

**THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE BLACK
CATHOLIC CLERGY IN
SOUTH AFRICA FROM
1887 TO 1957**

by

GEORGE SOMBE MUKUKA

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis entitled, *The Establishment of Black Catholic clergy in South Africa, 1887-1957*, is my own work and all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledge by means of complete references.

NAME: George Sombe Mukuka

SIGNED:  .

DATE: 13th December, 2000

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 The Early Black Clergy in South Africa

The history of the church in South Africa began with the coming of the Dutch (1652), the French Huguenots (1668), and later the German settlers. Most of these settlers were Protestants. The Portuguese Catholics who had arrived earlier had, in 1501, built a chapel in Mossel Bay but by 1652 their presence had diminished. Although there were some Catholics residing at the Cape in 1652, the Dutch East India Company did not allow the practice of Roman Catholicism¹. It was only in 1820, that the Roman Catholic Church was allowed to worship freely. Though some Christian churches arrived in South Africa as early as 1652, it took two centuries before an indigenous clergy was ordained in 1856.

To make sense of the training of black clergy in the South African Christian Churches, I follow closely the periodisation suggested by Philippe Denis, in the introduction to the book, *The Making of an Indigenous clergy in Southern Africa*; firstly 1856 to 1900; secondly 1900 to 1950 and finally 1950 upto the present day. The first period from 1856 to 1900 can be characterised by the systematic recruitment of African Christian catechists and the first ordinations of indigenous clergy. The process of evangelisation started at a slow pace due to the fact that most churches concentrated on the settler communities. If attempts were made to evangelise the local population, African agents were used massively. The first

¹ John W. de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990), p.1.

ordained indigenous minister, was from the Presbyterian Church Tiyo Soga, ordained in Scotland in 1856.² He came back with a Scottish wife by the name of Janet Burnside. This brought him a lot of ridicule from the white settlers. Soga, however, persevered and did great work among his people.³ In 1871, the first four Black Methodist pastors - Charles Pamla, James and Charles Lwama, and Bruce Mama were ordained.⁴ Peter Masiza from the Anglican Church was also ordained in the same year.⁵ Several years later, in 1884, Nehemiah Tile came close to ordination in the Methodist Wesleyan Church, but due to ill-treatment from his superior he seceded and formed the Thembu National church in 1884. The following year, in the Berlin Missionary Society, the first two black ministers were ordained - Martinus Sewushane, who also later broke away and formed the Lutheran church, and Timotheus Sello, who died an untimely death in 1894.⁶ Most of the above first Black clerics originated and worked in what is presently known as the Eastern Cape.

In Lesotho, Carlisle Motebeng and Job Moteane were ordained from the Paris Evangelical Missionary by 1892. A year later Pambini Mazimba was ordained and started the Presbyterian Church of South Africa.

² Philippe Denis, *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa: Proceeding of the International conference held at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg 25-27 October 1994* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995), p.11.

³ David Attwell, "The Transculturation of Enlightenment: The Exemplary Case of the Rev. Tiyo Soga, African Nationalist," in Philippe Denis, *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995), pp.41-57.

⁴ Daryl Balia, *Black Methodist and White Supremacy in South Africa* (Durban: Institute for Black Research, 1991.)

⁵ Mandy M. Goedhals, "Ungumpriste: A study of the Life of Peter Masiza, first Black Priest of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa," in *Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, nos.64-68, September 1989, p.18.

⁶ Philippe Denis, "The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa: Agenda for further Research." in *Bulletin for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, Vol.2, April, 1995, pp.3-7.

In the Catholic Church, the following developments occurred, in Natal, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) started a mission at St. Michael's meant for the Zulu people. Unfortunately they received very few converts, and they left in 1852 for Lesotho. They did not attempt to establish a local clergy.⁷ Serious work on the training of African priests was initiated by the Trappist monks in Natal. The first Zulu Catholic priest was Edward Mnganga who returned from Rome in 1898 after his ordination. He had been sent there to study for the priesthood by the Trappist Abbot, Franz Pfanner in 1887. Three more Zulu men were sent to Rome to study at the Propaganda Urbanum College in Rome: Alois Mncadi, ordained in 1903, and Julius Mbhele and Andreas Ngidi ordained in 1907. This was to be the initial period in the training of the African Catholic priests in South Africa. After these four ordinations, the training for priesthood was only resumed in 1925, after Rome had issued the encyclical *Maximum illud* in 1919.

During the period from 1856 to 1900, the main problem for most Christian churches was the increasing feeling of frustration among the early indigenous clergy. The colonial church failed to respond to their aspirations. From the pulpit, a message of love, brotherhood and sisterhood in Christ was preached but the reality was that the indigenous clergy were treated like 'glorified altar boys' or second-class priests. This eventually led to secessions from the mainline churches with the development of Ethiopianism in the Protestant churches.⁸ Strangely enough, though the Catholic priests were frustrated, they never left to form their own separate churches and in fact most of them died as priests.

⁸ Philippe Denis, (ed.), *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publication, 1995), pp.11-12.

The second period up to the middle of the twentieth century, saw a growth in the establishment of the indigenous clergy. All the mainline churches had seminaries to train local vocations. Black congregations emerged not only in the Catholic church but also in the Anglican church. The new bishop of Mariannhill, Adelbero Fleischer, first founded a congregation for the sisters, *Filiae Santi Francisci de Assisi* (FSF) and then for men, Franciscan Familiars of St. Joseph (FFJ). In 1924, at the first meeting of Ordinaries under the presidency of apostolic delegate Gijlswijk, Bishop Fleischer was keen to establish a minor seminary at Ixopo for indigenous vocations. The bishops from all vicariates and prefectures in South Africa recognised this institution for the training of African candidates. From 1929 onwards the seminary trained major seminarians. However, in this period (1900-1950) segregation in both seminary and mission stations still persisted. This led to the expansion of the African Independent churches (AIC). Many African pastors and their followers broke away from the missionary churches and formed their own churches with great emphasis on African culture and traditions.

The last period, from 1950 onwards, is the unfulfilled quest by the indigenous clergy to take control of 'their' church. It is a period which Philippe Denis, in the introduction to the book, *The Making of an Indigenous clergy in Southern Africa*, calls "towards power-sharing". It began with the ordination of the first black Catholic bishop in Lesotho in 1953 and in the Anglican church in 1960. It is an era full of demonstrations, debates, fulfilment and disappointment as echoed by the African Catholic Priests Solidarity movement (ACAPSM) recently in a "Memorandum to the Catholic Bishops' Conference".⁹ More has been said and more needs to be said on the establishment of

⁹ See "African Priests Adopt Vision" in *Southern Cross* (February 27,

black clergy in all the churches in South Africa.

1.2 Objective of thesis

The objective of the thesis is to document and discuss the history and development of the black Catholic clergy in South Africa from 1887 to 1957. The term "black" will refer to Africans, coloureds and Indians. The discussion on the development of black clergy will be based on oral history, archival material as well as other secondary sources.

This thesis is about male, South African, black clergy. It aims to give voice to black clergy and bishops. One of the limitations is that it does not deal with the establishment of black religious women's congregations. This is a topic for another thesis.¹⁰ A great emphasis will be laid on male clergy and their development in South Africa. For these reasons, most of the people interviewed are exclusively male clergy and

2000), p.3.

¹⁰ There are several articles and books written on some aspect of female religious congregation in Southern Africa: See for instance, L.M Mc Donagh, *Wordless Witness* (Mariannhill: Mariannhill Mission Press, 1983); Marcel Dischl, *Transkei for Christ, Transkei for Christ. A history of the Catholic church in the Transkeian territories* (Umtata: Privately Printed, 1982); Adelgisa [Hermann], A., *100 years Mariannhill Province* (Mariannhill: Mariannhill Mission Press, 1984); Godfrey Sieber, *Der Aufbau katholischen Kirche im Zululand* (Münsterschwarzach, Vier Türme Verlag, 1976); Godfrey Sieber, "Religious Life" in Joy Brain and Philippe Denis, *The Catholic Church in contemporary Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1999); Godfrey Sieber, *The Benedictines of Inkamana* (St. Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1995); Joy Brain and Mary Christensen, "Women in the Church" in Joy Brain and Philippe Denis, *The Catholic Church in contemporary Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1999); K. Nefzger, *The Comboni Missionaries in Southern Africa, 1924-1994* (Johannesburg: Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus, 1995); Karin Kuzmierz, *The Congregation of the Most Holy Rosary of Montebello. Steps towards a Black Leadership, 1972-1987* (unpublished Honours thesis, Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal, 1997) and *Pallotines: Society of the Catholic Apostolate, 75 years in South Africa* (Stutterheim: Palloti Press Queenstown, 1997).

bishops with the exception of one layman

I will use a theoretical frame of reference borrowed from three authors; James Blaut, the Comaroffs and James Scott. Theories are employed to highlight the interaction between the missionary and indigenous priests. The conceptual themes will also help the researcher to probe beneath the mere events and offer a critical evaluation of various developments arising from the relationship between black priests and the white church leadership

In order to put the history of the black clergy into perspective, I shall occasionally refer to other Southern African countries, especially Lesotho.

In this thesis I intend to critically analyse the life and work of the first Black Catholic priests in South Africa from 1887 to 1957. For the purposes of this research we begin our investigation in 1887 when the first African candidate, Edward Kece Mnganga, left for Rome to be trained as a priest. We conclude in 1957 mainly because the Dominican Order took over from the Missionaries of Mariannhill the staffing of St. Peter's seminary. This change coincided with the arrival of a more vocal generation of black clergy in the Catholic Church of South Africa.

We shall now look at the statement of the problem and motivations for the choice of study.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Not so much has been written on the training of black clergy in South Africa. The little that has been written highlights the mistakes committed by the first black bishop and priests. But

interestingly enough, the problems that existed among the black priests a century or so ago still persist today. The African Catholic Priests Solidarity Movement (ACAPSM) echoed this recently by issuing a "Memorandum to the Bishops' Conference" calling for transformation in the church.¹¹ This study, it is hoped, will give us some background information on how the relationships between black and white, local clergy and missionary, and the subjugated and those in power were strained and what could possibly be the way forward - an attempt at Truth and Reconciliation.

Furthermore, the history of the first Catholic priests in South Africa has been greatly neglected. My intention in this thesis is to try and document a comprehensive picture of the first black clergy and their training. At this stage in South Africa, there is a great need and interest in the "real" history of the country, which was distorted by the apartheid mindset. This research hopes to be a valuable asset to the bishops, priests and the community at large.

The history of the church which exists today in South Africa, especially of the first black Catholic priests, has been written from a white missionary perspective. This missionary history was "written by missionaries and their proteges who have swallowed the missionary ideology hook, line and sinker. Missionary history is propagandist and unanalytical."¹² It is generally designed to boost the morale of the early missionaries. It is a history that focuses on how the gospel was brought to a particular area, the difficulties and joys experienced by these missionaries. It over-emphasised the role

¹¹ Dabula Mpako, interview conducted at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 30 June 1999, see also an article in the *Southern Cross* (27 February, 2000), p.3.

¹² See Ogbu U.Kalu, "Church presence in Africa: A Historical Analysis of the Evangelisation Process", in and Appiah-Kubi & T. Torres., (eds) *African Theology en route* (New York:Orbis Books, 1983), p.14ff.

of the missionaries and ignored the *milieu* of the host communities. In this sense, it helped to enhance the ethnocentrism of missionary achievements.

In this study, we attempt to probe beneath the mere events. We take a more perceptive approach which, according to Ogbu Kalu,

... should analyse the inner dynamics of the evangelisation process, perceiving that process as an encounter between viable cosmologies and cultures. This method rejects European Christianity as the starting point of African Church history. On the contrary, Africa and its cultures constitute the starting point.¹³

That is why we emphasise oral history as a methodology in our study. An attempt will be made to document the history as seen by some black clergy and bishops. It is hoped that the lost and silenced voices of black ministers under the formative years of the black clergy will improve the knowledge of the past as they played a significant role in the evolution of religious societies and dioceses they belonged to. One of the greatest motivations of the thesis is that it should contribute to the history of South African Christianity.

The central problem under investigation is that the history of the black Roman Catholic clergy has not been adequately documented. The thesis tries to highlight a perspective that needs to be uncovered through archival research and oral history. Alongside the central problem are the following sub-problems which the thesis poses, problematises, and, in some cases, offers some plausible explanations.

The policy of the Holy See¹⁴ towards mission territories was that indigenous clergy were to be trained and the church be

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.14.

¹⁴ The central authority in the Roman Catholic Church is referred to as "The Holy See", "The Papacy", "Rome" etc. These terms will be used interchangeably.

localised. Although this was the case, there are numerous problems intricately intertwined with the intention of the Holy See to have local vocations from the mission territories. Rome, for instance, created a centralised, unified church which simultaneously suffocated the creativity of most mission churches in as far as worship and other cultural values were concerned. From as early as 1622, Rome encouraged indigenous vocations. The emphasis in the twentieth century can be traced from 1917, when the Holy See promulgated the *Codex Iuris Canonici*, Canon 305. This document stated,

the urgency (for)...Prefects, Vicars Apostolic to take pressing care, as matter of conscience, to train candidates for the priesthood from among indigenous people under their jurisdiction.¹⁵

In 1919 Pope Benedict XV issued an encyclical *Maximum Illud* and this was followed by other encyclicals issued by other popes from 1926 to 1959.¹⁶ The popes in these encyclicals urged the indigenisation of the church. We will closely analyse the missionary policy of Rome in the second chapter.

It is disappointing that, in the current literature available on the black Catholic clergy in South Africa, none of the books and articles reflect a critical in-depth study of the early clergy. Rather they deal with the subject on a superficial level.

1.3.1 Literature Review

The first article by Thomas Respondek, "Die Erziehung zum Priestertum in der Mariannhiller Mission", *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, 34, 1950, only highlights the presence of

¹⁵ Dachs and Rea, *The Catholic Church in Zimbabwe, 1879- 1979*, p. 132.

¹⁶ These encyclicals were *Rerum Ecclesiae*, (1926); *Evangelii Praecones* (1951) and *Donum Fidei* (1957).

black priests in Mariannhill. This is followed by the book by William Eric Brown, *The Catholic Church in South Africa: from its origin to the present day* (1960). The book attempts to write the whole history of the Roman Catholic church from the beginnings up to 1960. It briefly mentions some of the first black Catholic priests and the problems they had in relation to authority. *Mariannhill and its Apostolate: Origins and Growth of the Congregation of Mariannhill Missionaries*, (1964) presents a comprehensive picture of the history of Mariannhill and points to the fact that Zulu priests were already being trained as early as 1887. The book by Joy Brian, *Catholic beginnings in Natal and beyond*, (1975) mainly deals with the history of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) and mentions the first four black Catholic priests. It lays some emphasis on the problems they encountered.

The book by Godfrey Sieber, *Der Aufbau Katholischen in Zulu land, von Anfangen bis zur Gegenwart*, (1976) also only acknowledges the early black clergy. At the centenary of Mariannhill, a book to mark the achievement of Mariannhill was written by Sister Aldegisa Mary Hermann CPS, *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill in the province of Mariannhill*, (1984). It concentrates on the history of the congregation but it also documents incidents concerning the first four black priests since the CMM initiated the whole process. In 1995 Godfrey Sieber published another book, *Benedictines at Inkamana* which mentions the black pioneers and gives very concise but incomplete bibliographies. The latest entry on this subject is a book edited by Philippe Denis and Joy Brain, *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Southern Africa*, which has a section on the training of black Catholic clergy but neglects specific cases. It covers the period from 1951 to 1999. There are other works which just briefly mention the presence of indigenous clergy amongst the Zulu people. My

contention is that these works do not offer an in-depth critical study of the first black clergy.

The authors mainly write histories of their orders, congregations, and local churches. The history of the black clergy is neglected or only briefly mentioned, the concentration being on work done by the missionaries. The authors also rely heavily on the archival sources already used in the book by William Eric Brown (the author of the first book on the history of the Roman Catholic church in South Africa). Most of the events are repeated by the authors in an uncritical way. There is a need to do more archival research and to try and ascertain the history of the black Catholic clergy. The written history relies almost exclusively on written sources. This research tries to recover the silenced memories of the pioneer clergy through an oral history methodology. There is a need to raise these stories to the status of historical sources if an all-inclusive history of the Christian churches is ever to be written.¹⁷

The biographies of the early priests have not been dealt with adequately and comprehensively in these books and articles. They have a tendency to highlight the problems of the bishop and priests rather than the good work they achieved. For instance, certainly more has to be said about statements like, "All four African priests seemed to have had considerable difficulties settling down after their return from Rome",¹⁸ "Fr. Mbhele became involved in a local scandal and was suspended for sometime, while Fr. Ngidi annoyed the bishop by writing insolent letters".¹⁹ These statements might reflect

¹⁷ Philippe Denis, Thulani Mlotshwa and George Mukuka, *The Casspir and the Cross* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publication, 1999), p.5.

¹⁸ Godfrey Sieber, *Benedictines at Inkamana* (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1995), p.112.

¹⁹ Joy B. Brain, *Catholics in Natal II Beyond: 1886-1925*, (Durban: Archdiocese of Durban, 1982), pp.253 & 255.

some truth but the available literature only seem to highlight the negative rather than the positive aspects of the story. Hence, there is an urgent need to write a history which tries to present a comprehensive picture of the Roman Catholic church and the South African society.

The other sub-problem we shall examine concerns the rumours and false allegations attributed to these priests which still circulate among the priests in South Africa. For instance, in Joy B. Brain's book *Catholics in Natal II*, we read that Edward Mnganga had a mental breakdown.²⁰ My oral sources dispute this fact and instead say that he was arrested because he lost his temper during an argument and wanted to fight with his rector, David Bryant. The latter ran to the police. Since he was a European, the police believed everything he reported about Mnganga who was later committed to the Government Mental asylum in Pietermaritzburg. All four black priests were treated with suspicion. The missionaries thought that they were not ready to be priests. This is evidenced by the fact that they were always spied upon and tested for their vocations. More pertinent though is the fact that from 1907 to 1936 there were no ordinations to the priesthood. Andreas Ngidi and Julius Mbhele were ordained in 1907 and it took twenty nine years before Malachias Mkhwane was ordained in 1937.

When Bishop Mansuet Biyase was at the seminary in the 1950s, he asked his professors why there was such a huge gap in the ordination of African priests. The reply from a missionary priest was that, "the first fruits were sour".²¹ After hearing some rumours about the behaviour of the first black priests, Bishop Delalle of Durban (1904-1946) decided not to ordain any other black priests until he retired. Was he so prejudiced

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.253.

²¹ Bishop Mansuet Biyase, interview conducted at the Bishop's House, Eshowe, 22 April 1997.

against the black priests or was he influenced by the prevailing racial attitudes? The written sources do not seem to document or acknowledge these facts.

1.4 Hypothesis

The thesis is premised on the following hypothesis:

The view which is generally held among South Africa Catholic historians (as mentioned above) is that black priests (especially the first four and the first African bishop in South Africa) had tremendous trouble in settling down after ordination and consecration, because Africans were not yet ready to be priests and bishops. But there is another perspective which could explain the difficulties and misunderstanding of the people concerned. This view is drawn from disciplines of geography, social politics and anthropology. By geography, I mean that the early missionaries who came from Europe firmly believed that the West was far superior to the non-western regions, that is, the core innovated and the periphery imitated.²² By social, politics and anthropology we mean that unconsciously or consciously the missionaries believed that they were more powerful (i.e. with regard to education, religion, and militarily) than the indigenous people in mission territories and hence they tried to impose their world-view on the new converts. They were doing this sincerely because they wanted the new converts to be saved from hell and attain eternal life. These perspectives (geography, social history and anthropology) need to be unravelled in the history of these priests and bishop through archival research and oral history.

By probing beneath the mere events, we try to analyse the inner

²² See James Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: The Guilford Press,

dynamics of the evangelisation process and hope to uncover a more dynamic process in which both the missionaries and the indigenous priests were role players and actively determined the final product. This process has never been brought to light in the history of the black Catholic clergy.²³

Finally, in the light of our hypothesis there is an implication that the Europeans and missionaries believed that the African culture was a hindrance to the local people accepting Christianity and even becoming priests. For instance, Bishop Henri Delalle of Durban (1903-1946) thought that the "natural and traditional culture" of the Zulu made them ill fitted for priestly work."²⁴

The above raises the following questions: What are the interfacing currents between African culture and Christian values? Are the two entities mutually exclusive? Or alternatively, what is the extent and degree of compatibility between them? What has been the contribution of African culture and Christian values in the formation of the South African society. These are some of the pertinent, probing questions this investigation will raise and address. With the use of conceptual tools from the geographical, socio-political and historical anthropological disciplines,²⁵ it is hoped that the interface between the African and Christian values will be looked at more critically. While the researcher appreciates that the research cannot supply comprehensive answers to such very large questions, this research may supply interesting and perhaps significant insights which might illuminate possible

1995), p.1.

²³ See Ogbu U.Kalu, "Church presence in Africa: A Historical Analysis of the Evangelisation Process", in and Appiah-Kubi & T. Torres., (eds) *African Theology en route* (New York:Orbis Books, 1983), p.14.

²⁴ Brown, *Catholic Church in South Africa*, p.325 & Brain, *Catholics in Natal and Beyond*, p.254.

²⁵ See section 1.4.2.

future ways to answer such questions. It is also hoped that, to a certain extent, they will shape the research process and conversely empower the target community in search of a religious identity, self-affirmation and reconciliation.

In short, I argue that for the period 1887 to 1957, the history of the black Catholic clergy has not been adequately documented. The thesis tries to give a comprehensive picture of the establishment of the black Catholic clergy in South Africa.

I shall now look at the methodological considerations for the study.

1.5 Methodological considerations

The study basis its method on oral history and archival research. However, secondary sources where necessary are also used in our methodology. I will now expand on the merits and de-merits of the oral history method and its implication for a history of a people who were oppressed and marginalised.

1.5.1 Oral history methodology

In this investigation oral sources were used extensively. In recent developments, oral sources have enhanced the study of Church History in South Africa and the whole world.²⁶ The main concern for oral sources is what tends to be hidden, and expressed by word of mouth. This message is transmitted by oral history and oral tradition.²⁷ The former refers to first-hand recollection or hearsay accounts and situations of a person

²⁶ See Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past, Oral History* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

²⁷ Philippe Denis, "The Use of Oral Sources in African Church History" in *Bulletin for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*,

interviewed by a historian. Depending on the topic, the historian selects witnesses and then interviews them on past and present events.²⁸ In this investigation, the researcher chose priests who experienced some aspects of the establishment of the black Catholic clergy in South Africa.

Oral traditions, on the other hand, are not contemporary, that is, they are not direct experiences of the narrators. They consist of descriptions and narratives of events and people in the past and handed down by word of mouth over several generations.²⁹ Oral tradition is indicative of the process and the product. Oral messages are the products based on past messages which have existed for at least a generation. The transmission of the messages by word of mouth is the process. This continues until the disappearance of the message.³⁰

Jan Vansina distinguishes different classes of traditions: formula and prayer, followed by poetry, then epic, and finally narrative. In highly industrialised nations, oral traditions have diminished in use but they still do play a major role for some people modern society. Oral tradition has proved invaluable as a source of information on pre-colonial societies. The difference between oral tradition and oral history is that the former is something that is held and shared by a larger community, and is not easily diluted, whilst oral history is usually shared by a select number of people and might not survive for a very long time,³¹ because its

Vol.2, April 1995, p.32.

²⁸ John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History Aims: Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (London & New York: Longman, 1991), p.206.

²⁹ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past, Oral History*, p.22.

³⁰ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (London: James Currey, 1985), p.3.

³¹ Humphrey Mogashoa, "Correcting the 'Baptist' History on William Duma (1907-1977): an Oral history contribution", Unpublished paper presented to the International Conference, "Listen to their Voices: Memories of Black Clergy under Colonialism and Apartheid", University

circulation might be limited.

This research made substantial use of oral history methodology. As a discipline oral history embraces theory and content used in relation to its history, that is, the past, present and possible future. Crucial to this methodology is the interview technique, which places great emphasis on the historical aspect of the subject. Priority is given to the accounts of the witnesses or first hand participants of events and situations as being of historical value. In other words, the recollections of the interviewees are treated as historical evidence. The interviewer systematically collects, arranges, preserves and publicises the recorded verbatim, opinions and accounts of witnesses or participants, which are likely to interest scholars in future.³² As Thompson cogently says, "All the exact words are used as they were spoken; and added to them are social clues, the nuances of uncertainty, humour, or pretence, as well as the texture of dialect."³³ The interviews are usually recorded on tapes and then transcribed. The oral accounts are spoken and generally colloquial, that is, they are conversations and that belongs to common speech.³⁴ (See appendix I.)

Though oral sources were used for the most part, written sources were also consulted as both complement each other. The distinction between the two sources is partly artificial. This is due to the fact that all written documents were once oral and contain hidden oral evidence. The oral sources are also often transcribed or put into writing and in the process become written documents.

of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, June 30-July 3, 1999.

³² *Ibid.*, p.3.

³³ Thompson, *The Voice of the Past, Oral History*, p108.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

There is a need for written sources to be complemented by oral sources. This will help to address the limitations which a history of the church, exclusively based on written sources, contain. For instance, written sources will mostly reflect the institutional aspect of the Christian life, that is, arrival of missionaries, building of churches, and schools. The social, economic, political and cultural elements of the people will often be overlooked. Secondly, an outsider's perspective of the church is given rather than an insider's view. The documents will most likely overlook the contribution of the local people. Lastly, in most cases the bulk of the material in the archives reflects, what James C. Scott describes, as the "*public transcript* of the dominant."³⁵ The material preserved only reflects the aspect of the powerful, the side of the subjugated is hidden and it rarely finds its way to the archives, and therefore is irretrievable. To some degree it can be recovered in oral history.

However, a critical evaluation of oral sources is needed. The striking problem which the researcher experienced in conducting the interviews is the lack of chronological precision. One of the priests under investigation died almost fifty years ago. Some of the informants could not remember the exact dates of the events (for instance, their birth, their ordination and their death), but others could clearly remember the day, date and time. Historians think in serial time, whereas most people do not, and this creates problems. With the aid of improved interviewing techniques and outside written sources, newspapers, and letters more precision can be achieved. For a better evaluation of some of the interviews, the investigator had to use all the available sources pertaining to the theme under investigation.

³⁵ Denis, "The Use of Oral Sources in African Church History", p.32.

The second difficulty was the tendency of the interviewees to reconstruct the past. In some cases, the informants consciously or unconsciously tried to grace the past. In other cases, they tried to justify their actions, even though the event occurred a long time ago. This was seen particularly with bishops when asked the question on the racial relationships in the church. The answers given resounded with a heavily reconstructed past. Some priests, on the other hand, gave the official version of the incident, possibly because they were uncomfortable with the past or because it might have left painful memories.

The third problem experienced was the unconscious use of literary sources. In some cases, after the researcher rang the informants to arrange for an interview, it was evidence that they then looked in their personal archives for books or pamphlets written on the first black priests. When interviewing, the researcher recognised some lines from either Joy Brain's or Godfrey Sieber's books. When the investigator commented on this, they sometimes became critical. Interestingly though, little has been written on the first black priests, so most of the informants had to dig deep in their memories to recollect events and situations in their lives or those of their confreres.

The other general problems encountered can be summarised as follows: Some interviewees described events without critically examining the incidents and when the researcher wanted to probe an interesting point further, the informant would simply tell a story which the researcher thought to be marginal to the central issue under investigation. Later on, after analysing the interviews, some of these stories proved to be useful and greatly enriched the interview

process. In some cases, one could sense that the informants were selecting what to say: they probably knew the whole story, but were cautious of what they told. This occurred especially with story of Edward Mnganga where the researcher sensed that Bishop Dominic Khumalo and Natalis Mjoli were only telling him what he needed to know. Other informants, gave very brief answers to the questions which could have meant that the story was not very important or too painful to recall. But by dealing with what they considered to be interesting the researcher managed to get some more information.

The general impression from the interviews conducted, especially those with the black priests and bishops, is their willingness to talk. It was as if they wanted to tell the real story since they had waited for so long - almost 40 years! Several of the books on the black Catholic clergy were dismissed by some of the interviewees as being biased and uncritical. Most of the informants felt that they were not only elaborating on the existing written evidence but also correcting the errors. The time had come to write the new history of South Africa.

1.6 Synopsis of Chapters

In Chapter One - is the introduction as we have seen. The researcher laid the foundation for the chapters to follow. The history of the Catholic clergy in relation to the other churches in South Africa was briefly described. The differences between these Churches, the rise of Ethiopianism and African independent churches were looked at briefly. The hypothesis

stated that the history of the black Catholic clergy, up to the end of the twentieth century, has been inadequately documented. There is a need to write a more comprehensive history of the clergy and the Catholic church. The books written on the Catholic church mainly rely on archival sources for their information. The researcher problematised this, by stating that, in most cases the material in archives bears the brand of the dominant, the voice of the oppressed is silenced. Hence, an oral history methodology was examined as an aid to overcome this barrier. The advantages and disadvantages were highlighted, but weighed in favour of it being a useful methodology.

Chapter Two will highlight the important aspects of the three conceptual tools. The theoretical framework outlined will help us decipher the two-way interaction between the dominant and the subordinate.

Chapter Three will provide a continuous narrative of the establishment of indigenous clergy in Africa from the 16th to the 20th century. It will also briefly look at the emerging African bishops. However, the chapter discusses at great length the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa.

Chapter Four deals with a critical analysis of missionary encyclicals, decrees, and briefs. The chapter critically looks at the policy of the pontifical documents and contrast what was intended and what actually happened. The main contention in this chapter is that, despite interesting aspects in the Roman policy towards the mission fields, the policy was formulated in Europe, the mission stations were not consulted about what they wanted and the people who decided were of European descent. This means that the decisions taken in Rome did not take seriously the world-view of the mission countries and led to

many misunderstandings between the missionaries and the early converts.

Chapter Five deals with the four case studies of the first black clergy in South Africa. It tries to go beyond the accepted understanding of the friction between white and black as being simply attributed to race and apartheid. The researcher explores another dimension in the relationship between the groups and suggests that some of these problems emanated from unequal power relations. This concept is explored critically and intensively, using concrete examples from the daily lives of the first four black priests. The researcher contends that the conflicts which existed then still exist today among the clergy, black and white, could plausibly be explained using concepts from the geographical, social political and cultural anthropology. This interface is uncovered through archival research and the oral history methodology.

Chapter Six is an examination of the establishment of the black Catholic clergy in South Africa. By 1957 the black clergy had taken root in South Africa. It is a period which was earlier on termed as one of "power sharing in the church." To a certain extent, the black clergy were no longer treated as second-class priests. The researcher also briefly looks at some of the first Indian and coloured Catholic clergy in South Africa.

Chapter Seven looks at the first two black bishops ordained by 1954. The chapter examines some of the successes and failures of these bishops - Emmanuel Mabathaona and Bonaventure Dlamini. Even though the black Catholic clergy had been established more Africanisation is still needed.

Chapter Eight draws the discussion to a close by drawing on

some statistics from the research, summary of the findings and and a new perspective found in the investigation is stated.

Finally, **Chapter Nine**, the Epilogue, explores the theme of "homelessness" which is traced from 1898 to 2000. It deals with issues outside the purview of this study where more research needs to be done. Black priests in the Catholic church still do not feel at home. More africanisation and inculturation needs to be done. The role of Black Consciousness is looked at. This epilogue briefly introduces key concepts and organisations which were very vocal against apartheid in the society and in the church. The researcher has previously looked at this topic in greater detail for a masters thesis entitled, *The impact of Black Consciousness on the Black Catholic Clergy and their training, 1965-1981*. And so, in a sense, the epilogue is a bridge between this thesis and the Masters.

I shall examine the conceptual themes in the next chapter.

Theoretical perspectives

1. Introduction

I will use particular exponents of specific geographical, sociological historical and theological theories which are meant to shed light on the establishment of black Catholic clergy and the 'transaction' between missionaries and black priests. In other words, theories which might try to explain the process of emergence, transaction and translation of the relationship between black clergy and their missionary counterparts in South Africa will be used. This interaction is illustrated by Draper in his article on "Hegemony, Ideology and Social Construction: Special Focus on the work of John and Jean Comaroff," where he writes, "this confrontation of cultures (missionary and Africans) was not a one way street, but a two way traffic, albeit an unequal one since economic and military power was obviously uneven."³⁶

However, not all the works I will draw on are meant to shed sufficient light on the 'transaction' which took place between the missionaries and the black clergy. Hence, the formulation and interpretation that are presented in this way is mainly mine and only secondarily that of the proponents. It is possible that some of the conceptual tools are not as ideological in their acclimation as I intend to apply them in the thesis. Some have arisen out of purely scholarly endeavours for understanding and explaining social phenomena beyond niggardly description. Others have surfaced because the

³⁶ Jonathan A. Draper, "Hegemony, Ideology and Social Construction: Special Focus on the work of John and Jean Comaroff" in *Bulletin for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, Vol.4, No, 3,

exponents were disillusioned with the cliched explanation of social phenomena. However, the implications in the theoretical nuances, I may suggest are very relevant and aptly applicable to our investigations.

Theories are essential as a means of digging up the muted voice. If we skip them, it will be like plunging into a war-zone without arms, argues Maluleke.³⁷ He comments on how Itumeleng Mosala has shown the significance of 'theoretical astuteness' and the indiscretion of 'theoretical bankruptcy' in theological construction which deals specifically with aiding the poor and oppressed with a voice. Petersen has taken Mosala's remarks further and suggested that due to inadequate social analysis theories people have incessantly misconstrued the African Independent Churches.³⁸ Having gone this far Maluleke sounds some caution:

There is the danger of allowing (such) theoretical and political turns to make us 'slide down the slithery slope, the slithery trepe, toward a world in which all life, all history, all society, is really (whatever that may mean) a text' - a 'cynical and disengaged postmodernism' which ironically leaves the marginalised 'nowhere, invisible and voiceless.' However, there are compelling reasons to re-view and revise issues in social theory in the quest of giving voice to marginalised Black voices..³⁹

Maluleke elaborates that the use of the tired 'Apartheid-oppression frameworks' in history is very uncreative and can be

December 1998, p.3, (brackets mine).

³⁷ Tinyiko Sam Maluleke, "The Quest for Muted Black Voices in History: Some pertinent issues in (South) African mission historiography," *Missionalia* 28/1 (April 2000), pp.41-61.

³⁸ For the above discussion on theoretical application see the following; Itumeleng Mosala, *Biblical Hermeneutic and Black Theology in South Africa* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989) and R.M.Petersen, *Time, Resistance and Reconstruction. A Theology of the Prophetic and the Popular* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 1998).

³⁹ Samuel Maluleke, "The Historical Quest for a Black Presence that 'Walks': Some Theoretical Issues in South) Africa Mission Historiography", p.6-7; Cooper, Frederick, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History." *American Historical Review*. 99:5 (December, 1994), pp.1516-1545.

counter-productive. It denies colonised people any history apart from oppression.⁴⁰

There are several postulations to explain the 'transaction' which took place in the encounter between the black people and the Christian missionary enterprise, modernity, and imperial authorities.⁴¹ Maluleke states that "such a variety would range from socio-linguistic theories around issues of consciousness, domination, transculturation, symbolic universe' struggles to theological propositions." It would be a mammoth task to analyse and describe all of these. Hence, in my thesis I have chosen only a few which I think will elucidate the 'transaction' which took place with the arrival of the missionaries. First I will consider James Blaut's concept of Diffusionism, explained in his book, *The Colonizer's Model of the Worlds: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*.⁴² Then I will give an exposition of hegemony and ideology in Jean and John Comaroff's book *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*. Finally I will look at James C. Scott's theories on domination and resistance from the book *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Maluleke gives an interesting example of a book which tries to ascertain the presence of blacks, but fails because it emphasizes oppression rather than the history of the colonised. This work is Kpobi, David Nii Anum, 1993. *Mission In Chains. The life, theology and ministry of the ex-slave Jacobus E.J. Captein (1717-1747)*. Translated by Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum. Maluleke reviewed this work in *Missionalia* 22:1 (April 1994). 78-79. It is clear that Kpobi lacks theoretical nuance (which could have been borrowed from the Comaroff or Patrick Harris. This work is juxtaposed to that of Saayman on Z.K. Matthews, *The Man with a shadow* and Attwell on Tiyo Soga, "The Transculturation of the Enlightenment..." (*ibid.*)

⁴² James Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: The Guilford Press,

2. Diffusionism

For James Blaut,⁴³ history has always taken for granted that "The West"⁴⁴ has had some distinctive historical background, some selected, specific, special quality of race, culture, environment, and psyche of its community which gives them - "The West" - a permanent superiority over the other communities in the world throughout the times to the present day. The purpose of Blaut's book is to undermine such popular beliefs. As he writes

The belief is both historical and geographical. Europeans are seen as the 'makers of history'. Europe eternally advances, progresses, modernises. The rest of the world advances more sluggishly, or stagnates: it is 'tradition society.' Therefore, the world has a permanent geographical center and a permanent periphery: an Inside and an Outside. Inside leads, Outside lags. Inside innovates, Outside imitates.⁴⁵

The belief that Europeans are the makers of history is called Diffusionism and more precisely, Eurocentric Diffusionism. It is a theory which states that cultural processes tend to move out from the European to the non-European sector. The ethical flow of human causality, innovation and culture from Europe is logical, normal and natural. The source of most diffusions is Europe and the recipient is non-Europe. Indeed modern scholarship has not diluted diffusionism and it still lies at the pith of historical and geographical scholarship. The European Miracle⁴⁶ states that before 1492, before the

1995).

⁴³ James M. Blaut is an American Geography scholar who since the 1960s has published numerous books and articles on subjects like imperialism, development, capitalism, nationalism and diffusionism.

⁴⁴ The "West" - had its centre in "Europe" , by the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth this term has now included the United States and Japan, see Enrique Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation 1492-1979* (Michigan: Eerdmanns Pub.Co.1981),p. 4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*,p.1.

⁴⁶ This is the argument that Europe forged ahead in history, that is in the prehistoric or ancient or medieval times. This, for the believers

beginning of colonialism, the West was more progressive than other regions. Further it is believed that Europe achieved the economic and social modernisation due to *internal* qualities and not because it was engaged in a two-way⁴⁷ interaction with societies of Africa, Asia, and America after 1492. This, then means that

the main building blocks of modernity must be European. Therefore, colonialism cannot have been really important for Europe's modernisation. Therefore, colonialism must mean, for the Africans, Asians, and Americans, not spoliation and cultural destruction but, rather, the receipt-by-diffusion of European civilisation - modernisation.⁴⁸

The world has an Inside and an Outside. The history of the world has been made from the Inside whilst the Outside has been irrelevant. History and geography were taught, written and thought, until World War II and to some extent today, in a "tunnel of time", where the walls of the tunnel, figuratively speaking are "spatial boundaries of Greater Europe. History is a matter of looking back or down this European tunnel of time and trying to decide what happened where, when, and why." "Why?" can be answered with connections only in the European tunnel. "Outside its walls everything seems to be rockbound, timeless changeless tradition" which Blaut calls "tunnel history".⁴⁹ This tunnel history⁵⁰ simply ignored the non-European areas until 1492. But after this date, the Non-Europe (Africa, Asia east of the Bible Lands, Latin America, Oceania)⁵¹ receive some cognition only as the place for

of the European Miracle, internally generated historical superiority or even priority and explains world history and geography after 1492. (*Ibid.*, p.50)

⁴⁷ Draper, "Hegemony, Ideology and Social Construction: Special Focus on the work of John and Jean Comaroff," p.3.

⁴⁸ Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*, p.2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.5.

⁵⁰ The typical texts books and historical atlases devoted little space to areas outside Greater Europe.

⁵¹ The researcher will sometimes refer to this as the "Periphery" - Latin America, the Arab world, Black Africa, India, South East Asia,

European colonial activities and students were essentially taught about what they could reap from these regions.

After World War II, history in the textbooks began to denote a more elusive, form of tunnel history. The non-European regions were now firmly inserted in the consciousness of Europeans, especially after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombing. The "wind of change" in Africa meant decolonization of many states and in the USA - the Civil Rights movement. From this time, the later text books engulfed a wider perspective in their discussion, and something was said about non-European cultures and their achievements. Many textbooks carried a flavour of "historicity, of evolution progress, to non-European history, thus departing from the older pattern, which dismissed these societies as stagnant and non-evolving. Asian societies were now described as having had an evolutionary motion, though a motion slower than that of Europe. Africa was still described as stagnant, history-less, prior to the colonial era."⁵² For one to know the culture of a people, textbooks are a great asset, they act like a window and "they are semi-official statements of exactly what the opinion-forming elite of the culture want the educated youth of that culture to believe to be true about the past and present world."⁵³

As we have seen above, the text books written for learners at schools and tertiary institutions assert that the causes of historical progress originate in the European region. In the early and middle nineteenth century, text books inclined to

and China, see Enrique Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America: Colonialism to Liberation 1492-1979* (Michigan: Eerdmanns Pub.Co.1981), p. 4.

⁵² Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World*, p.6.

⁵³ *Ibid.* We should bear in mind that there different scholarly work work on the relation between Europe and Asia or Africa before 1492. I particularly use James Blaut because his theory does shed light on the establishment of Black Catholic clergy. One can say he is too simplistic but to a greater degree he brings out the core of the argument between the Core and the Periphery.

give religious grounding for Eurocentric tunnel history but this changed with the aid of historical criticism where the Bible was no longer considered to be made up of historical facts. Instead, causality is now embedded in a theory which implicitly combines "a belief that Christian peoples make history with a belief that white peoples make history, the whole becoming a theory that it is natural for Europeans to innovate and progress and for non-Europeans to remain stagnant and unchanging ("traditional") until, like Sleeping Beauty, they are awakened by the Prince." This view, in the main, still persists, "although racism has been discarded and non-Europe is no longer considered to have been absolutely stagnant and traditional."⁵⁴

Interestingly, most of the European historians still uphold the view that most of the genuinely crucial historical events - which had consequences throughout the world that is, "changed history" happened in Europe (or the causal impetus which forced the occurrence came from Europe). Historical reasoning focuses on Greater Europe. Blaut then outlines fourteen propositions which show why greater Europe is focussed as the centre. However, some of these are true, some are true with qualifications, and some are not true at all. These are facts we learnt as part of our socialization. "They are artifacts of the old tunnel history, in which Outside plays no crucial role and Inside is credited with everything important and everything efficacious," Blaut argues.⁵⁵

2.1 Eurocentric Diffusionism

This is generally called Eurocentrism which is defined by Blaut as "a label for all belief that postulates past or present

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8

superiority of Europeans over non-Europeans (and over minority people of non-European descent)."⁵⁶ Eurocentrism is being critiqued by scholars in all fields and Blaut's work is part of this critique. The word, in most analyses, has been construed as some kind of prejudice or an attitude, and hence, something that can be annihilated from modern enlightened thought, just like other attitudes of racism, sexism, and religious bigotry can be eliminated. The significant thing about Eurocentrism is not a matter of attitudes implied in the form of values and prejudices, "but rather a matter of science, and scholarship, and informed and expert opinion."⁵⁷ Eurocentrism has within itself sets of beliefs that are statements about empirical reality. These statements are accepted by educated and usually unprejudiced Europeans.

Blaut's objective is to challenge statements which are presumed to be historical and scientific facts, and not biases and prejudices. Then, he tries to show that the assumptions are wrong and statements untrue. "Eurocentrism is the colonizer's model of the world... It is not merely a set of beliefs, a bundle of beliefs. It has evolved through time, into a very finely sculpted model, a structured whole; in fact a single theory; in fact a super theory, a general framework for many smaller theories, historical, geographical, psychological, sociological, and philosophical. The supertheory is called *Diffusionism*."⁵⁸

2.1.1 How Diffusionism is understood

When change occurs in a culture of a human community, this could either be due to the invention that occurred *within* that community or a result of a process whereby the 'idea' or 'its

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

material effect' (an art style, tools) found its way into the community, having originally been conceived in some other landscape and other community. The first event is called "independent invention" and the second "diffusion".⁵⁹ Some scholars believe that the former is uncommon and that most humans imitate and do not invent. For them diffusion is the main mechanism for change. Diffusionists are scholars who hold this view. Upon encountering a cultural innovation in a specific region, they look somewhere else where the speciality is being used and trace the process of diffusion. Blaut gives a very intriguing example:

...The fact that the blow-gun is traditionally used among Native America peoples as well as some Old World peoples is explained by diffusionists as being the result of the diffusion of this trait from the Old World to the New: the New World people, they believe, probably were not inventive enough to do so.⁶⁰

The opponents of diffusion, also called "evolutionist" or "independent-inventionist", level two charges against their opponents. Firstly, that human beings can be inventive and a possibility of invention must be given a chance. Secondly, the diffusionists are elitist, they deny the psychic unity of mankind and say that some cultures are smarter, more innovative and inventive than others.

To recapitulate

Diffusionism is grounded... in two axioms (1) Most human communities are uninventive. (2) A few human communities (or places or cultures) are inventive and thus remain the permanent centres of culture change, of progress. At the global scale, this gives us a model of a world with a single centre - roughly, Greater Europe - and a single periphery; an Inside and an Outside.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵⁹ Blaut, "Two Views of Diffusion" (1977) and "Diffusionism: A Uniformitarian Critique" (1987a).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

There are several ways one can depict this two sector model. We will look at three which are commonly used. Firstly, "sometimes the two sectors are treated as sharply distinct; with a definite boundary between them (...sometimes called the "Center-Periphery Model of the World." The second "form sees the world in a slightly different way: there is a clear and definite centre, but outside of it there is gradual change, gradual decline in degree of civilisation or progressiveness or innovativeness, as one moves outward into the periphery." The third variant sees "the world as divided into zones, each representing a level of modernity or civilization or development. The classical division was one with three great bands: "civilisation," "barbarism." and "savagery.""⁶²

The interaction between the two sectors has been seen in seven fundamental arguments by diffusionists:

1. Europe (Inside) progresses, modernises, invents, innovates, changes things for the better - this is a natural state of affairs it is "historical".
2. Non-Europe, is Outside, remains stagnant, does not change, is traditional, backward, and "ahistorical."
3. European progresses because of "some intellectual or spiritual factor, something characteristic of the "European mind," the "European spirit," "Western Man" etc., something that leads creativity, imagination, invention, innovation, rationality, and a sense of honour or ethics: "European values"⁶³
4. The complete opposite of the above exist for the non-European regions, and some sociologists of religion like Max Weber have even gone to an extent of saying the lack of rationality, though in some areas like Middle East

⁶² *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

during biblical times and China had some rationality at one point in time. (3 & 4 show the difference between the sectors).

5. The natural way that a non-European culture progresses is through diffusion. Progressive ideas flow from Europe into a vacuum, which takes form and spread as new products, or Europeans themselves spread and bring in these new ideas. (This encourages colonialism.)

6. Since Europeans have taken all the civilizing ideas to non-Europe, they need to be compensated. This involves the taking of material wealth (i.e., plantations, minerals, art, objects, and labour to Europe from non-Europe.

1. "Since Europe is advanced and non-Europe is backward, any ideas that diffuse into Europe must be ancient, savage, atavistic, uncivilised, evil - black magic, vampires, plagues, "the bogeyman," and the like."⁶⁴ (5-7 show the interaction between the two regions).

These interactions between the two sectors certainly clarify the position taken by diffusionists. For instance arguments 1, 5-7 have been experienced directly or indirectly by people in Africa and other parts of the world which were colonised. Most of these people are all products of colonialism and have lost their natural wealth to the West in one form or another.

Of great value to our study is Blaut's tabular representation of the main oppositions between the two sectors, which are quite typical in nineteenth century diffusionist thought:

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

CHARACTER OF CORE	CHARACTER OF PERIPHERY
Inventiveness	Imitateness
Rationality	Irrationality
Abstract thought	Concrete thought
Theoretical reasoning	Empirical reason
Mind	Matter
Discipline	Spontaneity
Adulthood	Childhood
Sanity	Insanity
Science	Sorcery
Progress	Stagnation

Blaut goes on to refute the argument posed by Eurocentrism that Europe is the originator of many things in the world. He calls this the 'the Myth of the European Miracle'. Many of the beliefs which support this theory are primarily implicit and not explicit, which means that they did not enter into scholarly discourse with historians. Most of these we learn as children and then forever take them for granted because they seem reasonable due to cultural values or due to some accepted beliefs (historical, practical, religious, and social). But they are usually unquestioned and unnoticed.

In our study, Blaut's theory - which basically criticises the notion that anything non-Western European is an imitation - veils the conflicts and confrontations which will be highlighted in our Catholic missionary context, once the apostolic delegate started the Africanization process in South Africa. There was an utter rejection of some of the first black bishops and priests. With the help of Blaut's theory the interaction between the missionaries and the local clergy will be explained in terms of the character of Core and Periphery.

We will now look at the Comaroffs' theory about the interaction between the early missionaries and the Tswana people in South Africa.

3. The Comaroffs' Theory

For the Comaroffs, the study of Christianity is more than the mere analysis of religious change. It is part of the process in historical anthropology of consciousness, colonialism culture and power, "of an anthropology concerned at once with the colonizer and colonized, with structure and agency."⁶⁵ In their study, they critically examine the evangelisation of the Tswana people, where a group of British missionaries thought they were to make history for an Africa community, and help them on the road to civilisation. This encounter was not far removed from the life-world, it was "an integral part of the cultural and social revolution that accompanied the rise of industrial capitalism, an expression of the expansive universalism that marked the dawn of modernity."⁶⁶

In their investigation, a discussion of culture plays a vital role. Since in culture you find products that determine our day to day interaction, for instance power, ideology, and consciousness. Drawing greatly on Gramsci,⁶⁷ the Comaroffs "take culture to be the space signifying practice, the semantic ground on which human beings seek to construct and represent themselves and others - and hence, society and history."⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*, volume one (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), p. 11.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁶⁷ See A. Gramsci, *Selection from the Prison notebook* (Edited and translated by Q. Hoare, and G.N. Smith, (New York: International Publishers, 1971).

⁶⁸ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.21.

Culture is a very important medium in which human beings interact, it is not only a collection of messages, a hodgepodge of signs to be flashed across a *tabula rasa*. Culture has "form as well as content; it is born in action as well as thought; is a product of human creativity as well as mimesis; and, above all, is empowered. But it is not all empowered in the same way, or all of the time."⁶⁹

At this point, we need to examine the Comaroffs' understanding of ideology and hegemony. They suggest that there is a triangular relationship between culture, ideology and hegemony. Having placed power at the centre of their analysis, they see that hegemony and ideology as the two faces of power.⁷⁰ Through ideology and hegemony a relationship between culture and power can be grasped.

The Comaroffs argue further that power is Janus-faced. "Sometimes it appears as the (relative) capacity of human beings to shape the actions and perception of others by exercising control over production, circulation, and consumption of signs and objects, over the making of both subjectivities and realities."⁷¹ But most interestingly, power hides itself in the forms of everyday life. This is usually ascribed to entities beyond us - transcendental, "suprahistorical forces (gods, or ancestors, nature or physics, biological instincts or probability), these forms are not easily questioned."⁷² They seem to serve human needs and are too natural and ineffable. This type of power is termed as *nonagentive* and it propagates outside the domain of institutional politics and to be found in things like,

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.22.

⁷⁰ Gerald West, "Discerning the Contours of Domination and Resistance in Liberation Hermeneutics: do the poor and marginalized speak?" in *Bulletin for contextual theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, Vol.4, no.3, December, 1998, p.23.

⁷¹ Comaroffs., *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.21.

aesthetics and ethics, medical knowledge, built form and bodily representation and amorphous usage. It may not even be experienced as power at all because there is no apparent compulsion. But most importantly,

...they are internalized, in their negative guise, as constraints; in their neutral guise, as conventions; and, in their positive guise, as values. Yet the silent power of the sign, the unspoken authority of habit, may be as effective as the most violent coercion in shaping, directing, even dominating social thought and action.⁷³

Relying on Marx, Bourdieu, Gramsci, and others,⁷⁴ the Comaroffs, define ideology and hegemony in the following way:

Hegemony ...refers to that order of signs and practices, relations and distinctions, images and epistemologies - drawn from a historically situated cultural field - that come to be taken-for-granted as the natural and received shape of the world and everything that inhabits it. It consists,... of things that go without saying because, being axiomatic, they come without saying; things that, being presumptively shared, are not the subject of explication or argument.⁷⁵

Hegemony is habit forming because its power lies in what it silences, "what it prevents people from thinking and saying, what it puts beyond the limits of the rational and the credible."⁷⁶ Usually it is hardly directly contested except in dreams of revolutionaries. However, once "its integral contradictions are revealed, when what seemed natural comes to be negotiable, when the ineffable is put into words - then hegemony becomes something other than itself, it becomes an ideology... which is an articulated system of meanings, values, and beliefs of a kind that can be abstracted as [the] 'worldview' of any social grouping."⁷⁷ It acts as an organising scheme or, as the Comaroffs put it, a "Master

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.23.

⁷⁵ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.23.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* (Italics mine)

narrative for collective symbolic production." The reigning ideology of a period of time and place is that of the dominant group and it is likely to be protected and enforced to its full extent. Other subordinate groups (for instance, communal identities, and in our case local clergies) also have ideologies, if they want to overturn the existing relations with the dominant, they too, must call up their ideologies. Such struggles, though seen to be political, are ideological struggles, "for it necessarily involves an effort to control the cultural terms in which the world is ordered and, within it, power legitimized."⁷⁸

A basic difference between hegemony and ideology is that "the first consists of constructs and conventions that have come to be shared and naturalised throughout a political community; the second is the expression and ultimately the possession of a particular social group, although it may be widely peddled beyond." Hegemony is beyond direct argument and not negotiable, whilst ideology "is more susceptible to being perceived as a matter of inimical opinion and interest and therefore is open to contestation. Hegemony homogenises, ideology articulates. Hegemony at its best is mute; by contrast ... "all the while ideology babbles on."⁷⁹ The two are inter-dependent. The making of hegemony involves the control over different types of symbolic production, with things like education, ritual processes, socialisation, political, legal, style and self-representation, public communication, bodily discipline, and health. This control must be sustained over time to such an extent that it becomes invisible. As the Comaroffs write, "for it is only by repetitions that signs and practices cease to be perceived or remarked; that they are so habituated, so deeply inscribed in everyday routine, that they may no longer be seen

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p.24.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

as forms of control - or seen at all."⁸⁰

Yet, hegemony is not planted on virgin ground. It establishes itself over previous forms but does not succeed in fully supplanting them. Hence, hegemony is never total it is always threatened by the "vitality that remains in the forms of life it thwarts." It is conclusive then

that the hegemonic is constantly being made - and, by the same token, may be unmade. That is why it has been described as a process as much as a thing: "a process of continuous creation," "..., which "is bound to be uneven... and to leave some room for antagonistic cultural expression..."⁸¹

Interestingly, even the most oppressive hegemonies can be evangelical and will always try to win the dominated groups to the present social order. The more successful a social order is, the "more of their ideology will disappear into the domain of hegemonic; the less successful, the more that unremarked truths and unspoken conventions will become remarked, reopened for debate."⁸² The Comaroffs argue that this process can be extended to colonialism. The human vehicle of culture, hegemony and ideology is consciousness and representation.

An important aspect is the colonialization of consciousness among the Tswana:

... they were drawn unwittingly into the dominion of European 'civilisation' while at the same time often contesting its presence and explicit content of its world view. A new hegemonic order, ... was established amidst ideological struggle along an expanding, imploding cultural frontier... "⁸³

Hegemony then, is always intrinsically unstable, always vulnerable."⁸⁴ Once something leaves the area of hegemony it

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.25.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.27

usually becomes a major site of ideological struggle. Sometimes there can be no well-formulated opposing ideology, nothing clearly and consciously articulated among the subordinate groups, but a struggle, a contest,⁸⁵ an "unremitting struggle" as Scott says, may still occur - in the form of refusal, trying to reverse things, and a negation of the known genre.⁸⁶

The vehicles of hegemony and ideology are human consciousness and modes of representation which differentiate these faces of power from the other. As Gerald West articulates, "rejecting the 'unspecified Cartesian assumption about personhood, cognition and social being that persist in mainstream Western thought, both orthodox and critical, the Comaroff's suggest that it is much more plausible to see social knowledge and experience as situated along a chain of consciousness that is akin to the hegemony/ideology continuum. Consciousness, therefore is:

a continuum whose two extremes are the unseen and the seen, the submerged and the apprehended, the unrecognized and the cognized. It hardly needs pointing out that one extreme corresponds to the hegemonic pole of culture, the other to the ideological. And just as hegemonies shift over time and space, so the contents of consciousness are not fixed. On the one hand, the submerged, the unseen, the unrecognized may under certain conditions be called to awareness; on the other, things once perceived and explicitly marked may slip below the level of discourse into the unremarked recesses of the collective unconsciousness.⁸⁷

Consciousness is learnt by human beings as they learn to be members of different social groups. Between the unconscious and the conscious is the most critical arena for historical anthropology and more especially in the critique of colonialism and resistance. This realm, between the unconscious and the conscious, according to the Comaroffs, consists of "partial

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.26-27 (italics mine).

⁸⁶ James C.Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p.14.

⁸⁷ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.29.

recognition, of inchoate awareness, of ambiguous perception, and sometimes, of creative tension: the liminal space of human experience in which people discern acts and facts but cannot or do not order them into narrative description or even into articulate conceptions of the world..."⁸⁸ This is a critical and important realm if one is to understand the process of colonialism and reaction to it. The Comaroffs continue by saying that in this domain

signs and events are observed, but in a hazy, translucent light; in which individuals or groups know that something is happening to them but find it difficult to put their finger on quite what it is. From this realm, we suggest, that silent signifiers and unmarked practices may rise to the level of explicit consciousness, of ideological assertion, and become the subject of overt political and social contestation - or from which they may recede into the hegemonic, to languish there unremarked for the time being.⁸⁹

From this realm, poets and organic intellectuals draw their creative imagination which gives voice to the symbolic struggles of the people. This liminal space is likely to be resourceful as new relations are forged here. It is likely to produce poetic imagination, the creative and the innovative. For hegemony, as we saw earlier, is represented in what it silences or its repetition. In the middle ground between the liminal space and hegemony, one find humans testing out new ways to give voice to their emerging cognizance of and affinities towards the world. This is seen in the response of the Tswana towards the missionary encroachment. They tried to understand and master conceptually the process of their changing world.

In populations where there was colonisation, there is recognition on the part of the victims which varies in "inchoateness" and clarity. It is not consciousness and

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

unconsciousness but recognition which occurs when the local groups and cultures are assaulted. From recognition comes a form of experimental practices "that are at once techniques of empowerment and the signs of collective representation."⁹⁰ As Draper puts it, "this experimentation is 'inchoate' and partial: the actors know that they have their fingers on something, but are only dimly aware of what it is."⁹¹ Such reactions show that the local people are trying to come to grips with the colonising process. They try to seek for coherence and the "*deus ex machina* - that lies behind its visible face." When a society is colonised the people generally feel that there is something invisible and enigmatic happening to them and mostly that their future depends on them gaining "control over its 'magic'". It goes without saying that many societies which were Christianised felt that the missionaries had "a second, secret bible or set of rites (cricket? telegraphs? tea parties?) on which their power depends."⁹²

As time moves on, the colonised show greater discretion in interpreting the encounter with the European and the implications this has on them. The Comaroffs conclude by saying that the "while the power structure of colonialism is everywhere clearly drawn, the colonizing process itself is rarely a simple dialectic of domination and resistance."⁹³ The Comaroffs main emphasis has recently been outlined in an article by Jonathan Draper who wrote that the "work... has stressed the role of the 'taken for granted' nature of culture in exercising hegemony unconsciously on the individual and the community where two cultures come into contact and conflict. This hegemonic control breaks down and produces ideology, the attempt to legitimate and maintain what was previously taken

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Comoroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.32.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

for granted, ideology brings culture into the sphere of contestation and is only partially successful in maintaining the social universe, leaving 'gaps' and spaces for experimentation and play. Here human agency and creativity has a limited sphere for operation, as language and symbol become 'slippery' and are manipulated for new purposes and different ends.⁹⁴

From this lengthy outline of the Comaroffs' conceptual framework, the pertinent aspect to our investigation is the fact that hegemony is always unstable, and very vulnerable. Once the hegemonic realm is shaken it becomes an ideological struggle - which can be expressed in the form of a refusal, an attempt to reverse things, and negations. Hence, there is always a struggle for ideology, by different hegemonic groups. But the one which is triumphant at any given time is that of the dominant. This struggle for ideology, the threat of a constant danger of usurping the existing hegemony is the main focus in the establishment of the black Catholic clergy. This struggle still continues today.

We will now look at the third conceptual framework which will be utilised in this investigation. It is closely linked with the Comaroffs, in that it talks of the "unremitting struggle" between the public and hidden transcript of the dominated.

⁹⁴ Draper, "Hegemony, Ideology and Social Construction: Special focus on the Work of John and Jean Comaroff," p.1.

4. Domination and Resistance

"...there is no action possible without a little acting."

James C. Scott⁹⁵ maintains that throughout history, life basically is acting. People are designated with different roles and they act accordingly. In a social grouping, the public performance of the dominated will be in such a way as to please or fulfil the expectations of the dominant. Scott calls this the "public transcript" which is a "way of describing the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate... Public here refers to action that is openly avowed to the other in the power relationship, and transcript is used almost in its juridical sense of a complete record of what was said. This complete record, however, would also include non-speech acts such as gestures and expressions,"⁹⁶ the public transcript is usually unlikely to tell the whole story about power relations. It is in the interests of both parties to misrepresent what could transpire. For the subordinate, the greater the force of power from the dominant, the thicker the mask, that is the public transcript of the dominated will be stereotyped.

It is evident then, that the public transcript does not give us a true picture of what transpires. In some cases the dominant can discount the authenticity of the public transcript believing that those below them are liars by nature, shamming, and deceitful. Another interesting process of interaction is that the key roles are played by "surveillance and disguise". This is crucial in the understanding of cultural patterns of

95 James C. Scott is the Eugene Meyer Professor of Political Science and chairman of the Council on Southeast Asia Studies at Yale University. Among his previous books are *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* and *Weapon of the Weak: Everyday forms of Peasant Resistance*.

⁹⁶ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), p.4.

subordination and domination. The subordinates have to conduct their behaviour in ways that will toe the line of the dominated, as Scott writes:

The theatrical imperative that normally prevails in situations of domination produce a transcript in close conformity with how the dominant group would wish to have things appear. The dominant never control the stage absolutely, but their wishes normally prevail. ... it is in the interest of the subordinate to produce a more or less credible performance, speaking the lines and making the gestures he knows are expected of him... . It is precisely this public domain where the effects of power relations are most manifest, and any analysis based exclusively on the public transcript is likely to conclude that subordinate group endorse the terms of their subordination and are willing, even enthusiastic, partners in that subordination.⁹⁷

So then, how can we know the full picture of what transpired through the public transcript? This is almost impossible unless one speaks to the performer offstage or there is a rupture in the performance, that is the actor declares that what occurred was just a pose. The discourse that occurs off-stage is termed by Scott the *hidden transcript* which "characterises discourse that takes place 'offstage', beyond direct observation by power holders. [It] is thus derivative in the sense that it consists of those offstage speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or inflect what appears in the public transcript... the hidden transcript is produced for a different audience and under different constraints of power to the public transcript. By assessing the discrepancy between the hidden transcript and the public transcript we may begin to judge the impact of domination on public discourse."⁹⁸

Scott then suggests that all known and observed relationships between the subordinate and the dominant are a representation of the encounter of the public transcript of the dominated and the public transcript of the dominant. However, there are three characteristics which emerge from the hidden transcripts: the

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

first is that "the hidden transcript is specific to a given social site and to particular set of actors." Secondly, "that it does not contain only speech acts but a whole range of practices". And thirdly, and critically important for our investigation is that "it is clear that the frontier between the public and hidden transcripts is a zone of constant struggle between dominant and subordinate - not a solid wall. The capacity of dominant groups to prevail - though never totally - in defining and constituting what counts as the public transcript and what as offstage is ... no small measure of their power. The unremitting struggle over such boundaries is perhaps the most vital arena for ordinary conflict, for everyday forms of class struggle."⁹⁹

The analysis of the hidden transcripts of the dominant and dominated unearths the "contradiction and possibilities", and looks below the complacent surface "that the public accommodation to the existing distribution of power, wealth, and status often represents."¹⁰⁰ For instance, the powerful also have got a hidden transcript which is very different from the public transcript. "It consists in those gestures and words that inflect, contradict or confirm what appears in the public transcript." Such a case has been exemplified in George Orwell's essay "Shooting the elephant", cited in Scott's book.¹⁰¹ This is from the time when he was a policeman in colonial Burma in the 1920s. An elephant which was on heat had broken its tether and was demolishing the bazaar. He was summoned to the scene with a gun in hand. Orwell wanted to observe the elephant until its heat had passed but what frustrated him was that, over two thousand colonial subjects had followed him and were watching and he suddenly realised

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.14.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.15

¹⁰¹ See pp.10-11.

that he had to shoot the elephant because the subjects expected him to do it.

And it was at this moment, as I stood there with the rifle in my hands, that I first grasped the hollowness, the futility of the white man's dominion in the East... I perceived in this moment that when the white man turns tyrant it is his own freedom that he destroys. ...For it is the condition of his rule that he shall spend his life trying to impress the natives, ...every crisis he has to do what the 'natives' expect of him....(so that he is) not to be laughed at.¹⁰²

In Orwell's example, we see that life is full of written scripts which one has to follow as an actor. If subordination requires one to wear a certain mask, so does domination. However, there are two differences, the first one is that if a subordinate does not follow the prescribed script, it is usually followed by a beating, whilst in Orwell's case he would have been ridiculed. Secondly, "that the necessary posing of the dominant derives not from weaknesses but from the ideas behind their rule, the kinds of claims they make to legitimacy."¹⁰³

Stressing the same point, Gerald West argues that "the dominant, for their part, also play a role in maintaining the appearance of the public transcript of deference and compliance. To call attention to detected forms of resistance and defiance might expose the fissures in their power and erode their authority and perhaps encourage other acts of insubordination. Elites, in other words, "have their own compelling reasons to preserve a public facade of unity, willing compliance, and respect and so keep conflict out of the public record."¹⁰⁴ This is clearly suggested in the above example.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.11.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ West, "Discerning the Contours Of Domination and Resistance in

The public transcript is a self-portrait of the dominant. It has to impress, naturalise their power and cover up the dirty laundry of their rule. For Scott, the difference between the public and hidden transcript and the hegemonic aspiration of the public transcript gives us four distinct varieties of political discourses: the first one takes "as its basis the flattering self-image of elites." Using this, some slaves in the example given by Scott were able to improve their condition without appearing to be seditious. The second difference is found in the hidden transcript itself where a dissonant political culture is possible, where vengeance, anger, self-actualisation is spoken but choked in the presence of the masters. Thirdly, there is the "politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in the public view but is designed to have a double meaning or shield the identity of the actors. Rumour, gossip, folktales, jokes, songs, rituals, codes, and euphemisms - a good part of the folk culture of subordinate groups-fit this description... Finally, the most explosive realm of politics is the rupture of the political *cordon sanitaire* between the hidden and public transcript."¹⁰⁵ In another literary reference, Scott uses the text from Mrs Poyser, she was tired of living in a miserable condition, she vented out her accusation at the squire who was fleeing when she said

You may run away from my words, sir, and you may go spinning underhand way o' doing us mischief (for you've got old Harry to your friend, though nobody else is, but I tell you for once as we're not dumb creatures to be abused and made money on by them as ha' got the lash i' their hands, for want o' knowing how t' undo the tackle. An if I'm th' only one as speaks my mind, there's plenty o' the some way o' thinking i' this parish and the next to 't, for your name's no better than a brimstone match in everybody's nose.¹⁰⁶

In the above example, Mrs Poyser makes her hidden transcript public, "but such moments of challenge and open defiance

Liberation Hermeneutics: do the poor and marginalized speak?", p.24.
¹⁰⁵ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p.19.

typically provoke either a swift stroke of repression or, if unanswered, often lead to further words and acts of daring."¹⁰⁷ In the case of Mrs Poyser she delivered this in a state of anger, "the spontaneity lay in the timing and vehemence of the delivery, not the content." However, as usually happens, the content had been rehearsed several times. She had recited quite a number of imaginary speeches in the last twelve months more provocative than the one the squire heard. Most of us unconsciously formulate and recite speeches when we sometime suffer humiliation at the hands of the dominant. More often than not these speeches are never voiced in public except maybe among fellow subordinates.

5. The use of the theoretical frameworks

In the interaction between the public and hidden transcript the crucial aspect for our study is the, "unremitting struggle over such boundaries is perhaps the most vital arena for ordinary conflict, for everyday forms of class struggle."¹⁰⁸ This "unremitting struggle" was faced by the local clergy in South Africa on an almost daily basis. The dominant, in this case the German, French, and English missionaries, tried all possible means to have the local priests abide by the public transcript, and sometimes this succeeded and at times it failed. The rupture from the public transcript was usually met by a "swift stroke of repression", that is, suspension, not being allowed to say mass, alleged mental illness etc. These issues will be examined in greater detail in the third and fourth chapters.

These three authors, Blaut, Comaroff, and Scott, will help us go beyond, what Maluleke termed, the "tired 'apartheid-

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p.19.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p 14.

oppression framework' which is very uncreative and can be counter-productive. It denies the colonised people any history but mainly oppression." The apartheid-oppression framework has been largely exhausted by scholars in South Africa and elsewhere. With the help of these conceptual frameworks we look at reality more critically of how the locally born priests, were oppressed in the church because they were black and where apartheid existed as a structural oppression. Although we acknowledge the legislated discrimination, that existed in South Africa, this thesis examines the power dynamics at another level. It is not merely a description of events but an analysis of the interaction between missionaries and black priests where power played a vital role.

These writers (Blaut, Scott and Comaroffs) help to explain the two-way dynamic interaction between the missionary and local clergy. More history will be credited to the black Catholic priests than just oppression. The interaction to be examined in this thesis emerged firstly with the first black Catholic priests, usually referred to as the first four, then with the second generation of priests (FFJs), The Oblates of Mary Immaculate and seculars under the Bishop Fleischer, at St. Mary's Minor seminary, and with the third generation from Pevensey to St. Peter's in Hammanskraal, Pretoria. Blaut, will shed more light on the enigma of the attitudes of the Europeans (core) towards the South African and African clergy (periphery) as whole. In the past and even today, South Africa is a marginal country, politically and geographically. Most of the decisions in all sectors of life - the economy, politics, culture and religion are directly or indirectly controlled from outside, usually the core. The Catholic church is no exception, even today it is controlled from outside. Using Blaut's theory of diffusionsim, the researcher hopes that the interactions, attitudes, misunderstandings which transpired between the white

and black priests will be illustrated in a clearer manner, and soon not just as a question of race, but also of power and culture.

The Comaroffs, will help us understand the hegemony which was established in the Catholic church, which affected the black priests. Concepts from James Blaut and James Scott will also shed light on the kind of ideology which emerged to contradict the dominant one. In fact one finds that power domination and hegemony have a two-fold dimension: the external and the internal. The former, referring to the power that is between the centres of power outside the country, its agents or allies within the country and the dominated. The latter refers to the power that is between competing actors within the country. Both these dimensions play a significant role in the power dynamics and decision making in the church.

Although it will not be possible to completely unravel the hidden transcript of the black Catholic clergy, Scott provides some clues for detecting this hidden transcript. As I said earlier on, the history which is available about these priests was mainly written from a missionary's point of view. The few mistakes committed by the priests are exaggerated. Since most of the sources used for the clergy are archival sources, they are loaded with an heavy ambience of the public transcript of the dominant. So how do we get to the hidden transcript of the subordinate? With the help of Scott, we will see that most of the oral interviews conducted offers us clues on the hidden transcript of the priests. This in turn sheds more light on power, hegemony, domination and resistance. South Africa has been characterised by divisions and conflict in the past. Its history has been shaped by slavery, colonialism and finally apartheid. Scott explains these dynamics of the oppressed in all these categories. Hence, his theories will be an invaluable

resource to understand the interactions between the missionary and local clergy.

After unpacking our theoretical framework it is appropriate to pose the following questions: How did the church come to Africa and who brought it? Was it missionaries alone or in collaboration (working, assisting, and helping) with the colonial governments? What impact did the centralisation of the church have on the "natives" and the black priests? What were the relationships between firstly, the converted and the missionaries and secondly, between the indigenous priests and the missionaries? How was African culture viewed - as barbaric, heathen, savage, or kaffir? When the time had come for black ministers to take over the leadership of the church, were they given that opportunity? And if they were, what happened? Why is there little or no mention of issues which were pertinent to the priests? They seem simply to be quiet! There are so many questions which will be posed as we go along and most of them relate to issues of power, hegemony, ideology, domination and resistance.

6. Conclusions

In this chapter we have looked at three theoretical frameworks from Blaut, Scott and the Comaroffs. The researcher observed that the conceptual themes will be useful to to decipher the interaction which occurred between the black priests and their missionary counterparts. It was also shown that theories are necessary to evaluate and critique the relationship between these two parties. In the following chapter, I shall examine the missionary movements in Africa. A continuous narrative will be provided to ascertain when the Roman Catholic Church was established in Africa, especially South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONARY ENDEAVOURS IN AFRICA

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a continuous narrative, with a critical analysis of the Roman Catholic policy towards the training of local clergy. To do this, the researcher will briefly sketch the policy from the 16th to the 20th century. In tracing the Holy See's policy towards mission territories from the 16th through to the 20th century, other relevant points will be highlighted, specifically the work of the White Fathers, which also influenced early missionaries in South Africa. For instance, Abbot Francis Pfanner adopted some methods of the White Fathers in founding the Mariannhill mission and so did the Natal Oblates.¹⁰⁹ The missionary venture in South Africa especially among the Mariannhill Congregation, can be described by what Bosch calls the "'three C's' of colonialism: Christianity, Commerce, and Civilisation."¹¹⁰ These missionaries, while evangelising the people, were at the same time carrying the torch of colonialism. The London Missionary Society Superintendent, John Philip put it cogently:

Mission stations are the most efficient agents which can be employed to promote the internal strength of our colonies, and the cheapest and best military posts that a wise government can employ to defend its frontiers against the predatory incursion of savage tribes."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Joy B. Brain, *Catholics in Natal II, 1886-1925* (Durban: Archdiocese of Durban, 1982), pp.214 & 251.

¹¹⁰ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shift in Theology of Mission* (New York: Orbis Books, 1993), p.305.

¹¹¹ John Philip, *Researches in South Africa* (London: James Duncan,

The chapter will emphasise the "three C's" above and finally, the researcher will summarise and highlight important points in this period.

2. The Catholic Mission to the World

On the missionary activities of the church, Karl Rahner noted that

...the actual concrete activity of the church in its relation to the world outside of Europe was in fact (if you pardon the expression) the activity of an export firm which exported a European religion as a commodity it did not really want to change but sent throughout the world together with the rest of this supposedly superior culture and civilisation...¹¹²

The missionary endeavour which received new impetus from the 16th up to the early 19th century grew out of the Counter-Reformation. It commenced with two things, firstly the colonial expansion of Portugal and Spain which brought the church in contact with 'pagans' after it had been cut off by Islam; and secondly, the splendid spiritual renewal of the Counter-Reformation which influenced young men from most European countries to follow in the footsteps of St. Francis Xavier and open up missions in the East.¹¹³ Most European Christians did not have any doubt concerning the superiority of their faith, culture, mental capacity over others.¹¹⁴ Influenced by their Greco-Roman antecedents¹¹⁵ they looked down upon other people and their cultures and thought that they had to set the norms

1828b), p.227.

¹¹² Quoted in Eugene Hillman, *Inculturation Applied: Toward an Africa Christianity* (New York & Mahwah, N.J: Paulist Press, 1993), p.36.

¹¹³ Adrian Hastings, *The World Mission of the Church*, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, Ltd, 1964), p.25; Jean-Marc Ela,, *Africa Cry* (New York: Orbis Books, 1986, p18.

¹¹⁴ See Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Chapter 3 - Africa Observed.

¹¹⁵ The Greeks called other nations *barbaroi* and the Roman including members of other great "civilisation" looked down upon others as being inferior to them.

for the entire human race.¹¹⁶ There were some exceptions of course, for instance Bartolomé de Las Casas in South America who protested against the abuse of native Americans.

In most cases in history the superiority complex was common among the dominant and powerful over the weak and subordinated. With the early civilisations like Babylonians, Romans, Assyrians, it was possible for the weak to be dominant and vice versa because they also had access to similar means and weaponry. Great empires like Assyrian, Persian, and Roman all rose and fell because they had access to similar weapons, so one empire could be powerful for three centuries only to be taken over by another because they were more or less on the same level. With the Catholics of the Counter-Reformation the situation was different. During this period both Protestants and Catholics were actively involved in trying to convert one another. The mission of Catholics to Protestants took the following three forms: Firstly, theological controversy among the leading Catholic theologians of the time including Francis of Sales and the Jesuit, Bellarmine. Most Catholic theologians of this period were involved in internal disagreements about matters such as predestination and free will. There was not much new or inventive theology. However, Cardinal Caesar Baronius and a group of Jesuits called the Bollandists were beginning to develop a critical church history, different from the chronicles of the Middle Ages.

Secondly, there was a strong mission for conversion where efforts at conversion and counter-conversion went on all over Europe. Although both Catholics and Protestants were able to win some converts, the numbers of people on either side did not change much. However, this conversion effort continued for 400 years, until the growth of ecumenism in the twentieth century.

¹¹⁶ Hillman, *Inculturation Applied: Toward an Africa Christianity*,

Lastly, wars of religion went on in Europe for more than 100 years after the Reformation. These wars were not merely religious, but were tied up with power politics. They finally came to an end in the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) which was fought mainly in Germany but involved France, Holland and the Scandinavian countries. As a result of this war, the German empire was divided into 350 minor states. France emerged as the chief Catholic power in Europe, and Brandenburg-Prussia as the chief Protestant power.

The Enlightenment period, which was followed by the advance in technology and science, put the West at a conspicuous advantage over the rest of the world. For instance, firearms and compass were developed throughout the Middle Ages. The first guns appeared in the 14th century. Compasses were known in Europe in the 12th century and improved in the 15th century. After the Enlightenment European nations began to use both firearms and compasses to develop their power and spread their influence.¹¹⁷ This meant that a few countries had tools and knowledge greatly superior to others and so the West established itself as a master in almost all fields. And Christians shared the same superior world-view.¹¹⁸ The uncivilised regions were thought to be full of darkness, blindness, and superstitions as is expounded by Blaut in his description of the difference between the core and the periphery. This was the cultural conquest of the people in the periphery by the West. The whole conquest process is interestingly depicted by Enrique Dussel in the following way:

p.36.

117 See Southern R, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970) and Chadwick H, *The Reformation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985).

118 David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm shifts in Theology of Mission* (New York: Orbis books, 1992), p.291.

"...the conqueror ... controls by force of arms, and then by violence imposes upon another human being (such as the Indian, the African, the Asian, the masses, the worker, or the defenseless) the conqueror civilisation, religion, and deified cultural system in its ideological totality. Pedagogical domination is dialectical... for it is the means by which the cultural totality of the father, the empire, or the oligarchy establishes dominion over another by controlling his or her analytical horizon."¹¹⁹

There are many instances of this process of subjugating the weaker communities in history. Two examples will suffice to highlight the process. Firstly, at the mission of St. Francis Xavier at Goa, in India, the converts who responded to the Jesuit missionaries were deprived of their rich tradition, native surnames and had to change their hairstyles.¹²⁰ Secondly, the severest recorded instance of domination by the West is seen in the pontifical backing of Portuguese and Spanish control over new territories this was given in a papal bull, *Dum Diversis* to the king of Portugal in 1492, by Pope Nicholas V, where he gave the king:

...full and entire faculty of invading, conquering, expelling and reigning over all kingdoms... of the Saracens, of pagans, and of infidels, wherever they may be found; of reducing their inhabitants to perpetual slavery; of appropriating to yourself those kingdoms and all their possessions for your own use and that of your successors.¹²¹

This bull initiated the "*Padroado Real* in Portuguese, and *Patronato* (or *Patronazgo*) in Spanish."¹²² It became very difficult to distinguish between the cross and the crown (church and state), as they became so fused. For example, some religious orders, like the Dominicans, had a strong presence at the king's court in Lisbon. Hence, they preached the gospel and

¹¹⁹ Dussel, *A History of the Church in Latin America*, p.6.

¹²⁰ Hillman, *Inculturation Applied: Toward an Africa Christianity*, p.37.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² C.R.Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion 1440-1770* (Baltimore: the John Hopkins University Press, 1978), p.72. See also Enrique Dussel's section on the "The *Patronato* System as an Institution of Christendom" in *A History of the Church in Latin*

also advocated that they were servants of the colonial forces. The Portuguese and Spanish crowns were given specific rights and privileges by Rome to establish missions in the newly conquered areas. We should bear in mind that after 1492 the training of indigenous clergy changed altogether as Ogbu Kalu notes:

After 1492, the concept of indigenous clergy became very complicated because among other things, the races in the discovered regions were very different. This brought up racial prejudice and most Europeans thought that they were superior to them. This then made the Europeans to think not critically though that they had a mission to bring the gospel and Europeanisation to the new territories.¹²³

The climax of the Iberian royal patronage¹²⁴ is seen in 1514, when Leo X issued a brief *Praecelse Devotionis*, which had the following implications: the rulers of Portugal and Spain had the right to build or allow the building of places of worship like churches, cathedrals, monasteries, and convents within the sphere of their rule or patronage; they were also authorised to present to the Pontificate a list of suitable candidates for most of the colonial archbishoprics, bishoprics and abbeys; and the kings had the right to administer ecclesiastical jurisdiction and to veto papal enactments, this was the so-called right of the *retencion de bulas*.¹²⁵

In 1518 Leo X issued a *Brief* in which he praised the ruler of Portugal for his activity in defending and spreading the faith in Africa, Ethiopia, and Arabia. He also authorised the royal chaplain to ordain "Ethiopians, Indians and Africans who might

America Colonialism to Liberation (1492-1979).

¹²³ Kalu, "Church Presence in Africa: A Historical Analysis of the Evangelisation Process", p.17.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.79, See also Philippe Denis, *The Dominicans Friars in Southern Africa: A Social History (1577-1990)*, p.4, where he says, "He was also allowed to administer ecclesiastical jurisdiction and revenues and to veto papal bulls and briefs which were not first cleared through his chancery.

reach the moral and educational standard required for priesthood."¹²⁶ This rhetoric has continued into the twentieth century, though with less brutal methods than employed by others in the previous centuries. The Christian West felt that it had the right to impose its world-views on conquered subjects. This, later on led to the development of a theology of the West which totally excluded the theology of non-European countries. However, later missionaries, for instance, Matteo Ricci (d.1610) in China, and Roberto de Nobili (d.1656) in India, were more sensitive and respected the cultures of the people to whom they were presenting the gospel.¹²⁷ Recently, some theologians have argued against European domination for instance, the development of Liberation Theology in Latin America.¹²⁸

With the granting of patronages, Rome was to encounter problems with the rulers of empires who held direct control over these territories, and some of Rome's directives were not executed as desired.¹²⁹ Wherever Spain and Portugal reigned, Rome feared that Christianity might appear to be incomplete, as it was translated from the colonial ruler's point of view and not from that of the church. Christ was presented as a "national God" helping these nations in their conquest, rather than as a universal God. For the Christians under this system it seemed normal to work hand in hand with the colonisers, but gradually differences were to arise.

Later, the Roman Catholic Church favoured a more complete independence for its missionary work when it formed the Sacred Congregation for Propagation of Faith (SCPF) in 1622 to look

¹²⁶ Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion 1440-1770*, p.4.

¹²⁷ Hastings, *The World Mission of the Church*, p.26.

¹²⁸ See Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation* (New York: Orbis Books, 1988), pp.xix and 51-4.

¹²⁹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shift in Theology of Mission*, p.228.

after mission territories. Though the church appreciated the help offered by Portugal and Spain, "the church could not, in many important instances see eye to eye with the policy advocated by the agents of those two governments." The difference in opinion was to force the papacy to separate the church missionaries from these states. The Roman Catholic Church made suggestions which would ensure that the direction of the missions was in its own hands.

Another difference which arose between the colonial powers and the papacy was the issue concerning the formation of native clergy, which is our main concern in this thesis. Portugal and Spain did not appear to be concerned about the training of native clergy. To a certain extent this is exemplified in the Americas: In 1555 the Council of Mexico was initiated by the Spanish because they mistrusted the natives and objected to conferring holy orders on Amerindian, *mestizos*, and *mulattos*, descendants of the Moors and the half-castes.¹³⁰ In 1584, a third Council of Mexico allowed them to be admitted but only after careful selection. Seven years later, the Council of Lima excluded the Indians from all clerical orders, but the canonists added that exceptions could be made in favour of unusually gifted candidates, and soon royal decisions allowed sons of the third generation of Christians to aspire to the priesthood.¹³¹

The Holy See advocated keenly for indigenisation and was very impatient with the above issue. This is clearly seen in the letter which Pius V wrote to the king of Portugal in 1571 where the teaching on a native clergy is clearly laid out. The pope wrote that the faith must be implanted and be rooted among these people in such a way that in the event of the withdrawal

¹³⁰ Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion 1440-1770*, p.15.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, see Chapter one.

or the death of their first Apostles, the faith must be carried by the native clergy.¹³²

As early as 1571, Rome's teaching on the training of indigenous clergy clearly encouraged the recruitment of a native clergy. In 1584, three princes of Japanese origin, arrived in Rome after a journey of three years. At the solemn reception given to them by Pope Gregory XIII, the Portuguese Jesuit Consalvi declared: "As soon as the Pope (Gregory XIII) had learnt that Christianity was taking root in Japan, he had become convinced that real progress would not be assured unless the natives of that country were educated for the priesthood, and he was spared no expense to found a few colleges." The Jesuits, with the help of pontifical grants, had established four centres for the instruction of religious training of natives in Japan. Gregory XIII was so interested in the formation of an indigenous clergy "that he even allowed illegitimate and half-castes to become priests."¹³³ At this time the other pertinent problem was mass baptism. Rome, however, insisted that people be properly instructed before they were baptised.

Though the policy of the church encouraged indigenisation of the clergy, other elements were implicitly intertwined with this intention. The church was European in its origin; its liturgy was heavily influenced by Western values; and it took very little cognisance of the *milieu* of the mission territories i.e. culture, customs and traditions. For the people being evangelised, this Western view must have been very foreign and very different to their world-view. Furthermore, in some mission territories it was difficult to distinguish between mission and state, as Bosch expands: the origin of the term "mission" as we tend to use it today "presupposes the ambience of the West's colonisation of overseas territories and its

¹³² *Ibid.*

subjugation of their inhabitants. Therefore, since the sixteenth century, if one said 'mission', one in a sense also said 'colonialism'. Modern missions originated in the context of modern Western colonialism."¹³⁴

From the 15th century onwards, the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries followed the theocratic model of the unity of the church and state. The rulers knew inherently that, when they conquered a territory, they not only extended their political hegemony but also the defeated nation had to submit to their religion. Missionaries who arrived in the Americas after 1492, and the Cape of Good Hope after 1652 (we should note that missionary work at the Cape only began with the arrival of the Moravians in 1737), were told to defeat the people and evangelise them.¹³⁵ By the 18th century this had changed as the church and state were no longer inextricably intertwined.

In order to limit the power of the patronages, the church developed a way of countering this by forming a central organisation which was to deal with missionary issues.¹³⁶

2. The *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*

The initial idea of establishing a body to devote its energy to mission matters was originally linked to Raymond Lull in the 13th century. He appealed to Pope Celestine V and then later

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p.90.

¹³⁴ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm shifts in Theology of Mission*, p.303.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.228.

to Boniface VIII to establish a missionary body. In 1567, the petition was revived with the argument that the popes must have at least three congregations: the first one for converting the Greeks; another body for helping the Christians who were captured by the Moslems; and thirdly, a body to be in charge of the "Christian Apostolate". The urgency of such a body can be seen in the politics of the day. After 1492, when Christopher Columbus accidentally, came across the Americas, came the discovery of other 'unknown' territories. This opened up new lands, new peoples and new conquests for the church which believed that its natural mission was to evangelise the world. The Roman Catholic Church needed to act quickly since the Protestants, striving eagerly for commerce and colonial expansion, were also spreading the doctrines of their faith everywhere.¹³⁷

At the insistence of Francis Borgia, Pius V formed two temporary commissions for the Propagation of the Faith in 1568. They were set up to address the needs of countries with Moslems and non-Christian lands respectively. In 1599, a congregation of nine cardinals was established by Gregory XIII to look after missionary affairs and the national seminaries. The climax of this central body was reached on January 6, 1622,¹³⁸ with the formal establishment of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith by Gregory XV. Five months later, on 22 June 1622, with the Bull *Inscrutabili Divinae*, the *Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide* (SCPF) was instituted. (It will subsequently be referred to as Propaganda or SCPF). Propaganda comprised 13

¹³⁷ See J. Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum 1622-1972*, Freiburg im B., 197ff, I/I, 85, 116. See also R.H.S. Song, *The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the faith* (Washington, 1961); G. Goyau, *Missions and Missionaries*, (London, 1932); N. Kowalsky, *Pontificio Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide* (Rome, 1956); G. Stanghetti, *Prassi della S.C de Propaganda Fide* (Rome, 1943) and P. Guilday, "The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, 1622-1922," *Catholic History Review* 6 (1921) 478-494.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

cardinals, two prelates and one secretary and a consultor were added. After Gregory XV's death in 1624, Cardinal Barberini, one of the original members of the congregation, succeeded him as Pope Urban VIII and carried the work of the congregation even further.¹³⁹

There was an urgent need to form the congregation as there was a lack of unity in the methodology of the missionaries from different religious orders. Spain and Portugal exercised a great deal of power over the administration of their mission because of the right of patronage given to them by the earlier popes. The control of the missions needed to be centralised and Rome saw the urgency for this. Though Portugal and Spain posed a hindrance, the papacy went ahead and created the congregation.

After its first meeting on January 14, 1622, Rome immediately sent letters to the apostolic nuncios, generals of orders and heads of missions. It wanted a report on the status, progress and the means used to propagate the faith. Francesco Ingoli, the first secretary for 20 years, started processing the answers which poured in. Through this slow process, SCPF was able to gain a great wealth of information and at the same time to draw out principles which were to help and guide future ministry.

Some of the problems which emerged were: not enough missionaries; a lack of knowledge of native languages and cultures; involvement by some missionaries in mercenary activities; the antagonism between missionary orders; the failure to develop a native clergy; and a lack of willingness

¹³⁹ R. Hoffman, "Propagation of the Faith, Congregation for the "in *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol.XI, (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1984) p.842. The author defines the functions of SCPF, as the department of the Holy See charged with the direction and administration of missionary activity of the church. (p.840)

to adapt to indigenous cultural values. After having studied the problems, SCPF went ahead and suggested remedies. It set out to improve the missionary methods; increase the numbers of workers in the field; and encouraged the establishment of local clergy. There was a big emphasis on centralisation and the spiritual character of the mission.¹⁴⁰ This meant that the theology of Propaganda was conservative and it became bogged down with administrative issues.

Although Propaganda was given jurisdiction over most of the mission territories, it received tremendous opposition, not only from the Portuguese and Spanish governments, but also from the religious orders that wanted to hold on to their privileges granted to them by past pontificates. To promote unity and uniformity,¹⁴¹ Propaganda decreed that all missionary faculties should be obtained directly from them. Regarding the establishment of a seminary, Pope Urban VIII had seen that the incentive given by the Council of Trent to establish seminaries had produced excellent and rewarding results. The Pope, however, saw that it was indeed necessary to establish a central ecclesiastical seminary specifically for the missions where young clerics could be educated, "not only for countries which had no national college but also for such as were endowed with such institutions. It seemed very fascinating to have, in most countries, priests educated at the 'international college where they would acquire a larger personal acquaintance, and establish in youth relations that might be mutually helpful in after life' ".¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Walbert Bühlmann, *The Coming of the Third Church: an analysis of the present and future of the church* (Britain: St. Paul Publication, 1974), pp.190-191.

¹⁴¹ The Catholic church usually confuses Unity and Uniformity, for the church in Africa, this has to be linked to the church in Europe, see Kalilombe, "Self-Reliance of the African Church: A Catholic Perspective", p.43.

¹⁴² See R. Hoffman, "Propagation of the Faith, Congregation for the," in *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol.XI, (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1984) p.841. The above quote say the aim of the seminary was

Thus, a seminary of Propaganda called Collegium Urbanum named after its founder Urban VIII was established by the Bull *Immortalis Dei Filius* of August 1 1627. Its main aim was "to train for secular priesthood candidates from all nations who would, at the command of the pope, propagate or defend the faith anywhere in the world, even at the risk of their lives."¹⁴³ The seminary was placed under the direction of Propaganda. It was understood that the territory of Propaganda was conterminous with Protestant governments but there were exceptions. Most regions in Africa fell under Propaganda with the exception of Egypt, Northern Ethiopia, Algeria, Tunisia, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea, and the Canary Island.¹⁴⁴ One of the greatest problems with the seminary training was its Tridentine character. The teaching was in Latin and neo-scholastic manuals were followed. It proved to be very difficult to train priests from the missions and the training was not easily adopted in new situations.¹⁴⁵

With Propaganda taking over most of the missionary endeavours, it became more possible to stamp out the belief that clergy under Portugal or Spain were a mere extension of the state - a colonial clergy! Propaganda had a bigger plan for the mission territories. The sharp contradictions in this position will be discussed in chapter two and three. For the mind of Propaganda,

"To establish in youth relations that might be mutually helpful in after life" this is clearly exemplified in Fr. Edward Mnganga's case, who went to study at Propaganda in 1887. In 1923, the Right Rev. Mgr. Hook, from England wrote to the bishop saying, "I have the honour to enclose a small alms for Zululand mission. I was a student some 30 years ago in Rome with a Zulu priest, but I fear *lapsus est a grati*. I think his name was Muller. May I ask a kind prayer, as my health is very poor." (Letter addressed to the bishop, The Presbytery, Queen's Road, Aberystwyth, Wales, England, 5 Sept.1923). So the future possibilities considered by Propaganda actually did occur in some cases.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, p.229.

¹⁴⁵ See Philippe Denis, "Clergy Training" in Joy Brain and Philippe Denis (eds), *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Southern Africa*

European missionaries had to slowly make room for a native clergy from the missions.

The development of precise canon law, central administration and a standard seminary were a recipe for a rigid and unaccommodating church. The natural adaptation of church life to new societies was prevented by canon law, as all new proposals had to be presented to Rome. The centralisation caused huge problems because every action had to be referred to Rome, and it often took years before a reply was given. The seminary training, with its Tridentine character, prevented the development of a holistic ministry which could accept the different cultural backgrounds of the new converts. The growth of ministry lagged behind because the practical details were very difficult (e.g. the duration of training, the use of Latin), and due to these factors very few native priests persevered.¹⁴⁶

Today, centralisation is still a problem and it persists to a large extent. SCPF has to deal with about 6,000 cases dealing with administration, finance, vocations of the church in the missions, the centralisation of the church tends to consider cases not on a particular and individual basis, but on precedents (the law). This then divorces the church from reality, that is the local church which is situated in a mission far away from Rome. The personnel at SCPF is there to satisfy the needs of their superiors and not the demands of the local church. Everyone has to adapt to the system, "the errand-boy system."¹⁴⁷ It would seem that administration has bogged down the work of Propaganda. Yet despite this, the Catholic missionary movement has been fairly successful in evangelising

(Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1999), p.131.

¹⁴⁶ Hastings, *The World Mission of the Church*, pp.33-34.

¹⁴⁷ Bühlmann, *The Coming of the third Church*, pp.185-6.

people and has made significant progress in as far as native priests are concerned.

There were colonial tendencies in the way the SCPF was run, for instance, the Roman Catholic mission to non-Catholics was exclusively assigned to the pope. In the mission countries, the diocesan bishops were replaced by titular bishops, who performed ecclesiastical functions on behalf of the pope. Hence, they were known as "Vicar Apostolic". This meant that the churches in the mission fields did not have the same autonomy as the churches in the Christian World (those not under the jurisdiction of SCPF). They were under the control of Rome. As Bosch expands

They were, in a sense, subsidiaries of Rome, "missions", churches of the second class, daughter churches, immature worshipping communities, frequently the object of Western paternalism. The vicars apostolic possessed only delegated authority, since the pope alone was the ordinary. He would, on the basis of the *Jus commissionis* (right of commissioning) "entrust" new mission territories to a specific missionary order or congregation. In this way rivalries between the missionaries from different nations and order were precluded.¹⁴⁸

This system, in essence, is an example of diffusionism where the churches in the missions fields were not given full authority. They had to depend on power delegated from the centre. Neither was it possible for them to be independent or initiators. The 'original' ideas and administrations had to come from Rome, France, Germany and Great Britain - from the core to the periphery, the 'unknown', 'heathen', 'savage'. However, this policy did not only apply to mission territory but also to areas which Rome had lost to Protestantism. These territories were treated as "missions" until the twentieth century.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Bosch, *Transforming Mission, Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, p.229.

¹⁴⁹ From the late 1960s more bishops from the third world have been ordained and therefore incorporated in the SCPF hence new thinking has been pumped into propaganda, the administration is now carried out by

4. Early Catholic clergy in Africa

To make sense of the early clergy in Africa, I will follow the following geographical order: Africa in General; West and Central Africa and Southern Africa.

4.1 Africa in General

The period from 1880 to 1920, is known as the "high imperial era". It was the time of "the scramble for Africa," politically and ecclesiastically, where colonial governments praised the work of missions and missionaries. The evangelists also recognised the value of their colonial authorities. Numerous examples have portrayed this relationship between colonial authorities and missionaries in history. For instance, when the French Cardinal Lavigerie (1825-1892), "sent out his 'White Fathers' to Africa, he reminded them, '*Nous travaillons aussi pour la France*' We are working for France [as well as for the kingdom of God]".¹⁵⁰ The same applied to the British United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG). In a book commemorating two centuries of their work, they praised the expansion of the empire on the one hand, and its imperial spiritual side on the other. The empire was built on the best foundation, that is politics and religion.¹⁵¹

cardinals from the third world, and there groups which try to promote dialogue with other major superiors.

¹⁵⁰ Bosch, *Transforming Mission, Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, p.304. See also Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Mission* (Hammondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), where he says that "Lavigerie was a patriotic Frenchman as well as an ecclesiastical statesman of real stature; it seemed to him that the extension of French influence and Roman Catholic teaching could go forward together in an area which so far was outside the sphere of any of the European powers", p.431.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

During the 17th century, the missionary endeavour of the Holy See is evident with the establishment of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith and its emphasis on evangelisation of the people in the newly discovered continents of America, Africa and Asia. The emphasis lay in proper instruction of the people and not mass baptism. Another important element was that the missionaries should learn the languages of the indigenous people and, after sufficient instruction had been carried out, a local clergy was developed so that the church could take its root amongst the people. Underlying these good intentions were elements of a superiority complex, colonialism, diffusionism, and Euro-ethnocentrism. The modern missionary movements were directly influenced by these factors.

In the 19th century, the missionary activities owed much to what was happening in Europe. The French Catholics were highly mobilised in their missionary awareness. This followed the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith by Pauline Jaricot in 1822. In 1843, another association called the Holy Childhood Association was established. "This gave an opportunity for Catholic children to reach out in love to the children of the mission territories and was directly responsible for countless missionary vocations."¹⁵² In 1889 the Society of St. Peter the Apostle was established. Its aim was to promote the training of priests in mission lands. It originated in France and highlighted the need for an indigenous clergy.

As we shall establish in chapter four, although these societies were created with good intentions, in effect they created problems for the new church. The non-Western world grew to be

¹⁵² Raymond Hickey, (ed.) *Modern Missionary Documents; Issued by Popes and Roman Synods* (Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1982), p.5.

dependant on the Western church for a very long time, as their finances had to always come from these societies.¹⁵³

With the founding of these societies, new missionary vigour emerged with new congregations which received substantial financial help from these societies. The first one was the Congregation of the Holy Spirit founded by Francis Libermann in 1840. Bishop de Marion Bresillac of Lyons established the Society of Africa Missions in 1856. And lastly, there was Cardinal Lavigerie's missionary crusade of the White Fathers and Sisters. All these directed their efforts to Africa. Lavigerie carried out his missionary quests when he was appointed Archbishop of Algiers and Carthage. Of great significance were his methods of evangelisation which were adopted by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Trappist monks in Natal. Suffice it to say, the form of Christianity came in the cultural robe of the West. But what is crucial to our discussion is Lavigerie's attitude to the establishment of the local clergy. Lavigerie's society was willing to establish missions and then withdraw when the time was ripe, although this did not mean that they all left. Some experts remained and served under the indigenous bishops. Hence, his primary aim was to establish a local church, so that the indigenous people and clergy could take over the running of the church.

Though these societies were evangelists for Christianity, they were also working hand in hand with colonial authorities. For instance, Cardinal Lavigerie told his missionaries when they left that they were also working for France. In principle the missionaries would say that they were working for God, but practically they also worked with the governments. Another example is that of the Holy Ghost Fathers of Fr. Francis

¹⁵³ See Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, pp.51-55, where he deals adequately with the theory of dependence of the periphery on the centre.

Libermann, who signed an accord with the French government that the "... congregation would endeavour to bring the moral influence of evangelised blacks under the control of the French colonial administration, and the government, for its part, the government would provide the missionaries with lodging, transportation, travel expenses, subsidy for their novitiate, and outright grants to their fathers and brothers." And according to Jean-Marc Ela, the Holy Ghost seminary in Paris is still a 'colonial seminary'.¹⁵⁴

My contention in this section is to highlight the discrepancy which existed between Rome's wish for indigenisation and what actually happened in the missionary fields. It also shows that missionary work came loaded with a lot of Western cultural values which were dominant in the new lands. These had positive and negative repercussions on the recipients.

4.2 East, West and Central Africa

For the purpose of our investigation we trace the Catholic attempt to establish a mission in West Africa from 1842, when Monsignor Barron arrived at Cape Palmas.¹⁵⁵ Although it seemed to be an appropriate moment for the church to begin its mission, Mgr Barron got discouraged and resigned. Three years later he was replaced by the Holy Ghost Fathers, who achieved very little. From 1840 to 1880, missionary work in West Africa was largely that of repeated failure. The missionaries mainly stayed on the coast where the conditions, especially the

¹⁵⁴ Ela, *African Cry*, p.17.

¹⁵⁵ Work of a limited nature had begun in West Africa, it was mainly concentrated at St. Louis in Senegal with the Spiritans. Three Senegalese Spiritans were ordained priests, afterwards there was no progress in as far as local vocations were concerned. See Hastings, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa*, p.71 and Philippe Denis, "The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa: An Agenda for Further Research" in *Bulletin for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, Vol.2, April, 1995, p.6.

climate, were not very favourable, and to make matters worse the Europeans traders rarely improved things since they did not even penetrate and develop the hinterland.¹⁵⁶

The most effective Catholic missionary endeavour began after 1880, when the interior was penetrated and more efforts were made to evangelise the African society. The Protestants had far more success with their missionary work, initially at the Cape and Sierra Leone. They expanded rapidly, and in 1844, the Church Missionary Society arrived in Mombasa in East Africa; and David Livingstone was sent by the London Missionary society to join Robert Moffat who was working amongst the Tswana.¹⁵⁷ Even at this time the distinction between Church and State was a very thin line. For instance, Livingstone's explorations were carried out with the intention of opening the regions for trade with the British government and he was also a missionary. As he said in his famous Cambridge lectures, "I go back to Africa (to) ...open a path for Commerce and Christianity".¹⁵⁸ This captures the underlying ideology of Christianity allying itself with imperialism. The two roles were usually intricately intertwined.¹⁵⁹ By the close of the nineteenth century, a network of Protestant missionaries had grown extensively. The Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) from the Anglican church had also opened mission stations on the West and East Coast of Africa, and Methodist and Congregationalist missions also grew vastly. The Presbyterians in Nyasaland and the Baptists established missions in the Congo. In Basutoland, the Paris Evangelical Mission commanded huge success. The only hiccup for

¹⁵⁶ Hastings, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa*, p.72.

¹⁵⁷ See the Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, on their great analysis of the non-conformist missionaries in the 19th century.

¹⁵⁸ Ogbu Kalu, "Church Presence in Africa: An Historical Analysis of the Evangelisation Process" in K. Appiah-Kubi, & S. Torres, (eds), *African Theology en route* (New York: Orbis Books, 1983), p.18.

¹⁵⁹ Ela, *African Cry*, p.15.

the Protestant mission was French West Africa, which they failed to develop on a large scale.¹⁶⁰

The political scramble for Africa intensified after 1880 and this was also followed by the missionary scramble for Africa. Suffice it to say, there was a close link between the colonisers and the missionaries, who worked hand in hand. The Catholic church also increased its personnel after 1880 with new societies joining those already in the field. The first were the Holy Ghost Fathers who had successful missions on the East and West Coast of Africa, from Nigeria, through the Congo to Tanganyika. Later, they were joined by the Society of Missions of Africa (S.M.A.) of Monsignor de Bresillac. They also worked in Nigeria, Dahomey and the Gold Coast. The White Fathers of Lavigerie, whom we shall return to in section 4.4, refused to work on the coast and instead went inland from the East and West coast. They established vicariates in Southern and Eastern Uganda. Their work also extended from Tanganyika, through the Congo to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. On the West coast they began to work around the upper Volta. The Verona Fathers worked in Sudan, around the Nile River. The vocations in Africa received financial assistance from organisations like the Society of St. Peter the Apostle (1889) which been formed to help train priests in mission territories. The researcher will now discuss the establishment of the Roman Catholic church in Southern Africa.

4.3 Southern Africa

Since our thesis focusses on South Africa, we shall discuss the arrival of early missionaries and the establishment of the church at great length.

¹⁶⁰ Hastings, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa*, p.73.

4.3.1 Setting the Scene

Bartholomew Diaz arrived from Catholic Portugal in 1488 and erected a cross near the mouth of the Bushman's River on the eastern Cape coast. A small church was built in Mossel Bay in 1501, but apart from that there is no evidence of Catholic missionary work until well into the nineteenth century. During the period from 1652 to 1795 Catholicism was forbidden in South Africa under the rule of the Dutch East India Company, and also under the British when they occupied the Cape for the first time from 1795 to 1802. Only occasional visits by priests travelling on Portuguese or French boats were allowed. For a short time, while when the Cape was under the Dutch again in 1804, religious tolerance prevailed and three Dutch priests arrived in Cape Town but were sent back when the British took over in 1806.¹⁶¹

It was only in 1820 that the Catholic community were allowed to officially worship in public and they got their first resident bishop in 1837. The Vicariate of the Cape of Good Hope was erected on 6 June 1837, by Pope Gregory XVI. The new bishop, Patrick Raymond Griffith, was consecrated by Archbishop Murray of Dublin on 14 April 1838. With the help of two priests Burke and Corcoran, they started establishing the Catholic church in South Africa. When the bishop arrived, there were only 700 Catholics, but just before his death in 1862, the number had increased to 30 000. The initial ministry of the Church was to white settlers mainly of Irish descent and very little was done for the indigenous people of South Africa. Other Christian missions were far ahead of the Catholic church in this regard. Evangelisation in the Catholic circles only started in the

¹⁶¹ *The Catholic Directory of Southern Africa 1996/97* (Pretoria: SACBC, 1996), pp.24-26. See also John de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South*

second half of the nineteenth century and took off in the twentieth century.¹⁶²

4.3.1.1 Expansion of the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa

By the end of 1838, Aidan Devereux, a priest from Ireland followed Bishop Griffith to South Africa and, in 1846, he relieved Thomas Murphy in Grahamstown, who was on leave overseas. The following year, Murphy returned, bringing from Rome the Brief nominating Dr. Aidan Devereux as the first bishop of the Eastern Vicariate. Already, Griffith had complained about the vastness of the territory, and Devereux and Griffith had mainly concentrated their mission work amongst the settlers. But they saw the need for evangelisation across the Orange River. When Bishop Devereux went to Rome he showed Propaganda the map of the area which comprised native tribes and their chiefs. There were few settlers across the Orange River to establish any form of government so the indigenous people were solely ruled by their chiefs. Hence a method of conversion thought to be ideal was to convert the chiefs first and then his or her subjects afterwards. Bishop Devereux suggested to the Holy See that a religious congregation would do a better job than he because he lacked funds and manpower.¹⁶³

Africa (Cape Town: David Philip, 1978).

¹⁶² See Philippe Denis, *The Dominican Friars in Southern Africa. A Social History 1577-1990* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

¹⁶³ Joy B. Brain, *Catholic Beginnings in Natal and Beyond* (Durban: T.W. Grigg & Co. Ltd., 1975), p.13-17. See also Jerome Z. Skhakhane, *The Catholic Pioneer attempts to Evangelise the Zulus* (Rome: Gregorian Pontifical University, Unpublished doctoral thesis, 1974).

4.3.1.1.1 Bishop Marie Jean Francois Allard (1851-1889) in Natal

In 1850 the Holy See invited the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) to undertake mission work in Natal. Marie Jean Francois Allard was consecrated bishop on 13 July 1851 and he arrived in South Africa on 15 March 1852 with the first group of Oblates. The territory he was to administer stretched from the Kei River in the south, extending to the north, up to the mouth of the Zambezi. There was no church, convent or school in this huge area. Within a year he built a church in Pietermaritzburg, the then capital of the Colony, and one in Durban. He also guided the work of one of his priest, Hoendervangers, in Bloemfontein and Smithfield.

Bishop Allard was sent to this region mainly to bring the gospel to the native population. As was noted in the previous chapter, the Oblates were one of the congregations involved in what was termed as the "ecclesiastical scramble" for Africa.¹⁶⁴ They came as part of the European imperialistic process, in the sense that they followed the settlers in their conquests. In this case, the territory north of the Kei river had become a British protectorate after 1847. For them, the native needed to be civilised and Christianised according to western values which entailed capitalism and Christianity. The Oblates were highly influenced by their background and culture which became evident in their encounter with indigenous people.

At the beginning of 1854, two Oblate priests from France, Justin Barret and Joseph Gérard, were sent to Pietermaritzburg to learn English and then Zulu. They established two mission stations at St. Michael's in 1858 and two years later at Our

¹⁶⁴ Hastings, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa*, p.74.

Lady of Seven Sorrows. These first attempts were a total failure as we will see in the following section.

4.3.1.1.2 Failure of the first Oblate mission

The two priests, Barret and Gérard had very little success at these missions in Natal. Analysing their failure, William E. Brown attributes it to the complexities of the Zulu culture. He says they failed, partly because the Zulu saw at once that Christianity meant the end of polygamy and consequently the changing of their social structure; and partly, that neither the bishop nor Joseph Gérard gave satisfactory answers to the questions posed by the Zulus. They saw that the white settlers were encroaching on their land and the missionaries were totally encroaching on their culture. There was immediate resistance as their world-view, which was taken for granted, was being threatened by the Western one. The evangelists were vehicles of hegemonic world-views which meant that they could bring in a totally new situation. The Zulus did not admire the poverty in which the priests lived and they did not even offer help in building the church, unless they were paid very well. When the church opened they were attracted by the ceremony, but during the instruction of the faith they seemed disinterested.¹⁶⁵

If we follow Blaut's analysis this exemplifies the case of the centre, in this case the Oblate missionary from Europe, trying to diffuse the supposedly "culturally superior" ideas together with the colonialism of the Western centre, to new areas, the periphery, in this case the Zulus of Natal. The missionaries thought that they were bringing "the good news" to the native who had to accept it. But this was not the case with the Zulu people.¹⁶⁶ The arrogance and superiority complex of the early

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World*, pp.14-17.

missionaries was clearly exhibited. They thought God had commanded them to evangelise all the people on earth and they were convinced that their ideas from Europe were superior and nobody could reject them.

The two missionaries were devastated by the response they got from the Zulu people. They tried to overturn the existing world-view of the Zulus with their actions and their visible presence through the building of the Church, but without much success. There was still the belief that Zulu and Xhosa were "savages". Whenever the missionaries were asked questions, they would be surprised, unsure about why they were being asked such questions by the natives.

The missionaries of the nineteenth century did not accept that "savages" were capable of abstract thought, rationality, or of being able to conceptualise their daily life, as we saw in Blaut's table.¹⁶⁷ The Oblates had met a challenge which proved to be difficult and they left for Lesotho. In order for the Oblates to convert the Zulu people, they articulated an ideology which was firstly Christian but also intertwined with their current context, that of colonialism. In order for the Zulu to be converted by the missionaries there had to be a "consensus" amongst the Zulus over certain ideas. But there were contradictions, and the Zulu opposed some of the Christian fundamental beliefs, such as the belief in saints, existence of hell, heaven and ancestors. The missionaries articulated a belief system to the Zulu which they contested and, according to the Comaroffs, once an ideology is contested, hegemony is never totally achieved. The significance of hegemony is that it offers an explanation of how power can be exercised and contested in such a way that it generates "consensus" across a whole spectrum of class and non-class ideologies in society.

¹⁶⁷ See chapter two.

There was a struggle to control the cultural terms by which the world was ordered, and with that, a struggle for the legitimacy of power. The Oblates dismally failed to win this "unremitting struggle", and so they left, leaving the Zulu world-view they found.¹⁶⁸ Although the missionaries, in general, conveyed the impression of being culturally, religiously and politically superior to the "savages", as the researcher has illustrated through the above situation, they experienced the defeat of Christianisation and Western imperialism in this first Oblate mission.

The resistance by the Zulu to the articulated Christian message of the Oblates is exemplified as follows: Gérard reported that at one time someone said "Leave us in our own situation." Another example was with the case of the ancestors. The missionaries showed a group of Zulus pictures of Joseph and Mary and told them to pray to them. For the Zulus, this was ridiculous as they did not believe they could leave their ancestors and pray to the ancestors of missionaries who were not known to them and very foreign. The missionaries used to sprinkle holy water. But the Zulus had their own water for sprinkling. The Christians used incense, but Zulus had their own *impepo*. These are some of the contradictions which led the Oblates to leave for Lesotho.¹⁶⁹

4.3.1.1.3 Lesotho mission

In 1862, they left for Lesotho and tried a different method of evangelisation which proved to be successful. However, they were assisted by the political nature of the Basotho kingdom.

¹⁶⁸ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, pp.26-27.

¹⁶⁹ See Skhakhane, *The Catholic Pioneer attempts to Evangelise the Zulus*.

Secondly, they delayed the baptism of the first converts: the first seven were only baptised in 1865. Their mission became very successful.¹⁷⁰

4.3.1.1.4 Establishment of Emoyeni

Meanwhile, further mission activity in Natal was initiated by the Oblates after the death of John Dunn, a white Zulu chief with 40 wives and over 100 coloured children, in 1895. This mission, called Emoyeni, was to be successful and have several outstations. The priest who helped it thrive was Louis Mathieu, who was joined a year later by David Bryant, and later by Edward Mnganga who will be introduced in Chapter Five.

4.3.1.2 Bishop Ricards (1871-1893) and the Trappist Monks

The next bishop who took a keen interest in the indigenous people was Bishop James David Ricards (1871-1893). He was the third bishop of the Eastern Vicariate succeeding Bishop Moran. In 1877, he brought the Marist Brothers and the Dominican Sisters of King William's Town to South Africa.¹⁷¹ Bishop Ricards was the first editor of "The Colonist" in 1850 and he launched the "Catholic Magazine". He wrote several books, amongst them, *The Catholic Church and the Kaffir*, where he showed his enthusiasm for extending work among the natives. He knew that, politically, these areas were under the British protectorate. Since political civilisation had come, there was a need for cultural, as well as religious "civilisation", in the form of Christianity. The process of articulating a different world-view began through Christianity, colonialism and new cultural elements.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, see also Joy B. Brain, *Catholics beginnings in Natal and Beyond* (Durban: T.W. Griggs & Co, 1975), pp.80-100.

¹⁷¹ In the 1890s the Dominican sisters split into several branches.

4.3.1.2.1 The Trappists in the Eastern Cape

In helping the Trappists, Bishop Ricards

... arranged and financed the Trappist Monks. In 1880 Franz Pfanner arrived on 28 July at Port Elizabeth with 31 monks including two priests and a layman Mr. Seibels, a printer. Bishop Ricards allotted them to a remote place called "Dunbrody" named after an old abbey in his native Ireland.¹⁷²

Unfortunately, he wanted the Trappists to begin evangelisation before they had established their abbey and he wanted them to form a monastery without either sufficient men or capital for that purpose.¹⁷³ This resulted in a strained relationship between the bishop and the monks. To make matters worse, Dunbrody was in a remote place, far away from the main roads; the soil was not very fertile; and the climatic conditions were not suitable for farming. So the monks left the Eastern Cape and went to Natal to establish a new mission.

4.3.1.2.2 The Trappists in Natal

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

He called it Mariannahill: In the Cistercian tradition in honour of our Lady, and St. Anne, the grandmother of the Lord. He did it also in pious remembrance of his stepmother, who bore the names of Mary and Anne.¹⁷⁴

Under Bishops Jolivet and Delalle, the Trappists expanded their mission - they erected a school, cultivated lands, printed

¹⁷² [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannahill*, p.9.

¹⁷³ Brown, *History of the Catholic Church in South Africa*, p.230.

¹⁷⁴ [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannahill*, p.10.

material, and other things. By 1886 they had expanded to Polela, Einsiedeln and Mariathal; in 1887 to Oetting; and in 1888 to Kevelaer, Loretto, Lourdes, Rankweil and Centocow. By 1890 they had established missions at St. Michael's, and two years later at Maria Ratschitz. In this early period, the abbot already started initiatives in indigenising the local clergy. In 1887, Edward Mnganga, who was to be the first black Catholic priest in South Africa, was sent to Rome to train for the priesthood. He was ordained in 1898 and worked for sometime in Zululand.¹⁷⁵

Abbot Pfanner was succeeded by Abbot Amandus Schölzig, who was in charge from 1893 to 1900. He also continued the training of converts, and on 24 August 1894 he sent two more young men to study at the Propaganda College - Alois Mncadi from Mariathal and Charles Mbengane from Mariannahill. The latter fell ill and was taken to Würzburg in Germany for treatment, where he later died. He is buried in the Würzburg cemetery. Alois Mncadi successfully completed his studies and worked in the Mariannahill missions until his untimely death in 1933.¹⁷⁶ Two more Zulu students were sent to Rome in 1899. They were ordained in 1907 and came and worked in various mission stations in Mariannahill.¹⁷⁷ The researcher will discuss these four priests at great length later in Chapter Five.

¹⁷⁵ "Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, 1945, p.235-238; The first four black priests will be discussed in detail section 3 of this chapter.

¹⁷⁶ See Otto Heberling, "Mariannahiller: neueste Missionsnachrichten" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1934, p.38-40. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery.

¹⁷⁷ "Ein freudiges Ereignis" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1907, p.194. Archives of the Mariannahill Mission.

4.3.1.2.3 The Trappist Monks become a separate religious congregation in South Africa

By 1914, Pope Pius X constituted the Trappists in South Africa as a separate congregation. They still kept the Trappist spirit but adapted it to the conditions in the mission field. In 1921, the territory under the Mariannahillers was separated from Natal and formed into a Vicariate. The following year a new bishop, Adelbero Fleischer, was consecrated.¹⁷⁸ After 1907, the training of local clergy was delayed for reasons which I shall discuss later and only resumed by Bishop Fleischer when he opened St. Mary's Seminary at Ixopo in 1923, with the founding of the FSF and the FFJ respectively.

4.3.1.2.4 The Trappists' mission approach

When the Trappist monks started their initial work among the Zulu people, their approach was different from that of some Protestants¹⁷⁹ and early Oblate missionaries. The latter's approach was to build a mission first and then invite the people to come and listen to the message; educate their children and hopefully attract some catechumens - a slow but steady process. The Trappists, on the other hand, had a

¹⁷⁸ Bishop Fleischer was born in 1874 in Bavaria. Three priests came from his family. As a young man he joined the Trappists under Abbot Francis. He was ordained at Würzburg on the 30th July 1899. He came to South Africa in November 1908. He was stationed in Rhodesia for several years. He succeeded Abbot Gerard Wolpert as the Superior General. When Mariannahill was made into a Vicariate Abbot Fleischer was appointed Titular Bishop of Tiberiopolis and first Vicar Apostolic. On the 15th of August he was consecrated by Bishop Delalle.
¹⁷⁹ It is important to note that some other missionaries had a similar approach, for instance, Bishop Colenso at Ekhukhanyeni, see Hinchliff, P., *The Anglican Church in South Africa: an account of the history and development of the Church of the Province of South Africa*, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963).

different method.¹⁸⁰ They started with the development of a huge and fertile farm and not a mission station.

This was intended to attract the interest of blacks (in the) surrounding countryside; they came themselves to see it rather than being approached by the missionaries [it was a] living amalgamation of Christian religion and genuine culture, which in the final analysis takes its origin from manual labour.¹⁸¹

The missionaries came to spread the gospel, but they were also influenced by their political and religious background, and deeply attached to their western culture. This surfaced in their work in missions stations and also, in turn, influenced the perceptions of the new converts. As the Comaroffs say, whilst being evangelised, the Zulu converts were inevitably drawn into the culture of modern capitalism "... only to find themselves enmeshed, willingly or not, in its order of signs and values, interests and passions, wants and needs."¹⁸² By 1879, after the Battle of Ulundi, the Zulus were fully subjected to the British rule.

By 1885, Franz Pfanner became abbot, and by the end of that year he had built roads, residences for monks, workshops, schoolrooms and huge fields were already ploughed or in the process.¹⁸³ In establishing this, Pfanner "intended to develop [the Zulu peoples] agricultural potential, while nurturing the spiritual and educational development of the Africans living on the properties. He planned eventually to divide the properties

¹⁸⁰ [Hermann], A., *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannahill in the Province of Mariannahill, South Africa*, pp.10-14.

¹⁸¹ Brain, *Catholics in Natal II: 1886-1925*, p. 131 and J.Dahm, *Mariannahill; seine innere Entwicklung, sowie seine Bedeutung für die katholische Missions-und kulturgeschichte Südafrikas* (dissertation zur Erlangung des theologischen Doktorgrades an der kath.-theol. Fakultät der Universität Wien, 1949, Mariannahill, Missionsdruckerei, 1950), p.177.

¹⁸² Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.xii and Ela, *Africa Cry*, p.21.

¹⁸³ [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannahill in the Province of Mariannahill, South Africa*, p.12.

among the African tenants."¹⁸⁴ Seen from another perspective, bearing in mind that we use the Comaroff's study on the Tswana people to shed light on a similar situation in Natal, we can say that the abbot and his men came to "...save Africa: to make her peoples the subject of a world-wide Christian commonwealth. In so doing they were self-consciously acting out a new vision of global history, setting up new frontiers of European consciousness, and naming new forms of humanity to be entered onto its map of civilised mankind."¹⁸⁵ The abbot was to embark on this project through schools,¹⁸⁶ where he would have access to the local people. His first school was opened in 1884, and by 28 December 1884 the first four converts, some schoolboys, were baptised.

The following year a girls' school was opened. At first the schools were day-schools, but the monks realised that when the children went home they were still exposed to their "pagan tribesmen". It is evident that the monks wanted the schools to be one of the means to convey Christianity and civilisation to children at an early age. The children had to think like the Germans, and at times they became alienated from their own cultural background. This kind of practice created the situation whereby the *Kholwas*¹⁸⁷ did not really know where they

¹⁸⁴ Joy B. Brain, "Moving from the Margins to the Mainstream: The Roman Catholic Church" in Elphick, R and Davenport, T.R.H., (eds.) *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social and Cultural History* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997), p.199.

¹⁸⁵ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.309.

¹⁸⁶ [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*, p12.

¹⁸⁷ For Norman Allan Etherington a *kholwa* was an "African who chose to reside on mission stations (and) were, for the most part, outcasts from traditional society and detribalised people from all parts of South Africa who came seeking land, security, and employment." *The rise of the Kholwa in south-east Africa: African Christian communities in Natal, Pondoland and Zululand, 1835-1880*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Yale University, 1971. In a recent publication he states that, "The first converts, or *kholwa*...about half... came from outside the region where their mission station was located, this alien character being especially marked in Zululand because of the official ban on missionary activity. They were often accused of being morally peculiar

belonged. They thought they could associate with the whites but, due to racism in South Africa, they were treated differently. Their kinsmen were also alienated from them because, *inter alia*, some were not circumcised so they were considered as "half men". For example, Tiyo Soga was not fully accepted among his own Xhosa people and some missionaries despised him though they were supposed to be his companions.¹⁸⁸

A boarding facility was then provided, first for boys and later for girls. "At the same time, at the suggestion of David Bryant, the curriculum was altered so that every child spent the morning in the classroom and the afternoons in the fields or workshops under the supervision of the many skilled monks."¹⁸⁹ This practice was to be inculcated in the training of

as well. A magistrate grumbled in 1858 that missions were not 'particular about the character of the natives they admit to reside on their stations' and warned that 'the knowledge that some of the worst crimes are committed by those residing upon mission stations must have an injurious effect towards the spreading of the doctrines of Christianity among the surrounding population.' Some missionaries acknowledged there was truth in the charge that their missions were 'refuges for characters of the worst description.' According to the Anglican Henry Callaway, it was 'not the elite of... society which first gathers around a Missionary; it is not even an average specimen of the natives.'" Norman Etherington, "Christianity and African society in nineteenth-century Natal", in A. Duminy & B. Guest (eds), *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910, A new history* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989), pp.282-283. This point is further emphasised by John Lambert, "of considerable importance in facilitating their break with traditional values was the fact that many of the original converts came not from the district surrounding a mission but from as far afield as Zululand, Swaziland or the Transvaal. Mini, for example, was a Swazi; and Kumalo Zulu and Africa came from the Transvaal. They were accordingly hampered neither by tribal restraints nor by the disapproval of their kinship group, nor by the authority of their chiefs. Many of the new elite of Kholwa ministers appear also to have had a similar background which would have made it far easier for them to make necessary psychological step to a full commitment to an alien religion," in *Africans in Natal, 1880-1899: Continuity, Change and Crisis in a rural society*, unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of South Africa, p.120.

¹⁸⁸ See, Attwell, "The Transculturation of Enlightenment: The exemplary case of Rev. Tiyo Soga, African Nationalist", in Philippe Denis (ed) *The Making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publication, 1995), p.41-58.

¹⁸⁹ Brain, *Catholics in Natal II: 1886-1925*, p.139.

priests in South Africa, and up to today, manual labour is part of the training.

4.3.1.3 The Early Converts (*Amakholwa*)

4.3.1.3.1 Introduction

In this section, I will look at the rise of the early converts or the *AmaKholwa* in Natal. Some factors leading to the conversion of some Zulu people will be critically examined.

4.3.1.3.2 Trappists and the *Amakholwa*

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

The *Amakholwa* mainly emerged at a time when market forces were developing in the 1880s, and when chiefs had a better opportunity to obtain land and labour needed for participation in the market. The *Amakholwa* were well placed to respond to the market opportunities due to their exposure to white technology and education. As a result they brought about changes to the homestead economy.

There were relatively few mission-educated *Kholwa*, who by 1881 numbered approximately 7500 individuals. The growing prosperity of this community of wealthy African Agriculturalists is shown

by the increasing amount of freehold land they owned. After 1880 it became possible for the public to purchase crown lands of the Colony on extended credit of ten years at ... (a) price of ten shillings an acre.¹⁹⁰

4.3.1.4 Missionary strategies

Missionaries in Natal came from many countries and faiths: "Anglicans, American Congregationalists, Scottish Presbyterian, English Methodists, French and German Catholics, Lutherans from Saxony, Prussi and Scandinavia."¹⁹¹ Their strategies for conversion varied which meant that different hegemonies and ideologies were at play in the new mission stations. The bottom line was that success came very slowly. The missionaries had dreamed of converting the entire Zulu nation by first converting the king, but these dreams gradually faded. From the first missionary Allen Gardiner in 1835, to the American missionaries of the 1870s, when some conversions were recorded, there were only 450 black Christians in the country.¹⁹² The main reason being the fact that Gardiner and the early missionaries perceived the Africans to have little or no idea about religion. The missionaries suffered from a "religious superiority" complex; they also thought that the Zulus would easily change their practices once exposed to a new religion. On the contrary, the Zulus were quite capable of grasping ideas about God and quickly pointed out the contradictions within the Christian beliefs.¹⁹³ The conversion process, in fact, became an ideological struggle between the Europeans and the Zulus. In some instances, and especially after the Zulu nation was defeated in 1879 at the Battle of Ulundi, the missionaries converted more people. But not everyone was converted so no

¹⁹⁰ John Lambert, "From Independence to Rebellion: African Society in Crisis, c.1880-1910" in Duminy (et.al), *Natal and Zululand*, p.378.

¹⁹¹ Norman Etherington, "Christianity and African society in nineteenth-century Natal" in Duminy (et.al), *Natal and Zululand*, p.275.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, pp.279-280.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.280.

"consensus" amongst the Zulu was achieved. Christianity up to today is still contested by some Zulu African traditionalists.

4.3.1.5 Conditions for becoming a Christian

Becoming a Christian implied a number of things: Firstly, one had to practise the Christian faith; and secondly, there were certain practical requirements, for instance, "their construction of square houses of which there were 1 451 occupied by *Kholwa* in 1883, and their use of European clothing..."¹⁹⁴. This was the case with the Mariannhill missionaries. As a result, the *Kholwa* had to try to live as agricultural labourers and turn their wives into housewives. "They had to try to live, as near as their income would permit,...."¹⁹⁵ This did not cause a major upset among the Zulu people. The major obstacles were the basic foundation of family life - Polygyny and *Lobola*. Missionaries took an extreme stance - they would not baptise men who took second wives, and they considered *Lobola* as the purchase of a woman.

To the missionaries' amazement, the Zulu women thought the opposite. For them, it was a privilege to be married to a man who could support more than one wife, and a marriage without *Lobola* carried a social stigma.¹⁹⁶

4.3.1.6 Factors influencing the growth of the *Amakholwa*

Christianization was generally resisted as long as the "basic fabric of family, community and religious life remained intact."¹⁹⁷ Etherington analyses a group of 177 *Kholwa* who gave

¹⁹⁴ John Lambert, *Africans in Natal, 1880-1899*, p.12. See section 2.2)

¹⁹⁵ Norman Etherington, "Christianity and African society in nineteenth-century Natal", p.281.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.282.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

reasons why they went to live at the mission. Among the reasons given were: attraction to the religion (12%); prospects of employment (26%); relatives (15%); attached to missionary transferred from another post (14%); refugees (33%); accused of witchcraft (3%) and to escape undesired marriages (10%).

From this sample Etherington formulates three factors which influenced the formation of the early black Christians:

The first is that mission stations attracted Natal strangers who were lured by the material opportunity or who had been pushed out of old homes by the turbulent events of the early nineteenth century. The second is that the people who needed land could get it from missionaries who possessed large tracts on private farms and 'mission reserves' granted by the government. The third is that people who found themselves uncomfortable, unwelcome or actively persecuted in their own societies could usually settle on mission stations with no questions asked. Christian communities thus provided an escape hatch which had not previously been available to criminals, accused sorcerers, unwilling brides and psychologically disturbed individuals.¹⁹⁸

The black Christians were treated with suspicion, not only by the heathens, but also by the trekkers.¹⁹⁹ The latter thought that the missionaries provided a safe haven for the blacks who escaped from their wrath. The missionaries were also accused of seeking more land for Africans which was supposed to be carved out for European settlers. The other complaint against the missionaries was that they turned Africans into useless labourers and hindered them at work. Sometimes it was alleged that the missionaries made the Africans proud and idle, for, in certain cases, they even demanded higher wages. Another factor which led to the conflict between the missionaries and the settlers was that the former tried to bring the Good News to people who supposedly could not be converted. There were rumours circulating around that the settlers had yet to see a converted *kaffir*.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.283.

¹⁹⁹ See also Lambert, "African Society in Crisis, c.1880-1910".

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 284-286.

So the *Kholwa* were alienated from the African people as well as from the white settlers. The only way out for them was to progress through education and material gain. One way of entering into the emerging market economy was through agriculture, as products were in high demand. The *Kholwa* were in the forefront of agricultural production in Natal; they founded farms on the mission reserves and outside. Their entrepreneurship was not limited to farming but they also involved themselves in trade, some became carriers, and others artisans and landlords. The missionaries encouraged this as it was evidence of the success of "Christian civilisation", but on the other hand this alienated the *Kholwa* from the traditional society which still practised *lobola* and encouraged the acquisition of cattle. In as far as commercial agriculture was concerned, the *Kholwa* were pioneers, experimenting in the 1850s with cotton, coffee and sesame.²⁰¹ The other venture which they engaged in was transport with ox-wagons. Their success was mainly attributed to the educational facilities provided by the missionaries for by the 1880s, as many as 3000 African students had been educated.

4.3.1.7 Shift in the world-view of Missionaries and *AmaKholwa*

An important aspect of the interaction between the missionaries and the *Kholwa* was that the world-view of the *Kholwa*, one which was taken for granted, was being redefined amidst great changes. The missionaries also faced a challenge in the missions, as Etherington explains:

For everyone, educated or uneducated, white or black, the special circumstances which accompanied the creation of a new society in Natal stimulated an extraordinary ferment in ideas. The indigenous people barely had time to adjust to the new order of politics inaugurated by the Zulu monarchy before they faced

²⁰¹ Lambert, "Africans in Natal, 1880 -1899,"pp.113-131.

the challenges of British colonialism and Christianity. Missionaries were as much challenged intellectually by African society as Africans were by the message of evangelists. Settlers, who had distanced themselves from the moral, religious and political institutions of Europe, strove with evident difficulty to maintain their bearing. This period of mental ferment was stimulated and enriched by the presence of some remarkable minds which had been drawn to south-east Africa by the missionary movement.²⁰²

The famous case of this interaction is seen in the encounter between Bishop Colenso and William Ngidi, a Zulu convert. The former went to the extent of accepting some beliefs practised by the African which had negative consequences for him. He was declared a heretic by the Anglican 'high church' and a rival bishop of Maritzburg was appointed - Bishop Macrorie in 1896. However, Colenso appealed against the court of South African bishops to the judicial committee of the Privy Council in London after his trial for heresy. The committee was not able to pronounce on the theological questions, but said that, since the Queen had appointed Colenso as bishop of Natal, the synod of bishops could not depose him. As a result there were two Anglican bishops in Natal for 14 years.²⁰³

One of the unresolved issue which existed in the mission communities and still exists today in some churches, is the question of who was to be in charge. In the Roman Catholic church "the aim of most missionary operations,...²⁰⁴ was to raise up self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating churches."²⁰⁵ When the missionaries came, they made converts and formed Christian communities. The missionaries in this period, played the leading role. "But, eventually, missionaries were expected, by the societies that sent them, to step aside and make way for African church leaders. However, who was to say

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p.291.

²⁰³ Mary Ralphs, *Exploring Theology: An Introductory Dictionary* (Pretoria: Unisa, 2000), p. 60.

²⁰⁴ This was clearly spelt out in *Rerum Ecclesiae and Maximum illud*.

²⁰⁵ Norman Etherington, "Christianity and African society in the nineteenth-century Natal," p.294.

when that time had arrived? The Roman Pontiff kept on saying that a local clergy and episcopate was needed, and this was highlighted in the encyclicals. *When* were they ready to take authority into their own hands? These questions will dominate our discussion as we investigate the establishment of the black Catholic clergy.

After having looked at the establishment of the church in Southern Africa, I will now examine the work of Cardinal Lavigerie and his missionary methods in Africa.

4.4 Lavigerie and the Church in Africa

At this point I want to focus on Lavigerie's missionary method and his attitude to the Africanisation of the Catholic church in Africa. For him, the task of the missionaries was mainly to prepare the ground for the native clergy who were to take over the running of the church. In this way he carried out the pontificate's teaching in practice.²⁰⁶

The French Cardinal Lavigerie was no exception in working with European colonial countries. He was a man of his time. He was ordained in 1849, got his first doctorate in Letters in 1850 and in Theology. Later, he was made associate professor in Ecclesiastical History, at the Sorbonne. He became titular of the chair in 1857. His work started pointing towards the mission fields when, in 1867, he was nominated to the See of Algiers and this enabled him to realise his missionary vocation. From the time of his appointment he had a wider vision which did not limit himself to his region but concentrated on the whole of Africa.

²⁰⁶ See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Mission* (Hammondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), p.424-438.

His first task was to obtain permission from the French government to develop an apostolate among Algerian Moslems. This had serious consequences for the archbishop and brought him into direct confrontation with governor Marshall MacMahon. Fortunately in 1868, he managed to get the assurance from Napoleon III that there would be no hindrances to works of charity being undertaken by the church. In the same year the papacy made him apostolic delegate to the Western Sahara and Sudan. This was the time when he laid the foundation for the White Fathers (Society of Missionaries of Africa).

(This)...was conceived as an institute of secular priests living in community; it was to be apostolic in its purpose and Ignatian in the character of its spirituality, and its members, in conformity with the spirit Lavigerie had shown from the beginning, were to adapt themselves in every respect compatible with Christian faith and morals to the life and mentality of the Africans among whom they worked. The missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa, founded in 1869, was a religious society of women with the same missionary objective and sharing the same spirit of accommodation.²⁰⁷

In 1873, he established missions in Sahara and in Kabylie. Five years later he established his missionaries in Equatorial Africa, and he became the apostolic delegate of the area. He was made cardinal in 1882 and later asked by Leo XIII to campaign against slavery. He was also asked by the same pope to "rally French Catholics to the support of the Republican regime in France to overcome the anti-clerical majority in parliament and make it possible to change the laws that barred the way to a rapprochement between France and the Holy See."²⁰⁸ Here, we see a typical example of the convergence between church and state. In order to succeed in Africa, he had to summon his colonial country - France - to come in and help. Lavigerie was also deeply involved in the politics of France.

²⁰⁷ X. de Montclos, "Lavigerie, Charles Martial Allemand" in *New Catholic Encyclopaedia, Vol. III* (San Francisco: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1984) p.541.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

The methods he used encompassed many aspects, *inter alia* prayer and example. He also encouraged his missionaries to get to know the people they were to work with, as was encouraged by Rome throughout the evangelisation period. Lavigerie reminded the missionaries that they should study the beliefs and customs of the people. The other important feature was the study of language - which had been recommended by the pontificate and Propaganda. He hoped that the missionaries would be able to speak the language of the natives within six months of their arrival.

Charity was also an important aspect of the missionary method of Lavigerie, as he expanded, "Charity... is your chief weapon. It is the weapon which pierces hearts and heals the wounds for eternal life. Let that be the sole secret of your approach to souls."²⁰⁹ Though this was important for evangelisation, to some degree it also helped the expansion of imperial powers. As the missionaries knew the people better, they could easily be employed by the government to work for them. In this way, the natives trusted them. But in doing so, the natives were trusting people who had a double agenda, that is to christianise and to colonise.

For Lavigerie, the missionaries were supposed to love the poor people, do good to them, to "dress their wounds". In return the people "will give you their affection, then their confidence and, in the end, their souls."²¹⁰ This statement is highly paternalistic - the natives were poor and needed love. Who was

²⁰⁹ W. Burridge, *Destiny Africa: Cardinal Lavigerie and the making of the White Fathers* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), p.111. See also J. Bouniol, *The White Fathers and Their Missions* (London, 1929); G.D. Kittler, *The White Fathers* (New York, 1957); J. De Arteche, *The Cardinal of Africa: Charles Lavigerie*, (London, 1964); X de Montclos, *Lavigerie, le Saint-Siège et l'Eglise, 1846-1878* (Paris, 1965) and X de Montclos *Le Toast d' Alger, (1899-1891)* (Paris, 1966).

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Lavigerie to determine this? Didn't the local people have enough love amongst themselves? The love which existed probably was not up to the standard of the West. Were the Africans really bothered whether they received the gospel or not?²¹¹ He wanted to win their souls, which could mean that he wanted them to belong to Christ and most probably also to the colonial power. Bearing in mind this idea of diffusing love from West to the mission, the cardinal did not expect conversion to come immediately, but prayer and charity were supposed to be the preparatory stage. "It was putting the soil in good heart, as it were, in readiness for the seed of grace and faith, and that can take time."²¹² The method used by Lavigerie to evangelise was based on the vision of the local people taking over the running of the church, and ultimately fully implanting the church in Africa.

The missionary activity of the church is of its nature a temporary phase in any country. His missionaries, he said, were essentially initiators. This did not mean, of course, that he imagined that their work would be of short duration. He had soberly spoken, we have seen, of having to wait a century before the apostolate proper could even begin in some regions of Africa. Besides, the very size of his missions and the variety of the work to be done there makes it self-evident that the church in Africa would, for a very long time to come, have a claim on the help of the missionaries. For the Africans would not be able to provide fully for the needs of the church until they had sufficient number of African priests.²¹³

Lavigerie knew that early vocations to the priestly and religious life would be rare, but he did not rule out the possibility. Hence, from the very start of his missionary activity in Africa, he thought of seeking ways of training African clergy. There was a famine in North Africa and orphans were rescued and brought under the care of missionaries. He

²¹¹ Walbert Bühlmann, *The Missions on Trial: Addis Ababa 1980, A Moral for the future from the archives of today* (Britain: St. Paul Publication, 1977), p.33.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p.113.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p.130.

asked his fathers to look out for vocations among these children, and for the time being, he started a minor seminary. But since this was in a Moslem territory the experiment did not last very long. But it was clear that he considered seminaries a priority. As he wrote:

I place seminaries at the head of the list because they are unquestionably the most essential of all institutions. The future success of a mission depends upon the training of a sufficient number of boys destined for the priesthood.²¹⁴

4.5 Ordination of Native Priests and Bishops in Africa

In Lavigerie's missions from tropical Africa, the first local priests were only ordained after his death. This was attributed mainly to the fact that the White Fathers followed faithfully his principles and methods. They nurtured the territories until the time was ripe, so that "This preoccupation from the very start with Africanisation at its deepest level has, by God's grace been amply rewarded. The mission territories entrusted to him have produced a third of the natives priests in the whole of African continent. From amongst them came the first African bishop, Joseph Kiwanuka, and the first two cardinals."²¹⁵ Bishop Kiwanuka of Masaka, Uganda was consecrated in 1939, together with Ramarosandratana of Madagascar. These steps towards indigenisation in the church remained unique for almost twelve years. After which the church halted its indigenisation in the episcopate. Why? One could suggest that since these two were

²¹⁴ J. Bouniol, (ed), *The White Fathers and their missions* (London: Sands, 1929), p.116.

²¹⁵ Burrige, *Destiny Africa: Cardinal Lavigerie and the making of the white Fathers*, p.131.

the first, the church wanted to see how the people in the periphery could handle authority. The researcher supposes that it was also a test, to see whether Africa was ready for native leadership.

It is also quite possible that the Catholic church was cautious. It might have learnt a lesson from what had supposedly happened to Bishop Samuel Adjai Crowther of the Anglican Church in West Africa in 1864. Crowther's consecration had been a great experiment and, possibly due to the prejudice of the West, was considered a failure. His name became a symbol of the general failure of African church leadership. For almost 50 years after this experiment, the West believed that Africans were not sufficiently mature to be leaders. It was later shown, in 1927, that Bishop Crowther had actually been victimised by his own situation.²¹⁶

Twelve years later, in the 1950s, there were a series of episcopal ordinations in the Catholic church: In Tanganyika two bishops were consecrated, in 1951 and 1956; Ruanda in 1952; Basutholand and Nigeria in 1953; South Africa in 1954 and Nyasaland and Kenya got a bishop in 1956. "The Latin Africa countries were somewhat hesitant until in the French dependencies four African bishops were consecrated in 1955-1956, and one in the Belgian Congo in 1956. Bishop Dud of Sudan, consecrated in 1955, was also an African."²¹⁷ After the seventies, the ordination of African bishops became frequent. What one needs to look at critically is that it had taken the church almost forty years, after 1900, to consecrate an Africa bishop. This could be attributed to several reasons, *inter alia* the fact that the local church had not taken root in Africa, as Walbert Bühlman comments, "the real implantation of the church has not taken place in place in Africa. We are not yet a

²¹⁶ Bengt Sundkler, *Christian Ministry in Africa*, p.44.

'local' Church... We are stifled by the overwhelming presence of missionaries. We are still a colony of the church." ²¹⁸

The White Fathers were trained to be initiators, but this did not mean that they left immediately after the church was established. It was a long continuous process from the time of first contact with the people, to the time they placed the administration of the church in the new converts' hands. As initiators, they were prepared to work under African authority. They assisted in tasks which required specialised skills of experienced missionaries. The Africans were still developing the skills needed in the church. As a result, the White Fathers have a reputation for "doing themselves out of a job"! When their work in a diocese is complete, they move on to other dioceses where the church is still in its initial stages, so that they help in its growth. "...Out of fifty dioceses which they... brought into existence from total paganism onwards, nine (were) already... handed over to African bishops. But in all nine of these, the bishops... requested them to stay on for specialist work and so help in the final stages of Africanisation."²¹⁹

The missionaries, in general, were blind to European ethnocentrism. They usually confused their own middle class values and ideals with the beliefs of Christianity. Their views on how one is socialised in society and faith were exported to the mission fields. "Western Theology" as perceived in the West was transmitted without mutation to the ends of the world. This "transmission" tended to be confusing to the recipients from totally different historical backgrounds. The church was established in most areas, but they were not considered to be authentic churches, with the same status as Western Churches.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.83-85.

²¹⁸ Bühlmann, *The Missions on Trial*, pp.49 & 51.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.131.

Because these churches were under SCPF administration, they were considered of a lower status than the ones in Europe, "and they needed benevolent control and guidance, like children not yet come of age."²²⁰ The "true" way of being a church was the Western one. It had to be diffused to the ends of the earth. The other oversight which the missionaries committed was that they structured the churches in missions on exactly the same lines and principles as those in the West. So much so that when one visited some churches one had an eerie feeling that you were not in Africa but in Europe. This created problems because the socio-economic system differed vastly from the West and this caused a tremendous financial strain on the people who could not maintain these huge foreign 'monsters'.

One can extrapolate from this period the various reasons that the popes, Propaganda and some early missionaries had for encouraging local vocations. These included: that the native priests were accustomed to the climate and other conditions of their country; and they knew the customs, language, institutions, beliefs and practices of their people. On the other hand, European missionaries were strangers, and slowly and painfully learned and studied the thought-patterns, traditions and culture of the people they were evangelising. People usually trusted their own; whereas the Europeans would be considered as outsiders for a long time. The indigenous clergy could be easily maintained because they were part of the local environment, unlike the Europeans, who would still want to maintain their European life style. In times of upheaval, local clergy were useful and even indispensable. It could also be said that mission work had been successful if it had created an indigenous clergy.²²¹

²²⁰ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shift in Theology of Mission*, p.295.

²²¹ Bernard Huss, *The South African Natives: A monthly series special to 'The Southern Cross' May 27, 1925- August 18, 1948* (Mariannhill: MS - Unpublished, 1977), p.34; see also *Southern Cross* (17 November

5. Conclusions

In this chapter we have looked at the views and policies of the Catholic Church pertaining to the training of indigenous clergy from the 16th to the 20th century. The fact that the training of native clergy became a problem after 1492 has been highlighted. We then looked at the formation of SCPF whose aim was to help in the administration of the missionary drive in newly discovered territories. We noted that although its theology was conservative, it did great work for many missions. Then, in dealing with Cardinal Lavigerie, we looked at some of the methods used in the training of priests in the 19th century.

We have seen that the training of native clergy was not an easy task and many factors come into play. For instance, funds, power, the requirements for training, and the lengthy programme of training - minimum of seven years!

The main focus of this thesis is on the training of clergy and how it was practised in the mission fields of the Roman Catholic church in South Africa. The researcher has argued that the training had strong imperialistic and Eurocentric connotations.

In the next chapter, the researcher will move on to the modern period, that is from 1917 onwards and see how the establishment of the black clergy was perceived.

1926), p.19.

ROMAN CATHOLIC POLICY TOWARDS THE TRAINING OF LOCAL CLERGY

1. The Missionary Movements in the 20th Century

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, five missionary encyclicals will be summarised and their teachings will be critically examined. The main contention in this chapter is that, despite interesting aspects in the pontifical policy towards indigenous clergy in the mission fields, to a certain degree it was imperialistic and Eurocentric as it was foreign to many mission stations and heavily laden with reflections from a European milieu. Blaut's theory of diffusionism - the core and the periphery - helps us to understand the process at a more critical level since aspects of Eurocentricism are clearly depicted in this period. The European colonisers thought that it was their duty to diffuse their ideas and ways of life to other 'new continents' which were considered to be blank slates. "The tendency continues to treat everything pre-Christian in Africa as either harmful or at best valueless and consider the African, once converted from paganism, as a sort of *tabula rasa* on which a wholly new religious psychology has somehow to be imprinted."²²² These new 'heathens', 'pagans', and 'savages' needed to be told how to behave and what to believe in. Power played a vital role

²²² Adrian Hastings, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa* (London: Burns & Oates), 1967, p.60.

as the colonisers not only extended the political hegemony over the subordinates but also a religious hegemony.

The growth of the Catholic church in the twentieth century has been attributed largely to the vigorous missionary outreach animated by successive popes. This move was seen to be vital considering that the church was moving away from Europe to the newly discovered territories. In other words, the core was diffusing to the periphery. The West with its cultural superiority was trying to expand to the insignificant worlds. At the centre, the Popes, starting with Benedict XV to John Paul II continued to outline a teaching which, to some extent, did not take cognisance of the various situations in the mission fields. However, in many mission stations there was a tendency to resist the policy of Rome.

The modern missionary movement can be dated from the end of the First World War and the papacy of Benedict XV. It was personally directed by the popes until the Second Vatican Council broadened the base of responsibility through its teaching on episcopal collegiality. Thereafter, the missionary apostolate of the church was guided, not only by papal directives, but also by conciliar and synodal decision and the teachings of regional episcopal conferences.²²³ One can say that this period began in 1917 with Canon 305 Code of Canon Law which stated that one of the duties "for Vicars and Prefects Apostolic (was) to strive most earnestly that among the indigenous Christians some suitable clerics should be trained and ordained priests." Even though there was no chapter in the 1917 Canon Law specifically dealing with the missionary activity of the church, there is material relevant to missionary activity.²²⁴

²²³ *Ibid.*, p.3.

²²⁴ M.O.Faney, *Cooperation in Missionary Action of the Church in the light of Canon 781 And Redemptoris Missio, 77:Reflection on 10 years*

Importantly though, the Code of Canon Law enjoined the Catholic bishops and vicars general to train indigenous clergy. It is interesting to see that during the First World War, the church had time to consider the expansion of the church. Though the Canon encouraged the establishment of native clergy, at the same time it put its foot down, in the sense it became even more difficult to adapt the law in new circumstances, as it was "the law". For change to occur in the missions, Rome had to approve. This really suffocated creativity in all spheres. Karl Rahner critiques the church on this point:

Do not the Roman congregations still have the mentality of a centralised bureaucracy which thinks it knows best what serves the kingdom of God and salvation of souls throughout the world, and in such decisions takes the mentality of Rome or Italy in a frighteningly naive way as a self-evident standard? ²²⁵

After 1918, Pope Benedict XV wrote an encyclical, *Maximum Illud*, making recommendations about the indigenisation of mission territories. We will discuss this letter in the following section.²²⁶

of the Church Legislation and Magisterium on Missionary Action and Cooperation (Rome, Pontificia Universitas Urbaniana, Doctoral thesis 1994, p.20.

²²⁵ Quoted in Hillman, *Inculturation Applied towards an African Christianity*, p.41.

²²⁶ Philippe Denis, "The making of an Indigenous Clergy in Southern Africa: Agenda for further research," in *Bulletin for Contextual Theology in Southern Africa and Africa*, Vol.2, April 1995, pp.3-7.

2. *Maximum Illud*²²⁷

2.1 Introduction

This Apostolic Letter is considered to be the greatest missionary achievement and has been quoted throughout the 20th century. It was addressed to the bishops, vicars and prefects apostolic who headed missions and stated that the propagation of the faith was their first and direct duty.

During the First World War (1914-1918), it was difficult for the heads of missions to stay at their posts. But after the war, Benedict XV urged the church leaders to strive with all their might to bring "Christian truth and life within reach of all."²²⁸ He directed the bishops to shine a torch of salvation to the countless heathens who needed the light. One of the objectives of this letter was to tell the bishops that they should save souls and open for them a gate to heaven. The missionary was warned that this would not be easy. It would be tough but important "as long as he can snatch a soul from the mouth of hell". The heads of these missionaries were called to rise above petty quarrels amongst themselves and called upon missionaries from different countries and other religious congregation to help out. The nuns were also invited in. At this time national episcopates did not exist, so the pope encouraged the heads to contact others in similar position so that they could work together.

²²⁷ The sub-title of the encyclical is "On the Propagation of the Faith throughout the World - Apostolic Letter of Benedict XV" ((Massachusetts: National Catholic Welfare Conference) issued on 30 November 1919.

²²⁸ Hickey, (ed.) *Modern Missionary Documents; Issued by Popes and Roman Synods*, p.27.

The encyclical was largely pope-centred. But it started to pave the way for a local church, saying:

...for many centuries 'local churches' did not exist, neither in Europe nor on the 'mission fields'. What one had, at best, were affiliates of the universal church. The 'mission churches', in particular, had to resemble the church in Rome in almost every detail; they 'were missions,' churches of the second class, daughter churches, immature children, apostolic vicariates, and not yet autonomous dioceses.²²⁹

Maximum Illud stresses two very important issues which were pertinent in its time - the expansion of colonialism and the lack of an indigenous clergy. On the first point the pope wrote that some reports written by missionaries tended to extend the colonial power rather than the kingdom of God. The pope sternly warned against such missionaries because such extension of colonial powers went against the spirit of the apostles. Though the pope warned against this, in essence, the church had in many cases, extended colonial powers. In numerous places, including China, the missionaries were influenced by their time when they "entertained European prejudices, nationalism and colonial attitudes...." The missions looked like the other face of colonialism, whether this was intended or not. The armies that conquered the tribes, the traders who exploited and stole land from the people, the missionaries who founded hospitals and schools, came from the same country and used the same language and were hospitable to each other. No one could doubt "that they were all part and parcel of the same commodity."²³⁰ One has to be very critical about what the encyclical strongly recommends as, in some instances, it implies that the anomaly exists.

The second deficiency, in line with our contention, is that there was a great difference in the teaching and the practice concerning the indigenous clergy. This issue is thrashed out

²²⁹ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm shift of Mission*, p.379.

extensively in *Maximum Illud*. Benedict XV said, "Notwithstanding the Roman pontiff's insistence, it is sad to think that there are still countries where the Catholic faith has been preached for several centuries, but where you will find no indigenous clergy, except of an inferior kind... (and) to all appearance, the methods used in various places to train clergy for the missions have, up to now, been inadequate and faulty." In future, the training of priests should be thorough and comprehensive, the pope recommended.

The encyclical is divided into 37 sections. The researcher will now discuss the encyclical in detail. Some parts will be quoted extensively because these views will be constantly reflected in the successive apostolic letters.

2.2 Section one

Section one outlines the mission of the church which has been spread by the Church ever since Jesus sent his apostles to evangelise the whole world.

'Before He returned to His Father, Our Lord Jesus Christ addressed to his disciples the words: "Go into the whole world and preach the gospel to all creation"' (Mark 16:15). With these words he committed to them a duty, a momentous and holy charge, that was not to lapse with the death of the Apostles but would bind their successors, one after another, until the end of the world - as long, that is, as there remained on this earth men whom the truth might set free.... From that time on, as the centuries have passed, the Church has never forgotten that command God gave her, and never yet has she ceased to dispatch to every corner of the world her couriers of the doctrine. (MI 1).²³¹

The above introduction sets the scene for the missionary effort of the church from the beginning of the church to the present

²³⁰ Bühlmann, *The coming of the third church*, p.43.

²³¹ Benedict XV, Pope, *Maximum Illud: Apostolic Letter On the Propagation of the Faith Throughout the World*, November 30, 1919

day. It is detached from national, language and individual prejudices. The mission of the church is to spread the message to all the nations of the world, so that the truth will set people free. The history of the great apostles who carried the Good News to other parts of the world is traced from the first three centuries to the time the church was brought to Armenia, Syria, Ireland, Holland, German and Slavonia (MI 2), through to the time the church was taken to the Mongols in China, under the able leadership of Gregory X (MI 3). And finally, it describes the discovery of the Americas and the pioneering work of Bartholomé de Las Casas, who protected the unfortunate natives of the new continent under the wrath of slavery (MI 4).

However, the mission of the church presents us with a pope-centred ecclesiology. It justifies the fact that there is a core or centre and the periphery. The pope and Rome have to direct the issues of evangelisation of the world. He is the only one who has been given a mandate from the beginning of time to the present. The whole church is supposed to be controlled from Rome, and this whole bureaucratic structure made it impossible to accommodate new ideas. The pope-centred church, also implies that that there was virtually no local church. The vicar apostolics were subordinate to the pope, they were not autonomous.

With the discovery of unknown territories - Australia and the interior of Africa - the missionaries followed suit, like the great apostles (MI 5) in evangelising the people, regardless of the great hardships. By 1919, the "...estimate of the number of non-believers in the world approximate(d) one billion souls." (MI 6). This also meant that the church had aided in the colonisation of over 1 billion people. As we have seen,²³² in most cases the church and state worked hand in hand. In some

(Massachusetts: National Catholic Welfare Conference), p.1.

instances, as Walbert Bühlmann noted, the church usually served its own interests rather than those of the people it served²³³

The letter clearly sets out its purpose:

From the days when We first took up responsibility of this apostolic office We have yearned to share with these unfortunates the divine blessings of the Redemption. So We are delighted to see that, under the inspiration of the Spirit of God, efforts to promote and develop the foreign missions have in many quarters of the world increased and intensified. It is our duty to foster these enterprises.... We had two purposes in mind: to encourage you, your clergy, and your people in these efforts, and secondly, to point out methods you can adopt to further the fulfilment of this momentous undertaking (MI 7).

In the objectives of the encyclical there is an implied cultural superiority of tone in words like, "when We first took up responsibility... We yearned to share with these unfortunates the divine blessings of the Redemption," 'responsibility'. They imply here that they were superior, in a position of power to diffuse ideas to the periphery; they were the 'adults' helping out the 'children' - the 'unfortunates'. This introduction is highly paternalistic, in the sense that the 'unfortunates' had to be directed by an outside centralised force.

The letter is firstly addressed to Bishops, Vicars or Prefect Apostolics, who were in charge of missions. These were not autonomous vicars as they fell under the jurisdiction of Propaganda and were the direct responsibility of the pope. This suggests a form of internal colonialism in the church. Hence, colonialism in the church was two-fold: there was the external form - the nations the missionary come from; and the internal form - within the church itself. When we apply the Comaroffs' theories, we notice that we are presented with an interesting power-play amongst the missionaries and the new converts in the

²³² See section 4.1-4.3.

²³³ Bühlmann, *The Missions on Trial*, p.32.

church for, in actual fact, the vicars of missions had two bosses: the pope and the colonial authorities.

Benedict XV delegated his powers to his vicars: "All the responsibility for the propagation of the Faith (it) rest(ed) immediately upon them, and it (was) to them especially that the Church has entrusted her prospects of expansion." The role of the superior was to ensure that the concerns of his people were also his (MI 9). For missions to succeed it depended on the way they were governed. With a good leader they could prosper, but without good and able leadership they could suffer tremendously, as the encyclical states, "they can suffer very severely if a man is put in charge of them who does not have the ability for the office or who is in some other way unsuitable for it. The individual missionary has given up his country and his family in order to aid in the extension of the Faith."

(MI 10). 'The giving up of one's country, brought some problems, was this self-sacrifice put to the best practice? Did the missionaries really aim at the right targets? And did they really know what were meant to be doing? "Sadly one must confess that the answer 'no' has often to be given, at least in part, to such question."²³⁴ The missionaries, in some cases, wanted to be martyrs rather than build a church. The encyclical charged the head of a mission with the task of expanding and developing his mission. He should also work hard to save all the souls within his boundaries. To do this, the pope gave permission for the head of missions to establish more mission stations and posts. These later on served as new Vicariates and Prefectures. All these had to be established in conjunction with the colonial authorities with whom they inevitably had to work. This lead people to conclude that the missionaries were

²³⁴ Hastings, *The World Missions of the Church*, p.34.

directly linked to the colonisers. "Leopold and Lavigerie, Stanley and Livingstone, the roles of the business man and the imperialist, and the missionary and explorer all became mixed up, and one supported himself upon the other, at times rightly, at time wrongly; as a whole, we may say, somewhat inevitable."²³⁵

Concerning manpower, the Pope urged the leaders that "if they find that their own order or congregation is not supplying enough manpower for the task, they are perfectly willing to call in helpers from other religious groups." (MI 11). He called upon them to stop their petty misunderstanding and work together in the vineyard of God. No one person can work in a vineyard alone, God will punish him. Therefore, if there is a lack of manpower other congregations, orders and nuns should be called in to help. (MI 12). At this time there were no established bishops' conferences in these newly evangelised regions. The pope on the other hand, had the foresight to try and establish temporary episcopates so that the heads of missions could help one another in time of need and crisis. As he explained:

For situations frequently arise that affect all the missions in some particular areas, and that demand action if they are to be handled successfully. But even apart from this, the church would benefit a great deal if the men in charge of missions met at fixed intervals as frequently as they could to confer and to encourage one another. (MI 13).

2.3 Training of local clergy

The next concern of the pope was the training of local clergy. In this letter, the mission of the church which had been set out was emphasised, and this was to be repeated by successive popes in the twentieth century. The encouragement to local

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.38.

clergy brings us to the matter we are investigating in this thesis. For, by 1919, only four black priests had been ordained in South Africa, the last two were ordained in 1907 and up to the time the letter was released, there was no seminary in South Africa for indigenous people and no student in Propaganda training for the priesthood. Why? The church has partly to be blamed. It still expected that seminarians be trained in standards which were prescribed by the Council of Trent. Training priests under these static conditions made it very difficult for the new people to adapt. On the establishment of the local clergy Benedict XV wrote:

There is one final, and very important, point for anyone who has charge of a mission. He must make it his special concern to secure and train local candidates for the sacred ministry. In this policy lies the greatest hope of new churches. For the local priest, one with his people by birth, by nature, by his sympathies and his aspirations, is remarkably effective in appealing to their mentality and thus attracting them to the Faith. Far better than anyone else he knows the kind of argument they will listen to, and as a result, he often has easy access where a foreign priest would not be tolerated (*MI 14*).

If a mission territory had a local priest, the people would probably listen to him, saying that here was one of them who had been converted and "westernised". This would make it possible for others to follow suit. As we discussed in the previous chapter, the colonisation of the consciousness is the process whereby the "savages" are colonised with a promise of self-discovery and civilisation, they are engaged in the culture of modern capitalism, "only to find themselves enmeshed, willing or not, in its order of sign and values, interests and passions, wants and needs. Even the established modes of protest open to them speak in ringing Christian terms - terms like civil rights, civilized liberties, freedom of conscience."²³⁶ The cultural dynamics of the native priests were not considered in their training; they were to be trained as

²³⁶ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.xii.

they would serve a church in the West! A new world-view had to be imposed on them. This had tremendous consequences for the priests. For instance, in the Roman church, they were at home because of their training, but in their context, that is in a village, it was ridiculous to apply the *Summa Theologia* of Thomas Aquinas to someone who wanted to slaughter a beast for his ancestors. How was this imposition of foreign hegemony to be achieved?

If, however, the indigenous clergy is to achieve the results we hope for, it is absolutely necessary that they be well trained and well prepared. We do not mean a rudimentary and slipshod preparation, the bare minimum for ordination. No, their education should be complete and finished, excellent in all its phases, the same kind of education for the priesthood that a European would receive. For the local clergy is not to be trained merely to perform the humbler duties of the ministry, acting as the assistant of foreign priests. On the contrary, they must take up God's work as equals, so that some day they will be able to enter upon the spiritual leadership of their people (MI 15).

They were to be trained on the same level as their European counterparts. It is quite clear, though, that some missionaries did not want native vocations, and never appreciated the importance of them. They rather saw the ordination of priests as a supplement to missionary workers, and not the very first work they should have done. They were satisfied with a native clergy of lower rank, second class or auxiliary clergy. This is exemplified in many instances in South Africa and in the other mission territories.

The encyclical stated that the Catholic Church was not foreign to any people. Those who exercised the sacred ministry should come from all the nations, "so that their countrymen can look to them for instruction in the law of God and leadership on the way to salvation. Wherever the local clergy exist in sufficient numbers, and are suitably trained and worthy of their holy vocation, there you can justly assume that the work of the missionary has been successful and that the church has laid her

foundations well." If this were done, the only thing which could uproot the church was a persecution, and the pope was not sure whether it would succeed, mainly because the church would be deeply entrenched amongst its peoples (MI 16).

The missionaries were also addressed in the letter as it was in their hands that the duty to disseminate the wisdom of Christ lay. It was understood that their mission "is the acquisition of citizen for a heavenly fatherland, and not for earthly one." (MI 18). They were also warned about not involving themselves in worldly schemes. In order to give a good impression to the people who are being evangelised, the pope noted that the missionary should not serve the interests of his homeland because the people would suspect everything he did. "And in addition, such a situation could easily give rise to the conviction that the Christian religion is the national religion of some foreign people and that anyone converted to it is abandoning his loyalty to his own people and submitting to the pretensions and domination of a foreign power" (MI 19). The true missionary in the Catholic church was an ambassador for Christ and not an agent of his country. The pontiff condemned those missionaries who were involved in a making a profit for their individual countries or for themselves, rather than doing the work of Christ (MI 20-21).

The encyclical also addressed some issues the investigator has already highlighted, for instance, missionaries making a profit for themselves and their countries of origin. It was important though, that the missionaries gave the new converts a good impression as the encyclical says, "in order to give a good impression to the people who are being evangelised".

The importance of the language of the local people was highly emphasised in the encyclical. It says, "among the attainments

necessary for the life of a missionary, a place of paramount importance must obviously be granted to the language of the people to whose salvation he will devote himself". Learning the language was very important because with this tool he could interact freely with the people and be able to understand what they said and be understood. This is in line with what Lavigerie was instructing his missionaries in Africa. If they knew the language, they could then easily express themselves and thus disseminate the good news more easily to local people who were mostly uneducated.

Knowledge of the language was good not only for the church but also for the colonial governments. If the missionaries knew the people with whom they lived, knew their language and customs, "Who was better equipped than these missionaries to persuade unwilling "natives" to submit to the *pax Britannica*..."²³⁷ or *Pax Romana*. The missionaries were a force to reckon with, in as far as helping the colonial government to plant the seeds of hegemony.

2.4 Missionary Union of the Clergy

The other important item in the letter was the founding of the Missionary Union of the Clergy. This body was mainly directed to the missions, as the encyclical expands,

We desire the establishment, in all the dioceses of the Catholic world, of the organisation called "The Missionary Union of the Clergy." This organisation is under the direction of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, and We have given the Congregation all authorization necessary for its work. The union was organised a short time ago in Italy, and has rapidly taken root in other places. Its work has Our complete approval, and We have already demonstrated Our pontifical approbation by granting it a number of privileges (*MI 40*).

²³⁷ Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, p.303.

An interesting point of diffusion is exemplified here. The Missionary Organisation was founded in Italy and it succeeded there and so it must also be a good idea for the periphery - the centre invents and the periphery imitates. No original mode of organisation was entertained from outside the core. If that were the case, Rome quickly assimilated the idea as its own as was the case with the missionary exhibition outlined in *Rerum Ecclesiae*.²³⁸

The *modus operandi* of this encyclical is that the problem is identified and a remedy for the situation is suggested and a solution prescribed. These solutions are prescribed *a priori*; like an armchair doctor, without seeing the patient, that is from a central remote place far away from the missions where the missionaries were living.²³⁹ For instance, solutions prescribed in most areas were: seminaries are to be established where they are needed; the Pontifical Urban College in Rome will establish a faculty of Missiology; a missionary for the future was to receive thorough training and he must learn the local language; bishops should encourage vocations specifically geared for missions and be sent abroad; and the Missionary Union of the Clergy should be established in all the dioceses. Though the missionaries were supposed to send missionary reports at regular intervals to Rome, and the vicar generals regularly returned home to report to their hierarchical superiors, the situation in the mission fields was not taken sufficiently seriously.

²³⁸ Claude Soetens, "Pie XI et les missions," in *Achille Ratti Pape Pie XI. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1966), p.719-34.

²³⁹ See Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (Hammondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), where he says that the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Missionaries were responsible to a missionary society in the West, "the heads of which, however sympathetic could not always be aware of the real needs of the work in the field and (though themselves churchmen) were acting to some extent independently of the

In most areas these solutions were not even applicable and they did not make much sense. In addition, another perspective can be highlighted which is that although the teaching and policy of the Catholic church on native clergy had a positive message in that it stated the urgency of native clergy, it had major loopholes for it did not take seriously the real situation in the mission fields and it hindered spontaneity in the mission stations.

2.5 *Maximum Illud* - Magna Carta of modern Catholic Missiology

During the pontificate of Benedict XV (1914-22), the church itself was in a phase of change. After the fall of Rome in 1870 and the voluntary incarceration of Pio Nono, the church became "closed in" and more or less against the world,. From being almost entirely European after the First World War, the territories of the church were expanded greatly.

In the year 1914 all bishops of the Latin rite of the Catholic Church were European or of European descent, apart from four Indians appointed by Leo XIII in 1896 to care for the 'Thomas' Christians of Kerala. The great majority of cardinals were Italians, all were expected to reside in Rome.²⁴⁰

During the war, all Italians, whether Catholic or liberal, were united. The controversy as to who was to control Rome became irrelevant and with the Modernist Controversy ending, the church was freed "to look out upon the world and to bring Christ to the world."²⁴¹

central fellowship of the Church. (p.512-3)

²⁴⁰ Hickey, R., (ed.) *Modern Missionary Documents and Africa; Issued by Popes and Roman Synods*, p.8.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Despite the war, the pope was deeply engulfed in missionary responsibility. In 1916, he established the Pontifical Missionary Union which strove to involve all priests, and through them the native people, in the missionary fields.²⁴² Benedict also paved the way for the transfer of the Society of St. Peter Apostle in 1920 and the Society of the Propagation of Faith in 1922 from France to Rome. After 1922, these societies were directed by Rome. The centralisation of these missionary bodies was one of the greatest achievements of Benedict XV. Of enormous significance was his apostolic letter *Maximum Illud*. Raymond Hickey says this about the document:

This document has been called "The Magna Carta of modern Catholic missiology." All subsequent missionary documents of the popes were built on the principles of *Maximum Illud*. It questioned and even condemned some long-held assumptions concerning the missionary apostolate. These assumptions concerned the link between the mother country and the missionary in the field (emphasised by Cardinal Lavignerie); and the low priority given to the establishment of a fully native clergy (especially in South America). The missionary principles enunciated in *Maximum Illud* were revolutionary for their time, and they directed the missionary energy of the Church in the post-war era.²⁴³

2.6 Impact of World War One and the Growth of Technology

After the First World War, nations of the world were tired of the inhuman war which had taken four years. They were looking for a new world order and brotherhood. With this in mind, the League of Nations was founded in 1919 under the inspiration of President Wilson of the United States. Also technologically, the world was advancing, the telephone was being used more and more, radio broadcasts made news travel quicker, and the first

²⁴² *Ibid.*

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.9.

flight across the Atlantic, from Newfoundland to Ireland, was made by Alcock and Brown in 1919. All these developments took place in the West. For the West it was only natural that the rest of the world should imitate and follow and that western hegemony should be spread to all corners of the world.

With advancements in technology, the missionaries saw that the preaching of the Good News to all nations was a possibility and could be done quicker. It was possible to colonise the whole world and the church and state could easily work together. Rome could communicate easily with the apostolic delegates. Also there was an increased number of seminarians from the mission fields. Europe continued to be the centre, and people could easily travel to the newly discovered territories (peripheries) and communicate with Europe. It was amidst all this that Benedict XV wrote the inspirational, but also semi-official letter which declared the previous and current stand of the Rome in relation to imperialism and colonisation.

The researcher will now move on and look at the next missionary encyclical - *Rerum Ecclesiae* in the next section.

3. *Rerum Ecclesiae*

3.1 Background

Before we can understand the missionary work of Pope Pius XI we need to look at two things: firstly, the work of Pope Benedict XV and secondly, the role of the men from diverse backgrounds who inspired the work of Pope Pius XI with some originality.

After the death of Pius X, Giacomo Chiesa, archbishop of Bologna was chosen as Benedict the XVth. From the start of his

pontificate he was overshadowed by the outbreak of the First World War which pushed theological controversy into the background. The pope thought it was his natural duty to put an end to the war. He declared his neutrality and condemned the 'useless slaughter' of human beings. He put forward a plan in 1917 for a negotiated peace based on natural justice rather than military victory.

But no one heeded and many criticised him. The Italians, accusing him of defeatism, nicknamed him *Maladetto XV*. He was suspected of favouring Catholic Austria against the Orthodox Serbs, and even of wishing for a German victory since the Germans had promised to restore Rome to the Pope after Italy had been defeated. In any case national feeling had led the clergy of every nation to embrace the patriotic cause. The first World War underlined the Vatican's political importance.²⁴⁴

With all these difficulties, the Pope turned his attention to the missionary work of the church. Benedict XV produced an inspiring letter for the mission and was assisted in this by the Dutch Cardinal van Rossum²⁴⁵ and Cardinal Pietro Gasparri.²⁴⁶ The former was able to read the signs of the times and he worked with both popes, Pius XI and Benedict XV, on their

²⁴⁴ Vivian Green, *A New History of Christianity* (New York: Continuum, 1996), p.294.

²⁴⁵ Cardinal Willem van Rossum, a Dutchman was Prefect of Propaganda from 1918 to 1932. His principal aim was to put into execution the liberating Encyclical of Benedict XV (*Maximum Illud*, 1919). Van Rossum appointed an Italian prelate, Celso Costantini (later Cardinal) to China as apostolic delegate, this meant that he was the direct representative of the pope with authority extending over all archbishops and bishops. When he arrived in China he was commissioned to consecrate Chinese bishops, but when he asked the heads of the missions, they said that not a single Chinese was qualified for such a post. Soon the Cardinal found one priest, Philip Tchao, and five others followed. The six bishops to be were called to Rome and consecrated by Pius XI at St. Peter's in 1926. This began the process of indigenising the church in most of the mission fields. For further discussion, see Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, p.522. Also on van Rossum and the Holy See's missionary policy in the early 1920s, see Claude Soetens, "Pie XI et les Missions influences et circonstances majeures (1922-1926)", p.719-34.

²⁴⁶ Cardinal Pietro Gasparri (1852-1934), led the group which revised the canon law. The project was completed by 1916. He later became the papal secretary of State.

respective encyclicals - *Maximum Illud* and *Rerum Ecclesiae*. In his work he

fought to free the missions from European bias by improving the formation of native clergy and ensuring their rapid promotion to episcopacy. Among other things, he called Fr. Streit, one of the most eminent Catholic specialists on the missions, to Rome. Van Rossum's work was a turning point for the mission and opened the door to a new era.²⁴⁷

One of the facets of the new era was the growing understanding of the concept of the local church. These two encyclicals paved the way for this new understanding. But nevertheless, the sense of being superior, of the need to disseminate information, laws and rules to the "poor heathens" continued. The church still disregarded the local churches and their creativity which could enrich the church,²⁴⁸ as Claude Soetens observed in his article on Pius XI:

According to its universal vocation the church under the conduct (guidance) of its chief presents itself as safeguard force of international ruler. In this sense, the supreme authority of the church must be in control ... of missions, whatever the colonial positions are. Between the lines, one finds the idea of restraining and widening at the same time - Christianity which is the genuine Society of Nations. Secondly, the opening to non-European countries which are awakening imposes (requires) the creation of native ecclesiastical frames on the field.²⁴⁹

The above statement reveals interesting dynamics of interaction between the missionaries and the native people. It implies that the church was coming with power, to control the indigenous churches. They brought with them Western hegemony and imposed it on the new churches. This was to be ideologically justified in the creation of native ecclesiastical frames in the mission fields, as a way of checking whether Western hegemony had taken root, as well as that the universal vocation of the church had implanted itself.

²⁴⁷ Bühlmann, *The coming of the third Church*, p.191.

²⁴⁸ Ela, *African Cry*, p.25.

²⁴⁹ Claude Soetens, "Pie XI et les Missions influences et circonstances majeures (1922-1926)", p.721.

The interesting power-plays, within the Catholic church, were noted earlier on. There are multiple levels one can look at. The researcher will look at three. Firstly, within the Catholic church, Rome was a power centre. Secondly, the country in which the missionary was living constituted another. And lastly, the missionaries or people came from different countries with their own power dynamics. All these "powers bases", that is Rome, the country of residence and the country of origin tried to assert hegemony and because of these conflicting hegemonies the situation in a mission could be very complex. The relationship between Rome (centre) and South Africa (periphery), or between Germany with the Mariannhill Missionary (centre) and South Africa (periphery), will unfold as we proceed in our investigation. For the moment, we are mainly focussing on Rome as a power structure and its influence on the mission fields. The researcher will now closely examine *Rerum ecclesiae* in the light of what we have already discussed above and in the previous chapter.

3.2 Principles

The principles of *Maximum Illud* are affirmed by this pastoral letter of Pius XI, *Rerum ecclesiae*. It carries a similar message as the one issued by Pope Benedict XV in *Maximum Illud*. The teaching of what the church should practise is clearly set out in Section 1:

...(to)spread the light of the gospel and the benefits of Christian culture and civilisation to the peoples who "sat in darkness and in the shadow of death." The Church has no other reason for existence than, by developing the kingdom of Christ on earth,... Whoever, by Divine Commission, takes the place on earth of Jesus Christ, becomes thereby the chief Shepherd who, far from being able to rest content with simply guiding and protecting the Lord's Flock which has been confided to him to rule, fails in his special duty and obligations if he does not strive by might and main to win over and to join Christ all who

are still without Fold²⁵⁰

Pope Pius XI substantially acknowledges the letter of Benedict XV.

Sections 2-19 deal with other activities which also had a direct influence on native clergy and the indigenisation of the church. For instance, section three of *Rerum ecclesiae* deals with the Missionary Exhibition and Museum (in Rome), about which the pope commented "This museum was going to be like a book, it will always be open" in which Pius XI said "there would be found the real centre *compulsion and diffusion of all the mission* and which every person would be able to read about that."²⁵¹ This is in line with the idea of diffusionism (explained in chapter one) which states that the West believes that it invents new ideas and diffuses this information to the periphery. The pope, however, was "determined to leave nothing undone ... (about) the light of the gospel and thus smoothen the way to salvation for heathen nations."²⁵² The other sections of the document deal with "The necessity of the Apostolate (RE 5-6); The contribution of prayer (RE 7-8); missionary vocations (RE 9-11).

3.3 Preliminary remarks about the encyclical

The introduction to the encyclical clearly shows that from *Maximum Illud* in 1919, to this document in 1926 very little had changed in terms of the perception that the West had, i.e. that its cultural and religious superiority should continue to guide the rest of the 'discovered world'. It also reinforces the idea

²⁵⁰ Pius XI, Pope, *Papal Encyclicals: Rerum Ecclesiae, Encyclical of Pius XI on Catholic Missions*, February 28, 1926, p.281.

²⁵¹ Soetens, "Pie XI et les missions," p..719-34. (Italics mine)

that the church in its organisation especially in Africa, "would long remain a foreign institution, testimonial to a colonising West. Its homogenising centralisation would impose its law everywhere."²⁵³ This is exemplified in statements like "the Roman Pontiffs have been directed to the end that they, undeterred by difficulties and obstacles, might spread the light of the gospel and the benefits of Christian culture and civilisation to the peoples who "sat in darkness and in the shadow of death." The "heathen" are asked to join in this revelation. But though this appears to be genuine, even in the twentieth century, the churches in Africa were still treated as appendices to the mother church; they do not have full autonomy over themselves. The encyclical was a way of inculcating the superiority of the West and, most significantly, the centralisation of the church. As suggested by the encyclical, the church had to be united. However, one has to take note of the difference between *unity* and *uniformity*, as Kalilombe explains:

We have tended, especially in the Catholic Church, to confuse *unity* and *uniformity*. We are rightly reoccupied with being one with the rest of the church in the world, and we rightly take pride in knowing that the church that we have in Africa is the same as that all over the universe, the same as the one that has existed throughout the centuries, since the time of our Lord and the Apostles... We imagine there is a sort of palpable pre-existing model or 'master' out there... But we fail to realise that this imaginary 'master' is nothing else but our image of the church from abroad... from particular experiences of the church in Europe and America.²⁵⁴

This theme appears to be greatly emphasised in the encyclical, that is the emphasis on the condition under which native clergy can be trained and how to direct the whole process from Rome.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p.282.

²⁵³ Ela, *African Cry*, p.23.

²⁵⁴ Patrick A. Kalilombe, "Self-Reliance of the African Church: A Catholic Perspective" in K.Appiah-Kubi, & S.Torres, (eds) *African Theology en route* (New York: Orbis Books, 1983), p.43-44.

3.4 Missionary Union of the Clergy

The encyclical goes on to emphasise an organisation initiated by Benedict XV, the Missionary Union of the Clergy. This was highly encouraged by Pius XI as we can see from this statement:

...that the Missionary Union of the Clergy be established in your diocese, and if this has already been done, encourage the organisation by your counsels, your exhortations, and your authority to renewed activity. This Union, founded providentially eight years ago by Our immediate Predecessor, has been enriched by numerous indulgences and put under the special jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. In these last years it has spread through many dioceses of the Catholic world... . Great is the number of priests, as well as ecclesiastical students, who belong to the Missionary Union and who pray..., that the gift of faith be bestowed upon the almost limitless number of pagans.²⁵⁵

3.5 New societies in the Propagation of Faith

Sections 14-17 deals with new societies, concerned with the propagation of the faith and the work of the Holy Childhood and St. Peter. With the help of these societies "... seminaries and other institutions have undertaken to meet the expenses for the maintenance and instruction of some needy ecclesiastical students."²⁵⁶ It is well known that from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the West (in this case we include Europe, USA and Canada) provided monetary resources for the promotion of the faith. With their funds, places of worship, schools, clinics, seminaries, and catechetical schools functioned effectively. These were mostly maintained outside the missionary countries themselves. Students at the seminaries had to have benefactors. They were "going to live as an underdeveloped person, at the mercy of a heterocentric

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.284.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.285.

economy".²⁵⁷ For most of the activities at the mission stations, a silent partner had to be found abroad. But what they did to Africa and indeed to other countries was to make them dependant on them, so that even up to now it is very difficult for the churches in Africa to exist without the aid of all these societies. They created a dependency syndrome still manifest today.

For the people being evangelised it was very difficult to distinguish the new arrivals (missionaries and colonisers), as they came together. As Ela notes:

...missions were of course supported by civil authority; they enjoyed numerous prerogatives and acquired vast domains for the establishment of their works. Not directly subject to the civil administration, the "national" missions nonetheless contributed their influence to the service of their country.²⁵⁸

The parts of *Rerum Ecclesiae* that concerns this thesis are in sections 18-27.

3.6 The Need for Native Clergy

Section 18 encourages the work already done by some vicars and prefects apostolics. Pius XI rightly notices that some missionaries have carried out the objectives of Benedict XV, but despite this he saw a need to still emphasise some points. The first point he deals with is the establishment of the native clergy where he says:

..., let us recall to your attention how important it is that you build up a native clergy. If you do not work with all your might to accomplish this, we maintain that your apostolate will be not only crippled, but will prove to be an obstacle and an impediment for the establishment and organisation of the Church in those countries.... You remember the complaint of the our

²⁵⁷ Ela, *African Cry*, p.20

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.21.

predecessor, Benedict XV, of happy memory, in this matter ²⁵⁹

In *Maximum Illud*, section 17 talks of the sadness it gave Benedict to see a territory without local clergy, or if they were there, they were of lower quality and without bishops. The value of native clergy is emphasised in Section 21 of *Rerum Ecclesiae*. For the church of God to be established, "it is abundantly evident that clergy placed in charge by apostles, in every new community faithful, were not brought in from without, but were chosen from the natives of the locality." To say this in principle was good, but the authorities in Rome very likely did not know just how difficult it was for the natives to become priests. The first barrier was psychological, the missionaries wanted to play it safe, they did not want to be imprudent. Above all they did not trust the new converts; they thought that the time had not yet come for them to be priests. The second difficulty for natives was that the training imposed by the Council of Trent was too hard for new converts. In the seminaries it was very difficult to set the Tridentine standards and also to follow a long course in Latin.²⁶⁰ Since a Western-based type of training was imposed on the natives, it became very difficult to get local vocations. In South Africa by 1926 there were only four black priests trained in Rome.

The pope felt very strongly that the native priests should be allowed to cultivate their own field, that is have their own local priests and leaders. "Why should the native clergy be prevented from cultivating their own field - that is, from governing their own people?... . The same native clergy will prove to be most useful, more useful in fact than it was ever imagined, in extending more widely the kingdom of Christ."

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.285-6 and Hickey, (ed.) *Modern Missionary Documents and Africa; Issued by Popes and Roman Synods*, p.61. (See MI 17)

²⁶⁰ Adrian Hastings, *Church and Mission in Modern Africa* (London: Burns and Oates, 1967), p.23.

To emphasise the importance of native clergy, Pius XI quotes the words of Benedict XV, by saying that the native priest is in touch with his own people and can be valuable in instilling the Good News into the minds of his own people.

On a positive and practical note, Pius continues to stress the access that the native priest has to local communities, something which was overlooked by the early missionaries. He says the native priest

...knows, in fact better than anyone else, the best methods to follow; and so it frequently happens that he will often gain access where a foreign priest could never gain entrance. Moreover, foreign missionaries, on account of their imperfect knowledge of the language, are frequently prevented from expressing themselves. As a result the force and efficacy of their preaching are greatly weakened.

This point will be illustrated when we discuss the first four black priests in South Africa in chapter 3, and even the later ones in chapter 4. The policy of the papacy was clearly set out on the native clergy. It was clear that they wanted the church to be localised. But we need to look at what happened on the mission fields. We will examine this later with examples of priests who were ordained in Rome, and who had tremendous trouble working with some missionary congregations.²⁶¹

Pius XI had great foresight, because what he says especially in section 22, has been and will be applicable for a very long time to come. About the need for native clergy he says,

...Let us suppose, ...that either because of the fortunes of war, or because of certain political happenings in a mission field, the ruling government is changed in that territory and the new government decrees or requests that missionaries of certain nationality be expelled; or let us suppose - something which rarely, if ever, occurs - that the inhabitants of a particular territory, having reached a fairly high degree of civilization and at the same time a corresponding development in civic and social life, and desiring to become free and

²⁶¹ See chapter 3.

independent, should drive away from their country the governor, the soldiers, the missionaries of the foreign nation to whose rule they are subject... Everyone can see what great harm would accrue to the church ..., unless a native clergy... had been spread... through the country ... to provide adequately for the population which had been converted"²⁶²

This has been seen to be true in recent history, in the Americas, Africa and Asia. An example close to home is the South African situation during the days of apartheid. Several missionary priests were refused entry into South Africa, due to what they said or wrote. But, interestingly, a very controversial figure in the apartheid years, one who wrote and spoke against it - Archbishop Denis Hurley - was never touched! The explanation is that he was a South African. So the state had to bear with him.

The statement in the encyclical we have to consider carefully is this "let us suppose - something which *rarely*, if ever, occurs - that the inhabitants of a particular territory, having reached a *fairly high degree of civilization* and at the same time a corresponding development in civic and social life, and desiring to become free and independent" (italics mine). This in itself is very paternalistic as it suggests that natives were incapable of ever ruling themselves. It also suggests that "evangelists were not just bearers of a vocal ...ideology, nor merely the media of modernity. They were also human vehicles of hegemonic world-view."²⁶³

The heads of missions were also encouraged to have a large number of student priests (*RE* 25). But they were encouraged not to lose heart because the church at large was to help them. The heads of mission should "strive to mould and form them (students) in that sanctity which is becoming to the priestly

²⁶² *Ibid.*, pp.286-7.

²⁶³ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.310.

life and in the true spirit of the apostolate"; so that they can even lay down their lives for the "salvation of the people of their tribe or nation". They were also to be well educated and receive a scientific education both in the sacred and profane sciences. In this way, they would be good hegemonic vehicles for the church and colonial authority. In order for them to be recognised, Rome encouraged the missionaries to look upon the native priests on the same level as themselves. It condemned the prejudice that non-European were lesser humans:

Anyone who looks upon these natives as members of an inferior race or as men of low mentality makes a grievous mistake. Experience over a long period of time has proven that the inhabitant of those remote regions of the East and of the South frequently are not inferior to us at all, and are capable of holding their own with us, even in mental ability. We have here under Our very eyes the example of certain native students attending the colleges of Rome who not only are equal to the other students in ability and in results they obtain in their studies, but frequently even surpass them. Certainly you should not allow the native clergy to be looked upon as if they were a lower grade of priests, to be employed only in the most humble offices of the ministry. (RE)

The native priests were to be admitted to the same priesthood as the missionaries; there was to be no difference at all. They, in fact, should be preferred because they were to rule the church. For Rome, it was clear - there should be no discrimination between the native and missionary priests: "Let all priests, missionaries and natives be united with one another in bonds of mutual respect and love." What Rome says was very laudable, but it did not happen in the mission field as Rome intended. More often than not, as we shall establish in chapter three, the native clergy were considered to be inferior to missionary priests

Another important aspect in our investigation is the founding of the Franciscan Familiars of St Joseph (FFJ) and *Filiae Sancti Francisci de Assisi* (FSF). In the opinion of some black priests, this was done to comply with the segregatory laws

which already existed in South Africa. But Pius XI also favoured the establishment of local orders based on the belief that they would be more successful and tap into the local needs and resources. He addressed this issue when he wrote that missionaries ought to consider founding native religious congregations.

Therefore, if there are natives who desire to join one or other of the older Congregations, it assuredly would not be right to dissuade them or to prevent their joining, provided, of course, they give signs of being able to acquire the spirit of these congregations and of establishing in their own countries houses of the Order which shall not be worthy of the Congregation of which they are members. Perhaps it would be well if you would consider seriously and without admixture of self-interest, if it would not be more advantageous all around to establish entirely new Congregations, which would correspond better with the genius and character of the natives and which would be more in keeping with the needs and the spirit of the different countries. (RE)

It is possible that this paragraph played a role in the founding of the FFJ and FSF. However, from the researcher's oral sources, a contrary opinion is presented. Most of the interviewees felt that these congregations had been founded because the bishop felt that the black priests were not ready to join the European congregations. To avoid further problems, these congregations were of a diocesan nature which placed them under the authority of a bishop.²⁶⁴ This was in order to keep a close control over them - since it was considered that Africans were not yet ready to be priests and religious!

The rest of the encyclical deals with items on the catechists (RE 27), contemplative orders (RE 28), distribution of missionaries (RE 29), church buildings (RE 31) and the cooperation of different institutes (RE 32).

²⁶⁴ See Appendix on Interview conducted, Bishop Biyase and Natalis Mjoli.

3.7 Summary of *Rerum Ecclesiae*

The main emphasis of *Rerum Ecclesiae* is the need for a native clergy. The missions had to develop and encourage indigenous clergy as they were the ones who could properly instil the message of Christ and also govern the people. The pope also predicted some of the political upheavals which were to occur, especially after the countries were decolonised. For him, the missionary apostolate did not solely rest on the pope but on the church. Most of what was said in *Maximum Illud* is reiterated and emphasised with great vigour and urgency.

Pope Pius XI (1922-39) is known as the pope of the missions because he strengthened the foundations built by Benedict XV. In his time, the centre of missionary activity moved from France to Rome. He approved the transfer of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith from Lyon to Italy, Rome. A permanent missionary museum was erected at the Lateran Palace in Rome and missiology became a separate subject to be studied. Again, we see the issue of centralisation and question whether it was really good for the church. In most cases we have indicated otherwise. The Dutch Cardinal van Rossum helped the pope in the task of indigenisation. He was appointed by Benedict XV as Prefect of *Propaganda Fide* in 1918. Under Pius XI, he retained this position until his untimely death in 1932. He worked extremely hard in getting a native episcopate:

The new pope depended heavily upon him in the appointment of the first indigenous bishops in the mission territories. There was much opposition to this in field, and Cardinal van Rossum exercised persistence and tact to gain the co-operation of the heads of missions.²⁶⁵

By 1923, an Indian Bishop had been consecrated for Fisher Coast

²⁶⁵ Hickey, (ed.) *Modern Missionary Documents and Africa; Issued by Popes and Roman Synods*, p.12.

in India, and in 1926 the pope ordained "the first six Chinese bishops in Rome". This coincided with the encyclical. In the same year, the pope established the *Fides* news agency. The pope also ordained the first Japanese bishop, and St. Therese of the Child of Jesus was declared patron saint of the missions. In 1933, native bishops were ordained in Vietnam, and in 1937, Sri-Lanka and Korea got their own bishop.

With the centralisation of the missionary activities of the church, apostolic delegates were appointed to represent the pope in many mission fields. For instance, delegates had already been appointed in Japan (1919), South Africa (1920) and China (1922). For the Belgian and British colonies, delegates were appointed in 1930.

The researcher has looked at the encyclical of Pius XI in great detail providing critical comment where necessary. He has also briefly highlighted the influence of two personalities - van Rossum and Gasparri and other notable personalities who played a part in inspiring the missionary policy of Pius the XI and thereafter putting it into practice. At this time (1926), one can also observe how the management of the church in the West and traditional theological teachings had not yet been perceived as obstacles to the spreading of the gospel.

It appears that one cannot understand the involvement of Pius XI in the missionary domain without linking it to options chosen from 1918 onwards. These are intimately linked to the personality of Cardinal Gaspari and van Rossum with the idea of restoring Christianity under the aegis of Rome. These options have a bearing on the missions policy of disinvolvement and on the necessity to institute an indigenous framework for the church, at least in instances where politically urgent matters meant that one could not postpone this any longer. On the one hand, these choices are taken up and amplified by Pius XI.²⁶⁶

A point to consider is the fact that the pontificate was not the only institution responsible for this missionary function

of the church, there were others. The pontificate was in charge of concrete organisation of missions. It was also supposed to guarantee the non-political character of evangelisation since the church went to different countries and nationalities. The main role of the pontificate was to favour peace. In the encyclical, the pope instructed missionaries to concentrate on their religious role. Soetens comments:

the great mobilisation under the apostolic motivation from Rome gives the missionary movement of the 1920s and marks the climax of the long period which had started in the 16th century. The antimony that we would have attempted to establish in the wishful indigenisations and the mobilisation of the Christian West was resolved at the time by concerted actions through three factors: the very strong personal determination of the Pius the XI; the existence of very close collaborators who were determined; and the global project of the church which was sufficiently powerful on the international plan and all over the world in order to make a peaceful regime and in order to guarantee that destiny of people should be orientated in a Christian sense."²⁶⁷

Bearing in mind that in its teaching the pontificate really wanted native priests and indigenous bishops, the researcher has highlighted the fact that this policy was heavily loaded with power struggles, in some cases conflicting ideologies, and in some cases clear ideologies (to dominate) the defeated nations. Though written with good intentions, the two encyclicals are loaded with imperialistic notions and they suggest that the church had no choice but to work with the colonisers. The encyclicals also promoted Eurocentric ideals whereby most of the decisions, training methods and evangelisation strategies had to be decided in Europe based on predominantly European values. Even with the discovery of the new continents, Rome or Europe had to be the centre.

²⁶⁶ Soeten, "Pie XI et les missions", p.734 (my translation)

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.735. (my translation)

The remaining three encyclicals will now be briefly summarised, so that one sees that the mission trend did not change significantly during this era.

4. *Evangelii Praecones*²⁶⁸

4.1 Background

This letter was issued by Pope Pius XII on the 25th anniversary of *Rerum Ecclesiae*. Despite the interruption of World War II (1939-1945), the missions had achieved a great deal and these achievements are listed in the encyclical. The native clergy and bishops had steadily grown.

The letter also emphasises the importance of education especially at a time when communism was spreading rapidly. Another important aspect of the letter was that the missionaries should respect the culture and customs of the people.

...let not the gospel, on being introduced into a new land, destroy or extinguish whatever its people possess that is naturally good, just or beautiful. For the church, when she calls people to a higher culture and a better way of life under the inspiration of Christian religion, does not act like one who recklessly cuts down and uproots a thriving forest."

But generally, the encyclical reaffirms what the earlier encyclicals mentioned.

²⁶⁸ The sub-title of the encyclical is " On promoting Catholic Missions - Encyclical Letter of Pius XII. It was issued on June 2nd, 1951.

4.2 On Native Clergy

Of primary importance to us in this investigation is the section dealing with principles of missionary work. The missionary, according to Pope Pius XII, must consider the country he is going to as a second fatherland. He must not work for the gain of his country but rather for the salvation of souls. Essential to this is the fact that they must learn the language of the country they are going to, as he says, "Hence they should be given a sound knowledge of languages, especially of those which they will require at some future date. Besides, they should be sufficiently instructed in the sciences of medicine, agriculture, ethnography, history, geography, and so on."²⁶⁹

The aims and objectives of the Apostolic See are re-stated in this encyclical. For the purposes of our research we will quote the full statement of objectives:

The object of missionary activity, ... is to bring the light of the gospel to new races and to form new Christians. However, the ultimate goal of missionary endeavour, which should never be lost to sight, is to establish the Church on sound foundations among non-Christian peoples and place it under its own native hierarchy.... The church's aim is not the domination of peoples or the gaining of temporal dominions; she is eager only to bring the supernatural light of faith to all peoples, and to promote the interests of civilisation and culture, and fraternal concord among nations." (EP)

The question of native clergy is also addressed when he says, "...that the Church cannot be properly and duly established in new territories unless all is there organised as time and circumstances require and especially unless a native clergy equal to the need has been properly educated and trained." Section 25 of *Rerum Ecclesiae* is referred to extensively.

²⁶⁹ Hickey, *Modern Missionary Documents and Africa*, p.83.

An important aspect regarding missionaries, which can be linked to Lavigerie's thinking,²⁷⁰ is the fact that once the church had been established and handed over to the natives the missionaries were not to leave immediately. But rather it would be advantageous that they remained to co-operate with the newly-appointed native bishop. As in other Catholic dioceses around the world religious congregations usually assisted the local ordinary, and this was to be applicable in the mission countries.²⁷¹

The pope took great pleasure in announcing that the Missionary Union of Clergy, established by Benedict XV, had achieved tremendous results. Priests and laity were then asked to work more for the progress of the missions.

5. *Fidei Donum*²⁷²

This encyclical is dedicated to the situation in Africa. Earlier on, the main thrust of the church had been on the Far-East, especially China. The year, 1957, is marked a year of the "wind of change" for, after this date, many countries became independent. Hence, there was a need to focus on Africa, as the church had not progressed there as well as the pontificate had wished. It was still European in leadership and ministry and this was indeed an issue of major concern.

Rome's purpose was to establish a local clergy and so the encyclical expressed joy with the establishment of hierarchies in many countries. Many African priests were ordained to the

²⁷⁰ See section 4.4.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp.86-87.

²⁷² The sub-title of the encyclical is "On the present State of the Catholic Missions especially in Africa", issued by Pius XII, April 21st, 1957.

priesthood, "in conformity with the 'ultimate purpose' of missionary labour, which is to establish the Church 'firmly and permanently among new peoples.'..."²⁷³ However, in Africa the missionary efforts were not ending but just beginning, even though hierarchies had been established. This was mainly because the continent was vast and, at that time, Africa was just developing. The pontificate recommended a remedy which could alleviate the problems. It set out a programme of action for the old, established missions as follows:

Colleges and School..., and Christian doctrine (must be) taught throughout all grades. Organisations for social action must be established to guide the work of chosen groups of Catholics in the service of society. The Catholic press must be developed in all its forms. Modern techniques for the diffusion of culture must be studied, for it is known in our day how important a well-formed and enlightened public opinion is. ...attention must be given to the growing development of Catholic Action, and to the satisfaction of the religious and cultural needs of a generation which, deprived of sufficient food, might be exposed to the danger of going outside the Church to seek nourishment.

²⁷⁴

By 1957, the number of clergy was decreasing in proportion to the faithful. "The African clergy is undoubtedly growing, but it will not be able to take complete charge of the management of its own dioceses for many years to come, even with the help of missionaries who bring the faith."²⁷⁵ To help solve this dilemma the co-operation of the entire church was called upon. The faithful were also specifically targeted with their threefold missionary duty of prayer, generosity and themselves. The brethren were also appealed to, to render some missionary vocations so that they could help the situation in Africa.

The encyclical also deals with the questions raised by African and Asian students who went overseas. It says that it was quite possible that they might be influenced by the materialistic

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.109.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.114.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.115

tendencies of Europe. So the pope asked that experienced and hard-working priests should be appointed for such apostolates so that they could guide the students.

6. Conclusions

In the five encyclicals, the researcher has also outlined the desire of the popes and the church's support for the indigenisation of the church in the mission regions. It is evident that in some cases the missionaries were very comfortable with what they had, so much so that they delayed ordaining the local clergy. In some cases local clergy were sent to Propaganda College in Rome, but when they came back their lives were characterised by rejection and frustrations.

In the next Chapter case we will look at the first four black priests in South Africa and how they served as perpetual assistant priests and were never in charge of any missions. This clearly contradicts the intentions of the Roman pontiffs which was for the locals to take over the control of the church.

In the following chapter the researcher will try to highlight the discrepancies between the teaching of Rome on local clergy, and what actually happened in the mission fields.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FIRST FOUR BLACK CATHOLIC PRIESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will present four case studies of the early black Catholic clergy in South Africa. To begin with, the background of the individual priest will be discussed, then an exposition of the conflict with missionary priests or bishops will be outlined. Finally, oral testimony, where applicable, will be used to try and establish the difference between the "public" and "hidden transcripts". All these four cases will be analysed in the light of the conceptual framework discussed in detail in Chapter One.²⁷⁶ I will now look at Edward Mnganga, the first black priest in South Africa.

2. Edward Muller Kece Mnganga 1872-1945

2.1 Background

In November 1887, "a promising boy" from the 'Latin School' at Mariannhill presented himself. Pfanner, the superior decided to send him to Rome to study for the priesthood."²⁷⁷ Edward Mnganga

²⁷⁶ See section 1.4.2.

²⁷⁷ Monastery Chronicle 1882-1895, p.50. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery. See also; Respondek, "Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum," p. 48 and [Hermann], A., *History of the Congregation of the Missionary Of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*, p.19.

came from the Mangangeni in Mhlatuzane,²⁷⁸ as Mrs Malukati Mncadi recalled: "... The thing he used to tell me, was that he was coming from Mangangeni [...] as he (Edward Mnganga) was called Mangangeni. I think that place is close to Mariannhill but I do not know where about".²⁷⁹

Mnganga travelled to Rome with a young Mariannhill priest from England, David Bryant.²⁸⁰ The latter had been ordained in the same year. After Bryant came back to South Africa he worked in the Transkei and was later transferred to Ebuhleni, near Emoyeni. This station had been founded as a result of a series of events closely associated with the white Zulu chief John Dunn. Earlier, Bishop Jolivet had despaired over whether a mission in Zululand would be possible. However, an opportunity arose when Dunn, with 40 wives and over 100 coloured children, saw that his life was coming to an end and wanted to secure a good future for his offspring.²⁸¹ He therefore discussed possibilities for his children with the British resident Commissioner, Marshall Clarke. Bishop Jolivet and Clarke were

²⁷⁸ *Vergismichnicht*, 1899, p.11. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery; where the writer talks of the first Zulu-priest to be ordained and describes the astonishment and the joy of especially the girls at a mission school in Pinetown, when the Prior of Mariannhill arrived with the priest. Müller had been a pupil of a Mariannhill mission school since 1884 and was sent to Rome in 1887 by the then Prior Franz Pfanner; *Izindaba Zabantu*, (7 September, 1928); Respondek, "Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum," p.48.

²⁷⁹ Malukati Mncadi, interview conducted in Mariathal, Ixopo, September 1994.

²⁸⁰ *Monastery Chronicle*, 1882-1895, p.50. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery.

²⁸¹ A.T. Bryant describes the coming of the Trappist missionaries to Dunn's household as follows:- "when Dunn had died, the Res. Com. Of Zululand requested our authorities in Durban to send up a missionary to advise and instruct the very large family now left stranded, with a considerable amount of property of all sorts - a tin-box full of golden sovereign (as his principal wife, Nontombi, told me; and which, she said, had mysteriously 'disappeared' after his death, and was never found), thousands of cattle dispersed among hundreds of Native kraals (nobody knew which!) And so on. Well, this missionary had already arrived at Emoyeni a few week before myself, and had already started his 'half-cast' mission there among his flock. Manuscript of David Bryant entitled "Some Sweet Memories" 1947. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid.

good friends, having been prisoners-of-war during the first Transvaal War of Independence and this relationship continued when Clarke was resident commissioner in Basutoland.²⁸² William P. Murray, the vicarial bursar acted as go-between and an agreement was reached and Catholic missionaries were sent to Dunn's farm which was at Emoyeni just outside Eshowe. The object of the mission was:

to provide for education of the children of the late John Dunn, and Dunn's chief wife, Nontombi, was willing to provide a schoolroom and quarters for the teachers. The official application to open the mission was made by Murray and approved by Clarke. Fr. Anselme Rousset, Brother Boudon and three Dominican sisters from Oakford setting out in February 1896 to begin the new venture. The party was accompanied by Father Mathieu, the most experienced amongst the Oblates missionaries to the Zulus, who assisted with the luggage and with the setting of the mission itself.²⁸³

After establishing themselves, the missionaries then built a school at Emoyeni, near Dunn's homestead. In June 1896, Anselme Rousset applied for land on nearby Entabeni Hill which was to be used for cultivation. He later established the Holy Cross Mission there, which catered for the Zulus in the area. The first visit by the bishop to this station was carried out in December 1898 and he confirmed "about 30 neophytes, most of them being of the Dunn family."²⁸⁴ Also a number of white children had been accepted at the school so the mission was due to grow.

Bryant,²⁸⁵ in the meantime, was moved from the Transkei to Zululand in October 1896. He stayed for a short time at

²⁸² Brain, J.B., "Early History of the Roman Catholic Church 1846-1885" (M.A. Thesis, University of South Africa, 1974), p.245.

²⁸³ Brain, *Catholics in Natal II, 1886-1925*, p. 118.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.119.

²⁸⁵ Bryant was a Zulu ethnographer. He made the term "Nguni" referring to Zulu-and Xhosa-speaking fashionable in academic circles when he collected oral traditions in Natal and published a book entitled *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* in 1929. He also published other works on the Zulu people, for instance, *A Zulu-English Dictionary*, (Mariannhill, 1905); "The Zulu Cult of the Dead Man" (London) 17, 140-

Emoyeni, and while there he negotiated for a mission site. He was granted a site of 10 acres at Ongaye Hill at Ebuhleni. As he wrote

After I had spent a few month there (Emoyeni), roaming the Zulu country looking for a suitable site for my first Native mission (R.C.) among the Zulu. I at length struck upon one of the loveliest spots in all South Africa, and I immediately named Ebuhleni. Situated just below the oNghoye all-range (with its great forest, 10 miles long by two through), the country was an extensive expanse of hundreds of gentle hills, all of various shapes and heights, and all covered with beautiful woodlands, and having numerous crystal brooklets running along the valley. The whole place was furthermore thickly covered with Kraals, all heathen,²⁸⁶ there being not a single 'town Native' anywhere around.

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

In 1898, Mnganga returned to South Africa after successfully completing his studies at Collegium Urbanum.²⁸⁷ The College had been established in 1627 by the Bull *Immortalis Dei* and placed under the direction of the Congregation of Propaganda. Its purpose was mainly to train candidates from all nations for the secular priesthood, who, if commanded by the pope, would promote or defend the faith anywhere in the world, even at the risk of their lives. Urban VIII had realised that it was necessary to establish a central seminary for missions where

145 and *The Zulu People as they were Before the White Man Came* (Pietermaritzburg, 1949). See also Respondek, "Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum," p. 47. Interestingly, Bryant heard of Zululand during the 1879 war and he describes it thus, "Suddenly I came to hear, for the first time, of 'Zululand'. *The Graphic* and *London News* were filled with pictures of ferocious savages, decked out in flowing plumes and heathen girdles, rushing wildly down, with assegais and up-raised shields, upon (apparently) quite fearless British squares. Poor deluded things! The assegais and flowing feathers always got the worst of it. That was the Zulu War, of 1879. Unpublished manuscript of David Bryant entitled "Some Sweet Memories" 1947. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid.

²⁸⁶ Manuscript of David Bryant entitled "Some Sweet Memories" 1947. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid.

²⁸⁷ "Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus" in *Vergissmeinnicht* p.11 and no.63, 1945 pp. 235-238 and "Der erste Zulu Priester" in

young ecclesiastics could be educated, not only for countries which had no national colleges, but also for those that were endowed with such institutions. He thought it desirable to have, in every country, priests educated in an international college where they could get to know each other and establish future relationships. This vision of future relations which Urban VIII had is captured in the extract from a letter to Mnganga by one of his former classmates at Urbanum:

I have the honour to enclose a small alms for the Zululand mission. I was a student some 30 years ago in Rome with a Zulu priest, but I fear *lapses est a gratia*. I think his name was Muller. May I ask a kind prayer, as my health is very poor.²⁸⁸

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

Upon Mnganga's arrival, "Bishop Jolivet decided that he would be of most use to the vicariate among his own people in Zululand and sent him there to assist A.T. Bryant (later David) who was working amidst the Zulu at Ebuhleni."²⁸⁹ We read that:

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

Vergissmeinnicht, 1887, p.11.

²⁸⁸ Rt. Rev. Mgr Hook, A letter to the bishop for Mnganga, The Presbytery, Queen's road Aberystwyth Wales, England, 5 Sept 1923. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first black Catholic Priests.

²⁸⁹ Chronicle Monastery, 1896-1911), p.111. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery; See [Hermann], A., *History of the Congregation of the Missionary Of Mariannahill in the Province of Mariannahill, South Africa*, p.19; Brain, *Catholics in Natal II, 1886-1925*, p. 252 and Respondek, "Die Erziehung von Eingeborenen zum Priestertum in der Mariannahill Mission," in *Zeitschrift fur Missionwissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 34, 1950, p.47-49.

Newcastle to undertake the teaching; and when the number of pupils reached 30 Bryant applied for a government grant.²⁹⁰

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

2.2 Mnganga's conflict with David Bryant

Mnganga, worked at this mission from 1898 to 1906. While working there, he encountered many problems.²⁹¹ In *Vergissmeinnicht* the main reasons for his difficulties are outlined:

The difficulties he faced as a priest were, white racism, human faults, passion and jealousy. These dangers grew so much that it managed to destroy his soul. His ideas of a priest and holy faith on one side and the difficulties from the outside and a cruel reality on the other side fought a dangerous battle against his existence.... He had to go all this way, till the height of Calvary in deep darkness. He no longer worked as a priest. Instead, he had to stay in a mental institution for 17 years. ... He, nevertheless, fought a good battle and still believed in God.²⁹²

It is important to note that "white racism, human faults, passion and jealousy" are considered to be the main difficulties which Mnganga faced, according to Vitalis Fux, author of an article in *Vergissmeinnicht*, entitled "Der erste Priester dem Stamme der Zulus". These problems are more fully discussed in our oral testimonies. The main problem is not

²⁹⁰ Brain, *Catholics in Natal II, 1886-1925*, p.120 (Italics mine) See also *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1899, p. 11. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery. *Izindaba Zabantu*, 7 September 1928, where it says he after his arrival he was speaking Latin, English, Italian, Germany, Greek like his mother tongue. In 1928 he was contributing two articles to the newspaper "Umlando we Bandla" and "Nohambo lwabangcwele"

²⁹¹ "Der erste Zulu Priester" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1887, p.11 and "Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus" no.63, 1945 pp. 235-238. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p.237.

addressed in this article, which is that Mnganga clashed with Bryant, and the former got angry and resorted to physical assault. In our oral testimonies, the problem of Mnganga is explained in four different ways. Firstly, that he lost his temper because he was annoyed with Bryant²⁹³ for ill-treating him as a black priest (source: Bishops Biyase and Khumalo); secondly, that his school was unnecessarily interfered with by Bryant (source: Natalis Mjoli); thirdly, that Mnganga's vestments were burnt and buried by David; finally, that Mnganga found Bryant pointing to the private parts of a naked Zulu woman whilst studying Zulu Ethnography (Source: third and fourth reason by four anonymous priests).

Basically, the conflict between Mnganga and Bryant was that the former was provoked by Bryant. He got angry and lost his temper and threatened Bryant. The consequences were that Bryant, probably with some white missionaries, in collaboration with the civil white authorities of the time, placed Mnganga in a government asylum in Pietermaritzburg for seventeen years, under the pretext that he was mentally deranged.

I chose to interview two bishops because they are the only ones who know something about Mnganga and were willing to talk to me. The other priests were selected randomly, especially those who met or heard something about Mnganga.

2.3 Oral Testimonies on the Conflict

The first two versions of Mnganga's conflict have been explained to the researcher through oral testimonies by black

²⁹³ It is interesting to note that Bryant was a Zulu ethnographer. He was well known academically and he popularised the term "Nguni" to refer to Zulu and Xhosa speaking people after he published his book. This has great impact on the story in the sense that Bryant was supposed to know Zulus better than Zulus themselves. Yet when he

bishops and priests who were ordained between the 1940s and the 1970s (Bishops Biyase and Khumalo and Fr. Natalis Mjoli). These testimonies all agree on the fact that Mnganga got angry, lost his temper, and was not on good terms with his rector. The consequence of this anger is explained differently. But, most importantly, anger is the common denominator.

Another interesting explanation is given by the cousin of Alois Mncadi, Mrs Malukati Mncadi (b.1894), who later became a cook for Mnganga. She attributes his problems to the fact that he was very intelligent.

The last two versions were pointed out by four young Zulu priests, who were ordained in the late 1980s and early 1990s. They spoke to me under the cover of anonymity.

2.3.1 Bishop Mansuet Biyase's testimony

The first interviewee, Bishop Biyase, is currently the bishop of Eshowe Diocese (consecrated in 1975), who went to St. Peter's Seminary and was ordained in 1960. The sources he used for the interview are from the book by Joy Brain and Godfrey Sieber. He had never met Mnganga but heard stories from black priests during and after his training at the seminary. He attributes the conflict to a misunderstanding between Mnganga and Bryant. In trying to unravel this story Bishop Biyase explained that:

Some simply say [Mnganga] had some kind of Psychological sickness. It is not true. The people who lived with him at that time, they know the whole story. There wasn't a good understanding between the two - the white priest (David Bryant) and Mnganga. It was here in my Diocese.[...] They had their ups and downs. And at one time Mnganga was so angry , he lost his temper and almost killed this white priest. He lost his temper! This priest, ran to the police and said Mnganga was mad! At that

encountered Mnganga (a real Zulu) he could not handle the situation.

time, if a white man said such a thing about a black man, it was gospel truth! So the police never asked any questions, they went to the mission took Mnganga to Pietermaritzburg as a mad man into the government asylum. [He] stay[ed] there [for] 17 years.²⁹⁴

In this first testimony it is clear that the reason given for Mnganga's arrest was because he was angry with the white priest. This story, according to the informant, seems to have been well known by the people (other priests and parishioners) who were living with Mnganga. To prove the fact that Mnganga was not "mentally disturbed", Bishop Biyase concluded by saying that

[...] at the end they discovered that, [...] he was very much sane, it would seem. He too, was already disillusioned and angry about it. He had said that "I will never go out of this asylum [Natal Government Asylum, Pietermaritzburg], until the man who brought me here comes," seemingly the man was not prepared, that is why he stayed there for so long . They pleaded with him to come out and he certainly came out. It is said, when he come out, he had forgotten how to say Mass.²⁹⁵

After he was released in 1922 with the help of Jerome Lussy, a Mariannahill priest from the monastery, Mnganga stayed for sometime at Mariathal and started his pastoral work.²⁹⁶

The problem with Biyase's testimony is that he relied too much on the written books and reconstructed some of his narrative. But he managed to complement the information in the books with information from former black priests.

²⁹⁴ Bishop Biyase of Eshowe, interview conducted in Eshowe, 22 April 1997; see also article entitled, "Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, pp.235-238 and "Der erste Zulu Priester" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1887, p.11.

²⁹⁵ "Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, pp.235-238. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery. See also Bishop Biyase of Eshowe, same interview. See section 3.1.4.1, for a discussion on the Natal Government Asylum.

²⁹⁶ *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, 1945, p.237.

2.3.2 Natalis Mjoli's account

On a similar note, Natalis Mjoli, a diocesan priest in the Eshowe diocese, expands on the anger and gives us the probable cause of the conflict between the two priests. He said, "they [the priests and parishioners] used to tell us stories that happened to Mnganga, after he returned. He worked in the diocese of Natal at Ebhuleni parish, under Bryant. We happened to know these stories, because of what happened to him. I do not know whether I should tell you what actually happened."²⁹⁷ For Mjoli, it was a well known fact that the so-called "natives" had never been accepted in the church as fully fledged Catholic ministers. They were subjected to perpetual subservience to whites. Mnganga knew the African culture and the way of life better than Bryant. He was sent to Ebuhleni to assist Bryant who allotted him to the outstations and the boarding school. Consequently, Mnganga became the tutor of the students and attended to the outstations.

Apparently, Mnganga was prosperous, in the sense that he got many students, much to the dislike of Bryant. As Mjoli emphasised, " I still have few people to testify to the fact that when Mnganga had to go out to the stations which extended as far away as Nongoma on horse back, he had to be away for two or three weeks. Whenever he returned, some of his best students had been expelled by Bryant. Mnganga took exception to this, because he could not understand."²⁹⁸ If the students had misbehaved, Mnganga thought Bryant should wait for him so that they could decide the issue together. To his surprise, whenever he returned from the outstations his best students had been expelled for no apparent reason. When he inquired, he was not given an answer, "...he was also neglected to his status, after

²⁹⁷ Fr. Natalis Mjoli, interview conducted in Empangeni, 22 October 1997.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

all, he was nothing." This went on for some time, until Mnganga's temper flared up.

I understand he went to him and wanted to physically assault him. Fr. Bryant sneaking through the back door, had his horse carriage harnessed and drove up to Umtunzini and enlisted the assistance of the police and the magistrate maintaining that Fr. Mnganga was mad, wanted to assault him for no reason and was breaking windows and doors! He wanted the magistrate and the police to come and arrest Fr. Mnganga. So they came, and after much humiliation and assault at Umtunzini he was transferred to Pietermaritzburg as a mad man where he stayed for 17 years.²⁹⁹

According to Mjoli, the main reason for the conflict was anger, but in this testimony, there is a reason behind the anger. The black priest was treated unfairly because he was successful in his mission work and was a black person. Interestingly, the above informant emphasised that there were people who could attest to these facts. As proof that Mnganga was sane, Mjoli concluded by saying that:

When the mental institution officially recognised that Mnganga was not mad they referred the matter back to the diocese requesting that they collect Fr. Mnganga. [...] Fr. Mnganga adamant, wanted the, then, bishop of Durban and Fr. Bryant to collect him.[...]. He wanted the people who had committed him to the asylum [...] to come and declare that he was sane. Since they failed to do this, he stayed there. When he eventually came out he was then assigned to a mission station in the diocese of Mariannhill, later to Mariathal where I met him. I could have learnt much from him. I am sorry to say that, the people who knew much, Moseia, are now late."³⁰⁰

2.3.3 Bishop Dominic Khumalo's testimony

The third interviewee, Bishop Khumalo³⁰¹, on the other hand, sees the deep sorrow and embarrassment embedded in the story when he recounts it. He said that the priest who had been in

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ Dominc Khumalo is currently auxiliary bishop of Durban. He was ordained in 1946 as one of the first Zulu Oblate. He was consecrated bishop in 1978.

charge of Greytown and the surrounding areas told them the "story of Mnganga, which was a very sad story, that he was accused of being mad and whether he went first to the mad-house, I don't know. Both things happened to him. He was detained here as a mental case and also to appeared in court against the accusations of the priest."³⁰² Bishop Khumalo also attributes the misunderstanding to Mnganga's anger:

He seems to have hit him. He was tired of the insults he was getting from him, I think. Mnganga, evidently, was a big, tall man. I never met him. He was brought to Greytown court, to stand his case. The magistrate, who was chairing that case, told the priest who was at Inchanga with us what happened. He said, "Father, I have always had great respect for the Roman Catholic church because they always accepted anybody who has been ordained as a child of God. I was very unhappy when I saw a very unchristian gesture given to Fr. Edward Mnganga, who was accused of having assaulted a white priest." He stood for him and defended his case.³⁰³

Bishop Khumalo continued to say that when Mnganga spoke, even the magistrate felt ashamed to try his case, realizing that he was a far more educated man than he was. He concluded by saying that "this is the only story I know of those first four priests".³⁰⁴

2.3.4 Mrs Malukati Mncadi's testimony

Mrs Malukati Mncadi observed rather differently that the conflict came about because Mnganga was very intelligent.

On his arrival from abroad [...] he stayed, then he was put into custody [...] 'osibhinca makhasane' (police [...] they arrested him. It was said that he was insane. But he had much intelligence to the extent that he looked insane.³⁰⁵

In the above three testimonies, the problem we notice is that some of the informants were not very sure of what actually

³⁰² Bishop Dominic Khumalo, interview conducted in Pietermaritzburg, 25 March 1997.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

transpired because the incident occurred almost 100 years. In certain cases, there are some re-constructions of the past events. Also this is a very sensitive issue among the black clergy in South Africa. In some cases, emotions filtered rather facts. Nevertheless, there is some consistency in the stories told, which is that Mnganga got angry, and wanted to physically assault Bryant. The latter, reacted by alleging that Mnganga was mentally disturbed and was committed to a mental asylum.

2.4 Analysis of the conflict and the evidence

The first three testimonies (Biyase, Mjoli and Khumalo) attest to the fact that Mnganga was annoyed with his rector. The causes of this anger are explained differently. In the first and third testimony, the anger is attributed to the fact that the relationship between the two was strained: Biyase - "they had their ups and downs" and Bishop Khumalo - "he was tired of the insults he was getting from him" and he hit him. According to the second testimony, Bryant expelled the best students from the boarding house. However, in all the stories, the common element is that Mnganga was somehow provoked to react in the way he did. They all attest to the fact that he was **not** "mentally disturbed". Mrs Mncadi, said that he was so intelligent that people thought he was insane and committed him to the Natal Government Asylum (NGA).

Written sources say that he was "mentally disturbed" and was committed to the mental asylum. Oral sources say that he got angry with the white priest. We thus have a contradiction in our sources. It would be interesting to look at this incident from another perspective. As mentioned in chapter one,³⁰⁶ the archives give us the official story, but the oral testimonies

³⁰⁵ Malukati Mncadi, interview conducted in Mariathal, September 1994.

³⁰⁶ Section 1.4.1.

are a revelation of the discourse that takes place "offstage", beyond the direct observation of the power-holders, termed as the "hidden transcript" by Scott.

2.4.1 The Natal Government Asylum (NGA)

The NGA was not the first lunatic asylum in southern Africa. People who were mentally unsound were detained in general hospitals and jails. Robben Island had an asylum in 1840³⁰⁷ and the asylum in Grahamstown was opened in 1875. In Natal, the Government Asylum was opened in February 1880. Prior to this, the lunatics were housed in jails and hospitals in the colony. The Natal Custody of Lunatics Law (no. 1, of 1868) firmly entrenched colonial medical and legal practitioners with the authority to define and detain lunatics. Medical certificates were issued when a person entered and exited the asylum.³⁰⁸ Section 1 of the Law stated that, if a person was discovered and the circumstances denoted that he was insane, or wanted to commit a crime which he could not be indicted, the resident magistrate could call upon two medical practitioners to help him. If they were convinced that the person was a "dangerous lunatic or dangerous idiot" the magistrate would then issue a warrant, so that the person was committed to a jail or public hospital. For a patient to be released, permission had to be granted by the Supreme Court Judge, or the Lieutenant Governor could effect a transfer to a lunatic asylum, in our case to the Natal Government Asylum. This was headed by Dr. James Hyslop, M.B., C.M., (Edinburgh) who had been appointed in 1882, and who

³⁰⁷ Deacon, H., "The Medical Institution on Robben Island 1846-1931" in Harriet Deacon (ed.) *The Island: A History of Robben Island, 1488-1990* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Mayibuye Books and David Philip, 1996).

³⁰⁸ Julie Parle, "The fools on the Hill: The Natal Government Asylum and the Institutionalisation of insanity in Colonial Natal (Unpublished seminar paper, presented at the Africa and History Seminar Series, University of Natal, Durban, 17th March 1999), p.11.

led the asylum until he retired in 1914. He was an important figure in Natal medical circles.³⁰⁹

There is very little available clinical information on the patients. Until 1904, Dr. Hyslop and his deputies entered the clinical information in large leather-bound Case Books. The format of the Case Book was laid down by the British Lunacy Act of 1853 and there were separate books for "Europeans", "Natives" and "Indians". The books provide us with very limited information about the patients because the Case-books had very limited space provided for Doctors' observations. There were several of these books which, until 1980, were kept at Town Hill hospital, as the asylum is now called, but only the "European" Case-Book remains. So any attempts to try and establish Mnganga's clinical history at the asylum is almost impossible, due to the lack of sources. It appears that some of these books might have been deliberately destroyed or stolen from Town Hill Hospital.³¹⁰

Mnganga went to the Government Asylum after 1906. From the statistics of the asylum, two preachers were admitted to the asylum during the year ending 31 December 1900. In the period between 1895-1909, six male patients, classified as Clergymen, Missionaries and Preachers, were admitted.³¹¹ Unfortunately, the source does not give us specific names of the clergymen. It is quite possible that Mnganga was one of these.

In analysing the interaction between Mnganga and Bryant, we will suggest that Mnganga was arrested because he made the discourse that takes place "offstage" (termed as the "hidden

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.12.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.16-17.

³¹¹ See Appendix, Tables compiled by Julie Parle, from the Published statistics of the Natal Government Asylum, 1895-1909; Natal Blue Books, hospital and Asylum returns, Natal Government Asylum Medical Superintendent's Report and Statistical Tables, 1895-1909, Statement

transcript" by Scott), public. I will now discuss this in greater detail.

2.4.2 Analysis of Mnganga's "mental illness": a case of the "hidden transcript" made "public"

In 1906, Edward Mnganga was arrested by the police after his rector David Bryant had reported that he was mentally disturbed. It is a paradox that a Zulu ethnographer, one who was supposed to know the Zulu culture very well, did not know how to handle a Zulu colleague. The police did not even question the authenticity of this report. They arrested Mnganga and took him to a Government mental asylum in Pietermaritzburg where he stayed for seventeen years.³¹² I would like to suggest that this incident occurred because a hidden transcript was made public.³¹³

To illustrate this, Scott uses the example of a theatre. Imagine a stage where there are two types of actors - the dominant (in our case, the white priest), and the dominated (the black priest). One finds that on stage the dominant never fully controls the stage, fully, but their wishes normally predominate. "In the short run, it is in the interest of the subordinate to produce a more or less credible performance, speaking the lines and making the gestures he knows are expected of him".³¹⁴ In order for the dominated to be accepted they wear masks. These usually portray the image which is wanted by the dominant. The more severe the power is, the thicker their mask becomes.

or Occupation of Patients in the year..."

³¹² "Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, pp.235-238. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery; see Brain, *Catholics in Natal II, 1886-1925*, p. 252.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p.3.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.4.

What goes on stage is the "public transcript". But what goes on offstage is what Scott defines as the "hidden transcript", and we have to assess the disparity between the "hidden transcript" and the "public transcript".

The "hidden transcript" is occasionally declared in the face of power. In our case, this is what happened with Mnganga - he fought with the white priest. He released his anger, which was a "hidden" in "public". Other black priests found themselves in similar predicaments, as shall be established later: Andreas Ngidi wrote insolent letters and Mncadi was accused of trying to appoint himself as a black bishop.

When, suddenly, the subordination disappears and is instead replaced by open defiance we meet one of those rare and dangerous moments in power relations. In other words, once the oppressed declare their anger, frustration in the face of the dominant, there are immediately disciplined. As Scott says once there is insubordination there is "swift repression." In this case it led to Mnganga being confined to a mental asylum. For Scott, there are four distinct varieties of political discourse. Of interest to us is the explosive realm, it involves "the rapture of the political *cordon sanitaire*" between hidden and the public transcripts. Such rapture, or challenge provokes what Scott calls "a swift stroke of repression or, if unanswered, often leads to further words and acts of daring".³¹⁵ In the case of Mnganga, he was repressed when he was arrested and accused of being "mentally disturbed."

Mnganga expressed himself by trying to fight the white rector who was making his life almost impossible. This resulted in swift repression in the form of a report that he was mentally disturbed, a sign that his "hidden transcript", that is, of

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

anger, frustration, revenge had gone public. According to Bishop Biyase, the allegation that Mnganga was mentally disturbed was not true. As he says, "some simply say that Mnganga had some psychological sickness. It is not true and the people who lived with them at that time, knew the whole story.

It is clear that there wasn't a good understanding between Bryant and Mnganga."³¹⁶ He had been very successful in his work and established one of the first schools in Zululand at Engoye.³¹⁷ According to Natalis Mjoli, Mnganga had had considerable success especially in a school for boys. But whenever he went to the outstations, visits which used to last for weeks, the rector would expel most of his good students. Mnganga had probably complained about this to his trusted parishioners and parents of the children.³¹⁸ This interaction, excluded the rector. We can say that Mnganga, probably among his colleagues and some of his parishioners, had complained, poured out his anger, and asserted himself and probably rehearsed the kind of revenge he would carry out on the white priest. Such reaction was the "hidden transcript" as it was not acted out in front of his rector but amongst his colleagues and parishioners whom he felt were of the same class as his.

The expulsion of the students continued until "at one time Mnganga was very annoyed, he lost his temper and almost killed the white priest. When he lost his temper the white priest ran to the police and said Mnganga was mad!" At that time, if a white man said such a thing about a black man, it was considered gospel truth. So the police did not demand further explanation but went to the mission and took Mnganga to the Government asylum in Pietermaritzburg as a mad man.³¹⁹

³¹⁶ Bishop Mansuet Biyase, interview conducted in Eshowe, 22 April 1997.

³¹⁷ Presently where the University of Zululand is.

³¹⁸ Natalis Mjoli, interview conducted in Empangeni, 10 November 1997.

³¹⁹ Bishop Biyase, same interview.

Mnganga stayed there for seventeen years and refused to come out. "At the end they discovered that this (his madness) was not true, and that the man was very much sane." This example shows how the "hidden transcript" went public and the reaction to it was "swift repression" by the dominant group, by claiming that the man was insane.

The case of Mnganga and David Bryant also highlights the fact that:

...the frontier between the public and the hidden transcripts is a zone of constant struggle between the dominant and subordinate - not a solid wall. The capacity of dominant groups to prevail - never totally - in defining and constituting what counts as the public transcript and what as offstage is, no small measure of their power. The unremitting struggle over such boundaries is perhaps the most vital arena for ordinary conflict, for everyday forms of class struggle.³²⁰

Mnganga was treated as a "free patient" from 1 February 1911 and did not have to pay for his treatment. A letter to this effect by Dr. James Hyslop, M.B., C.M., (Edinburgh) the Medical Superintendent of Natal Government Asylum says,

I duly received your letter of the 18th ultimo which was submitted for the consideration of the Government, and I have now pleasure in informing you that under the circumstances disclosed by you the Secretary for the Interior approves of the Native Priest Rev. Father Muller being treated as a free patient in this institution, from the 1st of the current month.³²¹

³²⁰ Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p.14

³²¹ Medical Superintendent of Natal Government Asylum, Letter to Rev. Father A Chauvin, Roman Catholic Mission, Pietermaritzburg, 8th February 1911. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first Black Clergy. The letter is ambiguous it can either mean that he was going to receive free medication; or that he was going to be free in the Asylum to do whatever he wanted; or free to leave the mental institution. More archival research needs to be done on the nature of "Muller being treated as a free patient." Also interestingly, the Oral sources say that he stayed there for 17 years, which means that since he was arrested in 1906, he only came out in 1922, but sources of Mnganga in this period are scarce.

2.5 Mnganga's release from NGA and later pastoral work

In 1922, Jerome Lussy, a Mariannahill priest residing at the monastery, negotiated Mnganga's release. After his release he went to Mariathal and worked as an assistant priest.³²² From the year of his release, Mnganga was actively involved in the mission station at Mariathal. Later, he started a catechetical school at the same mission. He was also interested in writing books and articles and fostering black vocations, until his death on 7 April 1945.³²³ Mrs Malukati said that the community in Mariathal

... felt bad and felt good. But to Fr. Edward it was not so bad to me. Only his death was miserable, because [...] immediately after he became ill [...] because he was around here at Mariathal [...] he became ill then [...] he was taken to Sanatoli'. We were willing to go to Sanatoli to pay a visit, but we were refused [...] Our hearts tended to be very sad then [...]

The *Catholic Directory* records that he worked at Centocow Mission from 1921 to 1924 and at St. Joseph's Ratschitz Mission, Waschbank Natal from 1925 to 1928,³²⁵ as assistant priest.³²⁶ In 1929, he was transferred to Maristella in Port Shepstone at Bishop Fleischer's request:

³²² "Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, pp.235-238. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery.

³²³ *Ibid.* See Mnganga Edward Muller, Native Affairs. Native Estates. (Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg Vol.4/1/2/3, reference 2/4/2/2/45). In his estate under movable property he had a Saving Book with a balance of £1063 9; See also article entitled "Akasekho Urev. Fata Edward Mnganga D.D.", in *UmAfrika* 21 April 1945, which says that he was sick for some time and was sent to Christ the King Sanatorium and died on the Saturday 7 April 1945, the funeral service was held at the seminary in Ixopo. Also "Ngesililo Mayelana Nomufi Urev. Fata Edward Mnganga, D.D" 25 August 1945; " Izibongo Zika Rev. Fata Edward Mnganga" in *Um Afrika*, 3 November, 1945; *Ngesikhumbuziso Somufi uRev.Fata Edward Mnganga* in *UmAfrika*, 28 September 1946.

³²⁴ Malukati Mncadi, interview conducted in Mariathal, September 1994.

³²⁵ *The Catholic Directory of South Africa, 1921-1951*, Also in *Izindaba Zabantu*, 7 September 1928.

³²⁶ Fr. Ballweg, Letter to the bishop, 26th May 1927. Durban

I am in very great need of a priest at Maristella. I have called off Fr. Edward to St. Joseph's as there was always only one priest at that station St. Joseph. Fr. Boniface there can easily proceed alone, I think I have however told Fr. Edward, if he would not like to come to my vicariate and you would agree to incardinate him. I from my part would make no difficulties to incardinate him. I have written my letter to Fr. Edward by post.³²⁷

2.5.1 The Catechetical School at Mariathal, Ixopo

When Mnganga moved to Mariathal, Ixopo in 1922 he initiated and ran the Catechetical school with the support of Bishop A.M. Fleischer CMM. This is evident from the following letter:

His Lordship Bishop A.M. Fleischer passed here yesterday and I presented the case to him who agreed that I could close the Catechist School for winter holiday and reopen it week earlier. Thus I shall do so on the 18th inst. as to be ready for the journey the following day. Moreover, I would like to beg your Lordship to spend this holiday at your Vicariate. Kindly inform the two Native priests that I am coming.³²⁸

The school kept him busy most of the year

...again I shall be giving lessons at the time to the Catechists students who are 5 in all this term. Moreover I heard rumour that the Natal Vicariate intends to start her own Catechist School, thus we hope their undertaking will be blessed with success.³²⁹

Mnganga tried to secure the future of the catechetical school by providing some scholarships for future catechists in his will. He established "... a fund for bursaries to scholars of the Catechists' School of the Mariannahill Vicariate."³³⁰

Archdiocesan Archives (DAA).

³²⁷ Fleischer A. M., Letter to a Bishop, 3/1/1929. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban.

³²⁸ Mnganga, E. Letter addressed to Bishop Spreiter OSB, 4/5/32. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid.

³²⁹ Mnganga, E. Letter addressed to Bishop Spreiter OSB, 30/1/34 . Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid.

³³⁰ Mnganga Edward Muller, Last will, dated 15th June 1938. Native Affairs. Native Estates... Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg: Vol. 4/1/2/3, reference 2/4/2/2/45.

2.5.2 Mnganga's zeal for indigenous vocations

His invaluable contribution to the encouragement of local vocations is seen in the letter of Bishop Fleischer to the abbot which says:

Please send Fr. Edward word that he can go, he says, that he is waiting for that. I need him really badly. Our native brothers stay [still] more than a year above with Br. Gerald, 2 ½ hours outside Oetting [Highflats]. Now I have at last appointed Fr. Odo in charge of them, immediately after Christmas and he is eagerly waiting at Maria Stella to go there but first must Fr. Edward replace him. Should you intend to incardinate him and would Fr. Edward agree, I certainly will make no difficulties. But that could be settled, whilst he stays at Maria Stella. So please don't delay longer but tell him that he might proceed immediately to Maria Stella. In June next year there are again several ordinations and will it become easier.³³¹

And also in Mnganga's own letter to Bishop Thomas Sprieter:

It is a great consolation for all native people to hear that Rome is in great favour of native religious movements and that your Lordship has already succeeded to have at least three candidates for clothing. Great pity that I am so far away from Inkamana else I would have liked to be present, again I shall be giving lessons at the time to the Catechists students who are 5 in all this term.³³²

Mnganga also wrote several books, one of them entitled "*Isiguqulo sama Protestanti siteka kanjani namazwe amaningi*"³³³ and was heavily involved in preaching.³³⁴ This shows that he functioned as a normal priest and excelled at most of his duties. He also supported native vocations until his death. For instance, in the will he made before he died in June 1938, he

³³¹ R.M. Fleischer, A letter addressed to 'My dear Lord' Mariannahill, 27/1/1929. Archives of Inkamana Monastery: Black Clergy file 1.

³³² Rev. Edward, A letter addressed to 'My Lord' Mariathal Mission, 30/1/1934 Archives of Inkamana Monastery: Black Clergy file 1. He was also wrote several books one of them entitled "*Isiguqulo sama Protestanti siteka kanjani namazwe amaningi*" see article in *Um Afrika* 16 August 1929 and was heavily involved in preaching see "*Intshumayelo*", in *Um Afrika* 2 January 1931.

³³³ See article in *Um Afrika* 16 August 1929

³³⁴ See "*Intshumayelo*" *Um Afrika* 2 January 1931.

left a huge amount of money, 1,063 pounds, 9 shillings and 8 pence for fostering vocations amongst the natives.

I devise and bequeath all my estate and effects, real and personal, which I may die possessed of or entitled to absolutely unto the following:-

Ecclesiastical vestments, chalice (if any) books and similar things to poor Mission Stations of the Mariannahill Vicariate
Clothing to be given to poor Natives, especially to relatives.
Money to be given to the Native Seminary and Native Familiars of St. Joseph and especially to the Native Congregation of St. Francis of Assisi, all of them in the Vicariate Apostolic of Mariannahill,...

I will now move on to the second priest - Alois Majonga Mncadi, who was sent to Rome in 1894 with his colleague, Charles Mbengane. The latter unfortunately got ill and died.

3. Alois Majonga Mncadi (1877-1933)

3.1 Background

Alois Majonga Mncadi was sent to Rome on 24 August 1894 and was ordained in 1903.³³⁶ *The Catholic Directory* records that in 1921 he was working at Maria Linden, and from 1925 to 1927,³³⁷ he worked at Mariannahill and also at Lourdes, Centocow, Ixopo, St. Michael's, Himmelberg, St. John's and Maria Trost.³³⁸ Shortly before he left the Mariannahill Vicariate, he worked at Highflats and finally went to Zululand in 1933 and died the same year on 28 October. He had been a priest for 30 of his 59 years.³³⁹

³³⁵ Edward Müller: Last will, dated 15th June 1938, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg: Vol.4/1/2/3, reference2/4/2/2/45).

³³⁶ *Um-Afrika*, (3 November, 1933), p.3.

³³⁷ *Catholic Directory*, 1921-25.

³³⁸ See Otto Heberling, "Mariannahiller: neueste Missionsnachrichten" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1934, p.37. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery. See also *Um-Afrika*, (3 November, 1933), p.3.

³³⁹ *Um-Afrika*, (10 November, 1933), p.1.

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

3.2 Mncadi's conflict with Fr. Florian

In the Durban Archdiocesan Archives, the correspondence available on Mncadi deals with a conflict he had with Florian, rector at Maria Trost, in 1918. Here we see a typical situation whereby the world-view of the black priest which was taken for granted was supposed to be replaced by a new western way of looking at the world. Florian was trying to impose on Mncadi the Western individualistic lifestyle of living alone, without relatives or a maid. This was a case of imposing a foreign cultural signifier of individualism, whilst Mncadi was used to a communitarian kind of life. He resisted, thus contesting the process of establishing new cultural signifiers.

Mncadi wanted Christina, his brother's daughter, to live with him, so that she could help him. Under pressure from Florian she left the mission. As Mncadi says:

...she is asked to go now to Johannes Mncadi her father, by him (Fr. Florian), but I am sorry that there is somebody interfering and provoking her to do so. So I tell you that according to the court and Zulu law she belongs to my family and besides my family she belongs to nobody. I was astonished to hear that your attitude is against the wishes of my family, while these being such are wishes of me too.³⁴⁰

³⁴⁰ Alois Mncadi, letter to Fr. Florian, St. Michael's 25/6/1918. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first Black Priests.

He continued saying he was going to put the case before the court. He said I am "going to protect the rights of my family and nobody can prevent me from doing so. Therefore, I give you a chance to get away from this trouble in which wrongly you involve yourself."³⁴¹

Florian, forwarded the letter to the Abbot, commenting on "the style of the letter in which it is done, the proud and arrogance it contains." He continues to say that "sometime ago he (Mncadi) endeavoured to get the girl to St. Michael in order to become his servant maid, but I (Florian) persuaded her not to be willing, as other people would talk about it. I spoke to the Abbot who was also against this... The principal reason of course why Father Aloys is so excited against me is because the girl refused to come to him; I admit that I influenced her to abstain from that and will again if necessary." Florian said that if the brother came to collect her, he would not have a problem but he would protest if "Fr. Aloys should try again to make her his servant maid or chambermaid. The abbot is against this. I have also sent him a copy of the letter."³⁴² No further documentation is available to show what finally transpired.

3.3 Mncadi's conflict with Bishop Fleischer

In 1918, Mncadi bought a farm in the Umzimkulu area. He employed a farm manager to manage the affairs of the farm whilst he continued to work as a priest. His farm prospered and he was able to pay the loan on his farm from the profits he made in selling agricultural products. This was to change after Fleischer was elected bishop in 1922.

³⁴¹ Alois Mncadi, letter to Fr. Florian, St. Michael's 25/6/1918. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first Black Priests.

³⁴² Fr. Florian, letter to Bishop Delalle, Maria Trost Mission, 2/7/1918. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first Black Priests.

In 1924, Bishop Fleischer wrote to Mncadi, saying that he had been disobedient and he should have sold the farm. The bishop wrote:

Under the 4th September this year I ordered you to dispose of your farm before Christmas, because the possession of your farm will one day become a great danger to you of not listening to your bishop and risking eternal damnation whilst you need no farm as the bishop will care for you paternally as long as you are his loyal priest. Under the 28th of November I reminded you of your duty, but you answered by two very irrelevant letters to say not more. At the same time you wrote a very bad letter to Fr. Julius in which you try to undermine the authority of the Bishop. I upon this suspend you from saying hl (holy) mass. Now today before me Fr. Superior and Fr. Julius Mbhele you declared that you did not try nor are willing to do so in the future, to dispose of your farm. I shall put your case before the Apostolic delegate.³⁴³

As a result of a campaign of Julius Mbhele amongst the black priests, Ngidi formulated a petition which was sent to the Apostolic Delegate in 1924.³⁴⁴ The priests in this petition were saying that they should be allowed to continue owning farms. The three priests (Mncadi, Mbhele and Ngidi) managed to have an interview with the apostolic delegate Giljswijk.³⁴⁵ During this interview the Delegate said *inter alia* "even from the beginning to the end, that there was no question about your right in possessing the landed property even your bishop did not... deny that you have that right. Then he went on making '*distinctiones scotistical*', in stating that they have freedom as far as the possession is concerned, but in regard to the exercise of your right upon it, the bishop might have to interfere with it, and rightly for certain he could and can transfer you from the place nearest to your farms to a far distance - supposing he added, the bishop sends you to Pondoland! How then could you exercise your rights in it."

³⁴³ True Copy of Bishop Fleischer letter to Aloys Mncadi. Mariannhill, 28/12/1924. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first Black Priests.

³⁴⁴ See section 3.4.2.3.

³⁴⁵ Aloys Mncadi, Letter to Andreas Ngidi, Mariannhill, 18/02/1925.

In reply, the black priests retorted that their managers could do the entire work and it would not make any difference whether they were far or near. The Delegate went on to say that, "... it would have been better if you had no farms; it does pain me much to see that you are only four Native priests and you could not avoid the trouble with your bishop..."³⁴⁶

3.4 Analysis of the two conflicts

In the conflict between Mncadi and Florian³⁴⁷ we see that there was a contest over signifiers which these priests made sense of their lives. There was a contradiction in one of the ordinary categories of life, that is, to live with a family member, in this case a niece. Mncadi, according to his African world-view, took it for granted that he could stay with his niece; it was natural to him and part of his cultural background. Whilst Florian, coming from a religious and European background, thought that this was awkward. In other words, Florian wanted Mncadi to abandon his communitarian life style and adopt a western one.

When Mncadi refused, this meant that there was no "consensus", instead the situation was debated and Mncadi appealed to the bishop. If there is resistance there cannot be hegemony, according to the Comaroffs. The significance of hegemony is that it offers an explanation of how power can be exercised and contested in such a way that it generates "consensus" across a whole spectrum of class and non-class ideologies in society, in this case the black priests. The process of establishing hegemony work through cultural signifiers which ordinary people make sense of their lives, in our case, Mncadi wanted to live with his niece and Florian was objecting to this.

Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

In the conflict,³⁴⁸ between Mncadi and Bishop Fleischer, we see a typical case of a "hidden transcript" becoming "public". The bishop wrote a letter to Mncadi to command him to dispose of the farms but the latter refused in his letters to the bishop. His protests became public and the bishop had to warn him. Mncadi's denials became public and were no longer a hidden discourse. Or, to put it differently, the process of trying to impose new power structures was resisted and no "consensus" was achieved. The land issue played a vital role in the lives of the first black clergy.

3.5 Mncadi's later Pastoral Work

The next interesting piece of documentation is Mncadi's application to come to Inkamana in 1932. Concerning this, Bishop Spreiter wrote:

...Rev. Alois wrote to me applying to come for some time to Inkamana. The answer I have sent is attached here with this letter. Of course I will help, but cannot if his bishop has not given consensus that is *'conditio sine qua'* and also that he can say mass.³⁴⁹

He was allowed to come to Inkamana in 1933. When he came he was already sickly as the Chronicle of Inkamana observed:

Fr. Mncadi was already sickly and weak when he came to us. Nevertheless, he worked hard from the day he arrived. He gave instruction, preached, heard confessions and visited outstations on horseback. Nothing seemed too much for him. From about July, his health deteriorated alarmingly. The doctor diagnosed cancer. Fr. Alois had problems with his digestion; he lost weight. It was only with great effort that he could celebrate Mass... He left us

³⁴⁷ See section 3.2.2.

³⁴⁸ Section 3.2.3

³⁴⁹ Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, letter to Father Julius Mbhele, Inkamana, 13th October 1932. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Clergy File 1.

on October 2 and died on the October 28th, suffering from cancer of the liver."³⁵⁰

In the archives there are scanty sources available on Mncadi. However, from the little that we found, we managed to see how the missionaries tried to overturn the world-view which Mncadi took for granted. By denying what to him were normal everyday requests, for instance to live with a niece and to own a farm, the missionaries wanted to exercise their power over Mncadi and generate "consensus" over the black priest(s). However, Mncadi contested this process and so there was a contradiction. He said the whole process was against the Zulu culture and he wrote letters to the bishop and even wanted to sue Florian in a court of law.

I will now look at Andreas Mdontswa Ngidi.

4. Andreas Mdontswa Ngidi (1881-1951)

4.1 Background

Andreas Mdontswa Ngidi was born in the year 1881, after the Zulu War of 1879, just after the capture of King Cetshwayo, of Impande, younger brother to Shaka and Dingaan. His father Mbhemiwegudu Ngidi had three wives. His third wife was Nomakholwa Ndlovu and she had two sons Mdontswa and Mbhelekwana. Mbhemi's early career was that of an ox-wagon driver from Durban to Johannesburg.³⁵¹ Mbemiwegudu, was believed to be very strong, as Ngidi says:

It is said that he was so strong, that down Donlsamfana mountain (near Inchanga Railway Station) - finding it impossible to stop the wagon - he would take off the hind wheel with one hand, and get the team down safely. Once more it is said that some German

³⁵⁰ See Otto Heberling, Mariannhiller Rundfunk:Neueste Missionsnachrichten" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1934, pp. 38-40

³⁵¹ Ngidi, A., "Autobiography of Andreas Ngidi". Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

settlers near Botha's Hill got into trouble with him, their oxen having trespassed on his mealie field, Mbhemi would go out single-handed to fight it out, when old Mabuyabuya, his father, would call out to his other sons to hold their brother back and not cause more damage and bloodshed.³⁵²

In 1886, Ngidi's father took his third wife and her two children away from his Denge Kraal to Donkvlei between the Inkonzo and Umzimkulu Rivers, under the Mondi mountain, on the main road from Durban to Kokstad in Griqualand East, Cape Colony. He then left for Pondoland selling medicine for many years. His wife, Mandlovu, had to stay with her relatives near Inondi Store at Manzomphofu until her two boys had grown up. She helped her brother, Nkotheni ka Cimbi Ndlovu, to look after his cattle, horses and goats along the slopes of Mondi Mountains. The encroachment of the European settlers into Natal, also affected the Ngidi family.

From 1886 Nkotheni, Mdontswa's uncle, had remained under Chief Mqandane Mlaba or Kimba to whose chieftainship belonged the whole of the Cekwane Valley. But the time had come that the Africans were to give up their beautiful land in favour of European occupation. So Mdontswa's uncle had to leave his place on the Manzimpofu Spruit. It was on these beautiful meadows that one day Mdontswa had seen the Trappist Fathers and Precious Blood Sisters passing to their newly founded Centocow mission on the south side of the Umzimkulu river. He had a chance to speak to the kind-hearted missionaries and was deeply impressed by their kindness even towards African herd-boys. His soul lingered often to ruminate on these loving missionaries for many years after.³⁵³

From this time onwards, Ngidi nursed the intention of being educated by the missionaries and learning more about them.

In 1890, some Zulu people were moved from Umzimkulu valley to Camperdown and the Emahlathini District in Zululand. This was because Chief Mqundane of the Mlaba or Kimba clan, had earlier on taken part in the Zulu war of 1879 and his people were to claim their share of the spoils of war in Zululand. Mdontswa's uncle, who had taken part in the war against the British armed

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

forces in Zululand, rebelled against chief Mqundane and did not follow him, but remained defiantly near Camperdown, and named his daughter "Nomambuka" (the daughter of rebellion), thus openly cutting off all ties and allegiance to his chief.

Ngidi's mother left with chief Mqundane and her young son. Mdontswa was left with his uncle - Nkotheni near Camperdown. His uncle later moved to Nsikhuzane stream, and Mdontswa moved with him to the farm district between Richmond and Thornville junction railway station. He helped his uncle in herding cattle and goats, and ploughing the fields. Like his father, he enjoyed travelling, and he went to visit his mother and brother at Ekuphindeleni.

From there he had visited Maritzburg as carrier of medicine bags of Nyawane, Mqundane's brother, a renowned medicine man, who had also divining bones which his young carrier used to meddle, shake and throw on the floor to divine all events, happenings and diseases to be cured by the physician and his master. Naturally Mdontswa, whose father was also a great *inyanga*, was right in his element.³⁵⁴

In Maritzburg, he began to attend evening school and learned Wesleyan prayers, since the master was the local Wesleyan preacher.

Later on Mdontswa returned to his uncle's kraal, where he heard that the other uncle was working for Indians and getting 5 shillings a month. As he got scanty food and a lot of work at his uncle's kraal, he decided to run away and look for a remunerative small job near Thornville railway junction. He came across a man called Gong, whose European overseer, Mr Williams, was looking for a boy to baby-sit. In those days it was not easy for girls to baby-sit European children. Mdontswa got the job and stayed with them for seven months. The family moved from farm to farm and sometimes even went to Maritzburg

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.2.

and this "offered Mdontswa an occasion to attend night school in the city. He was very eager to learn reading and writing."³⁵⁵

When he was eleven years old, the urge to become a Christian increased. One day he saw an ox-wagon passing on its way to Umzimkulu. In those days, if you wanted to leave your employment, you had to ask your master to increase your pay. Mdontswa worked for Mr. Williams for 8 months and he was paid seven shillings per month. When he asked for an increment, the European employer set him free. He travelled with a middle-aged woman who had relatives in Richmond. When they reached Inondi store the owner recognised him and wanted to employ him as a cook. As he knew that Centocow was nearby, he consented. In a month, he saw all his old friends and prepared to start schooling and leave cooking.

4.2 School

Ngidi was admitted to the mission boarding school on 1 October 1892. He offered himself for the baptism classes and two years later on 19 March 1894 he was baptised, choosing the name of Andreas. From then onwards he decided to live a good life. Things became easier for him, as he says, "Even learning seemed easy after baptism as if the waters of salvation had washed even the brain in the black head of the African boy."³⁵⁶ Bede Gramsch arrived from Lourdes and took charge of the boarding house. He saw that Ngidi was very clever and thought that he could become a priest. "Andrew Ngidi who has never attached any love for any place or familiarity with home surrounding agreed on the moment to try his best in following this ideal."³⁵⁷ In 1896, three other boys came forward and also offered themselves to be priests. Letters were sent to Rome applying for the four

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.3.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.5.

boys. The life style of Andreas Ngidi, offers us some perspective of who the early *Kholwa* were.

As we saw earlier the *Kholwa* fell into three categories: those who became converted for future material gain or pushed out of their home due to family and turbulent events; those who needed land and those who were outcasts.³⁵⁸ To a certain extent Ngidi can be categorised under the first category, because his father had left his family for Pondoland, and his mother left him with his uncle who gave him a lot of work and scanty food. And finally, Ngidi wanted to become a Christian and acquire an education. For him this was an opportunity, possibly for material gain.

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

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

In the meantime, in 1898, the first African South African priest Dr. Edward Mueller, had arrived in Durban and visited some of the mission stations and in Centocow Andrew saw him celebrating Holy Mass and he served for Mass. All that went to confirm his

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ See section 2.6

vocation and gave him more courage. If this African went to Rome and came back as a priest, why not I? Of all the Mariannahill mission stations only Lourdes in Griqualand East answered the call and Julius Mkomazi - our Rev. Dr. Julius Mbhele became available to go with Ngidi overseas.³⁵⁹

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

4.3 Departure to Rome

Andreas Ngidi and Julius Mbhele left for overseas on 22 September 1899, two days before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War. They stayed there for eight years and were quite successful. As Ngidi says "In fact, the younger African passed these examinations with greatest honours, getting "Excellent" in Classics: Latin and Greek, having always topped his classes in all subjects. A rare fact! Of course, Greek students could not be beaten in their own Greek language."³⁶⁰ Ngidi and Mbhele both got doctorates in Philosophy, and Ngidi completed a doctorate in Theology as well.

Soon came the fulfilment of their most ardent desire - the day of their ordination to the priesthood in the Lateran Basilica by Cardinal Respighi, the Vicar of Rome, on 25 May 1907. Both said their first Masses the next day:

...the Rev. Julius Mbhele, being the dean of the class, in the chapel of the Propaganda College: whilst Fr. Andrew Ngidi chose to celebrate his first mass in the German national church, *del anima*, for he had great love and gratitude for the German missionaries in his country... Shortly before, their group had been received by the Holy Father Pope Pius X.³⁶¹

³⁵⁹ Ngidi, A., *Autobiography of Andreas Ngidi*. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.8.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.9.

Before they came back to South Africa, they visited Switzerland, Germany, Holland and England, returning home in 1907.³⁶²

After their arrival the two priests were assigned to different missions in the vicariate of Natal. Ngidi worked at Keilands, Lourdes and Cassino missions.³⁶³

Whilst working at Maria Telgte mission, Ngidi experienced some trouble with his rector Albert Schwieger at. The rector spied on him to see whether he was writing material contrary to what the missionaries believed in. Schwieger used to sneak into Ngidi's room and steal his writings, trying to see what kind of material Ngidi had written. Ngidi, had written down some notes on what he thought the situation could be after the white man was defeated. The rector took these and was scandalised. Ngidi wrote to the bishops about his grievances concerning the rector saying:

"...if the Rev. Gentleman with whom I am at issue has made all the experiences I have made here in South Africa, the land of my birth and my all, he would not so easily take scandal at what I have written, or so lightly judge me as lost and the like. Has the said Rev. Gentleman once been showed the kitchen for a room for the night and for meals; has even been obliged to sleep a sleepless night in cow-stable at a farmer's house. Has he ever been asked to take meals in the kitchen by a Catholic family; has he ever been in company with a European minister, shown a Native Teacher's hut by the Protestant minister and so parted company with his fellow ministers of his, was abandoned, in the train compartment, with the remark, 'we don't travel with niggers by a number of ministers of the same Catholic church; has he ever been asked by a superior of his to go and baptise a European child at a 'farm' and there left as a boy to be asked by a native girl to

³⁶² The autobiography ends with their arrival in South Africa. The other information on where they worked and what transpired is from Oral interviews and archival material. See also "Ein freudiges Ereignis" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1907, p. 194. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery

³⁶³ A hand written biography of Andrew Ngidi. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

come and eat in the kitchen (which, of course I refused, as I did in all other cases).³⁶⁴

He later moved to Zululand and worked at Nongoma, Eshowe, Emoyeni Holy Cross Mission, Nguthu, Qudeni, and Nkandla.³⁶⁵

4.4 Ngidi's subsequent years, 1926-1951

Ngidi's years in the diocese of Zululand can be divided under the following themes: Missions; Catholic Africa Union (CAU); The Zulu Society of South Africa; Bursary Schemes; Buying property and Writing. In the themes, we notice that Ngidi challenged the process of colonisation and the coming of the white man to Natal.

4.4.1 Missions

Ngidi was very ardent in preaching the gospel to the people. On several instances he was called upon to give mission to the people. This is seen clearly when Bishop Jules Cenez OMI, vicar apostolic of Basutoland wrote:

I have just found your letter today... With pleasure I give you faculties to come to visit these (sic) poor souls in Basutoland, to hear their confessions, to baptize their (sic) children and to teach them. I shall always be grateful for all the good you will do to them and for the help you will thus give us. I have been desirous for a long time to send something there.³⁶⁶

Apparently, the vicar was experiencing some manpower problems in his diocese so he called upon Ngidi to help him. Andreas

³⁶⁴ Andreas Ngidi, Letter to the Abbot, Telgte 30th April 1917. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

³⁶⁵ *Um-Afrika* (18 August 1951).

³⁶⁶ Fr. J. Cenez, letter to Ngidi, Roma, 13th November 1911. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

Ngidi and Thomas Pierce,³⁶⁷ both secular priests, were planning to form a Religious Order³⁶⁸ specifically for missions³⁶⁹ to non-Catholics. On the point of non-Catholics, Pierce thought that "the mission to non-Catholics are the SUREST, and often the only means of reclaiming bad Catholics."³⁷⁰ Ngidi was very enthusiastic in giving missions as Pierce confirms:

It gave me great pleasure to hear that you have been giving missions again, this time in Swaziland. And it is most encouraging thing to find that your services are in demand over a large territory in the country³⁷¹

Ngidi also wanted as many people as possible to be converted. He was particularly impressed with the work of Bishop Spreiter of Eshowe. By 1926, Ngidi had left the diocese of Mariannhill and joined the Zululand Vicariate. He worked in the diocese for several years and enjoyed considerable success. So much so that in 1937 Ngidi wrote to the bishop about the great success this diocese was enjoying:

I deem it will console and encourage your Lordship to hear the appreciation of the achievement of the Benedictine Order, under your Lordships wise and able guidance, for one who for 11 years has himself, though quite unworthy been associated with the same Christian endeavour.

From the year 1922 to the present 1937, the progress of the Eshowe Vicariate has with leaps and bounds overtaken and surpassed older missionary bodies in the mission field, both

³⁶⁷ Father Thomas Pierce was a secular priest who wanted to form a Congregation for Missions. He was backed by Monsignor A.E. Smith of Baltimore in the USA financially. He needed four other priests for his congregation to start.

³⁶⁸ See letter of Fr. Pierce to Fr. Ngidi, Hartebeestpoort Hotel Schoemansville, via Pretoria, 16th September, 1930; it outlines the details of the Congregation, it was discussed by the delegate, Bishop O'Leary and Fr. Pierce. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

³⁶⁹ See The South African Apostolate, Hartebeestpoort Hotel, Schoemansville, via Pretoria January 1932 (pamphlet also acknowledged by Bishop O'Leary).

³⁷⁰ Letter from Pierce to Ngidi, 19th June 1931, Pretoria. Between 1931 and 1934, Fr. Pierce had preached 29 missions, Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi. File 1, see *The Southern Cross* (23 January 1935).

³⁷¹ Letter from Pierce to Ngidi, 4th September 1931, Pretoria. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

Catholic and Protestant. One hears now from one end of Zululand to the other that Catholic or Benedictine missions are springing up like mushrooms all over the land, and it is indeed true. Inkamana, Entabeni, Mbongolwane, Cassino, Gonzaga, Nongoma and Fatima with their numerous outstations. Schools are really record breaking in the Annals of missionary activity.³⁷²

When the four black priests were ordained the Catholic church and other churches had a great missionary spirit. Hence, one of the main focuses of the church was to evangelize people and spread the gospel as far as possible. This missionary spirit is clearly confirmed in Ngidi. He went further by trying to join Thomas Pierce who wanted to form a religious order mainly dedicated to mission work. Besides his successes, there were still some problems especially with his bishop.

In this case we see a challenge to the hierarchy of the church, even though other people liked Ngidi to give missions, the bishop saw this as a threat to his authority, and in October 1933, he refused to give him permission. Ngidi was invited by Fr. Muldoon OMI to preach a mission to the Native Teachers, Catechists and Catholics in general in Johannesburg. Bishop Thomas Spreiter refused to let him go. Among the reasons he gave was that "Father Andreas is now on a new Mission and engaged with a lot of work."³⁷³ But more pertinent is the reply he gave to the priest-in-charge, Muldoon:

In my opinion it would be a blessing to have...missions...to Native teachers,.... But the case is, to have priests for such a work. Fr. Andreas Ngidi, some years ago, has given so far as I can remember, a mission in Pietersburg. The trouble was - that is quite privately,-- the result may perhaps been good for the audience,-- but not for himself. Therefore I stopped it to send him outside. Could I help on, I would do it with the greatest pleasure. I have here another Native priest Fr. Julius Mbhele.

³⁷² Copy of letter to the Bishop from A.H. Ngidi, "The Eshowe Catholic Mission, 19th December, 1937. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

³⁷³ Letter to the Native Teachers Council, Johannesburg from Bishop Spreiter, 12th October 1933, Inkamana Archives. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

The case is the same and besides that he has absolutely no voice. Therefore, please excuse me.³⁷⁴

From the above letter the suggested conclusions are that the bishop wanted to stop Ngidi from preaching these missions because he thought that Ngidi would take too much pride from his pastoral success. The bishop went further and alleged that the results for both Ngidi and Mbhele were not good for them. To prevent Ngidi from becoming independent and successful, he forbade him to preach missions. There might be other reasons which caused the bishop to refuse but the second letter is indicative of the attitudes which existed. When Ngidi preached the missions he became a threat, possibly to the bishop and took much pride in his success.

Ngidi also worked with the Catholic Africa Union which empowered people through self-help project.

4.4.2 Catholic African Union

Ngidi wanted the black people to be empowered so that they could be self-reliant. He asked people to be involved in projects which were going to help the priests and the people. For instance, a person (not identified in the letter) wrote to him saying:

Father I am contemplating about the task you have loaded upon me. I mean that of starting an "Association for Mass Stipend".³⁷⁵

The association was supposed to consist of 10 men each contributing not less than £6. To enhance this project a newspaper was supposed to be started, the editor was to be

³⁷⁴ Letter from Bishop Spreiter, 12th October 1933. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

³⁷⁵ Letter to Ngidi from R. Vilakazi, 20th November 1932, Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

Mndaweni. M.R.R. Dhlomo editor of the *Bantu World* was supposed to help with journalistic skills.³⁷⁶

The CAU was started by Bernard Huss, a priest from Mariannhill. He was very concerned about the upliftment of Catholics. The formation of the CAU, was influenced by the founding of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union in 1919. It is usually suggested that the Catholic organisation was formed in response to the ICU or to protect the Catholic faith because the ICU was aligned to communism.³⁷⁷ The ICU was involved in the mobilisation of the largely illiterate and politically unsophisticated African rural people and was led by Clements Kadalie, a young Nyasalander. The main thrust of the ICU was to fight for the rights of the workers so that they were given a better deal. The CAU offered itself as an alternative. It wanted to improve the lives of the people because, by the early 1920s, drought, cattle fever and crop failure had led to rampant poverty in the already overcrowded Reserves.³⁷⁸ It was more than a response to communism, as was pointed out by Lydia Brouckaert, in her Honours thesis, *Better Homes, Better Fields, Better Hearts: The Catholic African Union, 1927-1939*. She argues that even though the leaders of the ICU professed to be anti-Christian and anti-missionary and the upheavals in Natal were quickly blamed on them, the Church's response to creating the CAU was an inherent cognition of the real grievances of Africans in the countryside of Natal and the changes which took place. The organisation captured the support of the African Catholics who worked on the land of mission stations and mainly Catholic teachers, who were born and educated at Catholic missions.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁷ Joy B. Brain, *The Catholic Church in the Transvaal* (Johannesburg: Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, 1991), p.207.

³⁷⁸ *Reader's digest Illustrated History of South Africa: The Real Story*, (Cape Town: Reader's Digest Association Ltd., 1992), p.320.

³⁷⁹ Lydia Brouckaert, "Better homes, Better Fields, Better Hearts: the

The CAU had the following motto - "Better fields, better homes, better hearts"³⁸⁰. The meetings of the Union dealt with saving, co-operatives, farming, elementary book keeping, accounting and business methods. From such meetings emerged practical organisations like the Farmers' Unions, Savings Banks and Thrift Associations. Every year industrial and agricultural shows were held - these were an incentive for better home industries and better farming. In 1926 the people's banks were founded in Transkei. The Mariannhill branch operated until 1979.³⁸¹

The CAU promoted the Catholic social principles promulgated by Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI.³⁸² In keeping up the spirit of CAU, Ngidi was heavily involved in training Africans for leadership positions and also in helping Africans uplift themselves economically.³⁸³ A non-denominational saving scheme organisation was formed which involved other churches and run by the CAU. Ngidi was asked to be an honorary advisor to the board of directors of this scheme.

When Ngidi joined the Zululand Diocese he was well known and people often came to him for advice and input. Recently, Bishop Dominic Khumalo said "he was a well read man".³⁸⁴ This was confirmed by an incident in 1944, when B.W. Vilakazi asked

Catholic African Union, 1927-1939 (University of Witwatersrand, Unpublished Honours thesis in History, 1985), pp.12-13. Copy in the Archives of Mariannhill Monastery.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.40; see also Sr. [Hermann], A., *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*, p.56.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.40-64.

³⁸² [Hermann], A., *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*), p.57.

³⁸³ Letter to Ngidi from Malinga, Waterfall Road, Mayville Durban, 29th August 1939. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.; See also *Um-Afrika* (28 June 1947)

³⁸⁴ Bishop Dominic Khumalo, interview conducted at the Bishop's house in Pietermaritzburg on 14th October 1997.

Ngidi to give a talk on "The place of Catholics Teachers in South Africa", at the meeting of the Catholics Teachers Federation in Zululand.³⁸⁵

Ngidi actively participated in the political and social protest by trying to form the association for Mass stipends, by helping train African leadership for the CAU, and also by giving advice to people in leadership positions.

4.4.3 The Zulu Cultural Society

Ngidi was very conversant and an expert in Zulu. For instance, in 1939, the publisher Shuter and Shooter wrote to him saying that his name had been forwarded to them by a Mr. A. Kubone of the Government Native School at Howick. Apparently they had

...difficulty in finding people who are sufficiently conversant with the Zulu language, and of course the new orthography, to check manuscripts before they go to the printers...³⁸⁶

Selly Ngcobo from Natal University College, asked Ngidi about the Zulu tradition on issues pertaining to food. Ngcobo was doing a research on what foods are allowed to be eaten in the Zulu custom. Ngcobo wrote that:

I should be very glad indeed if you could perhaps in a separate paper give me a fairly comprehensive report on Taboos and Prohibitions connected with food (among the Zulu people).³⁸⁷

Ngidi had extensive knowledge of Zulu traditions and culture. For instance, as a young priest Dominic Khumalo had asked Ngidi about some Zulu customs. He recalls that Ngidi was a very

³⁸⁵ B.W. Vilakazi, letter to Ngidi Wits university, Johannesburg 3rd February 1944. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

³⁸⁶ Shuter and Shooter Book and Stationary, letter to Ngidi 13 June 1939. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

³⁸⁷ Selly Ngcobo to Ngidi Natal University College, Warwick Avenue Durban, 24th January 1948. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

short, jovial man and he asked him about the occasion in the Zulu marriage when it is considered official. He said "[...] they assemble, [...] they ask them, "Do you want to be married?" And they say, "Yes." [...] then a big dance goes on demonstrating the fact that the marriage is now official. Then I asked him, "Suppose that does not happen, after the whole day of feasting will the marriage be there or not? He said, "It will not be there."³⁸⁸

Ngidi did some translating of the Bible and also of the Mass book into English.³⁸⁹ He also published articles on Zulu orthography.

I got a letter from Rev. M. Kalus for publication in *Um-Afrika* in which he criticizes your articles on Orthography. Probably he has sent you also a copy of it. I hope you will not be influenced by his letter, but will finish your articles which are very interesting.³⁹⁰

Ngidi was also involved in the Zulu Cultural Society (*Ibandla likaZulu*) which had been formed by the NBTU and then given complete autonomy. Its aim were:

- a) to encourage the African in his worthwhile indigenous culture
- b) to stimulate intelligent research blending of cultures and
- c) to tell the world who an African was.³⁹¹

The society had 200 members including all the chiefs in Natal and Zululand. The society consisted of an executive committee and committees on religion, music, economics, Zulu history,

³⁸⁸ Bishop Dominic Khumalo, interview conducted in Pietermaritzburg, 25 March 1998.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ A letter from J.B. Sauter RMM to Ngidi, Mariannhill, Natal 21st November 1930. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

³⁹¹ Letter to the editor: Reply of the Zulu cultural Society (signed confidential for Fr. Ngidi undated) Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

Zulu orthography and the Natal Code of Native laws. Ngidi served on some of these committees with B.A. Vilakazi from Witwatersrand University. While deeply involved in this society he was also helping other members. For instance, Chas Mpanza, a member of the society, once asked him to help with the "Zulu place-names". Nobody else in the country could assist, as Mpanza explained:

You will understand, Father, that I would not have thought of giving you all this worry if I could find someone else in the country who could give me dependable guidance in this matter.³⁹²

The South African government also consulted him when it was making a collection of Native History and customs.³⁹³ The 'Natives' were going to be paid for writing down this history. A person was supposed to write a detailed history of a tribe, stories of individual people, customs and praises. The emphasis was that "the $\frac{1}{4}$ (quarter) information should be obtained only from old or reliable person and their exact words should be written".³⁹⁴ All these requests suggest that people relied on Ngidi and also that he must have been a knowledgeable person. History does not seem to acknowledge this aspect of Ngidi's life.

From the writings of Ngidi and his involvement in the Zulu Cultural Society, one can suggest that Ngidi was contesting the European world-view by trying to uncover the Zulu culture. So instead of embracing new European cultural elements he went back to his culture to find his identity. He thus contested the whole process of colonisation and civilisation which looked at most of black culture as "barbaric". This contestation might not have been conscious although as we shall see later, he

³⁹² A letter from Chas . J. Mpanza to Fr. Ngidi, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, 7th November , 1939. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

³⁹³ See letter entitled "Collection of the Native History and Customs, 20th July 1938. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

complained to the abbot, by saying that "...If I am not free to commit to writing subject-matter for my private study, consideration, reasoning and also speculation, I fail to understand why I should be allowed to think at all".³⁹⁵

4.4.4 Buying Land

In 1910 after the Union, a committee was selected in Parliament to formulate legislation which would restrict landownership by the Africans, and also limit the number of Africans who could squat on the white-owned land.

With the introduction of the Land Act of 1913 and the amended one of 1936, both African and Europeans missionaries faced problems with the issue of land. The Europeans could not buy land in the black areas and vice-versa. Even though Bishop Fleischer objected to secular priests owning land,³⁹⁶ Ngidi went

³⁹⁴ Ibid., p.2.

³⁹⁵ Ngidi, letter to Abbot, Telgte, Franklin, 30th April 1917. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

³⁹⁶ See letter to Ngidi from Leyendecker, 18th March 1836. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1. The problem of acquisition of land led to the Vicariate Apostolic of Mariannahill to formulate a "Pledge to be given by the Native Clerics before reception of Major Orders" The future priest was supposed to sign this. It began by asking the priest to perfectly submit to the will of the Ordinary, "who calls me to the priesthood and under whose guidance I am resolved to devote myself unreservedly and exclusively to the sacred ministry." They were supposed to say that, "I pledge myself before God and His Holy Church, in addition to the obligations specified in the Codex, some of which are hereunder emphasized and particularized:

1. Never to acquire, whether for myself or for my relatives or any other, whether or social or other work of any kind, even Catholic, either movable or immovable property, either lands or herds, in short anything which constitutes wealth in this country with the exception of what is determined in article 7.

2. To this end I pledge myself to relinquish immediately and unreservedly either for the present and for the future all the above mentioned wealth I may possess or may inherit. I pledge myself to sign before the Ordinary's appointed witnesses, a document which will settle my present and future possession. The above-mentioned document is to be kept in the Vicariate Archives, certified copies of the document to be given by Ordinary (who will record the fact) to the heir whom I myself imperfect freedom shall designate, not losing sight of article 7

ahead and bought two plots in Clermont Native Township outside Durban.³⁹⁷ Some priests used the lands fruitfully, for instance "Father Edward Mnganga has not been questioned about his plot at Waschbank. He has been allowed to build a chapel and school there."³⁹⁸

Owning land was an added advantage as Ngidi states

In fact the fathers here (Zululand) would only be too glad to have Native priests buy land where Europeans missionaries are debarred and where schools and chapels could be obtained inaccessible regions to Europeans.³⁹⁹

Indeed, Ngidi used this opportunity to the fullest and bought land. Some other priests used this opportunity to earn a living also. For instance, Julius Mbhele bought a farm near Ixopo. Since the priests were not very sure of their future, especially in the Mariannhill diocese, buying property was sometimes used as a safety catch in times of problems.

4.4.5 Bursary Schemes

Ngidi helped as many people as he could with education. Since he was influenced by Bernard Huss' philosophy of Catholic

3. Never to practice any mercantile trade

4. Never to beg, either for myself or for others, or even for charitable work, without the written permission of the Ordinary.

5. Never to make gifts, exceeding 10/-sh. in value, without the written of the Ordinary, never to receive personal gifts the value of which is over 10/-sh "intuittu personae", except with the intention of using them for the benefit of the church and according to the judgement of my superiors, and this irrespective of the nature of the gift...

7. To submit willingly and scrupulously to the rulers of the present article, according to which the Ordinary will provide for my livelihood....." Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.(undated). [See Appendix for the full Pledge].

³⁹⁷ Letter to Father Leyendecker , from Ngidi Benedictine Mission Nongoma, Zululand , dated 14th April 1936 and see Title Deed for plot 637 &628, The Clermont Township (Proprietary), Ltd., Cassino , Nqutu via Dundee, 15th August 1924. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, no.3.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, no.7.

upliftment, he carried his responsibility with great commitment. He organised money for people like R.A. Mndaweni⁴⁰⁰ and Emmanuel H.A. Made to complete their tertiary education. Some of his friends like B.W Vilakazi from Witwatersrand and E.P Mart Zulu from Johannesburg also helped out. When Bishop Spreiter died in 1944, the former students thought of forming a Scholarship tenable at Inkamana High School. Vilakazi and Made were the initiators of this scholarship scheme. Inkamana High School was the first in the country to have students completing the University Joint Matriculation Board Syllabus. This scholarship was initiated in 1944 for Matric students only.⁴⁰¹ Bishop Khumalo concluded by saying that:

I hear afterwards, that he helped many people. That is one of the reasons why he had properties and he didn't have much of a salary from the bishops, today they may but strictly speaking the priest hasn't got a salary. He gets something to help him live. But I heard that Fr. Ngidi was very interested in education of young people.⁴⁰²

By the 1940s, Ngidi had done a great deal for the Church. It was known that there was one of the first black priest still alive. It is during this time he met Dominic Khumalo, Mansuet Biyase and Nicholas Lamla. By 1945, his health started deteriorating, he stayed in hospital at Nongoma for almost six months, he had diabetes. He died in 1951 and he is buried in the cemetery at Inkamana.

4.5 Ngidi's conflicts and analysis

As we saw earlier on, Ngidi had tremendous trouble with his rector Albert Schwieger who spied on him to see whether he was

⁴⁰⁰ Letter from Mndaweni to Ngidi, Inchanga High School, 11th February 1949. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

⁴⁰¹ A letter to the public, Johannesburg (signed by Mart Zulu and B.W. Vilakazi) 3rd April 1944. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2.

⁴⁰² Bishop Dominic Khumalo, interview conducted in Pietermaritzburg on

writing material contradicting the beliefs of the missionaries. Schwieger used to sneak into Ngidi's room and steal his writings, trying to see what kind of controversial material had written.

From the letter Ngidi wrote to the Abbot, we notice that he brought a challenge to what publicly transpired between subordinates and those who dominate. The open interaction between these people was that blacks were oppressed and could not openly defy the power of the colonisers or rather make this known to the dominant. Ngidi was supposed to acquiesce and not question the situation. But he brought his grievance in the open. The examples given in the letter "characterise the discourse that takes place 'offstage' beyond the direct observation of power-holders." Ngidi brought this discourse out in public by openly writing a letter to the bishop stating clearly that he was not happy. Probably all this ill-treatment was on the minds of many black people. Ngidi made this public through his letter and also by refusing to do some of the things, for example to go "and eat in the kitchen" with a *native girl*. This exemplifies the constant tension between the "public discourse" and "hidden discourse" for the dominated and the dominant. This tension can be compared to the tension which occurs in hegemony which usually involves the assertion:

of control over modes of symbolic production: over such things as education and ritual processes, patterns of socialisation, political and legal procedures, canons of style and self-representation, public communication, health and bodily discipline...⁴⁰³

Although hegemony asserts control over these entities, it is always intrinsically unstable and very vulnerable, as we saw earlier. The problems faced by Ngidi were not peculiar to him.

25th of March 1998 Pietermaritzburg.

⁴⁰³ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and consciousness in South Africa*, p.25.

The same factors at work with Ngidi are also experienced by other black priests during his time and much later.

4.5.1 A shift in hegemony for white and black priests

A general pattern which seems to occur in the lives of the first black priests is that there was always a white priest who made their life very difficult when they were working in the Mariannhill diocese. For Mnganga, it was David Bryant who claimed that he was mentally disturbed. For Mbhele, it was Sixtus Wittekind who kept on spying on him and sending reports to the bishop as we shall see later.⁴⁰⁴ For Ngidi, it was Albert Schweiger, his rector. Apparently the latter had taken some manuscripts from his room, copied them and sent the copy to his friend, Canisius. He was writing to him defaming Ngidi. As Ngidi says "He (Albert) is very busy ruining me and all my future work."⁴⁰⁵ Ngidi in his papers had analysed the causes of the First World War, the Native Land Act of 1913, the split of the native votes in Tembuland and general South African history. He did not think that Albert understood the situation, as he says,

...If, then, Fr. Albert were not, understanding all these things, takes scandal or else is bent to ruin me and my career, that is his look out and I don't know why he should be intruding and sneaking into my private papers and writings to take scandal. Had Fr. Albert heard more of current History of South Africa, and studied South African Social questions and problems, he would not be so easily scandalized at my sharp concluding remarks.⁴⁰⁶

My suggestion is that these conflicts occurred because the black priests thought that their world-view was threatened and they contested by trying to make the white priests aware of

⁴⁰⁴ See section 3.4

⁴⁰⁵ Letter from Ngidi to Abbot, Telgte 30th April 1917. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

their situation, that they were oppressed and mostly marginalised.

The Comaroffs, in dealing with the Tswana people noticed a similar shift in hegemony.⁴⁰⁷ Among the Zulu people, we also see that the whites were trying to establish an hegemony over the blacks, but the latter were coming in with ideas which ultimately contested this process. They challenged this process of control through actions, writings and their way of life. This brought about a conflict, an ideological struggle because what was taken for granted and not questioned was now in the open between the blacks and whites in the mission field. The black priests, through their writings, saying, actions, brought to light the hidden bases of domination. This in turn brought up the conflict and sometimes false accusations.

What needs to be emphasised is that social knowledge and experience lie along a chain of consciousness, and this changes over time and space. Certain things, which were hidden would come up and others would submerge into the unconsciousness. Between the consciousness and the unconsciousness lies a domain where human beings think of things but sometimes cannot articulate them; these ideas are usually loose and hazy.

It is from this realm,

that silent signifiers and unmarked practices may rise to the level of explicit consciousness, of ideological assertion, and become the subject of overt political and social contestation - or from which they may recede into the hegemonic to languish there unremarked for the time being.⁴⁰⁸

The forms of contest come in different forms just as the act of domination comes in forms like "overt coercion to implicit

⁴⁰⁷ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p. 23.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.24.

persuasion"⁴⁰⁹ so modes of resistance also extend over a wide range from organised protests to simple gestures of refusal.⁴¹⁰

Those who have just been colonised feel that there is some invisible power or magic gaining control over them. Their only hope is to gain control over this monster. The next stage is discrimination and social standing, while others are drawn into the system.

The black priests had been to Europe, were well read, all them had doctorates. They had a good knowledge of the two backgrounds, the European and the African. For them challenging some aspects of colonisation and civilisation was not a problem as they were very knowledgeable. This is exemplified in the letter of Ngidi to the Abbot when he says, "...If I am not free to commit to writing subject-matters for my private study, consideration, reasoning and also speculation, I fail to understand why I should be allowed to think at all"⁴¹¹. This in itself was a challenge because the dominant did not expect the subordinates to think for themselves. When the black priest articulated their grievances, they questioned the power which was taken for granted and it became unstable. The white priests tried to impose their world-view and background by using all kinds of methods to frustrate the black priests and hold them down in subordinate positions. This worked sometimes but at times it did not.

I will now look at the fourth early black Catholic priest. He was considered to be the most intelligent of the four. But as

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.31.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹¹ Letter from Ngidi to the Abbot Telgte, Franklin, 30th April 1917. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

we shall see, he led a frustrated life, because he kept on fighting western cultural values and the process of domination.

5. Julius uMkomazi Mbhele (1879-1956)

5.1 Background

Julius uMkomazi Mbhele was born in 1879 into the Amabela tribe. He was received into the mission station at Lourdes in 1894 and was baptised in 1896. In 1899 he entered the Collegium Urbanum in Rome.⁴¹² Upon his return from Rome, Julius Mbhele was involved in mission work at Mariannhill from 1907 to 1924. In 1910, while working at Mariannhill, Mbhele was incarcerated to Einsideln and was not allowed to practice as a priest. Mbhele had problems in staying at any mission because of the differences with the rectors and the bishop of Mariannhill. In the same year, Mbhele wrote a letter to the Abbot in which he said:

...Now I beg to ask what will become of me when the station will be transferred to Inhlazaka as I understand there is no room there. But even if there were room, I would still ask how long will my incarceration last? Of course, you have made your appeal to the bishop about this, but I still fail to see how does he come in now in this matter while he was not required for my incarceration here. Once defamed in one place I do not believe in being forced to defame myself or at least to confirm my defamations in another place by staying in a mission without working as missionary, as it has been the case so far. I think what I am asking it's only reasonable in as much as I ask what everybody would ask being in a similar condition as I am in. The letter of his Lordship has left me first in the dark since I do not know anything definite now just as I did not know before.⁴¹³

⁴¹² "Ein freudiges Ereignis," in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1907, p. 194. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery.

⁴¹³ Julius Mbhele's letter to Right Rev. Abbot, Einsideln, 31/10/1910. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first Black Clergy.

The reason for the incarceration is not stated in the letter.⁴¹⁴ In the early 1920s, Mbhele bought a farm near Ncala mission, mainly for two reasons: firstly, he felt that since he was being ill-treated at several mission stations in Mariannhill, it would be better to buy a farm. If he left priesthood, he could still have a home. Secondly, he also wanted his farm to be a base for future ministry among the Zulu people.⁴¹⁵ As he says:

... these farms may serve as bases for future mission work when the native priest will be able to take charge of the work just as Mariannhill contend that they need farm to that effect and the bishop himself had declared to you that we could not be put in charge of their properties since we are outsiders.⁴¹⁶

5.1.1 The Farm

By the end of 1924, he was transferred to St. John's parish in Umgodi, he worked there for two years. The farm became a major concern for Bishop Fleischer and in 1924, the bishop wrote a letter to Mbhele in which he was suspended was asked to dispose the farm:

As you today declared before me, Fr. Superior here and Fr. Aloys Mncadi that you did not try nor are willing to do so in future, to dispose of your farm. Although I ordered you under the 4th of September this year to do so before this Christmas, I suspend you from saying Holy mass. At that 4th of September I declared to you that I hold it a duty of conscience to give you that order. On the 6th again, on the 7th of the month I repeated it saying you are on the way to hell by your continued stubborn disobedience to your bishop who wants to save your soul by order. P.S. I told you next month you have opportunity to put your case before the apostolic delegate who comes here.⁴¹⁷

Mbhele refused to sell the farm and then appealed to the

⁴¹⁴ See letter by Mbhele to the Abbot, Einsideln, 31 October 1910. Durban Archdiocesan Archives.

⁴¹⁵ See Letter from Mbhele to Ngidi, Umgodi, 23 November, 1924. Inkamana Archives, Vryheid.

⁴¹⁶ Julius Mbhele, Letter to Fr. Andreas Ngidi, Umgodi, via Highflats, November 7 1924, Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

⁴¹⁷ Aldabero Fleischer letter to Fr. Julius Mbhele, Mariannhill, 28/9/1924. Archives of the Archbishop, Durban: File on the first Black

apostolic delegate in November, 1924. The delegate wrote back saying that according to Canon 127 and 142, a priest was supposed to obey his bishop when commanded. In the same year, Andreas Ngidi and Mbhele wrote a petition to the apostolic delegate on their right to own property. However, not much was achieved through this petition.

In 1927, Mbhele was transferred back to the Monastery. During this period he also wrote a great deal for the local newspaper, *Izindaba Zabantu*⁴¹⁸ and was involved in the translation of the Bible, as Mncadi wrote:

As his Lordship has an exceptional talent in the person of A.N(Andreas Ngidi) and J.M. (Julius Mbhele), especially the intellectual gift of Rev. Mbhele might use them for translating the New and Old Bible into Zulu. These two are the best in the whole South Africa even I may in all earnestness and fairness say that they are the best and unique machinery for that purpose in the sub-continent.⁴¹⁹

In 1933, Mbhele left Mariannahill and joined the Zululand Diocese. He worked at Inkamana for a year and the following year was transferred to Entabeni. In Zululand he experienced similar problems relating to his farm. From March, 1933 to October, 1937, Bishop Spreiter wrote numerous letters to Mbhele concerning his farm near Ncala mission. There were also other allegations which the bishop brought forward, concerning Mbhele's involvement with women and drinking as we shall see.⁴²⁰ On 30 March 1933, Mbhele replied to the letter from the Bishop Spreiter which stopped him from saying mass and demanded once again that he sell the farm. He wrote:

clergy.

⁴¹⁸ See articles entitled "Kuka' Kam nenzalo yake" *Um Afrika* (17 & 24 April 1925).

⁴¹⁹ Aloysius Mncadi, A letter to the bishop, Mariatrost, Via Highflats, 13/3/1930. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first Black Clergy.

⁴²⁰ Letter from Bishop Spreiter to Mbhele, Inkamana, 5 June 1937. Inkamana Archives, Vyrheid.

I do say holy mass here not for the people. I consulted a certain professor on this matter and he wrote back, '...saying holy mass in a private residence occasionally when the church or chapel is 4 miles or more away does not need any permission.' The prohibition in this case is manifestly unjust and such being the case I am bound to appeal to higher authorities. As to selling the farm, I have no intentions of doing so for the reason that it was the ill-treatment I always received at the hands of the Mariannahill authorities which made me think of buying it the farm.⁴²¹

Seven months later, another incident occurred where Mbhele was once again threatened. If he refused to do what the bishop said, he was to be sent back to Mariannahill.

Bishop Spreiter wrote to Mbhele saying:

...yesterday I heard that you on Friday have been in Vryh. (Vryheid) Until 12 o'clock and that you have brought the case of Martin (?) about the 30 silverlings (Judas) to the court. I don't know what is the truth about it but if so as reported, then it is real a cause to feel indignity.... Dear Father I adjure for the sake of the salvation of your immortal soul, be careful. Do not force me to send you back to your bishop. You know that your future will be ruined. Somebody said about you: you are the most intelligent⁴²² of the four Native priest but also the most imprudent. You are too proud...⁴²³

We see from the reply of the bishop that he was going to enforce a "swift stroke of repression" if Mbhele did not obey his commands.

⁴²¹ Julius Mbhele, a letter to the Excellency Thomas Spreiter OSB, St. Anthony's P.O. Incalu, 30/3/1933. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Clergy; File 1.

⁴²² This fact was also attested by Aloys Mncadi, when he wrote to Bishop Thomas Spreiter, saying, "As His Lordship has an exceptional talent in person of both Reverend A.N and J.M., especially the intellectual gift of Rev. Mbhele it might use him for translating the New and Old Bible into Zulu. These two are the best in the whole of South Africa even may in all earnestness and fairness say that they are the best and unique machinery for that purpose in the sub-continent. I would never trust them for the missions work besides the book, writing. (Letter from Aloys Mncadi to Bishop Thomas Spreiter, Mariatrust, 13/3/1930. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Clergy; File1.

⁴²³ Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, A letter to Fr. Julius, Inkamana, 1st

5.1.2 Julius Mbhele versus Sixtus Wittekind

After 1935 there was a series of accusations about his farm. Bishop Spreiter received numerous letters concerning Mbhele from Sixtus Wittekind, a priest at the Ncala mission station. On 27 March of the same year, Mbhele received a letter from the bishop which accused him, *inter alia* of having a divorced woman living with him in his house, and that he had bought a barrel of wine at his farm. The bishop therefore ordered him not to go to the farm until the truth was established. "Your honour as a priest demands too, that you are not going to the farm."⁴²⁴

In response to these accusations Mbhele sent a long letter explaining that these were all misconceptions and it was a personal vendetta of Sixtus Wittekind. He argued that since Sixtus was always showing such delicacy of conscience about casks of wine, "can he maintain with all conscience - if he has any - that in the whole of his Vicariate there is not a single priest who drinks? Who are those friends to whom I gave wine? Who are his informers? I want their names now." He continues:

'That woman was there' does he want to repeat the same lies that she lives in my house? If he is a bonus pastor, as he pretends to be, why is that he never tried to convert his erring sheep instead of using her as a weapon against me behind my back? On the contrary, when I at last succeeded in persuading her to go to him, instead of receiving her like a good shepherd, he drove her away saying that he did not like even to see her. Thus it is clear that he wants to hear one side only, and that only which is damaging to his neighbour.⁴²⁵

Mbhele claimed to have some proof that Sixtus employed spies. For instance, on 12 March 1936, a girl came to his farm apparently sent by Sixtus. She pretended to want confession the

October 1933. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Clergy File 1.

⁴²⁴ Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, A Letter to Father Julius, Inkamana, 27th March 1935. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Clergy File 1.

⁴²⁵ Julius Mbhele, A Letter to His Excellency Bishop Th. Spreiter O.S.B, Gonzaga, P.O. Qudeni Zululand, 20/4/1936. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Clergy File 1.

following day. However, she never turned up on the 13th, but instead wrote a letter to Sixtus on the state of affairs at the Mbhele farm. According to Mbhele, she was "...well known to be a spy, and one of the worst characters." Mbhele continued in his letter to the bishop stating that Sixtus not only wrote down what people told him spontaneously and employed spies but also went "so far as to interrogate people... in the confessional." He did not even determine whether these allegations were true or false but immediately proceeded in writing to his bishop.

The trouble between Sixtus and Mbhele had started almost twenty years previously. As Mbhele wrote:

...some 20 years ago, when I had the misfortune to be with him at Reichenau. He did not mention what he did against me then, but only told of the trouble I gave him about *utshwala*, which, by the way, was a mere fabrication of his. When I saw that it was impossible to stay any longer with him, I simply left for Mariannhill. Since then several young fathers have been sent as assistant to him ..., but none of them has found it possible to stand (him)⁴²⁶

Ever since Mbhele left Mariannhill, Sixtus had tried to get hold of "*isigaxa*", which means to get hold of something or information to harm Mbhele's reputation. But since he could not find one, he, according to Mbhele, fabricated one. Sixtus said that Mbhele had told people at Reichenau that Sixtus had been married before he came to South Africa. The superior asked Mbhele about this and he replied, "What! Was Fr. Sixtus ever married?"⁴²⁷

The issue of the farm had been a big problem since 1924 onwards. Sixtus had travelled past Mbhele's farm in 1925, Mbhele had written:

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

...coming from Maristella M.S., where it had been decided to compel the late Father Alois and myself to dispose of our farms, passed my place, and admiring it said 'Au! Kanti lihle kangaka, alimfanele; sengati kungaba elemakosana ansundu. Sizobona, uzolilahla.' Which roughly translated means 'Ah! What a beautiful place! It is too good for him. It would just be the place for the Native Sisters (and therefore be in his charge). We shall see to it that he loses it. 'Invidia clericalis!'⁴²⁸

Sixtus made some grave mistakes according to Mbhele: Sixtus accused him of saying mass in 1932 in front of a gathering of natives when he was suspended; he abused the confessional; he announced in church that he was too old and sickly, and that people should not come to him with sick calls. As a result of this some people died without receiving the last sacrament and he was in court because he tampered with other people's private correspondence. As Mbhele continued, "...How did he extricate himself from his unenviable position? I am told that he instructed a boy to tell a lie in court in Fr. Sixtus' defence by saying that it was he, the boy, who had opened the letters."⁴²⁹

Sixtus sent numerous accusations to the bishop about Mbhele, stating that he had come with a Monsignor Arnoz and found Mbhele in a situation in which a priest should not be found; that "there were drinking-bouts nearly every day, also brawls. The prestige of the *Amaroma* is sinking down such orgies."⁴³⁰

In reply, Bishop Spreiter said that Mbhele's allegation about the abuse of the confessional by Sixtus was a serious matter as he knew that many natives did not speak the truth. He advised him again to sell the farm and put the money in the bank. To some of these Mbhele replied:

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, Letter to Father Julius Mbhele, Mission Inkamana, Vryheid, 16th April 1935. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Clergy Filel.

...it seems that Fr. Sixtus is trying to enlist Your Excellency's influence to compel me directly or indirectly to yield to Mariannahill's desire that native priests should have no farms. Hence he is trying to make out a farm as the source of all evil, but he forgets that I know all the great scandals some of Mariannahill members have given from its foundation till now and these scandals are not few. Are these scandal caused by the farm?⁴³¹

The visit with the monsignor also conveyed the message that the monsignor supported the claim that owning a farm was a bad thing.

On the case of finding him with a woman in "a situation", Mbhele wrote that he sued Sixtus and the monsignor in a court of law but lost the case. As he says "... and they did not find me in that situation as he says otherwise it would have been very foolish of me to sue them and they would have not found it necessary to engage a lawyer as they did. To lose a case is not always a proof of guilt."⁴³² Mbhele then goes on to give an example of a missionary priest who was actually found in a similar compromising situation with a woman.

In the same year this same Fr. Sixtus was sent with other 2 priests to a certain mission station to investigate the charges brought against a certain priest already well known to be a concubinarius who had a regular harem on the mission station itself. He was not visited at night time, but was informed a week before hand, of the coming visit and since one of the said harem was already in a family, the parents having failed to obtain justice at Mariannahill, they brought the matter to the local court. The said priest having been reinstated in the same mission as if nothing had happened. The Magistrate had to intervene, it was only through this intervention that the said missionary was sent to Europe. Suffice to mention this glaring case out of many.⁴³³

In this letter Mbhele alleged that the parishioners had petitioned the bishop to remove Sixtus, because he refused to do his job. But Sixtus still continued to send letters of

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

⁴³² Julius Mbhele to bishop Spreiter, Cach Mission Entabeni, 23/4/1936. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Clergy File 1.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*

complaints to the bishop,⁴³⁴ to the extent that in 1935 Spreiter wrote a letter to Mbhele asking him to solemnly declare that he was not living with the woman. On 16 October, Mbhele replied saying:

I solemnly declare before almighty God that the woman in question has never lived in my house but always lived with her children in a house in which other people were living. She applied and was accepted by me as a tenant like others but since she has no one to pay her rent for her I gave work of sewing. There is nothing wrong.⁴³⁵

Mbhele believed that Sixtus' aim was to literally destroy him by employing spies against him. In one of his letters to the bishop, Sixtus clearly states this intention when he says:

As I always did, when R.F Julius was still under our Bishop, so I wish to do now if I get no advise to the contrary. The thing I reported was: wine is on the way to R.F, Julius farm. A consignment note in open envelope has arrived again dated 25/11/36 from a Durban firm... for wine to the amount of £1-13-0, sent to St. Anthony's.... If it is agreeable to get such notification, the way how it is discovered must not be revealed, or better, no mention at all must be made of wine.⁴³⁶

This letter indicates that Sixtus was either employed as a spy by the previous bishop, or had himself appointed someone to spy

⁴³⁴ See Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, Letter to Father Julius Mbhele, Mission Inkamana, 8th October 1935; Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, Letter to Herr P. Sixtus Wittekind, Mission Inkamana, 9th October, 1935; Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, Letter to Herr P Valentin, Inkamana, 9th October, 1935; Julius Mbhele, Letter to Thomas Spreiter Bishop, Catholic mission, Entabeni, 11th October 1935; Julius Mbhele, Letter to Thomas Spreiter Bishop, Catholic mission, Entabeni, 12th October 1935; P. Sixtus, Letter to Bishop Spreiter, Zululand, 13th October 1935. Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, Letter to Father Julius Mbhele, Mission Inkamana, 14th October 1935. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Spreiter (26) African Priests; in this letter the bishop asked Mbhele to solemnly declare that he was not living with the woman, on the 16th of October he replied saying "I solemnly declare before almighty God that the woman in question have never lived in my house but always lived with her children in a house in which other people were living. She applied and was accepted by me as a tenant like others but since she has no one to pay her rent for her I gave work of sewing. There is nothing wrong."

⁴³⁵ Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, Letter to Father Julius Mbhele, Mission Inkamana, 14th October 1935. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Spreiter (26) African Priests;

⁴³⁶ F. Sixtus, Letter to Right Rev. Bishop Spreiter, Eshowe, Mary-Help M.S., Incalu. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Spreiter (26); African Priests.

on Mbhele. It is indeed very difficult to really know what actually transpired between Mbhele and Sixtus. Oral testimonies on this are not available. The only available sources are in the archives. However, the important point is that we are presented with opinions and facts from both sides.

The problems between Bishop Spreiter and Mbhele, made the latter to leave the diocese of Zululand at the end of 1937. He went to stay at his farm for a year. Since, he still wanted to work as a priest, he said he did not like to stay on the farm, for it was not "conducive to the salvation" of his soul, as he said, materially he could be as free as a bird.⁴³⁷ In December 1938, of the same year, Bishop Spreiter wrote a letter to Bishop Romuald M. Migliorini recommending Mbhele. He said:

Repeatedly being asked by Exc. Bishop Fleischer Mariannahill I consented to take the three Native Priest from Mariannahill to Zululand, in order to help the bishop. One of these three died, one is still with us and Rev. Julius Mbhele I have dismissed on the 12th Dec. the reason was, that he molested women and a girl. He did not the worst. But the people has been angry about (sic), and that the more, as one of our brothers on the first of November has left the Mission for *peccata contra sextum*, on the same very Mission. Therefore I have been obliged to dismiss him. As he wrote, he will save his soul, he will not remain there. I think he has a right. Julius belongs until now to the Vicariate of Mariannahill. Rt. Bp. Fleischer has several times asked me to take him over in my vicariate, but I could not do that, fearing that one day troubles will arise.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁷ Julius Mbhele, Letter to Thomas Spreiter, Bishop, St. Antony's, Incalu, Ixopo, Inkamana Archives. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Spreiter (26); African Priests.

⁴³⁸ Thomas Spreiter, Letter to Right Rev. Mgr. Romuald M. Migliorini OSM, Prefect Apostolic, Swaziland, Inkamana, 20th December 1938. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Spreiter (26) African Priests. The letter continued saying that "...Julius is, so far I know over 50 of age, and the fire in the flesh, perhaps will go down. In all the about ten years and more I had only once a little difficulty with him, and since he was always a good old priest. He has no powerful voice since he is slowly, and not very healthy. I would ask you to help him in so far,-- when Bishop Fleischer has no objection, - to make a test with him and to tell him, if this test will be a failure, that he has to leave at once.... The native priests have been with us, as in Mariannahill, in the Refectory, and had their own rooms. They got nor other money from us as the stipends

From the letter we see that Bishop Spreiter briefly summarised the problems Mbhele had in Mariannhill and Zululand, he also cautioned the bishop that having black priests in his country might create problems as he said, "To see a black priest on the altar would perhaps develop amongst your boys the desire to become also a priest".⁴³⁹ In 1939, Mbhele went to Swaziland and worked at Bremersdorp for six years. In 1945, he was transferred to Mbabane and he worked there until the early 1950s. He retired to his farm, near Ncala mission, shortly before he died in 1956.

5.2 Mbhele's Conflicts

In this section I shall describe the different conflicts that Mbhele experienced with his fellow priests and the hierarchy of the church.

5.2.1 Issue of Land Ownership

The conflicts encountered by Mbhele are mostly centred on the ownership of a farm near Ncala mission. The first conflict occurred with the abbot of the monastery and later with Bishop Fleischer of Mariannhill from 1907 to 1933.

The conflict started in 1924, when Bishop Fleischer forced Mncadi and Mbhele to sell their farms. The priests thought he was depriving them of the right to own property. The bishop's contention was that farm-ownership among native priests could be open to abuse, but according to the priests this was not borne out by the facts. For instance, Mncadi had been in

for Masses, mostly each Mass with a Dollar."

⁴³⁹ Letter from Bishop Spreiter to Bishop Romuald M. Migliorini, Inkamana 20 Decmeber, 1938. Inkamana Archives, Vyrheid.

possession of a farm for more than ten years and nobody complained about that matter.

Mbhele took up this challenge head-on and questioned the bishop and even the apostolic delegate about his right to own land as a secular priest.

Though Mbhele was under the wrath of his superiors, he did not receive support from his fellow black priests. For instance, on the reaction of Alois Mncadi to the issue of farms, Mbhele wrote:

I cannot understand Fr. Alois, he seems to imagine that because he is only nominally the owner of that farm at Mhlabashana, this farm is my personal concern. I explained the whole situation to him but till now I got no answer from him, while to the explanation I had given him before he went to Mariannahill he replied by heaping blames against me as if I was fighting for direct administration of the farm instead of leaving this to others. Even if that were the only aim I had it would be unreasonable seeing that I must see to it that the farm is beneficially used so as to pay the instalments for itself. It is a pity to have to cooperate with a man who changes like the moon.⁴⁴⁰

Mnganga, on the other hand, refused to help or cooperate for the reason that he was under the Natal Vicariate. He wrote:

As personally concerned I am working under Natal Vicariate not under Mariannahill thus not implicated in the present affair. Moreover his Lordship Bishop Fleischer wrote his statement concerning the farms of only two native priests, thereupon mentioned, why should we all four sign a retaliating letter to the Delegate Apostolic.⁴⁴¹

Mbhele did not welcome such reasons. For him, they were not reasons at all. He had a universalist approach, in the sense that, if a problem affected a native clergyman at the present time, then it was quite possible that it would affect any future native clergy as well. So it had to be addressed by all

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ Edward Mnganga, a Letter to Julius Mbhele, 10/11/1924. Archives of

native clergy, in order to set a precedent for future native priests. As he expands:

This can be seen from the order of His Lordship which says 'I think a farm is a very dangerous thing for a native priest and from His pointing to the bishop of Uganda. Will they not use the same cavillation in Rome? Of course this is no argument against the universal law which is in favor but what if they were to say: oh no! We do not intend to exclude the African priest from exercising the right for all time, only these of the present generation for the reason that they are not yet in a position to take charge of the work among their people etc....'⁴⁴²

5.2.2 A petition to the apostolic delegate

In 1924, a petition, which Mnganga hesitated to sign, was written by Ngidi to Gijlswijk, the apostolic delegate, entitled "Farm-ownership by Native Secular Priests in South Africa." The copy of the petition was only signed by Ngidi and Mbhele. But this was probably just a copy. The other two priests may have signed it later. The introduction of the petition states that the Native Secular Priests of the Mariannahill Vicariate were concerned and alarmed at "the attitude our beloved Bishop is taking towards us in general, and Mbhele in particular." Seven points are put across for the delegate's consideration *inter alia*: that the priests were being forced to sell their farm; farms could be abused by black priests; canon law supported land ownership and that the farm were bought before the bishop had been nominated.⁴⁴³

the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first Black Clergy.

⁴⁴² Julius Mbhele, a letter to Ngidi, Umgodi, 21/11/1924. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

⁴⁴³ Petition to His Excellency, Archbishop Gijlswijk Delegate Apostolic, "Farm ownership by Native Secular Priests in Africa, undated. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 2. The are the seven points elaborated in the petition:

1. His Lordship Bishop Fleischer was forcing the Reverend Fathers A. Mncadi and J. Mbhele to sell their farms, and this seemed to deprive the Native Secular priests of the right to own property.
2. The bishop's contention that farm-ownership among Native Priests could be open to abuse was not borne out by the facts, as the Rev. A

5.3 Interpretation and analysis of the conflicts

In this section I shall interpret the conflicts in the light of the conceptual framework outlined in chapter one.

5.3.1 The farm issue as hidden transcript made public

Once again we shall apply our conceptual frameworks to elucidate the interaction which has occurred. It had been established by the bishops and the apostolic delegate that black priests should not own land. But Mbhele contested and contradicted this ruling and, until he died in 1956, he refused to sell the farm, near Ncala mission. As Scott suggests: by refusing to sell the farm, Mbhele and Mncadi made the "hidden transcript" public. That is, they had probably thought of a way

Mncadi had been in possession of one for more than 10 years and nobody had ever had reason to complain about that matter.

3. In the case of Rev. J. Mbhele, no argument could be made, because it was His Lordship himself who made it impossible for Mbhele to stay at any other mission of Mariannahill after their differences at Mariannahill. Even if it could be construed that the farm was in any way involved in the matter, that would only concern the abuse and not farm-ownership itself.

4. They feared that the general prohibition on the Native secular clergy owning land was an arbitrary and wanton use of superior power not warranted by both Divine and Canon Laws, which allowed secular priests to own property.

5. European Missionaries were allowed to own land in Africa and everywhere else. Only the African priests were prohibited from ownership in their mother country. Didn't this discrimination smell of the colonial colour bar policy?

6. As the facts and experiences failed to carry weight with His Lordship in the above matter, all four most reluctantly found themselves to have worked as a missionary at the stations of Lourdes, Centocow, Mariathal, St. Michael, Himmelberg, St. Johannes and Maria Trost. They declined to submit to his Lordship's order, as being '*ultra vires*' unjustified and uncanonical and, therefore ... begged the Apostolic Delegate to intervene and indicate to them what course of action to take under the circumstances

7. In conclusion they stated that both these land-transactions were concluded before His Lordship's nomination and consecration, thus

to protest, by writing letters and asking advice from Ngidi, against this imposition from the bishop. Instead of talking about the situation amongst themselves, disclosing how they were unsatisfied with the proceedings against them, they decided to bring their dissatisfaction into the open. What was "hidden" or "offstage" material became publicly debated through letters to the abbot, bishops and apostolic delegate. There was a moment of challenge, they did not act as they were supposed to in the face of power. In other words, they rebelled. For Scott, "...such moments of challenge and defiance typically provoke either a swift stroke of repression or, if unanswered, often lead to further words and acts of daring."⁴⁴⁴ For Mbhele, this repression, was his incarceration in 1910 where the bishop denied him the privilege of saying mass. Mbhele rebelled and wrote a letter to the abbot about the incarceration ⁴⁴⁵

5.3.2 The farm issue as an hegemonic struggle

In looking at the relationship between Mbhele's and Sixtus, cultural elements for instance, "signifiers" like behaviour or community life, were 'susceptible to the appropriation of authority' and 'woven tightly into an integrated worldview'. This is where power comes and plays a salient role in relationships. This can be seen from the letters which were challenging the world-view of Mbhele, that of being an African, with communal values and beliefs. Instead, Sixtus wanted to impose a western individualist world-view and, try to dominate the black priest's life, making him a subordinate who would consent to his ideas. Hegemony is achieved when there is "consensus". However, "consensus" was not achieved as there was a lot of resistance from the black priests.

rendering all his actions ... impossible of a retrospective affect.

⁴⁴⁴ Scott J., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, p.9.

⁴⁴⁵ Julius Mbhele's letter to Right Rev. Abbot, Einsideln, 31/10/1910. Archives of the Archbishop of Durban: File on the first Black Clergy.

For the Comaroffs, power is distinguished into the agentive and nonagentive modes. The agentive mode "refers to the command wielded by human beings in specific historical contexts." The non-agentive form of power is "... the silent power of the sign, the unspoken authority of habit, (which) may be as effective as the most violent coercion in shaping, directing, even dominating social thought and action."⁴⁴⁶ The enforcing of this silent power is clearly seen in the case of Mbhele and Mncadi in their farm ownership ordeal. It was taken for granted that farms could only be owned by white missionary congregations, for instance the Mariannahillers or the Benedictines, and seeing the local clergy owning farms disturbed the white priests and the bishop of Mariannahill and Zululand to the extent that they opposed it vehemently. They used the laws of the church and the political situation to impose their authority.

The Comaroffs say that hegemony is rarely contested, as is seen in Mbhele and Mncadi's case, except perhaps in "roseate dreams of revolutionaries."⁴⁴⁷ But the constant harassment of Mbhele, and his subsequent incarceration in 1910 was just the beginning of his problems and the enforcement of the silent power. As we saw earlier, in 1924, Mbhele was reprimanded for his farm. Even after being reprimanded Mbhele wrote, "his Lordship has taken a definite step against me by indefinitely denying me jurisdiction solely because I refuse to give up my right to land ownership." By doing this he turns the silent aspect of our signifiers - hegemony - into a contest which can be debated. He puts forward this interjection to the bishop:

His Lordship could show that the native priests are blameless as long as they have no farm but as soon as they become landowners they invariably become bad priests and that this change for the worse is proved to be attributable solely and exclusively to the

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

fact that they have farms then and only then His appeal to His conscience might be intelligible.⁴⁴⁸

What seemed natural and taken for granted in the above letter of Mbhele to Ngidi, came to be negotiated, and we see a typical case of hegemony becoming something other than itself. "It turned into ideology and counter ideology, into orthodoxy and heterodoxy."⁴⁴⁹ Such struggles remain struggles of symbols, especially when used for immediate resolution. In this case we have the German missionaries whose dominant influence was closely linked to the church and the South African socio-political background. But the subordinate groups also have ideologies. And "...as they try to assert themselves against a dominant order or group, perhaps even to reverse existing relations of inequality, they too must call actively upon those ideologies."⁴⁵⁰ For instance, Mbhele's punishment for refusing to sell the farm was extended to other things, but he continued to resist, as he says:

I have also written to His Lordship protesting against the insinuation that I may not go to my farm unless under the escort of Fr. S. and against interference with my correspondence. I shall never go back again on these points since he has shown that his appeal to conscience is false unless of course he takes conscience in a political sense⁴⁵¹

When hegemony is imposed it is not on a clean slate but on ground where other prior power-structures have existed before. So the new form does not totally replace the old one, hence it is never totally imposed.⁴⁵² In Mbhele's case this is seen in the following letter he wrote to Ngidi:

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and consciousness in South Africa*, p.24.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵¹ Julius Mbhele, Letter to Fr. Andreas Ngidi, Umgodi, via Highflats, November 7 1924. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

⁴⁵² Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.26.

It seems that the Delegate is trying to make reconciliation at our expense which will never do. I am not surprised though for I was informed here that the bishop had obtained the consent of his Grace to take the step he is taking. I am also informed that you, Father Alois and myself are supposed to be aiding each other in this and other matters and that we are making it hard for His Lordship to continue with His native clergy programme and you may be sure His Excellency has been informed accordingly against us. That is the view of His Lordship and his confreres I was told this very morning. Again you must know that His Lordship is not alone but whole of Mariannhill is with him of course there are some exceptions. Thus you see what tremendous odds we have to face.⁴⁵³

A common pattern which is followed is that once something leaves the domain of the hegemonic, it frequently becomes a major site of ideological struggle.⁴⁵⁴ This was implied by Mbhele when he wrote: "consider also this trick i.e. His Lordship first declared that - He will not allow us to have charge of Missions - then therefore we cannot have that aim in view when we buy farms *ergo implicamur negotus saecularibus!* *ed. quidem sine necessitate* since they support us. Of course I don't say it is logic but that is the trick."⁴⁵⁵

It is important to note that though the authorities in the church tried to enforce their power on Mbhele, which was highly influenced by the church's structure and the political background, in most cases Mbhele resisted. He actually contradicted the articulating principle of the missionaries. As I said earlier on, once there is resistance and contestation, there can be no hegemony. It is only when there is sufficient "consensus" amongst the subordinate that we can say a new hegemony has been established. Whenever, Mbhele was told to do something which he considered contradicted his world-view, he articulated his objection and gave his reasons. The silent power was then brought into the open and contested with his

⁴⁵³ Julius Mbhele, a letter to Fr. Ngidi, Umgodi, November 10 1924. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

⁴⁵⁴ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.27.

⁴⁵⁵ Julius Mbhele, a letter to Fr. Ngidi, Umgodi, November 10 1924. Archives of Inkamana Monastery, Vryheid: Andreas Ngidi; File 1.

superiors, either abbot or bishop. This made his life very difficult. He was repressed in many ways, yet he never gave up. We see a priest whose consciousness was colonised, but at the same time who used his consciousness to fight the oppression in the church. He wanted not only to fight for himself, but for the whole native clergy.

6. Conclusions

In this chapter, we have looked at the first four black priests in South Africa. Mnganga was the first to be ordained in 1898, and he worked in Zululand. His rector, David Bryant, alleged that he had problems and was "mentally disturbed", and he spent seventeen years in the Natal Government Asylum. He was followed by Alois Mncadi, who also differed over cultural issues with the white priest with whom he was working. Andreas Ngidi also had problems with his rector, who kept on invading his privacy until he was transferred to a new parish. Finally, we looked at Julius Mbhele, whose work and efforts were constantly sabotaged by Sixtus Wittekind. In three of the four cases, a missionary priest was the instigator of the conflict. He made the lives of the priests unbearable and they were all punished with a "swift stroke of repression."

Relying on our written sources one could conclude that life was very difficult for these first black priests. They had been to Rome and acquired doctorates in theology and philosophy, and this in itself created some problems. Firstly, most of the missionaries received basic priestly training, they did do licentiates and doctorates, and so there might have been feelings of jealousy towards these priests; on the other hand, the black priests may have behaved rather proudly or

arrogantly.⁴⁵⁶ Secondly, the black priests were, to a certain extent, aware of the two world-views Zulu and western. Sources suggest that they were aware of the power struggle between their culture and Western culture and, this may have made their lives difficult. Initially, they may have thought they could associate with the white priests, but when they were continually ill-treated the trust broke down. Due to their level of education they were probably alienated from African society. All these factors had an influence on the interaction between the missionary priests and the first black priests.

While one suspects that these might have been the difficulties they faced, we cannot necessarily conclude that the priests indeed had these problems. The definition of "problems" is a matter of perspective. The problem could have been with the missionaries, who did not fully comprehend the dynamics of African culture. As the Comaroffs suggest, it is from culture that we develop salient aspects of human existence, hegemony and ideology. The missionaries came with the superior idea that Africa was blank and needed their God; and they wanted to completely wipe out the culture which had developed over several centuries. So, by not understanding the culture of the indigenous people, they misunderstood their *modus operandi* and were convinced that African priests had problems.

It is important to note that the black priests transcended these misconceived "problems" and all died as priests. The experiences of the black priests were highlighted by Bishop Biyase as follows:

[their experience...] can enrich us... first of all in the manner of approach to this priesthood or pastoring to people. They were gentlemen who were really dedicated and I would imagine more especially today having a little bit of knowledge of the priest

⁴⁵⁶ "Der erste Priester aus dem Stamme der Zulus" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, 1945, p.237. Archives of Mariannhill Mission.

of today, some of the young fellows who come out of the seminary are thinking already too high. There is usually a number whom you find that they are flying too high, they seem not to be ordained for their people but for certain class. So I would imagine that studying the acts of these guys just like the Acts of the apostles would help us a lot to see how already at that time, last century, how in our country these fellows took the situation and more especially when we compare their time with ours today, we live in a so called New south Africa, and they were in the old South Africa in the colonial South Africa, in fact at the beginning of it was the first time that a black man came in.⁴⁵⁷

Building on the analysis of the Comaroffs and Scott, I believe that we need to see beyond the mere stories of the conflicts between the local clergy and the missionaries. Their interaction was characterised by contestation, compliance, repulsion and fascination. The missionaries proved to be more capable of imposing their cultural background on the colonial field, but the black priests were not passive recipients of the European culture, they also resisted. For the Comaroffs modes of resistance extend on a wide spectrum. As they say: "At one end is organised protest, explicit moments and movements of dissent that are easily recognisable as 'political' by western lights. At the other are gestures of tacit refusal and iconoclams, gestures that sullenly and silently contest the form of an existing hegemony."⁴⁵⁸ The form of resistance of the black priests can be linked with the latter. The priests resisted the missionary campaign to reconstruct some aspects of their everyday lives. They struggled to retain control over words, space and the use of the Zulu language itself.

In our case we saw that the resistance of the black priests ranged from simple gestures of refusal, writing rebellious letters and petitions, arguing over the mastery of the Zulu language and refusing to obey some of the commands from the bishops. We could say that their resistance was not very

⁴⁵⁷ Bishop Mansuet Biyase, interview conducted in Eshowe, 22 April 1997.

⁴⁵⁸ Comaroffs, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, p.31.

radical, as it did not actually overturn the existing power structures and effect change. In other words, they demonstrated short-term resistance in the face of the current crisis and not resistance which was going to effect change in the whole church in South Africa. I suggest that the four priests, to some extent, used survivalist tactics in order to cope with the crisis in the church as Catholic priests. I think it is vital to distinguish between the different form of resistance in society. More advanced forms of resistance usually effect change as they are is directed at the whole power structure which is questioned, sometimes overturned. In the Roman Catholic church, even though the first priests resisted and contested the different world-view which was imposed on them, in reality they did not effect any long term change. Today Catholic church is still rigid in its structures and the black priests still feel "homeless" and are still fighting white dominance in the church.

Establishment of Black Clergy in South Africa: 1919-1957

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to examine whether the four encyclicals: *Maximum illud*; *Rerum Ecclesiae*; *Evangelii praecones* and *Fidei Donum* (issued from 1919 to 1957) were taken seriously in the mission fields, especially in South Africa. Firstly, I will give a brief overview of the number of priests ordained in the period 1919 to 1957. Then the process of indigenisation of the African clergy and the events leading to the establishment of the minor seminary at Ixopo will be described. Finally, the creation of the Leribe and Umzimkulu dioceses will be examined critically as a case of Africanisation initiated by Rome. When dealing with these developments, we should also bear in mind that different power-structures played a vital role in this period as we have discussed at some length in the previous chapters. There were at least three power bases to which the missionaries were either consciously or unconsciously adhering, or advocating, these were Rome; country of origin and the country they resided in. This inclination towards the West sometimes brought out conflicts, which were very evident on the mission fields.

2. Overview of Black Clergy in Southern Africa 1919-1957

In this period from 1919 to 1957, thirty eight priests were ordained. The first four secular priests ordained in Rome were already working in parishes during this period as we have seen. Most of the priests in this period, 1919 to 1957 were trained at St. Mary's and St. Peter's seminaries respectively.⁴⁵⁹ Most of the priests were African seculars and there were also twelve Franciscan Familiars of St. Joseph (FFJ), and one priest from the Pallotines. The first coloured diocesan priests were Henry Damon (1940)⁴⁶⁰ and Romuald Booyesen (1947). They were trained by the Pallotines at Swellendam and they worked in the diocese of Oudtshoorn.⁴⁶¹

Though, the focus of the thesis is not on Lesotho, it important to give a brief overview as the training of some black candidates was done in Lesotho due to apartheid in South Africa. So, at St. Augustine Major Seminary, thirty nine priests had been ordained. Of these one was a Servite, twelve diocesans and the rest were Oblates from South Africa and Lesotho. At St. Joseph's Scholasticate, six local priests had been ordained. Four of these were coloured and there were two Zulu priests from Natal. By 1957 only the FFJ, the Pallotines, the Servites, the Oblates in Lesotho and South Africa had ordained local clergy. The other orders were still trying and only succeeded later in the century.

⁴⁵⁹ See appendix, Ordinations 1898-1960.

⁴⁶⁰ "Ein Mischling wird Priester" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, 1945, p.90. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery; see also *Pallotines: Society of the Catholic Apostolate. 75 years in South Africa* (Stutterheim: Palloti Press Queenstown, 1997), pp.32-33.

⁴⁶¹ Other coloured priests were trained at St. Peter's. The first two coloured priests trained for the diocese of De Aar; Joseph J. Alacaster (1962) and Cecil J. Wienard (1962). However, in this chapter we only deal with priests who were ordained by 1957.

3. Indigenisation of the Church

The encyclical *Maximum Illud* laid the foundation for the missionary activities of the church for the next half-century.⁴⁶² It stated clearly the mission of the church and the propagation of the Catholic faith to the world. In South Africa the aspect which was highlighted was the training of native clergy, who were supposed to "be well trained and well prepared" and receive the "same kind of education for the priesthood that a European would receive." Local clergy were not to be trained merely as assistants of foreign priests but they were supposed to take up God's work as equals.⁴⁶³

The SCPF was specifically assigned the duty of founding new seminaries in many new mission territories. The heads of missions were asked to extend their missions, develop joint ventures in evangelising people, and meet regularly. For the pope this meant a de-emphasis of nationality, race and congregation for a more effective way of running the church. In 1918, Cardinal van Rossum became the Cardinal Prefect, and he diligently carried out the indigenisation of the Church. The papal encyclical - *Maximum illud* was very relevant in this regard, not only in Natal, but also in the whole of Southern Africa. After the First World War, things in the church had changed for the worse, in the sense that the number of clergy was drastically reduced. For instance, in East Africa the German missionaries from the Benedictines of St. Ottilien, who had come to East Africa in 1888 under the leadership of Bishop Thomas Spreiter, were interned during the war or expelled. They were expelled from Tanganyika, now Tanzania. They left for Europe from Tanganyika in April 1920. In the same year they

⁴⁶² See Chapter Two.

⁴⁶³ Benedict XV, Pope, *Maximum illud: Apostolic letter on the Propagation of the Faith Throughout the World*, November 30, 1919

came to South Africa. After trying several areas in southern Africa, it was decided that they should take over Zululand. Later, the vicariate of Natal was divided into three vicariates: Natal, Zululand and Mariannhill. The Benedictines and the Mariannhill monks influenced this division.

3.1 Creation of the Vicariates of Mariannhill and Zululand

When Cardinal van Rossum informed Bishop Henri Delalle OMI that his vicariate of Natal was to be divided, it came as a shock to him. Because when he had been in Rome in 1920 for the Oblate General Chapter and had had an audience with the Cardinal, nothing of this nature had been mentioned. He felt that it was too soon after the war. However, Propaganda went ahead and the confirmation that Mariannhill was to be a separate vicariate reached Delalle in October 1921. The vicariate of Mariannhill was to include the Transkei and southern Natal.

The Oblates would be left with the Durban district, the coast from Tugela to Umkomaas, inland along the Umlaas River as far as Impendle, and then following the provincial boundary. Mariannhill itself would be in Delalle's vicariate but independent of it. The Oblates would gain two Mariannhill stations, Besters and Maria Ratschitz; they would lose St. Joachim's (Umsinsini), Umzinto and all the Transkei mission.⁴⁶⁴

Bishop Adalbero Fleischer was appointed and consecrated by Bishop Delalle as Vicar Apostolic of Mariannhill on the 15th August 1922. This was to be a beginning of a new era.

When Bishop Fleischer took over, there were fifty two Mariannhill confreres and four secular priests.⁴⁶⁵ In December

(Washington: National Catholic Welfare Conference), pp.5-6.

⁴⁶⁴ Brain, *Catholic in Natal II*, p.278.

⁴⁶⁵ [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of the Missionary of Marianhill in the Province of Mariannhill, South Africa*, p.45.

of the same year, the apostolic delegate, Archbishop Gijlswijk, was appointed by the decree of Pope Pius XI. The delegate was to co-ordinate missionary activities throughout Southern Africa.⁴⁶⁶ He helped in the negotiation of the new divisions which were to occur. Following *Maximum Illud*, Cardinal van Rossum further divided the Natal diocese by creating a new Prefecture of Zululand on 1st September 1921. This further division of Zululand was a great disappointment to the Oblate General Administration. The whole of Zululand was given to the Benedictines (who had been expelled from Tanganyika) and was raised to the status of Vicariate of Eshowe. From that time onwards there were some tension between the Oblates and the Benedictines. This was in direct contradiction to the spirit which called for co-operation amongst the congregation for the spread of the gospel.⁴⁶⁷

3.2 Franciscan Familiars of St. Joseph

After its establishment as a vicariate, the aim of the Mariannahill missionaries was to reach as many indigenous people as possible, and to initiate the local training of priests. Bishop Fleischer was very concerned with the training of priests and so the first thing he did was to generate interest in the training of his own priests, that is the Congregation Missionaries of Mariannahill (CMM). In 1923, the major seminary in Würzburg, Germany was transferred to South Africa.⁴⁶⁸ The bishop believed that the students of philosophy and theology should get their training in the country where they would be missionaries.⁴⁶⁹ The seminary started initially at Mariannahill

⁴⁶⁶ Denis, *Dominican Friars*, pp.151-3.

⁴⁶⁷ Brain, *Catholic in Natal II*, p.279.

⁴⁶⁸ Rudolf Kneipp, CMM, "Transformation by immolation: Mariannahill and independent Mission Congregation," in *Mariannahill and its Apostolate* (Reimlingen: St. Joseph Mission Press, 1964), p.28.

⁴⁶⁹ [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of the Missionary of Marianhill in the Province of Mariannahill, South Africa*, p.45.

on February 1st 1924, and five month later moved to Mariathal Mission. The candidates at the seminary were from Europe. Although Bishop Fleischer wanted to shift the centre of the CMM by having the seminary in South Africa, it seems strange that he imported students from Europe and trained them in South Africa. One would have thought that especially after *Maximum Illud*, the bishop would have encouraged and fostered local vocations in his congregation. Most probably the bishop thought that the time was not yet right to have local vocations joining his congregation.

The situation changed in 1926 when the General Chapter was transferred to Europe and a "step of utmost importance was the establishment of Pius Seminary at Würzburg in 1928 for the formation of priestly vocations."⁴⁷⁰ The following year, a larger major seminary was built in the same town in Germany. After the seminary was transferred to Europe, Fleischer then decided to foster indigenous vocations.

The second initiative of the bishop with regard to the training of clergy was the formation of new native congregations. Following the directives of *Maximum illud*, Bishop Fleischer founded a new congregation in 1923 for native sisters. He was in a dilemma regarding vocations to the religious life. "He had to decide whether to accept candidates into established congregations of European origin or to found new ones which might be more adaptable to the mentality and conditions of the local people." He chose the latter.

Fleischer first founded a female religious congregation called "Filiae Santi Francisci de Assisi" (FSF) - Daughters of St. Francis of Assisi. Sister Aemiliana Armbruster CPS, was put in charge and the third order rule was followed. According to the

⁴⁷⁰ Rudolf Kneipp, CMM, "Transformation by immolation: Mariannahill and

Southern Cross, the establishment of a congregation for girls was successful.⁴⁷¹ The decision to found a congregation for females was taken because numerous applications had been received for black candidates to join the Precious Blood Sisters. The founding of the FSF was a way of accommodating them.⁴⁷² After its establishment, the men also started inquiring about such a religious congregation and this led to the formation of a black congregation for men. Fleischer had the same choice - either to incorporate them into the Mariannahill congregation or to found a new one. It has been noted that:

...the general Chapter of Mariannahill Congregation of 1920 had encouraged the missionaries to think of training indigenous priests and to accept them into their own congregation, this had so far not been realized. Some missionaries were of the opinion *that time had not yet come to train African boys to be either brothers or priests along side the Europeans*. On the other hand, Bishop Fleischer firmly believed it to be the better course to form them into a separate congregation. He took this inspiration again from the encyclical *Maximum illud* and published a pastoral letter on 30th January 1923. He said he was going to found the

independent Mission Congregation," p.30.

⁴⁷¹ *Southern Cross*, 21 March 1923, p.11.

⁴⁷² Sieber, "Religious Life", p.63 and *Southern Cross*, 21 March 1923, p.11. Following the founding of the FSF, the Dominican Sisters of Oakford, opened a separate novitiate for black girls in 1923. They were followed by other congregations listed below.

These are the indigenous religious communities which were established from 1922 to 1957:

Congregation	Date Established	Diocese
Daughters of St. Francis of Assisi	1922 (female)	Mariannahill
Franciscan Familiar of St. Josephs	1923 (male)	Mariannahill
Benedictine Srs of Twasana	1929 (female)	Eshowe
Sacred Heart Sisters (Aliwal)	1929 (female)	Aliwal North
Benedictine Sisters (Pietersburg)	1931 (female)	Pietersburg
African Servite Sisters	1932 (female)	Manzini
Benedictine Srs (Oshikuku)	1937 (female)	Windhoek
Montebello Dominican Sisters	1938 (female)	Durban
Daught. Of Im. Heart of Mary	1949 (female)	Witbank
Companions of St. Angela	1954 (female)	Johannesburg
Handmaids of Christ the Priest	1956 (female)	Pretoria
Servants of Christ the Priest	1956 (male)	Pretoria

From 1922 to 1957, a total of twelve diocesan religious communities were founded. Upon their inception they established novitiates. Most of these congregations have got finally professed indigenous members. They range from 7 to 200.

Congregation of the Franciscan Familiars of St. Joseph (FFJ).⁴⁷³

In a pastoral letter written in Zulu to the native congregation of the vicariate, Fleischer said, *inter alia*, that he wanted to put before the people a further "idea of development of monastic life for man." Two classes of candidates were to be considered: brothers and priests both under the protection of St. Joseph. "The further destination of the members will be to help their own tribes by prayer and work, by becoming priests, teachers, catechists, nurses of the sick, or by being used in any other useful occupation. They shall all observe a common life after the same rule".⁴⁷⁴ They were to be guided by the Mariannahill congregation, until they were able to govern themselves. The basic training was to be: one year postulancy, two years novitiate followed by profession.⁴⁷⁵

However, some of the black priests looked at this congregation with suspicion. They thought it was a second class religious order. In fact it was alleged that the brothers were servants of the CMM. It was to be guided by Mariannahill, which meant that it was to imitate Mariannahill. As we saw in chapter one, Africans were supposed to imitate rather than invent. The idea had to be fused from, a culturally superior congregation, to the lesser, child-like congregation. Biyase, in considering the circumstances of the founding of the Franciscan Familiars of St. Joseph (FFJ), suggests that it was justifiable but,

unfortunately, he (Fleischer) was imbued with the idea of himself, because he would have made them diocesan priests. Fr. Malachias Mkwane was a diocesan priest not an FFJ. The FFJ were like a diocesan congregation, if you were from Mariannahill you

⁴⁷³ [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of Mariannahill in the Province of Mariannahill, South Africa*, p.48. (Italics mine)

⁴⁷⁴ On the pastoral letter of Bishop Fleischer see *Southern Cross* (21 March 1923), p.11 and [Hermann] *History of the Congregation of the Mariannahill Missionary*, p.114.

⁴⁷⁵ "Im Noviziat der eingeborenen Brüder" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1929, pp.78-82. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery.

were supposed to join it, Franciscan Familiar of St. Josephs, but we used to call it Far From Jesus (FFJ). So Fleischer succumbed, he would have loved to make them CMM, but he found the FFJ.⁴⁷⁶

For Natalis Mjoli, the founding of the FFJs was consistent with the current practices of South Africa, based on segregation, and the belief that the Africans were not yet ready. For Mjoli, Bishop Fleischer could not go against the current thought, because all the white Mariannahillers believed that an African could never be a priest. The CMM were against Bishop Fleischer wanting blacks to be priests. Mjoli suggested that if Fleischer really wanted them to be religious priests in the Mariannahill Congregation, it could have happened. Yet he started a congregation different from the CMM and entirely dependant on him.

According to Mjoli, these congregations - FFJ and FSF - were subject to the bishop and there was a perception that their members were treated like domestic servants. They started by helping the priests and, later on, were introduced to hospitals, and those who could teach were able to be principals.⁴⁷⁷

David Moetapele, a secular priest of the Diocese of Pretoria, suggests that the founding of the FFJ was part of a clear segregatory policy. It was founded as a second class congregation. As he says:

It was to accommodate the blacks because the CMMs wouldn't. They would not accept black guys to join their congregation. They said that, no! This is a German thing. It is not for blacks, that time. They could say so, because they used to get new vocations from overseas so they were not in need of candidates from the country, unless you were white, you could join. That is one of the reasons why Bishop Fleischer had to start his own congregation the FFJs because the CMM would not accept the black

⁴⁷⁶ Biyase, same interview.

⁴⁷⁷ Mjoli, same interview.

vocations.⁴⁷⁸

The founding of the FFJ followed the establishment of the clerical seminary at Ixopo by Bishop Fleischer. He had been commissioned to do this by other ordinaries at the 1924 meeting in Kimberley.

3.3 St. Mary's Seminary, Mariathal

In July 1924, the vicars and prefects apostolic of South Africa had a conference in Kimberley. Central to their discussion was the urgent desire of the Church to establish a native clergy in the mission countries and to build native seminaries. The meeting was held under the presidency of the apostolic delegate, Archbishop J.B. Gijlswijk.

Pope Pius XI had supported the establishment of native-priest seminaries. The prelates gathered at the Kimberley conference and, following the example of other mission countries, decided to erect a regional seminary for South Africa. They believed that this seminary would help in propagating and preserving the faith among the natives, the vicars and prefects who would send young men who felt called to be priests to the seminary for training.

At the meeting none of the prelates felt ready to undertake the task. So, the building of the seminary was entrusted to Bishop Adalbero Fleischer of Mariannhill. He took the matter in hand at once and wrote circular letters and pastorals appealing to the clergy and faithful to pray for God's grace on the work he was about to embark, and to implant in the hearts of the young "the call to the Holy Priesthood." We have seen earlier that the Mariannhillers had started a seminary for their students

from Germany at Mariathal mission station. Bishop Fleischer chose this mission for the native seminary. The work started at once and very soon a little brick building was erected which was to become the future seminary for priests. On 31 January 1925, in a very impressive ceremony, the blessing and opening of Mariathal Latin-School (as it was called) took place. On the Feast of Our Lady, 2nd February 1925, Father Prefect and some 17 students began their work. Subjects taught included Religion, Latin, English, Arithmetic, History and Geography. It was a simple time table, but the seminary had been established.⁴⁷⁹

By 1926 the number of students had increased steadily and more teachers were appointed. Soon the buildings they used proved to be too small and this led Bishop Fleischer to erect a new seminary. He appealed to the clergy and the faithful for spiritual and financial help and was also encouraged and supported by the pontifical work of the Society of St. Peter the Apostle.⁴⁸⁰ On 30 November 1928, he invited Archbishop Gijlswijk, the apostolic delegate, to bless and lay the foundation stone for the new building. At this ceremony several dignitaries were present including bishops, priests, brothers, sisters and lay people - black and white. There were 33 students with six professors, three priests and three native teachers who are not mentioned by name.⁴⁸¹ The seminary was built by the brothers of Mariannahill and it took them two and half years to complete.

⁴⁷⁸ David Moetapele, interview conducted in Pretoria, 24 November 1997.

⁴⁷⁹ St. Mary's Clerical Seminary: Native Priest - Seminary erected in the Vicariate Apostolic of Mariannahill, Natal, S. Africa: Historical sketch. (A two-page letter, probably written for benefactors, found at St. Mary's Minor Seminary Ixopo, under the file of Benefactors, undated. Archives of St. Mary's Minor Seminary.

⁴⁸⁰ See chapter two on the formation of this society.

⁴⁸¹ "Grundeinlegung des Eingeborenen - Priesterseminars in Mariathal," in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1929, pp.98-100. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery.

On 29 June 1931, on the Feast of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, the apostolic delegate, Gijlwijk opened the seminary. At this ceremony there were thirteen bishops and prelates, thirty priests from different vicariates and prefectures, and over 2000 native people who witnessed the occasion. The seminary was dedicated to Our Lady *Sedi Sapientiae* and the Blessed Martyrs of Uganda. At the time of the opening there were thirty five students in the minor seminary and four in the major seminary. They were taught by five professors, three priests and two natives (not named). The studies given at the seminary were more or less similar, with the syllabus prescribed by the Education Department for the high schools in the country. The church wanted the seminarians to be on the same level as other students in the country. Other subjects were also included: Religion, Church History and Latin, the language of the church at that time.⁴⁸²

Two years later, on 6 December, the first students of the seminary received the tonsure at the hands of the apostolic delegate who had been invited to officiate by Bishop Fleischer. Then followed ordinations in succession - minor orders and major orders. The first student to be ordained was Malachias Mkwane on 10 December 1936.⁴⁸³ He was followed by Bonaventure Dlamini in November 1937, and in early 1939 by Fidelis Ngobese and Killian Samakande who were ordained respectively. On 3 December 1939, Patrick Mbhele, Solanus Ndlovu, and Paulus Ngobese were ordained.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸² St. Mary's Clerical Seminary: Native Priest - Seminary erected in the Vicariate Apostolic of Mariannahill, Natal, S. Africa: Historical sketch. (A two-page letter, probably written for benefactors, found at St. Mary's Minor Seminary Ixopo, under the file of Benefactors. Archives of St. Mary's Minor Seminary.

⁴⁸³ On other ordinations see "Otto Heberling "Mariannahiller missions - neueste nachrichten aus Südafrika" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1937, p.9. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery.

⁴⁸⁴ Mariannahiller eingeborene Priester" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, 1945, p.218. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery. See also Letter to the Benefactors from the Rector of St. Mary's Minor Seminary, 1939.

The major and minor seminaries were located in one building until 1946, after which they were separated. As Henry Oscar pointed out, in 1946 the two seminaries were separated so that, from then on, each began to function as an independent institute.⁴⁸⁵ The Rector of St. Mary's also wrote that "The former rector of this seminary here, went with the students of the major Seminary to the new place, called St. Peter's Seminary. I myself ... was appointed as the new rector of this seminary here in January..."⁴⁸⁶

To get a broader picture of indigenous training in Southern Africa, we shall now discuss the formation of St. Augustine's major seminary, in Lesotho. Some of the Oblates and diocesan candidates from South Africa were sent to Lesotho.

3.4 St. Augustine's Seminary, Lesotho

The training of the indigenous clergy in Lesotho was prompted when Raphael Mohasi presented himself as the first candidate. He was placed under Guilcher, an Oblate, who taught him Latin. By 1924, St. Augustine's Seminary was opened. In the meantime, two other candidates, Emmanuel 'Mabathoana and Benedict Lempe had joined the seminary. Though Bishop Cenez, vicar apostolic of Lesotho, had opened the seminary shortly before the Kimberley conference, discussion around the institute continued. Initially, the apostolic delegate, Bernard Giljswijk, wanted to have one central seminary in southern Africa. But as the development of the seminary in South Africa was going to take too long, it seemed imprudent to interrupt the initiative of Bishop Cenez, and so the seminary in Roma was

Archives of St. Mary's Minor Seminary.

⁴⁸⁵ Henry Oscar, interview conducted in Pinetown, 7 September, 1994.

⁴⁸⁶ Fr. Paulinus Müller, Rector, Letter to Friends and Benefactors, 14th June 1946. Archives of St. Mary's Minor Seminary.

retained.⁴⁸⁷

The Roma seminary was divided into two: the minor seminary where students were taught classics, and the major seminary for philosophy and theology. By 1925 two priests were put in charge. Two years later, the seminary was officially opened by the apostolic delegate. In 1930, the seminary was solemnly opened and on this day the apostolic delegate, Gijlswijck said that

... a day would come when the seminary in Roma would cater for a great part of Southern Africa. Indeed, in 1932, two years after he had made his prediction, we find that students from Lesotho were joined by Aloysius Munnik from Kimberley and Peter Hlope from Natal⁴⁸⁸

Most of the African religious candidates from the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Servants of Mary and the Priests of the Sacred Heart were sent to this seminary rather than to the one at Mariathal, Ixopo.

On December 8, 1931, Raphael Mohasi was ordained as the first indigenous priest in Lesotho. From then onwards, recruiting for the seminary was intensified and missions were asked to look out for vocations. Three years later, a young man, Emmanuel 'Mabathoana was ordained as the first Oblate priest. Later he became the first bishop and archbishop of Maseru. In 1936, Aloysius Munnik was also ordained. Even though, the seminary speedily established itself, there were still some problems. For instance, some missions had to suffer because personnel was directed to the seminary. Another difficulty was the distinction between diocesan clergy and clergy in religious life. Raphael Mohasi wanted to be an Oblate, but his request

⁴⁸⁷ Jerome Skhakhane, "The beginning of Indigenous clergy in the Catholic church in Lesotho" in Philippe Denis (ed) *The Making of an Indigenous clergy in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995), p.120

⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.121

was delayed and he was ordained as a diocesan priest. The Oblate General Administration was under pressure from Rome to train diocesan clergy, but they would have liked candidates for themselves. So they did not want to appear as if they were influencing young men to join them contrary to the policy of Rome. Rome was very reluctant to subsidise institutions which were mainly training religious clergy.⁴⁸⁹

The question of training candidates for diocesan or the Oblate Congregation was treated with suspicion. The authorities felt "that some of the students were creating an atmosphere of mistrust by saying that the authorities wanted the students to join the Oblate Congregation".⁴⁹⁰

From 1924 to 1957, thirty nine priests were ordained from St. Augustine seminary. Of these twenty five were Oblates, one Servite and the rest diocesan. Aloysius Munnik was the only coloured priest to be ordained. There were also three white priests trained at St. Augustine; Victor Guegen, John O'Brien and Elias Shea. The rest were black indigenous priests. Most of these priests came from Lesotho and worked there. However, twelve came from South Africa, and one from Namibia.⁴⁹¹

4. Oblate Priests and Brothers in South Africa

In this section, I shall discuss the Oblate's contribution to the indigenisation process in southern Africa. Although they came in 1852, they ordained an indigenous priest only in 1936. They had, however, allowed local brothers to join their congregation, for instance Leo Gumede in 1895. I shall first

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.122.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹¹ 50th Anniversary of St. Augustine, published by St. Augustine Major Seminary, Roma.

discuss the Oblates brothers, then African clergy and finally the Indian and coloured priests.

4.1 Oblate Brothers

The Oblates had already started the training of indigenous brothers by the end of 19th century. From 1887 to 1957, the Oblates professed three brothers, two Zulus and one Indian. The first one was Brother Leo Gumede (1873-1942). He had been a brother since 1895. He was born in Durban and took his first vows in 1902. From 1905 to 1942, he worked in several places including Pietermaritzburg and Entabeni, where he managed a farm at the Holy Cross Mission.⁴⁹² He worked at Greyville, Shalleross, Montebello and finally at Inchanga, where he died in November 1942.⁴⁹³ He also taught catechism. He had a "very good education generally. For instance, he could speak beautiful English, he was at home with most of the ordinary teachings in the church."⁴⁹⁴

He was followed by an Indian brother, Marian Nicholas (1888-1968), who originally came from Madras and Mylapore in India. He joined the province of Natal. He took his first vows in 1924 and was solemnly professed in 1930. He worked in many places as a catechist. He died in Pietermaritzburg on 6 June 1968, and is buried in the Cedara cemetery.⁴⁹⁵

The third Oblate brother was Joseph Kubone. He was born in 1902 and came from Natal. He took his first profession in 1937 and was finally professed in 1943. Not much information about him

⁴⁹² Bishop Dominic Khumalo, interview conducted in Pietermaritzburg, 25 March 1998. Brother Leo Gumede died on the 29th November, 1942. Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate - Provincial Administration Archives.

⁴⁹³ Gumede, Leo (Brother) 1873-1943, Archives of St. Joseph's Scholasticate, Cedara.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁵ Marian, Nicholas (1888-1968), Archives of St. Joseph's

is available in the Archives of St. Joseph's Scholasticate.⁴⁹⁶

From 1937 to 1957, the Oblates ordained eighteen black priests. Of these five were coloured and the rest Africans coming from Natal, the Northern Transvaal, Transvaal and Free State. Only two of the African priests were trained at St. Joseph's Scholasticate which was established in 1943, the rest were trained in Lesotho. This was mainly due to the fact that the Oblate scholasticate in South Africa was located in white areas, Cleland and Cedara. The superior had numerous problems with the authorities and the neighbours in having coloured or black students at the seminary. So in most cases they were sent to Lesotho.⁴⁹⁷

4.2 African Oblate Clergy

The first African Oblates in South Africa, were from Natal. They were Jerome Mavundla (1917-1987) and Dominic Khumalo. Mavundla was born on 15 September, 1917. He took his first vows in 1941 at Inchanga and his final vows in Roma, Lesotho in 1944. He was ordained on 2 July 1946. He and Khumalo went to the teacher's training college at St. Francis, Mariannhill from 1949-1951. After that he taught at Inchanga high school and later became principal. From 1963 he concentrated on his pastoral work in various parishes in Machisbisa and Elandskop in Pietermaritzburg and Lamontville, and Chesterville in Durban.⁴⁹⁸

Scholasticate, Cedara.

⁴⁹⁶ Kubone Joseph (b.1902), Archives of St. Joseph's Scholasticate, Cedara.

⁴⁹⁷ For a detailed discussion on the experiences of segregation, discrimination and apartheid at St. Joseph's in the 1960s and 1970s see *We Give Thanks, Ukwanda Kwaliwa Umthakathi: St. Joseph's 1943 - 1993* (Cedara: St. Joseph's Theological Institute, 1993), pp.27-32 and Denis, "Clergy Training", pp.138-145.

⁴⁹⁸ Fr. Jerome Johannes Jalimani Frans Mavundla, Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate - Provincial Administration Archives.

Khumalo was born on 5 February 1919 in Maphumulo, northern KwaZulu-Natal. He took his first vows on 17 February 1941 and final vows on 17 February 1944. He was ordained on 2 July 1946 at Emmanuel Cathedral in Durban. In 1971, he celebrated his Silver Jubilee of ordination. He was consecrated auxiliary bishop of Durban on 4 May 1978.⁴⁹⁹ Since 1907, Bishop Delalle had refused to ordain any black priest, and Mavundla and Khumalo were the only African priests Delalle ordained shortly before his retirement in 1946.⁵⁰⁰

These ordinations were followed by the ordination of Johannes Ngubane (b. 1923), in 1950. He also came from Natal and worked in the Mariannahill diocese. A year later, a priest from the diocese of Bethlehem, George Qwabe (1910-1993) joined the Oblate novitiate at Inchanga. He had trained at St. Augustine's seminary in Roma, Lesotho. When he joined he had already been a diocesan priest for seven years. After he joined the Oblates, he worked mainly in Natal.

In 1954, Patrick Sibisi (1929-1997) was ordained at Besters. He studied at St. Joseph's Scholasticate and later obtained an MTh at New York State University, Maryknoll in 1987. He worked in several parishes among them Inchanga, Machibisa, Esigodini, Port Shepstone and Dumisa in Umzimkulu.

Two years later, Linus Mkhize (b.1927), from Mariannahill was ordained. However, he left the congregation in 1973. Sibisi and Mkhize were the only two Zulu priests trained at St. Joseph's from its inception to 1957. Later, many black students were trained at the scholasticate, not only Oblates but from other congregations too.

⁴⁹⁹ Bishop Khumalo, Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate - Provincial Administration Archives.

⁵⁰⁰ *Southern Cross* (10 July 1946).

Finally, in 1957, two Oblates, Peter Butelezi (1930-1997) and Jerome Skhakhane were ordained. Butelezi, after matriculating from St. Theresa Minor Seminary and taking his first vows, was sent to the International Oblate Scholasticate in Rome for his studies. He was ordained in Rome.⁵⁰¹ Skhakhane (b.1930), was trained at St. Augustine's seminary in Lesotho. He taught at the seminary for some time and later went to the University of Swaziland where he became Dean of Humanities. He later came back to South Africa, taught at St. Joseph's Theological Institute and he is currently a pastor at St. Vincent's parish in Pelham, Pietermaritzburg.

4.3 Indian Oblate Clergy

The first two Indian Oblate priests were Leo Gabriel (1910-1975) and Claude Lawrence (1909-1995). They were born in South Africa and they were cousins.

...Their parents came as government officials to this country, they were Catholics from India and they came out as interpreters in the court and to work in the immigration offices for indentured labour. [...] They both joined the Oblates, they studied in the then Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, came back and they were ordained to the priesthood. Gabriel stayed, Claude had some differences, we don't know what, with Delalle and went back to Sri Lanka. The older priests might know exactly what happened.⁵⁰²

The two (Gabriel and Lawrence) completed their high education in Sri Lanka. Then they went to Rome to finish their studies. They were both ordained on 1 May 1934, by Bishop Henri Delalle. After ordination, Lawrence decided to go back to Sri Lanka because he could not stand the segregation which existed in

⁵⁰¹ For a detailed discussion on his life see George Mukuka, "'Black Man you are on your own.' An interview with Archbishop Peter F. Butelezi" in *Grace and Truth*, Vol.14, No3 - November 1997.

⁵⁰² Reginald Shunnungam, interview conducted in Pietermaritzburg, 3 August 1999. See also Fr. Leo Gabriel, Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate - Provincial Administration Archives.

Natal and in South Africa as a whole. So he went to Sri Lanka, where he worked and died. "But Leo Gabriel stayed here and he was a lovely priest he worked so well. When I came back as archbishop he was in charge of St. Anthony's parish in Pietermaritzburg", said Archbishop Denis Hurley in an interview.⁵⁰³ These two priests were ordained in 1934. After Lawrence left, Gabriel worked at

St. Anthony's in Pietermaritzburg (for 26 year) and then at St. Anthony's in Durban. From Durban he founded the small parish of St. Paul for the benefit of Indians in Reservoir Hills and [...] he looked forward to having it as his retiring place. [...] he was a lovely man.⁵⁰⁴

Interestingly, in his ministry Gabriel tried to encourage people to keep their culture. He was very keen on inculturation and he introduced a lot of cultural practices, which are still practised today in the Indian communities. Even before Vatican II, he encouraged people to respect their own culture.⁵⁰⁵ These two were the only Indian Oblate ordained in South Africa up to 1957.

4.4 Coloured Oblates

The first coloured Oblate to be ordained was Aloysius Munnik (1907-1997) from the Kimberley Province. He joined the Oblates in the early 1930s and was trained at St. Augustine Major Seminary in Lesotho. He was ordained on 8 April 1936. He was followed in 1953, by Frank Bindeman (1922-1991), a coloured priest from the Transvaal Province. He, unlike Munnik, studied at St. Joseph's Scholasticate and originally came from Johannesburg. He worked for some time in Soweto and later moved to Canada.

⁵⁰³ Archbishop Denis Hurley, same interview.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵ Reginald Shunungam, same interview.

In the 1955, three coloured Oblates were ordained as priests. They were tremendously successful, as Archbishop Hurley recalls:

The first coloured Oblate priests were Fr. Cyril Carey, [...], Fr. Albert Danker, Charles Langlois. They were all very successful priests.[...] They were accepted [...] and trained by the Oblates and ordained here in Natal. Fr. Albert Danker became the provincial of the Oblates and Charles Langlois become my Vicar General and they were very good priests.⁵⁰⁶

The oldest of the three, Cyril Carey (1927-1996), worked on the missions for sometime. Then he was sent to Wentworth, in Durban, to establish a parish. There was a lot of crime and drugs in the area. Despite this, Carey built a wonderful parish, as Hurley recall, "Cyril Carey was a great parish priest. The spirit he built up in Wentworth was superb."⁵⁰⁷

Charles Langlois (1928-1998), learnt Zulu in the novitiate. After ordination he worked in the diocesan minor seminary in Inanda. Later he was made vicar general and was an extremely efficient man.⁵⁰⁸

Albert Danker (b.1929), worked with Young Christian Workers as chaplain, initially at regional level, then later at national level. During his time as chaplain his passport was confiscated by the South African government, for no given reason.⁵⁰⁹ In 1977, he became the first coloured provincial of the Oblates in Natal. When he finished his term in 1983 he went to St. Anne's parish in Sydenham, where he is still serving.

⁵⁰⁶ Archbishop Denis Hurley, same interview. See also Fr. Albert, Danker, Fr. Charles Langlois and Fr. Cyril Carey. Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate - Provincial Administration Archives.

⁵⁰⁷ Hurley, same interview

⁵⁰⁸ Albert Danker, interview conducted at St. Anne's in Sydenham, Durban on 18 September 2000.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, see also these articles "Shock and anger at withdrawal (*Daily News*, 14 November, 1969) and "Pill: Go ahead Catholics told" (*The Sunday Tribune*, 24 March, 1968).

5. The Dominicans

In this section I shall look at the efforts of the Dominican order to train local vocations. I will first deal with English Dominicans and then with the Dutch friars.

5.1 The English Dominicans

In the 1920s The English Dominican concentrated their efforts on establishing themselves and they did not seriously consider recruiting indigenous vocations into their order. Until this time, only one white Dominican had been recruited, Ceslaus Hylands. He was trained and ordained in England in 1925. The English provincial, Bede Jarret, was the first to make a public call in favour of indigenous vocations on his second visitation in 1930. In an article to the *Southern Cross*, he wrote that the time had come "to ordain coloured priests in the Cape and black priests in the country."⁵¹⁰ To fulfil this intention Jarret bought a house in Stellenbosch, meant to be a novitiate for local vocations. However, the primary objective of buying the house was for the Dominican to penetrate the Afrikaner world. At that time it was impossible to train coloured and black Dominicans. In 1937, Oswin Magrath, arrived from England and he did some work among the coloured communities neighbouring Stellenbosch. However, this work was not seen as the "primary focus of the house".⁵¹¹ In February 1944, a training programme was started and only white candidates were admitted. The house of studies started with three students and, in 1947, a novitiate was opened. By 1957, they offered Philosophy and Theology courses.⁵¹² From the time the house was opened until

⁵¹⁰ Denis, *The Dominican Friars*, p.205.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.206.

⁵¹² Philippe Denis, "Clergy Training" in Joy Brain & Philippe Denis (eds) *The Catholic Church in Contemporary Southern Africa*

the late 1960s, the English Dominican only trained white candidates.⁵¹³ A coloured candidate was admitted in the novitiate in the late 1950s but left the Order.⁵¹⁴

5.2 The Dutch Dominicans

On the other hand, the Dutch Dominicans took a bold step and started a training house for black Dominicans. They established this at a farm was situated at Allingham in the northern part of the Kroonstad diocese, near Koppies.⁵¹⁵

Laurentius Teeuwen, the Dutch provincial, convinced his friend, Constant Dony, to come as a lay missionary and run the farm. Dony was an advocate by profession and former mayor of Huissen, but he had no agricultural experience. Dony arrived accompanied by Reginald Dellaert. Soon they converted one of the rooms into

(Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1999), p.128.

⁵¹³ Up to the Second World War, white aspirants to the priesthood, religious as well as secular, were trained in Europe. Bishop Francis Demont, the prefect apostolic of the Gariep prefecture, later apostolic of Aliwal, chose to train his priests in South Africa. The first students began their studies at Indwe (100 kilometres east of Aliwal North) in February 1929. Two years later, a more permanent seminary was established in Aliwal North, it was called the Seminary of the Sacred. By 1934, it had its first three ordinations of Fr. P.S. Meyer, SCJ, Fr. E.P. Cahill, SCJ, and Fr. J.E. Cassidy. They were ordained by the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Gijlswijk.⁵¹³ In 1946, this seminary was transferred to St. John Vianney in Pretoria. By this time 22 students had been trained at this seminary, some of them came from outside the Aliwal vicariate and were ordained as priests. Before World War Two, the Priests of the Sacred Heart trained were the only missionaries training their white candidates in South Africa. During the War, this situation changed - the Oblate of Mary Immaculate and the Dominicans opened houses of studies in South Africa. This move was inevitable as it became impossible to send students to France or Ireland during the war. By this time the OMI's had two novitiate houses; at Inchanga for the Natal province and Germiston for the Transvaal province. The Oblate Scholasticate was opened at Prestbury, Pietermaritzburg in 1943. There were four students and the superior was Denis Hurley. The scholasticate was moved to Cleland in 1947 and then in 1953 to Cedara, outside Pietermaritzburg.⁵¹³

⁵¹⁴ Denis, *The Dominican Friars*, p.206.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*

a chapel and Dony started ploughing the farm with enthusiasm and no experience.⁵¹⁶

Two candidates arrived from Johannesburg on 8 June 1948, recommended by Finbar Synnott, an English Dominican. Others followed and by October of the same year seven candidates were living at the farm. On 8 October 1948, they were clothed as tertiaries (*donati*) of the Third Order of St. Dominic. One of them later run away but three more joined, one of whom was a coloured.

This project did not succeed and there are several reasons which led to its failure, among them the farm manager, Dony, had no farming experience; the neighbouring farmers treated the brothers with suspicion since they were keeping blacks at the farm, despite the Group Areas Act had been promulgated in 1950 and as a result Koppies and the surrounding areas were declared white; most of the friars vigorously opposed the venture as the farm was bought for the diocese and not for the Order, and finally in 1949, the apostolic delegate told the vicar provincial that Rome wanted black candidates to be trained for the diocesan clergy. The Dominican abandoned this project, and training of indigenous vocations was only resumed successfully in the 1980s. The Dominicans stand out in this period for their failure to train indigenous clergy except for white South Africans.

6. St. Peter's Seminary

6.1 Policy on seminaries

The decision to establish two seminaries (one for whites and one for blacks) was taken at the plenary session of the SACBC in Mariannhill in March 1947.⁵¹⁷ At the initiative of the apostolic delegate, Martin Lucas SVD a new seminary was to be established for whites.⁵¹⁸ It was built on a site offered by the Sisters of Nazareth in Waterkloof, Pretoria. The seminary was called St. John Vianney and was officially opened in March 1951 and staffed by Irish Franciscans.⁵¹⁹

At the same meeting, the vicar apostolic of Mariannhill, Fleischer, suggested that the two seminaries of his vicariate - St. Peter's, the major seminary at Pevensy and St. Mary's, the minor seminary at Ixopo - become the regional seminaries for the African and coloured students for the priesthood. This proposal was accepted but only part of it was implemented. The minor seminary remained under the Congregation of Mariannhill and St. Peter's, was taken over by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

"At the time of the decision no one queried the establishment of two seminaries for that time the practice of racial segregation was accepted even within the church"⁵²⁰. As Archbishop Peter Butelezi succinctly puts it, "...the question

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁵¹⁷ Background to the Closing of St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal 1977. Archives of South African Catholic Bishop's Conference.

⁵¹⁹ See Footnote 54

⁵²⁰ Background to the Closing of St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal 1977, p.1. Archives of Southern Africa Bishops' conference.

of black and white happened to be a *de facto* situation..."⁵²¹
Nobody at the bishop's meeting came out in strong support of
the non-racial option.⁵²² As David Moetapele observed:

...the seminary was still under the influence of apartheid. That
time we had separate seminaries, the white seminary [...] St.
John Vianney was there only for whites. Pevensey was the
seminary for blacks students who wanted to be diocesan priests.
Otherwise, those who wanted to be religious had no place. We
didn't have Dominicans or Redemptorists they wouldn't allow
blacks to join them. The Oblates, yes, from long ago in Natal
and Lesotho they would allow black candidates to join their
congregations. But then they sent them to Lesotho.⁵²³

6.2 St. Peter's seminary⁵²⁴

The seminary started at Mariathal and was moved to a new
location at Pevensey and acquired the new name of St. Peter's
Seminary.⁵²⁵ At first it used the buildings of the defunct
Reichenau Agricultural School founded in 1928. Seventeen
students and three priests moved to this new place.⁵²⁶

Bishop Fleischer later, gave them a building site for a new St.
Peter's which was near the old St. Joseph's Home. When the
bishops took over the seminary, a Board for Seminaries was

⁵²¹ Archbishop Peter Butelezi, same interview.

⁵²² Denis, "Clergy Training" p.129.

⁵²³ Same interview.

⁵²⁴ For the history of St. Peter's and the beginning of the seminary in
Mariathal, Ixopo and Reichenau see the following a) Thomas Respondeck,
"Die Erziehung zum Priestertum in der Mariannhiller Mission",
Zeitschrift für Missionwissenschaft, (1950), p.34

b) Damian Magrath, "The English Vicariate in South Africa", *Dominican
Topics* (VII, IV, May 1967), p.4; c) [Hermann], A., *History of the
congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill in the Province of the
Mariannhill, South Africa*. (Mariannhill, 1983) p.94-97; d) "Das
Priesterseminar für Eingeborene" in *Vergissmeinnicht*, 1932, p.43.
Archives of Mariannhill Monastery; Philippe Denis, *Dominican Friars in
Southern Africa. A social history*.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*; The new place was located at "Pevensey which was at the foot
of the Sani Pass in Natal", Cf. the *Sermon at the Jubilee of Fr.
Joseph Sonaba* (on the 10th July 1989), by Oswin Magrath. Southern
African Dominican Archives, Springs.

⁵²⁶ [Hermann], A., *Reichenau Mission*, (Mariannhill: Mission Press,

established with Archbishop Hurley of Durban as the first chairperson. The opening ceremony took place on 17 June 1951. The Mariannahill congregation agreed to staff the seminary. A former provincial, Lawrentius Schleissinger, was appointed rector. The Sisters of the Precious Blood and Daughters of St. Francis were entrusted with the domestic care of the seminary.

In the 1950s, quite a number of seminarians came from outside Mariannahill. This led to some tension between staff and students. The bishops thought that a change of direction was appropriate. The Mariannahill Fathers had found it increasingly difficult to find staff for the seminary since 1947 and had asked the bishops for help. In April 1956, the apostolic delegate, Celestino Damiano, started negotiating with the English provincial Hilary Carpenter for the transfer of St. Peter's seminary from the Congregation of Mariannahill to the Dominicans. It took almost a year before the negotiations were finalised and the English Dominicans agreed to take over staffing the Seminary.⁵²⁷ "Until then forty priests had been through St. Peter's under the Mariannahillers for the church in South Africa."⁵²⁸

To make matters worse, most of the Mariannahill Congregation lecturers at the seminary were not academically trained to teach. Very often a tired missionary would be sent there, for after all, the students were all black people.⁵²⁹ The CMM gave the programme of studies a pastoral orientation and probably that is why they had very few qualified lecturers with Licentiate or Doctorates.⁵³⁰ It was only later that one or two qualified lecturers, like Archbishop Karlen of Bulawayo, were brought in as members of the staff. He taught moral theology,

1990), p.19-21.

⁵²⁷ Denis, *The Dominican Friars*, pp.218-219.

⁵²⁸ St. Peter's Pamphlet, p.21. Southern African Dominican Archives.

⁵²⁹ Moetapele, same interview.

⁵³⁰ Denis, *The Dominican Friars*, p.219.

and Pirmin Klaunzler, a priest from Mariannahill congregation, also taught philosophy.

The contract between the hierarchy of Southern Africa and the English Province of the Dominicans concerning the administration of St. Peter's was signed on 27 June 1957 by Archbishop Hurley, on behalf of the Bishops, and by Hilary Carpenter (the English Provincial), on behalf of the Dominicans. The latter accepted, for an indefinite period, the direction and ordinary administration of the regional Seminary of St. Peter. The Dominicans were to be treated as an exempt community of the regulars. The contract was accepted by Propaganda (SCPF) on 22 August 1958. The retiring Rector, Lawrentius Schleissinger CMM, handed over to Oswin Magrath on 10 December 1957. The training provided by the Dominicans was held in high esteem by students. Moetapele recalls that when the Dominicans came to the seminary things changed, they knew their work, "so at least things were changing against history. [...] The Dominican fathers really did a great job until the seminary had to be moved to Hammanskraal." ⁵³¹

With this kind of training, the seminarians could compete with the white students from St. John Vianney. They used to meet and debate. For some of the white seminarians, it was the first time that they had met a black seminarian. Most of them only knew a black person as a garden 'boy' or 'girl' who was working in the kitchen in their homes. They never thought they would sit down and discuss intellectual ideas with a black person. For Moetapele, the training they received equipped them to face challenges and they were able to be in charge of institutions. For instance, Alois Khoza from the diocese of Pretoria became the rector of a minor seminary soon after his ordination. The training they received gave them confidence to be leaders in

⁵³¹ Moetapele, same interview.

their own communities.⁵³² This point was reiterated by the new rector, Oswin Magrath, after he was appointed. He wrote that:

The aim of mission is to establish the new local churches, dioceses, ruled by local bishops and clergy...one of the primary tasks is to train local clergy competent to staff the new churches; the foreign missionary is to hand over the church to the new clergy...⁵³³

When the seminarians were trained by the CMMs the situation was really deplorable. The food was bad. The students realised this because the rector used to eat with them but he ate different, good food and this caused tension between the staff and the students. Their diet was mainly vegetarian, only occasionally with meat. This led some creative seminarians to seek ways of compensating the protein requirement in their diet. They came up with a solution:

Guys used to go and steal fowls the nuns had a big fowl run. The guys used to go in the night. They used to steal fowls and eggs and cook them in the forest. [...] We used to dig a hole in the ground. The shepherd boys knew how to prepare the fowl. They said, you dig a hole. After killing the fowl we prepared it nicely, take out the intestines and close it with all the feathers still on it. Then we put it in the hole and cover it and make a fire. The heat [cooked] the fowl. We kept on making fire until two or three days, you know. Then we knew that we got meat. We would eat that in the night.⁵³⁴

Even though the students worked in the fields, they were given the worst part of the food. The rest was eaten by the priests or sold to the markets in Pietermaritzburg.

The students used to learn from text books and were not even allowed to use the library. Each student was given a book at the beginning of the term. The staff did not want them to get other ideas. This kind of training was limited. But since the earlier secular priests like Henry Oscar and Raphael Mosiea had

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ Denis, *The Dominican Friars*, p.219.

⁵³⁴ David Moetapele, interview conducted in Pretoria, 24 November 1997.

seen this deficiency, they used to collect money and privately buy books from England for the seminarians or priests. When the seminary was closed, the students would meet these priests and they would give them these book. At the seminary they had to hide these books. Things really changed when the Dominicans took over; almost all the facilities became open to the students.⁵³⁵

We can understand why this happened in the seminaries by considering the seminary as an imitation, a diffusion of some sort. The CMM still maintained their seminary in Würzburg, where they trained the European missionaries. Influenced by eurocentricism, they thought that the Africans were not really civilised enough to receive the "thorough and complete" training which was prescribed by Rome. This makes sense if we consider the white priests as the *core* and the black priests as the *periphery*. We find that all negative connotations are implied, in the training and after training and the pressure they were under to become religious instead of secular priests. The contrasts we have seen between *core* and *periphery* include the way the missionaries perceived the Africans as members of the periphery. Such an attitude really had an adverse effect on some of the early black priests and even today they still condemn the kind of training they got and the kind of work they had to do. In the parishes they were often ill-treated just because they were blacks and served as assistant.

For instance, in 1966, Bishop Biyase worked as an assistant priest. The rector (who is still alive), did something which irritated Biyase. When they ate at the table he used to put on his hat. He told Biyase plainly that he was white and he had to protect his hair because it was not like his (Biyase)! Biyase had never seen a man eating with a hat on. So he waited for an

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*

occasion when another white man should eat at the table with them. He wanted to see if the rector was going to eat with a hat on when there was another white man present or whether he was doing it because he (Biyase) was black.

When a white priest came to visit, Biyase put on his hat. As he explains, "I saw him turning red. We did not talk to each other. The following morning he did not wear the hat and that was the end of it. So he learnt a lesson."

We see in this incident an example of a "hidden transcript" or hidden discourse becoming public. Biyase got very tired of the hat being worn by the white priest, and so he probably spent time in his room or during his daily work rehearsing how he was going to respond to such a problem. The rehearsal might have taken place with other black priests or parishioners, this discourse was hidden from the white priests. It was, according to Scott, the "offstage act". This discourse, which was not known by the white priest, became public when Biyase also wore the hat at table. The only way to get even with the priest was to do exactly as he did in front of his white colleague. The day came and he wore the hat, to the amazement of the white priest. What was hidden and was irritating Biyase became public. The swift kind of repression he got was that the priest stopped talking to him. As a black minister he was supposed to behave in way that showed that he was not challenging the authority of the rector.

Another example from Bishop Biyase occurred in another parish where the rector did not want him to work in the main parish. He used to send him to the outstations because the people loved Biyase more than the rector. During the week, whenever somebody came to talk to Biyase in the yard, the rector would simply call the person away. Then one day Biyase asked him why he was

doing that and he said because he was in charge. Biyase said from that day onwards, "the law of Jesus Christ is finished, it is the law of Moses - 'an eye for an eye'". He arranged with a catechist that he should come and talk to the white priest. Whilst they were talking Biyase called the catechist, he left the rector standing alone. That was the last time he did this.

The next time the rector was polite. When he wanted to talk to somebody who was already talking to Biyase, he would politely ask for the person. "From then onwards since I applied the law of Moses he understood. So I used to fix them like that especially those who gave me nasty answers."⁵³⁶ The white priest thought that he in control and could push Biyase around and make him conform to the white priest's authority. Biyase, however, challenged this "taken-for-granted authority" and contested it.

Although the Dominicans improved the academic standard and made the library more accessible to students at the seminary, some students felt that they did not tell them the truth if they felt that they had no vocation. With the CMM, when a student was not performing to standard they would tell him straight away. They never hid what they thought of their students. If they thought someone would not make a good priest, they would suggest that he do something else. The Dominicans let the students to be free, so they either finished their training or left the seminary. This was pointed out by Bishop Mngoma when he said:

... the seminary was okay. It was run by the Dominicans - Magrath was the rector that is why you saw us there (at his funeral). It went alright, except at one stage, if you are doing well they wouldn't tell you, they were too much English. If they discovered something bad they would not tell you anything. Whereas the Germans, if you made a mistake, they would say go!

⁵³⁶ Biyase, Same interview.

On the whole they were good.⁵³⁷

6.3 Political influence

It is interesting to see that in December 1956, Schleissinger, the then rector, noted in the *Annual Report on St. Peter's Regional Seminary* for the year 1956, under the title "Discipline" that, "the discipline was generally good. But there were instances of undue criticism and signs of unhealthy and exaggerated *nationalism* with a tendency to take even the best advice in the wrong sense. There were however, no excesses"⁵³⁸

It is important to look at what provoked this kind of advice given to these students. During this period from 1950 to the 1960s, time nationalism and internal resistance to apartheid was growing in South Africa. This can be clearly seen in the epoch-making events which characterised that era. The year 1952 saw the beginning of the Defiance Campaign, where people were defying, *inter alia* laws related to passes, Group Areas and the suppression of communism.⁵³⁹ In 1955 the Congress of the People was held in Kliptown, where members of the different liberation movements came together and published the Freedom Charter, a document demanding a non-racial South Africa. Between 1956 and 1964 there was a great deal of rural resistance to the apartheid regime,⁵⁴⁰ and the climax of this resistance came between 1957 and 1960 in Pondoland. With the introduction of Bantu authorities there was some opposition in Sekhukhuneland. The above events also influenced the seminaries and could have led to what the rector called *exaggerated nationalism*. It is

⁵³⁷ Mngoma, same interview.

⁵³⁸ Annual Report on St. Peter's Regional Seminary, 1956. Written by the Rector, Schleissinger. (Italics mine) Southern African Dominican Archives.

⁵³⁹ Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History*, p.335.

very interesting to see that the black clergy were already "questioning" the existing structures at the time. This could be defined as an early stage of Black Consciousness (an unarticulated stage) among the seminarians. Interestingly, Schleissinger's statement in 1956 was to be repeated later by Dominic Scholten, who became rector in 1971.⁵⁴¹

Towards the 1960s, there were five houses of studies for the priesthood in Southern Africa - St. Augustine's Seminary, Roma; St. Joseph's Scholasticate, Cleland; St. Nicholas Priory, Stellenbosch; St. Peter's Seminary Pevensey; and St. John Vianney Seminary, Pretoria - this meant that the Catholic Church had a complete infrastructure for the training of both religious and secular priests. The training of priests was now done predominantly by the local church; only a handful of religious orders, for instance, the Jesuits and Redemptorists, sent their students overseas. One of the major shortcomings was the fact that, apart from Cedara the training of clergy was segregated. The segregation persisted until the 1980s when some seminaries amalgamated.⁵⁴²

7. Conclusions

In this chapter we have looked at an overview of the establishment of the black Catholic clergy. We have also looked at the establishment of the local religious congregations, and the seminaries. Through the entrepreneurship of Bishop Fleischer, some of what Rome encouraged and what the local bishops and believers wanted, was put into practice. The training of the local clergy was taking place in South Africa

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.332-6; 346; 348-50; 531.

⁵⁴¹ See George Mukuka, *The Impact of Black Consciousness on the Black Catholic Clergy and their training 1965-1981* (University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg: Unpublished Masters Thesis, 1996)

⁵⁴² See Denis, "Clergy training" in *The Catholic Church in Contemporary*

although it was not smooth sailing and there numerous difficulties in the establishment of the black Catholic clergy by 1957. The last priest to be ordained in that year, on 3rd December, was Aloysious Khoza from the diocese of Pretoria. From 1958 onwards the Dominicans took over the staffing of the seminary.

Indigenisation of the Episcopate

1. Introduction

In this chapter, we shall now look at the indigenisation of the episcopate in Southern Africa. After the First World War, the need for an indigenous clergy and hierarchy was greatly emphasized by Benedict XV's encyclical letter *Maximum illud*. The fruits of this policy, are quite remarkable: the first bishop of Asian origin was consecrated in 1923, and the first apostolic vicars of African origin were appointed in 1939. This narrative only documents developments in Lesotho and South Africa. As indicated earlier, though the focus of the thesis is not on Lesotho, it is important to give an overview of the episcopate in Lesotho as the first bishop was consecrated there and then a year later in South Africa.

2. Diocese of Leribe, Lesotho

As previously noted, the indigenisation of the church began in the early part of the twentieth century, especially after the publication of Benedict XV's encyclical *Maximum illud*, in 1919. From 1939 onwards the first apostolic vicars of African origin were named. In southern Africa, the apostolic delegate, in accordance with the Africanisation process, received strict instructions from Rome to get a black bishop in South Africa as soon as possible. As Magrath observes:

Damiano was sent with orders from Rome to get a black bishop in the Republic as soon as possible. They decided Mariannhill was

the obvious place, as it is still the biggest diocese. But Mariannhill thought this was too soon.⁵⁴³

The process came closer to home when, in 1953, a candidate was found for the Diocese of Leribe in Lesotho, and Bishop Emmanuel 'Mabathoana was consecrated.

2.1 'Mabathoana's background

'Mabathoana, was born in 1904 in Mafeteng and his mother was a direct descendant of the great Moshoeshoe.⁵⁴⁴ This relationship later played a special role in the life of 'Mabathoana. After spending some time as a shepherd, he went to a primary school run by the Sisters of the Holy Family. When he was 13 years old he moved to the Marist Brothers College, and proved to be an outstanding student. After finishing school he went to St. Augustine's Seminary, in 1924, to study for the priesthood. He was one of the three first local students to enter the seminary. In 1932, he joined the Oblates' novitiate and took his first vows in 1933. He continued his studies and was ordained on 28 June 1934.

After his ordination he taught at St. Augustine's major seminary and Pius XII College. The latter had been established in 1945 to provide tertiary education for the local people. 'Mabathoana was a professor of African languages. He spoke several African languages fluently, including Sesotho, Pedi, Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu, and three European languages - English, French and Italian.

He had also studied in Rome and London from 1951 to 1952. As

⁵⁴³ Oswin Magrath, interview conducted in Cedara, Pietermaritzburg, 19 July 1996.

⁵⁴⁴ James M. FitzPatrick, *One of our Own: Emmanuel 'Mabathoana, OMI*, (Battlefield: Marian Press Ltd., 1992), p.3.

John Brady recalled, 'Mabathoana was the grandson of King Moshoeshoe I and when he joined the Oblates they sent him to the seminary in Roma. From there he was sent to Rome and London for further studies.⁵⁴⁵ 'Mabathoana was a keen musician and he

... kept up his interest in music - especially in liturgical music and plainsong. He taught this at both University and Seminary, and helped to instill a love of music and liturgy into many young people with whom he shared his knowledge and enthusiasm.⁵⁴⁶

He was a great pastor and even during this early period of the church's presence in Lesotho, he encouraged aspects of inculturation by advising the people to use traditional medicine. He gave conferences to young people and was in great demand to give retreats to religious and the Catholic community. As was observed by Jerome Skhakhane:

He was that kind of person who gave himself totally. He was one person also who did not know how to say no. Because of this disposition to himself, to be of service, one time one priest asked him to come and preach a retreat for six year olds, preparing for 1st communion . He agreed as a bishop. And then afterward he came to me and said 'Nwanna' he liked that expression which meant 'child' He said, "'Nwanna', I have been invited for this retreat, would you please go."⁵⁴⁷

He was also appointed as superior of St. Theresa Minor Seminary and then later became the vice-superior of St. Augustine's Seminary. In these positions, he exhibited qualities of a good leader.⁵⁴⁸

2.2 Bishop 'Mabathoana

In 1950, Rome decided to create 20 dioceses under four metropolitan archbishops in southern Africa. It wanted to regularise various mission territories, prefectures and

⁵⁴⁵ Brady, same interview.

⁵⁴⁶ FitzPatrick, *One of our Own: Emmanuel 'Mabathoana*, p.5.

⁵⁴⁷ Skhakhane, same interview.

⁵⁴⁸ FitzPatrick, *One of our Own: Emmanuel 'Mabathoana*, p.6.

dioceses. The whole of Lesotho was one diocese attached to the ecclesiastical province of Bloemfontein. With these changes in hand, a second diocese was created in northern Basutoland, with Leribe as its centre. In 1952, the pope, by decree, erected the diocese of Leribe and Emmanuel 'Mabathoana was nominated the first bishop. On 25 March 1953, Bishop 'Mabathoana was ordained. It was a joyous occasion for Basotho people and close to 20,000 people attended, including dignitaries. He was consecrated by Bishop Rosiers OMI of Maseru, Bishop Whelan, OMI of Johannesburg and the Bishop of Bethlehem, Bishop Kellter, C.S.Sp. There was an "... added note to the history of the church - he was the first residential indigenous bishop in the whole of Africa in the modern era - not just a Vicar Apostolic, but the residential Bishop of Leribe."⁵⁴⁹

After his consecration, 'Mabathoana had to deal with the immense task of setting up a diocese.⁵⁵⁰ He visited all the missions in the diocese after his consecration. There were many needs for the diocese, but he singled out one, which he thought was pressing, the shortage of clergy. He then set up a minor seminary for training future priests.⁵⁵¹

In order to carry out some of the projects, especially the seminary, he needed funds. Although Rome encouraged the local training of clergy and church, the seminaries in mission territories were still dependent on the West for financial assistance. The new bishop made several trips to Europe and North America to raise funds. These funds were to be used for

⁵⁴⁹ James M. FitzPatrick, OMI, *One of our Own: Emmanuel 'Mabathoana, OMI*, (Battlefield: Canada, Marian Press Ltd., 1992), p.9.

⁵⁵⁰ "At this time there were 42,000 Catholics (out of 135,000 inhabitants), with 18 priests (8 local, 7 Canadian, 2 French, 1 Dutch). There were four Congregations of Sisters and one of Brothers involved in schools in Diocese." See FitzPatrick, *One of our Own: Emmanuel 'Mabathoana*, p.10

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*

the training of indigenous clergy in his diocese. As a result of all his efforts:

People responded generously in many countries, and different Oblate Provinces gave considerable sums of money to help. He was able to establish his minor seminary, which became the seed-bed for many vocations to the priesthood for local men.⁵⁵²

In Lesotho, he fervently carried out his pastoral work, visiting his missions on horseback as most village were not accessible to other means of transport. His love for music deeply increased and during his time as bishop he composed forty hymns, among them the National Hymn in honour for Our Lady of Fatima. He also translated the Roman Missal and the Ritual into Sesotho. His translations were not only used in Lesotho but also in South Africa, among the Batswana and Pedi peoples.

2.3 Archbishop of Maseru

The church in Lesotho developed immensely and Pope John XXIII, noticing these developments, decided to restructure the church in Lesotho. "The major Diocese, based on the nation's capital Maseru, was to be raised to the status of a Metropolitan Archdiocese, and a third and new Diocese, centred at Qacha's Nek, was to be established."⁵⁵³ As the new plans were executed, they moved the bishop of Maseru, Monsignor Des Rosiers, to Qacha's Nek and Bishop 'Mabathoana was promoted as Archbishop of Maseru. This was a surprise to most people, but the

...local people deem(ed) the establishment of Maseru..Archdiocese as a national honour and a sign of confidence in the local church, but they were overjoyed that their own native son was to be the first Archbishop. Again Emmanuel ''Mabathoana was a cause of pride for all the Basotho nation - this descendant of Chief Moshesh was to be chief pastor of the Catholic Church in the

⁵⁵² FitzPatrick, *One of our Own: Emmanuel 'Mabathoana*, p.11.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.12.

nation.⁵⁵⁴

The archbishop then moved from Roma to Maseru as he realised the growing political importance of the capital. It was a hard decision to take, as Roma had been the centre of the Catholic church in Lesotho - the original mission was in Roma, the Seminary, the University, the Oblate Scholasticate and numerous convents and schools. Though reluctant, the bishop made the bold move to Maseru.

2.4 Major challenges

The Church in Lesotho was growing rapidly, and his diocese became a Metropolitan See with two dioceses dependent on him. The administrative pressure increased and 'Mabathoana faced some major challenges which can be grouped under the following three themes: problems with apartheid; problems with *Foyer Missionaire*; and problems around Independence.

2.4.1 Problems with apartheid

The Archdiocese of Maseru owned a farm in South Africa, just over the border (Villa St. Joseph - *Farmdale*), which supported the Archdiocese. After the Group Areas Act was passed in South Africa, blacks could not own land in certain parts of the Republic of South Africa and, as the Archbishop was black, this caused problems. In the end, it was resolved that the farm be owned by the Archdiocese, as a moral person, and not personally by Bishop 'Mabathoana.⁵⁵⁵

The other problem concerning apartheid was the fact that,

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.13.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.14-17.

Basutoland was completely surrounded by South Africa. The archbishop had to deal with many South African authorities and it shocked many that a black archbishop could have such powers.

2.4.2 *Foyer Missionnaire*

This organisation, based in Canada, was established to help missions in Basutoland. Some of the gifts which had been received for the missions in Lesotho were invested in land in Canada at Lac des Ecorces. Unfortunately, there was a disastrous financial collapse and the *Foyer Missionnaire* failed, this set-back the Archbishop as he was faced with a debt of more than 300,000 US dollars. The Archbishop appealed to his missions in Lesotho and they gave generously. The Oblate administration and the Oblate Province of St. Joseph's made substantial donations and the Church was fortunately bailed out the *Foyer Missionnaire* failure.

2.4.3 Problems with Independence

Before independence there were debates as to whether Lesotho was to have an absolute monarchy or a constitutional monarchy. Since Archbishop 'Mabathoana was linked to the monarchy, it was at times difficult for him to be impartial. He even urged all clergy in his country not to get involved in politics. After the first elections, 'Mabathoana defended the church when he thought that it was being attacked unfairly. But he played a vital role in the country's move from colonialism to independence, in the elections and the establishment of the new state. "The role he played in mediating peace in the transition to independence was a major contributing factor in his early death..."⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.19.

2.5 'Mabathoana's other work in Lesotho

'Mabathoana was highly appreciated by the church in Lesotho. He did many things for the country, *inter alia* helping politicians resolve their problems before independence, nourishing local vocations and encouraging adult education. Above all, he was

... a wonderful person; he was a kind of a fatherly figure; a kind person and yet a very straightforward, frank and open person. Especially when I knew him as a priest, he used to invite me from time to time to drive to and from Johannesburg and I saw another side of 'Mabathoana. I know that, because one day we stopped by the roadside to have lunch and a poor person happened to pass by. Immediately he called this person and took his lunch and gave it to this poor person. This person had already opened his blanket, so that he may put the food into his blanket. And 'Mabathoana said, "Take everything, the dish and all." You could hardly believe what was happening.⁵⁵⁷

2.5.1 Vocations

After his appointment as Bishop of Leribe, his first priority was the training of local clergy and religious. When he moved to Maseru, he continued with the same zeal. He spoke about recruiting local vocations at every opportunity he got. When St. Augustine's became a national seminary separate from the Oblates Scholasticate in 1962, the Archbishop declared that: "The formation of local clergy is a matter of life and death for the Catholic missions."⁵⁵⁸

2.5.2 Sesotho-Language Press

With the help of *Presse Missionnaire* in France, 'Mabathoana founded a local Catholic Sesotho newspaper, *Moeletsi oa Basotho*. The paper was run by the Oblates and it was and still

⁵⁵⁷ Skhakhane, same interview.

a widely read paper in the country. The Archbishop also received funds to translate the New Testament into Sesotho.

2.5.3 Other improvements

Even though it was not allowed to call in aid agencies before independence, 'Mabathoana saw the need for aid and established Caritas Lesotho which helped people to establish shared gardens, and the piping of water. He also helped people after the drought of 1965 by distributing food and medicine through the *Catholic Relief Services*.

The Archbishop valued the work of catechists and in 1962, he built a community centre in Maseru. A major focus of the centre was the training of catechists. He built a hostel called Emmanuel Hostel, to provide accommodation to young girls seeking employment in Maseru. He also supported the establishment of the department of Adult Education at the National University of Lesotho. 'Mabathoana was highly instrumental in developing the church and the people of his country. As Fitzpatrick, in his book *One of Our Own* put it:

By these, and many other projects, Archbishop 'Mabathoana cultivated the Church in Basutoland, and especially in his own Archdiocese of Maseru. He was a man who had not only an appreciation of his past; he had also a feeling for the future, and a canny sense of what needed to be put in place now to bear fruit later. Missions, schools, administrative structures all felt his touch and concern. He planted well.⁵⁵⁹

At this point, we must note that 'Mabathoana was in a totally different situation to his counterpart, Bishop Bonaventure Dlamini as shall be established in the following section. Though Lesotho was not yet independent and was still a

⁵⁵⁸ FitzPatrick, *One of our Own: Emmanuel 'Mabathoana*, p.20.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.22

protectorate under the British government, the socio-political setting was very different from South Africa. In fact, the people were ruled by their chiefs. The missionaries treated the Basotho people as members of the church. "They did not have the thing, of white and blacks like in South Africa. It was different."⁵⁶⁰

In 1966, one of Bishop 'Mabathoana's priest was attacked on a mission. "It was the first time I saw bishop 'Mabathoana emotional, he could not contain himself."⁵⁶¹ This incident, according to Jerome Skhakhane, contributed to his death the same year on 19 September. He was on his way to the Bishops' Conference. At that time Lesotho was still under the South African Bishops' Conference. When he left in the morning he is reported to have said that he had pain on the right side of his chest. He flew from Bloemfontein to Johannesburg and died during the flight.⁵⁶²

I will now discuss the history of the first black bishop in South Africa.

3. The Umzimkulu Diocese, South Africa

The Africanisation of the episcopate began in South Africa in 1954, when Bonventura Dlamini FFJ was appointed the first black bishop in South Africa on 21 February 1954.⁵⁶³ At the time of his appointment, Dlamini was in charge of St. Magadalen Mission, formerly an outstation of Mariannhill.

⁵⁶⁰ Moetapele, same interview.

⁵⁶¹ Jerome Skhakhane, interview conducted in Cedarā, Pietermaritzburg, 9th February 1999.

⁵⁶² FitzPatrick, *One of Our Own*, p.25.

⁵⁶³ *Um- Afrika* (13 March; 3 April; 8 May 1954; 1 January 1955) & *Southern Cross* (April, 1954); See also [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill*, p.120.

3.1 Dlamini's background

Dlamini had been ordained priest on 28 November 1937⁵⁶⁴ by Bishop Fleischer, when he was 30 years old. He was born at Mariathal Mission where he was also educated. He was a descendant of chief Namagaga, who had lived on the banks of Umzinyathi River in Zululand in 1812 and left for the region of Umzimkulu during the reign of Shaka.⁵⁶⁵ Dlamini was one of the first students to enter the seminary when it was opened in 1925.⁵⁶⁶

The new Diocese of Umzimkulu was cut off from Mariannhill. Lourdes, "the oldest mission station of Mariannhill, which once was the most extensive mission property in Natal and has developed in the course of 60 years into a grand Christian community of about 12,000 Catholic,"⁵⁶⁷ was to become the centre. The new diocese consisted of

one third of the area of the Mariannhill Diocese, with the Umzimkulu River as a natural boundary in the east of it. It contained the civil districts of Umzimkulu and Port Shepstone, the latter town itself as well as Margate at the coast and Harding in the interior. There were 30,000 Catholics at the time in the Diocese, of which Lourdes with its many outstations alone had 13 000. When the diocese of Umzimkulu was established, the larger stations were still administered by Mariannhill priests. Fr. Xavier Brunner was Rector at Lourdes, Fr. Siegfried Schultis was in charge of Centocow, Fr. Aurelius Boschert of Harding, Fr. Gabriel Bader of Emaus and Fr. Raphael Boehmenr was in charge of Port Shepstone. The other missions were cared for by the African clergy.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁴ *Um-Afrika* (13 March 1954).

⁵⁶⁵ *Um-Afrika* (8 May 1954).

⁵⁶⁶ *Southern Cross* (29 December 1937). There are no archives in the Diocese of Umzimkulu. Some of the personal correspondence, title deeds, financial papers were transferred to the archives of Mariannhill. These were eventually transferred to Rome at the Generalate of the CMM. However, with time access will be gained to the numerous archival resources stored in Rome at SCPF.

⁵⁶⁷ *Um-Afrika* (8 May 1954).

⁵⁶⁸ [Hermann], A., *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill*, p.120.

3.2 Consecration of Bishop Dlamini

The consecration of Bishop Dlamini took place at Lourdes, the episcopal see of the new diocese, on 26 April 1954. The consecration was performed by the apostolic delegate Archbishop Celestino Damiano. He was assisted by Bishop Streit of Mariannhill and Bishop 'Mabathoana of Leribe.⁵⁶⁹ The Cathedral of Lourdes, which was one of the largest churches in Natal, was too small for this occasion. So an open air altar was erected by the Technical College of Mariannhill and loud speakers were installed at Lourdes High School. The playground of the school accommodated the people who came for this occasion. "The consecration was attended by three Archbishops and 17 Bishops and Monsignori. 100 priests were present who had come from as far as Cape Town, Basutoland and Rhodesia."⁵⁷⁰

Bishop Dlamini's first vicar general was John Baptist Sauter, who was also the secretary and procurator. Sauter was probably appointed because he founded the People's Bank of Mariannhill, which proved to be successful. It followed the philosophy of CAU of Bernard Huss. Later, Sauter bought farms for the Bank and sold them at a profit. This meant that he had good financial skills. Hermann Mennekes became one of Dlamini's consultants. Xaver Brunner, became the parish priest of Lourdes. He was an able administrator of this very large mission but after after some time, he fell into disfavour with the black priests in the diocese. Brunner left the mission and was replaced by Mennekes, as parish priest. Mennekes also left and was replaced by Laurence Schleissinger.

⁵⁶⁹ *Um-Afrika* (8 May 1954) and see Adelgisa, *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill*, p.120.

⁵⁷⁰ *Um-Afrika* (8 May 1954)

At this time, the bishop also appealed for outside help and a Redemptorist priest, Fr. Wrangham, became vicar general and John Sauter withdrew to Jericho Mission. Centocow, although initially not included in the new diocese of Umzimkulu, was later incorporated. After some time, priests from the Congregation of Mariannahill Missionaries were excluded totally from the administration of the diocese.

3.3 Dlamini's resignation

After the CMM withdrew from the diocese, the well established missions of Lourdes and Centocow soon experienced severe financial and economic problems. The new administrators proved incapable of handling the huge mission and they could not even develop them. The situation was deteriorating at an alarming rate and this, in turn, affected the CMM. As Herman puts it: "It was natural that the Mariannahillers keenly felt the failure of this first attempt of indigenisation in their mission territory."⁵⁷¹ Bishop Dlamini was in charge of the diocese for fourteen years. In 1968, due to pressure from work and poor health, Bishop Dlamini resigned and became an auxiliary Bishop of Mariannahill. After his resignation, he then returned to Kwa St. Joseph Monastery, the Mother House, and helped in the diocese of Mariannahill.

In the meantime, Monsignor Peter Butelezi was appointed apostolic administrator of the Umzimkulu diocese on 8 January 1968. But he left in 1972, when he was consecrated auxiliary bishop of Johannesburg. On 11 September 1972, the Archbishop of Durban, Denis Hurley, was appointed apostolic administrator of the diocese of Umzimkulu and his vicar was Aurelius Boschert from the Congregation of Mariannahill Missionaries.

⁵⁷¹. [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannahill* . p.121

Despite Bishop Dlamini's good will and love for the people, his health deteriorated so much that he was admitted to the Assisi Hospital, near Port Shepstone. He died on 13 September 1981. He is buried amongst his FFJ members, at Kwa St. Joseph Cemetery in Emabheleni.⁵⁷²

3.4 Analysis of Umzimkulu's failure

3.4.1 After the consecration

At the time of Dlamini's consecration there were a number black priests (fifty had already been ordained from St. Peter's) who could have helped him (some were secular and others were FFJ). The Oblates had already ordained their first local priests - Dominic Khumalo and Jerome Mavundla. Black priests could have helped in the government of the diocese as was desired by Rome.

Surprisingly however, the first vicar general to be appointed for Bishop Dlamini was John Baptist Sauter, from Mariannhill, who was also the secretary and procurator. Hermann Mennekes was one of the consultants. The rector of Lourdes was Xaver Brunner. He had planned the consecration reasonably well.⁵⁷³ According to [Hermann], Brunner "was a very able administrator of the large mission but he soon fell into disfavour with his African confreres. Mennekes succeeded him as parish priest, soon had to change and Laurence Schleissinger tried to give his help."⁵⁷⁴ But he also faced some problems. Soon

... help was called in from outside and Fr. Wrangham CSSR became

⁵⁷² Bishop Bonaventure Pius Dlamini's Obituary, 1 paged, Archives of the Vice-Province of St. Joseph, South Africa.

⁵⁷³ *Um-Afrika* (May 8 1954).

⁵⁷⁴ [Hermann], *History of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Mariannhill*, p.120.

Vicar General, while Fr. J.B. Sauter withdrew to Jericho Mission. Centocow, which at first did not belong to the new Diocese, was then incorporated. After some time the Mariannahill Fathers were altogether excluded from the administration of the Diocese.⁵⁷⁵

3.4.2 Some explanations for the failure of Umzimkulu

In order to make sense of what transpired in Umzimkulu diocese I shall use four explanations under the following headings: the apostolic delegate, the pulling out of Mariannahill, racism and Dlamini's personal weakness. Included in these explanations are the popular perceptions by priests and bishops and my own analysis.

3.4.2.1 Apostolic delegate's contribution

From the onset some of the Mariannahill priests were against the creation of the Umzimkulu Diocese, but Celestino Damiano, an American, was "a pusher" and he always got his way.

Then Damiano came with orders to get a black bishop in the Republic. There was only one black bishop in Lesotho, 'Mabathoana. Damiano was a pusher, he did his best and he was blunt, self-spoken he had orders to get a black bishop and he settled in Umzimkulu, carved it out of Mariannahill. Mariannahill took it badly. They did not support Dlamini at all. He was appointed bishop in 1954....At the background, there is still the fact that Mariannahill did not back him. They did not want him, that was at the back of the trouble, so poor Dlamini had really a bad start. But he did his best.⁵⁷⁶

Since Damiano was a pusher, it is also quite plausible that the creation of the Umzimkulu Diocese was for his personal gain, in the sense that if he created more dioceses, Rome would applaud his work. As Archbishop Hurley noted, it was "mainly the work of the apostolic delegate, Damiano. He wanted to show that he had been a successful delegate and, in those days, creating a

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.120-121.

⁵⁷⁶ Oswin Magrath, same interview.

local diocese would be very well received in Rome. It would give the delegate a good name in Rome, that was the impression we got, I have not seen any papers or documents. Certainly Damiano was very ambitious."⁵⁷⁷

3.4.2.2 Mariannahill pulled out

However, according to David Moetapele, the Mariannahillers were not excluded but instead started

...pulling out and they knew very well that if they pull out everything would go to pieces because they were the pillars - money wise which was used to run the farms and the black priests were never trained to run these kinds of things. They did not know the resources of the place. The German knew, so when they pulled out everything went to pieces all those farms could not function anymore.⁵⁷⁸

For instance, the Trappists bought the land at Lourdes Parish, and farmed the area. People used to go there and those who wished to become Catholics joined the villages of the evangelised. They built schools and established settlements for Christians. But the bishop needed somebody who knew how things were run and how to get resources. When Dlamini took over the diocese he did not know where to get money for the diocese. Most of the black priests were not skilled in matters of farming, administration and financial management. "From the word go everything went to pieces."⁵⁷⁹

Dlamini was not supported by Mariannahill. This could have been because they thought that the time was not ripe for an African to be in leadership. But if we try and analyse the situation in the light of the theory of diffusionism, we can observe the situation where the Mariannahillers thought that Umzimkulu (*periphery*) under a black bishop was trying in some way to

⁵⁷⁷ Hurley, same interview.

⁵⁷⁸ David Moetapele, same interview.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

imitate Mariannhill (core). If we take the table given in chapter one,⁵⁸⁰ we can see the possible reaction by the core: Mariannhill, which was supposed to be the 'core' or the 'makers of history' was supposed to eternally advance, progress, modernise. Umzimkulu (*periphery*) was supposed to advance more sluggishly, or stagnate. Therefore, Mariannhill was supposed to be a permanent, geographical centre and Umzimkulu a permanent periphery: an Inside (Mariannhill) and an Outside (Umzimkulu). Inside leads; Outside lags. Inside innovates; Outside imitates.⁵⁸¹ Now, to have a black bishop as a maker of history disturbed this balance of power and clearly troubled the Mariannhill fathers. It was hard to accept the situation and they made things difficult for Dlamini. Eventually, Dlamini had to retire in 1968 because of ill-health and pressures of work.⁵⁸² Up to today, no bishop has ever been in charge of Umzimkulu for a long period of time. They all retire early and the diocese has been under the administration of Durban for a very long time.

3.4.2.3 A question of racism

Magrath attributes the failure of the diocese to segregation in the church. He says that the priests in South Africa were not treated as equals to the whites. Amongst the priests, there were some racial tensions. For instance, just before Dlamini was appointed, the previous apostolic delegate was very autocratic. He had had problems with some black priests. He then told all the bishops to have all black priests work as assistants under white priests. "This was supposed to be confidential, but it came out. His name was Martin Lucas SVD he was a powerful character. He used to tell bishops what to do.

⁵⁸⁰ Section 1.4.2.1.2.

⁵⁸¹ James M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionsim and Eurocentric History*, p.1.

⁵⁸² [Hermann], *History of Mariannhill Missionaries*, p.121.

Dlamini was put under somebody."⁵⁸³

3.4.2.4 Dlamini's inexperience

When the Germans pulled out, the ripple effect was felt in most of the parishes in Umzimkulu. As Hermann says:

The well established missions of Lourdes and Centocow soon experienced total financial and economic ruin. Their administration and further development proved beyond the ability and strength of the new regime. It was natural that the Mariannahillers keenly felt the failure of this first attempt of indigenisation in their mission territory.⁵⁸⁴

The fourth possible reason for the failure of Umzimkulu can be attributed to Dlamini himself. We can investigate his personal failures under the following categories: Administration, Nepotism and Finance.

3.4.2.4.1 Administration

Oswin Magrath observed that when Dlamini came to him in 1958 after they had moved to the new seminary, he noticed that Dlamini was shy, nervous, very awkward and had a prejudice against white people. The bishop commended the rector for his non-racism, that since he ate the same food as the students he would not have many problems with them. According to Magrath, Dlamini could not deal with people; he would lose his temper, was nervous, he would let everybody do what they liked. For instance, a student was living with a woman during the holidays. When Magrath reported the matter, the bishop said that the council did not agree with what was being said about the student. Later, when the rector expelled the student, the bishop said, "Thank you, Father, for relieving my conscience". Magrath added that "Dlamini was hopeless with managing money.

⁵⁸³ Magrath, same interview.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.120-121.

As a result he was a catastrophe but pastorally he was excellent..."⁵⁸⁵

Magrath also noticed that all the dissatisfied black priests from the CMM and other dioceses moved to Umzimkulu and he had around him a collection of "doubtful characters". They used to say *sinaye umuBhishobhi wethu*, (we have our own bishop) things were in a mess. Dlamini was weak in character. Other priests go further and say that in fact Dlamini was a wrong choice. He was chosen because he was a "yes man" for the German missionaries who turned against him in the end. As Mjoli suggests:

Why do you want me to be uncharitable in my talks because I have no respect for bishop Dlamini? I am sorry to tell you this. They had to choose him as their bishop because he was their spy. A white *Mfundisi's* spy so what do you want me to tell you about him. ... He did fail because when he was chosen he was a saint, so please *ungashowanga ukuthi wafaila akafailanga* (don't say he failed, he didn't fail). When he left the diocese it was to be assistant at Mariannhill. He was promoted to be an assistant at Mariannhill. [...] I would say he was promoted to be an assistant bishop.⁵⁸⁶

This point is further reinforced by Nicholas Lamla, who says that Dlamini was wrongly chosen; the person who should have been consecrated bishop was Fidelis Ngobese. However, Dlamini "was a pastor, a good preacher, a very devotional person, very sympathetic I think that is about all. To be a bishop he was not one percent qualified..."

This point is corroborated by interviews with some priests who allege that at the seminary when they were doing Canon Law, the lecturers used to say, "we will skip this section on the parish priest and go to the section on assistant priests."⁵⁸⁷ It seems that most of the black priests were educated like this and this

⁵⁸⁵ Oswin Magrath, same interview.

⁵⁸⁶ Natalis Mjoli, interview conducted on the 22nd October 1997.

⁵⁸⁷ Lamla, same interview.

was a big leap from being an assistant priest to being a bishop.

This point has been vehemently refuted by Archbishop Henry Karlen of Bulawayo, who taught Canon Law and Moral theology for six years at the seminary from 1952 to 1957.⁵⁸⁸ This was just before the seminary was handed over to the Dominican. However, it is quite possible that previous lecturers had said this. If the lecturers did say it could only have been imprinted on the memory of the students rather than the lecturers. Most likely that is why many former students of St. Peter's say that when they were taught Canon Law they skipped the section on parish priests and went to the section on assistant priests. However, more research needs to be done so as to establish the authenticity of these allegations.

According to Lamla, Dlamini was chosen by the CMMs because he was a 'yes father':

As far as I could hear from Monsignor Oscar he was at Ixopo when Bishop Dlamini was bishop. As far as I heard, the Africans had voted for Fr. Fidelis Ngobese, he has just died three years ago, he is the one they wanted. But then the CMMs manipulated and got Dlamini because he was their 'yes' person.⁵⁸⁹

The poor administration was also noticed by Archbishop Hurley when he went there as an administrator for seventeen years. He was sent there until a new bishop was appointed. As administrator, he could not do much as he was not the bishop of the area. As Hurley was archbishop of Durban and apostolic administrator of Umzimkulu, he tried to regularise the finances in the diocese, make the records clear, file things properly, find title deeds and put them in their proper files. As he

⁵⁸⁸ Personal communication between Philippe Denis and Archbishop Karlen, 1997.

⁵⁸⁹ Lamla, same interview.

says, "I was not very creative, one does not do that normally as an Apostolic Administrator. Finally, they decided to chose Bishop Gerald Ndlovu and again he found it difficult too!"⁵⁹⁰ Hurley continues to say that one of the things that caused problems for Dlamini was that he "he didn't have the gift of administration. A bishop may be holy and prayerful but he has to be a good administrator and keep things in order. He had difficulties in this area but he was a nice man. Whilst I was there I realised that there was a great shortage of priests there."⁵⁹¹

3.4.2.4.2 Nepotism and Finance

The Mariannahillers, who were the financial backbone of the diocese, pulled out and, as Bishop Dominic Khumalo says, the diocese was broke. Dlamini could not manage the money and nepotism was clearly rife in the Diocese of Umzimkulu. David Moetapele saw that Dlamini was running the diocese like his family and this created problems for him. The Diocese of Umzimkulu never came right from the time it was started. Lamla noted that the real person who brought him down was Benjamin Dlamini, an ex-Oblate priest.

When Bishop Dlamini became Bishop, he (Benjamin) decided to leave the OMIs and joined the Umzimkulu Diocese because he was a "Dlamini". He was accepted readily as he was an educated man and very intelligent. "When they went overseas, they went together."⁵⁹² The fund-raising was similar to what happened in the Diocese of Leribe, the process of raising money was dependent on Western financial help. So the bishop and his assistant had to travel overseas to raise funds. Benjamin Dlamini was a very talented and capable man in many ways. Though he joined the diocese without a proper transfer, Dlamini

⁵⁹⁰ Archbishop Denis Hurley, same interview.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹² Lamla, same interview.

made him a vicar general which was canonically not correct. So local priests thought the bishop was corrupt, "he is a Dlamini and he looks for Dlaminis." Benjamin flourished while he was in Umzimkulu: he had a butchery, shops, a farm and huge poultry farms.⁵⁹³

At one time Benjamin Dlamini was sent to Germany to raise funds. The problem was to distinguish between his money and that of the bishop. When he came back he had a beautiful Mercedes Benz and a tractor which he claimed to have been gifts from friends in Germany. Bishop Dlamini could not accept that, because he had sent Benjamin to fundraise for the diocese, not for his personal gain.⁵⁹⁴

The problem of appointing the wrong person for the job is further emphasised by Bernard Ngidi, a black CMM working in the Umzimkulu diocese. He says that the bishop's problem was his secretary - Benjamin Dlamini. Benjamin Dlamini was well educated, he knew Italian and other European languages and he could be helpful on overseas trips. Bishop Dlamini thought that Benjamin would have contacts overseas and could correspond well for him. "But Benjamin was a bit clever and he could take all the money which was supposed to go to the diocese for his own use. Bishop Dlamini only discovered later on. Benjamin could correspond overseas in most of the languages." Of course the diocese got money from benefactors but seemingly Benjamin took a lot of the money for himself. Later on this was discovered and he was suspended from the priesthood.

...there was a lot of nepotism because there are so many Dlaminis here in Umzimkulu. You see, he was the first bishop. He was also nominated by the Germans because he was liked, he was not really selected by clergy. Then also, he had some misunderstanding and some misfortunes. Misunderstanding in the sense that since he was the first bishop he did not have a qualified bursar who

⁵⁹³ Bishop Dominic Khumalo, same interview.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

could run his accounts. You need to get a trained man who is responsible who knows the accounts and everything and administration - this is very important. I think the administration was too bad.⁵⁹⁵

Although the main emphasis of the thesis is on black male clergy, I shall briefly give a summary of the developments in the women indigenous vocations so as to get an overall picture as to what was happening in the indigenisation of the church in Southern Africa.

From the discussion on Dlamini, especially from the oral testimonies, we can establish that there were four main factors which led to the downfall of Bishop Dlamini and the Diocese of Umzimkulu. We saw that the creation of the new diocese was a personal project of the apostolic delegate, hence, people who were not ready were pushed into jobs they were not qualified for. We noted that the Germans did not back the new bishop very much and in the end they started to pull out of the diocese. The farms and other projects they ran were left unattended. Umzimkulu used to produce a lot of agricultural products, but later the bishop himself was seen buying grocery in Umzimkulu because he could not delegate.⁵⁹⁶ Magrath attributed the failure to the discrimination which existed in the country and the church. Then finally, we looked at the personality of Dlamini administratively, he was a failure and the finance of the Diocese were a complete disaster. To crown it all he ran the diocese like his family as David Moetapele observed.

According to the encyclicals *Donum Fidei*, *Maximum Illud*, and *Rerum Ecclesiae*, the training of local clergy was to be thorough, complete and on the same level with the missionary clergy. Apparently, in Dlamini's case, the training provided, especially in administration and finance, did not exist at all.

⁵⁹⁵ Fr. Bernard Ngidi, same interview.

⁵⁹⁶ Bishop Themba Mngoma, interview conducted in Mariannahill, 13 January

One can deduce that the seminary did not provide adequate training for the priests who were supposed to be the future leaders of the church. Closely linked to the Mariannhiller, is the fact that they chose a person whom they knew was going to fail. Were they trying to prove that the Africans were not yet ready? Why was the local clergy not consulted about the nomination of Dlamini and especially when Fidelis Ngobese was clearly favoured by some local priests because he had good leadership qualities?

Maximum illud and *Rerum Ecclesiae* explicitly stated that the training of local priests should be thorough and complete. They should be trained as people who were going to govern the future diocese. They should not be perpetual appendages, assistant priests or serve minor functions in the mission but they should serve as fully fledged priests. However, in reality it was taken for granted that blacks would always be assistant priests. I have previously noted that Magrath said that "one lecturer at the seminary, when it came to the part in Canon Law which dealt with the Parish Priests, he said, this does not concern you and he would go on to the part of Assistant Priests..." The priest whom Magrath was referring to was a student during the CMM times. Then suddenly, he was made parish priest in Umzimkulu valley and he went to Magrath and said, "I do not know what to do, I have been ten years a priest. I never dealt with the baptism register and accounts. Many things I did, I was asked to do by the Parish Priests, now the bishops have put me in charge." It was taken for granted that the black priests would never be in charge.⁵⁹⁷ This unnamed priest was not the only one who attests to the fact that in Canon Law, the students did not deal with the section on parish priests. Bishop Biyase of Eshowe had a similar experience as he recalls:

1999.

When I studied for the priesthood in the 1950s I can still remember at that time the lecturers, teachers, missionaries who would say you don't need to study these because you will be assistant priests, not priests in charge. So a black priest for the missionaries was supposed to assist a white person, to be subordinate. I remember a time in 1957 when Bishop Strieter of Mariannahill was just about to take over, the then delegate issued a law saying that black priests should not be in charge of parishes.⁵⁹⁸

Lamla remembers the lecturer actually saying 'no', when they came to the section on parish priests, "you will never be parish priest." They concentrated on the duties of an assistant priest, they were supposed to confer sacraments, go out to visit the sick on horseback night or day.⁵⁹⁹ Dlamini had also been demoted from parish priest to an assistant priest under the apostolic delegate Lucas SVD. This was not supposed to come out but it did.⁶⁰⁰ From being assistant he was expected to be the bishop of a diocese! What could you expect? It was a definite recipe for disaster. During this period also it was almost rare to have a black priest in charge of a parish; it was almost a "miracle", as David Moetapele puts it.⁶⁰¹

The other issue for black clergy was that most of the early vocations were pressurised in becoming religious rather than secular priests. Rome, in its encyclicals, had emphatically said that the church urgently needed local clergy, but at the same time it did not rule out indigenous people becoming religious or forming a local religious order. Sometimes the diocesan priests were not looked upon very well and the fact that the first black priests had challenged the hegemony of the missionary clergy really created problems for later secular aspirants. The minor seminarians were discouraged from becoming secular priests from the onset. For instance, Bishop Biyase said:

⁵⁹⁷ Magrath, same interview.

⁵⁹⁸ Biyase, same interview.

⁵⁹⁹ Lamla, same interview.

⁶⁰⁰ Magrath, same interview.

It was an old spirit right from overseas which said diocesan priests are not real priests. They said they were not so perfect priests. Now there was a general Fr. Ferdinand Pousen who was a rector in 1948 in the minor seminary until 1955. And this man when he wanted to portray the difference between the religious and secular priests, he would come to the class and write a sign of a pound £50 and £100 which one would you choose? A 100 pounds! And he would say this is religious life. That is how he explained it to us.⁶⁰²

A similar example was given by Lamla, of how they were literally pressurised to become religious, and in his case to be FFJs. To be a secular priest one had to be really determined. He says at the seminary the students were advised to join the FFJs. If they wanted to be diocesan priests, they were looked upon as being interested in riches and had no proper vocation. The students were told publicly to choose religious life. As Lamla recalls:

I remember Fr. Edmund later become a General of the CMMs he used to say to us, "what will you choose, my dear, if I give you a loaf of bread here and a roasted chicken this side?" What are you going to choose, my dear, you say a roasted chicken. "Yes, my dear, that is how religious life is, my dear, it is a roasted chicken. To be a religious is to be a better priest." This was instructed.⁶⁰³

One had to be really determined to get through. Elias Mkwane was the first diocesan priest and for quite a long time nobody followed him. Later on, others came from dioceses outside Mariannhill, for instance, Samakanda who came from Zimbabwe.

But in some cases the opposite was true. The minor seminary in Lesotho was equipped with spiritual directors who advised the students of the possible routes they could take after they finished their Metric equivalent. David Moetapele says that to be religious was preferred by most bishops and superiors and if you wanted to be a secular they would discourage you in many

⁶⁰¹ Moetapele, same interview.

⁶⁰² Biyase, same interview.

ways.⁶⁰⁴

3. Conclusion

We have looked at the establishment of the Diocese of Leribe and Umzimkulu and the problems associated with these. We discovered that there were three main reasons that can be attributed to the failure of the diocese, that is the Germans, the apostolic delegate and Bishop Dlamini himself. The interaction between the Mariannhill and Umzimkulu was further looked at in the light of the theory of diffusionism. This helps us to understand the prejudices which existed when the new diocese was created. However, what we should bear in mind is the fact that, though many participants in the mission fields and Rome itself wanted local priests, there was great resistance in the mission. In some cases, the indigenous bishop struggled financially and even resigned, as we saw with Bishop Dlamini. Later, other bishops from other dioceses in South Africa also resigned. The question to pose is whether these bishops resigned because of the pressures from the missionaries or whether they were given improper training? The answers to these questions are a combination of external and personal factors.

Finally, it is important to note that racism at this stage was clearly entrenched in society and in the church. In the Catholic church this permeated in the way most of the structures were set up, that is the school, hospitals, parishes, convents and seminaries. This segregation was to rear its head in subsequent years. Also, the seeds of resistance were present among these indigenous clergy towards racism and domination of the European missionaries. This resistance was to

⁶⁰³ Lamla, same interview.

⁶⁰⁴ Moetapele, same interview.

gain momentum during the 1960s and the 1970s.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

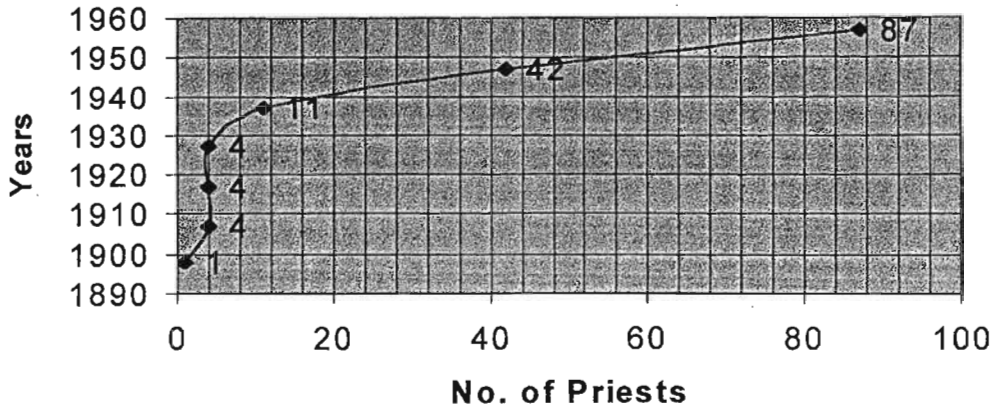
In the conclusion, I shall first give the number of ordained priests, where they were trained, where they came from, when they were ordained and the different racial groups of the early black clergy. Then, I shall give a summary of the findings and see what we have established in this thesis.

By 1957, there were eighty seven local clergy ordained in Southern Africa.⁶⁰⁵ The ordinations of these priests started gradually and steadily increased after the first half of the century. For almost thirty six years, from 1898 to 1934, there were only four black priests in South Africa. As we have seen this was mainly because there was no established seminary and also that some bishops during this time felt that black people were not ready to be priests.

However, after the founding of the two seminaries, St. Augustine's and St. Mary's (later St. Peter's), vocations to the priesthood increased steadily. By 1937, there were eleven ordained priests, six diocesan, four Oblates and one FFJ. The numbers increased greatly from 1937 to 1947. Thirty five priests had been ordained by this time: fifteen diocesans, nine Oblates and eleven FFJs. There was a tremendous increase from 1947 to 1957, and in total forty one priests were ordained to the priesthood. Of these seventeen were diocesan, twelve Oblates, four FFJ, one SAC and one OSM.

Table 1 : Increase in the number of indigenous clergy from 1898-1957

The increase in no. of Priests from 1898-1957



The increase in numbers could be attributed to some of the following reasons:

Firstly, the Holy See had issued encyclicals encouraging the heads of missions to foster native vocations. This was initiated by *Maximum Illud* (1919), *Rerum Ecclesiae* (1926), *Evangelii Praecones* (1951) and *Fidei Donum* (1957). All these encyclicals encouraged the indigenisation of the church in the mission fields. If the church was to grow it was supposed to be taken over by the local people. Rome also subsidised the training of diocesan candidates rather than religious.

Secondly, by the end of 1946, St. Peter's seminary had changed from being a seminary of the Mariannhill diocese to being a regional seminary. This meant that bishops from all over South Africa could send their students to this seminary. The administration of the seminary was taken over by the Bishops' Conference. In the early 1950s more trained staff were channelled to the seminary, for instance Henry Karlen (Dr. Theol), Pirmin Klaunzler (Dr. Phil) and Thomas Respondek (Dr. Phil).

Thirdly, the Diocesan Congregation, the FFJ, had been well established by the end of the 1950, with almost twelve ordained clergy. This encouraged other local aspiring vocations.

⁶⁰⁵ See Table 1.

Fourthly, after the consecration bishops, 'Mabathoana and Dlamini, many young men became encouraged and joined the seminaries. For most of the people in Lesotho and South Africa, they saw that the church was indeed trying to become part of Africa. In Lesotho, after 'Mabathoana's consecration, his main priority was the recruiting of young men to join the priesthood. He went to Europe and raised funds which were used to erect a minor seminary. From then onwards, there was a steady increase in vocation in Lesotho, both religious and secular.

By 1957, thirty nine priests were ordained from St. Peters, whilst St. Augustine's produced thirty six. Six were ordained from Cedara and six in Rome. By 1957, there was a total of forty six religious and thirty nine secular priests. The numbers were almost even, with a difference of five as shown in table 2.

Table 2: Total number of priests religious and secular.

Seminary	Diocesan Priests	Religious				Total
		OMI	OSM	FFJ	SAC	
Urbanianum, Rome	4	2				6
St. Augustine Roma, Lesotho	11	24	1			36
St. Joseph's		6				6
St. Peter's	24		1	14		39

There were more Africans ordained to the priesthood by 1957. In total seventy eight African had been ordained from the religious congregations as well as the diocesan. There were

only seven coloureds and two Indians as shown in table 3. This could be attributed to the fact that when the Oblates and the Mariannahillers started their mission work it was among the Africans. So when Rome came with directives that it needed the local clergy, it was easier for these congregations to look amongst their constituencies. Also in South Africa the majority of people are African. The Indian and coloured only count less than 10% of the population. In Lesotho, almost 99% of the people are African. So most likely, that is why we see that there were more Africans ordained to the priesthood than from the Indians and coloureds.

Table 3: Racial Divisions

Racial Groups	Numbers
African	78
Coloured	7
Indian	2

Most of the black Oblate priests were trained in Lesotho and some in Rome, Italy. But it is interesting that there were more Oblates in Lesotho by 1957, in total there were eighteen, whilst in South Africa, there were only twelve. This could be attributed to the fact that at St. Augustine seminary, it became very difficult to distinguish between the Oblates and the secular. This situation later created tensions as some students who wanted to be diocesan were allegedly forced to be Oblates.

In South African, however, there were thirty diocesans in comparison to ten in Lesotho as shown in table 4. This was mainly due to the fact that St. Peter's mainly trained secular priests from all the dioceses. The other reason could be attributed to the fact that most of the candidates from other

dioceses looked down upon the FFJs as the option to religious life. In South Africa, most of the other religious orders only started recruiting seriously after the 1960s. So when candidates were offered an option of joining the FFJ or joining the secular clergy, they chose the diocese.

Table 4: Divisions of country of origin

Country Divisions	OMI	Diocesan	FFJ	OSM	SAC
Lesotho	18	10			
RSA	12	30	14		1
Namibia				1	
Zimbabwe		1			
TOTALS	30	41	14	1	1

I shall now give a summary of how I proceeded in this investigation and then suggest a way forward.

In the introductory chapter, I looked at the history of the Catholic clergy in relation to the other churches in South Africa. The differences between these churches, the rise of Ethiopianism and African Independent Churches were looked at briefly. The hypothesis stated that the history of the black Catholic clergy, to the end of the twentieth century has been inadequately documented. There was a need to write a more comprehensive history of the clergy and the Catholic church. The books written on the Catholic church mainly relied on archival sources for their information. I problematised this by stating that, in most cases, the material in archives were mostly written by the missionaries; the voice of the subordinate is silenced. Oral history methodology was used as a way of overcoming this barrier. The advantages and

disadvantages of the methodology were highlighted, but in the end it proved to be a useful methodology.

Then the important aspects of the conceptual tools were outlined: the core and periphery (diffusionism); the power to control cultural terms in which the world is ordered (hegemony and ideology) and the struggle between the dominant and subordinate (public and hidden transcript). These helped us decipher the two-way interaction between the missionaries and the black priests and how they both played a vital role in the historical process.

After establishing the theoretical framework, I looked at the relationship between Rome and South Africa. Since the Roman Catholic church's bureaucracy is centralised the researcher looked at Rome's policy on the indigenisation of the clergy in mission territories, especially in Africa. This history was briefly traced from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century. The chapter critically looked at the policy behind five pontifical documents (*Maximum Illud*; *Rerum Ecclesiae*; *Evangelii Praecones* and *Donum Fidei*). By examining these documents we noticed that there was a contradiction between what was intended for the missions and what actually happened. The main contention in this chapter was that, despite the interesting aspects contained in the Roman policy towards the mission fields, the policy was formulated in Europe, the mission stations were not consulted about what they wanted, and the people who implemented it were of European descent. This suggested that the decisions taken in Rome did not take seriously the world-view of the mission countries and this led to many misunderstandings between the missionaries and the early converts.

After establishing the theoretical framework and the Roman

Catholic church's policy towards indigenisation, I then examined the lives of the first four black Catholic priests. The chapter tried to go beyond the accepted interpretation of the friction between white and black as being simply attributed to race, segregation and apartheid. I explored another dimension in the relationship between the black priests and the missionaries. In all the cases most of the problems were the result of an imbalance in the power relations.

For instance, from 1898 to 1956, the first four black priests struggled to be part of the church they joined. Mnganga after he quarrelled with Bryant was arrested and taken to the Natal government asylum for seventeen years. Mncadi could not live with his relative because this was against the culture of the missionaries. They totally disregarded his cultural background and even undermined him in front of relatives, therefore affronting his dignity. Ngidi, had written notes on what he thought would be the outcome of the First World War. The rector stole these notes and reported him to the Bishop. When Ngidi went to visit missions with another white priest, he was told to sleep in the Kraal and eat with the girl in the kitchen. He was called *kaffir* on numerous occasions. Mbhele due to the fact that he owned a farm, was suspended and asked not say mass until he left the diocese of Mariannahill and Zululand and went to Swaziland.

The fact that Mnganga was arrested and taken to the asylum clearly shows that he had no protection and security within the church. Mncadi's self-actualisation as Catholic priest was also seriously undermined by the rector and his bishop. Ngidi in most cases felt alienated because he was treated differently from the white priests. From the four priests Mbhele was continuously alienated because he owned a farm and there were other allegation levelled against him concerning alcohol and

women as we have seen.

In most cases these priests felt "homeless" and that they did not belong to the church. They always had to apologise to their superiors rather than assert themselves. "They were not treated as insiders who belonged to the Church in a way equal to that of white missionaries."⁶⁰⁶ It is therefore not surprising that the priests bought farms so that they can feel at home. Mbhele even said that since he was not welcome at most of the Mariannhill missions, he felt that buying a farm was the only way he could have a home if he was kicked out. To emphasise the point of "homelessness" the four black priests did not really exist in the official history of the Catholic Church. They are only referred to in a sentence or two. This means that they did not really contribute to the building of the church. In this thesis we have established that they actually contributed a great deal. From the day Mnganga was ordained in 1898 up to the time Mbhele died in 1956, these priests lived a life of continuous struggle - a struggle to be part of the church they belonged to.

Then finally, I examined the results of the Roman policy towards the local clergy. I briefly looked at some of the first Indian and coloured Catholic clergy in South Africa. By 1957 the black clergy had taken root in South Africa. It is a period which is termed as "power sharing in the church". To a certain extent, the black clergy were no longer treated as second-class priests as a couple were ordained as bishops by 1954. I then examined some of the successes and failures of the first priests and the first two bishops - Mabathaona and Dlamini. Concerning the diocese of Umzimkulu we established that there were three main reasons which could be attributed to the failure of the diocese, that is the Germans, the Apostolic

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Delegate and Bishop Dlamini himself. The interaction between the Mariannhill and Umzimkulu was further looked at in the light of diffusionism. This helped us to understand the prejudice which existed when the new diocese was created. in the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa.

From the research it has become clear that the written history of the black Catholic priests is disappointingly inadequate. The books mainly emphasise the negative aspects of the priests' lives. Through intensive archival research and oral testimonies we have discovered that the priests did a lot of good for the church which is not documented.

The view which comes up frequently in the written sources is that the early black priests were not ready to be priests but we have discovered that, in fact, there was a constant struggle between the missionaries and the black priests over "cultural signifiers" which these priests made sense of their lives as priests and as Africans. In this case, questions like, who was to be in charge? Whose culture were the priests supposed to follow? Did becoming a Catholic priest mean, one had to totally alienate oneself from ones cultural background and world-view?

In short, we established that the differences which occurred at several mission stations was mainly due to the fact that there was a struggle over cultural values and the interacting of different world-views. The missionaries on one hand thought that the local clergy were some sort of *tabula rasa* and anything they said and instructed would be received without any contest. They were coming from a powerful background, in the sense that their nations had conquered most of the African tribes, for the missionaries, imposing their silent and taken-for-granted authority came quite easily. Unfortunately, they

were shocked as we have indicated when the black priests resisted the imposition of a foreign world-view. This in turn, led to a belief or a myth that the priests had tremendous troubles in settling down. The fact is there was a constant struggle between two interacting cultures and world-views of the dominant and the subordinate. We should bear in mind that the missionary world-view was perceived as being powerful, since they had colonised South Africa. If worst came to the worst they could use the colonial authorities to impose their wishes as we saw in the case of Mnganga. The African priests were coming from a subordinate cultural background and were expected to behave in the way prescribed by the missionaries. As we established the priests refused to comply. The African priests, using several forums, for instance, petition, letters and meetings fought the imposition of a western cultural domination. In turn, the white priests reacted and tried to bring these priests under control through repressive measures like suspensions, expulsion, refusing the priest the right to say mass, having the priest arrested and character defamation. Although the priests resisted, they did not effect much change in the Catholic church. The situation is more or less like it was a hundred 100 years ago, the struggle is being carried on by ACAPSM.

We also established that the written sources themselves are inadequate in telling us the history of the black priests. Most of these books were written by missionaries themselves and therefore, the perspective of the black priests is usually very silent and almost hidden. To complement these sources we used oral testimonies which gave us another perspective, which has never been written before. At times the oral sources complemented the written sources, and we established that some of the informants actually reconstructed the past from their reading of the written sources.

The other major problem with oral testimonies was that, especially for the first four black priests, they all died before 1956, so it became very difficult for some priests and bishops to actually remember what transpired. By the time the first four priests died, most of the interviewees were only in the minor or major seminary or just ordained. So complementing the oral testimonies with the archival sources I had to try and make out what could have possibly transpired.

Our written sources also suggest that the lives of these priests were very difficult. They had been to Rome and acquired doctorates in Theology and Philosophy, and this in itself created some problems. Most of the missionaries were not that educated, and so very likely there were "feelings" of jealousy towards these priests. On the other hand, the black priests might themselves have behaved rather proudly or arrogantly,⁶⁰⁷ as they had managed, to a certain extent, to conquer the white man's world. That is, they had a better perception of where the missionaries came from; how they came to be in Zululand and how they wanted to bring Christianity to the Zulus, but at the same time bring western cultural values and colonisation. To some extent, the black priests had internalised some of the western cultural values and this put them above the average African. Initially, they might have thought they could associate with the white priests, but when they were continually ill-treated this alliance broke down. And due to their level of education they were also alienated from African society as well.

⁶⁰⁷ See *Vergissmeinnicht*, no.63, 1945, p.237. Archives of Mariannhill Mission.

CHAPTER NINE

EPILOGUE

The period from 1898 to 1956, can be categorised as the first phase of the priests struggle against "homelessness" in the church. The second phase of the struggle against alienation and racism was from 1965 to 1981. It culminated in the context of Black Consciousness Movement during the 1960s and the 1970s. Black Consciousness and Black Theology wanted to get the experiences, hopes, dreams, aspirations and interests of black people on the agenda of the South African society and the Church. Through this philosophy, black people wanted to assert their humanness, that they had a black history, culture and were human beings equal to whites.

With the influence of Black Consciousness, three organisations were formed in the Catholic church which spearheaded the struggle against alienation. In 1966, SPOBA (St. Peter's Old Boys Association) was formed. It issued a *Manifesto* in 1970 in the *Rand Daily Mail*. In the *Manifesto* they said that they were treated as alien in their own church and that the process of Africanisation did not even exist. SPOBA was transformed into PBPSG (Permanent Black Priest Solidarity Group) in 1976 to accommodate other clergy from other churches. Later, ROBA (Roma Old Boys Association) also came to be associated with PBPSG.⁶⁰⁸

The hierarchy of the church responded to these complaints by appointing only a handful of black to leadership positions. The rest remained the same the priests and laity still felt very

⁶⁰⁸ For detailed discussion on this see George Mukuka, *The Impact of Black Consciousness on the Black Catholic Clergy and their training from 1965 to 1981* (Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1996).

foreign in a church which was supposed to foster their aspirations.

The third phase of the struggle against "homelessness" was initiated in the early 1990s. Different local and regional groups started forming, dealing mainly with experiences of black priests and laity in the Church. These experiences highlighted the fact that they were being ignored, not taken seriously, sidelined and not being made to be part of the church in South Africa. These meetings took on an interdiocesan level when, in 1994, a meeting was held in December at Reichenau, in Mariannhill. This meeting resulted in a vision statement in "which the experiences of cultural alienation and racism were clearly named, and ...a commitment was made by all to work for the transformation of the Church in South Africa into a situation where all can feel at home."⁶⁰⁹ However, the momentum of this meeting died down. A decision was taken to establish a new organisation called the African Catholic Priests Solidarity Movement (ACAPSM).

On Thursday, 25 February, 1999, after a series of meetings, a group of ten African Catholic priests in Johannesburg officially handed over a *Memorandum* to the Secretary, Buti Tlhagale. They addressed issues concerning transformation and Africanisation in the Church. Among some their grievances were the fact that as Roman Catholic priests at the close of the twentieth century, they still felt as if they were foreigners in their own church, mainly because the whole cultural ethos of the Church is still Euro-centric. The agenda the church tries to set and achieve is still very much determined by the whites. Some of these priests were trained overseas and they had had to adapt to these cultures. Now adapting to a white culture even at home was too much.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.22.

From 1994 to 1999, the "buzz word" was "transformation" in South Africa. The black priests felt that it was time they brought their "hidden discourse" that is, what they always talked about amongst their colleagues in the privacy of their houses. They said that the church lacked transformation, africanisation and issues being addressed were mainly catering for the minority of its members who were white. As the Secretary of ACAPSM, Dabula Mpako, put it:

But what specifically motivated us to start this initiative was the realisation that the time has come for us to stop complaining and whining, because every black priest knows about these things he has been talking about in the privacy of our houses and our rooms. And we said look we are adult enough we have got to stand up and do something about this. It will only change if some of us stand up and say something - so that was the main motivation.⁶¹⁰

As was with the case in the first and second phase of the struggle, the hierarchy dismissed the Movement. They said that the opinions in the *Memorandum* did not represent the opinion of all the black members of the Catholic Church. Apparently, they had forgotten the kind of reaction they received from the black priests and laity in the 1970s where there were mass actions and demonstration. ACAPSM still exist today and it holds conferences and issues press release exposing the situation in the Church.

From 1898 up today the black priests and laity still struggle against "homelessness" in the Catholic Church. The black priests and laity have been treated as aliens in their own church for almost a hundred years. We hope that through the work of ACAPSM, the church will start accepting africanisation and making the church more acceptable to the majority of its constituency.

⁶¹⁰ Mpako, same interview.

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3. Fr. Simangaliso Mkhathshwa	12 December 1995	Edenvale, Johannesburg
4. Arch. Peter Butelezi OMI+	8 July 1996	Bishop's House Bloemfontein
5. Fr. Oswin Magrath OP+	19 July 1996	Cedara, Pietermaritzburg
6. Bishop Mansuet Biyase	22 April 1997	Bishop's House Eshowe
7. Fr. John Brady OMI+	16 August 1997	Victory Park, Johannesburg
8. Fr. Alois Schnieder CMM	3 September 1997	Lourdes, Umzimkulu
9. Fr. Bernard Ngidi CMM	10 October 1997	Emaus, Umzimkulu
10. Fr. Natalis Mjoli	22 October 1997	Ngwelezane, Empangeni
11. Fr. Nicholas Lamla	29 October 1997	Cathedral, Umtata
12. Fr. David Moetapele+	24 November 1997	Holy Cross Convent, Pretoria
13. Bp. Dominic Khumalo OMI	25 March 1998	Pietermaritzburg
14. Bishop Themba Mngoma	13 January 1999	Mariannhill
15. Fr. Jerome Skhakhane OMI+	9 February 1999	Cedara, Pietermaritzburg
16. Fr. Dabula Mpako	30 June 1999	UNP, Pietermaritzburg
17. Arch. Denis Hurley OMI	28 July 1999	Cathedral, Durban
18. Fr. Reginald Shunungam OMI	3 August 1999	Woodlands, Pietermaritzburg
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APPENDIX

CLERGY TRAINED AT ST. PETER'S MAJOR SEMINARY

ORDINATIONS 1898 -1960
(Secular and FFJs)

NAME	PRIESTHOOD	PLACE	BISHOP
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I. Before the foundation of the seminary.

1. Edward Mnganga (+1945)	1898	Rome	
2. Alois Mncadi (+1933)	1903	Rome	
3. Andreas Ngidi (+1951)	5.1907	Rome	
4. Julius Mbhele (+1956)	5.1907	Rome	

II. St. Mary's (Sedes Sapientiae) Seminary of the Vicariate Apostolic of Mariannhill

1. Malachias Mkhwane(+1969)	10.12.36	Seminary, Ixopo	Fleischer
2. Bonaventure Dlamini F.F.J	28.11.37	Mariannhill Cathedral	Fleischer
3. Fidelis Ngobese F.F.J	21.3.39	Lourdes	Fleischer
4. Killian Samakande (+1986)	21.3.39	Lourdes	Fleischer
5. Ferdinand Mbhele	3.12.39	Mariannhill Cathedral	Fleischer
6. Solanus Ndlovu F.F.J (+1940)	3.12.39	Mariannhill Cathedral	Fleischer
7. Paul Ngobese F.F.J (+1947)	3.12.39	Mariannhill Cathedral	Fleischer
8. Anthony Dlaba F.F.J	7.12.41	Mariazell	Fleischer
9. Jerome Mjwara F.F.J	28.11.43	Kwa St. Josephs	Fleischer
10. Lois Kunene F.F.J	26.11.44	Centocow	Fleischer
11. Francis Makhanya F.F.J	26.11.44	Centocow	Fleischer

III. St. Peter's Seminary of the Vicariate Ap. of Mariannhill, St. Joseph's Farm, Pevensey

12. Maximus Lesetla	1.12.46	Reichenau	Fleischer
13. Stephen Phako (+1989)	8.12.46	Keilands	Lucas
14. Michael Phako (+1982)	8.12.46	Keilands	Lucas
15. Englebert Khuzwayo	3.12.47	Seminary	Fleischer
16. Raphael Mosiea	3.12.47	Seminary	Fleischer
17. Henry Oscar	3.12.47	Seminary	Fleischer
18. Edward Nyezi (+1987)	3.12.47	Seminary	Fleischer
19. Julius Sailes	3.12.47	Seminary	Fleischer
20. Romuald Booysen (+1956)	12.47	Oudtshoorn	
21. Marcus Mncwabe	11.12.48	Seminary	Fleischer
22. Canisius Moleko (+1995)	8.12.48	Umtata	Grueter
23. Paulus Memela	3.12.49	Seminary	Lucas
24. Boniface Shinga F.F.J	29.6.50	Kwa St. Joseph's	Fleischer
25. Wencelas Zulu F.F.J (+1972)	3.12.50	Kevelaer	Fleischer
26. Alois Hliso (+1966)	8.12.50	Umtata	Greuter

IV. St. Peter's Regional Seminary, Pevensey. (Mariannhill Staff).

27. Alois Ngongoma	13.12.51	Mariathal	Streit
28. Pacificus Mnguni F.F.J	10.12.52	Kwa St. Joseph's	Streit
29. Donatus Ndlovu F.F.J	10.12.52	Kwa St. Joseph's	Streit
30. Johannes Lephaka	16.12.52	Maria Trost. Lydenburg	Riegler
31. Natalis Mjoli	29.11.54	Inkamana	Bilgeri
32. Leonard Seoaholimo (+1988)	28.11.54	Mariazell	Greuter
33. Anthony Mabona	14.12.54	Zigudu	Rosenthal
34. John Madadzhe	3.12.55	Pax. Doornspruit	Van Hoek
35. Peter Masela	3.12.55	Pax. Doornspruit	Van Hoek
36. Sigisbert Ndwandwe	4.12.55	Inkamana	Bilgeri
37. Thomas Rodolo S.A.C.	16.12.57	Schonstatt	
38. Aloysius Khoza (+1987)	3.12.57	Lady Selbourne, Pretoria	Garner

Dominican Staff.

39. Innocent Mbatha F.F.J.	1.6.58	Sunduzwayo, Mbumbulu	Streit
40. Rupert Maluleke	28.6.59	Bethany, Pietersburg	Van Hoek
41. Christopher Maduna (+1989)	29.6.59	Lourdes	Dlamini
42. Thomas Yekiwe	12.7.59	St. Patrick's Untata	Greuter
43. David Moetapele	3.12.60	Atteridgeville, Pretoria	Garner
44. Mansuet Biyase	10.7.60	Maria Trost. Pt. Shepstone	Greuter
45. Eprem Chiya	10.7.60	Maria Trost, Pt. Shepstone	Greuter
46. Cornelius Chiliza	10.7.60	Maria Trost, Pt. Shepstone	Greuter
47. Johannes Kubeka	14.8.60	Eshowe Cathedral	Bilgeri
48. Lawrence Ntshangase	21.12.60	Propaganda College, Rome	Agagianian
49. Wilfred Xaba	21.12.60	Propaganda College, Rome	Agagianian

Episcopate

1. Emmanuel Mabathoana	53	Leribe	Damiano
2. Bonaventure Dlamini F.F.J.	26.4.54	Lourdes	Damiano. Streit. Mabathoana
3. Peter Butelezi	22.10.72	Johanneburg	
4. Mansuet Biyase	28.06.75	Eshowe	
5. Dominic Khumalo	04.05.78	Durban	



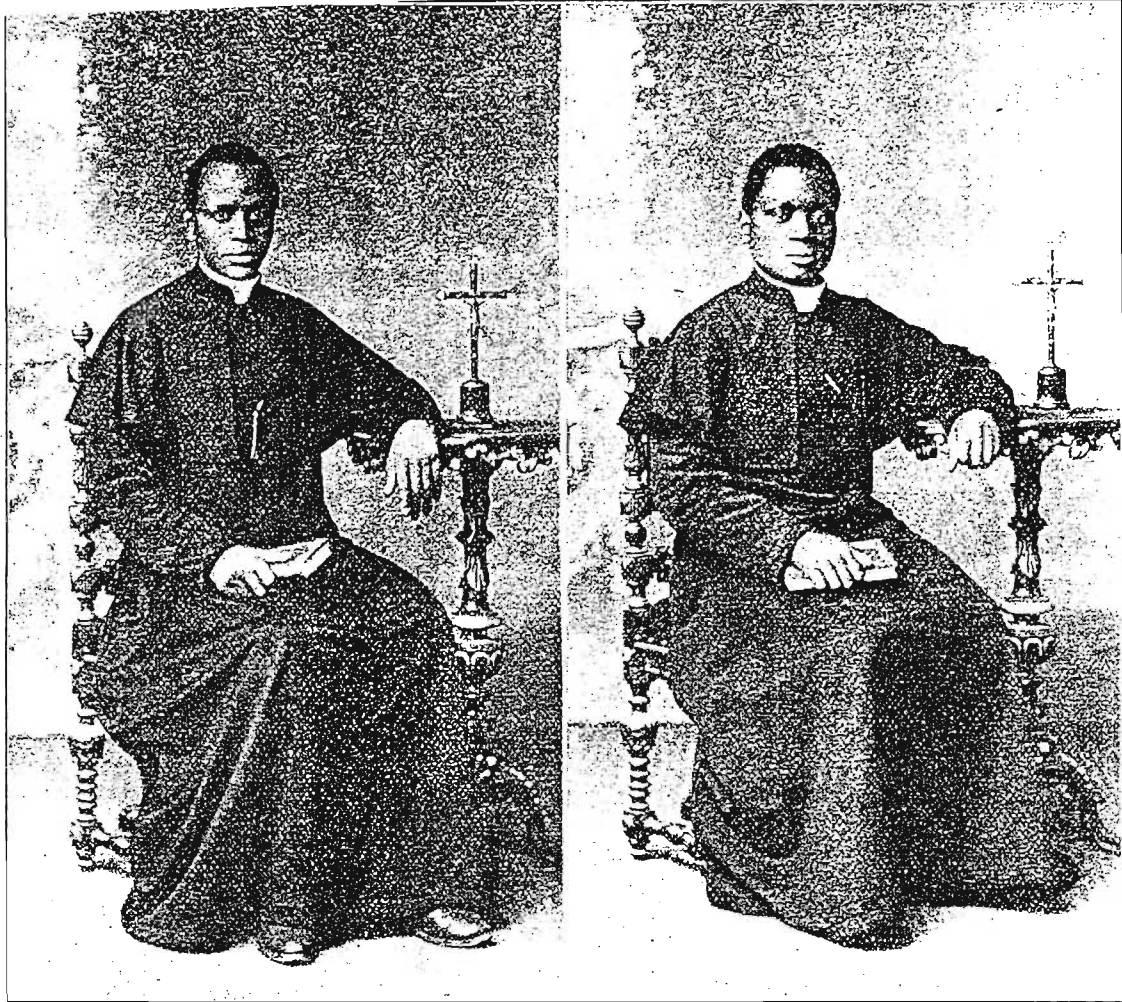
Standing: Fr. Andreas Ngidi, Alois Mncadi and Julius Mbhele
Seated: Fr. Edward Mnganga



Charles Mbengane, Edward Mnganga and Julius Mbhele in Rome

Priests ordained from St. Joseph's Scholasticate

- | | | | |
|-------|--|-------|---|
| 1945: | G. M. Coleman
J. O'Brien | 1958: | Z. Cizkowsky
Y. Leger |
| 1946: | J. Mavundla | 1959: | K. R. Bugler
D. W. Mackenzie
G. Michelson
J. Towell
J. Zacharewicz |
| 1947: | K. T. Cawte | 1960: | D. Boulle |
| 1948: | K. F. Struve | 1961: | N. H. Butcher
A. Colbert
J. P. Poole
P. J. Slattery |
| 1949: | R. de Sylva
A. Matton | 1962: | K. Casey
V. Lourey
V. McGillicuddy
H. Mithen
B. O'Brien
B. Pitts |
| 1950: | C. Collins
H. V. Dalton
R. A. J. Scheuber | 1963: | M. L. Holmes
N. B. Peters
J. Williamson |
| 1951: | D. Bourhill
G. F. B. de Gersigny
R. C. Webber | 1964: | J. Hubbart
M. Linden
J. Martin |
| 1952: | D. A. Adam
T. Barry
D. Boardman
D. P. Cavanagh
C. B. Miller | 1965: | E. Bayens
I. Mackintosh
J. P. Sherman |
| 1953: | F. T. Bindeman
E. J. Boulle
P. E. Haskins
P. J. Hogan
W. J. York | 1966: | A. P. Bailey
J. Cleary
R. Falconer
K. C. C. Gray
J. Money |
| 1954: | J. de Nobrega
P. A. McInerney
P. P. Sibisi † | 1967: | W. Lindemann
J. O'Doherty |
| 1955: | C. Carey
A. H. Danker
C. R. du Preez
C. Langlois | | |
| 1956: | L. Mkhize | | |
| 1957: | A. J. C. Falconer
W. Boggis
G. W. Purves
V. Whelan | | |



Eigenum Photogr. Meiser Mariannhill.
Dr. Julius Mkomazi

Dr. Andreas Ngidi.



Rev. Julius Mkomazi, umgeben von einer Schar kleiner Schwarzen.



St. Mary's Minor Seminary



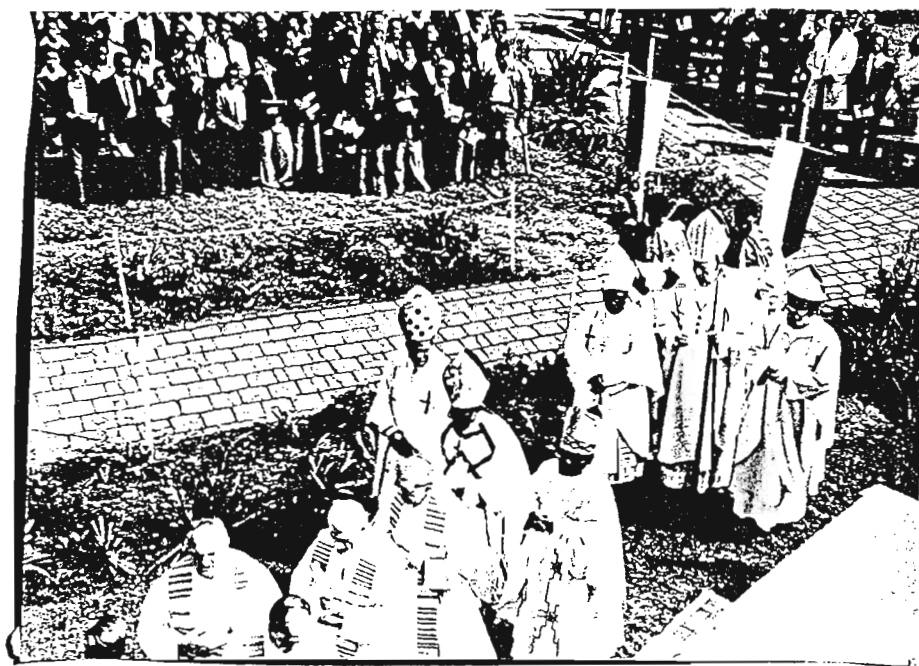
Fr. David Moetapele



Bishop Adelbero Fleischer



Official opening of St. Mary's Minor Seminary in 1928



Official opening of St. Mary's Minor Seminary in 1928



St. Mary's Minor Seminary



Bishop Hurley chatting to Bishop Biyase at St. Mary's Minor seminary



Andreas Ngidi with a Mariannhill colleague.

Fools(Occup)

STATION OR OCCUPATION OF PATIENTS ADMITTED, 1895-1909

Station or Occupation of Male Patients Admitted, 1895-1909				
	E	N	I	Total
1. Professions; Government Officials	13		1	15
2. Soldiers; Sailors; Police	43		1	45
3. Clergymen; Missionaries; Preachers	2		3	6
4. Farmers	35		1	37
5. Retailers; Traders; Clerks	53			53
6. Artisans; Craftsmen; Skilled Labour	82		2	85
7. Unskilled Labour	28	452	232	712
8. Other	17		20	40
9. Unknown; Unemployed; No Occupation; Not Ascertained	19		89	114
	292	569	248	1109

Tables compiled by Julie Paule, from the published statistics of
the Natal Government Asylum, 1895-1909.

Natal Blue Books, Hospital & Asylum Returns, Natal Government Asylum,
Medical Superintendent's Reports & Statistical Tables, 1895-1909
'Station or Occupation of Patients in the year...'

Fools(Occup)

STATION OR OCCUPATION OF PATIENTS ADMITTED, 1895-1909

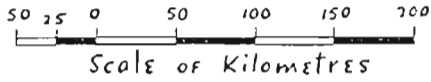
Showing the Station or Occupation of Patients Admitted During the Year Ending 31st December 1900				
MALES	E	N	I	
Labourer	1	22	17	40
Mining Occupation	4			4
Farmer	4			4
Painter	3			3
Tailor	1			1
Farrier	2			2
Grocer	1			1
Merchant	2			2
Carpenter	1			1
Cook			2	2
Stonemason	2			2
Accountant	2			2
Soldier	3			3
Preacher			1	1
Jockey	1			1
Fitter	1			1
No Occupation	1	5		6
Unknown	1	6		7
TOTAL	30	34	20	84

Fools(Occup)

STATION OR OCCUPATION OF PATIENTS ADMITTED, 1895-1909

Station or Occupation of Patients Admitted During the Year Ended 31st December, 1903				
MALES	E	N	I	Total
Labourer		63	25	88
Missionary		2		2
Farmer	1		1	2
Engineer, &c,	2			2
Storekeeper	1			1
Bricklayer	2			2
Teacher				
Butcher				
Soldier				
Painter			1	1
Journalist				
Carpenter	2		1	3
Gardener	1			1
Stonemason	1			1
Shoemaker	1			1
Mule Driver		1		1
Butcher	1			1
Overseer	1			1
Plumber	1			1
Tailor	1			1
TOTAL	15	66	28	109

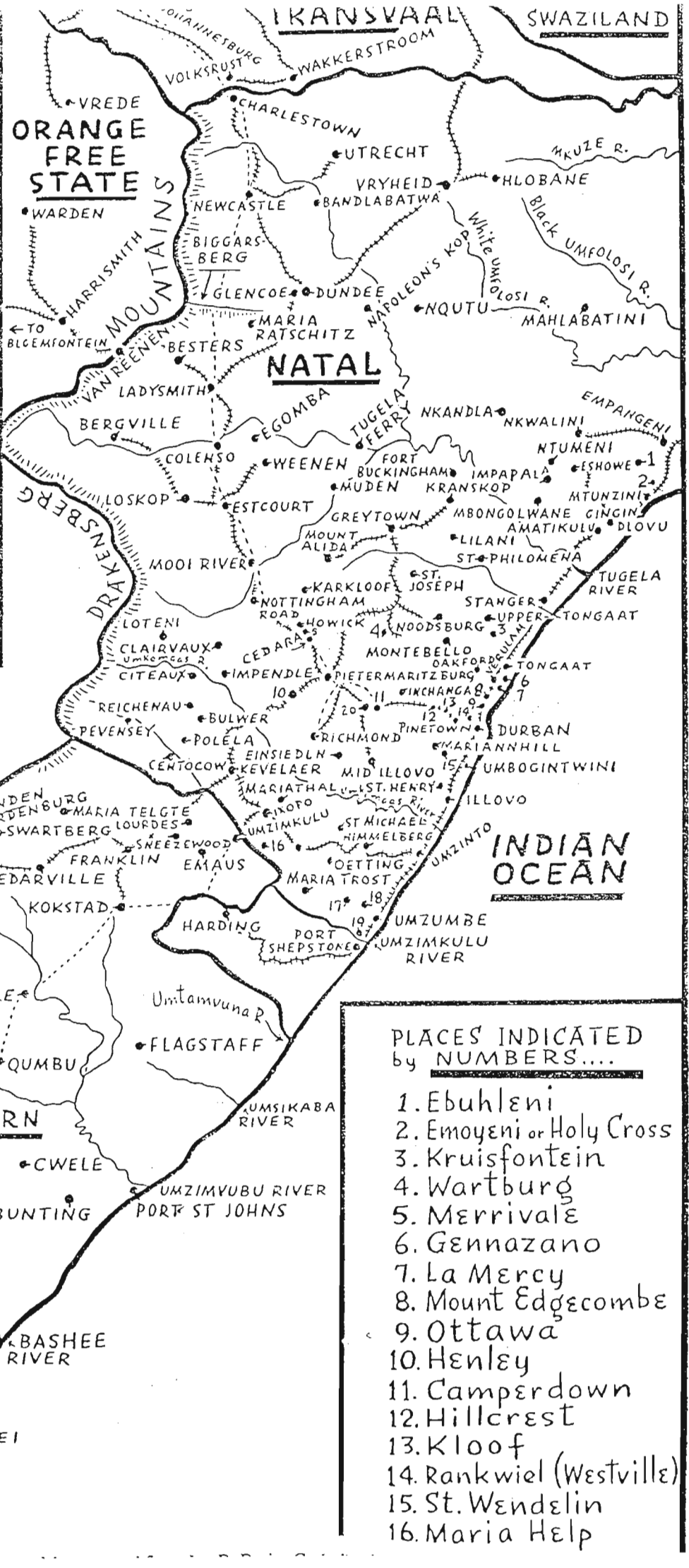
MAKIANNHILL AND
OBLATE MISSIONS IN
**NATAL AND
NORTH EASTERN CAPE**



RAILWAY SHOWN
MAIN ROADS SHOWN
RIVERS SHOWN

**SITUATION OF PLACES
NOT NAMED IN THE MAP**

At Amatikulu: MANDIKINI.
In and around Durban; BLACKBURN or
RED HILL; CLAIRMONT or MONTCLAIR;
CLAIRWOOD; ST FRANCIS XAVIER
or BLUFF.
At Estcourt: ST. GERARD MAJELLA.
Ixopo: otherwise STUARTSTOWN.
Mariathal: otherwise SPITZBERG.
At Newcastle: LENNOXTON.
In or around PIETERMARITZBURG: ST.
JOAN OF ARC, MARYVALE, CLELAND,
EDENDALE, PRESTBURY, ST. AUGUSTINES
or SUTHERLANDS.
St. Joseph's: otherwise SEVEN OAKS.
St. Peter's: otherwise MONTEBELLO.
St. Philomena's: otherwise MAPUMULO

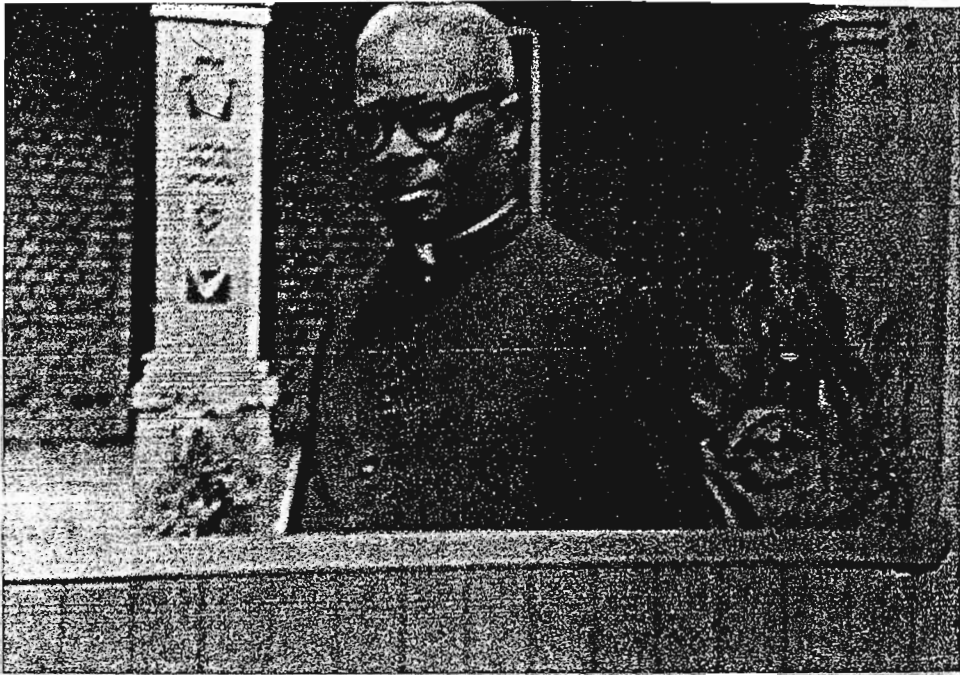


LESOTHO

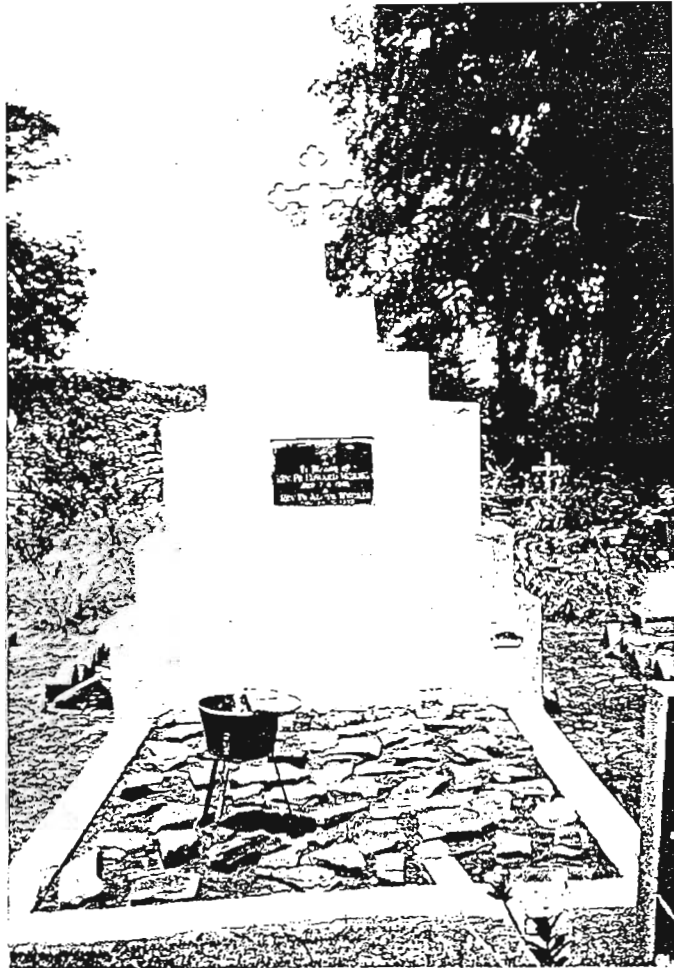
INDIAN OCEAN

**PLACES INDICATED
by NUMBERS....**

1. Ebuheni
2. Emoyeni or Holy Cross
3. Kruisfontein
4. Wartburg
5. Merrivale
6. Gennazano
7. La Mercy
8. Mount Edgcombe
9. Ottawa
10. Henley
11. Camperdown
12. Hillcrest
13. Kloof
14. Rankwiel (Westville)
15. St. Wendelin
16. Maria Help



Fr. Henry Oscar



The grave of Fr. Edward Mnganga and Julius Mbhele at Mariathal, Ixopo.

UMAFRIKA

Pictorial Supplement

ED. MONTHLY

APRIL 1954



AFRICAN BISHOPS

"Africanization" of the Church is proceeding as the Holy Father appoints African bishops to head the dioceses.

Rt. Rev. Bishop Emmanuel Mabhathoana, O.M.I., D.D., of Leribe, Basutoland.

(Umhlekezzi Odumskayo umBishohl Emmanuel Mabhathoana, O.M.I., D.D., waseLeribe, eBasutoland.)



B. Dlamini, F.F.J., the Bishop of Umzimkulu.
Mgr. B. Dlamini, F.F.J., kanda umBishohl wesiFuzi (Bishop of Umzimkulu.)

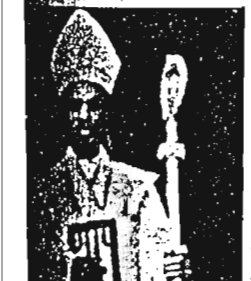


Bishop Josef Bowers, of Accra, Gold Coast.
umBishohl Josef Bowers, wase Accra, (Gold Coast.)



His Grace Archbishop Josef Kiwanuka, D.D., of Uganda. In his diocese there are only African priests.

(UmBishobomkhulu Josef Kiwanuka, D.D., waseLuganda. EsiFunda labob sakhe kusebenza abaphristi abaNtundu kuphela.)



The Rt. Rev. Bishop Emmanuel Mabhathoana, O.M.I., D.D., of Leribe, Basutoland.



UMAFRIKA



THANDAZA



USEBENZE



48 Liphuma Masono Onke Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper UMgqibelo, April 24, 1954 PRICE: 3d. No. 1,841

UMKHOSI OMKHULU WOKUGCOTSHWA KOMBISHOBI WOKUQALA ONSUNDU EMZIMKHULU

URt. Rev. Msgr. B. Dlamini, F.F.J.



Imvunulo YomBishobi Omusha

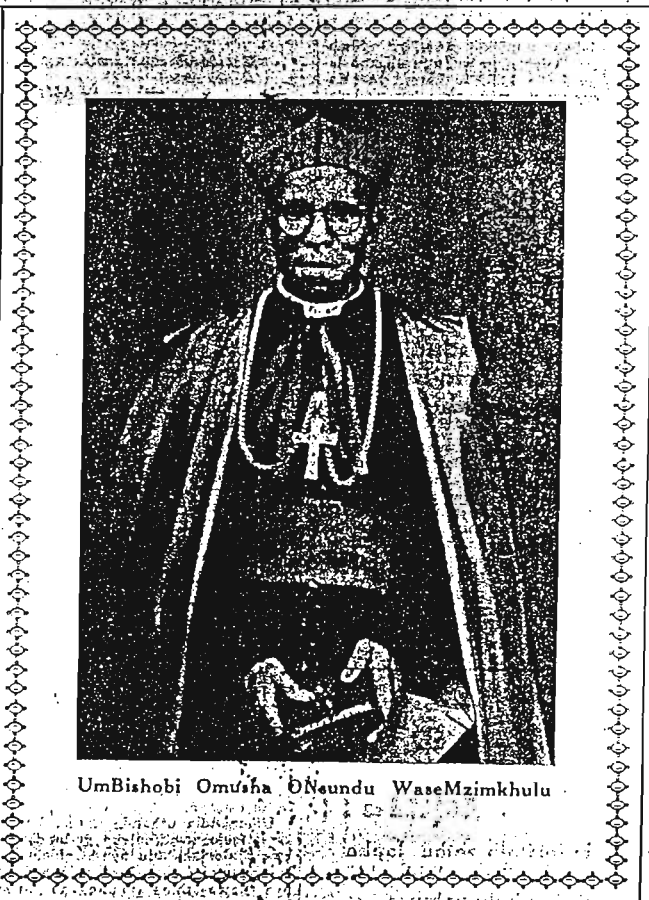
Howo nalowo mBishobi uzikhethela imvunulo eyisigqiziso sakhe sesihlangu asiphathayo kukhokoke ukulwa akusukume-layo ngesithembiso sesikhundla sakhe athi uyosebenzela phezu kwaso afambelela futhi ekwagcineni lawomazwi abalwe esigqizisweni semvunulo yakhe. Lamazwi angumqondisi womoya azimisele kufu indlela nzo-hamba ngayo kumbhe isaga sakhe ekuphat-heni isikhundla sobuphostole. UmHlekazi umBishobi uDlamini uzikhethela lemvunulo engenhl.

Yahlukaniswe yafa nezinkundla ezintathu. Phakathi mayo inesigqiziso sase-Lourdes Mission, isiFundabishobi esisha. Kufunyakala umduze omhlophe eyisifona-kaliso sombusulwa, okukhulu lokuya ka-kuThathuthwa Okungenasici, kwawafona-kala kuBernadette Ocwefileyo eLourdes kwelaseFrance. Kufesekuthi ngaphansi kwokuphakathi naphakathi isifonakaliso somfula Umzimkhulu, okuyiwona kubizwa ngegama lawo isiFundabishobi esisha.

Inkamla yesithathu itshengisa amagama amabili eNhlanguano yaseSiGodlweni ayilunga kuyona umBishobi Dlamini.

Okubalwe ngaphansi kwomfanekiso wonke isaga somBishobi omusha: "SUB TUUM PRAESIDIUM" (SIBALEKELA KUWE NQABA YETHU), ngesiZulu, okuthathwe emthandazweni owaziwayo ka-khulu weNkosikazi yethu.

UmHlekazi Odumisekayo umBishobi Bonaventura Dlamini ubengenakuwathola amanye amazwi angcono kunalawa esaga sakhe. Ngalemvunulo yesigqiziso sesihlan-gu kanye nalezaga umHlekazi Odumisekayo wethula umsebenzi wakhe kanye ne-siFuda sakhe ekulondolozweni iNkosikazi ebusiweyo yethu, futhi sengathi lesigalo esihle kangaka sokuba nawo amaZulu abe-phakathi azidumisele mathupha aziphathe-
Iqhutshwa ekhasini lesibili



UmBishobi Omusha ONsundu WaseMzimkhulu

ngamandla eNhloko yeBandla lomhlabane wonke iphesheya imkhethile abe umBishobi URt. Rev. Bonaventura Dlamini, F.F.J. umPhriste obengowesiFundabishobi saseMariannhill; okusukela ngaye usengumBishobi oNsundu kwelaseNyonyana okhethekile lesikhundla sokuaba ngumBishobi wesiFundo esisha asihleshu-ki ngumBishobi A. Streit, C.M. wesiFundabishobi saseMariannhill lapho kade esebenza khona umPhriste iminyaka eminingi kuba sekuphakanyisweni kwabandla.

UmHlekazi A. Streit, uzoba esibombambeli kaPhapha umBishobi Omkhulu waseNingizimu yona yonke bekanye nomunye wadu umBishobi Emmanuel Masekane, O.M.I. wesiFundabishobi kwelaseBasutoland. Bonke njengoba bezoba bem-bombambeli kaPhapha ekum-

antozayo eyo be igcinelwa Mission ngoMsombuluko. lonke laseSouth Afrika kanye na-bukhali ka10 ekuseni, kuya-baPhriste namaBulata namaKhosi- ngwane eziyishumi. (10,000) ezi- khona ababishobi abakhulu zana ezindawo ngezindawo; ngoku-phuma eduze nakude nobantwana ababishobi abang bevela kula njalo kulindelwe amakholwa nezi-bezikole.

IZOKHONA INKULULEKO YEZOKHOLO EZIKOLENI ZABAFUNDISI

izokhona yokufundisa ezokho- loleni zabaFundisi ezifunda- nda eziphethwe ngapha- nda nabaZabaNtu kuzokwe- njengoba kwenziwa ezikole- leni. Umnuz. C. W. Prinsloo uthi kuzohla- nganwa nabaphathi bamaban- danda kukhulunywe kakhulu ngaloludaba phakathi nawo lonysaka.

lwe ohlelweni lwezifundo. ngumNyango weziNdaZabaNtu. Umnuz. C. W. Prinsloo uthi kuzohla- nganwa nabaphathi bamaban- danda kukhulunywe kakhulu ngaloludaba phakathi nawo lonysaka.

'Khuluma IsiZulu Esiqondile Nse! Ukuze Nitholane Kahle'

Esikoleni esikhulu saseLungu e"Wits" eGoli, kuphume isiluleko esithetho kahle abafundi ukuthi okuzwana okuyikho kuyoshesha batholakale ngokuba abeLungu ba- sifunde kahle isiZulu basikhulume siqonde sithi nael Lapha eUniver- sity yaseWitwatersrand, liphume kahle igama lathi umLungu maku- khulume nesisebenzi sakhe ngolimi lwaso kahle oluqondile batholane kahle omunye nomunye okungangci- ni ngokuphumelelisa okwenziwayo kuphela kokudala kwandisa ukuba- mbisana kukhokoke kwokwenzi- wayo nabaNsundu.

Izifiso: KumBishobi WaseMzimkhulu

UmHleli habasizi bakhe ehhovisi lakwa Umatfrika, kanye nabasebenza umsebenzi wokucindezela iphepha bakwaMa- rianhill Mission Press bakuyisela zonke izihlahlameliso zika- Somandla esikhundleni oqocotshelwe sona. Sengathi uSoma-

Kuletha umoya wokumthamba umLungu lincinzeni sakhe simuzwa ecacisa



Eingeborner Priester.



Eingeborene Kandidaten und Brüder der St. Josephs-Brüderkongregation von Mariannhill

with the Approval of the Vicars and Prefects
 (Apostolic of South Africa)



B/C. 128

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1943.

[Postage on "Southern Cross":
 South Africa. 3d. Overseas 1d.] PRICE 3d.

Cardinal Appeals for Jews

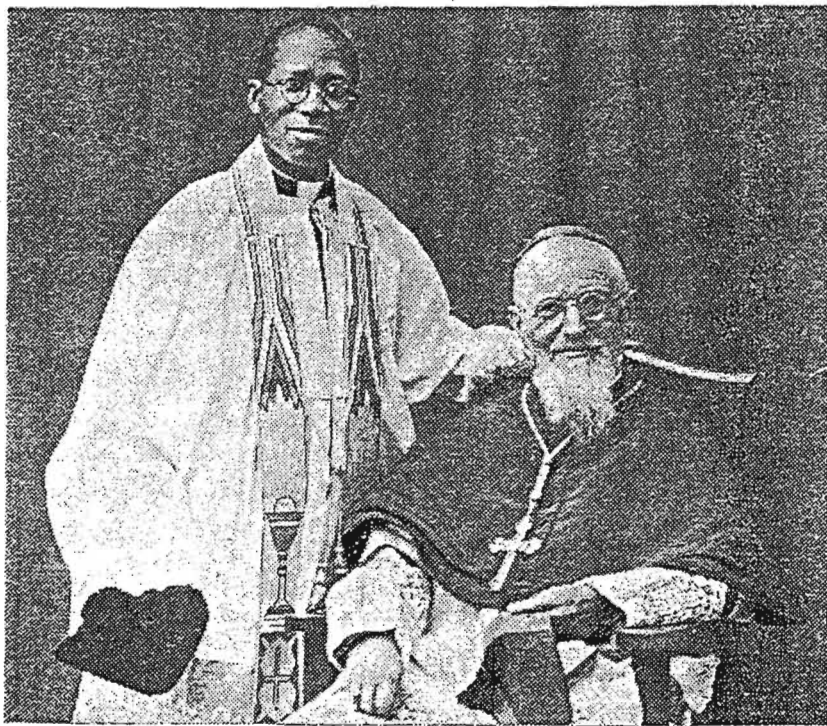
(Southern Cross" Correspondent)
 London, Saturday.
 The name of the Hierarchy of
 England and Wales His Eminence
 Cardinal Hinsley again this week
 issued a public statement urging im-
 mediate action, as well as prayer, on
 behalf of the Jewish victims of the
 persecution.
 Cardinal Hinsley also issued a statement
 through a high German ex-official, who is
 a refugee in England, showing
 that the Archbishop of Canterbury
 is correct in a recent statement in
 which he stated that the Catholic leaders of
 Germany were not prominent in de-
 feating the Jews.
 Among the instances quoted were
 Cardinal Faulhaber's personal inter-
 vention to protect the Chief Rabbi of
 Berlin, whose property the Cardinal
 kept in his own palace as a safe-
 haven against Nazi rioters, Nazi mobs
 attacked the palace and plastered
 it with posters inscribed: "Away
 with Faulhaber, the friend of the

PAPAL YEAR BOOK

The Papal Year Book for 1943 has
 recently been presented to the Holy
 See as a report from the Vatican.
 Among the many innovations
 in the production of the Papal coat-
 of arms is the production of the Papal coat-
 of arms in colour. The brief biograph-
 ical sketches concerning the Cardinals
 have been augmented and also in-
 clude information concerning the dioceses.
 Information on the religious orders is
 increased, while a special section
 has been added giving an outline of
 the sacramental rites.
 The dioceses throughout the Church
 number 1,225. There are 54 Abbeys
 and Monasteries, 463 Vicari-
 ates, Prefectures, and Independent
 Territories. These make a total of 1,742
 ecclesiastical divisions throughout the

names of the representatives of
 the Holy See as Ambassadors, etc., to the
 various countries are also listed.

NEW NATIVE PRIEST



HIS LORDSHIP Bishop Klerlein, C.S.Sp., photographed with Fr.
 Emmanuel Mabatoane, O.M.I., who was recently ordained for the
 Kroonstad Vicariate.

NO PRIESTS IN POLAND

("Southern Cross" Correspondent)
 London, Saturday.
 All theological seminaries in Poland
 are now closed and the nation is fac-
 ing a complete lack of priests. Most of
 the Polish priests have been imprison-
 ed, the usual charge being that they
 refused to ask prayers to save Poland.

FILM OF THE POPE

("Southern Cross" Correspondent)
 London, Saturday.
 A statement by the Vatican Radio
 this week denied recent press reports
 that the film "Pastor Angelicus,"
 which is based on the life of the Pope,
 has been banned in Italy.

Conserve your Elevators—

The increase in no. of Priests from 1898-1957

