callaway, black clergy were to be included in the ministry. Therefore, it would be wrong to set the standard so high that they could not afford to join the ministry. What is interesting is that, somehow, the training for black students was compared to the English training as a measure of a standard which was suitable for all. Blacks were judged to be capable of leadership in the church. The church emphasized serious scrutiny of blacks if they were to be appointed into such positions.²⁶⁵

The initial purpose of the establishment of St. Bede's was to train blacks as assistant priests to the white parish priests. For Ngewu this initial purpose was abandoned until the time of Bishop Joseph Watkim Williams who changed things around and even wanted the native clergy to take up ecclesiastical positions in the church.²⁶⁶ Before that, the training of black clergy was only for the purpose of supplying white clergy with assistant black priests, because black clergy were not meant for leadership positions in the diocese.²⁶⁷ The expectation was that there would be a constant supply of native catechists, deacons and priests in the church.²⁶⁸ The college admitted black students to be trained as ministers with the level of standard eight education. The entire programme was composed of two years of studying and at the end of the second year one was ordained as a deacon. This was followed by a year of pastoral work in the parishes leading up to the ordination as a priest. St. Bede's aimed to serve the rural churches and while St. Peter's aimed to serve the urban churches. Both focused on devotional training and pastoral care.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁵ Callaway in Benham. 1896

²⁶⁶ Livingstone, Ngewu. "A review of the history of St Bede's College: 1899–1992", *The College of the Transfiguration Journal: First Anniversary Issue*. (1994, 23) 3.

²⁶⁷ Philippe, Denis and Graham, Duncan. (2011) 34.

²⁶⁸ Mandy, Goedhals. (2005) 110. And Mlungisi Zigode alludes to the works of Callaway that led to the establishment of the Diocese of St John.

²⁶⁹ Moroamaraba, Shashi, Johannes, Ledwaba. *The Development of indigenous leaders in the church of the Province of Southern Africa, with special reference to the diocese of St. Mark the Evangelist*, Phd Thesis. (University of Pretoria, 2005) 109 – 111.

There is a gap in the records for the period between Bishop Callaway's consecration and the time he moved to Umtata to take the position. As the pioneer of theological education for black clergy in the Diocese of St. John, Bishop Callaway paved the way for the establishment of St. Bede's in 1883. After naming the Diocese, Callaway proceeded to establish St. John Theological College with a view to training young natives, lay teachers and colonists,²⁷⁰ and further developing the young native males for ministry.²⁷¹ In the next year he established St. John Theological College in Umtata, 'for the purpose of training young natives and colonists and lay teachers.'²⁷² Mostly, the institution trained teachers, but a separate department was established for the training of priests. By 1878 the students boarding with him grew up to 14 in total.²⁷³

As early as 1870 during the first Provincial Synod, Callaway discussed the training of native clergy for the Diocese on a standard less than the English.²⁷⁴ This could mean either of the two things; that he wanted the black clergy to remain lower educationally compared to the white clergy, or that he wanted the black clergy not to be compared with the white clergy who had an educational advantages such as having received formal western education in language, mathematics and philosophy. Callaway was aware of the impossibility of getting more white men as missionaries from overseas. Since most of the natives and potential men for ministry had been teachers, it would be sufficient to upgrade their level to that of clergy.²⁷⁵

To most of the natives, Bishop Callaway emerged as the voice of reason for problems they encountered, such as prevailing issues such as tribal conflicts and colonial threats that had led to

²⁷⁰ Graham, Duncan. "The Preshistory of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa: A Study in Ecumenical Ancestry. Church History and Church Law." *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, (2006; 32, 2) 89.

²⁷¹ Philippe, Denis and Graham, Duncan. *The Native School that caused all the Trouble*. (2011) 34-36. In his paper on 'the beginning of the Anglican theological training' (2012), Philippe Denis writes on Callaway. See also Bob Clarke, *Anglicans against apartheid* (2015) 29,230, and see also Peter Lee, *Compromise and courage* (2005)134. ³¹¹ Philippe and Duncan. (2011) 34. ³¹² Ibid.

²⁷² Ibid

²⁷³ Philippe and Duncan. (2011) 34

²⁷⁴ Duncan, *The Preshistory of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa*, (2006; 32, 2) 90.

²⁷⁵ Dibb. *An historical study of the Diocese of St. John*. (1997).

natives losing their land. Callaway established structures for the new mission centers and built schools and hospitals for the natives.²⁷⁶

With the exception of Colenso and Callaway, most colonizers and those who brought Christianity prided themselves in bringing what they saw as civilization to the natives. Moreover, both parties perceived native customs and practices as uncivilized. The colonizers and the missionaries had the same goal which was to occupy the land of the indigenous people. This was a notion that sparked the conflicts of 1887 and 1890. They stemmed from the coming together of two major forces, namely the angry people whose land had been taken away from them by the colonizers and the church through the missionaries trying to change the culture of the same local people, already upset by the colonizers. The church found herself in a difficult position.²⁷⁷ Since the economy of the people was based on land and cattle, lack of land meant shortage of wealth for the natives, the settlers, and missionaries alike. It was not only the white settlers who seized the land but also the colonial government, leaving the natives with less for their domestic use.²⁷⁸

On one hand the church wished to support and improve the life of the native people, while on the other hand, it was trying to be obedient to the government, since the church relied on the government for financial support and protection. The colonial powers felt that they had won over the local people and established authority over them. The church on the other hand felt that she had lost together with the people. That meant the people would have no independence and had to be obedient to the colonizers.²⁷⁹

Even in such conflicting times, Callaway had to keep alive his ambition to establish a formation process for local priests and for the local church. He was very optimistic that black clergy were the only means

²⁷⁶ Dibb. *An historical study of the Diocese of St. John.* (1997).

³¹⁶ Dibb. (1997) 10.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid*

²⁷⁸ James Cochrane. (1987) 21-24.

²⁷⁹ Dibb. (1997) 10.

through which evangelism could reach black people.’²⁸⁰ While maintaining this stance, the church had to remain loyal to the government and the colonialists, as well as maintaining a good relationship with the church ‘back home’.²⁸¹

Before the arrival of Callaway, the indigenous people had adopted the settlers’ lifestyle such as accepting the missionaries’ faith and obedience to the Western government. The relationship between the state and the church had already been so well established, that it was not easy to differentiate between Christianity and Western culture.²⁸²

Unlike other missionaries to Africa, who pushed aside African beliefs and traditions as evil to the extent of wanting to replace the native beliefs with western beliefs, Bishop Callaway viewed these positively. He took time to study the African beliefs and traditions so that he could understand them. On this Mandy Goedhals writes,

‘most nineteenth century missionaries failed to discern any value in traditional society or to translate the Christian message into the cultural context of their African hearers. In practice, this reduced the New Testament to a law code, and the Gospel to an alternative set of customs. Converts were won despite this, but missionary paternalism made it difficult for the new Christians to discern what God wanted for them and condemned them to perpetual dependence. This is true of the Anglican missionary work.’²⁸³

Dibb describes Callaway ‘as a human being who was regarded as a great missionary, but he could also be considered as a racist carrying imperialistic patriotism into Africa, who systematically undermined

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Dibb. (1997) 10, 25.

²⁸² Hinchliff. (1963), and see also Green, Lewis and Edward, who comment on Bishop Robert Gray’s arrival in South Africa, as the Bishop of Cape Town, marking the beginning of the Anglican missionary work, building missions, schools and hospitals (Lewis and Edwards 1934) 50-52 and (Green. 1974) 22

²⁸³ Mandy Goedhals. (1989, 68) 24.

indigenous cultural practices. For example, he opposed polygamy, and introduced the plough, both of which undermined tribal culture. But he was a passionate Christian willing to devote his life to the welfare of others, a man of deep principles who saw more deeply than simply surface issues of both tribal culture and Christianity, a gentle man in every sense of the word.’²⁸⁴ Discussing the life of Callaway in the diocese of St. John leads us to the first black priest in the diocese.

4.1.5 Peter Masiza.

During his early mission experience in Springvale, Callaway had already trained some young black men for holy orders, and so he applied similar strategies to establish a school for training clergy. Callaway had trained many black men to partner with him in ministry. Among those he trained for ordination was Peter Masiza (1840-1907), who became the first black Anglican priest ordained in South Africa. Masiza was born and grew up in the Eastern Cape at a place called Shiloh, near Whittlesea. In 1871 Masiza’s brother, Paul was ordained deacon in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa by Henry Cotterill, the Bishop of Grahamstown, but died two years later. Masiza followed in his brother's footsteps, by getting ordained as a deacon in 1873. On the 24th of June 1877 Callaway ordained Masiza the first Xhosa priest in the Cathedral of what was known as ‘the Diocese of Independent Kaffraria, but is now the Diocese of St. John.’²⁸⁵

During his ordination, many people congratulated Masiza for his elevation to the priesthood and affirmed that, God was making them to be part of the church family. In response Masiza said that, “if the church could raise more active native men to be ordained as deacons and priests ... and place one European priest in each parish to preside over the work and place these men in parochial districts, I have no doubt the work will flourish.”²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Mandy Goedhals. (1989, 68) 17-18.

²⁸⁶ Mandy Goedhal. (1989, 68) 23.

From this statement, working among European priests did not provoke resentment in him. Masiza had focused on the ministry of the church for the natives, and he had learnt about his own native men as being capable of being parish priests at some stage. It was just a matter of time, as was the case with him. Moreover, Masiza believed that, “an Anglican priest is ordained, not only to serve a particular congregation but the whole church,”²⁸⁷ This was following the increase in the white population in the parish where he eventually became the parish priest, albeit with a sense of being grateful for their acceptance of him. Masiza writes,

“I started a new work for the Europeans at Embulu which is since held every second Sunday in the month. At the celebration both Europeans and natives take part together. My European friends are really very kind to me.”²⁸⁸

Masiza himself only became a parish priest of St. Ignatius parish after twenty-two years of being a priest in the diocese of St John. In 1900, Masiza became the first black canon in the Anglican church in the province, “but his was only an honorary office and conferred no ecclesiastical authority.”²⁸⁹

Masiza’s ministry was characterized by the fact that he encountered natives who held traditions highly, which was a bone of contention. Those natives who were into polygamous marriages and the ‘lapsed’ who usually allowed their children to undergo Xhosa initiation rites.’²⁹⁰ It became a problem dealing with women that were into polygamous marriages, and often the women were abused by their husbands. Until 1890s, the diocese of St. John did not admit these women for catechumenate as this involved receiving blessings from the bishop or the priests. By 1893, the

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 24.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, 328

²⁸⁹ Mandy Goedhals. Ungumpriste, 23.

²⁹⁰ Mandy Goedhals. Ungumpriste, 25.

diocese became flexible, accepting them into catechumenate but delayed the baptism for polygamists.²⁹¹

Masiza objected to two things, the circumcision ritual that marked the entry into manhood and building European style churches for the natives. For Masiza this was,

‘ideologically and materially subversive of traditional African institutions, the existence of the chapel and the school challenged the authority of the chief, and the square stone buildings with pointed windows and an iron roof presaged an economic order different from that represented by the round wattle and daub hut.’²⁹²

4.2 Bishop Bransby Key and formal theological education (1882-1901)

Callaway resigned on account of ill health in 1885. He returned to England in 1886 and died in 1890. Bransby worked as Callaway’s coadjutor in 1882 and later succeeded him when he resigned. Key worked among the local people and, like Callaway, he did not want to interfere with the African converts’ cultural customs such as polygamy, which were later discussed by the Provincial Missionary Conference of 1892.²⁹³ Bishop Key noticed the urgency and need to train the priests adequately in suitable premises. So, the theological students moved from the premises of St. John in 1899 to the premises of Augusta School, which had been left vacant by a girls’ school. The new premises became known as St Bede’s College.²⁹⁴

He moved the department of theology from St. John theological college which had a mixture of students studying for other fields such as teachers to Augusta School which was an abandoned girls school and renamed it St. Bede’s in 1889.²⁹⁵ Both Callaway and Key had in mind the training of young black men for

²⁹¹ Ibid, 25.

³³² Ibid, 26.

²⁹² Hinchliff. (1963) 174-176.

²⁹³ Hinchliff. (1963) 174-176.

²⁹⁴ Livinstone Ngewu. (1994) 23. See also Chichele Hewitt. A History of St. Bede’s and St. Paul’s, in ‘Change and Challenge’ (1998)116.

²⁹⁵ Philippe, Denis. (2012:63,3) 523.

priesthood for the diocese of St. John.²⁹⁶ The idea was that the native clergy would be the best to evangelize their own people.

For Key the college that his predecessor established namely St. John was not large enough for the training of priests. Bishop Key's vision of a seminary geared towards the creation of an indigenous leadership was fulfilled in the episcopate of Joseph Watkin Williams (1901–22) that came with a 'significant paradigm shift' in the training of black clergy in the Diocese of St John.²⁹⁷

The long gap in this period is due to lack of information from the written or archival resources as stated in the introduction of this chapter. The reasons could be those given at the beginning of this chapter.

Seemingly the appointment of rectors in theological colleges was questionable as some of the rectors were not qualified for the position. For example, James Leo Schuster who was once a Rector of St.

Bede's around the 1950s, and had no pastoral experience.²⁹⁸ With Bishop Joseph Watkin Williams the college experienced another change from the black clergy being only as assistants to white clergy to being rectors in the parishes. According to Graham Duncan, 'until 1954, the college was run by a single lecturer.'²⁹⁹

In 1955, the bishops of the Province approved a constitution for the college which accorded St Bede's clear diocesan status with a degree of provincial recognition. When James Shuster became diocesan bishop, Carmichael became Principal, and he brought with him stability in the college.³⁰⁰ The change here is in the provincial recognition of St. Bede's and the acceptance of more black students in the college.

²⁹⁶ Graham, Duncan, "The Preshistory of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa." (2006; 32, 2) 91.

²⁹⁷ Ibid. (2006; 32, 2) 91.

²⁹⁸ Denis and Duncan. "*The Native School*" (2011) 35.

²⁹⁹ Graham, Duncan. (2006, 32:2).

³⁰⁰ Ibid. what is important to note here is that, the period between Bishop Bransby Key and Micheal Carmichael has not been covered due to lack of sources, either written or oral. The researcher went several times to the William Cullen Library at the University of Witwatersrand and the library at the Anglican Cathedral in Pietermaritzburg which keep historical records of the Anglican Church in South Africa. Both places and the text books of the Anglican Church have little information on this period.

Before Michael Carmichael, there was another white principal of the college by the name of James Leo Schuster. Schuster was born in England in 1912 and ordained to priesthood in 1938. In 1948 he moved to South Africa and was appointed as principal of St. Bede's in 1949 before he became the Bishop of the Diocese of St. John in 1956. He helped in the transformation of the college by emphasizing the training of black clergy. However, Denis and Duncan mentioned that Schuster was one of the principals that were appointed to lead the college without proper pastoral experience,³⁰¹ although Schuster was bold in defending the college in 1975 against the attacks by the Chief Minister Matanzima during the Ngangezwe incident.

4.3 Michael Carmichael and the recognition of St Bede's as a provincial seminary (1955-1971)

In 1954, things turned around when the new principal James Schuster invited Michael Carmichael to join him on the college staff. When Carmichael was appointed Principal of St. Bede's in 1955,³⁰² the situation changed, ensuring that black students were prepared to take over the leadership of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa. Through the early years of the establishment of the college, one area of emphasis was the need to accommodate students' families. The racial composition of the college began to change in the 1970s as a deliberate policy despite the constitutional and legal implications which necessitated change and defiance.³⁰³

Upon Carmichael's resignation in 1971, Bishop James Leo Schuster of the diocese of St. John affirmed it with the following letter to the diocese the bishops of the Province and the Archbishop dated 30th July 1971;

'My dear Archbishop,

³⁰¹ Philippe and Graham (2011) 261.

³⁰² Ibid, it was in 1955 that the College got its provincial recognition as a diocesan college. ³⁴³
AB 1363, File 1, S4. CPSA.

³⁰³ Ibid

Canon Carmichael has spoken to me about your invitation to succeed Bishop Pickard at the end of the year. I believe it is his intention to accept, and therefore, to resign his appointment at St. Bede's College.

According to the constitution of St. Bede's, the appointment of the principal of St. Bede's rests with the bishop of St. John, whose nominee must have the approval of the Metropolitan.

It is my wish to appoint the Rev. R. Briggs to succeed Canon Carmichael, and I write now to ask your concurrence with this nomination.

I believe that Father Briggs has the qualities to carry the College forward upon the strong foundations laid by Canon Carmichael. His only weakness seems to me to be his lack of theological degree, but he is a conscientious man, who is aware (sic) of his deficiency and will do all in his power to remedy it by further study.

I would be grateful for an early answer to this letter, so that I may formally approach Father Briggs, who is at present on study leave. Canon Carmichael it will be helpful if the announcement of his resignation might be coincided with that of his successor. Yours affectionately,

James Shuster,

In his reply dated 16th August 1971, the Archbishop concurred with the proposal by the Bishop of St. John diocese provided that the bishop consulted the members of the College Council, and the announcement be made in a provincial-wide publication for Anglicans '*Seek*'.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ AB 1363, File 1, S4. CPSA. Archbishop of Cape Town. St. Bede's College. ³⁴⁵ Philippe, Denis. (2012, 63:3) 518.

Carmichael's principalship brought positive changes to the college. Even though some students did not have matriculation certificates as the minimal qualification for admission at the college, they managed to attain college qualification. Still impressive, some students went for further studies in 1956.³⁰⁵

Archbishop Bill Burnett and Bishop Kenneth Oram are mentioned here for their support of theological education especially during the apartheid period. This is shown by what is written about them in the paragraphs that follow below.

The open discussion about the establishing of theological college was like a prophesy fulfilled since as early as 1976, the Archbishop Bill Bendyshe Burnett (1917-1994) wrote to Kenneth Oram, Bishop of Grahamstown, to consider a future multiracial-combined theological college, with the purpose of uniting the training colleges for blacks and whites so that the church could avoid applying apartheid within its structures.³⁰⁶

Both Burnett and Oram were born in South African and spoke Afrikaans and English but were against the segregation laws of the apartheid government. Burnett held several positions within the church such as the Bishop of Bloemfontein in 1957, in 1967 as the Bishop of Grahamstown and the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and as Archbishop of Cape Town from 1974 to 1981. He was known for his charismatic gifts.³⁰⁷

In dealing with the Afrikaner government, the church was transformed by Archbishop Burnet's charismatic and contextual application of the Scriptures. His charismatic attitude brought reconciliation between the Afrikaners and the liberalists, while he challenged the church to be prophetic in its ministry.³⁰⁸

Burnett wanted education to be equal for all races, following the Soweto uprising in 1976.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁵ Ibid

³⁰⁶ Henry, Mbaya. Resistance to and acquiescence in apartheid. (2018) 279.

³⁰⁷ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-the-most-rev-bill-burnett-1447654.html>. The Obituary: The Most Rev. Bill Burnett, (Accessed 30th October 2022).

³⁰⁸ Bob, Clarke. Anglicans against apartheid, 1936-1996. *Cluster publications* (Pietermaritzburg: 2008) 306 and 317.

³⁰⁹ Bob, Clarke. (2008)32.

The issues of bringing together the theological colleges was discussed also by the Association of Southern African Theological Institutions. A letter dated 14th May 1974 was sent to the church leaders inviting them to a consultation on the future of theological education in South Africa. The letter made it clear that theological institutions and the churches should work together in their planning of future theological education.³¹⁰ The Bishop of the Diocese of Grahamstown, Kenneth Oram spoke strongly about the opening of schools to all races, since South African was moving towards change. He is reported to have said, ‘change is coming.’³¹¹

4.4 Robin Briggs and Transkei’s move to independence (1973-1979)

4.4.1 Robin Briggs college reports

In 1973, Robin Briggs succeeded Carmichael as Principal of St. Bede’s. The early years were difficult and closure of the college was even considered. During this time, emphasis was placed on accommodating student families and this period witnessed the admission of female students. The racial orientation of the college began to change in the 1970s as a deliberate policy despite the constitutional and legal implications which necessitated change and defiance.

- (1) All students shall live on campus or its immediate vicinity.
- (2) All students shall submit to the regulations and obligations and entitled to the same privileges.
- (3) Staff bodies shall be integrated so as to meet all cultural needs.

³¹⁰ <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-the-most-rev-bill-burnett-1447654.html>. (Accessed 30th October 2022)

³¹¹ Bob, Clarke. (2008) 323.

(4) Black students shall be permitted to study prior to college if necessary, so as to make up the educational gap.³¹² Mlungisi Zikhode said in the early 1980s, ‘we were a mixed bunch, of black, white, brown, you name it, and of course , we were composed of a variety of age groups.’³¹³

The Principal Robin Briggs in his report dated 22nd November 1973, commented on the pastoral visits of the students to white parishes as something that needed to be continued. He affirmed that the college was responsible for organizing the pastoral visits, both for city and rural places. Students needed to live a life of discipline under the authority of the principal in the college. They need to be told this, since most of them come from schools where these values were not taught, and that a theological college is neither a high school nor a university with so much freedom, but ‘a community held together by a commitment to Christ and preparation as priests, willing to abide by reasonable restraints and rules.’³¹⁴ The principal reported that the spiritual life of some students had shown no growth and some were not interested in knowing more about prayer or taking services seriously. They needed guidance so that they could see it as an essential for ministry.³¹⁵

There are not many sources on the significant items that relate to the principalship of Briggs at St. Bede’s. However, the following would highlight the basis on which Briggs based his evaluation of the students. In terms of critical race theory, one would comment that Briggs compared the spiritual life of the black students with that of the white students. The report by Briggs to the diocesan council says , ‘moreover students arrive at the college with simple faith to be dismantled which takes long to.’³¹⁶ As discussed in chapter Four, there is emphasis on the curriculum being in the context of the student but one thing the researcher does not appreciate is the comparison to the United Kingdom formation patterns as a measure

³¹² AB 2414 H3. Letter from the Principal – Robin Briggs. Confidential: Bishops with students at St. Bede’s, Order of Ethiopia, St. Peter’s, warden St. Paul’s.

³¹³ Mlungisi, Zikhode. “A Rainbow Community. (1980).

³¹⁴ Reports by the Principal Robin Briggs dated 22nd November 1973, Archives.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ AB 2414 H2. General Admission of students. (1953-1985). ³⁵⁷
Ibid.

of standards (see, page 3), ‘saying unless we want to drop our standard, but talks much on practical course in the 4th yr, integration of theory and practical.’

In the same meeting, the bishop of the diocese commented that,

There was fear that members of staff may favour students of their own group, the different educational backgrounds between blacks and whites, the differences of social etiquette – eating habits at meals were mentioned, the impatience, hatred for white among certain blacks, the possibility that working and living side by side, whites’ superiority would triumph and the black become assimilated to white thinking and structures.³¹⁷

According to Wyngaard, the significance of females entering St. Bede’s, not as female students since there were no female students then, but as the only female member of staff, teaching NT 1, OT 1 and Study Skills, music, supervising the choir and conducting the marimba groups, caused unhappiness among the all-male student body. At that time (1985), there were a few women deacons in what was then the CPSA, but the ordination of women to the priesthood was still a hot topic of debate and was only passed by Provincial Synod in 1992.³¹⁸

Wyngaard was licensed as a lay minister at St. Bede’s, and would preach at times in the college chapel taking turns with other male staff members. The Rector of the College at that time was Winston Njongonkulu Ndungane (later Archbishop of the Province). He was in favour of the ordination of women, and encouraged debate on the topic. According to Wyngaard, Ndungane brought a woman priest from the USA to visit the college for a lecture series, so that the students could experience the ministry of a woman priest. The debate continued under the rectorship of Donald Harker, who succeeded Ndungane.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ Ibid (see page 2).

³¹⁸ Personal discussion with Lynda Wyngaard. (10.05.23).

³¹⁹ Ibid.

On the significance of mixing race groups, the student body consisted of students from all over Southern Africa. It was predominantly black student body, with only two white students, and several coloured students. From Wyngaard's memory, tension occurred from time to time between different tribal groups, but there were not noticeable tension between students of different racial groups.

On the point of the Rector evaluating the spiritual growth of the students and on what basis did they do it, Wyngaard simply said, 'the evaluation of students was a collaborative affair.'³²⁰ The staff would meet once a term to discuss each of the students. A report would then be compiled on each student, to be sent to the student's Bishop, and it was up to the bishop to ordain the person depending on the bishop's analysis of the reports.³²¹

The other aspect that the principal touched which is one of the key issues in this research is the relationship between black and white students as in the example of Jonathan Payne, a white student whom Bishop Nuttall of the diocese of Natal, sent to the college, who seemed to have no racial problems. He commented on the interaction with St. Paul's College that,

'in more and more places, African priests are having to minister to whites. To help our students understand whites better we hope (with St. Paul's) help to increase considerably the amount of contacts between our students. We have also increased the number of occasions on which students attended services at the local white parish in the Cathedral.'³²²

Briggs wrote a letter to the bishop of the diocese in which he explained to the Archbishop the financial situation of the college and how it affected the college and students. In this letter the principal was also

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Personal discussion with Lynda Wyngaard. (10th May, 2023).

³²² Ibid.

showing concern for the families of the students whose only source of support was the allowances that the church was paying the students. Being away from the families had caused that allowance to either be divided or be given to the student altogether and that would leave the family to starve. To assist the married students the college agreed to revise the cost of accommodation and tuition as follows;

‘we are determined to keep the fee as minimal as possible, R250 per annum, and will be charged for the wife the amount being R100 and for a child R60 per annum, depending on the age and the number of children.’³²³

According to the letter this was to be experimental, not permanent. That means the students and the families were still to face a low cost of income called a stipend. For the college to assist and to cut the costs, the wives of the students at the college were expected to help in the kitchen and to serve the meals, and the families would eat with the students. The college quarters were to be furnished and places for the entertainment of children were to be available.³²⁴

The college expected the diocese of these students to supplement these costs and the principal ensured this happened as he said, ‘the cost of the wife’s accommodation will be paid for by the deacon out of his salary, but in the case of deacons and other husbands who receive no stipends, it is hoped that the diocese concerned will accept the responsibility. Medical fees for the wife and the children will not be the responsibility of the college.’³²⁵

³²³ AB 1363, file 2, S4. CPSA Archbishop of Cape Town, St Bede’s College, Umtata, 1976-982.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Ibid.

One interesting thing about this period was that, the college was suggesting that the students' wives to take up some courses for general training such as, 'home-making, child-care, first-aid, basic dress-making, home-cooking, food preserving and gardening, introduction to the role of the lay leader in the church, work among women and the relationship which should prevail in married priests' household.'³²⁶

The principal Robin Briggs wrote a report dated 11th May 1976 on the college's financial situation explaining that the dioceses with the students at the college, the Provincial Order of Ethiopia, were aware of the issue of allowances, saying,

'Dear friends, I have been asked on several occasions to give an indication of the sort of allowance students should receive while at St. Bede's. It is desirable that there should not be great differences among the students of the three colleges in regard to the allowances. However, individual situations do differ, and bishops have always exercised their own discretion in this matter. What appears to be necessary is an agreed minimum allowance.'³²⁷

On the matter of married students, the St. Bede's 1976 prospectus said,

'it is often very difficult, for domestic and practical reasons, for married students to bring their families with them to the college, although a limited amount of accommodation for this purpose is available for wives and children, and wives are welcome to attend classes, the cost of accommodating the wife and children, when this is possible, is the responsibility of either the student or the diocese concerned.'³²⁸

³²⁶ Ibid

³²⁷ AB 1363 (File 2 S4). St. Bede's College, Umtata, 1976-1982 Letter by the principal Robin Briggs on the allowances to the students dated 11th May 1976.

³²⁸ St Bede's Students Prospectus, (1976).³⁷⁰
Dibb. (1997).

This section has explored the reason that led to the establishment of St. Bede's Theological College in Umtata, as one of the three main Anglican theological colleges. As already mentioned, it was for training catechists and teachers, but later changed into a theological college. Unlike Callaway who wanted the best for the native people, most missionaries valued more their own European culture than the African culture. They regarded their culture as more pure and better than the African culture.³²⁹

4.4.2 Hosting Fedsem

In 1975, St. Bede's accommodated Fedsem after it had been appropriated from Alice by the apartheid government. Although nothing has been mentioned in terms of financial implications on the college, the assumption would be that there must have been since the college had its own financial challenges as shown above. Fedsem was forced to leave Umtata because of the challenges of the Transkeian authorities.³³⁰ Denis and Duncan state that Chief Minister Matanzima mentioned to the House of Assembly that Fedsem had come to Umtata to create tension between blacks and whites. By so doing, Fedsem introduced revolutionary changes.³³¹ Fedsem chose St. Bede's as the available and suitable college for accommodation after the expropriation from the Alice buildings and grounds. According to the report, 'it was anticipated by St. Bede's that this stay would last for some three to four years.'³³²

He also refers to an incident at Ngangelizwe where the students at a church gathering distributed a document against the government. Matanzima threatened to expropriate St. Bede's too if the College did not abide by his rules. Bishop Schuster and the principal Robin Briggs had to explain to the chief minister what happened, in defense of the students, although some local people felt the Bishop supported

³²⁹ Ibid

³³⁰ Philippe, Denis and Graham, Duncan. *The Native School that caused all the Trouble*. (2011) 35.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² St. Bede's College report to the Provincial Standing Committee, (1975).

Matanzima.³³³ This is so because the people felt that the bishops had given a sympathetic ear to the chief minister, and in a way siding with him in blaming the students for what happened at Ngangelizwe.³³⁴

St. Bede's had to start making plans on the extension of the facilities to accommodate all students even though it was for a short period. Meanwhile, a lot of time and energy was spent on trying to negotiate with the Transkei government. Unfortunately, it did not work. In spite of a welcoming statement made by a cabinet minister in the legislative Assembly during the early stages, the relationship was rocky. A report said the following,

‘partly because of the Chief Minister’s absence for a period due to ill health and was not able to withstand the impact of a controversial public “black heroes day” service organised by some seminary staff and students in which a SASO [South African Student Organization] document and a good deal of material which the Transkei government believed harmful to race relations and its good name was distributed.’³³⁵

It was obvious that the Transkei government wanted to have control over the visiting students. St. Bede's tried its best to calm down the situation by having several meetings with the Chief Minister. No solution was found. All the time, St Bede's faced the threat of a possible government retaliation.³³⁶ The expulsion of Fedsem in 1975 by the government of the Transkei from St. Bede's was because of its political involvement which was viewed negatively by the government.³³⁷ On the 18th December 1975, Bishop Schuster, together with the Principal of St. Bede's, Briggs, had a meeting with Matanzima.³³⁸

³³³ Dibb. (1997), see also Denis and Duncan. (2011)119-121, 124.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ St. Bede's College report to the Provincial Standing Committee, July (1975).

³³⁷ Denis and Duncan. (2011) 102, 124.

³³⁸ Ibid, (2011) 121. ³⁸⁰

Ibid, (2011) 118.

Matanzima expressed his displeasure with the student's behaviour at the evening service at Ngangelizwe. He felt that it was inappropriate as it contained political controversies, hence the need for disciplinary action. It has been observed that even before the Ngangelizwe incident, the relationship at the college had already gone sour. The Rector found discipline lacking at the Seminary and wanted the matter to be addressed by the central disciplinary committee, while the Seminary wanted him to deal with the matter as it was his responsibility. The college was conservative, disciplined and served the diocese of St. John.³³⁹

It is important to explain what the central disciplinary committee was, the chairperson and role in relation to St. Bede's. "The by-laws adopted at the synod described the function of the central disciplinary committee and the powers of the principal in the following terms:

Disciplinary committee

It shall consist of 5 members of the council including the bishop of St. John. The first members shall be appointed by the council, and they shall hold office until the first meeting of the council held after each provincial synod, when the membership shall be reviewed and the committee appointed for the ensuing period. A member shall be eligible for reappointment. Any vacancy in the membership of the committee between provincial synods shall be filled by a member of the council nominated by it, quorum for the meeting 3 members personally present, the bishop of St. John shall be the chairperson but in his absence the members shall elect one of them to chair the meeting. The chairperson shall have a casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote, the decision of the committee on all matters shall be final and binding, save that the council shall have the power to carry the same in its discretion.

Powers of the principal

The powers of the principal shall include (1) authority to suspend or expel a student for a reason considered by him to be adequate and /or derogatory to or affecting the well-being of the college, provided however that before doing so he shall consult with the student's bishop and also with the college teaching staff.

³³⁹ AB 2546 S2-S4. Synod of Bishops Decision. St. Bede's college by laws formed in terms of paragraph 13 of the constitution Gave approval to the by-laws. (1983 -1984). ³⁸² Ibid.

1. Authority to employ administrative, domestic and grounds staff, to determine their conditions of service. In doing so he shall be guided by the council in regard to its budget and in the case of dismissal, shall report to the council his reasons therefor.
2. The principal shall be responsible for the internal running of the college, its organization, management and discipline, and he shall be answerable to the council on all matters affecting the well-being of the college, he shall be entitled to refer any matter of discipline within the life of the college to the disciplinary committee for advice.³⁴⁰
3. Authority to suspend with immediate effect any member of the teaching staff of the college, but shall then report the matter forthwith to the disciplinary committee, which without delay would investigate the circumstances and make appropriate recommendations to the principal for the action by him accordance therewith.

At times there were misunderstandings between the two seminaries, St. Bede's and Fedsem had different theological and religious perspectives. St. Bede's was conservative, hierarchical and disciplined, while Fedsem was creative, questioning and liberal. Financial arrangements caused conflict between the two as St Bede's wanted to spend on both themselves and Fedsem, but Fedsem wanted to meet its costs, later St. Bede's also changed and focused on self.³⁴¹

For Watkin Joseph Williams and his successors, the role of St Bede's was mainly to supply assistants to the white priests. It was not in the plan of the College to prepare black priests for leadership positions in the diocese. Norman Goodall and Eric Nielsen who were sent by the International Missionary Council to South Africa to survey theological education in 1953, found that the general academic standard was 'very low' at St Bede's with much focus put on 'devotional and pastoral training.'³⁴²

The Southern African Theological Association (SATA) was formed by the Churches in Southern African for the purpose of discussing the Education and Trading Act (1979) that the government had passed but not yet enforced. Although a general exemption from registration had been granted to Church controlled

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Ibid

³⁴² Norman Goodall and Eric Nielsen, "Survey of the training for the ministry in the younger Church today, London", (1954)15.

theological institutions the consequential clauses in the Act had not been amended. It was therefore still unclear whether state control could be exercised or not on such matters as syllabus content and staff.³⁴³

Prior to the amalgamation of the two colleges in 1993, the Seminary Council Meeting held in June 1975 resolved, 'that in planning for the new seminary the site and all buildings should assume accommodation on a non-racial basis so that the principle of integrated training would be accepted.'³⁸⁷ St. Paul's and St. Bede's had already made some progress in this direction. All students were to submit to the same regulations and obligations and were entitled to the same privileges. Staff bodies were to be integrated to meet all cultural needs. Black students were permitted to study prior to college if necessary, to make up for the educational gap.³⁴⁴

4.4.1 Discussing the future of the non-racial theological college (1976 – 1979)

In 1976, a meeting of bishops was held in the Diocese of St. John to discuss the integration of the Anglican theological colleges. There was a general feeling in favour of the college being established and the need for racial reconciliation among clergy and people, a better understanding of each other and the removal of suspicion, misunderstandings and fear of each other. They discussed the possibility of black clergy ministering to white congregations since they would have received the same training. This would set an example for the church and nation. It would remove the suspicion that white candidates were better treated by their bishops than black ones. It would foster life-long relationships between the clergy across the colour bar.³⁴⁵

In the same discussion, there was a recognition that the whites' advantage in the use of the English language would place some blacks at a disadvantage. The bishops emphasized unity as a means whereby

³⁴³ AB 2414 H3. St. Peter's Theological College correspondences and minutes, (1976). ³⁸⁷ AB 2414 H3. (1976).

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ AB 2414 H2. Minutes of the College Council on the general admission for students. 1972.

these differences between blacks and whites could be addressed and solved in the colleges, by the students themselves.³⁴⁶

One of the aspects that came up in the late 1970s is the abuse of alcohol and womanizing by the students. It appeared as a complaint by someone to the leadership of the college. The senior chaplain to the Archbishop L.D. Weiss wrote to Bishop Schuster on 18th September 1979 refuting such claims. He said,

‘As promised, I write to inform you of what transpired. There were no women brought in the college. And I have nothing to support any suggestion to the contrary. It is good to know that the principal has put his foot fairly on the aspect. No women are brought into the college and there are no indications at all, and no that students believe that anything of this kind is continuing elsewhere.’³⁴⁷

Towards 1978, there were complaints about student abuse of alcohol. In the said letter, a student from the Diocese of Cape Town was reportedly drunk even though he denied it. The college leadership wanted students to minister to each other in the case of such weaknesses.³⁴⁸ The college was not rushing into punitive actions towards students. Rather the college wanted to have the students assisted spiritually and pastorally. Revd Canon Victor Makhubu alluded to the abuse of alcohol at the college by some students and that, ‘some students needed the intervention of their bishops.’³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ab 1363, File 2, S4. Letter to the Archbishop dated 1st December 1979, CPSA Archbishops of Cape Town. St. Bede’s College, Umtata, 1976-1982

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Personal talk over the phone with Revd Canon Victor Makhubu (5th May, 2023). Before he passed on 29th May, 2023.

4.5 The first black principals and the temporary closure of St Bede's (1980-1983)

In the 1980s, St. Bede's began to admit self-supporting students intending to be priests, with the view that they would learn more from their parish priests in terms of pastoral and spiritual life.³⁵⁰ In 1980 the Bishop of St. John, Godfrey William Ashby, appointed Wilberforce Nkomo as the rector of St. Bede's college. He reluctantly accepted the position.³⁵¹ Other clergy felt Nkomo was not ideal. He later resigned because of some conflicts and misunderstandings within the college staff and students. He claimed that some clergy within the diocese and some students did not like him to be Warden of St. Bede's. A local newspaper reported in 1984 that Bishop Ashby confirmed that Nkomo had been advised to resign on account of what was happening at the college.³⁵²

Members of another theological college in Cape Town in conjunction with St. Bede's addressed a letter to the Minister of the Coloured Affairs in Cape Town, Mr. Morais Steyn, pressing their concern with the state of the education sector in South Africa. The letter read,

'Dear Sir, we the undersigned, members of this theological college, have become increasingly concerned about the state of South Africa at this time with its recent schools' boycotts, strikes and acts of sabotage.

Because of our concern for the country and its people, we decided to have a day of prayer and fasting at the college. The result was a request for this letter to be written to the Prime Minister and various other ministers. We would urge you most strongly to do all in your power as the Ministry of Coloured Affairs to improve the standard of living of the people under your jurisdiction. We believe that all men need to have an equal stake in South Africa, and should therefore receive equal education, employment and living conditions. We are aware that changes

³⁵⁰ Ledwaba. The Development of indigenous leaders in the church of the Province of Southern Africa, (2005) 111.

³⁵¹ AB 2546 S2-S4. Archbishops of Cape Town. St Bede's Theological College. Synod Report by the Bishop of the Diocese of St. John, (1983).

³⁵² Indaba Local Newspaper, 22nd September, 1983.

cannot be made overnight, but we are also aware that educational and job facilities are not equal for all people. We would therefore, ask you and the rest of the government to set yourselves the task of improving the plight of the underprivileged, and repealing all laws which undermine the rights of any group of people. We believe the urgency of changes is evident by the general state of unrest which the country is experiencing at the time.’³⁵³

Wilberforce Nkomo, a priest from the Diocese of St. John was appointed Rector of St. Bede’s by Bishop Ashby, who was the ex-officio chairperson of the college council board. Nkomo’s principalship lasted from 1980-1982, and was advised to resign in 1983. He stated that, ‘as soon as I took over the principalship, some members of staff motivated students to oppose and harass me. This became apparent when meetings became nothing else but platforms at which attacks were made on me.’³⁵⁴ According to the church’s provincial-wide publication for Anglicans, *Seek*, the two groups of students led some to leave the college and went back home. The two groups were local Xhosa students and those from outside the Transkei. The rumour was that the local students had threatened the non-Xhosa students that the Transkei police would come for the non-Transkei students, and so they left the college. All things happen showing lack of confidence in the principal.³⁵⁵

The case of Nkomo led to a lot of discussion on the appointment of rectors at St. Bede’s. Nkomo’s whereabouts, after he resigned as the rector of St Bede’s, are not documented anywhere. The assumption is that he might have returned to working as a full time parish priest. Rev. Ephraim Mosothoane wrote a letter on behalf of a number of clergy on the appointment of principals for the college. The letter read as,

³⁵³ Letter of concerned to Mr. Morais Steyn the Minister of Coloured Affairs from St. Bede’s Theological College, 20th June 1980.

³⁵⁴ College of St. Bede’s (22nd September, 1983) ³⁹⁹
Ibid.

³⁵⁵ *Seek*. The Principal of St. Bede’s is asked to resign. (19.09.1983).

‘Firstly, I believe that there is no one within our province at this time who would be able to give St. Bede’s the new start it needs after the crisis it has experienced. Those who are already in positions of leadership would not vacate them for the principalship of the college. Secondly, there could be a white priest who could, on academic and other grounds, deserve being considered for the position. But that would be solving a problem by creating another one. But the time was not ripe for the re-appointment of a white priest as head of the college.’³⁵⁶

The letter was addressed to the archbishop and copied to the diocesan Bishop of St. John. It was dated 20th March 1984 and expressed his personal concern and the concerns received from most black clergy in the diocese, most of whom went to the college.

He writes, ‘I am doing so as I was also resisting pressure from a considerable number of people who wanted me to articulate their concerns. I believe it was only right for men to adopt such an attitude.’³⁵⁷

The clergy of the diocese did not doubt the ability of the leadership of the province, but were making suggestions, especially by those who studied at St. Bede’s College. They would prefer someone from outside South Africa but not from America or Europe.’³⁵⁸

According to the college minutes of 1975, the Principal Brigg, raised a pattern of training, 4 years in total, of which 2 years was for training, 1 year in parish/pastoral work and another 1 year was for the final examinations in the College. The aim of the college was to develop the programme to suit contemporary

³⁵⁶ AB 2414 H6. Clergy training Division. Diocese of Natal. (1980).

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ AB 2414 H6. Clergy training Division. Diocese of Natal. (1980).

needs.³⁵⁹ The College favoured an integrated training of students, focusing both on the academic and pastoral dynamics and being able to deal with the pressures arising from the South African political situation.

When Briggs resigned in 1979, Rev. Ephraim Khotso Mosothoane became the Rector also for his charismatic faith and gifts. According to Ngewu, Mosothoane became the first black person to lead the college.³⁶⁰

During the principalship of Nkomo St. Bede's experienced challenges. Nkomo himself was considered not educated to be a rector, which led to students challenging him. In a way he was being undermined.

The outside students were regarded as terrorists, so the local government kept foreign students out. The College was closed. Zululand opened a seminary at KwaNzimela and Canon Biyela was Warden, so the students continued with their studies. Bishop Lawrence made that arrangement.³⁶¹ Meanwhile,

Archbishop Philip Russell had appointed a commission of enquiry to investigate the matter and to make whatever recommendation the commission felt necessary, giving particular attention to the future direction and development of the college. The Committee consisted of Bishop Alfred Mkhize, Canon Leon Foster, Rev Theophilus Ngubane and Mr. Dennis Burkinshaw.³⁶²

The following are some of the findings of the Commission that was set up to investigate the matter. Even though St. Bede's might have been seen as a provincial college, it was more in the powers of the diocesan bishop, the difference seen when to get provincial funds. The college's constitution makes bare mention of the Archbishop, whose only function was to agree with the Bishop of St. John appointment of a principal. From the onset of his appointment, Nkomo had this confusion which set him to operate separately or in isolation. There was disunity between the principal and some staff members. There were

³⁵⁹ AB 2414 H2. Minutes of the college Council on the general admission for students. (1972). ⁴⁰⁵ Minutes of the college Council.

³⁶⁰ Ngewu. "A review of the history of St Bede's College: 1899–1992", (1994) 34.

³⁶¹ Personal interview with Clement Khumalo and Jonathan Draper (2022).

³⁶² AB 2546, File 1, S 4. A report by Rev. T. Patterson, dated 3rd October 1983.

two camps. Students opposed some lecturers. It also became a tribal issue as outside students confronted the local students. The situation was beyond the control of the principal.

There were two factions, namely the ‘club 26’ which was mainly of non-St John’s Diocese students and the ‘network’ composed of students from the Diocese of St. John. The actual crisis was sparked off by the president of the student board displaying on the door a ‘quiz’ poster which included questions such as; how many landmines are planted in the college?’ This could only be described as provocative. The landmines issue caused club ‘26’ to react. The Anglican provincial newspaper called *Seek* captured some information on what was happening at the college. Worse still, the principal sent a letter to another a newspaper, the *Daily Dispatch*, in an attempt to clarify things. Unwisely, in the letter, the principal mentioned the bishop’s refusal to assist him and the Transkei government’s constant checking on what was happening at the college.’³⁶³

The Commission concluded saying,

‘we believe that St. Bede’s College should continue as a Provincial Theological College with an amended Constitution. The trust of the future training offered by the college should be development of the virtues of humility and charity with a deep understanding of community, to equip ordinands for their ministry in the Church and in the world.’³⁶⁴

The reply by Archbishop Russel reads, ‘it is only recent that the control of St. Bede’s College has been placed in the hands of the province, the metropolitan now being the chairperson.’³⁶⁵

³⁶³ Report by the Commission appointed by the Archbishop to investigate on St. Bede’s, (1983).

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ AB 2546, File 1, S 4. College application for a grant to the Archbishop for the library, dated 10th September 1984. Archbishops of Cape Town, St Bede’s Theological College, 1983-1984

Nkomo was considered inadequately educated to be Rector,³⁶⁶ so students started challenging him. The outside students were regarded as troublemakers or as having instigated some wrong things at the College. So the local government forced the foreign students out of the College. Reverend Ivan Weiss the archbishop's chaplain, wrote a letter of concern and also encouragement to Nkomo,

‘I was deeply disturbed and upset by the last weekend, particularly the function and events following it, some students had a party, water overflowed and flooded the floor, the system blocked, and no cleaning up has been made.’³⁶⁷

The author of the letter found it disturbing to see the college behaving that way, given that it was college for training clergy. However, the letter was more about the author expressing general concern and not actually much about criticizing the leadership.³⁶⁸ In 1984 Ndungane was appointed Principal of the college by Archbishop Russel after Nkomo was advised to resign. Ndungane held the position from 1984-1986, and Donald Harker took the position until 1992. Ndungane became bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman in 1991 and became archbishop in 1996.

³⁶⁶ See the letter dated 9th September 1982, written by Ndungane to Archbishop Philip on people's views about Nkomo, on his inadequacy to be principal of the college. So be advised to resign or be told to resign.

³⁶⁷ Reverend Ivan Weiss letter dated 25th March 1980 to the rector.

³⁶⁸ Ibid

4.6 The last years of St Bede's (1984-1992)

Commenting on the new Principal of St. Bede's College, Mosonthoane suggested to the archbishop in his letter dated 20th march 1984;

‘Dear Philip,

While I have had my own views about the recent events at St. Bede's College, I have deliberately refrained from asking any public statements in that connection. In doing so I was also resisting considerable pressure from a considerable number of people who wanted me to articulate their concerns. I believe it was only right for me to adopt such an attitude.

After a brief chat with the Bishop of St. John I am writing to you about St. Bede's particularly the principalship issue. Seeing the entire matter of the future of St. Bede's is in your hands, together with your brother bishops, may I make it clear that my writing should not be interpreted as questioning your ability to plan properly and effectively for the future. All I am doing is to put forward suggestions for your consideration. The suggestion is mine but also represents the views of a considerable number of clergy, especially black priests from all over the Province, most of whom were trained at St. Bede's. The views were expressed to me telephonically and in person, and the matter was raised in the recent chapter meeting for the diocese and agreed that it is worth putting this forward.

Firstly, I believe there is no one within our province now who would be able to give St. Bede's the new start it needs after the crisis it has gone through. Secondly, there may be a white priest who could, on academic and other grounds, deserve being considered for the position. However, I believe that would be solving one problem by simply creating another. The time is, in other words, not ripe yet for the re-appointment of a white person to be the head at the college.

Thirdly, this is the opportunity to look for someone within the wider Anglican Communion, preferably not in the United Kingdom nor the United States nor Canada. There are black Anglicans within this wider family who could come to our aid, and I suggest CPSA look for one of these either in black independent Africa or in the West Indies.

Yours in Christ's service,

Rev. Canon E.K Mosothoane,³⁶⁹

The letter of the archbishop dated 19th April 1984 as the response to the one above is impressive.

'My dear Ephraim,

Thank you for your letter of the 20th March 1984,

I am grateful to you for your comments on St. Bede's. I must admit that the whole matter of an appointment of a principal for that college is a 'no-win' situation. If we appoint a local person, there will be those such as yourself who do not believe that a local person can do it. If we appoint a person from overseas, there will be those who believe that he ought to have come from within the Province. If we appoint a white person, there will be those who believe that it ought to be a black person. If we appoint a black person, there will be those who would regard this as simply racism in reverse.

However, I think that two things must be said, firstly, indeed we have written not only to the Bishops of the Province but also to the Bishops of Africa asking for suggestions. Secondly, we are, and I know that, I would include you in this, making this a matter of prayer as we try to find out God's will for the college.

Every blessing,

+ Philip Russel

³⁶⁹ Rev. E. K Monothoane's letter to Archbishop Philip Russel, dated 20th March 1984

One important point that needs to be mentioned here is that not much pastoral experience was emphasized as a condition for being appointed as Rectors at St. Bede's. The emphasis on the appointment of the principals seems to be on the academic qualifications, and this can be seen in the number of the potential candidates for the position mentioned and proposed doing their further studies as can be seen in the communication between the Bishop of the Diocese and the Archbishop.³⁷⁰ Another communication between the Bishop of the Diocese and Archbishop Russel confirms the statement, even though the pastoral experience is mentioned in this letter dated 4th April 1984, one picks up the sense of focusing on academic qualification as the priority of being a principal at the college.

‘Dear Philip,

Thank you for both of your letters, I shall look forward to seeing you in April at Episcopal synod. Wandile Kuse has been interviewed by the Dean, Bishop Jacob Dlamini and myself recently and I hasten to report on what we have seen and heard. First, many options are coming in and recommendations in his favour. I am very much personally in sympathy with these because I taught him years ago at St. Paul's in Grahamstown. He was one of the two African students that we were allowed to have in 1960, academically, he is suitable indeed, he has a B.Sc from Fort Hare University, he has his L. Th from St. Paul's where he studied for three years ...’³⁷¹

As highlighted, when the College was closed in 1983, Zululand opened a place at KwaNzimela. According to Clement Khumalo, ‘Canon Biyela was Warden of the new class started at KwaNzimela,’⁴¹⁸ although Jonathan Draper said, himself, ‘Jonathan Draper was put in-charge,’³⁷² of this college at KwaNzimela. Therefore, the students continued with their studies and they wrote their exams at KwaNzimela Pastoral

³⁷⁰ AB 1363, File 1, S4. CPSA. Archbishop of Cape Town. St. Bede's College. See the letter of the Bishop of St. John to the Archbishop, as one of the many references to such statement.

³⁷¹ AB 2546 S2-S4. Letter of the Bishop of St. John's to the Archbishop dated 3rd April 1984. ⁴¹⁸ Telephone interview with Clement Khumalo (3rd February, 2022).

³⁷² Telephone interview with Jonathan Draper, Pietermaritzburg. (2nd May, 2022).

Center. The diocese of Zululand took two students from the diocese of Mpumanga and Swaziland to join the students from Zululand finishing their studies at the center. Bishop Lawrence made that arrangement with the Joint Board of Education.³⁷³

Draper suggested that a temporary college be formed at KwaNzimela to allow the students from St. Bede's to continue their studies. Draper organized a few people to teach, using TEE materials. It lasted for at least 3 years, even though Draper, at KwaNzimela with a class of students, only worked for a year. Others continued. Archbishop Russell called Draper to assist at St. Bede's in the 1980s.³⁷⁴

In the letter written to Bishop Lawrence Zulu of the diocese of Zululand at the time, as Ndungane says, 'Bishop Lawrence Zulu has agreed to my approaching Jonathan Draper for a teaching post next year. I have written to Jonathan and I am waiting for his reply.'³⁷⁵

In conclusion under this period, several letters were written by the leadership of St. Bede's Theological College expressing concern of what was happening in the country and at the college.

4.6.1 Njongonkulu Winston Ndungane (1984-1986)

Winston Huge Njongonkulu Ndungane was born in Kokstad in the Eastern Cape in South Africa on the 2nd of April 1941. He went to school in Alice for primary and secondary education and went to the University of Cape Town in 1960. He was involved in the political activities standing up for justice as well as human rights, which caused him to be imprisoned on Robben Island from 1963 to 1966. He joined the church while in prison; and was ordained in 1974. He obtained his further theological studies at King's College in London in 1979. He was called by Archbishop Russell to be the Rector of St. Bede's college from 1985 to 1986. A well renowned leader with a desire for ethical issues. He held a lot of positions

³⁷³ Personal interview with Clement Khumalo (3rd February, 2022).

³⁷⁴ Personal interview with Clement Khumalo and Jonathan Draper, (2nd February, 2022).

³⁷⁵ Letter written by Winston Ndungane as principal to Archbishop Philipp Russell, (14th February 1985).

locally and internationally. He became bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman in 1991 and became Archbishop in 1996.³⁷⁶

In the college minutes dated 13th December 1984, it is reported that Ndungane accepted the invitation to serve as the principal of St. Bede's with much fear and trembling. This was in response to an urgent need from the CPSA to have the vacancy filled. He and his wife undertook to do their best in the hope that God will sustain them and in the knowledge of the sure support and encouragement of the college council.³⁷⁷

Ndungane wrote a proposed model of formation of ordination candidates at St. Bede's for consideration by the college council, dated 10th December 1985. It said,

‘the primary goal of theological training at St. Bede's is the production of ordinands who have a deepened spirituality that is God-centred, God-directed and biblically based. It is our hope to produce candidates who will be of service to the CPSA and who can read the signs of the time and interpret them in the light of the Gospel.’³⁷⁸

Peter Wyngaard trained at St Paul's Theological College in Grahamstown (1981-1982). After his ordination, he was invited by the Principal of St. Bede's to lecture there. After spending three years at St Bede's, the family moved to Johannesburg. While at St. Paul's, his wife Lynda attended classes while Peter was a student, since the Rector of St. Paul's College, Rev. Duncan Buchanan allowed women to join the classes. She discerned the calling while in Johannesburg and was ordained as a priest in 1996. Both are retired clergy of the Diocese of Natal, currently residing in Howick, but still helpful to the diocese in a number of things.³⁷⁹ Peter passed on shortly after this study was completed.

³⁷⁶ <http://www.historicschools.org.za/view>

³⁷⁷ AB 2546, File 3, S4. Minutes of a meeting of the St. Bede's College Council, (13th December 1984).

³⁷⁸ AB2546 File 5 S 4.

³⁷⁹ Lynda Wyngaard. 'The Anglican Church of Southern Africa.' <https://anglicanchurchsa.org/mission/women-andgender/25th-anniversary/lynda-wyngaard/>. (Accessed on 12th October, 2022).

According to Peter Wyngaard,

‘Njongonkulu was appointed by Archbishop Phillip Russell to put up a Commission to look at the resurrection of St. Bede’s because Matanzima had closed down St. Bede’s around 1983. He chaired that commission. He took up the place in 1984 as Rector of the College, and he called us to join in 1986. Around 1986, he left and then Donald Harker was followed by Livingstone Ngewu.’³⁸⁰

Besides the students at St. Bede’s, other people had so much trust in the leadership of Rev. Ndungane as the new principal. Keith Griffiths, who was the common room secretary of St. Paul’s College wrote a letter dated 8th August 1984 to St. Bede’s confirming that Ndungane was a suitable person for the position and he would bring the college to its rightful place. Griffiths said, ‘the closing of St. Bede’s was a tragic event in the life of the Church in the Province.’³⁸¹ Other letters were sent to the Archbishop expressing joy at the re-opening of the college under Ndungane.³⁸² Ndungane had won the love of the students. The students believed he had raised a higher stance of professionalism at St. Bede’s. Students’ affairs were dealt with professionally by the staff, with positive progress reports for students.

In a letter written by Ndungane to Archbishop Russel, after his appointment as Rector at St. Bede’s and looking forward to the returns of students to the college, Ndungane wrote:

‘I think it would be both to the advantage of the college as well as the teaching staff if we take first years students only for next year. So, my answer to your enquiry about a possibility of taking on two 3rd year students is no. Besides, I think it would be best for the men concerned to stay where they are and complete their courses of training, rather than yet another move.’³⁸³ (sic)

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ AB 2414 H6. File F 1, S2-S4. Clergy training Division. Diocese of Natal. A Suggested Guide to Essential Characteristics to be looked for in assessing candidates offering themselves for ordination. (1980).

³⁸² Ibid

³⁸³ AB 2546, File 1, S2-S4. Rector Winston Ndungane’s letter to Archbishop Philip Russel on the reopening of the college and intake of students for 1985. St. Bede’s College.

Wilberforce Nkomo expected Archbishop Russell to intervene but he did not. It was then that Ndungane was appointed as the new Warden.³⁸⁴ Students enjoyed Ndungane's leadership and his knowledge of church history and his fluency in English.

4.6.2 Donald Harker (1987-1992)

At the end of 1986 Ndungane left to join the Provincial office and was succeeded by Donald Harker.³⁸⁵ Being a hard worker, Harker did interesting things at the College. He had a deep vision and encouraged the students and the staff to work harder. He also worked in the garden and so gave an example of practicality to the students.³⁸⁶

In one of the reports on the training of clergy by the Bishop of St. John, he said, "there is a possibility of black clergy ministering to white congregation since they will have received equal training, the example it would set for the church and nation, the removal of suspension that white candidates are better treated by their bishops than black, the fostering of lifelong friendships across the colour bar among clergy. In the training for ministry, there would be difficulties at first, with whites' advantage of the English language and other issues to the advantages of white students over black students."³⁸⁷

The letter that Bishop Suffragan Rt Revd C H Albertyn of Cape Town wrote on behalf of the Archbishop Desmond Mphilo Tutu dated 17th December 1992 reads,

'Dear Fr. Donald Harker,

The archbishop has asked me to write on his behalf to apologize for the oversight in not conveying his thanks at the closing ceremonies of the college. He wishes to thank you as the principal and to the staff, both domestic and academic, of the St. Bede's College in Umtata for your contribution to

³⁸⁴ Ngewu "A review of the history of St Bede's College: 1899–1992", (1994), And see also AB 2546 S4 (File1), Archbishop of Cape Town, St Bede's theological college, 1983-1984.

³⁸⁵ Ibid and see Ndungane's letter to Archbishop Philip Russel asking to be released in 1986 upon the death of his wife in February.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ 434 Ibid.

the Theological Training in the Province over the years. He notices with sadness that your institution has to close and amalgamate with St. Paul's Grahamstown to form the new college of the Transfiguration in 1993. He recognizes the many clergy who have had the privilege of your training and looks forward to the significant part they will play in the life of the province.

Although St. Bede's will close, its impact on the province will continue for many years to come.

Yours sincerely

The Rt Revd C. H. Albertyn.

In a letter dated 12th June 1990 that was written to the bishops of the Province who had their students at the College, they were asked to pay the fees for the rest of the year 1990. The College Council asked the principal Harker and the chairperson Bishop Jacob Dlamini to sign on behalf of the College Council. Some extracts from that letter read,

‘you are respectively asked to consider paying an additional R850 in respect of each student that you have at this college for the rest of this year. This request is not made lightly as it is common knowledge that dioceses are also struggling financially. However, this request has been necessitated by a deficit which can only increase if there is influx of money over and above the current income. Underbudgeting often occurs when dioceses withdraw students or prospective students at the last moment when fees have already been quoted, as has been the case this year....’

Thanking you for your concern and kind assistance, Revd

D F Harker and the Rt Revd J Z Dlamini.

These two letters show the principal communicating on a number of issues but more on the financial situation of the college.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁸ AB2546, File 1, S4.

St. Bede's College communications letters to the college and the dioceses. Archbishops of Cape Town, St. Bede's Theological College, 1983-1984.

In one of his reports dated 24th October 1990 Harker complained about the behaviour of some students. The students had a protest which the college viewed as unacceptable. Twenty of the twenty-six students at the college decided to be absent from the Eucharist on the 18th October 1990. The service which Bishop J Dlamini was invited to preside and license four women as lay minister and sub-deacons. These ladies were actually the wives of the staff members and a student. The willingness of the women followed their successful participation in some lessons and discussions at the college. This fitted with the idea of the college involving the ordinands' wives and children in their formation.

The reason that the students gave for the reaction to the women attending classes was that they were not consulted on the matter. The concern was that these women had already been ministering in the chapel by helping with the chalice, and the women issue in the ministry is not a problem any longer. This was prejudice against women, the matter which is still controversial especially with women as ordained priests in some dioceses of the Anglican church. The students involved were spoken to by the leadership of the college who found them to be immature, selfish and childish. They felt that the students disrespected the bishop and using the Eucharist as an accession for a boycott action is contemptable and lacks spiritual maturity.

Harker concluded his report by saying that, 'the whole matter has been strongly and effectively addressed and concluded and much has been learnt out of this. Nevertheless, I feel that the bishops should know this, especially for future references.'³⁸⁹

4.7 Seminary life at St Bede's under apartheid

Over the years, St. Bede's changed fundamentally. For example, the admission policy of the students became more inclusive of all races. This confirms what Zikhode said, that, 'during my time at college, the

³⁸⁹ Donald Harker's report on the incident of the students boycotting Eucharist Service, (24th October 1990). ⁴³⁷ Zikhode, the Rainbow Community, (1986).

student body was of a mixed nature. Likewise, the lecturing staff was also multiracial.³⁹⁰ Thami Shange highlighted that the formation focused on the training of the priest as a pastor to the people of God.³⁹⁰

4.7.1 The curriculum

During the 1980s the curriculum was contextual, so much so that the diocese could not let the clergy or the students from the college preach because the staff from the college was too radical. There was much liberation theology because of Ndungane, who had spent three years on Robben Island. That is why he did not want the students to protest. He said to them ‘I ate too much porridge, and I am not ready to eat porridge again’. Both St. Bede’s and Fedsem offered similar courses which were taught in a spirit of radicalism as the college sought to promote transformation within the college and in society. The methodological approach of the courses was radical. In an attempt to respond to the question of the impact of apartheid on the College, Peter and Lynda Wyngaard said ‘Donald Harker was not so much into challenging the social ills yet influential to the students.’ Nuttall confirms this, saying that ‘the presence of Donald Harker was motivational to the students.’³⁹¹

Academic results were openly discussed among the colleges, and in comparison to the other Anglican theological colleges, St. Bede’s was always at the bottom, not because the students could not comprehend the studies easily, but because of poor educational backgrounds, compared with the white colleges with good educational backgrounds.³⁹² This was alluded to by Peter and Lynda Wyngaard among the challenges that black students faced in their studies, including that English was not their mother tongue. According to the 9th November 1983 minutes of St. Bede’s Council, ‘general admission for students was to be Matric. Exceptions could be made if a student produced proof of competence, also be based on

³⁹⁰ Telephone call interview with Thami Shange (25th May, 2023).

³⁹¹ Personal interview with Peter and Lynda Wyngaard (2022).

³⁹² Ibid and Personal interview with Jonathan Payne (15th September, 2022).

experience/seniority.³⁹³ One can suspect that some black students might not have had a Matric equivalent but were accepted on the basis of their experience or maturity. Hence, the issue of language being really a problem for the black students.

The manner that the courses were offered at St. Bede's shows that there was a change from a Western to contextual approach. St. Bede's taught church history and the New Testament course in a spirit of radicalism.⁴⁴² Participants who said some parishes in the diocese of St. John did not welcome students from St. Bede's for pastoral ministry, did not specify whether these were white or black parishes. But there were parishes that did so, probably, because the students were critical and able to ask questions and so not welcomed by the local clergy in the diocese.³⁹⁴

There is emphasis on the curriculum addressing the context of the student, though the discussion compares the UK formation patterns as a measure of standards, saying that, 'unless we want to drop our standard,' but talks much on practical course in the 4th year, integration of theory and practical.³⁹⁵

Although in certain parts the curriculum seemed to be unclear and too Western or was '*English*' but the method used in transmitting the knowledge to the students, was African with the objective of serving the natives. From the research conducted and the interviews done, the type of theological training offered at St. Bede's assisted the students to know that they were Africans called to serve in an African context with all the challenges of the time.³⁹⁶

It can be argued that there were moments when the homeland government could control what was preached or what courses were offered at the college. If the contents of the sermons, prayers and courses was foreign, then it would not address the issues of the natives as expected. The participants in this research expressed

³⁹³ AB 2414 J3. Minutes of the College Council on the general admission for students, (9th November 1983). ⁴⁴² Personal interview with Peter and Lynda Wnyngaard (2022).

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

that the college offered contextual approach and they were involved in the social issues. So, it was not the matter of memorizing Western concepts of theology. In that way, there is a link between courses studied and the ethics applied to the context of the people.

The curriculum was a mixture of African and Western, and the students were able to do pastoral work in the nearby parishes and in schools. That means theology was contextual, but Jonathan Payne says, ‘it was more Western Theology and not contextual. Not on African theology, apart from Albert Nolan who came with contextual theology. Otherwise, it was systematic and church history from the West.’³⁹⁷

For Ignatius Zwane and other participants, the curriculum was contextual. As part of the practical application of the studies, during holy week students went to parishes organized by the college, doing services there. The students reported on Holy Saturday on how they encountered parish worship and how it related to its sources. The lecturers were black. Most library books were not relevant and so the students used the library at the University of Transkei. According to Zwane, “the lecturers were very good and they gave students thought-provoking assignments such as ‘empty tomb is false’ and required us to substantiate our argument.”³⁹⁸

Unlike other participants, Mkhize found that the curriculum was Western, since the College relied on white lecturers. He said, ‘as students from African dioceses and high schools, we could tell that the curriculum was Western, though the library was well furnished with useful resources, since they wanted us to be academics. The formation was a bit monastic.’³⁹⁹ Most theological courses were abstract. The courses were not contextualized and they failed to relate to the rich indigenous historical culture of religious worship and the political situation in the country.⁴⁰⁰ The standard was ‘very low’ at St. Bede’s and much emphasis was put on ‘devotional training and pastoralia.’⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ Jonathan Payne interview (2022).

³⁹⁸ Personal interview with Ignatius Zwane (2022).

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid and personal interview with Bonginkosi Mkhize (2022).

⁴⁰¹ Norman Goodall and Eric Nielsen. “Survey of the Training for the Ministry in the Younger Church Today”. (London, 1954)15. See also Denis and Duncan, *The Native School that caused all the Trouble*, (2011) 35.

St. Bede's academic programme was structured in this manner:

1st year courses

New Testament 1A (Synoptics), New Testament 1B (Johannine), Old Testament 1 (JBD OT1), Church History 1(JBD OTI), Worship (JBD), Prayer and Christian life, Bible Study (small group work)

2nd year courses – (BD OT3), Old Testament 3 Prayer and Christian life,

3rd year courses – New Testament 3 (Pauline Theology and Hebrews), Christian Education (JBD C.E), Doctrine 2 (JBD D2), Missiology (JBD Miss.), Christian Ethics 1B (JBD C.Eth.), Old Testament 3B (part of JBD OT3).⁴⁰²

This programme had three term system of 10 weeks each apportioned as;

Lent term from the 1st February to the 16th April

St. Bede's term from the 15th May to the 23rd July

Michaelmas term from the 4th September to the 19th November.

This academic program was followed by a retreat and each student was expected to have a spiritual director outside the college who would visit the college for spiritual guidance and confessions.⁴⁰³

Students and lecturers equally complained of great overload of work, but this could be owing to students' lack of pre-theological courses or not having passed well in matric and being unable to do the work by themselves. Moreover, students arrived at the College with simple faith which took a long time to be augmented.

⁴⁰² General Ordination Certificate. A Proposed mode for formation of ordination candidates presented by St Bede's Theological College, (22nd February 1986).

⁴⁰³ AB 2546, File 3, S4. Minutes of a meeting of the St. Bede's College Council, (13th December 1984). Hamilton Mbatha, Clement Khumalo, Ignatius Zwane and Bonginkosi Mkhize, (2022).

Something worth mentioning here is that most of the respondents had no initial idea of joining the priesthood but were intending to become teachers or do something else. It was after either interacting with a clergy or family member who was linked to a church, who happened to have motivated them to become priests.

With the issues addressed in this chapter, the following can be said about the discussions thus far. Even though it may not be coming out clearly, the undertone is obvious. Apartheid played a major influence in the Anglican setup of theological colleges which, in a way, promoted segregation, since the four seminaries mentioned earlier in this and the previous chapter, had apartheid effects on Anglican theological education. The contextualized studies addressed the issues of injustice in South Africa. Theological colleges needed to deal with matters of injustice and poverty caused by the government policies.

All the issues addressed in this chapter, be it racial, poor educational background in the case of black students, or tribal conflict, are basically pointing to one major problem, which is the apartheid system that affected Anglican theological education. The initial establishment of the College by Bishop Callaway was based on blacks being trained like their white counterparts in ministry. In a way, the Anglican Church, in starting St. Bede's and joining Fedsem, was passing on a strong message in favor of unity and against disunity or tribalism, thus opposing even the Bantustans.⁴⁰⁴

Besides the academic requirement for entry to St. Bede's College, since the clergy are the church's greatest asset, the church should take the process of selection as seriously as anything else it does. She should show to her members that she is looking for and expecting the best and will be satisfied with nothing less. The following were expected from the one intending to seek ministry training, 'Christian, prayerful, honest, no drunkards, managing the family well, good interpersonal relationships, awareness of being a Christian in South Africa.'⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ AB 2414 J3. Minutes on the Association of Southern African Theological Institutions, (1975-76).

⁴⁵⁵ AB 2414 H6. Clergy training Division. Diocese of Natal, (1980).

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid

4.7.2 Politics

There was also the issue of political affiliation, whether with the ANC or the IFP. This was the time when the National Party government was against all forms of association with Desmond Tutu since he spoke openly and strongly against segregation. The government then went so far as to discourage media from covering the archbishop's services. It was the time of the emerging of the new social and political stances in the country. The black and white students were feeling that they had the same destiny in this country. The pronouncement of De Klerk to have political prisoners like Nelson Mandela to be released from prison, meant a lot to the students. However, the students had to go to the consecration service of Tutu as the Archbishop of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, since they had a relationship with the Archbishop Tutu who cared so much for the College.⁴⁰⁶

Two former students, chosen from many, give a picture of what was transpiring at St. Bede's in Umtata around the 1980s. According to an interview with Mlungisi Zikhode who was a student from the Diocese of Zululand around the 1980s, this period was the time when the Nationalist government was still using the 'divide and rule' system to manage or control the people. The result was the homelands system. The Transkei homeland had Umtata as its capital town. The implication was that everyone who came into the Transkei homeland from outside territories had to get a passport and a permit. Zikhode affirms that, 'these were crazy times, but living in St Bede's was rewarding in every way.'⁴⁰⁷

Another former student of St. Bede's during the 1980s gives a clear picture of what transpired at the College. Fumanekile Ncutshe Gqiba relates his call to church ministry, his subsequent political involvement and his joining the ANC in exile.

Archbishop Russell was also aware of the unstable situation at the College as some students were singled out for being politically involved. Upon joining St. Bede's in 1980, Gqiba was shocked to see that the

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid

⁴⁰⁷ Zikhode A Rainbow Community, (Accessed on 14th September 2022).

structural acts of apartheid had already pervaded the College, which reflected how much the church had also lived as part of and in support of apartheid. He notes that some students spied for the Transkei Security Branch. The entire College was monitored and the prayers were reported to the Security Branch. Some students spied for the staff, and most of the students involved had academic problems. This affected their chances of ordination.⁴⁰⁸

Although this is not so clear at St. Bede's college, other Anglican theological colleges were in line with other higher institutions of learning during this period. The students had been questioning the continued existence of the colonial symbols in the premises of the Anglican Cathedrals such as St. Michael and St. George in Grahamstown. The white students wanted these to be retained as part of the history, while the black students found these monuments reminding them of the colonial days and the suffering this brought upon black people.⁴⁰⁹

On the issue of the students praying for the government, Bishop Ashby of the Diocese of St. John, who was the chairperson of St. Bede's College Council, gave the example from 1 Timothy 2:1-2 saying that,

it is the tradition of the church to pray for the state leaders whether we approve of their policies or not. It is provocative and bad manners towards the Lord to pray for the head of another state in the preference to the head of state of the area in which we happen to be. In that case, it would be better not to pray at all. It is understood very well that this is a political issue and that feelings run very high. But St, Bede's College is situated in Umtata and permits are issued by the Transkeian authorities to students who come from outside Transkei.⁴¹⁰

Since Transkei was no longer part of South Africa, the Transkei students felt it was their country and they would boast about it. Transkei was not supported economically since it was not in South Africa. A good

⁴⁰⁸ Fumanekile, Ncutshe, Gqiba. "My Call to Ministry," <https://www.sahistory.org.za/sites/default/files/archive/> (Accessed on 20th May, 2022).

⁴⁰⁹ Mbaya (2018) 214.

⁴¹⁰ Association of South African Theological Institutions 23rd Jan 1975. Statement of theological education consultation. Bishop Godfrey Ashby, chaperson of St. Bede's college. ⁴⁶¹ Clement Khumalo (2022).

lecturer from outside, if affiliated to an outside political party, would not be allowed in.’⁴⁶¹ The issue of permits to both expatriate lecturers and students from other countries raised a serious concern that theological colleges continued losing expatriates, either because the government refused to give them permits or renew permits to get into South Africa or the Transkei. No reasons were given for such acts.⁴¹¹ Axel-Avar Berglund, who was the director of theological education, reported that,

‘the bishops expressed the opinion that the government interfered with where the ordinands were sent for training. Such internal affairs were up to the church not the Department of Bantu Affairs Minister. The meeting condemned the incident of Fedsem being expropriated in 1975 with a view to the land and property becoming the property of the Bantu Trust.’⁴¹²

A letter was written by the students addressed to the Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, which reads as follows,

‘brothers and sisters in Christ, we students at the above mentioned college, seek hereby to express our deepest sympathy and support for the stand that you have taken and are taking in the name of the church in this subcontinent, in the present situation of the nation-wide protest against the injustice of the South African system of government.

We believe that the church can no longer afford to do nothing about this dehumanizing of God’s people, but to stand firm in proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord in word and deed.

Our commitment to the struggle for human liberation is one of the ways we confess our faith in the incarnate God, whose love, whose suffering and whose victory we need to express in the context

⁴¹¹ AB 2414 J3. Minutes on the Association of Southern African Theological Institutions, reported by the secretary. (1973/1975).

⁴¹² Ibid.

of the South African situation. We, like you, also believe that the present upheaval and suffering, is the presence of God working out His purpose through you and us to bring His Kingdom to reality. The Gospel commands us to render to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's (Mathew 22:21. We must obey God rather than men (Acts 5:29).'⁴¹³

This letter was followed by another letter, again written by the students to all the Anglican Churches in the province, asking that the letter be read during Sunday services. According to the introduction part of the letter which read as,

'Dear Father, moved by the incidents of the May 26th, when the bishop of Johannesburg the Rt. Rev. Timothy Bavin and the Secretary of SACC, Bishop Desmond Tutu, were arrested together with 51 other Christians who were participating in the protest march concerning the detention of Rev. Thorne, the students at St. Bede's Theological College decided on a day of prayer and fasting, asking the Holy Spirit for guidance regarding this and other incidents ...'⁴¹⁴

This letter and other written communications from the students at the college, shows that the students were concerned about the situation in the country. The students had planned to write to other institutions also such as the police and the Prime Minister of South Africa. As men training to be ministers in the church and in society, the students felt duty bound to associate themselves with all groups taking a firm stand against injustices in the country.

'We feel that our people are not well acquainted with the happenings within the church, that culminated in the said protest matches, for this reason they become indifferent to these issues and

⁴¹³ Students letter to the Secretary general of the South African Council of Churches dated 18th June 1980.

⁴¹⁴ Students letter to the Anglican Churches in the CPSA dated 26th June 1980.

the voice of the church become inaudible. It is our belief that the church in whole should clearly define its stand and take an active involvement one way or the other ...'⁴¹⁵

4.7.3 The ethnic divisions

The college's accommodation of students was based on a non-racial basis which meant that the principle of integrated training had long been accepted.⁴¹⁶ St. Paul's and St. Bede's had already made some progress in this direction. The students were to submit to the regulations and obligations, and be entitled to the same privileges. The staff bodies were to be integrated to meet all cultural needs. Black students were permitted to study prior to college if necessary, to make up the educational gap.⁴¹⁷ There was a recognition of the problems black student had with the English language, while white students did not face such a challenge.⁴¹⁸

With the Zulu and Xhosa differences as the main groups at the college, it would be fitting to say that this chapter looks at '*ethnicity*' as the fact of belonging to a certain group of population bound together by ties of race, language, nationality or culture ... and '*tribalism*' as the attitude and practice of harbouring such a strong feeling of loyalty or bonds to one's tribe that excludes or even demonizes those '*others*' who do not belong to that group ... tribalism thus prompts one to have a positive attitude towards those who are connected to him or her through kingship, family and clan, and it de facto (directly or indirectly) alienates one from people of other tribe who are not related to him or her by blood, kinship, family or clan.'⁴¹⁹

Critical race theory looks at the root cause of the conflicts and challenges the group to look for mutual recognition. Therefore, tribal conflicts stand against the principle of this theory. The system of racism pushed white people forward and the black people backwards, the result was black on black conflicts as we can see in the case of Xhosa and Zulu students, the tribal divisions and conflicts. The segregation

⁴¹⁵ Ibid

⁴¹⁶ AB 2414 H3. St. Peter's Theological College correspondences and minutes. 1976.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid

⁴¹⁸ Personal interview with former student of St. Bede's, Jonathan Payne, (7th September, 2022).

⁴¹⁹ Sanou (2015) 95.

system that was created by the government of the day left most blacks to scramble for survival, which in a way would make students from Umtata at St. Bede's to feel outsiders were intruders.

Ignatius Zwane commented on the relationship among the students at St. Bede's College, saying:

Cape Town students believed and behaved as superior and senior, owing to the fact that they came from the mother church. Those from St. John were expecting us to pray for the Minister and the government of the Transkei. Non-St. John students were against it which brought confusion. In 1983 we were threatened that we should have a permit or leave the Transkei. This was known by the government. Therefore, the College closed and the non-St. John students were taken to their dioceses. Zululand opened classes at KwaNzimela Pastoral Centre.⁴²⁰

The presence of the Wyngaard couple at the College was ideal for the example of the multiracial society that was needed in South Africa. They saw all people as equal to the extent that they even left their children in the care of the students, and so exposed them to other races.⁴²¹

Zikhode alludes to the fact that most of the students came from all corners of the country, and a few were from places like Swaziland. Most students came from within South Africa. Zikhode adds,

'We were a mixed bunch of black, white, brown, you name it and, of course, we were composed of a variety of age groups. Some students were much older, married with children, and some had been professionals in other disciplines.'⁴²²

In 1986 the Wyngaard played the marimba that they had at the College. They enlisted a Roman Catholic priest named Fr. Dave Dargie. It was all about the desire to keep things African within the College. There were three sets of vibrant marimba groups. Since they were so good, when Archbishop Desmond Tutu was

⁴²⁰ Personal interview with Ignatius Zwane, (2022).

⁴²¹ Personal talk with Peter and Lynda Wyngaard (14th September 2022) at their home in Howick.

⁴²² Ibid.

chosen as the first black Archbishop of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, the marimba group of the college had a personal invitation to play at his enthronement service in Cape Town.⁴²³

The differences among students at St. Bede's were not so much about white or black. It was more about ethnicity, Zulu and Xhosa, especially on the issue of circumcision. There was also much affiliation with political parties like the ANC and IFP.

There were also financial issues at St. Bede's. Most of the dioceses that sent students to the College were poor. If the diocese did not send money to the province, that meant the College did not have money for staff and students. This was unlike other colleges which had slightly higher income. But this was not the case at St. Bede's. Other seminaries gave the staff allowances but not St. Bede's. The document below show how the dioceses gave their students the allowances.

Personal allowances: they, some dioceses pay R8 per month and other pay R15. department recommended that every unmarried student gets R144PA. it was mentioned that not all dioceses are paying that amount, there is a considerable discrepancy. It was agreed that this matter be brought to the attention of the bishops as it creates difficulties among the students

Marriage allowance: the department requested that marriage students should not be pay more than a deacon's stipend over and above the rent which they have to meet but also not too little.⁴²⁴

Fedsem, for instance, had money since the churches had invested a lot of money for it. Other seminaries were training more whites, from wealthy dioceses like Cape Town. They could sponsor colleges like St. Paul's and St. Peter's more. According to the Wyngaard, St Bede's was indeed 'an adopted child.'⁴²⁵ Former Bishop of the Diocese of Natal, Michael Nuttall alludes to this saying that, 'St Bede's is a different story. It was much more isolated in it's history, I would say, because it was a college of its own diocese.'⁴²⁶

⁴²³ Ibid. the Roman Catholic priest was interested in African traditional music, he had experience from other African countries, and he formed bands in the Catholic church. Lynda got a tape from him, and she got interested and begun to teach music at the college.

⁴²⁴ AB 2414 H4. CPSA Department of theological education constitution. The minutes, memorandum, The Archbishop's Commission on Theological Training, 18th March 1964 relating to Dr. Hinchliffe presented paper on – a bishop be advised by a board of local clergy and lay people, a provincial board, ultimate responsibility lies on the bishop.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Personal interview with Bishop Michael Nuttall, (10th September, 2022).

Pastoral work was not done in the Diocese of St. John but in the students' own dioceses. They were critical and able to ask questions and so were not welcomed by the local clergy in the Diocese.⁴²⁷ The other problem of St. Bede's was its lack of medical care, and that is why the Wyngaards had to leave to go to Johannesburg as their son had academic challenges. It was difficult to attract staff to join the College.

The royal family students from Zululand wanted special treatment in the College but it was not to be. They also could not easily accept getting low marks from a woman lecturer. Lynda Wyngaard gave an example of Buthelezi a student who was a member of the Zulu royal family, who had challenged her for failing him. How could she fail 'a prince, someone from a royal family?'⁴²⁸ This is an indication of racial and gender issues, whereby a white person and more woman would not be a lecturer of a black man.

Bonginkosi Mkhize commented on the opportunities or challenges like ethnicity. Zululand and Swaziland had a lot in common. Transkei people undermined them as 'inkhwenkhwe' (derogatory word referred to foreigners).⁴²⁹ Critical race theory would analyse and mention the tribal conflicts as an issue to be addressed.

This study seeks to explore and understand the rationale for the establishment of St. Bede's College, which was to train Xhosa catechists and black clergy in the Transkei. Like the other Anglican theological colleges, St. Bede's reflected the impact of the social injustices. Peter and Lynda Wyngaard, mentioned that 'there were problems. At one time the Rector heard that the students wanted to go and protest against the government of Matanzima. There was a curfew at 10pm. Almost every night you could hear shooting, and there were military troops around. We all had to have letters of permission, either to study, or to work.'⁴³⁰

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

⁴²⁹ Bonginkosi Mkhize, (2022),

⁴³⁰ Personal interview with Peter and Lynda Wyngaard (15th September, 2022).

Generally, the students from the other dioceses found life at St. Bede's uplifting. Zululand students felt more comfortable with the presence of a lecturer from the diocese of Zululand, who later became a bishop, Joseph Dlamini. Besides few incidents like the one with the white students from the Diocese of Cape Town, the relationship with other races like the coloureds was great, the teaching and the spirituality.⁴³¹ Jonathan Payne accepted that he had some advantages as a white student. Despite these fears there was universal agreements that the church must go on with the plan of a single theological college for the training of Anglican students, the difficulties can be overcome by mutual consultation between white and black, staff and students, integration of staff and students, whites learning a vernacular language as black student continue improving on learning English language.⁴³²

It has been observed that there was less trust among the black students or even the clergy of the diocese of St. John, just as the white leadership of the diocese and the white rectors of the college did not trust blacks as to put them in leadership positions at the diocesan and college levels. There were tribal and racial stereotypes of all sorts. The same separations that were practised in society ended up reflecting in the life of the Church.⁴³³

Mkhize said, "we were tricked to get more information on us than anything else. Immorality Acts of South Africa prevented students from having relationships with other races."⁴³⁴ According to Payne, "there were no contacts with other colleges like at St. Paul's even though they were in Grahamstown."⁴³⁵

This can be related to what Ignatius Zwane explained about the white students from the Diocese of Cape

⁴³¹ Jonathan Payne. He affirms that even though he was a white student, he related well with other students of different races. (2022).

⁴³² Ab 2414 (H3). St. Peter's Theological College correspondences and minutes. See A letter from the principal of St. Bede's to the principal of St. Peter, Rosettenville, (4th February 1959).

⁴³³ Buys 1997:146f, TRC Report (1998: 4,69).

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Jonathan Payne personal interview, (2022).

Town; “St. Bede’s Theological College was for blacks. We had only two white students from the Diocese of Cape Town. One did not finish his studies, while the other one used to go bathing at night, to avoid mixing with blacks in the bathroom. He did not come back for his 3rd year.”⁴³⁶

It has been noted that the racial issue was not much of a problem in the college but the apartheid system had an impact on the college. The college had experienced tribal and racial tensions among the students. Moreover, the fact that St. Bede’s was built specifically for black students while St. Paul’s was for white students shows how people in society were separated based on racial groups. This research has questioned why it was so and thus addressed the whole issue of race. The Critical Race Theory does apply on the study. St Bede’s 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 Christian leaders.

In 1988, the bishop of the Diocese of Natal, Michael Nuttall sent a white student to St. Bede’s who later joined the Presbyterian Church. Nuttall said,

“The one that I sent, is now serving in the Presbyterian Church. He fell out with the Anglican Church. It was not entirely his fault, but he did some foolish things as well. But his name is mmm, and you may be able to contact him, because he is now in Amanzimtoti. But he is not working in an Anglican parish there. He’s an assistant minister in the Presbyterian Church, I’m told.

I have that second hand. He was at Nottingham Road, running a little Presbyterian church there, which is now closed, and has combined itself with this new denomination called One Life, one of these charismatic churches. Payne, who joined us from the Methodist Church, was training for the Methodist ministry at Rhodes, in Grahamstown, and he went to Evensong at the Cathedral, and he fell in love with it. So, he came to see me, asked if he could become an ordinand of the Anglican

⁴³⁶ Ignatius Zwane Personal interview, (2022).

Payne a white student who Bishop Nuttall sent to the college affirmed the words of Bishop Nuttall and commented that:

“St. Paul’s was largely white, St. Bede’s was the black college and St. Peter’s mostly other people of colour I guess it was. Uhm, so anyways, the bishops had decided amongst themselves that it was not an acceptable situation, and they had all agreed that they would start sending white, more white students to St. Bede’s etcetera, etcetera. Err, but it seems like Michael Nuttall was the only one who complied with that, because I was there as a white student, err, he said to me, “You’re going to go to St. Bede’s.” Uhm, and for my, I was there for two years, for my entire time there I was the only white student.”⁴³⁸ (sic)

Jonathan Draper was at St. Paul’s in 1971,⁴³⁹ affirmed that there were white students. However, other participants said that there were no white students at St. Bede’s College at the time. For instance, Hamilton Mbatha said, ‘there were no white students, only lecturers were white. There was no segregation. It was home for all.’⁴⁴⁰ This seems to indicate that the students did not experience segregation since only one or two white students were at the College. Rather the experience of apartheid was from the homeland authorities, since Transkei was a state on its own, although it was not recognized by the international communities.

Nuttall promised to send Jonathan Payne to St Bede’s because it was a real Anglican Theological

⁴³⁷ Personal interview with Bishop Michael Nuttall (28th September, 2022).

⁴³⁸ Personal interview with Jonathan Payne (15th August, 2022). Jonathan Draper affirms to the presence of some white students at St. Bede’s even when key Anglican figures such as Archbishop Tutu were students (interview, 2022).

⁴³⁹ Henry, Mbaya. (2018) 60.

⁴⁴⁰ Hamilton Mbatha. Personal interview (5th February, 2022).

College which was slightly different from what he experienced at Rhodes University while studying as a Methodist student.⁴⁴¹ The neighboring University of Fort Hare was highly politicized by the National government to the extent that they would not allow Fedsem to stay in Alice, as it was a threat to the government. Fedsem then moved to Pietermaritzburg.⁴⁴²

It was noted that one of the common complaints by some students was that the bishops did not visit the College often enough. After his first visit to the College, Nuttall made a promise to himself not to be counted among those bishops who did not visit their students at St. Bede's, He says:

‘Because one of the complaints at the College has always been that our Bishop did not come and visit us, I said, "I'm not going to be part of that and I took trouble to visit soon. Yes, very good band, I got a horrible feeling I never went to St. Bede's, I don't think I visited, it was considered to be too far, out of the way, maybe I didn't care enough for our students, I do not even remember how many we had there but all those issues. There are racial issues therein, very prominent, and you are not exactly sure which way to go, there now we got to share the buildings of that year that whites only.”⁴⁴³

On the question of the bishops' support of the College, Hamilton Mbatha responded that, ‘the Bishop of the Diocese of Zululand was among the bishops who visited the College. The local parishes also got involved. Even now there are people who know me, like Bishop Ebenezer Nhlali of the Diocese of Grahamstown. I taught Sunday School in his parish.’⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴¹ Personal interview with Michael Nuttall (10th February, 2022). Jonathan Payne was more willing, unlike his wife who did not want to leave the Methodist church. Later as an ordained clergyman, Jonathan left the Diocese of Natal to join the Diocese of George when Donald Harker was the Bishop there, whom Jonathan Payne had known as rector of St. Bede's before becoming a bishop.

⁴⁴² Denis and Duncan, (2011). And also personal interview with Hamilton Mbatha (2022).

⁴⁴³ Ibid and Hamilton Mbatha (2022).

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

For Clement Khumalo, St. Bede's was criticized for not producing bishops, but it did produce two bishops, namely, Bishop Nhlali of Grahamstown and Bishop Dlamini of Umtata Diocese.⁴⁴⁵ This is contrary to what one of the other participants said, namely that the local clergy did not want the students in the parishes. Mbatha and other students taught catechism in parishes. Maybe it may be said that some parishes did welcome students while others did not.

The theological education of the time was disciplined and deeply related to the context of the period. In 1963, the Rector (the name was not mentioned in the archive sources) himself was not even married, and students with families at the students' married cottage were not always allowed to be at home with their families. Those who were not married were advised not to get married until after their studies. The time for Compline was kept with great silence which was not easy for married students since they could only go and be with their families twice a week. In the case of St. Paul's, according to Nuttall, such rules only started to change in 1964, when married men could be rectors.⁴⁴⁶

Another issue that came up strongly during the interviews is that, all participants said that it was the bishops' choice to send them to St. Bede's. It was not their own decision. However, all the participants said St. Bede's was the best in terms of spirituality and pastoral experience. Some even felt the academic standards were sound, with experienced lecturers. Thus, given a chance to choose a college then, they would still have gone to St. Bede's. They also valued the fact that the College was considered a high church.⁴⁴⁷

Commenting on the relationship with students from other colleges, Clement Khumalo mentioned that,

⁴⁴⁵ Personal interview with Clement Khumalo (3rd June, 2022).

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid. Also Bonginkosi Mkhize alluded to the fact to the discipline that the college taught the students, with a set routine.

⁴⁴⁷ Personal interview with Ignatius Zwane, Hamilton Mbatha and other participants (2022). 'Fr. Michael Carmichael had parish experience in African churches. He taught from reality or practical experiences. Bishop Joseph Dlamini also came from Zululand parish and later became the bishop in Umtata. St. Bede's was for real priestly formation, So the curriculum was both Western and African, contextual.' said Hamilton Mbatha (2022).

“there was no exchange of students. The government decided that they should be divided, separation even among colleges. But St. Bede’s was fine for those who went there but it had no relationship with other colleges. Not even sports.”⁴⁴⁸

However, Mbatha said,

‘the students related well with other students from other colleges. There was interaction with sports. The white students from other colleges played together with black students at St. Bede’s. Police tried to stop this interaction of students of different races. St. Bede’s tried to keep united.’⁴⁴⁹

Mkhize affirmed that St. Bede’s College visited other colleges for social gatherings, ‘especially St. Paul’s which was highly rated and recruited white students.’⁴⁵⁰ They both agreed that there was no segregation at the College since only black students were there. Only lecturers were white.

On the challenges, Khumalo highlighted that St. Bede’s was far from his family in Zululand and that was so stressful. Moreover, the college was under the Diocese of St. John, which was not like being in your own diocese. The province did not contribute much to the upkeep of St. Bede’s. The College was only supported by the dioceses that sent students there. Zululand had five students. The Bishop of the Diocese of Zululand was Lawrence Zulu. The college also had a tribal problem.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ Personal interview with Clement Khumalo (3rd June, 2022). Mkhize felt that the government attempted to control what was taught in the College, and that it did not allow racial relationships among students.

⁴⁴⁹ Hamilton Mbatha (2022).

⁴⁵⁰ Personal interview with Bonginkosi Mkhize (12th April, 2022).

⁴⁵¹ Ibid. See also the letter of the principal Ndungane dated 14th February 1985, writing on the request from the bishop of Zululand to let Jonathan Draper to go and assist at the college. This affirms what Khumalo says that the bishop of that time was Lawrence Zulu. (AB 2546, File 3, S4).

4.8 The closure of St Bede's and the opening of the College of the Transfiguration (1992/1993)

The closure of St. Bede's on 1st November 1992 is viewed by some people as the closure of the black institution while the new college was a continuation of the white college. Peter and Lynda Wyngaard said, "The Anglican Church' destroyed St. Bede's".⁴⁵² Relating to this statement by Wyngaard, Bishop Nuttall shared similar feelings, "We had a long quite tortuous meeting in East London with representatives of the colleges. Some St. Bede's people were sharing their misgivings about their College coming to an end."⁴⁵³

The closure was discussed by the Provincial Standing Committee in 1991. The actual closure of the college occurred on 1st November 1992. Several factors led to the closure of the college, one of which was the drop in the student numbers at residential centres, which meant low income for the institution and higher student fees. During an investigation into the future of theological education in the Church of the Province in 1991, the bishops decided to close St Bede's and retain St Paul's. As a result of the outburst that followed, this decision was cancelled and a subsequent decision was made to close both colleges and establish the College of the Transfiguration on the site of St Paul's. Former students of both colleges were brought together with an intake of new students.⁴⁵⁴

One of the reasons for the closure of the college in 1992 was that the church could not afford to subsidize four theological colleges, three of which were full-fledged provincial seminaries.⁴⁵⁵ As a reaction against the amalgamation of the two colleges, the students of St. Bede's wrote to the bishops of the Province,⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵² From the statement by Peter Wyngaard. (10th May, 2023).

⁴⁵³ Personal interview with Bishop Michael Nuttall. (10/09/2022). "I decided to use them all, since we had three colleges: St Peter's, St Paul's and St Bede's. And I decided that if we had ordinands, I would like to support all of them. My policy was to keep them all going because I respected all of them. I did my best, as a diocesan bishop to support all of them."⁵⁰⁶ Ngewu. (1994).

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁶ Students letter to the Bishops in the Province, dated June 1992. The heading was, 'student input on theological education to our Bishops of the Province from St. Bede's students, Umtata,'

We, the ordinands at St. Bede's College feel very disturbed about the possible closure of St. Bede's and St. Paul's', as rationalization measures.

We are concerned about some of the rumours that some of the colleges will be closed to the advantage of the others as this creates disunity among ordinands and friction among colleges at the same time when we all want to work towards unity.

We perceive that the problem which causes this threatened closure of colleges is financial. We, therefore, feel that it would be better, if the Province would see to it that it subsidises the stipends of the lecturers at all theological colleges. This would prevent the colleges from using most of their funds to pay lecturers' salaries, thereby increasing fees extensively. It would also be cheaper for the diocese to send ordinands for training as this would bring fees lower. The more students attend the college the lower the fees.

The local schemes which are based on in-service training will be somewhat strenuous and will lower the standard of theological education because attention to academic training is bound to be sacrificed to time spent on practical work, (however extra good the intentions are in beginning).

In future the Province will produce lower quality priests. The idea of coming to a residential college is not only for academic purposes, however, but also to meet people of different races, cultural backgrounds and personalities, and to learn from them. It is of no good that one should train within ones' own people and gain less from this than what the residential college provides and become stereotyped.

The province will have to clarify what is envisaged by this new idea of the training because for students with families it would appear to bring serious disadvantages. It will mean that after the strain of secular work, they will have to attend to family matters, cope with parish demands, and

somehow study. Is this not depriving them of the chance to succeed in their training and ministry, because it could mean that they would seriously be overstretched?

As it is really believed that they could be seriously overstretched, will it not be depriving them of a chance to really succeed in their training and ministry. We also think that spiritual growth through liturgy and personal discipline will be seriously hampered. We feel that the Province should take more responsivity over theological colleges and not leave the burden to run a college only to the principal and staff.⁴⁵⁷

As part of the turning around strategy in theological colleges and in the church, in the late 1990s, the Anglican Bishops in Southern Africa wanted full integration of students from all races. The view was to bring together St. Bede's and St Paul's into a new college called the College of the Transfiguration based in Grahamstown.⁴⁵⁸ According to Clarke, there was a general concern that the number of ordinands in the Anglican theological colleges had dropped drastically, which contributed to the need for a single theological college in the grounds of St. Paul's in Grahamstown.⁴⁵⁹

In February 1993 the new college was officially opened, not named after Peter Masiza but called the College of the Transfiguration (COTT), and the first rector of the amalgamated college was Luke Pato with predominantly new staff. The whole issue of the new college was controversial since St. Bede's ceased while St. Paul's continued to exist in a way on the same grounds where a 'white campus' had always been.

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⁴⁵⁷ 509 AB 2546, File 1, S 4. St. Bede's Students letter to the Province 1992. Student input on theological education to our Bishops of the Province.

⁴⁵⁸ See the resolution of the Provincial Standing Committee in September 1991, in Winston Njongokulu Ndungane, "The story of the amalgamation of St Paul's and St Bede's Colleges and the formation of the College of the Transfiguration", *The College of the Transfiguration Journal* (Feb. 1994) 4, and Denis and Duncan allude to this in their book *The native school that caused all the trouble* (2011)35.

⁴⁵⁹ Bob, Clarke. (2008) 477, and see Minutes of the Commission for theological education, page 2, by Axel-Ivar Berglund (Ab 2414 J3).

⁴⁶⁰ Henry Mbaya, (2018). See also Bob Clarke, (2008).

This name ‘College of the Transfiguration’ seemed racially neutral as it neither belonged to a “white” saint nor a “black” saint. According to Chichele Hewitt, “the name of College of the Transfiguration was chosen, influenced by Archbishop Tutu who has always been fascinated by this event.”⁴⁶¹ Retired Bishop Nuttall affirms that the name of the new college aligned with his favorite theological words of action in relation to the challenges in the country at the time, the fight for justice and unity among races.⁴⁶² The name seemed more appropriate as it seemed to signify the start of new beginnings in theological training from the ruins of the old colleges of St. Bede’s and St. Paul’s.⁴⁶³ Students of all races study together at the same college. According to Mbaya, since then the head of the college was called ‘rector’ and no longer ‘warden.’⁴⁶⁴

Pato became the rector of the new college called because of his charismatic spirituality.⁴⁶⁵ Towards its closure, St. Bede’s had embarked on preparing black men and women for leadership position within the wider Anglican Communion, that includes greater black participation in the decision-making and enhancing the fellowship between white and black, thus, counter acting the separation system which affected the church. Furthermore, it was to promote the notion that leadership within the church is not only for the minority white.⁴⁶⁶

The separation of races in ministerial training was in line with the apartheid system of separate development of racial groups, and the system was applied in church and theological colleges. The effects had been huge, such as insufficient resources and the dropping of the number of students in the colleges. The church wanted to correct this by amalgamating the two colleges following the start of the new political

⁴⁶¹ Hewitt, Chichele. (1988) 121.

⁴⁶² Michael, Nuttall. (2022).

⁴⁶³ Henry Mbaya. (2018) 230.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁵ Livingstone Ngewu. (1994). See also Peter and Lynda Wyngaard’s interview. 2022. Jonathan Draper also said similar things, ‘Ashby became bishop, he was charismatic and he appointed a charismatic rector for St. Bede’s. Thus, most of decisions were based on charismatic level. Most students were from Zululand and Lesotho.’ (2022)

⁴⁶⁶ Towards the formation of authentic church leadership in the CPSA, funding request for a 3 years program in contextual theology at St. Bede’s College, Umtata (Report), (1989).

era when President F W de Klerk announced the release of Nelson Mandela and his companions on the 10th of February 1990.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁷ Henry Mbaya. “St Paul’s Anglican Theological College during the Transition towards a Democratic South Africa, 1986–92.” *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, (Stellenbosch: 2017; 43,3) 15, and Bob Clarke. *Compromise and Courage. Anglicans against Apartheid* (2008). 461. For Peter Lee, FW de Klerk made a courageous speech to release Nelson Mandela as this was a period of tension leading up to the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994 (2005) 419. ⁵²⁰ Bob, Clarke. (2015) 3.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

5.0 Introduction

Chapter Four discussed the history of the Diocese of St. John and the College of St. Bede's. Based on the information in chapter four, chapter Five will revisit the issue of race relations in the Anglican Church in colonial times and during apartheid. This chapter will discuss the 'racist elements', based on the information from the archives and interviews and, on the other hand, aspects which show resistance to apartheid and discrimination. The critical race theory's definition of racism will be applied to the history of St. Bede's in attempt to understand the impact of apartheid on the college. Other sources will also be used in connection with St. Bede's Theological College.

5.1 Race relations in the Anglican Church during the colonial and apartheid periods

Like most of the English-speaking churches, the Anglican Church in South Africa was not exempt from racial challenges when dealing with the separation based on race. The Anglican Church found herself on a collision course with the state as early as the 1830s. The Church was served by European clergy and the local parishes were supported financially by the churches from overseas. A number of missionary agencies sent clergy to do mission work in South Africa. The attention that was given to black clergy and white clergy was not the same. The three racially separate Anglican theological colleges received different treatment in several respects. One such difference would be the unequal stipends and other allowances paid to white and black clergy throughout the Province.⁴⁶⁸

The Anglican Church in South Africa was far from being independent financially since the church depended on the European Bishoprics Fund in England.⁴⁶⁹ Thus, the control and the management of the church was based on the funders' terms and conditions.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid, (2015) 5.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid. (2015) 7.

Most of the dioceses that sent students to St. Bede's were not self-supporting financially. This affected the salaries paid to the college workers. If the dioceses did not send money to the college as school fees it meant the college did not have money for staff and students. This was unlike the white colleges which had money in investments which made them financially self-supporting.⁴⁷⁰ Students from wealthy white dioceses like Cape Town received much more sponsorship than those at St. Bede's.

The issue of salaries and bonuses was brought to the attention of the bishops, as it created difficulties among the students.⁴⁷¹ There can be no doubt that those with low allowances were from homelands and rural dioceses. St. Bede's fell victim to this since it was a black college with less privileges.

In a letter from the principal of St. Bede's to the principal of St. Peter's, Rosettenville, dated 4th February 1959, the Commission looked at the proposal to offer bonuses. Certain diocesan officials were in favour of putting Africans with degrees onto the European salary scale.⁴⁷² In South Africa the Anglican Church opposed apartheid laws and emphasized that black and white should be allowed to live together. For the Anglican Church whites and blacks should be able to share equally the resources of the country and intermarry. However, the state imposed apartheid on the South African population and justifying it with reference to Scriptures.⁴⁷³

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ab 2414 (H4) on St. Peter's Theological College. 1974–1983. CPSA Department of theological education constitution, minutes, memorandum. See also Theological Education Annual Meeting 16th May 1981. The emphasis on students building teamwork and the dioceses paying students stipends equally across the three Anglican theological colleges.

⁴⁷² Ab 2414 (H3) on St. Peter's Theological College correspondences and minutes. 1947–1973. 9th June 1976. Another Seminary Council Meeting held in June 1975 resolved that in planning for the new seminary the site and all buildings should assume accommodation on a non-racial basis so that the principle of integrated training has long be accepted. St. Paul's and St. Bede's had already made some progress in this direction. All students should submit to the regulations and obligations and entitled to the same privileges, staff bodies shall be integrated to meet all cultural needs, black students should be permitted to study prior to college if necessary, to make up the educational gap.

⁴⁷³ Bob, Clarke (2015) 53.

5.2 Race relations at St. Bede's

The racially separated Anglican colleges,⁴⁷⁴ the Bantu Authorities Act and the Group Areas Act made it difficult to offer balanced education to all races. This led the churches to establish Fedsem as a sign of resistance to the apartheid system.⁴⁷⁵ The church strongly believed that evangelism could reach the black people through well-trained native clergy,⁴⁷⁶ and hence the desire for training black clergy.

The Anglican Church addressed issues that affected the church, such as whether all three Anglican Seminaries would give equal allowances to the students, even though each bishop could use his own discretion.⁴⁷⁷

The separation in the Anglican theological colleges gives a picture of what was happening in the church and the country. The National Party used the homeland "divide and rule" system to control the population. Transkei, where St. Bede's was situated, was one of these homelands. Outsiders required passports and permits to enter the homeland.⁴⁷⁸ The apartheid government did not trust some of the students from outside the homelands as they were perceived as spies. The spirit of segregation operated even in the church where black students were not trusted because of the separation of races.⁴⁷⁹ It was alleged that some may have been acting as spies for the government.

The apartheid system caused division between the ethnic groups such as the Zulu and the Xhosa. The students from outside Transkei were regarded as terrorists or instigators of some wrong things at the

⁴⁷⁴ Personal communication with Jonathan Draper, (2nd February, 2022). On St Paul's College see Lewis and Edwards, Historical records, 204–7, and Christopher James Chichele Hewitt, 'A history of St Paul's College', The College of the Transfiguration Journal (1994), 38–46.

⁴⁷⁵ Philippe Denis and Graham Duncan. The Native School that caused all the Trouble, (2011) .

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ Henry, Mbaya. (2018).

⁴⁷⁸ <https://www.wattpad.com/amp/895458251>. A Rainbow Community. St. Bede's College. (Accessed th September, 2022) ⁵³² Fumanekile Neutshe Gqiba. 1983. "My Call to Ministry", (1983). How segregation system did not allow blacks to voice out against the system. (Accessed 26th June, 2022).

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid

college. This led the homeland government to force the foreign students out of the college. In certain instances the lecturers from outside who were affiliated to some political party were not allowed into the homeland. St. Bede's College students went on strike in support of the inclusion of all races.⁴⁸⁰ Chapter Four mentioned that the standard of training at St. Bede's was below that of the white Anglican theological college like St. Paul's.⁴⁸¹ This shows that the operation and standards for St. Bede's Theological College that was for black students was compared to white Anglican theological colleges like St. Paul's. The Synod had addressed the issue of the training of native clergy with a minimal standard of education and that it was inferior to white theological education.

Even though the English training was a measure of a standard suitable for all races, it did not work since blacks had disadvantaged education background to be on the same level with white students. The church kept on doubting whether blacks were capable of leadership within the church, even though the church had seen that other bodies outside the church were starting to include blacks in leadership positions. The church required serious scrutiny of blacks if they were to be appointed into such positions.⁴⁸² This research shows that the differences among students at St. Bede's were not so much about race but ethnicity, especially their cultural beliefs and practices like circumcision.

Most black students came from disadvantaged educational backgrounds where the English language was the second or third language of communication. The white students had the advantage of studying in their first language, English, while the black students had to study in a second language. That negatively affected most black students compared to the white students.⁴⁸³ That made studying difficult for many black students. This research has shown that St. Bede's advocated racial acceptance among people of different races so that the suspicion and fear of each other would be ended. In this way the possibilities of

⁴⁸⁰ See Mlungisi Zikhode. (1980).

⁴⁸¹ Norman Goodall and Eric Nielsen. Survey of the training for the ministry in the younger Church today, London (1954)15.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Personal interview with Peter and Lynda Wyngaard (15th September, 2022).

black clergy ministering to white congregations were created, since they were now known to have received an equal training. The example would be set for both the churches of blacks and whites to accept each other.⁴⁸⁴

This research has shown that there were not many white students at St. Bede's. All the students said that they experienced unity and love in the college and that they felt accepted.⁴⁸⁵ This seems to indicate that the experience of segregation was not among the students since only one or two white students were at the college, but the experience of apartheid was from the homeland authorities, since the Transkei was a state on its own, though not recognized by all international countries.

The National Party had highly politicised the education system to the extent that they would not allow Fedsem to stay in Alice, as it perceived as a threat to the government. Fedsem, therefore, moved to Pietermaritzburg after having stayed at St. Bede's.⁴⁸⁶ The separation of learning institutions according to race also applied to the Anglican Church's theological colleges. One deduces from the research that the government indirectly forced people to pray for the government. This was done through some church leaders like the bishops.⁴⁸⁷

The Anglican Church stood up for equality of racial groups. This was shown in the amalgamation of the colleges in 1992 as a way bringing racial reconciliation among clergy and people. The bishops discussed ways of understanding each other's cultures, thereby dispelling misunderstandings and fear. To this end, opportunities were created for black to minister to white congregations. In 1970s, the bishops also talked about the removal of suspicion that white candidates were better treated by their bishops than black

⁴⁸⁴ AB 2414 H2. Minutes of the college Council on the general admission for students, (1972).

⁴⁸⁵ Hamilton Mbatha. Personal interview, (2022).

⁴⁸⁶ Philippe Denis and Graham Duncan. (2011). And also personal interview with Hamilton Mbatha (2022).

⁴⁸⁷ Association of South African Theological Institutions 23rd Jan 1975. Statement of theological education consultation. Bishop Godfrey Ashby, chaperson of St. Bede's college. ⁵⁴¹ AB 2414 (H2). General Admission of Students.

students. The aim of all these discussions would be the fostering of lifelong relationships across the colour bar between clergy.

All the participants in the interviews responded that they did not choose to go to St. Bede's. The bishops sent them there. However, they all enjoyed being at St. Bede's since the college had great theology, and sound spirituality. They emphasized that St. Paul's was only for whites, and so, as black students, they could not go there.⁴⁸⁸ The reports on the theological colleges by the bishops affirms this,

“as the church we have every reason to be aggressive for what we believe to be just and correct, and that we have moved out of a situation of defence and excuses to a more aggressive and robust position, but if aggressive is not the end.”⁴⁸⁹

This research has found out that, from the beginning of St. Bede's College until towards the 1980s, most of the rectors were whites. It could be that black people were not yet ready to take leadership positions in the church as per European standards.⁴⁹⁰

In 1970s, the Anglican theological institutions, St Bede's included, had started to oppose apartheid and committed to unity.⁴⁹¹ The idea was that before the students entered theological colleges, they should be assisted in understanding that their training would go on for life, and that theological colleges would help them to fight injustice and oppression. In the same breath, it was mentioned that black people within

⁴⁸⁸ Interview with the participants, stressed by Hamilton Mbatha and Ignatius Zwane, (2022).

⁴⁸⁹ AB 2414 (H2). General Admission of Students. 1953-1985. There was concern that church theological colleges continued losing expatriates either because they government refused to give them permits or renew permits to get into SA, and no reasons were given for such acts. (Page 3). The council stress the mission of black and whites have to each other (Page 4). That the appropriation of Fedsem in Alice on the pretence by the government that the land was to be used for the expansion of Fort Hare. The meeting expressed the government interference in where the ordinands were sent for training, such internal affairs is up to the church not the dept of Bantu Affairs Minister. Umpumulo was appreciated for accepting coloureds to train there and so practice the policy of non-interference in another's internal affairs (page 3).

⁴⁹⁰ Ab 2414 (J3) on St. Peter's, Federal Theological Seminary. Association of Southern African Theological Institutes, correspondence.

⁴⁹¹ Ab 2414 (J3) on St. Peter's, Federal Theological Seminary. ⁵⁴⁶ Ibid. ⁵⁴⁷ Ibid. Ndungane was later elected as the principal of St. Bede's in 1984 for the year 1985, for the reopening of the college that closed for a year in 1983 due to some misunderstanding among students and some lecturers with the principal Wilberforce Nkomo. See Rev. Fredrick Amoo letter to the archbishops, asking to look for the principal of the college, dated

church and society needed to participate in leadership programs, thus not leaving leadership in the hands of the white minority. It has been observed that the initial aim for training of black students was to make them assistants within the diocese. For a long time, the college was under white supervision, as Xhosa clergy only worked as assistants within the diocese. The black clergy were regarded as having a lower standard of education than required to be able to manage college or parish.⁴⁹²

The Anglican Churches declared that “*racism is a sin*” since it prevents Christians from being Christ-like by following His commands to love others and ones neighbour as oneself (Matthew 22:39), implying any human being (Luke 10:25-37). They unequivocally, stated that all human beings are created in the image and likeness of God (Genesis 1:26-28). To this the ACSA together with other churches admitted their guilt in having participated in the act of racism.⁴⁹³

As far as the amalgamation of St. Paul’s and St. Bede’s is concerned, the question was asked why they were taking the name College of Transfiguration and not a native name as suggested by ‘Peter Mazisa’ and so making it native to the area. This confirms a continuity of the ‘*Englishness*’ in a way and still fosters the Western perspective of formation.⁴⁹⁴ For some native clergy and students this was the continuity of the white college of St. Paul’s.⁴⁹⁵

St. Bede’s accepted black and white students and so showing unity among the races. The intension of the Anglican Church leaders such as Desmond Tutu who stood against the segregation laws and maintained that this was against the teaching of the church which is based on equality of all people who are made in

⁴⁹² Ibid. 8th March 1984. The Provincial Executive officer, wrote a request from St. Bede’s college council since the previous principal resigned at the end of 1983, that owing to the staffing difficulties the college closed in 1984 and reopened at the start of 1985. There was a discussion on whether the principal should be white or black. Bishop Godfrey Ashby of St. John letter dated 5th December 1983, asked by the college council, to all bishops who sent students at the college, telling them of the unfortunate event at the college, and that a commission was made to bring about reconciliation even among students – recements and insults, tensions ridden chapel service. Some of these (See also letter from diocesan bishop Godfrey Ashby to Archbishop Philp Russell on the college being leased to the University in the year 1984, via the diocese of St. John’).

⁴⁹³ South African Press Association. East London, (17th November 1997).

⁴⁹⁴ Ngewu (1994) 23.

⁴⁹⁵ Mbaya, (2018).

the ‘image of the Triune God’.⁴⁹⁶ Somehow Europeans believed that they had a responsibility to look after Blacks and provide for the ‘other children, special people to be as God’s stepchildren.’⁴⁹⁷ This power-relationship between whites and blacks contrasted with the inclusive ministry of Jesus Christ in the Scriptures. This research has shown that the Anglican Church in South Africa followed the tradition of the British clergy in the training of clergy, who were among the British soldiers and other European settlers in the Cape of Good Hope around the 19th century. Before the consecration of the first bishop of Cape Town, Robert Gray in 1848, the Bishop of Calcutta served the area as already indicated in the research,⁴⁹⁸ and as affirmed by Mlungisi Vilakazi.⁴⁹⁹

5.3 The Critical Race Theory in relation to the history of St. Bede’s

Critical Race Theory states that “race is a product of social thoughts and relations”.⁵⁰⁰ Following the presentation in the entire research, we can say that the apartheid of old is over,⁵⁰¹ but that the issue of racial injustice will always be a topic to be discussed for the future to come.⁵⁰²

This thesis looked at and analysed documents on matters related to the Anglican Theological Colleges in South Africa from their formation, political issues they faced, financial challenges, reports by rectors and communications with the Bishop of St. John Diocese and the Metropolitan.⁵⁰³

The outside racial laws affected the college and at times the students felt this. Even though the college was for black students, there were white students, but not for all the years. There were not many as with

⁴⁹⁶ Desmond, Tutu. (1981).

⁴⁹⁷ Henry Mbaya. “A Native Ministry for God’s ‘Stepchildren’? (2015, 40:2). Peter, Hinchliff. (1963).

⁴⁹⁸ John, Suggit. (1999) 15.

⁴⁹⁹ John, Mlungisi, Vilakazi. (2014).

⁵⁰⁰ Richard, Delgado and Jean, Stefanci. (2001) 7.

⁵⁰¹ <https://www.episcopalnewsservice.org/we-can-name-the-evil-that-is-racism-a-conversation-with-archbishop-thabomakgoba/> (Accessed 3rd February, 2023).

⁵⁰² Michael MacDonald. (2006) 169.

⁵⁰³ AB 2546 S4 (File 1). William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand. Jonathan Payne interview, (2022).

the example of Jonathan Payne who felt that he had more privileges as a white student than black students. His relation was good with the black students.

This confirms the point that separation was done on a racial basis. If the two Anglican Theological Colleges were both Anglican institutions and training clergy for the same ministry, why would they be separated and on what real grounds would the police try to stop the two colleges gathering for sports? The college was built in the homeland because of apartheid rules.⁵⁰⁴ The research noted that students from the Cape Town Diocese considered themselves superior as they came from the Mother Church which was predominantly white.⁵⁰⁵

5.4 Some final comments

The objective of the establishment of St. Bede's in the Transkei homeland by Callaway was to train natives as catechists and clergy within the Diocese of St. John. This alone raises concerns about the Anglican Church separating people according to race just as the apartheid government was doing. The National Party Government forced black people to reside homelands, based on their tribe. So, the principle of segregation was applied here too within the church, and in the formation of the clergy.⁵⁰⁶ The apartheid government moved blacks from the cities, meant only for whites, into rural and undeveloped areas.

Critical Race Theory acknowledges the dignity and equality of all people. The apartheid policies relate to the exclusive stories of segregation in places mentioned in the research. The research challenges the

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Ignatuis Zwane (2022). ⁵⁶⁴Dibb. (1997).

⁵⁰⁶ Philippe, Denis. "Seminary networks and Black Consciousness in South Africa in the 1970s". (2010, 62:1)162-182. ⁵⁶⁶ Henry, Mbaya. *Resistance to and acquiescence in apartheid*. (2018) 7.

church to deconstruct segregation practices. Dehumanizing and abusive powers also need to be deconstructed.⁵⁰⁷

Several times, the Anglican Bishops in South Africa called for theological colleges to have mutual consultations between white and black, staff and students, as well as integration of staff and students, whites learning one or more of the vernacular languages and living as brothers and sisters.⁵⁰⁸ Given the objectives of this research, the use of CRT is appropriate for the case study. The outside racial laws affected the college and at times the students felt this. However, to all the participants, St. Bede's Theological College was a home where they felt they belonged and were accepted.⁵⁰⁹ The church is called to the mission of inclusivity. All are members of the One Body of Jesus Christ.

The Anglican church mirrored both sides of the coin which is segregation and also welcoming to all races. According to Stuart Bate, a racist Church mirrors a racist society, and the Church can exist as an entity in two forms, which is a 'settlers Church' (white dominated with segregation attitudes), and a 'mission Church'.⁵⁷⁰ Like other denominations, the Anglican Church experienced and applied the apartheid laws directly or indirectly, as might be in the case of St. Bede's, but it resisted in some areas, as affirmed by Graham Duncan in his article on "passive-aggressive resistance against apartheid at FedSem as having taken many forms."

Therefore, the Anglican theological education mirrored the context of the time. The Church for the 'settlers' and the Church for the 'blacks.' At times discrimination could be subtle. Maybe that is why the students could not see or feel it that much at St. Bede's Theological College. Philippe Denis explains the aspect of 'subtle discrimination' when he refers to the segregation experience of the black sisters in the

⁵⁰⁷ Daniel J. Louw. "Black Pain is a White Commodity", (2017).

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid. See Report to the College Council by the Principal, 1983. Page 2

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid

Dominican Congregation of Oakford, in Natal.⁵¹⁰ Henry Mbaya, adds to the point, referring to the experience of the late Bishop Alphaeus Zulu in Zululand.⁵¹¹ The present Archbishop Thabo Magkoba notes how difficult it was for a black clergy to become the Vicar General or Dean in the Diocese of Johannesburg, simply because they were black and the rectory was in a white suburb. So also was the case in Cape Town for the first black Archbishop Desmond Tutu residing in a white suburb at Bishopscourt.⁵¹²

This research has shown that in some instances the Anglican Church, kept silent and in others reacted to the laws that separated people according to race. This also affected institutions such as St. Bede's. Even though in some situations the Anglican Church seemed to be complacent, inactive, or silent in challenging apartheid laws,⁵¹³ the church ended up confronting the racial discrimination by the government in all spheres of life.⁵¹⁴ That would include learning institutions such as St. Bede's. his study paid attention to power-relationships and racism in South Africa before 1994, looking at the Anglican Theological Colleges, in particular St. Bede's College that was based in Umtata. Critical Race Theory states that "the social construction holds that race and races are products of social thoughts and relations".⁵¹⁵

From the discussion in the study, it can be said that apartheid of the old system is over.⁵¹⁶ However, some vestiges of segregation still remain. Thus, the movements such as Black Lives Matters, Fees Must Fall and Decolonization connect well with the Critical Race Theory in fighting against racial injustice. The issue of racial injustice will always be a topic for discussion into the future.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁰ Philippe, Denis. "Crossing the Lines of Race and Gender: The Quarrel on the Integration of the First Black Dominican Sisters in Natal." *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*. (2021, 47:2) 2,5,8.

⁵¹¹ Henry, Mbaya. "A native Ministry for God's Stepchildren. (2015).

⁵¹² <https://www.episcopalnewsservice.org/2021/02/03/we-can-name-the-evil-that-is-racism-a-conversation-with-archbishopthabo-makgoba/> (Accessed 3rd February, 2023).

⁵¹³ Peter Lee. *Compromise and Courage*. (2005).

⁵¹⁴ AB 1363, File 1, 1973

⁵¹⁵ Richard, Delgado and Jean, Stefanci. "Critical Race Theory: An Introduction", (2001) 7.

⁵¹⁶ <https://www.episcopalnewsservice.org/2021/02/03/we-can-name-the-evil-that-is-racism-a-conversation-with-archbishopthabo-makgoba/>

⁵¹⁷ Michael, MacDonald. "Why Race Matters in South Africa" (2006) 169, AB 2546 S4 (File 1). William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand. Hamilton Mbatha interview (2022).

This thesis also looked at and analysed the documents on matters related to the Anglican theological colleges in South Africa - reports by the rectors and communications with the Bishops of St. John Diocese and the Metropolitan, from their formation, political issues faced, financial challenges.⁵¹⁸

Some of the participants agreed to the college mixing with other students from other colleges like St. Paul's Theological College, while others did not agree that they should meet with other students. Critical race theory would influence the leadership of the college to find out why the other students would not want to mix with St. Paul's students. Sometimes when the white students from other colleges played together with black students, the police tried to stop it. St. Bede's tried to keep unity among the races.⁵¹⁹

This is what critical race theory is all about, bring mutual understanding and accepted among people of different race and genders. In a way this study using critical race theory influences the church on why the two Anglican Theological Colleges, St. Bede's and St. Paul's, both Anglican institutions and training clergy for the same church, would they be separated and on what real grounds would the police try to stop the two colleges gathering for sports? The college was built in the homeland because of apartheid rules.⁵²⁰

Critical race theory challenges tribes that tender to segregate each to keep good relationship, but this was not the case within the college was at times not good since the Transkei students felt that St. Bede's Theological College was theirs because it was in their country, even though economically they were not self-sufficient as they did not get support from the South African government. In their understanding they were independent.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁸ AB 2546 S4 (File 1). William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid

⁵²⁰ Bonginkosi Mkhize (2022). Mkhize says, 'It became inclusive. White diocese sent students to test since it was called inferior compared to other colleges the composition of predominantly Xhosa, they were concerned about minor matters. The mixture was an issue, people from other homelands. The government to some extent changed what was taught.'

⁵²¹ Ibid.

It is mentioned that students from Cape Town saw themselves as superior since they came from the Mother Church which was predominantly white, while those from the Diocese of St. John were expecting students from other dioceses to pray for their Minister and the government of Transkei. The students that were not from the Diocese of St. John were against it and it brought confusion in the college, in 1983. The government was aware of the situation, which was one the reasons that led to the closure of the college.⁵²² The critical race theory rejects superior complexity.

Even though the impact of apartheid on the college was not from within but from outside the college, the Critical Race Theory does apply to the college, based on what was coming from outside because of apartheid. St. Bede's played a vital role in the training of clergy in the Anglican Church in South Africa and so made a constructive contribution towards the empowerment and enrichment of the indigenous spiritual leaders in the Anglican Church in South Africa.

Recommendations for further research

Like any other research, this study has not exhausted the subject. Several scholars have written on the Anglican Church's theological education, with a focus on the other colleges mentioned in this study. The suggested recommendations would be fruitful for further studies in this area.

1. It would be interesting to research and compare St. Bede's as a black theological college in the Anglican Church with another black theological college in one of the main line churches like the Roman Catholic Church and the Methodist Church. The objective would be to see if other black theological colleges experienced the same attitude compared to white colleges in the same church.
2. It would be ideal to review the curriculum then of St. Bede's and see if the current Anglican college formed by the amalgamation of the two colleges mentioned already (now COTT) still offers the same curriculum or is different. What differences does it make to have women

⁵²² Ibid. See also interview with Jonathan Draper (2022).

students at the college now since then women were not accepted as students to be trained for ministry.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Letter of permission



Diocese of Natal

The Very Reverend Ndabezinhle Sibisi
Vicar General: The Diocese of Natal
Dean of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity
dean@dionatal.org.za
033 394 1567



29th September 2021

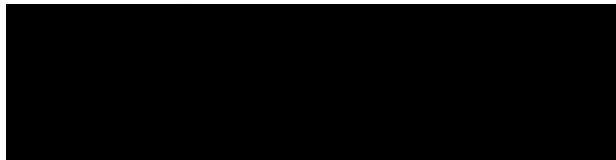
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir / Madam

I, the Very Revd Ndabezinhle Sibisi Dean/Vicar-General of the Diocese of Natal, hereby grant the Revd Emilio Kasaba, permission to conduct interviews within the diocese of natal in respect of his Master's research titled:

“Apartheid and Theological Education: An investigation into the history of theological education at St. Bede's in Umtata, 1950-1992”.

Yours sincerely



The Very Revd Ndabezinhle Sibisi
The Dean/Vicar-General Diocese
of Natal

Appendix 2. Ethical clearance

Ethical clearance exemption letter

04 August 2022

Rev Emilio Kasaba (221114138)

School of Rel Phil & Classics Howard
College

Dear Rev Kasaba,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00004159/2022

Project title: Apartheid and Theological Education: An investigation of theological education provided at St. Bede's Theological College in Umtata, 1960-1992

Degree: Masters

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 28 January 2022 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

- Please note that the use of video recording and photographs is not permitted.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid until 04 August 2023.

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040). Yours

sincerely,



Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

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