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SOME ASPECTS OF THE AFRICAN MISSION POLICY OF THE
PRESBYTERY OF ADELAIDE/PORT ELIZABETH WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE NEW BRIGHTON PRESBYTERIAN MISSION CHURCH 1898 - 1962

A Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

CELENE FRANCES DILL HUNTER

RHODES UNIVERSITY

GRAHAMSTOWN

1983

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT AND FOOTNOTES

ANC	African National Congress.
<u>Assembly's AMC Minutes</u>	Minutes of PCSA General Assembly's African Missions Committee.
<u>Ass Pro Re Nata</u>	Pro Re Nata Meeting of PCSA General Assembly held on 23/24 March 1948, in Port Elizabeth.
<u>Ass Pro Re Nata (Transcript)</u>	Transcript of General Assembly's Pro Re Nata Meeting, 23/24 March 1948, in Ntintili File, (RPC).
<u>Ass In Hunc Effectum</u>	In Hunc Effectum Meeting of PCSA General Assembly held on 16 November 1948, in Port Elizabeth.
<u>ARH</u>	Annual Reports of Hill Presbyterian Church.
<u>BPC</u>	Bantu Presbyterian Church.
<u>CE</u>	Christian Express.
DRC	Dutch Reformed Church.
E P Herald	Eastern Province Herald.
FMC	Foreign Missions Committee.
GAMS	Glasgow African Missionary Society.
GMS	Glasgow Missionary Society.
I C W U	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.
I O G T	International Order of Good Templars.
I O T T	Independent Order of True Templars.
<u>LMLDB Minutes</u>	Minutes of Laymen's Missionary League District Band (Port Elizabeth Branch).
LMS	London Missionary Society.
<u>Lennox Memorandum</u>	Memorandum prepared by J Lennox, 14 February 1937.
<u>MM</u>	Minutes of His Worship the Mayor of Port Elizabeth.
MOH Report	Report of Medical Officer of Health, Port Elizabeth.
N B Manager/Superintendent's Report	Report of Manager/Superintendent of New Brighton location, Port Elizabeth.
NBMC	New Brighton Mission Committee.
<u>NBMC Minutes</u>	Minutes of New Brighton Mission Committee.
PCSA	The Presbyterian Church of South (later Southern) Africa.
<u>PCSA BB</u>	Proceedings of the PCSA General Assembly.
<u>PC</u>	Presbyterian Churchman.
<u>PL</u>	Presbyterian Leader.
<u>P E Presbytery Minutes</u>	Minutes of Presbytery of Port Elizabeth.

Presbytery's AMC Minutes

Minutes of Presbytery's African Missions Committee.

Presbytery's In Hunc Effectum

Minutes of In Hunc Effectum Meeting of Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, 30 May 1959.

Presbytery's Pro Re Nata

Minutes of Pro Re Nata Meeting of Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, 25 March 1961.

Presbytery's Pro Re Nata
(Transcript)

Transcript of Presbytery's Pro Re Nata Meeting, 25 March 1961, in (RC).

(RPC)

Records of the Presbyterian Church of South (later Southern) Africa.

(RC)

Records at St Columba's Presbyterian Church, Port Elizabeth.

SAO

South African Outlook.

S A I R R

South African Institute of Race Relations.

S A T A

South African Temperance Alliance.

SAP

South African Pamphlets.

U F Church of Scotland

United Free Church of Scotland.

U P Church of Scotland

United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

WCC

World Council of Churches.

YMA

Young Men's Association.

FOREWORD

Many people have contributed to the writing and research of this thesis. I would like to acknowledge the financial assistance given by the Human Sciences Research Council and Rhodes University: the opinions expressed and the conclusions reached in this thesis are nevertheless my own and are entirely independent of both institutions. Numerous people have also given considerable assistance in the research, but in particular I would like to thank Michael Berning, Sandy Fold and Jackson Vena of Cory Library, Rhodes University; I C Aitken, General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa; A Murray McGregor, former curator of the South African Missionary Museum in Kingwilliamstown; Mrs C M Vivieros, secretary of the South African Temperance Alliance; the Revs G B Molefe, W D Campbell, E Magula, I Hawkrige and the late W M J Lund; and Oakley West of the Rhodes University Cartographic Unit. There have also been many friends who have supported and encouraged me: the 'Cory Circle', whose wit, wisdom and companionship made the research a joy; friends from St Columba's Presbyterian Church, Port Elizabeth, who have made allowances for my preoccupation with the thesis, and whose hospitality and generosity has helped to make being a 'minister's wife' and a student so much easier; and Glenda Steele and Shirley le Roux who helped me type the manuscript. Finally, I want to thank those closest to me who stood alongside me while I struggled with the topic and with myself: my mother, for her gentle encouragement; my father, for the way he has combined a father's delight with a supervisor's integrity and discernment, and for his patience with me when I got the two confused; and my husband, without whose love and support this work would never have been accomplished.

INTRODUCTION

The diversity of communities and their inter-relationship within a single geographical area has been a matter of continuing debate in South Africa. Some have argued for race as the dominant factor in these relationships; others for class. Yet kinship and other considerations have also played a considerable part. Moreover each church has had to wrestle with difficult inter-group relationships. In both society as a whole and in the churches, the main argument has been over whether the differences between groups should be accorded primary or secondary importance. Where differences have been made decisive, a separation of the groups has been basic to any policy whether it has been called segregation or self-development. Where the stress has been on the common ambience, policy has sought through what was called integration to achieve a common society. However the terms 'integration' and 'separation' are by no means clear concepts. Those who have advocated integration have nevertheless admitted exceptions that have been discriminatory in practice. On the other hand, those who have argued for segregation have had to concede that the degree of integration in primary areas of national life can no longer be separated in practice. The scope of these exceptions lay open the advocates of both concepts to charges of inconsistency, if not hypocrisy. In 1897 the Presbyterian Church of South Africa (PCSA) faced this complex question. Both in its Scottish ancestry and its African experience the Presbyterian Church had hitherto dealt with homogenous groups. What was new in the African situation was the question whether its white settler congregations and its black mission congregations should link in a single body or remain separate from one another. The imminent union of the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church of Scotland and the desire for union within the separate colonial churches made such a consideration urgent. The PCSA decided to include both black members and black congregations, seemingly setting a course for integration, which it understood as a single polity in which there would be an equal place for both black and white members. The Free Church Synod of Kafraria's refusal to join the PCSA immediately challenged this decision. The Synod refused because it suspected that the PCSA's profession of a common membership and polity would be corrupted by the social attitudes among the predominantly white church. Instead the Synod advocated a policy of self-determination: that is, one in which its African members would be free to assume offices and exercise powers that would not, because of racial discrimination, be possible for a long time to come, in a white-dominated church. Fear of such domination and hopes of what self-determination might achieve led ultimately to the formation in 1923 of

the Bantu Presbyterian Church (BPC), an independent African Presbyterian church linked federally to both the PCSA and the United Free Church of Scotland. Both the PCSA and the BPC thus had to wrestle with the consequences of their decisions. While linguistic and cultural homogeneity might greatly assist black church growth and development, the BPC had to consider how a church founded upon a single racial group could retain universality in its life and witness. The Mission Council, composed largely of white missionaries, was both a reminder of this dimension and an irritant because it seemed as if the BPC Assembly was not master of its own house. For the PCSA the issue was how a largely token recognition of the presence of African members could be either an authentic witness or a power for reconciliation in a multi-racial community. The argument for separate development or self-determination postposed the possibility of a union until those who had been separately developed considered it desirable - which has not yet happened. The argument for integration demanded a resolute commitment to equality for all, a stance challenged on the grounds of its impracticality or its injustice because it was not yet fully implemented. Both churches thus were forced to render inconclusive verdicts on an issue that was proving increasingly intractable in other spheres of the nation's life.

A close examination of the history of the New Brighton mission congregation reveals some of the difficulties and the achievements of the integration option, particularly when superimposed upon a society which was increasingly segregated. Some of these difficulties arose from having to cope with the tension and antagonism created by having to deal with the BPC, a church formed from the same root, and growing in the same area as the PCSA; others arose from within the PCSA itself, from whether its gospel was to be offered selectively or to all. For both the PCSA and the BPC the 'whosoever' of the gospel became a stumbling block in practice, since it might lead to intolerable strains within the fellowship. Further difficulties in the way of integration arose from a variety of causes including geographical location, linguistic and cultural differences and racial prejudice, as well as legal restrictions, such as the Group Areas Act or the need to obtain permits to enter black areas. The PCSA's inability to surmount some of these difficulties has led to the criticism that what the New Brighton mission revealed was not genuine integration, but the creation of a black puppet congregation under continued, if covert, white control, in effect little different in practice from the policy of separation it criticised. In some respects these criticisms are valid. Genuine integration, that is, one that made possible for all, regardless of race, full participation in the life of the church, demanded that the PCSA change not only its official mission policy but also the attitudes of its ordinary members. Initially the predominantly white PCSA decided that its

white and its African missions were sufficiently diverse to warrant separate committees, a step which seemed to assume that congregations would grow separately in their own definitive manner. This dual mission policy was further complicated by the fact that though the church had a clear idea about how a white congregation would move towards a fully sanctioned charge, its African Missions Committee gave no final directive until 1951. Meanwhile, in the matter of stipends and in almost every other respect, the black congregations suffered from the disabilities imposed by society as a whole. The Rev W M T Ntintili's attempt to achieve independence for the New Brighton mission congregation highlighted the deleterious effect that the PCSA's reticence to formulate such a policy was having on its African mission work. Nevertheless, the PCSA's commitment to integration rather than to separate development produced by 1962 a single 'Church Extension and Aid Committee'; at Assembly and Presbytery level at least this marked the full acceptance of Africans into the church. Later that year the Assembly raised the New Brighton mission congregation to full status. These constitutional developments did not necessarily guarantee equal acceptance on a human level. In some places, the cooperation envisaged by the constitution had developed; in others, relationships lagged far behind the constitution. Thus in a society first inclined, and then forced towards a 'self determination' founded upon racial segregation, the PCSA remained throughout committed to a mandate which it interpreted as multi-racial however much its practice might deviate from such a profession. In this way the history of the New Brighton mission congregation showed both the possibilities and the limitations of individuals cooperating.

Three features in the development of the New Brighton mission congregation are significant. First, it was the earliest example of blacks appealing for white help in an urban area and of whites responding in a way that established a continuous fellowship. Prior to 1897, African mission work had been mainly rural, with educational institutions attached to the mission stations, or, as in the Presbytery of Adelaide, the white missionary had doubled as a minister to the neighbouring white congregation.¹ With the rapid increase

1. Map of Scottish missions in Eastern Cape and Transkei.

Third, it reveals the development of the mission from a rescue operation to a fully sanctioned charge that continues a mutually profitable connection with its previous white co-workers. Thus, although in the PCSA, in common with every other institution in South Africa, geographical, spatial, linguistic, cultural and familial ties have tended to be decisive, the history of the New Brighton mission congregation and its relationship with the white congregations revealed some attempt, however limited, to transcend these divisions and to bring black and white Presbyterians into fellowship with each other.

The basic problems encountered in this study arise from the range and complexity of the material. It was relatively easy to gain access to materials where Africans and whites were involved together, such as at Assembly or Presbytery levels; but it was much more difficult to establish evidence from the African side where records either were not kept or have been lost or destroyed. But the real difficulty in assessing the effects of the mission's influence stems from the fact that the African migrant workers who eventually settled in Port Elizabeth were only gradually emerging from a non-literate to a literate culture, and in the urban situation, oral memory, the traditional tribal means of preserving history, was severely dislocated and the new mode of written tradition not yet sufficiently established. Thus I have tried to document the written material, such as it is, as fully as possible, but have not been able to explore the oral tradition as fully as it needs to be done.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA - A MISSIONARY CHURCH?

The decision to form the Presbyterian Church of South Africa (PCSA),¹ taken at the sixth and final meeting of the Federal Council held in Durban on 17 September 1897, brought together the scattered Presbyterian elements in South Africa under a single General Assembly. W E Moore had expressed the need for such a union in his resolution carried at a congregational meeting of St Andrew's Church, Cape Town, on 19 April 1892:

That the session be instructed to communicate with the different Presbyteries and isolated Presbyterian congregations in South Africa, with a view to ascertaining whether they would be willing to appoint delegates to attend a conference to meet at an early date in some central place, say at Kimberley in September, to consider in what ways the various congregations might join in a South African Presbyterian Church, or, if that be not practicable at present in some Presbyterian Union or Conference, for the promotion of their common work, until the way is opened for Union in one Presbyterian Church.²

These 'different Presbyteries and isolated Presbyterian congregations' revealed the wide variety of ecclesiastical arrangements that had developed in South Africa. Initially, St Andrew's, Cape Town, founded in 1829, was not attached to any Presbytery, but the rapid extension work undertaken by this congregation enabled a Presbytery to be formed in 1893.³ Similarly, independent congregations had been established in Grahamstown (1828), Port Elizabeth (1861) and Kimberley (1877). Then there were the independent Presbyteries of Natal, founded in 1852 and consisting of eleven white congregations; and the Transvaal, founded in 1890, comprised of seven white congregations and situated in the independent Transvaal Republic. Finally there were the mission congregations in the Eastern Cape and Transkei which were organically linked to the home churches in Scotland. These mission Presbyteries held the key to union: the favourable vote of the United Presbyterian (U P) Presbytery of Transkei fulfilled the Federal Council's stipulation

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1. In 1958 the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth overtured the General Assembly to change the PCSA's title from 'The Presbyterian Church of South Africa' to 'The Presbyterian Church of Central and Southern Africa'. This recommendation was rejected in favour of an amendment, proposed by the Rev J Rodger, that the name be altered to the 'Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa'.
P E Presbytery Minutes, 29 July 1958.
PCSA BB(1958), 42, 217.
 2. J M Russell, Cory MS 7240,24.
 3. J Dalziel, The Origins and Growth of Presbyterian Ordinances of Worship Among English Speaking South Africans Prior to the Foundation of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa in 1897. Ph D Edinburgh, 1956.

at Kingwilliamstown in July 1896, that the consent of 'no fewer than four Presbyteries'⁴ was necessary to constitute the General Assembly. But the refusal by the Free Church Presbyteries of Kafraria and Transkei, and the U.P. Presbytery of Adelaide to enter the PCSA in 1897 scotched the goal of a complete union of Presbyterians in South Africa.

The mission congregations established in the Eastern Cape and Transkei arose out of the surge of missionary activity which had swept through South Africa as a result of the Evangelical Revival. In 1796 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland resolved that 'to spread abroad the knowledge of the Gospel amongst barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous,... while there remains at home a single individual without the means of religious knowledge'.⁵ This attitude persuaded those evangelicals within the Church of Scotland who saw mission as the *raison d'etre* of the Church to form the Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign lands.⁶

The abortive attempt to found a mission in Sierra Leone,⁷ forced the GMS Board to look elsewhere for suitable mission fields. In 1820 Dr George Thom, a minister from Caledon, who had been delegated by the Cape Government to obtain ministers from Scotland to fill the vacancies in the Dutch Reformed Church, informed the GMS of the potential mission fields in the Eastern Cape and Transkei. The GMS subsequently set apart the Rev W R Thomson and J Bennie, a catechist, for mission work in South Africa. They sailed for South Africa in April 1821 and arrived in November 1821 at the Tyumie station, founded the previous year by the Rev John Brownlee. In 1823, when Brownlee joined the London Missionary Society (LMS), he left Tyumie to form a new station on the Buffalo River, around which developed the frontier town of Kingwilliamstown.⁸ Later that year the

4. CE, vol XXVII, Sept 1895, 131.

5. G Warneck, 'Outline of Protestant Missions', Engl. Transl., 37 in J du Plessis, Christian Missions in South Africa, 182.

6. The London Missionary Society (1795) and the Scottish Missionary Society (1796) were founded as a result of a similar impulse.

7. Du Plessis, op.cit., 183.

8. J Lennox, The Story of our Missions: South Africa, 21.

Rev John Ross joined Thomson and Bennie. This provided the quorum of two ministers and an elder which was necessary for the formation of a Presbytery: in January 1824 Thomson, Ross and Bennie organised themselves into a Presbytery with Bennie as the ruling elder.⁹

The formation of a Presbytery encouraged the mission to develop along organised lines. That same year Ross and Bennie founded Lovedale, named after Dr John Love, secretary of the GMS.¹⁰ In 1827 the Presbytery was augmented by the arrival of W Chalmers, who was ordained in 1832, and two evangelist mechanics, James Weir and Alexander McDiarmid. These five were later joined by the Rev James Laing in 1830 and the Rev R Niven in 1836. The additional personnel stimulated the growth of the work: in 1830 Burnshill and Pirie mission stations were founded and, in 1831, Ross moved to Pirie where he laboured until his death in 1878.¹¹

The Voluntary Controversy¹² which bitterly divided the Church of Scotland during the decade 1833 - 1843, led to a division within the GMS. The missionaries in South Africa were free to choose the society in which they wished to remain. Ross, Bennie, Laing, McDiarmid and Weir, with the mission stations of Lovedale, Burnshill and Pirie, chose to remain with the GMS which adhered to the Free Church of Scotland. The other two ministers, Chalmers and Niven, with the stations of Igqibigha and Tyumie, joined the Glasgow African Missionary Society (GAMS) which was associated with the Relief Church.¹³

9. CE, vol XXVI, April 1896, 53.

10. When this station, situated in the Ncera Valley, was destroyed during the War of Hintsu in 1835, it was not rebuilt, but was transferred to the present site near Alice. Lennox, op.cit., 22.

11. idem.

12. Voluntary Controversy: The 'Ten Years Struggle' (1833-1843) in the Church of Scotland which involved the issue of whether the church ought to be established or voluntary, and which arose in part over the question of the spiritual independence of the church. In the Established Church, heritors and others had rights beyond the jurisdiction of the church's courts. Thus the Free Church of Scotland objected not to the principle of establishment as such, but to features of its practice. Later it was to realise that the logic of this led in practice to adopting the voluntarist principle.

13. Lennox, op.cit., 26/27

Initially this division made little difference to the mission work since it was still under the control of the single Presbytery. But in 1842 administrative control was separated entirely, although the missionaries continued to work harmoniously alongside each other. As a result of the Disruption in 1843,¹⁴ the GMS handed over the jurisdiction of its missions and agents in Africa to the Foreign Missions Committee (FMC) of the Free Church of Scotland on 30 September 1844. In 1847 the United Secession Church¹⁵ joined with the Relief Church¹⁶ to form the United Presbyterian (U.P.) Church of Scotland, thereby bringing the Revs Chalmers, Niven and Cumming,¹⁷ who had chosen to work for the GAMS, under the jurisdiction of the U.P. Church of Scotland.

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14. Disruption: The 'Ten Years Struggle' within the Church of Scotland culminated in 1843 when the courts and Parliament upheld the patron's right to appoint ministers, thereby persuading many Evangelicals to leave the church. At the opening session of the General Assembly, on 15 May 1843, the Evangelicals read a statement which declared that it was impossible to hold a free assembly of the church. Approximately 450 ministers then went to another hall and organised themselves into the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.
 15. United Secession Church: formed in 1820, but had developed from the Associate Presbytery, organised by Ebenezer Erskine (1680-1754) after he and three other ministers left the Church of Scotland in 1733 because of disagreements concerning patronage. The Associate Presbytery suffered itself from secessions (Burghers and Antiburghers, Old Lights and New Lights), but segments were drawn together in the United Secession Church in 1820.
 16. Relief Church: developed from the work of Thomas Gillespie (1708-1774) who was deposed from the ministry of the Church of Scotland in 1752 for disagreeing with the Assembly. In 1761 he founded the Presbytery of Relief to provide relief for ministers and congregations that wished to leave the established Church of Scotland. In 1847 the United Secession and the Relief Churches united to form the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland.
 17. The Rev J F Cumming was ordained in November 1839 and arrived at Tyumie station in 1840. Later that year he established the mission station at Glenthorn.

Friendly relations, with occasional joint projects,¹⁸ continued to exist between the agents of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches in the Eastern Cape and Transkei. The mission work carried out by both Churches in these areas expanded rapidly. In 1890, in an attempt to facilitate the organisation of its work, the U.P. missions were divided into the Presbytery of Adelaide, consisting of a white and African congregation at Glenthorn, Adelaide, Somerset East and Tarkastad; and the Presbytery of Kaffraria (U.P.) which had African mission stations at Emgwali, Paterson, Columba, Malan, Tutura, Buchanan, Miller, Gillespie and Mount Frere.¹⁹ Similarly, in 1893 the Free Church Presbytery of Kafraria was divided into the Presbytery of Kafraria, consisting of the congregations at Pirie, Lovedale, Lovedale Institution, Macfarlan, Burnshill, Alice, Fort Beaufort, Kingwilliamstown, East London West and East London East (the last five were European congregations); and the Presbytery of Transkei, which consisted solely of the mission stations: Cunningham, Duff, Main, Somerville, Ross and Blythswood Institution.²⁰ That same year the General Assembly combined these two Presbyteries to form the Synod of Kafraria.²¹

The link with the two Home Churches dictated the mission policy pursued by the various missionaries in South Africa. In the case of the Free Church missions this link was strong. Although this provided these missions with the substantial financial backing necessary to maintain the educational institutions at Lovedale and Blythswood, it also had disadvantages. Supreme authority lay with the Free Church's General Assembly in Scotland, despite the fact that local Presbyterian courts existed in South Africa. Moreover, policy directives for these missions, even if informed by men on the spot, were issued by the FMC in Scotland and frequently failed to fit the particular situation which confronted the missionaries in South Africa. Finally, the Free Church's interest in its foreign missions fluctuated and was frequently directed by policies of

18. For instance, a Kaffir Hymn Book, compiled mainly by Tiyo Soga and Bryce Ross, was published for their common use in 1861. Lennox, op.cit., 39

19. CE, vol XXVI, April 1896, 54.

20. idem.

21. While the spelling of the Synod of Kafraria varies in official minutes and personal correspondence, R H W Shepherd in 'A Difference in Methods', SAO, Feb 1958 maintains that 'Kafraria' should refer to the Free Church's Synod and Presbytery, while 'Kaffraria' to the United Presbyterian Church's Presbytery. I have tried to keep this distinction throughout the text.

financial stringency and stinted liberality.²² Thus the relationship was enigmatic: the Free Church in Scotland, anxious to rid itself of the financial burden incurred by its South African missions, encouraged union with the PCSA in 1897; but the missionaries, although at times strongly critical of the Home Church, opposed any attempt to diminish the link.²³ In comparison, there was a tenuous link between the United Presbyterian Church - a much smaller church than the Free Church - and its South African missions. Because the missionary personnel and financial aid given by the United Presbyterian Church to its South African missions was on a much smaller scale than that given by the Free Church, the white missionary tended to double as the minister of the local white church as well as the supervisor of the African mission work. This was particularly evident in the Presbytery of Adelaide where African mission work went hand in hand with the formation of white congregations.²⁴

In 1830 John Pringle built a church for European use at Glenthorn in the Mankazana Valley. Initially there was no settled minister, but Hepburn, Chalmers, Niven and Wither all ministered to this congregation. In 1840 the Rev J F Cumming moved to Glenthorn to establish an African mission congregation. He also became the

22. For instance, in 1848, only four years after it had taken over mission work from the GMS, the FMC recommended the abandonment of the African mission because of a debt of £2,400. The Rev Dr MacFarlan of Renfrew managed to save the mission by intimating to the FMC in July 1849 that friends of the mission would undertake the whole expense of Lovedale Seminary provided the FMC would agree that the Seminary should remain a constituent part of the Free Church mission in Kaffraria, and that the other mission stations forming part of the Lovedale mission would be supported by the Free Church.

Lennox, op.cit., 32.

23. S M Brock, James Stewart and Lovedale: A reappraisal of missionary attitudes and African response in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. 1870-1905.

Ph D Edinburgh University, 1974, 27/28.

24. The Presbytery of Adelaide:

In 1924 the Presbytery of Adelaide requested permission to change its name to the Presbytery of the Midlands because it felt that the former title was no longer appropriate. Originally the Presbytery had consisted of the mission charges at Adelaide, Glenthorn, Tarkastad and Somerset East. In 1898 the Hill Church in Port Elizabeth associated itself with the Presbytery, followed by Grahamstown (1918) and Oudtshoorn (1921). Tarkastad joined the Presbytery of Kingwilliamstown in 1906. The Assembly agreed that the former title was unsuitable, and renamed it the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth. PCSA BB (1924), 43, 162.

first settled minister of the Glenthorn white congregation.²⁵ In 1862 Adelaide Union Church called the Rev Peter Davidson as its first minister. The congregation also decided 'that this church, sensible of its duty with respect to the natives, resolves to promote mission work amongst them'.²⁶ Davidson cared for this African mission congregation which grew up alongside his own. The European congregation at Somerset East originally met fortnightly in the church built in 1869 on Robert Hart's estate at Glenavon. The Rev William Leith, formerly minister of the United Presbyterian congregation at Airth, Scotland, was its first minister. The inconvenience caused by the distance which the inhabitants of Somerset East had to travel to Glenavon persuaded the Session to build a church in Somerset East for white use. It also agreed that the church at Glenavon should be used as an African church. In 1878 another outstation for mission work was established at Cookhouse (this was later moved to Rooival), and shortly afterwards a small African congregation was formed in Somerset East itself. Leith exercised supervision over all these churches.²⁷ Finally, in 1877 a white congregation was formed at Tarkastad. The Rev John Dewar was sent to Tarkastad the following year, and he ministered to the white congregation as well as supervising the African church at Tarka, midway between Tarkastad and Glenthorn.²⁸

Home support, albeit limited, guaranteed the United Presbyterian missionaries a subsistence wage in a country where stipends were known to dry up during droughts and agrarian disasters. Thus when the Presbytery of Adelaide discussed the Draft Basis of Union in August 1897, the representatives from the congregations at Adelaide and Glenthorn, which were 'not self-supporting and see no prospect of supporting a minister without the present grant in aid being continued',²⁹ were reluctant to commit themselves to union

25. CE, vol XXVI, April 1896, 54.

26. PC, vol XII, March 1914, 37.

27. The Blythswood Review, vol XI, Nov 1934, 125.

28. CE, vol XXVI, April 1896, 54.

29. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 11 August 1897.

until the U.P. Mission Board had given assurance that the grant would be continued as long as required. Presbytery resolved that 'while approving of the union of the Presbyterian Churches in South Africa, yet in view of the returns from two of its congregations, it cannot enter the Union in the meantime'.³⁰ This assurance was given in a letter from the Rev James Buchanan, Secretary of the U.P. Mission Board, 'stating on behalf of the Board that our entering the South African Union would not in any way affect our relation with the Home Church'.³¹ With the removal of this final obstacle to union, the Presbytery unanimously resolved to seek admission to the PCSA. The Presbytery of Adelaide, together with the independent Presbyterian congregation in Port Elizabeth,³² were received into the PCSA at the second General Assembly in September 1898,³³ thus leaving the Free Church Synod of Kafraria as the only remaining Presbyterian body in South Africa outside the PCSA.

The Synod of Kafraria's refusal to enter union was motivated as much by white missionaries' fears that the newly-formed PCSA would not be able to support the educational institutions on the same scale as the Home Church had done, as by African fears that the predominantly white PCSA would not share the Synod's interest in African mission work and in encouraging the development of an African ministry. In July 1896 the Synod had decided to put the whole question of union before its congregations, 'especially the native ones', in the form of a resolution demanding the complete Presbyterian equality of representation the Free Church missions already enjoyed:

This Synod declares itself in favour of such a Union as shall include both the European and the Mission Churches in one Church, as they are now included in the Presbyteries of this Synod.³⁴

30. idem.

31. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 13 April 1898. These fears were not groundless. Ultimately union did affect the relations between these congregations and the Home Churches. For diminution of the Home Church grants see Appendix A.

32. PCSA BB (1898), 34.

33. ibid., 35.

34. Minutes of Synod of Kafraria, 17 July 1896, National Library of Scotland MS 7798, in S M Brock, op.cit., 52

The returns from the Free Church mission congregations reveal African attitudes towards union. At Macfarlan the general opinion was that union was undesirable if it meant separation from the church in Scotland for two reasons. First, it meant that the African congregations would be thrown back on their own resources and 'we are still weak'. Second, the Africans feared that the interest of the white colonial churches in African mission work was not as strong as that of the Free Church: 'They have done nothing to support and spread the gospel among the natives'.³⁵ Finally, the Burnshill congregation expressed the fear that the PCSA would block the promotion of an African ministry whereas this had been encouraged by the Free Church. Thus, 'if the Church is not tired of us we, the natives, still wish to be governed by them'.³⁶

Such was the attitude of the Africans themselves, 'uninfluenced by the missionaries'.³⁷ Their reticence to enter union was understandable, since 'in the past they have experienced such results from changes in the political sphere as have made them very chary of innovations in the ecclesiastical':³⁸

It is not difficult to understand why the natives should take up this attitude when left to themselves. They argue from political analogy. They have not benefitted by the transfer from the Queen to the Colony and would gladly return to live at peace under the aegis of the Crown. They fear a similar sequel and though they will accept their fate they are not going to be precipitated by their own vote.³⁹

Nor were the Africans alone in their reluctance to enter union. Andrew Smith published a pamphlet with a preface written by two influential laymen, Weir and Hockley, in which he stated three reasons militating against union. First, the General Assembly would not have supreme authority over the colonial congregations, since under the present basis the congregations could vest their property with their own trustees and would thus be able to defy the Assembly.

35. Macfarlan Returns, 8 Jan 1897, National Library of Scotland MS 7798 in S M Brock, op.cit., 52/3

36. Burnshill Returns, 15 Jan 1897, National Library of Scotland MS 7798 in Brock, ibid., 53

37. Letter: J D Don to Young, 15 Feb 1897, National Library of Scotland MS 7798 in Brock, idem.

38. CE, vol XXVII, July 1897, 99.

39. Letter: J D Don to Young, 15 Feb 1897, National Library of Scotland MS 7798 in Brock, op.cit., 53

Second, he feared that there was no security that the Home Churches would continue to support mission work after union. Third, that colonial ministers were not likely to submit to the decisions on doctrine and organisation of a General Assembly in which African ministers and elders might have the majority vote.⁴⁰ In July 1896 the Rev J M Russell, minister of St Andrew's, Cape Town, replied to these objections in his congregational magazine. He acknowledged that the proposals for union were defective, but added that these would only worsen with delay: a defective union was better than none at all. The only answer to the second objection was to reiterate that the Home Churches had assured that they would continue their support of mission work in South Africa. The third objection was clearly the most difficult, but it was also the key to the Free Church missions' reluctance to enter union. Russell argued that it was unlikely that a situation would arise in which an African majority would control the Assembly. In fact, the present proportions of representation in favour of whites was 'more likely to be increased than diminished in the future'.⁴¹

Such arguments from prominent negotiators in the union proposals did little to persuade the Synod of Kafraria that the new church would afford its African members equal opportunity and status. When the Synod met in July 1897 to discuss the proposals for union it was quite clear that the majority distrusted the union. Four members (the Revs Ferguson, Ross, Matheson and Mr Menzies) voted in favour of union; while ten (the Revs Dr Ross, Don, Stuart, Mzimba, Stormont and Lennox, Messrs Kakaza, Hermans, Tsewu and Njikelana) voted against. Dr Stewart of Lovedale abstained from voting.⁴² The Synod declared that while it recognised the desirability of union, it was unable to enter into the proposed union at the present time, 'in consequence of the want of acquiescence on the part of several of the native congregations in the two Presbyteries, and in view of the discussions which have arisen among Europeans on the subject of the native vote in Church Courts'.⁴³

40. CE, vol XXV11, July 1897, 99.

41. idem.

42. CE, vol XXV11, Aug 1897, 115.

43. ibid., 115/116.

The Synod suggested two modifications which might have helped to remove the obstructions to union. The first, designed to safeguard African interests, recommended 'that some method be devised of adjusting the balance between Colonial and Mission Churches, which shall be satisfactory to both races';⁴⁴ the second was to preserve the right to appeal to the Home Church.⁴⁵ The PCSA Assembly discussed the Synod's objections to union, but these were 'not...deemed sufficient to prevent the consummation of the union of such of the negotiating Churches as accepted the Basis arranged at the meeting of the Federal Council held in King William's Town in July, 1896'.⁴⁶ Moreover, the Assembly did not discuss the two suggested modifications, since it believed that these had been adequately discussed in the draft Constitution which had been adopted by the General Assembly as part of the constitution of the PCSA.⁴⁷ The PCSA nevertheless still hoped that the Synod would enter union, and expressed 'its sincere and earnest hope that the brethren of the Free Church Synod of Kafraria will reconsider this matter, and find themselves at no distant date in a position to join the PCSA now formed, assuring them of a very cordial welcome when they do so'.⁴⁸

Ironically, at the same meeting at which it decided not to enter

44. ibid., 116

The Synod also suggested two such means of 'adjusting the balance between...Churches'. Either a system of voting could be designed which required a majority of Europeans and a majority of Africans, separately and conjointly, to pass a proposed measure into law; or that the proportion of votes for both races should be strictly defined and preserved.

45. idem.

'That there be a final court of appeal in certain questions to be carefully defined say, to a Board at home representative of the Presbyterianism of the British Isles, or even of wider range such as the Pan-Presbyterian Council could easily furnish'.

46. PCSA BB (1897), 10.

47. idem., 11.

48. idem., 10.

union, the Synod of Kafraria deposed the Rev E Tsewu of Johannesburg⁴⁹ on a variety of charges, including 'acts of dubious conduct, of uttering false and making untrue statements, and of abusing his position in the ministry with a view to worldly gain'.⁵⁰ The Rev P J Mzimba,⁵¹ who had been a member of the commission established to examine Tsewu's congregation and who had ministered to them during the vacancy following his dismissal, was present at the Synod. What subsequently transformed Mzimba's attitude and convinced him that not even within the Synod of Kafraria would Africans receive

49. The Rev E Tsewu: This incident is not well documented, but it appears that there was considerable tribal and personal conflict within Tsewu's church in Johannesburg. In November 1895 the Presbytery of Kafraria initiated investigations into Tsewu's church and the Rev P J Mzimba was sent to Johannesburg to supervise the church in the interim. In September 1896 a commission, headed by Dr J Stewart of Lovedale, was established and met for three weeks in Johannesburg. This commission reported to the Presbytery of Kafraria in December 1896 and Tsewu was cited to appear before the Presbytery in Kingwilliamstown on 22 February 1897. When he failed to appear Presbytery charged him formally for 'deceitfulness and actual lying, cooking of reports, doubtful action in pecuniary matters, unconstitutional and tyrannical action towards office-bearers and people and insistent defiance of the Presbytery'. (Letter: J D Don to Smith, 12 April 1897, National Library of Scotland MS 7798 in Brock, op.cit., 361).

Tsewu appealed in vain to the Synod of Kafraria against this decision, but the Synod confirmed the findings of the Presbytery of Kafraria and deposed him in July 1897. Thereafter Tsewu, who claimed that he had resigned before the deposition order, established the Independent Native Presbyterian Church Open for Reunion.

CE, vol XXVII, Aug 1897, 116.
Brock, op.cit., 361ff.

50. CE, vol XXVII, Aug 1897, 116.

51. The Rev P J Mzimba was appointed by the Presbytery of Kafraria as its representative at the Free Church Jubilee Assembly in Scotland in May 1893. During his time in Scotland Mzimba raised funds for a new church for the Lovedale African congregation. In May 1895 a total of £1,277.16.0. was remitted to James Weir, Treasurer of the Synod of Kafraria, of which Mzimba was to receive £1,186.18.10. Delays in the building, criticism of architectural plans and objections by other missionaries to the site chosen became grievances. Eventually, in 1898 Mzimba seceded from the Free Church mission and formed the Presbyterian Church of Africa.

Brock, op.cit., 344 ff.

B G M Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa, 42.

equal status, was the Synod's decision after Tsewu's deposition. Would the Synod simply dismiss the Tsewu incident as an unfortunate interlude, and appoint a new African minister in his place? Or would it conclude that it could not trust such a responsible charge to an African and replace Tsewu by a white man? This formed the acid test of the Synod's determination to uphold the doctrine of equality between Europeans and Africans in its own courts and which it sought to impose upon the Basis of Union. The resolution passed by the Synod on 19 July 1897 shattered Mzimba's confidence in the Synod's commitment to champion African rights:

Owing to the variety of races and tribal jealousies and especially owing to the harsh treatment of the natives at Johannesburg, the disabilities under which a native minister labours because of that treatment, the work there will be carried on most efficiently and satisfactorily by a European missionary... 52

Mzimba alone dissented from the Synod's resolution. The following year he seceded from the Free Church to form the Presbyterian Church of Africa. After listing as his reasons for secession all the complications associated with the building of the new African church in Lovedale, Mzimba added:

All this adds to the hurt I received at the East London Synod where it was decided that the Free Church Congregation of Johannesburg was not fit to be served by an African minister and that only Whites could do so. 53

Although the Rev J D Don, Clerk of the Synod of Kafraria, stated that the Synod had not allowed 'Tsewu's failure to prejudice us unduly against the native agency', he admitted to Lindsay:

...we cannot afford to act upon the assumption that the native is really equal to the European....I have been notoriously a friend, if you will, a partizan of the native ministry, but have sorrowfully modified some of my earlier ideas owing to larger experience and more intimate knowledge. They are at their best as assistants or as ministers working under the surveillance of Europeans. 54

52. Synod of Kafraria Minutes, 19 July, National Library of Scotland MS 7798 in Brock, op.cit., 353

53. L Mzimba, *Ubom Bomfi*, Lovedale Press, 1923, in Brock, ibid., 364

54. Letter: J D Don to Lindsay, 24 Jan 1898, National Library of Scotland MS 7798 in Brock, idem.

The Synod of Kafraria had rejected the Draft Basis of Union out of concern for the protection of African rights in the new church. Not only had this rejection thwarted the PCSA's attempts to form a single Presbyterian church in South Africa, but it had also issued a direct challenge to the PCSA to prove its commitment to African mission work. The Synod's championing of African interests nevertheless did little to protect it from the Africans' own desire for independence: Mzimba's new Presbyterian Church of Africa, established within sight of Lovedale, became a constant reminder to the Synod of the difficulties and disappointments involved in following a policy of assimilation between suspicious and fearful groups.

How justified were the Synod's fears that the PCSA would fail to live up to its claim to be a missionary church? In the first report of the Assembly's Native Missions Committee⁵⁵ the convener, the Rev John Smith, outlined the six main areas in which the PCSA was already engaged in mission work. There were three areas of mission in the Cape Colony. The most extensive of these was the Presbytery of Kaffraria, which was entirely devoted to mission work amongst Africans. Closely linked to this Presbytery was the mission work supervised by the white ministers in the Presbytery of Adelaide. The third area was the mission carried on by the Hill Church in Port Elizabeth, 'under conditions very similar to those obtaining at Pretoria, giving evidence also of life and promise of development'. Outside the Cape Colony was the Natal Presbytery's mission at Mehlomnyama, 'located in the midst of a dense mass of heathenism, and far away from any European town or village'. Finally, there were the two missions at Pretoria under the Rev Robert Shemeld, the latter a congregation "'almost wholly composed of store boys and

55. Assembly's Native Missions Committee (hereafter Assembly's AMC): In 1936 Assembly recommended that in future Church documents and utterances the name 'African' be used instead of 'Native', after the Orange River African Presbytery overtured that '...."Native" as applied exclusively to the African people to distinguish them from Europeans has no etymological significance and has even come to suggest inferiority and reproach and to be in consequence a cause of annoyance and irritation to many of them, especially to their self-respecting leaders... ' PCSA BB (1936) 47, 172.

The Assembly's Native Missions Committee immediately changed its title to African Missions Committee. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 20 Oct 1936.

I have chosen to use the title 'Assembly's AMC' throughout the text.

kitchen Zulus", whose wonderful liberality is a sure index of their appreciation of the benefits conferred on them by the Mission'.⁵⁶

The existence of these scattered missions in 1897 could hardly justify the PCSA's claim to be a missionary church, but subsequent political and economic factors increasingly forced the PCSA to assume this role. The insatiable demand for cheap industrial labour triggered largely by the discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1886), coupled with agrarian poverty and crop failure, combined to force increasing numbers of rural dwellers into the towns. The two groups most affected by urbanization were the Afrikaners and the Africans. Although the townward drift of both groups was caused by rural poverty and formed part of the same process, no South African Government ever recognised the parallel. Instead, official policies pursued in relation to Afrikaner and African urbanization reflected the different position each group held in South African society:

The poor whites were members of the dominant group: their poverty had to be noticed, not only because they possessed the parliamentary vote, but also because their poverty was felt to be degrading to the White man...; but the urbanization of Africans occurred despite official policy. The racial divisions of the society prevented policy makers from seeing the parallels between the forces that drove country people of different races to the towns. The very term 'poor white' showed that poverty was not considered as a general phenomenon but had to be seen in a racial perspective.⁵⁷

When it became obvious that Afrikaners were becoming permanently urbanized, the Government reversed its initial policy of encouraging rural development, and provided facilities that would minimise social dislocation, protect poor whites from African competition in the labour market and ensure speedy assimilation into town life. In contrast, resistance to African urbanization at both state and municipal levels gradually hardened. Attempts to accommodate African urbanization were dealt a permanent blow in 1921 when the Native Affairs Commission reported that '....it should be understood that the town is a European area in which there is no place for the redundant Native, who neither works nor serves his or her people but forms the class from which the professional agitators, the slum

56. PCSA BB (1898), 106/107.

57. D Welsh, 'The Growth of Towns', in M Wilson and L Thomson (eds.), The Oxford History of South Africa, vol 11, 1870-1966, 196.

landlords, the liquor sellers, the prostitutes and other undesirable classes spring. The exclusion of these redundant Natives is in the interests of Europeans and Africans alike'.⁵⁸ This attitude was reflected in the Natives (Urban Areas) Act No 21 of 1923 which was designed to facilitate the administration, financing and policing of African locations as segregated residential areas. But neither this Act, nor its subsequent amendments in 1930, 1937 and 1952 could stem the influx of Africans to the urban areas.

The consistent refusal on the part of the state and municipalities to recognise African urbanization as a permanent phenomenon which needed to be accommodated rather than reversed, led to appalling living conditions in the locations and shantytowns which sprang up on the outskirts of every major town in South Africa. These locations became the new mission fields for the churches in South Africa. In 1898 the Rev John Smith recommended that the Assembly's AMC ought to give special attention to 'the urgent need that exists for providing for the wants of the Natives in the large towns, and specially the Native Christians coming from the Stations to the towns', and that the Committee should enlist 'the sympathy and co-operation of members of the Colonial Churches in this work'.⁵⁹ Even at this early stage Smith perceived that a change in attitude towards African mission work on the part of the white colonial congregations was necessary if the PCSA was to be successful in its urban missions. In the past, the colonial congregations had been content to import the Scottish model of mission and impose this upon its African mission work. Smith warned against this tendency:

It is not with us a Foreign Mission: it is in reality a Home Mission, and as such is not to be relegated to a secondary place in our sympathy or our counsels, our gifts or our prayers.⁶⁰

Smith's image was quite clear. African urbanization brought the PCSA's African mission work physically closer to the white colonial churches than ever before. Proximity therefore demanded a new relationship

58. Report of the Native Affairs Commission for 1921, U.G. 15-1922, p 28 in T R H Davenport, The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa: The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 and its Background, Occasional paper No 15, Grahamstown, 1971, p 14.

59. PCSA BB (1898), 55.

60. PCSA BB (1898), 106.

between the two in which the African mission churches would no longer be seen as 'foreign' mission work amongst heathen people, but as extension work, akin to the 'home' missions which the Home Churches conducted in the city slums. But the subsequent history of the PCSA's African mission work reveals that the church as a whole failed to forge this new relationship. This failure is clearly evident in the Eastern Cape. The Presbytery of Adelaide had imported the Scottish model of the 'foreign' mission and imposed it upon its African mission work in the rural areas of Adelaide, Glenthorn and Somerset East. This model described the rural mission work fairly well, since the white missionary still lived and laboured among the heathen, albeit in the same country as the 'sending' white colonial church. But the process of African urbanization demanded a new model for African mission work in the towns: the 'foreign' mission model could not be stretched to accommodate the urban mission in New Brighton. Although the differences in language, culture and tradition seemed to suggest that this African congregation was a 'foreign' mission, the close interaction between Africans and Europeans in the city meant that in reality it was a 'home' mission. As such, the New Brighton mission ought to have experienced the continual interaction, close interest and encouragement of the three white churches in Port Elizabeth: the Hill, St Andrew's and St Columba's. But, with the exception of a small group of whites in each generation who dedicated their time and energy towards caring for the mission, the link between the white churches and the mission congregation tended to be tenuous and limited to financial aid rather than personal contact. Thus, although the New Brighton mission was physically close enough to the white churches to be regarded as a 'home' mission, in experience and in opportunity it was a continent apart.

The PCSA's failure to make the transition from 'foreign' to 'home', and to design a new policy for its mission work in South Africa had three immediate disadvantages for its African mission work. First, the Assembly's decision to divide responsibility for its mission work between the Church Extension and Aid Committee, which dealt with mission work amongst whites; and the Native Mission Committee, effectively postponed the forging of this new relationship for more than sixty years.⁶¹ The existence of these two committees

61. PCSA BB (1897), 16/17.

led to competition for the meagre resources set aside by Assembly for mission work, to rivalry in attracting manpower and created the mistaken notion amongst white congregations that mission was carried out exclusively amongst African 'heathen' and not part of the same process as white extension work. In 1960 the Assembly made the crucial decision to include the Assembly's AMC in the Church Extension and Aid Committee as the sub-committee, Church Extension and Aid (African). This change was more than a mere change of name, but was 'public recognition that over the years the Church has grown in strength and stability by the addition of many African members, and that our relationships within the Church are no longer that of Missionary to convert but that of fellow members in equal standing'.⁶² Two years later these two committees, together with the Coloured and Indian Mission Committees,⁶³ were amalgamated into a single Church Extension and Aid Committee under the convenership of the Rev Harold H Munro as its first full-time Secretary.⁶⁴ This amalgamation set aside the contention that mission work amongst whites and blacks were different processes that ought to be separated: all needed to hear the gospel of Jesus Christ. The PCSA would only be able to meet this challenge if it rationalised the existing machinery for mission, eliminated the rivalry between the former committees and pooled their resources and manpower. Although the issues facing the various racial groups might be different, the fundamental question facing the new committee remained the same: 'How can the Gospel be preached so that it is intelligible and pertinent to every soul?'⁶⁵

62. PCSA BB (1960), 59.

63. In 1958 the Assembly created a Coloured Mission Committee and an Indian Mission Committee to deal with extension work amongst these groups.

PCSA BB (1958), 48.

64. PCSA BB (1962), 43/44 for the regulations governing the appointment of a full-time Secretary for the Church Extension and Aid Committee.

PCSA BB (1963), 60. The Rev H H Munro appointed Secretary of the Church Extension and Aid Committee. In addition to his duties as Secretary, he was appointed to assist the General Secretary of the PCSA when required and to act as Junior Clerk of Assembly.

65. PCSA BB (1963), 61.

See Appendix B for table showing amounts given to the Church Extension & Aid Committee and Assembly's AMC.

Second, the Assembly's AMC was never given sufficient authority to impose a consistent mission policy on all its African missions. After union the various Presbyteries resisted the Assembly's attempts to consolidate its African mission work under the Assembly's AMC largely because they feared that centralization would discourage local initiative.⁶⁶ The Assembly therefore agreed to delay centralization in favour of local control, and passed resolutions to ensure stricter Presbyterian control of missions and to introduce some uniformity of method and organization. Each Presbytery was instructed to appoint a mission committee which would be responsible for the general oversight, financing and control of the mission work within its bounds. The Assembly's AMC had to co-ordinate the mission policies carried out by the various Presbyteries and to administer the Central Mission Fund.⁶⁷ The need for centralization was brought before the Assembly again in 1906, after the Assembly's AMC had received appeals for aid for African mission work from Kimberley and Rhodesia.⁶⁸ Both these mission fields needed the services of a full-time white superintendent: the financial backing required could only be raised by appealing to the whole church. Presbyteries resisted centralization once again,⁶⁹ but the warning given by the Rev J J McClure, Convener of the Assembly's AMC, swayed the Assembly:

Unless the Assembly is prepared to face further chaos, and condone direct disregard of Assembly's resolutions as well as to save the future of the Church's mission work, it will be necessary for the Assembly to direct the attention of the members and office-bearers of the Church to our mission work as a whole. The allocation of the Church's giving for mission purposes must be in the hands of the Mission Executive to be disbursed by that authority, after consultation with the local Presbyteries. Any other course will involve dissipation of energy, and such diversion of interest as will be fatal to the growth of the Church's efficiency in the prosecution of its Mission work.⁷⁰

66. PCSA BB (1903), 33; (1904), 47; (1905) xvii-xviii.

67. PCSA BB (1905), 34/35.

68. PCSA BB (1906), 139/140.

69. The Rev J Black, Mission Convener of the Presbytery of Adelaide wrote: 'The general feeling of the congregations in the Adelaide Presbytery is that the local missions have a first claim on our support'; and the Rev C B Hamilton, Superintendent of the Transvaal mission '... we have been pressing our people for contributions to such an extent that when, in addition, they are asked to give for the Rhodesian work, they feel it pretty much like the last straw on the camel's back'.
PCSA BB (1908), 144.

70. PCSA BB (1908), 145/6.

The Assembly subsequently vested control over all the African mission work carried out by the PCSA, as well as the administration of mission finances, in the Assembly's AMC.⁷¹ All contributions to African mission work were to be transmitted to the General Treasurer of the PCSA for allocation by the Assembly's AMC, except those funds raised by African congregations for the support of their own local mission churches. Centralization worked well at first, but gradually Presbyteries requested devolution of administrative responsibility. In 1922 the Presbytery of Natal reversed its decision taken in 1915 to conduct its mission in Durban in consultation with the Assembly's AMC. Similarly, the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, which had its own Mission Fund administered by the Presbytery's African Missions Committee, also preferred independent action. Local interest in mission in the Orange River Presbytery had also increased: between 1921 and 1922 the white congregations in this Presbytery contributed over £500 to its local missions.⁷² The Assembly's AMC welcomed this degree of local initiative, and thus designed a policy which retained some advantages of centralization, while interfering as little as possible with the local interest in mission. The Assembly's AMC required each Presbytery and congregation to send it full reports and statements of receipts and expenditure of all African mission work; but the administration of these missions was left to the Presbyteries, in consultation with the Assembly's AMC.⁷³ This meant that after 1922 Presbyteries, rather than the Assembly's AMC, guided and controlled the development of African mission work, while the Assembly's AMC became increasingly a fund-dispensing body, lacking the authority to design and implement a cohesive mission policy for all PCSA African mission congregations.⁷⁴

71. PCSA BB (1908), 52, 61.

72. PCSA BB (1922), 115.

73. PCSA BB (1922), 27.

74. Supervision of African Mission work in the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth:

The various mission committees appointed by Presbytery, rather than the Assembly's AMC, effectively controlled the African mission work in this Presbytery. In obedience to the Assembly's directive in 1905, the Presbytery of Adelaide appointed a committee responsible for general oversight of the Presbytery's African mission work. (Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 25 April 1906). When the Presbytery took over the New Brighton mission from the Synod of Kafraria in 1915, it formed the New Brighton mission Committee (NBMC) to assume full responsibility for the mission in New Brighton. (NBMC Minutes, 8 Dec 1914). From 1915 the Presbytery's African mission work tended to divide according

Finally, while full status was seen as the natural goal for white extension charges, the PCSA failed to formulate clear guidelines whereby an African mission congregation could reach full status. This omission heightened the Synod of Kafraria's fears that the PCSA's attitude towards its African mission congregations would be guided by the principle of white trusteeship expressed in the political sphere. Both churchmen and politicians had to face the crucial question: What happens when the ward grows up? What determines his majority? In the political sphere the unspoken answer was gradually taking form in a variety of legislative measures designed to ensure that he would never be allowed to grow up. In contrast, the Synod of Kafraria

74. (continued)

to the jurisdiction of the two committees. The NBMC dealt mainly with that mission and its outstations, while the Presbytery's African Missions Committee (Presbytery's AMC) dealt with the rural missions at Adelaide, Somerset East, Glenthorn and Stanley. This arrangement was unsatisfactory because there was a considerable overlap of representatives on each committee. At its meeting in November 1937 the Presbytery amalgamated the two mission committees by co-opting into the Presbytery's AMC those members of the NBMC who were not already members of that committee. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 22 Nov 1937; NBMC Minutes, 15 Nov 1937. After the dismissal of the Rev W M T Ntintili in November 1948, the General Assembly re-appointed the NBMC. (Minutes of Proceedings of In Hunc Effectum meeting of General Assembly, 16 Nov 1948, 21/22). In 1958 the Rev W M J Lund, Convener of Presbytery's AMC, warned Presbytery that its African mission work would suffer unless the Presbytery consolidated it under a single mission committee. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 Oct 1958). A new Presbytery's AMC was constituted on 10 Feb 1959, consisting of a convener and eight members appointed by Presbytery, all of whom were to be members of Presbytery, together with a representative appointed by each local sub-committee. The Committee was granted oversight over all African mission work within the Presbytery. Responsibility for the detailed supervision of the individual missions rested with the local white congregations which formed sub-committees to work in conjunction with the African mission congregation. The work at Kwazakele was placed under the Hill Church; New Brighton was placed under a sub-committee appointed by the Sessions of St Columba's and St Andrew's, together with representatives appointed by the Mission Session; the work at Adelaide, Mankazana and Baviaan's Valley was placed under Adelaide Session; the white congregations at Glenthorn, Stanley and Bedford formed a sub-committee; the missions in the Somerset East area came under the Somerset East Session; and Theopolis was under Trinity Church Session, Grahamstown. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 10 Feb 1959). Amendments to the Book of Order altered the constitution of the Presbytery's AMC by providing for its replacement by the Presbytery's Church Extension Committee (African). (PCSA BB (1960), 110/112). Membership of this committee was limited to a convener, all African and Coloured members of Presbytery, four white members of Presbytery, a nominated member from each sub-committee and the Presbyterial representative from the Women's Association. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 October 1960). The Assembly's decision to amalgamate all

sought to ensure his majority by creating the Bantu Presbyterian Church in 1923 - an independent African Presbyterian Church in federal relation to the predominantly white PCSA.⁷⁵ The PCSA, in an attempt to resolve this issue, adopted a dual policy towards its African missions. It handed over all its African missions in

74. (continued)

all extension work under a single Church Extension and Aid Committee PCSA BB (1962), 138/139) was only implemented at Presbytery level three years later when the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth amalgamated all its extension work under a single committee. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 Oct 1965).

75. The Bantu Presbyterian Church:

Negotiations for union, which had been allowed to lapse after the Synod of Kafraria's decision in July 1907 to 'proceed with the formation of a self-supporting and self-governing Church', PCSA BB (1907), 134; see below, 39) took on a new perspective after delegates representing the PCSA and the Synod of Kafraria met in Kingwilliamstown on 14 May 1914 and resolved that the only feasible basis of union would be the creation of an African Presbytery and Synod that would be autonomous in its own sphere. (PCSA BB (1915), 128/129). This measure of agreement greatly encouraged the PCSA Assembly which instructed its AMC to appoint a sub-committee to continue negotiations with the Synod. (PCSA BB(1915), 32). The following year the Rev R B Douglas, Convener of this sub-committee, presented a draft basis of union to the Assembly, in which the Synod of Kafraria and the PCSA's Presbytery of Kafraria would be organically united in an autonomous synod. (PCSA BB(1916), 134). The Assembly 'approved generally' of the basis of union, and agreed to send it to the Presbytery of Kafraria for consideration (PCSA BB(1916), 36). This decision was crucial for, although the negotiations dragged on for a further eight years, once the PCSA had conceded the important principle of an independent African synod, the path was cleared for the creation of an independent African church. In 1920, the Rev Frank Ashcroft, Secretary of the United Free Church of Scotland's Foreign Missions Committee, and Andrew Houston, a prominent member of the FMC, attended the PCSA's General Assembly. In their opinion the Assembly was not a suitable supreme court for African affairs and therefore they advised the formation of an independent African Presbyterian church: 'The difference of language and social condition are too considerable, and they sympathised with the irritation of the native ministers in being there at the consideration of business wholly connected with the colonial church. An authoritative supreme court of their own is needed, aware of the real needs of the Native Church, and in which the Native ministers and elders would have a real voice'. (Deputies' Report, 135/6, in D van der Spuy, The Origins, Growth and Development of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa, BD thesis Rhodes University, 1971, 39/40.) The BPC was constituted at Lovedale on 4 July 1923. It consisted of 48 ordained missionaries and evangelists (the majority were Africans) and 3 ordained African assistants. It had a membership of approximately 22 000, with 1 284 elders and deacons; while 7 000 candidates were being prepared for admission to church membership. There were 385 day schools, with an enrolment of 24 000 pupils. SAO vol L111, June 1923, 127/8. SAO vol L111, August 1923, 169, 174.

the rural Presbyteries of Mankazana⁷⁶ and Kaffraria to the BPC,⁷⁷ but it refused to part with its African missions in the main urban centres on the Rand, the Orange Free State, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. These congregations formed crucial communities into which Africans undergoing the painful process of urbanization and industrialization could be absorbed. Their existence also kept the plight of the urban African before the white Presbyterian congregations, whose members frequently displayed a degree of apathy and ignorance that was becoming endemic in 'white' South Africa as a whole. But these missions also challenged the PCSA to redefine its mission policy to accommodate the demand voiced by increasing numbers of educated African members for more leadership opportunities.

A close examination of the history of the New Brighton mission reveals some of the difficulties involved in adapting the PCSA's mission policy to meet the challenge posed by the urban missions. The process of adaptation was slow: it took fifty four years for this congregation to reach full status. It was also painful. But when full status was eventually achieved in 1962, the congregation became a symbol of the PCSA's commitment to remain true to its mandate to be a missionary church which it had voiced so confidently at union in 1897.

76. Presbytery of Mankazana:

This Presbytery was formed in 1915, largely out of a desire to consolidate the African congregations within the PCSA into a closer union and to give the Africans a forum for 'mutual discussion and help in regard to the matters peculiar to the Native portion of the Church'. (PCSA BB (1915), 31). The Presbyteries of Adelaide and Kingwilliamstown were chosen because both had a long history of contact between African and European Presbyterians. The PCSA hoped that the Presbytery of Mankazana would link up with the other mainly African Presbytery, the Presbytery of Kaffraria, to form a Mission Synod; but this proposal was rejected in 1918 after the PCSA accepted the principle of an independent African church. (PCSA BB(1918), 33).

77. The Presbyteries of Kaffraria and Mankazana decided to enter the BPC at the Lovedale Conference, 11 - 13 July 1921. This decision was sanctioned by the PCSA Assembly in September 1921. (PCSA BB(1921), 29.)

BEGINNINGS OF URBAN MISSION

The rapid acceleration of African urbanization during the last decade of the nineteenth century highlighted the destructive effect this process was having upon the African character, and produced the lament from an African preacher, 'We can protect our children against the heathenism of our own people, but the heathenism of the white man is too strong for us: our children are perishing before our own eyes'.¹ Appalling living conditions and a host of temptations to which the rural African had not been previously exposed seemed to loosen the traditional restraints and to undo the values taught at the rural missions. The view that African urbanization was a temporary process, which would reverse itself once agricultural conditions improved, further complicated the situation. Neither the colonial governments nor the local authorities were prepared to set aside sufficient funds to provide adequate housing for these 'temporary' town dwellers. African urbanization also caught the white colonial churches unprepared. Only when it became obvious that unless some effort was made to create a spiritual home for Africans coming to the towns did some colonial churches begin to assume responsibility for the Africans' spiritual welfare. The members of the Hill Presbyterian Church of Port Elizabeth,² an independent Presbyterian congregation which had not

1. PC, vol X111, Jan 1915, 5/7.

2. The Hill Presbyterian Church: In 1861 Joseph Reid, on behalf of the small group of Presbyterians living in Port Elizabeth, requested the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland to send a minister from Scotland to establish a Presbyterian church in Port Elizabeth. For some years this group had been worshipping weekly in the Grey Institute and their services had been conducted by passing chaplains, missionaries or Wesleyan ministers. In December 1861 the Colonial Committee sent out the Rev George Renny, formerly of Aberlemno, to establish a Presbyterian church in Port Elizabeth. The congregation and session were constituted soon after Renny's arrival, and a new church building was opened in February 1865. That year the membership stood at 360, but by 1867 it had dwindled to 100 because the economic depression had forced many people to leave Port Elizabeth. In 1872 the church started a Sunday School in South End. By 1898 this extension work had grown considerably and the church decided to establish a charge there. David Hunter was sent out from Scotland to consolidate the work. Hunter was ordained in April 1899 and the new church at South End was opened on 7 Nov 1901 at a total cost of £2 800.

Meanwhile, the membership at the original church had increased rapidly. In 1904 alone a total of 101 people joined the church. The session debated whether to add a gallery to the church or to start a new cause at North End. The latter course was chosen and, on 6 Dec 1905, the new congregation at North End was received and recognised as a congregation of the Presbyterian church. With

joined the PCSA in 1897, shared this concern. In January 1898 it had accepted an application from a small group of Africans to be affiliated to the white congregation as the Native Presbyterian Church of Port Elizabeth, 'worshipping separately'. On 27 March 1898, the Rev James McRobert, minister of the Hill Church, ordained three elders and four deacons to supervise the spiritual and financial affairs of the congregation.⁴ This meant by September 1898, when the Hill, 'with its affiliated Coloured congregation'⁵ was received into the PCSA⁶ as part of the Presbytery of Adelaide,⁷ the little congregation was already providing the spiritual home for 'the native Christians coming from the Stations to the towns'⁸ which the Rev John Smith called for in his Native Missions Committee Report.

2. (continued)

the foundation of the daughter churches at South and North End, the original church could no longer be called 'The Presbyterian Church of Port Elizabeth'. In 1897 the session resolved that the name of the church be altered to 'St Andrew's Presbyterian Church'. This official change never won popular approval. The name was not used, so that when the South End church was formed, it felt entitled to adopt this name. The church at North End became known as St Columba's. Gradually the mother church became known as 'The Hill Presbyterian Church' because of its situation, although there is no record that this name was ever officially adopted.

The Story of Half-a-Century: Being a Short Account of the Jubilee of Presbyterianism in Port Elizabeth.

Contact, Centenary issue, vol 4, December 1961.

J Dalziel, op.cit., 310-338.

3. Annual Reports of Hill congregation (ARH), 1898, 3.

4. Hill Session Minutes, 4 May 1898.
ARH, 1898, 3.

5. Hill Session Minutes, 25 September 1898.

6. PCSA BB (1898), 46.

7. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 23 Nov 1898.
Hill Session Minutes, 14 Dec 1898.

8. PCSA BB (1898), 55.
See above, 19.

The Ethiopian movement,⁹ with its motto 'Africa for Africans' and separation from white ecclesiastical control as its goal, did not leave the new mission untouched: in January 1899 a large section of the congregation split off to join Mzimba's Presbyterian Church of Africa.¹⁰ The Free Church Presbytery of Kafraria, which was itself still smarting from the pain and disappointment caused by Mzimba's

9. The Ethiopian Movement:

In Bantu Prophets in South Africa B G M Sundkler classifies the African separatist churches into two main categories:

- (i) Ethiopians: independent African churches that have
(a) seceded from white mission churches primarily on racial grounds,
(b) other African churches seceding from the African leaders classified under (a). These shared the racial attitude of the other leaders, but had seceded on other issues, chiefly the struggle for leadership.

'Their programme in relation to the White churches is ambivalent: on the one hand, it includes the slogan "Africa for Africans" and is a reaction against the White missionary's conquest of the African peoples; on the other, their church organisation and Bible interpretation are largely copied from the churches from which they have seceded'. Sundkler, ibid., 53/4.

The leading early separatist movements fell into this category:

1884: Nehemiah Tile formed the Thembu Church of South Africa with chief Ngangelizwe as its visible head.

1892: The Rev Mangena Mokoni seceded from the Methodist Church to form the Ethiopian Church.

1896: The Rev James Mata Dwane formed the African Methodist Episcopal Church; and, in 1900 formed the Order of Ethiopia as part of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

1898: The Rev P J Mzimba seceded from the Free Church of Scotland to form the Presbyterian Church of Africa.

- (ii) Zionists: Historically these churches have their roots in Zion City, Illinois, USA; ideologically they claim to emanate from the Mount of Zion in Jerusalem; and theologically, they are a syncretistic African movement, 'with healing, speaking in tongues, purification rites, and taboos as the main expressions of their faith'. Sundkler, ibid., 55.

P Hinchliff, in The Church in South Africa, 104, adds a third category, Messianism, which offer a new Black Messiah as an alternative to the white Christ. These churches argue that since the white Christian does not appear to love the black man, can the white Christian's God then love the black man? An example of this category was Isaiah Shembe, who was regarded by his Nazareth Movement as a quasi-divine figure.

B G M Sundkler, op cit., 53/55.

P Hinchliff, op cit., 90/104.

P Hinchliff, 'African Separatists: Heresy, Schism or Protest Movement?', Studies in Church History, vol 9, 1972, 391/404.

A Lea, The Native Separatist Church movement in South Africa.

L N Mzimba, 'The African' Church', J Dexter Taylor (ed) Christianity and the Natives of South Africa. A Year Book of South African Missions.

10. Hill Session Minutes, 5 Jan 1899.

secession, agreed to help the Hill prevent the complete disintegration of the mission.¹¹ It sent Petwell Matshikwe, a probationer, to reorganize the African congregation for a trial period of three months, on condition that the Hill gave the new movement the same financial and supervisory support it had given to the previous congregation.¹²

Soon after Matshikwe's arrival the original church in Cooper's Kloof burnt down, but within a few months Matshikwe, assisted by the young men in the congregation, 'succeeded in erecting at a reasonable cost, a neat, bright and comfortable church...(and) the Women's Association and individual members... provided seats, lamps and a table'.¹³ By the end of the trial period both the Presbytery of Kafraria and the Hill Church were convinced that Matshikwe was making an important contribution and that the mission work ought to be encouraged and continued as a permanent feature.¹⁴ Thus, in November 1899, the Presbytery of Kafraria sanctioned the formation of a Session and a Deacons' Court,¹⁵ and, on 7 October 1900, the Rev James McRobert ordained two elders and one deacon to serve the congregation.¹⁶ D F Scott, a member of the Hill Board of Management, was appointed Assessor and instructed to advise the congregation on financial matters.¹⁷ Matshikwe's main task was to gather together the scattered groups of converts from the various Presbyterian rural missions, and to consolidate them into a single community. He did this well, despite the fact that it seemed 'to be a more arduous undertaking in Port Elizabeth than in Kaffirland, for here the Natives are subject to many more temptations and the church is apt to have a slighter hold upon them'.¹⁸ Matshikwe held services regularly in the church at Cooper's Kloof, at North End, and occasionally he held open air services at Gubb Location.¹⁹ By 1902 he had added sixteen members to the roll of the African congregation.²⁰

11. Hill Session Minutes, 26 Jan 1899.

12. Hill Session Minutes, 10 May 1899.

13. Report given by the Rev J Lennox to the Presbytery of Kafraria, 22/23 Nov 1899, CE, vol XXIX, Dec 1899, 189.

14. Hill Session Minutes, 7 Aug 1899.
CE, vol XXIX, March 1899, 36.
CE, vol XXIX, May 1899, 67.

15. Presbytery of Kafraria Minutes, 22/23 Nov 1899, CE, vol XXIX, Dec 1899, 189.

16. CE, vol XXX, Nov 1900, 168.

17. ARH, 1900

18. CE, vol XXX, Nov 1900, 168.

19. Report given by the Rev J Lennox to the Presbytery of Kafraria, 22/23 Nov 1899, CE vol XXIX, Dec 1899, 189.
ARH, 1901, 4/5.

20. PCSA BB (1902), 346.
ARH, 1901, 4/5.

In the long-term, the mission's link with the Presbytery of Kafraria proved disadvantageous because it embroiled the mission in the Synod of Kafraria's uncertainty regarding the advisability of union with the PCSA. The union of the United Presbyterian and the Free Church of Scotland on 31 October 1900 to form the United Free (U.F.) Church of Scotland exerted pressure on the Synod of Kafraria to reconsider union with the PCSA. Specific instructions were given in the Uniting Act which outlined the future policy that the U.F. Church of Scotland would impose on its missions:

Steps shall be taken to have in each mission field a fully organised native church, which shall stand in federal relationship to the Home Church.

Each Mission Church shall be governed by a Presbytery (and where necessary a Synod) in which the European ordained missionaries shall have seats, with the view of giving all necessary advice and assistance, but they shall leave the conduct of the business as far as practicable to the Native members. 21

This policy was designed for implementation in all U.F. missions equally, but in South Africa the term 'Native' was ambiguous.²² Did this mean the creation of a church made up of people native to South Africa, in which case it would include both the white colonial and the African congregations; or, given the position of Africans in South Africa, was not the creation of a church made up of black Africans more the goal of mission policy? Opinion was divided between those, mostly members of the PCSA, who believed the former meaning of the term, and therefore declared that organic union between the colonial and the mission churches was the solution; and those, largely represented by the Synod of Kafraria, who believed

21. Act 111, 1900, in Manual of the Practice and Procedure, 139, CE, vol XXXVII, May 1907, 67.

22. Our Missions in South Africa, Cory MS 14.849, prefaced a description of the U.F. Church of Scotland's general mission policy with an explanation that 'Native' meant 'a Church proper to the country in which it was planted. It thus might be inclusive of the different races dwelling in that country. But in South Africa, the word Native is used to point to a church of African natives only'.

that the only way in which Africans could develop to their full spiritual stature would be through the creation of an independent church for Africans with its own courts and methods of procedure.

The U.F. Church's decision to reorganise its South African missions through the creation of mission councils²³ further complicated the

23. Mission Councils: These were designed to co-ordinate into a single body the organisation and administration of the various missions run by the former Free and U.P. Churches. Each mission council consisted of all the missionaries from the Home Church in the field, ordained and medical; the minister and one representative elder from each European congregation within the bounds; and agents and friends of the missions nominated by the mission council and approved by the Foreign Mission Committee. Members were granted full Presbyterian powers and were responsible for the oversight of all the missionary agents sent by the Home Church to the mission field; the election of representatives to the General Assembly of the U.F. Church; and to perform any other Presbyterian function requested by the General Assembly. The U.F. Church grouped their missions into the mission councils of Kaffraria, Natal and the Transkei:

Mission Council of Kaffraria:

There were 16 stations in this mission council:

- i) The two institutions of Lovedale and Emgwali.
- ii) Four missions under white missionaries: Burnshill, Pirie, Emgwali, Gooldville.
- iii) Six missions under African pastors and evangelists: Lovedale, African congregation, Macfarlan, Stuartville, Donhill, Port Elizabeth, East London.
- iv) Four colonial congregations which supervised mission work in the neighbourhood: Tarkastad, Adelaide, Glenthorn and Somerset East.

Mission Council of the Transkei:

There were 19 stations in this mission council:

- i) Blythswood institution.
- ii) Thirteen under white missionaries: Paterson (Mbulu), Cunningham (Toleni), Malan, Main, Columba, Duff (Idutywa), Somerville (Tsolo), Buchanan (Sulenkama), Miller, Gillespie, Ross (Ncise), Mount Frere, Rainy.
- iii) Five stations under African ministers: Tutura, Kidston, Ugie, Matatiele, Incisininde.

Mission Council of Natal:

There were 5 stations in this mission council:

Maritzburg, Impolweni, Kalabasi, Polela and Gordon Memorial.

J Lennox, op.cit., 43/45.

CE, vol XXI, June 1901, 99.

situation. This policy amalgamated into a single mission council missions belonging to the Synod of Kafraria and those belonging to the PCSA, but produced an overlap particularly evident in the Mission Councils of Kaffraria and Transkei, which included the former Free Church Synod of Kafraria (made up of the Presbyteries of Kafraria and Transkei); the PCSA's mission Presbytery of Kaffraria, the three African mission congregations in the Presbytery of Adelaide (Adelaide, Glenthorn and Somerset East); and the two African congregations in the PCSA's Presbytery of Kingwilliamstown (Emgwali and Tarkastad). In all the Presbyteries the white missionaries sat side by side with African ministers and evangelists; but in the mission councils, in which whites only were eligible for election, the Africans had no place. Moreover, in the former Free Church missions, the Mission Councils and not the Presbyteries were recognised by the General Assembly of the U.F. Church of Scotland. Finally, in the PCSA, the Presbytery of Kaffraria was represented in the Assembly, thus this Presbytery had the unique distinction of being represented in both PCSA and the U.F. Church of Scotland General Assemblies.²⁴

These anomalies persuaded the Synod of Kafraria at its meeting in July 1902, 'that the time has come to accede to the often repeated and strongly urged recommendation of the United Free Church of Scotland, and to join the Presbyterian Church of South Africa'.²⁵ The Synod nevertheless decided that union 'would be somewhat premature'²⁶ after the African congregations at Pirie, Burnshill, Lovedale, Macfarlan and Kidston informed it that they were against union.²⁷ The negative vote of 19 to 11 taken by the PCSA Assembly later that year against the proposal that 'this General Assembly hereby emphasises again the absolute equality, according to Presbyterian parity, of Native and European Elders and Ministers in all our Church Courts',²⁸ further confirmed the suspicion of the

24. PCSA BB (1912), 135/6, Report of Special Committee on Native Missions.

25. CE, vol XXIV, April 1904, 50.

26. PCSA BB (1902), 334/5.
Synod of Kafraria Minutes, 22 Aug 1902.

27. CE, vol XXIV, April 1904, 50.

28. PCSA BB (1902), 268.

Africans in the Synod that in the PCSA colonial and African congregations were united in name only.

Editorials in the Christian Express reveal the fears behind the Synod's decision to delay the union. The Synod was not against union itself, but wished to ensure that 'what is now proposed will really be a true union and not a mixture of two elements'.²⁹ It feared that the Home Church's injunction to unite would not produce a harmonious relationship between the colonial and African churches, 'but as things are at present, we fear a union in name only is possible, and the bonds of such a union are more likely to chafe and irritate than they are to bind together and strengthen'.³⁰ If the attitude of the rank and file of white church members could be changed to meet the African in the same spirit as the missionary met him, a real union might be practicable; 'but so long as the Native minister or elder is only a 'boy' to the white elder - a 'boy' with whom it is not 'good form' to shake hands or to invite into your pew in church, there may be a legal bond but there can hardly be a true union'.³¹ It was right that the former U.P. missions supervised by the white ministers at Adelaide, Somerset East, Tarkastad and Glenthorn had joined the PCSA: they were virtually colonial churches doing some work amongst the Africans, in much the same way as the home congregations had their 'home' missions in the slums. But apart from these stations, the PCSA was doing very little other work amongst Africans: most of its energy and resources were being expended on extension work amongst whites, leaving very little for its African mission work. Thus the CE alleged that the PCSA could hardly be called a missionary church in the general sense of the word. Even the strongest argument for union, that it would leaven the predominantly white PCSA with the missionary spirit, was unconvincing: the apathy displayed by many white colonial churches might quench the missionary spirit as itself be kindled.

29. CE, vol XXX111, April 1903, 49/50.

30. CE, vol XXX111, July 1903, 97.

31. CE, vol XXX111, April 1903, 49.

The Synod required a clear answer to three questions before it would enter union. Would the African congregations have equal representation in all the church courts, and the African ministers and elders have exactly the same status and voting power as whites, even if the time came when the former outnumbered the latter? Would the Africans be welcomed as members and to the Lord's table in the congregations of the PCSA, and especially those congregations that had formerly been entirely white? Finally, would the Assembly have patience to allow for interpretation so that those Africans who neither spoke nor understood English might be heard and understood? Until the PCSA removed these obstacles, 'there can be little doubt that two federated churches working harmoniously would be more desirable than an ill-assorted union'.³²

In July 1903, at the same meeting in which it agreed to defer the question of its own entry into the PCSA, the Synod of Kafraria decided to transfer Matshikwe to its mission congregation in Maitland, Cape Town; and to hand over its missions in Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg and in the Zoutpansberg to the PCSA.³³ This decision came at a time when the future of the Port Elizabeth African population itself hung in the balance.

During March 1901, in an attempt to prevent an outbreak of bubonic plague in Cape Town, the Cape government had moved about six or seven thousand Africans from Cape Town to Uitvlugt location (later known as Ndabeni.)³⁴ By September 1901 the plague had been arrested among Africans at Uitvlugt and also in Cape Town itself. But Sir Gordon Sprigg's government, anxious to prevent the return of these Africans to their homes in Cape Town, secured the passage of the Native Reserve Location Act No 40 of 1902, which turned

32. CE, vol XXXI11, April 1903, 50.

33. PCSA BB (1903), 108/9.

34. See T R H Davenport, op.cit., 2
M W Swanson, 'The Sanitation Syndrome: Bubonic Plague and Urban Native Policy in the Cape Colony, 1900-1909', Journal of African History, Vol XXVII, No 3, 1977, 387-410.

Uitvlugt into an urban location under the direct control of the central government. When the plague reached Port Elizabeth in 1901/1902,³⁵ the municipality, following Cape Town's lead, destroyed the Stranger's, Russell Road and Cooper's Kloof locations, but, unlike the Uitvlugt location in Cape Town, no emergency location had been prepared to receive the Africans left homeless by the municipality's action.³⁶ To the municipality's dismay, of the estimated 10 000 Africans living in Port Elizabeth, some 4 000 moved beyond the city limits, 1 000 left the district altogether, and more than 2 000 settled on private lands at Korsten and Dassie Kraal, which were free of government control and just beyond the municipal boundary.³⁷ The Native Reserve Location Act was introduced in June 1903 with the aim of controlling this unregulated settlement on private land and of forcing these Africans, together with the remaining Africans in Port Elizabeth, to move to the new government location at New Brighton. The African population deeply resented this legislation because the facilities offered at New Brighton 'were not such as to induce them to go there, the rents and railway fares being too high, and the arrangements generally militated against their comfort'.³⁸ Most Africans resisted removal, preferring to move to Korsten or Dassie Kraal. By September 1903

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35. Early in 1901 forage containing bubonic plague carrying rats was imported from Argentina, India or Australia. These rats were discovered near the forage dump at the Port Elizabeth harbour on 12 April 1901, but the rats had already spread from the harbour to the town. Between 1901 - 1904 a total of 343 cases of bubonic plague (69 among Whites) were registered in Port Elizabeth. A J Prinsloo, 'The Eradication of the Namaqua Gerbille and Fleas', MOH Report, MM(1960), 71.
36. A Schauder, 'Generous Housing for South Africa's Natives', Optima, vol 3, Dec 1953, 1, describes the houses in these locations as 'of the most primitive type, the majority being nothing more than crude structures thrown together with old corrugated iron, rotten boards, pieces of cloth and paraffin tins. Overcrowding was appalling, and the squalor and filth that prevailed could only have one result - plague'. The Plague Board gave the residents 24 hours' notice to vacate these houses.
37. Swanson, op.cit., 401
38. MM(1904), 15.
The rent in New Brighton location amounted to as much per month as had been charged per year in Port Elizabeth's old locations. See Swanson, op.cit., 403.

Korsten's African population numbered 5 000, compared with New Brighton's 1 400; and by November 1904 Korsten's figures had reached 7 500, while New Brighton's population languished at 2 000. In a concerted effort to reverse this trend, the colonial government passed the Native Locations Amendment Act No 8 of 1905, which extended its powers five miles from the municipal boundaries, thereby bringing both Korsten and Dassie Kraal under its provisions and enabling the municipality to settle the remaining Africans in New Brighton. The Port Elizabeth city council agreed that concern for the health and welfare of its African inhabitants motivated these removals. Others have traced the roots of urban segregation to this 'sanitation syndrome':

...Cape Town's and Port Elizabeth's experience with the bubonic plague transcended its purely epidemiological dimensions. The plague had been identified with their black populations and they with it. Steps to stop the plague persisted after the emergency. Sanitation and public health provided the legal means to effect quick removals of African populations; they then sustained the rationale for permanent urban segregation.³⁹

Ironically, these locations, established initially in an attempt to protect the towns from the African health hazard, were condemned by the Union Government's Tuberculosis Commission in 1914 as 'a menace to the health of their inhabitants and indirectly to the health of those in the town'.⁴⁰

The Synod's decision to transfer the New Brighton mission to the PCSA could hardly have come at a worse time: the mission church building in Cooper's Kloof had been destroyed as part of the city council's anti-plague measures; and the little Presbyterian community Matshikwe built had scattered, some to the rural areas, others to Korsten and Dassie Kraal and the rest to the new government location at New Brighton. Despite this setback, the PCSA Assembly,⁴¹ the Presbytery of Adelaide⁴² and the Hill congregation⁴³ agreed to accept the transfer, on condition that the Synod continued its grant of £30 p.a. towards the mission.

39. Swanson, ibid., 409

40. idem.

41. PCSA BB(1903), 109.

42. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 3 Oct 1903.

43. Hill Session Minutes, 8 March 1904.

Early in 1904 members from the Hill and St Andrew's congregations⁴⁴ began gathering together a small Presbyterian community in New Brighton. In May 1904 the Rev James McRobert inducted two elders and five deacons to supervise the congregation's spiritual and financial affairs, and appointed John Armour, a member of the Hill congregation, as assessor.⁴⁵ The mission had just begun to consolidate itself once again when, in June 1905, the Rev John Lennox, Clerk of the Presbytery of Kafraria, informed the Presbytery of Adelaide that the transfer agreed upon by both the Synod of Kafraria and the PCSA Assembly in 1903, was ultra vires, since the African congregation itself had not been consulted.⁴⁶ In the light of this irregularity the Synod requested the Presbytery of Adelaide to return the mission to the Synod's control until the transfer could be negotiated properly. This development perturbed the Presbytery of Adelaide because the future of its African mission work in Port Elizabeth would be affected by the Synod's continued indecision over whether or not to enter the PCSA. The Presbytery of Adelaide reluctantly transferred its responsibility for the mission to the Presbytery of Kafraria with an appeal to resolve this difficulty speedily, 'for the sake of the mission work and the people'.⁴⁷

The Presbytery of Adelaide's fears proved to be well founded: negotiations for the mission's transfer dragged on for over a decade largely because it was linked to the wider question of union with the PCSA. The delay was detrimental to the New Brighton mission. In June 1907 the Presbytery of Adelaide tried to avert the total collapse of the mission congregation by appointing the ministers of the Hill, St Andrew's and St Columba's as a committee to care for its spiritual needs.⁴⁸ The following month the Rev John Black, representing the Presbytery of Adelaide at the Synod of Kafraria, urged the Synod to transfer the mission as soon as possible to the Presbytery of Adelaide. While the Synod admitted that transfer would enable the mission to be maintained more efficiently than

44. In March 1904 the New Brighton mission became a joint charge of the Hill and St Andrew's Churches.

Hill Session Minutes, 8 March 1904.

45. Hill Session Minutes, 16 May 1904.

46. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 14 June 1905.

47. idem.

48. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 7 June 1907.

under the cumbersome system of dual control, it failed to grant this transfer. Instead it insisted that the joint action should continue until the wider question of unity with the PCSA had been resolved.⁴⁹ But the negotiations for union with the PCSA were no more successful. At this same meeting the Synod dealt a decisive blow to the unity negotiations when it informed the PCSA that 'the Synod, recognising an insuperable difficulty in the disparity of the two organizations, are not prepared to enter into an incorporate union with the South African Presbyterian Church, and resolve to proceed with the formation of a self-supporting and self-governing Church'.⁵⁰ The Synod's explanation for this decision was that, while strong reasons had been advanced for uniting the white colonial and African mission churches on an equal basis in one Presbyterian church, the Synod still feared that in such a union the Africans would be permanently overshadowed by whites:

Union is strength where the uniting parties are equally yoked. But otherwise union is irksome and dangerous. 51

The Synod hoped that by terminating negotiations with the PCSA, and proceeding instead with the formation and consolidation of a self-supporting and self-governing African church, it would eventually prepare the way for effective federal union with the PCSA.

The PCSA was less enthusiastic. The Rev N A Ross, Convener of the Assembly's AMC, commented that 'so far as your convener is aware, our Church has never yet declared its policy in regard to its Native Mission, so that the insuperable difficulty referred to in the above resolution is a premature assumption'.⁵² The onus now lay on the PCSA to prove the Synod's conclusion premature and to demonstrate that, even in South Africa, it was possible and desirable that the two races develop together within a single church.

Meanwhile, the Synod's determination to perpetuate the system of joint control was having a disastrous effect on the mission. By May 1908 the mission had collapsed completely.⁵³ The Presbytery

49. Minutes of Synod of Kafraria, 10/12 July 1907, CE, vol XXXV11, Aug 1907, 124.

PCSA BB (1907), 134.

50. PCSA BB(1907), 134.

51. CE, vol XXXV11, Aug 1907, 114.

52. PCSA BB(1907), 134.

53. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 20 May 1908.

of Adelaide advised the Presbytery of Kafraria that even if it was unwilling to transfer the mission, it should at least appoint a man to work there,⁵⁴ under the supervision of the three white congregations, as it had done at its mission in East London.⁵⁵ The Presbytery of Kafraria acted on this suggestion and in October 1909 appointed Bisset Hanabe as evangelist to the mission congregation. The three white PCSA ministers gave Hanabe all the support and assistance they could, but by 1910 they were adamant that 'steps must be taken to get rid of the dual control, and to fix responsibility for the work in such an important centre of native labour as Port Elizabeth on the shoulders of those who will see that the work is done'.⁵⁶

At this point the Kaffrarian Mission Council suddenly altered its stance regarding the advisability of dual control and asked the PCSA's Presbyteries of Adelaide and Kingwilliamstown to assume entire control and financial responsibility for the Presbytery of Kafraria's African mission work in Port Elizabeth and East London.⁵⁷ The motivation behind this change in attitude is not clear, but it would seem that the Synod had altered its scepticism regarding the PCSA's commitment to mission. Ripples from the surge of missionary enthusiasm, created by the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, had made themselves felt in the PCSA. The 1911 Assembly passed various measures aimed at educating its white congregations about its African mission work. Assembly strongly recommended the formation of a Missionary Association in every congregation, 'through which, by prayer and conference, the people of the Church might realise more fully the joy and privilege of sharing in the evangelisation of the world'.⁵⁸ It instructed each Presbytery to hold one meeting during the year for deepening the interest in the development of mission work and for the discussion of mission problems. It also emphasised the need to 'press on the Christian people... the urgent need of further extension of the Church's efforts to reach the unevangelised...'⁵⁹ Finally, in

54. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 10 Nov 1908, 25 May 1909.

55. Letter: J Lemnox to S Workman, 21 Aug 1909, 4 Sept 1909, 7 Oct 1909 (RPC).

56. PCSA BB(1910), 130.

57. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 17 May 1911.

58. PCSA BB(1911), 24.

59. idem.

an attempt to widen the base of its mission activity, the Assembly constituted a Laymen's Missionary League⁶⁰ and encouraged each Presbytery to form district bands.

John R Mott characterised the Laymen's Missionary League as 'the most significant development in world missions during the first decade of the present century', and supported it himself with many addresses at its rallies in Canada and the United States, as well

60. Laymen's Missionary League: In PC, vol 1X, March 1911, 33

T B Porteous outlined the main features of the Laymen's Missionary League, which had been initiated in 5th Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York, on 15 Nov 1906:

'Its general purpose was to project a campaign of education among laymen, the present scope and extent of missionary work being inadequate. It aims at building up no organisation beyond the formation of simple co-operative committees. Its special work is among the mature men of the churches. In each centre of population, a committee promotes an aggressive and adequate missionary policy. Members are asked to subscribe the declaration of the Laymen's Missionary Movement: "Believing it to be the duty of the Church of Christ to preach the gospel to every creature, it is my purpose to pray, to give, to study the work, as God may give me opportunity, that the Church of this generation may obey this command"... The movement in Canada follows the same lines... It collects no money, it disburses none. Its aim is to act as an impulse to a more generous support of missionary endeavour by every layman'.

The League had four objects:

- i) Intercession: 'to pray every week that all the members of the PCSA may receive an adequate sense of their duty towards the evangelisation of the heathen (particularly in South Africa), and a spirit of genuine liberality to this object; and also that God's blessing may rest on our missionaries, evangelists, and teachers'.
- ii) Information: 'to study Missionary news and literative and methods, particularly the immediate problem and responsibility of our denomination'.
- iii) Influence: 'to take an active interest in the Missionary Association of the congregation of which he is a member (if no such association exists to endeavour to have one begun) and to do his best to create an interest among all the members of his congregation by personal influence, by the encouragement of missionary meetings for conference and prayer, and by the distribution of literature'.
- iv) Liberality: 'to give punctually and regularly through the ordinary channels as much money as he seriously considers he ought to give towards the evangelisation of the heathen'.

PCSA BB (1911), 112/113 for Constitution of Laymen's Missionary League.

as introducing it to Britain.⁶¹ Its effect on the PCSA was less dramatic and support for the movement faded quickly.⁶² Nevertheless, the District Band, formed by the members from the three white churches in Port Elizabeth, carried the New Brighton mission through the difficult period of transition before the Synod of Kafraria vested total control of the mission in the Presbytery of Adelaide.

During its short life-span of only nine months, the District Band established three principles that had an important influence on its members' attitude towards the New Brighton mission. First, the Band tried to educate its members into accepting mission as part of the essential nature of the Church, and not something to be left to a minority of enthusiasts. At each meeting of the League a talk or paper was delivered dealing with some aspect of mission, or reporting on the progress of missions. These talks covered a wide range of topics and included news about the Presbytery's rural missions;⁶³ the work of the PCSA as a whole, with several reports from the Rev S S Dornan, Superintendent of the Rhodesian mission;⁶⁴ and the Church's worldwide mission.⁶⁵ Second, it forged the link with the Hill, St Andrew's and St Columba's congregations that was to prove vital to the mission's continued existence. At its third meeting the Band affirmed the importance of involving the three white congregations in the mission work after A C Scott 'pointed out the necessity of arousing the interest of our congregations in missionary enterprise and that this was one of the chief aims, if not the chief aim of the League...'⁶⁶ The subsequent history of the mission revealed the vital contribution which some members of the white congregations made to the mission. Third, the District Band established a system of visits whereby volunteers from the Band attended the Sunday service and a social meeting at the mission at least once a month.⁶⁷ This system was adopted after A Cowie and A C Scott, Chairman and Secretary/Treasurer of the Band respectively, reported that 'the work (at New Brighton)

61. C H Hopkins, John R Mott, 281/2, Eardmans, 1979.

62. In 1918 the Rev Dr T B Porteous recommended that the Assembly's AMC take steps to revive the League, but little seems to have come of this suggestion. PCSA BB (1918), 33.

63. LMLDB Minutes, 12 Nov 1912.

64. LMLDB Minutes, 9 July 1912, 12 Nov 1912, 18 Feb 1913.

65. LMLDB Minutes, 13 Aug 1912.

66. LMLDB Minutes, 9 July 1912.

67. LMLDB Minutes, 11 June 1912.

seemed to have fallen off and needed fresh vigour and backing up'.⁶⁸ Several immediate advantages arose out of these visits. Bisset Hanabe found that the white support strengthened his position considerably.⁶⁹ The white members found that the visits gave them the first-hand contact with the mission necessary to care adequately for the needs of the congregation, and to enable them to interest other whites in mission work. Although the Band eventually agreed that 'the wisdom of continuing the social meetings ... was left an open question for the visitors to decide for themselves',⁷⁰ nevertheless volunteers from the Band, and from its successor, the New Brighton Mission Committee (NBMC), continued to visit the congregation faithfully. These visits also enabled the Band to perceive other areas of mission. For instance, on one visit to New Brighton, the Band found about twenty white children who were living in New Brighton, but were out of reach of any of the white Sunday Schools. M McGregor, a Band member, subsequently undertook to hold a class for them,⁷¹ thereby confirming A C Scott's belief that 'there is no doubt that increase of interest in native work will mean increase of interest in evangelistic work of all kinds'.⁷²

A short note in the minute book disclosed the demise of the District Band and announced the form future white involvement in the mission would take: 'Owing to lack of interest and the departure of two prominent members, this League became defunct but we may look upon the New Brighton Mission Committee as its offspring and substitute'.⁷³

68. LMLDB Minutes, 11 June 1912.

69. Letter: Bisset Hanabe to LMLDB, LMLDB Minutes, 11 June 1912.

70. LMLDB Minutes, 10 Sept 1912.

71. PCSA BB (1912), 208/9.

White Sunday School in New Brighton:

Members of the Hill congregation continued this Sunday School after the District Band had disbanded. By 1926 the average attendance was 24. Most of the children belonged to employees of the South African Railways. Mr J Boag, the Superintendent, commented, 'This little Sunday School is a small light in a dark place, for there is no religious service of any kind held at New Brighton for Europeans. The parents, who are all of different denominations, seem glad to have their children receive regular religious instruction, and this work is well worth the support of our congregation'. (ARH, (1926), 5.) In 1931 the Sunday School was discontinued owing to the lack of suitable accommodation. (Minutes of Hill Board of Management, 7 May 1931.)

72. PCSA BB (1912), 209.

73. LMLDB Minute Book, 8 Dec 1914.

If the Port Elizabeth District Band had thus failed in its chief aim to involve laymen in mission work,⁷⁴ it did nevertheless leave to its successor, the NBMC, a core of dedicated people, who had already formed strong links with the mission congregation.

The conviction deepened in both the Synod of Kafraria and the Presbytery of Adelaide that the transfer of the New Brighton mission was necessary. In February 1913, the Synod of Kafraria intimated that it now desired to hand over to the PCSA not only the New Brighton mission, but also its missions at Somerset East, Tarkastad, Glenthorn, Adelaide and East London.⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the Presbytery of Adelaide had become 'fully persuaded that a Presbyterian mission in that (New Brighton) location should be looked upon by our Church as an essential part of her work'.⁷⁶ The Rev Samuel Workman, Clerk of the Presbytery of Adelaide, outlined three reasons why the Presbytery regarded this mission as essential. Although there were numerous other agencies at work in the location, there was no other Presbyterian mission in Port Elizabeth to which a convert from a rural mission could belong when he came to Port Elizabeth, 'and we have a considerable number of natives in the location who have been trained in Presbyterian mission'.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the work had taken on a new lease of life and was very promising:

74. Note the decline in attendance figures for the District Band:

14 May 1912	..	..	20
11 June 1912	..	..	15
9 July 1912	..	..	21
13 Aug 1912	..	..	60/70 (open to ladies)
10 Sept 1912	..	..	16
8 Oct 1912	..	..	8
12 Nov 1912	..	..	18
10 Dec 1912	..	..	12
18 Feb 1913	..	..	8

Figures taken from the LMLDB Minutes, 14 May 1912 to 18 Feb 1913.

75. LMLDB Minutes, 18 Feb 1913.

Within the Synod of Kafraria there was a growing realization that some white supervision of its African mission work was still necessary, and that in those areas where it was unable to supervise the work itself, the supervision the PCSA could give was the next best thing. Moreover, by this time the Rev C B Hamilton, a U F Church of Scotland missionary who had been seconded in 1903 to supervise the PCSA missions in the Transvaal, had already demonstrated how effective white supervision could be. PCSA BB (1903), 35, 105.

76. Letter: S Workman to H Ross, 27 Jan 1914 (RPC).

77. idem.

See Appendix C for sites granted to other denominations working in New Brighton.

Let me give my own experience of a few Sundays ago. I went out to dispense communion. I baptised two infants, and two adults who had been under a long course of probation. There were about twenty communicants present. And something new - there were two Elders besides the Evangelist. 78

Finally, since Presbytery believed that the scope of the mission did not warrant a white Superintendent as on the Rand, Kimberley or in Rhodesia, the financial outlay would be minimal. In place of a white Superintendent, Presbytery envisaged an African evangelist maintaining the mission work, under the supervision of the three white churches.⁷⁹

The question of financial responsibility ultimately proved to be the greatest obstacle in the PCSA's decision to assume control of the mission. Would the final responsibility for the financial support and maintenance of the mission rest with the Presbytery, or with the Assembly's AMC, as was the case in Kimberley, the Rand and in Rhodesia? The Presbytery of Adelaide interpreted the Moderator's sanction of the transfer to mean that the Assembly's AMC would assume financial responsibility for the mission.⁸⁰ The NBMC had suggested at its first meeting that its members raise from the local white congregations a guaranteed sum for the upkeep of the missions,⁸¹ 'to show that the local brethren are prepared to do their part',⁸² but this suggestion was never brought before the congregations in any definite form.⁸³ The Presbytery was therefore deeply perturbed when the Rev H Ross, Convener of the Assembly's AMC, informed it that 'our central fund is at present so weak that we certainly cannot contemplate much if anything of a grant, and so it is to be hoped that the view you expressed as to the probable generosity of the Port Elizabeth people will be fully justified'.⁸⁴

78. Letter: S Workman to H Ross, 27 Jan 1914 (RPC).

79. idem.

Also Letter: S Workman to J Craig, 2 Nov 1914 (RPC).

80. Letter: J Craig to S Workman, 4 Nov 1914 (RPC).

Also PCSA BB(1915), 123.

81. NBMC Minutes, 8 Dec 1914.

82. Letter: S Workman to J W Stark, 9 Dec 1914 (RPC).

83. idem.

Hill Board of Management Minutes, 3 Nov 1914, 1 Dec 1914 (RPC).

84. Letter: H Ross to S Workman, 7 Nov 1914 (RPC).

The Presbytery took the decision to proceed with the transfer in the full knowledge that since the Assembly's AMC had exonerated itself from financial responsibility, the burden for the continued support of the mission would fall on the three white congregations. The willingness to meet any shortfall in the mission's finances, displayed by these congregations, gave some indication of the value they had placed on maintaining the mission. Their generosity was further demonstrated by their continued support of the Assembly's General Mission Fund, in addition to their support of the local mission.⁸⁵ And finally, through financial commitment came a deeper involvement in the mission as a whole. The three congregations came to regard the mission as 'their' mission, thereby deepening the relationship that was crucial for the mission's continued existence.

The Presbytery of Adelaide took formal transfer of the mission on 3 January 1915,⁸⁶ and thereby terminated the dual control that had so hampered the mission, and placed it in the hands of the newly formed New Brighton Mission Committee.⁸⁷ This committee was compelled almost immediately to decide what form the future development of the mission would take, since Bisset Hanabe's appointment also terminated with the transfer.⁸⁸ The committee was

85. In his letter to Stark (31 Dec 1914, RPC), Workman warned that one consequence of the Assembly's AMC abdication of the responsibility for the mission might be the diminution of the contributions from the three white congregations in Port Elizabeth to the Assembly's General Fund:

'If I dare make a suggestion I should say the Mission's Committee would be well advised to let it be felt that it was behind this work and willing to supplement by a grant if such should be needed. Many of us are striving hard to prevent contributions to the local work lessening the amounts sent forward to the Mission's Committee. We might not feel so disposed if that committee insisted that it had no responsibility towards New Brighton'.

86. NBMC Minutes, 2 Feb 1915.

87. New Brighton Mission Committee: (hereafter NBMC)

The Presbytery of Adelaide had appointed this committee, consisting of the ministers from the three white churches, with an elder and manager from each of these congregations, to take full charge of the mission (Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 10 Nov 1914).

The personnel of the committee was as follows:

Hill: The Rev J McRobert, J Boag (Elder), A Cowie (Manager).

St Andrew's: The Rev S Workman, A C Scott (Elder), T Hoy (Manager).

St Columba's: The Rev S Thomson, L Lennie (Elder), J Anderson (Manager).

NBMC Minutes, 8 Dec 1914.

ARH, 1915, 5.

88. NBMC Minutes, 8 Dec 1914, 2 Feb 1915.

anxious to find a trained African minister or evangelist to replace Hanabe as soon as possible. Previous experience had revealed the danger of leaving the mission vacant. Several members of the mission congregation had also remarked that they 'hoped that they would not be left long without a minister or evangelist'.⁸⁹ But the dearth of trained African ministers and evangelists within the PCSA made this vacancy difficult to fill.⁹⁰ The delay at least had the advantage of enabling the NBMC to set up a Session and Deacons' Court, so that by the time a permanent minister was finally appointed the mission was firmly established.

89. NBMC Minutes, 2 Feb 1915.

90. African Theological Education:

The PCSA only decided gradually what form its African theological education should take. In 1900 Dr W Soga, Convener of the PCSA's Presbytery of Kaffraria's Mission Committee, advised the Assembly that although the African ministry was in an 'embryonic stage', it would bound to increase in the future and that therefore the Assembly needed to make adequate provision for it (PCSA BB(1900), 214). The urgent need for a trained African ministry was again stressed in 1903. The PCSA's African mission work could only be consolidated and expanded if 'a supply of pastors and helpers' could be obtained to assist the white missionaries. Recruitment proved to be problematic since very few Africans from the mission congregations were offering themselves for the ministry. Several explanations were given for this scarcity '...on the one hand, the low state of spiritual vitality prevailing in the Church, and, on the other hand, the many open doors to other occupations with prospects of immediate gain and property such as the natives desires and loves; and perhaps too, young men are deterred by the long course of training required for the ministry'. (PCSA BB(1903), 108).

The Assembly again instructed the Missions Committee to examine the training of evangelists, pastors and helpers in 1905 (PCSA BB(1905), 35), but it was only in 1910 that the Assembly decided to train African candidates for the ministry at Lovedale. (PCSA BB(1910), 31; PCSA BB(1911), 49; PCSA BB(1912), 136/137.)

See below, 101/104.

Initially two members, Levi Mflatela and William Ntshekisa, continued the work at the mission. They displayed such dedication and ability that the committee decided to ordain them as elders,⁹¹ and to constitute a Session for the mission,⁹² with the Rev S Workman as interim moderator.⁹³ The Deacons' Court was established largely because certain members of the congregation misappropriated funds raised at a concert social for a new pulpit chair.⁹⁴ The NBMC hoped that the establishment of the Deacons' Court would avoid a recurrence of a similar incident, and place the congregation's financial affairs in the hands of a responsible body.⁹⁵ Presbytery inducted George Pikishe, Klaas Poyiyane and Robert Koboka as deacons on 3 October 1915.⁹⁶ The NBMC still exercised close supervision over the mission's progress, although it had delegated oversight of the mission's spiritual and financial affairs to the Session and Deacons' Court respectively.

Meanwhile the committee continued its search for a replacement for Hanabe. The first attempt was unsuccessful. On the recommendation of the Rev J Lennox and the Rev C B Hamilton,⁹⁷ the committee employed Nation Makaluza, a final year theological student at Lovedale, as an evangelist for the Christmas vacation in 1915.⁹⁸ Makaluza seemed to make a favourable impression on both the committee and the mission congregation, but ill-health made it impossible for him to reside in Port Elizabeth.⁹⁹ He subsequently returned to Lovedale in February 1916.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, what Makaluza achieved during his short ministry at New Brighton further convinced the committee that the congregation would only progress consistently once a minister resided there. Fortunately the mission did not

91. They were ordained on 16 May 1915.

NBMC Minutes, 3 May 1915

92. The Session was constituted on 17 July 1915.

NBMC Minutes, 5 July 1915.

93. idem.

94. idem.

95. NBMC Minutes, 2 Aug 1915.

96. NBMC Minutes, 4 Oct 1915.

97. NBMC Minutes, 6 Sept 1915.

98. idem

Makaluza was paid a stipend of £5 per month.

99. NBMC Minutes, 6 March 1916.

100. NBMC Minutes, 7 Feb 1916.

remain vacant for much longer. The Rev Dr J Henderson, Principal of Lovedale,¹⁰¹ the Rev J Lennox¹⁰² and the Rev D Iverach,¹⁰³ all recommended Jarvis Wallace Gqamlana, a divinity student at Lovedale, as a suitable candidate for the New Brighton mission. The NBMC unanimously agreed to offer Gqamlana this position, at a stipend of £120 p.a., but he had to provide his own house.¹⁰⁴ Gqamlana accepted this offer.¹⁰⁵ He was licensed as a probationer of the PCSA by a commission of Presbytery on 30 June 1916,¹⁰⁶ and ordained and inducted to the New Brighton mission congregation on 9 July 1916.¹⁰⁷

101. NBMC Minutes, 3 April 1916.

102. Letter to NBMC from Lennox, in NBMC Minutes, 8 May 1916.

103. NBMC Minutes, 8 May 1916.

The Rev D Iverach, minister of the Fort Beaufort Presbyterian Church, was clerk of the Presbytery of Kingwilliamstown, and had oversight over the Fort Beaufort Native congregation, which formed part of the Presbytery of Mankazana.

104. NBMC Minutes, 8 May 1916.

105. NBMC Minutes, 5 June 1916.

106. NBMC Minutes, 3 July 1916.

107. NBMC Minutes, 7 Aug 1916.

Several members of the Presbytery of Adelaide disapproved of the way in which Gqamlana's ordination had been carried out. In a letter to the Presbytery, dated 13 July 1916, the Revs W McIntosh, W Struthers and S Workman expressed their concern that 'all presbyterial charges have to be reported to the General Assembly. According to communications received, Mr Gqamlana had been licensed, ordained and inducted at New Brighton. The Presbytery, so far as we are aware, has carried out no such induction and we feel the position very much.....' (Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 25 July 1916).

The Rev J McRobert, Moderator of Presbytery, pointed out that he had believed that the commission had been appointed, as a commission of Presbytery, to carry through the settlement at New Brighton, and that any irregularity was unintentional. Presbytery eventually sustained the commission's action in licensing, ordaining and inducting J W Gqamlana. (Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 25 July 1916).

Gqamlana's appointment came at a crucial time for the New Brighton mission. The congregation had been without a resident African minister since the Rev P Matshikwe's transfer in 1903. Since that time, Bisset Hanabe and, after the mission's transfer to the PCSA, Levi Mflatela and William Ntshekisa, had faithfully attempted to maintain the life of the congregation. Their efforts had frequently met with disappointment and failure. The constitutional developments that had taken place after the transfer had given the mission the organs of government necessary for daily maintenance. Gqamlana's appointment gave the mission a leader who could consolidate the scattered groups in the congregation and form them into a community. Gqamlana's particular gifts were also crucial for the subsequent development of the mission. He had discovered, perhaps through his experience as a teacher at the mission school at Fort Beaufort,¹⁰⁸ that growth and learning required patience. Ironically, the Rev David Hunter, Moderator of the PCSA in 1918, emphasised the need for patience in his address to the New Brighton congregation in March 1918. Using as his text, 'But let patience have her perfect work, that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting nothing',¹⁰⁹ he contrasted man's hurry with God's patience:

You boil your porridge in the morning... and it is done in half an hour but before you can do that you have to take into account the long process of God in nature. The seed sown requires soil, moisture, warmth, light, and slow maturing and ripening. If it were not for these slow processes there would be no porridge ... great things take time to come to fruition ... we require patience with ourselves and our growth in grace. 110.

It is significant that patience is the quality which most adequately describes the Rev Gqamlana's ministry at New Brighton. He faced many trials and difficulties during his time at the mission, but he displayed throughout a depth of patience and understanding that enabled him to minister to the needs of his little flock, and to weld them into a strong witness in the life of the community.

108. PCSA BB(1912), 130.

109. James 1: 4 (KJV)

110. Letter: A C Scott to J W Stark, 13 March 1918 (RPC).

CHAPTER THREE

ESTABLISHING A COMFORT STATION

Gqamlana's sixteen year ministry at New Brighton spanned a time of particular hardship which left Africans less willing to accept a Gospel preached but not always practised by whites. The effects of the Land Act of 1913, the outbreak of World War in 1914, the rapid increase in urbanization and subsequent decline of location living conditions, the 1918 influenza epidemic, and the promulgation of laws designed to protect white labour from African competition, all had a deleterious effect on Africans' openness to a Gospel which proclaimed justice, reconciliation, peace and healing. 'From the same fountain seemed to come both sweet and bitter water'.(James 3:12) Yet throughout these turbulent years Gqamlana tried faithfully to consolidate the mission into a community where people could find constancy, comfort and a place where they belonged, when all around was uncertainty, deprivation and social dislocation.

In 1918 a severe influenza epidemic swept through the country leaving many families bereaved:

South Africa has never known anything to compare with this scourge with its awful toll of death. Cape Town and Kimberley have suffered most seriously, but Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and Port Elizabeth have been sore stricken, and there can be few villages or country districts that have not been plunged into mourning. 1

The epidemic disrupted the progress of the mission congregation and claimed the lives of Mrs Gqamlana and Elder William Ntshekisa.² Furthermore, the temporary decline in financial contributions from the three white churches during 1918 placed the mission in financial difficulties.³ Yet the epidemic had one beneficial result: it 'afforded to the general public a startling revelation of the distressing conditions under which the Natives live in our urban centres and to what a great extent these conditions were a standing menace to the health of the whole population, European

1. PC, vol XVI, Nov 1918, 129.

2. PCSA BB(1919, 121.

3. NBMC Minutes, 10 Dec 1918;

Members pointed out that the 'exceptional conditions due to influenza had disorganized church work in all its branches, but that further contributions would be forthcoming'. As a precautionary measure, the City Council's Health Committee had instructed all churches in Port Elizabeth to be closed for a month. On the last of the four Sundays, the Hill held open services in front of the manse, which were 'felt by all to be most impressive'.

ARH, 1918, 4/5.

and native alike'.⁴ The irony was complete: New Brighton location, established in an attempt to remove a health hazard from white Port Elizabeth, had itself become a menace.

In 1919 J S Young suggested in his Mayoral Minute that it was opportune for the Port Elizabeth municipality to take over the New Brighton location from the Government, 'especially from the point of view of public health, and (because it) would prevent the growth of slums in close proximity to the City'.⁵ Initially this proposal was rejected because it would require heavy capital outlay to raise the location to municipal standards,⁶ but the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 made the transfer of the New Brighton location from the Union Government to the Port Elizabeth municipality compulsory,⁷ although it exempted temporarily the inclusion of the slum area of Korsten.⁸

4. U G 34-1922, in T R H Davenport, op.cit., 13.

5. MM(1920), 4.

6. MM(1921), 6.

7. Natives (Urban Areas) Act No 21 of 1923 (Amended 1930, 1937, 1944, 1952, 1957, 1964, 1971):

Provided for the administration, financing and policing of African locations by municipalities as segregated residential areas.

Davenport points out that this law was motivated more by concern for welfare, than by ideology. Not all its provisions were undesirable:

'It systematized and unified the diverse laws of the four provinces; it provided a policy of slum clearance and the containment of disease; it regularized the financial system of urban locations at a time when it was advantageous to the local residents to have a separate revenue account; it provided for an embryonic form of consultation through advisory boards, which was capable of developing into something more substantial; it brought location brewing and location trading under a system of control, which it was for the local authorities to use or abuse; it laid down rules for dealing with urban misfits...One thing the Act did not do was control influx of Africans to the urban area; this would be the function of subsequent amendments in 1930, 1937 and 1952 bringing greater regularity to the labour market, and some easing of the housing problem, but undoubted hardship to individuals and to families. The 1923 Act, by contrast, did not create conditions of hardship. Its worst flaw was the damage it did to the Black man's confidence in the word of the White legislator'.

T R H Davenport, op. cit., 23.

8. MM(1922), 2.

The Port Elizabeth City Council took over the New Brighton location from the Government on 1 August 1923, thereby increasing the municipal area by 2 429 morgen.⁹ The location's facilities were grossly deficient and quite inadequate to cope with the needs of a rapidly expanding population. The water supply came from Port Elizabeth, and was stored at the location in two large tanks from which standpipes were supplied throughout the location.¹⁰ The general sanitation was also inadequate: two sets of toilets, consisting of six pails and six urine tubs for males, and four pails for females, were situated in the centre of each block. The toilets were constructed of wood and iron, with concrete flooring, and drained into a tank outside. No separate facilities were provided for children and, in most cases, the users were exposed to each other:

In all cases the construction is of such a nature that it is impossible for the latrines to be kept properly cleansed and in a sanitary condition. They are therefore all more or less in a filthy condition, and in the poorer quarters highly polluted with urine and night soil, both on the floors and seats. In the beer drinking quarters the conditions are worse, and when beer drinking is taking place, the state of things is indescribable. The urine tubs in these areas have been increased to twice the number required in other areas. 11

These pails were removed daily, and emptied into deep trenches about five or six feet wide and sixty feet long at a site about one and a half miles north of the location. There were no facilities to clean the pails properly; nor was there any system of refuse disposal, so most household refuse was thrown on the ground to be cleaned up by scavengers:

The whole Location is littered with all kinds of refuse, tins, etc., but more especially bones, scraps of meat, skins, etc., as well as animal droppings. 12

The housing shortage was critical: 1 133 dwellings accommodated 8 200 people; the average number of people per dwelling was 7.2, and the average number of people per room was 4.5.¹³

9. MM(1923), 28

10. MM(1924), 29.

11. idem.

12. idem.

13. MM(1924), 30.

Finally, medical facilities were insufficient for the location population. The hospital needed repainting and a thorough cleaning; the mattresses in its two twelve bed wards were worn.¹⁴ A visiting doctor attended the sick at the hospital at specified times three days a week, and a fully qualified pharmacist dispensed medicines at the dispensary on these days. Only three nurses resided in the location;¹⁵ two were employed for district visiting, and the third was in charge of the hospital. The high African mortality rate, in comparison with the white rate, was a direct result of the gross overcrowding, inadequate medical facilities, abject poverty and appalling living conditions in the New Brighton location.¹⁶

14. MM(1925), 55.

15. These nurses did a wonderful job caring for the needs of the vast location population. Alexander Kerr, Principal of Fort Hare, wrote: 'I recently paid a visit to the hospital at New Brighton, which is under the charge of Nurse Dora (Ngiza), and I came away wondering whether the white public was aware of the promise for the amelioration of human ills which shines out from this retired spot, and also whether the Native people realise the magnificent service which their trained daughters may render to their own race'.

CE, vol L1, Dec 1921, 190/1.

16. Comparative table of White and African infant mortality rate: taken from the MOH Reports, in MM 1904 - 1962.

	<u>WHITE</u>	<u>AFRICAN</u>
1905	56	145.3
1909	105	265.7
1915	99.83	257.73
1920	129.47	263.2
1925	97.3	243.3
1930	103.44	178.75
1935	90.71	337.43
1940	60.83	253.90
1945	43.91	213.24
1950	38.78	369.54
1955	25.87	443.34
1960	25.93	125.32
1962	31.73	117.28

Not surprisingly, the African population in Port Elizabeth had become restive. African loyalty during the World War had aroused expectations of social justice, that were frustrated as the lines of racial segregation hardened instead. A series of droughts increased the flow of Africans to Port Elizabeth and exacerbated further the slum conditions in Korsten and New Brighton. Sharp increases in the cost of living added to the discontent: between 1914 and 1920 the price of basic foodstuffs had increased by 105%, whereas wages had only increased by 60%. This meant that an African who was receiving 2s 6d per day in 1914 was in a better position by 40% than he was in 1920 with 4s per day.¹⁷ Finally, a number of strikes on the Rand, in Natal, Cape Town and northern Transvaal, together with demonstrations at the Kilnerton Teachers' Training Institute and at Lovedale heightened political awareness and encouraged Africans to demand an increase in the daily wage from 4s to 10s. Samuel Masabalala, treasurer of the Cape Provincial Native Congress, drew mass support away from the more moderate Native Employees' Committee, which had been formed in January 1920 to negotiate with employers for an increase in the daily rate, and redirected it into the newly formed Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I C W U). Agitation stirred up by this new union peaked on 17 October 1920 when Dr Rubusana, the minister of the Congregational church in the East Bank Location at East London and an outspoken opponent of Masabalala, was assaulted at a mass meeting in Korsten.¹⁸

The assault on Rubusana, together with the announcement made on 18 October that the municipal workers would strike on 3 November 1920, gave the authorities a pretext to arrest Masabalala at dawn on 23 October and to imprison him without warrant. During the course of the morning about 200 to 400 Africans gathered outside the police station. When their request for Masabalala's release on bail was refused by District Commandant Halse and Acting Magistrate C E Stidolph, the Africans warned the police that 'unless Masabalala were released by 5 o'clock that afternoon they would

17. Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the causes of, and occurrences at, the Native disturbances at Port Elizabeth on the 23rd October, 1920, and the general economic conditions as they affect the Native and Coloured population. Government Printers, Cape Town, 1921, 2.

18. P L Wickins, The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, Cape Town, 1978, 50/67.
and P Walshe, The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: The African National Congress 1912 - 1952, London 1970, 70/74.

release him by force'.¹⁹

By 5 o'clock a crowd of 3 000, including interested white onlookers, had gathered outside the police station. Police were armed and stationed on the steps, while about thirty civilian volunteers, mostly ex-servicemen, had taken up position on the balcony. Halse omitted to place an officer in charge of these men. The police attempted to disperse the crowd by turning a jet of a 'moderate-sized' water hose on them. This had the effect of 'scattering the natives immediately in front of the steps, but for a few seconds only, when the nozzle of the hose became detached and the hose itself rendered useless for the purpose'.²⁰ But this farce quickly turned into tragedy: the crowd began to throw 'stones and other missiles' at the men on the balcony; shots were fired, the crowd stampeded in all directions, and 'a rapid and sustained fusillade was directed on the retreating crowd for 60 seconds as alleged by some witnesses, or two minutes as alleged by others'.²¹ Twenty four people - including a white woman - were killed in the mêlée, and fifty were injured. The commission, consisting of Dr Abdurahman, Dr A W Roberts and C A Schweizer (chairman), appointed to enquire into the riot, established beyond doubt that neither District Commandant Halse nor Sub-Inspector Hart had given the order to load or fire. Although the commission could not establish whether the first shot was fired by a revolver in the crowd, as the men on the balcony alleged, they concluded that the temper of the crowd did not warrant the heavy fusillade started by the men on the balcony: '... it was unnecessary, indiscriminate, and it was moreover brutal in its callousness, resulting in a terrible toll of killed and wounded without sufficient reason or justification'.²²

Masabalala's arrest and its bloody aftermath alarmed both white and African residents in Port Elizabeth: whites feared that the riot would form the vanguard of further unrest, while many Africans left Port Elizabeth for the rural areas.²³ Masabalala was taken to

19. Report of Commissioners, 4.

20. ibid., 5.

21. idem.

22. ibid., 9.

23. P L Wickins, op.cit., 55.

Grahamstown and charged with incitement under the Riotous Assemblies Act. Meanwhile, local African leaders tried to continue Masabalala's stand on the wage issue by calling Selby Msimang, a lawyer and member of the I C W U, to defend their interests. Msimang managed to persuade the workers to withdraw their threat to strike. He also led the African delegation at the joint employer/employee conference presided over by W F Savage, Mayor of Port Elizabeth, on 9 November 1920. The employers rejected the African demands for a daily wage of 10s, and eventually settled at 4s 6d a day for all African workers except those in the building trade.²⁴ Masabalala was enthusiastically welcomed back by his followers after his release in November 1920. In the excitement of the moment the crowd rejected the 4s 6d minimum and persisted in their demand for 10s. Since prices were on the decrease, employers refused to give in to this demand. African resentment seemed to decline and, by the end of 1920, police could report that the African position was back to 'normal'.²⁵

There is no evidence to suggest that any member of the New Brighton mission congregation participated in this riot or in any subsequent demonstration. Gqamlana strongly condemned the riots,²⁶ and confirmed that no members of the mission had been in any way involved.²⁷ This passivity, especially from a congregation in the heart of the politically sensitive Eastern Cape, could lend credence to the Marxist allegation that religion had become the 'opiate of the masses'; but the sensitivity displayed by Gqamlana and his successors towards the plight of the urban African revealed that this was not the case. Although the mission did not produce any political leaders, nor did it encourage political involvement, it nurtured men and women who worked for the improvement of African living and working conditions within the existing political and ecclesiastical framework. The riot had perturbed Gqamlana deeply, and he warned the NBMC that further unrest would result unless two underlying factors which had provoked the rioters were removed. First, the high cost of living that caused considerable distress amongst urban Africans, made them 'ready prey to the evil suggestions of the Bolshevik gospel',²⁸ and

24. ibid., 57

25. idem.

26. Letter: A C Scott to J W Stark, 29 Oct 1920 (RPC).

27. Annual Report of New Brighton Mission Congregation, 1920 (RPC).
ARH, 1920, 8.

28. Letter: A C Scott to J W Stark, 29 Oct 1920 (RPC).

second, the increase in drunkenness amongst Africans further worsened the already distressing conditions in the location.²⁹ African resentment over the former factor had begun to subside by December 1920, when the cost of living and the price of food decreased slightly. But the liquor question remained unresolved as successive governments attempted to steer between the demands of the influential Cape wine and brandy farmers' lobby, for the extension of their market to Africans; and various temperance societies, which believed that only prohibition would safeguard African family life from further disintegration.

Prior to Union in 1910, the liquor policy regarding Africans in each of the four colonies was one of total prohibition of intoxicating liquors. There were three notable exceptions to this prohibition. In the Cape Colony, registered African voters were allowed to purchase liquor; liquor was allowed under restricted conditions to certain Africans in Natal; and, in the Orange Free State and Western Cape, employers could give their African labourers, over eighteen years of age, one 'tot' of intoxicating liquor a day. This policy was based on the conviction that Africans were unable to use 'European' intoxicating liquors with moderation: prohibition would thus prevent moral degeneration, ensure a reliable labour supply³⁰ and would safeguard public safety and industrial stability:

liquor will not only cause them to degenerate as a people, but will interfere very considerably with the supply...and... efficiency of...labour...and any extension of liquor privileges to natives would...prove dangerous, not only to the natives themselves but to the Europeans who come into contact with them. 31

29. Gqamlana confirmed that many Africans involved in the riots were 'inflamed with drink', and that the liquor had contributed to the violence.

idem.

30. PCSA BB(1903), 111/112.

The Rev A Welsh commented on the problem of securing an adequate labour supply: 'No wonder the labour markets of South Africa are poorly supplied by natives, when beer and brandy drinking prevail to such an extent. It certainly would be a blessing to have one law of prohibition over the whole of South Africa, and to have the people as well as those in authority determined to have the law properly administered'.

31. C T Loram, Native Affairs Commission, in Select Committee on the Liquor Bill (SC - '26), 35, in M Stein, 'State Liquor Policy since 1880', University of the Witwatersrand History Workshop 1981, Town and Countryside in the Transvaal: Capitalist penetration and popular response. 1

Official policy regarding kaffir beer was different. No colony attempted total prohibition, mainly because kaffir beer was generally regarded as the customary beverage of the African people. Nevertheless, in each colony brewing was strictly controlled. The stringent Ordinance 32, promulgated by the Transvaal legislature in 1902, allowed employers of more than fifty Africans to supply free kaffir beer for consumption on the employer's premises. This ordinance also placed no restriction on the 'use, gift, or possession' of kaffir beer in African locations more than twelve miles from the nearest town.³² The Native Beer Act (No 23 of 1908) was an attempt by the Natal legislature to control the spread of illicit brewing and to curb the alarming crime rate. This Act, which produced what came to be known as the 'Durban System', gave the municipalities the choice of either licensing individual Africans to sell beer or monopolizing the manufacture and sale of beer themselves. The immediate effect of this system was a considerable reduction in crime and drunkenness. The South African Temperance Alliance (S A T A) claimed that this reduction was not due to the introduction of municipal beerhalls, but was a direct result of social reforms initiated by Maurice Evans, which had already reduced drunkenness by 46% before the 'Durban System' was introduced.³³ Whatever the reason for the reduction, the 'Durban System' quickly spread throughout Natal, and came to be regarded by its advocates as the model for the supply of kaffir beer. The Orange Free State permitted domestic brewing of beer. Similarly, in the Cape, Act No 28 of 1898 permitted the brewing, possession and consumption of kaffir beer in urban areas, on condition that the local authorities gave their consent. The Port Elizabeth City Council was one of the few local authorities that granted its Africans this privilege and that resisted repeated attempts by the central government to introduce municipal monopoly over the manufacture and selling of kaffir beer. The Port Elizabeth Council divided the New Brighton location into two areas:³⁴ in the 'wet' area the residents were permitted to brew beer under certain conditions, but all brewing was prohibited in the

32. A Lynn Saffery, 'The Liquor Problem in Urban Areas', S A I R R, vol VII, No 4, 1940, 88.

33. ibid., 90

34. NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1928), 93/4.

'dry' area. The 'wet' area was further divided into three sections, in which the residents of each section, in turn, were granted permits to brew up to eight gallons of beer a day, for a period of six days, Sundays excluded. While one section was brewing, beer was not permitted in either of the other sections. Thus, once the brewing period had expired, the resident was debarred from being in possession of the beer for a period of two weeks, until his turn came round again. If a resident was convicted for being in possession of beer without a permit, or for excess quantity, his brewing privilege was withheld. Control was not vested in the police,³⁵ but in the residents themselves through a system of headmen of wards. This system worked fairly well and gave 'every satisfaction not only to the majority of the Native inhabitants, but to the local authority and to the Administration. For years past there has been little disorderliness, riotous behaviour or crimes of violence. Drunkenness, under the present system of brewing, has definitely decreased in New Brighton'.³⁶ Africans also favoured domestic brewing. It came to symbolise one area where their personal liberty had not been eroded completely; it enabled them to consume

35. The unnecessary harshness, lack of sympathy and violence frequently displayed by police during liquor raids became a source of deep interracial bitterness and resentment. J C Smuts, Minister of Justice in J B M Hertzog's cabinet, believed that the resolution of the kaffir beer question was of utmost importance: 'Much of the trouble we have today in our administration is due to this question...total prohibition...has proved quite unworkable and has been the source of much of the antagonism which has developed between the police and the Natives'. Conference between Municipalities and Native Affairs Department re. Native Laws Amendment Bill (Govt Printer 1938), 4 in Stein, op.cit., 15.

36. Evidence from the Location Superintendent before the Unofficial Liquor Commission (1935), Lynn Saffery, op.cit., 94.

Prosecutions for drunkenness, 1928 - 1935:

YEAR:

1928	..	..	58
1929	..	..	41
1930	..	..	44
1931	..	..	41
1932	..	..	30
1933	..	..	20
1934	..	..	18
1935	..	..	10

Figures taken from NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1935), 79.

beer in the privacy of their own homes; and it provided a lucrative form of employment for women living in the locations.³⁷ But it also hampered the work of the mission congregation,³⁸ particularly because it was sold at a site near the church.³⁹ Gqamlana and his successors at New Brighton totally opposed the system of domestic brewing and of municipal monopoly, and demanded absolute abstinence from every member. Three immediate benefits arose from this policy. First, abstinence meant that the members had more money to spend on food, clothing and education, and consequently could channel more into church funds. Second, abstinence meant that the members had more time to spend with their families and to attend church functions and organizations rather than beerdrinks. Third, abstinence restored self-respect, lost in drunkenness, that was being eroded in every area of their personal and communal lives in the locations. From the outset, the PCSA Assembly had promoted temperance amongst its members. In 1900 it condemned the 'indulgence and traffic in intoxicating liquors' as 'one of the greatest hindrances to the spread of the Gospel, the chief cause of the crime, poverty and misery which exist in the civilized world, and opposed to the spiritual well-being of the Church of Christ and the community in general...'⁴⁰ To combat this evil the Assembly established a Temperance Committee as a standing committee.⁴¹ This committee pursued a twofold strategy regarding drinking amongst whites: it attempted to contain the present bounds of the liquor trade and to prevent its extension in any form; it also encouraged members to use their powers of local option to decrease the number of liquor outlets. The main weapons in this attack were the church and the school: the last Sunday in November each year was appointed as Temperance Sunday

37. Beer and 'concoction' brewing provided a lucrative income at a time when industrial employment of African women was minimal. For instance, during 1926 there were 7 816 convictions of African women on the Rand for the possession of kaffir beer, while the total adult female population numbered only 24 000. H S Cook, Director of Native Labour in Select Committee on Liquor Bill (SC7 - '26), 387/394, in Stein, op.cit., 10.

38. NBMC Minutes, 19 June 1918.

39. NBMC Minutes, 19 Aug 1918. The Rev J J R Jolobe shared Gqamlana's aversion to beer brewing: when the NBMC were considering building a new church in 1935, Jolobe recommended that the mission should be moved from its present site because it was in a beer brewing area. NBMC Minutes, 28 Aug 1935.
See below, 92.

40. PCSA BB (1900), 140.

41. PCSA BB(1900), 142.

Temperance Committee: In 1934 the Assembly, 'recognising the interrelation of social evils', widened the portfolio of the Temperance Committee to include all social questions. This Committee was known as 'The Temperance and Gambling Committee'. In 1936 the Assembly decided to discontinue the Temperance and Gambling Committee and to refer these matters to the Church and Nation Committee (PCSA BB(1936), 40). Two years later it agreed to take the Report of the Sub-Committee on Temperance and Gambling separately from the Church and Nation Report (PCSA BB(1938), 42).

and was to be 'specially devoted to the furtherance of temperance principles'.⁴² The Committee also encouraged congregations to form Bands of Hope and Temperance Societies⁴³ and, in 1907, the Committee asked ministers to set an example to their congregations by abstaining, and proposed that a roll of abstaining ministers be drawn up and published in the Assembly's Blue Book, but no seconder was found for the latter motion.⁴⁴

In contrast, the Assembly's attitude towards temperance amongst Africans was unequivocal; total abstinence was demanded of every African member. It gave its support to the Templar movement,⁴⁵ and encouraged missionaries

41. (continued)

The following year the Temperance and Gambling Committee was discontinued as a sub-committee to Church and Nation, and a separate committee was appointed to deal with these questions. (PCSA BB(1939), 45).

42. PCSA BB(1900), 141.

43. PCSA BB(1907), 40, 181.

44. PCSA BB(1907), 40.

45. The Independent Order of True Templars (I O T T), founded in 1876, was an offshoot of the International Order of Good Templars (I O G T) and had been established initially in the Eastern Cape, in response to the I O G T's failure to admit African and Coloured members. Prominent members of the I.O.T.T. were the Revs P J Mzimba, E Makiwane, J K Bokwe and I Wauchope. Under their leadership the I O T T. was well established, and had its first Grand Session at Lovedale as the Eastern Grand Temple, with its jurisdiction embracing almost the whole of the Cape Colony. At one of the Grand Sessions, Bonani Mabeqa, a lay preacher in the Lovedale circuit, thoroughly convinced of the demoralizing effects of strong drink, moved 'that all alcoholic drink be damned categorically by all who embraced Christianity'. (G.H Nduna, 'A Short History of (I O T T) South Eastern Grand Temple', S.A.P., vol 103). Total abstinence thus became the main objective for this temperance movement. Membership continued to increase as new branches of the Order were founded throughout South Africa. In 1931 the first edition of Our Heritage was published under the auspices of the I O T T. Sol Plaatje wrote in his editorial: 'The Order to-day numbers a membership - Adult and Juvenile - of 90 000. It might well be noted as a cynosure of what South Africa should be. It has European members and Coloured members and Bantu members. It has men leaders and women leaders. It knows no race. It is Christian in its religious precepts, but it is tolerant and embracing in its sympathy and charity. It has the goodwill of Jew and Gentile, of rich and poor, and its efforts command the respect and admiration of well-nigh every religion represented in the Union'. Our Heritage, vol June 1931, in B P Willan, The Role of Solomon T Plaatje (1876-1932) in South African Society. Ph D London University, 1979, 310.

to promote total abstinence amongst its African members.⁴⁶ In 1903 the Temperance Committee expressed its surprise that unfermented wine was not being used in African congregations:

That alcoholic liquor should be condemned when teaching the natives and yet be placed on the Lord's table is, to say the least, very inconsistent, and your Committee cannot too strongly urge that such an anomaly should be discontinued.⁴⁷

It did not strike the Assembly that it was being inconsistent in demanding total abstinence from its African members, without requiring the same from its white members.⁴⁸ The double standards applied by the state and the PCSA towards drink did not go unnoticed:

The natives are quick enough to realise it. We drink what we ourselves please, give free rations of beer to the mine-workers, but tell other natives that it is wrong for them to drink liquor and that if they do so we will fine them. We allow every grocer to handle malt, treacle and yeast for the making of the very stuff we condemn. When we catch the natives in the act of selling the liquor, we impose so light a fine that the culprit can recoup himself within a few hours. This is not prohibition, it is trickery!⁴⁹

The PCSA Assembly resisted every attempt to repeal prohibition. In 1918 it declared its 'unaltered and unalterable opposition' to the Rooth Commission's recommendation that, in view of the gross extortion and malpractice evident in the illicit liquor trade, the best course of action would be to repeal prohibition and allow Africans to purchase kaffir beer, light wines and malts. The Assembly was distressed that South Africa should extend the sale of intoxicants during the World War, at a time when other nations were recognising the need for restriction. This was:

an eloquent commentary on the apathy and moral blindness to the situation which exists among large sections of the community. It is high time for the Church of God in South Africa to wake to the sense of the danger which threatens her through the subservience of Governments to the demands of the liquor traffic. Unless the Church transfers some of that heroism, which has saved civilization, into her crusade against evil in every form, her witness for God and for righteousness will be largely weakened.⁵⁰

46. PCSA BB(1912), 27.
PCSA BB(1928), 186.

47. PCSA BB(1903), 100.

48. PCSA BB(1938), 93.

49. PCSA BB(1929), 381.

50. PCSA BB(1918), 143/144.

Although the Rooth Commission's recommendations for the repeal of prohibition were not implemented, the promulgation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act No 21 of 1923 made the possibility of total prohibition even more remote. Clause 14 was designed to establish some uniformity between the four provinces in their methods of controlling and supplying kaffir beer to Africans. It upheld the principle that general prohibition in urban areas should be the rule, but made provision for municipal monopoly or domestic brewing to be introduced in areas approved by the Minister of Native Affairs. Both the PCSA Assembly⁵¹ and the Presbytery of Adelaide⁵² expressed strong disapproval of Clause 14. Gqamlana also opposed the extension of the monopoly system, but acknowledged that, if drinking was to be allowed in the location at all, it would be better to continue the system of controlled domestic brewing than to introduce municipal monopoly.⁵³

The Port Elizabeth City Council chose to continue its policy of domestic brewing for New Brighton location.⁵⁴ Similarly, between 1924 and 1937 fourteen municipalities in the Cape adopted domestic brewing, and one, municipal monopoly; in the Orange Free State twelve adopted domestic brewing; in the Transvaal seventeen; and in Natal, which had always favoured municipal monopoly, two adopted domestic brewing and seven municipal supply.⁵⁵

The Native Laws Amendment Act No 46 of 1937 made provision for the Union government to force municipalities, against their wishes if necessary, to provide facilities for the manufacture and sale of kaffir beer. The government hoped that by legalising the brewing and sale of kaffir beer it would reduce the incidence of illicit brewing and obviate the need for frequent police raids. The extension of the municipal monopoly nevertheless aroused considerable opposition amongst the African community. Africans in Port Elizabeth fiercely opposed the Act because it would mean the removal of the privilege

51. PCSA BB(1922), 44.

52. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 2 May 1922.

53. NBMC Minutes, 20 Feb 1923.

54. MM(1927), 7/8.

55. A Lynn Saffery, op.cit., 89.

of domestic brewing which they had enjoyed for so long. When it became clear that the Council wanted to extend the principle of municipal monopoly, the residents of the new McNamee Village unanimously agreed to forego their own right to brew beer so as to avoid the alternative of municipal beer halls for all. A compromise was reached whereby the Council permitted only private families in the New Brighton location to brew beer under permit and under the supervision of municipal officials.⁵⁶ Eventually, these privileges were extended to the residents of McNamee Village as well, to prevent overcrowding in the 'wet' areas of New Brighton. Each household was permitted to brew four to eight gallons of beer each week.⁵⁷ This system of controlled domestic brewing worked well. In 1955, when the new housing scheme at Kwazakele was being planned, the Council again rejected the lucrative alternative of municipal monopoly and allowed nearly the whole of Kwazakele to brew limited quantities under permit on the grounds that 'a policy of moderate home-brewing of kaffir beer, under reasonable control, is workable, is suited to the Native mind and tradition, and discourages excesses, drunkenness and the manufacture of harmful concoctions'.⁵⁸

The decision taken by Port Elizabeth's City Council to allow its Africans to continue domestic brewing was unique: every other major city chose to enforce the 'Durban System' of municipal monopolization. The Rev T Finca, in an article published in the BPC magazine Ilitha in 1938, argued that since the municipal system had failed to reduce the illicit liquor trade in Durban, would the other municipalities be any more successful?

There (Durban) the Municipal Canteen has been working for a pretty long time; but who can say that the illicit liquor traffic is improved there? If anyone wishes to know, he has only to attend the courts of Durban on Mondays, and see them crowded with natives carrying tins of illicit liquor. Municipal Canteens are only a stepping-stone to intensive drunkenness. Young boys

56. NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1938), 52.

57. A Schauder, 'Kaffir Beer - The Lessons of Port Elizabeth's experience and policy', S A T A Archives, 1957, 2.
Only about 14% of households in McNamee Village and the other housing schemes in the location availed themselves of this privilege, compared with 70% of households in the old location.

58. ibid., 3

who come from rural areas, who are still ashamed at their home to attend beer drinks, and some of them from Christian homes where they have never seen beer, are introduced to the evil of drink by these canteens. A taste of poorly brewed municipal beer urges them to seek the highly intoxicant drink at the slums. Durban with its Municipal Canteen has abhorrent slum conditions caused by illicit liquor traffic. You only have to go to Samseni, Umgeni, Jacobs, etc., to see what beer has done for our people. 59

The truth of Finca's statement soon became obvious. Municipal beer halls not only failed to eradicate the illicit liquor trade, but also afforded it indirect protection:

A drunken man, woman or child walking up or down the beer hall streets feels a certain justification in being drunk in this locality. Nobody is going to bother about where he got his drink from, nor does he care two hoots because 'being drunk' has received the direct sanction of the authorities. 60

The beer halls also encouraged the 'Shebeen Queen' to make her brew more attractive:

She knows or soon learns that (a) some individuals have acquired a taste for something with more 'kick' in it, (b) that others prefer European liquor, (c) that others, oddly enough, think it below them to be associated with the beer hall crowd. She makes provision for all these and gains her end with little or no difficulty. She makes her profits; others soon follow suit, with the result ... that there actually is an increase in the number of liquor dens. 61

In 1941 the Government instructed the Native Affairs Commission to review the liquor question. Evidence submitted to the Commission proved the falsehood of the two arguments frequently used to justify the beer halls, namely, that kaffir beer was a traditional food and beverage and that it was nutritious. Traditionally, kaffir beer was never used as a food or as a portion of a meal:

It was more in the form of a luxury indulged in on certain occasions, and its use, even to the present day, in rural life is attended with a certain amount of ceremonial...It is therefore a mistaken idea to imagine that the African, even in his most primitive state, day in and day out sits to sip quantities of beer. 62

59. S Lewis 'Kaffir Beer Halls. The Failure of ... "An Experiment"', S.A.P., vol 56, 11/12.

60. SAO, Nov 1941, Evidence to the Native Affairs Commission given by R T Bokwe, B N Foley and T Ntkosinkulu.

61. idem.

62. idem.

Analysis of beer supplied by several of the Rand gold mines revealed that the food value of kaffir beer was negligible: it contained between 90 - 94% water, from 1 - 3% alcohol, about 1% protein and 3 - 4% carbohydrate, including fibre. This meant that it had at the most 5% solid matter. Moreover this food value had been further reduced by the brewing process. 'This means that the daily quart of beer will cost...12/6 per month, for which a native will get practically no value. What native can afford that?'⁶³ The African would get more nutritional value from a small loaf of whole wheat bread, and one pint of milk or a half ounce of orange juice: these contained as much vitamin B and C as two quarts of average kaffir beer.⁶⁴

The most distressing evidence submitted to the Commission was the enormous profits made by the municipal beer halls. In Johannesburg alone profits rose from £32 768 in 1939 to £63 728 in 1940.⁶⁵ Such profits lent credence to Stakesby Lewis' allegation that the whole case for municipal monopoly had been built round a financial pillar:

...with a view to balancing the Native Revenue Account of municipalities with money received from natives and to avoid any contribution from revenue received from Europeans. All the talk about the food value of Kaffir beer, its anti-scorbutic properties, its being necessary in the diet of natives; that it would minimise illicit liquor selling and drunkenness and that no ill effects would arise from the establishment of Kaffir beer halls, is merely to build up the erection round the financial pillar. The inevitable loss resulting from the system is either overlooked or ignored. 66

63. S Lewis, 'Will Municipal Kaffir Beer Halls Solve the Illicit Liquor Problem?', S.A.P., vol 104, 8.

64. SAO, Nov 1941, Evidence to the Native Affairs Commission given by R T Bokwe, B N Foley and T Ntkosinkulu.

65. PCSA BB(1941), 128.

66. S Lewis, 'Kaffir Beer Halls: The Failure of ..."An Experiment"'. S.A.P., vol 56, 29.

Lewis lists these 'inevitable losses':

Health and efficiency impaired; less money for necessities; loss of time and money if convicted for being intoxicated; family suffers; drink promotes tuberculosis, pneumonia, venereal disease, poverty and crime; increase of juvenile delinquency; employers suffer; heavy costs incurred in caring for the diseased and degenerate; and finally, 'no amenities obtained from the "profits" on beer can possibly compensate for the material loss sustained by the community, apart from the injurious effect on the character of the people. Such amenities are bought with the blood of the victims'.

Even the argument that part of these profits would be channelled into schemes for improving African housing and welfare remained unconvincing: African welfare could hardly be improved by using their vices to add to their virtues. In this case, the municipalities' motto might well be: 'If you Natives want improvements, Drink more beer'.⁶⁷

The Native Affairs Commission emphasised the immorality of financing ordinary municipal services such as housing with beer hall profits, and suggested instead that beer hall profits should be put into a separate Kaffir Beer Sub-Account to be spent only on improving beer halls, social and recreational facilities within the locations. Ordinary services would have to be paid for through other sources of revenue. These proposals, contained in the Native Laws Amendment Act No 36 of 1944, aroused immediate protests from those municipalities that had borrowed heavily to improve African housing in the expectation that they could recoup these loans through beer hall profits. The state extricated these municipalities from their financial embarrassment by enacting that with ministerial permission municipalities could use beer hall profits to repay loans already incurred.

African opposition towards municipal monopoly grew steadily, and the beer halls became the chief target of African anger.⁶⁸ In 1947 an African was shot dead in a riot at Langa against the proposal to introduce a beer hall. The beer hall in the Krugersdorp location was destroyed by fire during a riot against passes in November 1949. That same month a liquor raid in Randfontein led to a riot in which women played a prominent part. The de Villiers Louw Commission concluded that the attempts during the 1950 riots to burn and destroy the beer halls had been motivated by the African's deep resentment towards the municipal system. During riots at Kimberley and East London in 1952 beer halls were destroyed, along with other official buildings. In March 1956, Africans attacked officials from the Welkom Village Management Board after they had withdrawn permission for home brewing. Later that year there was rioting at

67. S Lewis, 'Kaffir Beer Enquiry', Evidence submitted to the Native Affairs Commission, Johannesburg, Sept 1941, in S A I R R pamphlets, vol 1, 10.

68. See M Horrell, The Liquor Laws as they affect Africans and Coloured and Asian people.
S A I R R Fact Paper, No 8, 1960, 15/16.
M Stein, op.cit., 25.

Vlakfontein, Pretoria, caused by various factors, including high transport costs. The municipal beer hall became the target for the rioters' anger: it was first stoned and then burned. Finally, the opposition came to a head in June 1959 during a violent outburst of rioting following a police raid in Cato Manor, on the outskirts of Durban. The unrest spread rapidly through Natal and culminated in January 1960, when a party of policemen searching for illicit liquor in Cato Manor were stoned by an angry mob: four white and five African policemen were killed.

Cato Manor marked a turning point in the government liquor policy: after 1959 a fundamental shift is discernible as the government moved towards the legalization of the sale of 'European' liquor to Africans through the municipal beer halls and offsales. Several considerations lay behind this shift. First, the Intoxicating Liquor Commission estimated in 1960 that over 60% of all liquor consumed in South Africa was sold illegally. It recommended state controlled liquor outlets in the hope that these would undercut the illicit trade by charging lower prices and by producing superior liquor. Any profit would be used to augment the municipal Bantu Revenue Account. Second, a relaxation of the liquor laws would free a large number of policemen from the odious task of liquor-raiding and make them available for other tasks, such as the stricter enforcement of the pass laws. The total number of people arrested for the illegal possession of kaffir beer fell from 177 702 in 1959 to 17 029 in 1963.⁶⁹ Finally, the Cape wine and brandy farmers had exerted strong pressure on the government to repeal prohibition and thereby to increase the market for South African wine and liquor.

The Liquor Act of 1962 made liquor freely available to Africans, Asians and Coloureds; encouraged the consumption of natural wines and beer instead of fortified liquors; and provided for the supply outside African areas of kaffir beer at a maximum alcoholic strength of 3% by weight. The PCSA Assembly's response to this Act reveals the shift that had taken place within the PCSA itself. In 1958, when the extension of 'European' liquors to Africans had been mooted initially, the PCSA expressed its 'strong disapproval, since it is aware of the havoc European liquors have already caused; because large numbers of Bantu Christians are opposed to the proposal; and because of the increased danger to women and children'.⁷⁰ Three years later

69. Stein, *idem*.

70. *PCSA FB*(1958), 106.

the Rev S P Lediga urged the Assembly to make a 'strong plea' to the government to repeal the provisions which permitted the unrestricted sale of liquor to Africans, 'on the grounds that it is no privilege to his society, destructive to his society, and also in view of the poverty of the people'.⁷¹ This motion was defeated in the Assembly, not 'through lack of sympathy and deep interest in the grave matter, but through the difficulty the Assembly found in determining the best course of action'.⁷²

What caused this uncertainty in a church that had championed temperance and had made total abstinence a pre-requisite for its African members for over half a century? The PCSA had discovered a new priority: that discrimination was even more obnoxious than drunkenness. In 1959 the Assembly had appointed a commission, 'representative of the Church's most expert opinion in the field, and also of leading shades of opinion, to attempt to produce a single statement, which shall in the opinion of the Commission reflect the will of God for the Churches 'regarding race relations'.⁷³ The Commission emphasised in its report that it dared not speak with any sense of self-righteousness or pass judgement on the sins of others:

...we have to confess that we as members of the Church have not been better in our life and practice than the rest of the community. Within the fellowship of the Church we have had more opportunities of remedying these conditions but, in fact, have done very little. ⁷⁴

In its Statement on Race Relations the Commission laid down guidelines for eliminating racial discrimination in the church, for fostering

71. PCSA BB(1961), 44.

72. idem.

73. PCSA BB(1959, 33.

The Commission consisted of:

The Revs H H Munro (Moderator), C W Cook, E S Eadie,

P B Hawkridge, J J R Jolobe, A G Leask, S P Lediga,

W M J Lund, D McRae, J Paterson Whyte and Mr C A Woods (elder).

See PCSA BB(1960), 116/125 for Statement on Race Relations.

74. PCSA BB(1960), 121/122.

better understanding between the various races in the PCSA,⁷⁵ and urged the PCSA 'to build up, even if only in microcosm, the Christian community that lives, works, worships and witnesses without regard to the fundamentally irrelevant divisions of race'.⁷⁶

The Liquor Act placed the PCSA in a dilemma: would the prospect of unlimited supply of liquor to Africans be more harmful to its mission work than the odium of discrimination which prohibition implied? It is both ironic and tragic that the Liquor Act removed the one restriction which protected the grossly over-restricted African from further exploitation. The Intoxicating Liquor Commission of 1960 maintained that the Liquor Act would decrease African drunkenness. Instead, the number of Africans arrested for drunkenness rose from 66 559 in 1962 to 244 504 in 1979.⁷⁷ It had also hoped that the Liquor Act would remove African hostility towards the beer hall system: instead, the Act intensified African anger. This is clearly apparent amongst the African population in Port Elizabeth. For years the City Council had rejected municipal beer halls in favour of controlled domestic brewing, but the 1962 Liquor Act extended to

75. PCSA BB(1960), 122.

The Commission's recommendations included:

- i) The Book of Order should be amended to give expression 'to our belief that in spite of necessary differences in detail, there should be no difference in the principle of administration' of congregations.
- ii) Need for immediate revision of wages paid to African ministers evangelists and employees so that the Church was not itself a bad employer.
- iii) Urged all members who employed Africans in their homes, farms and business to ensure that they were paying fair wages.
- iv) Greater help should be given to developing African, Coloured and Indian congregations to enable them to accept greater responsibility.
- v) Joint Sacramental services should be held.
- vi) The development of a system of joint European and African Moderators at Presbytery and later, at Assembly level.
- vii) Urged that members put their 'Christian courtesy, brotherhood, and respect for others into daily practice'.

76. PCSA BB(1961), 119.

77. South African Police, Annual Reports, in Stein, op.cit., 27.

the municipality monopoly over the liquor outlets in the locations. This availability increased liquor sales dramatically: within four months the three new municipal outlets in the location had sold 3 102 gallons of spirits, 33 268 gallons of wine and 7 088 gallons of malt, at a total cost of R124 859.⁷⁸ But the Africans deeply resented the removal of their privilege of domestic brewing and the municipal liquor outlets in Port Elizabeth, as elsewhere, became another symbol of their oppression and a target for their aggression.⁷⁹

Gqamlana's main objective was to build the New Brighton mission into a community which witnessed to the power of Jesus Christ to reconcile, forgive and heal. His was not an easy task since many Africans were beginning to regard Christianity as 'the white man's religion', to be trusted no more than the white man's word. Yet Gqamlana's faithful witness gradually dispelled unbelief and hostility, and transformed the mission into a focal point in the community. Gqamlana held two services of worship each Sunday and prayer meetings during the week on Wednesday and Friday nights. Sunday School was held each week for children and Girls Auxiliary every Wednesday afternoon for the young girls in the congregation. A Young Men's Association was constituted and met every Saturday night. This Association fulfilled two crucial functions. It provided fellowship for the men in the congregation, many of whom were migrant labourers who had left their wives and families in the rural areas. It also played a vital rôle in training lay preachers to assist Gqamlana. At each meeting members would be given a text on which to preach. The other members would listen, coach, advise and guide the preacher. Very often these meetings would go on late into the night or all night. The highlight of the Association's year were the revival meetings held in November.

78. Manager of Native Affairs Report, MM(1962), 205, Annexure 'A'.

79. During the 1976 riots, four liquor outlets in New Brighton were destroyed. The Cape Midlands Bantu Affairs Administration Board replaced these by riot-proof 'forts' costing R160 000 each. The walls of these 'forts' were 30 centimetres thick, with reinforced concrete in the middle. High tensile steel louvres protected the windows. Steel lined doors, able to withstand fire for two hours, were set back two metres from high tensile steel grill gates. The roof was reinforced concrete. Each outlet was also equipped with a two-way radio, and the bolts of the door gates were concealed to prevent them from being forced open. Hotelier and Caterer, Jan 1977.

These were essentially evangelistic campaigns directed at non-believers living in the location and formed a highly successful method of witnessing to the community.

A Women's Association was also constituted and met every Thursday afternoon for prayer and fellowship. Each month a group of women from the three white churches in Port Elizabeth went out to the mission to teach the W A members various skills, including knitting, needlework and cooking. This valuable contact between the white and African Women's Associations was first established when the mission was transferred to the Presbytery of Adelaide in 1915, and continued without a break until the mission reached full status in 1962.

Gqamlana was not content to provide for the spiritual needs of the community through the weekly services, prayer meetings and the various organizations. His teaching background had exposed him to the appalling state of African education in South African and had convinced him that the church should provide this commodity until the State acknowledged its responsibility in this area. For decades the various denominational agencies had used education as a crucial auxiliary to evangelism. At nearly every station the missionaries built a school, or the church doubled as a school. Initially these mission schools aimed at providing only elementary education: to enable children of converts or potential converts to read and write, as well as training converts themselves to read the Scriptures, the catechism and the hymn book. But once it became clear that the various colonial governments were doing very little to provide education for Africans, the focus changed and the mission schools began providing primary education. Thus, while the State did subsidise some of these mission schools, the main burden for maintaining these schools fell on the individual churches.

Gqamlana first mentioned the desperate shortage of schools in New Brighton to the NBMC early in 1917, and suggested that the mission building could double as a day school during the week. The demand for education was so great that the NBMC decided to start the day school immediately as an experiment, without waiting for a state grant-in-aid.⁸⁰ The response was overwhelming: attendance figures

80. NBMC Minutes, 12 Feb 1917, 20 March 1917, 15 May 1917 for negotiations for the day school.

rose from 22 to 55 in the first month, and continued to rise steadily thereafter.⁸¹ The State officially recognised the day school in October 1917,⁸² and allocated a grant-in-aid of £60 p.a., which almost covered the salaries of the two teachers; the NBMC made up the shortfall of £20 p.a.⁸³ The day school eased the acute shortage of schools slightly,⁸⁴ and became an important auxiliary to the mission work: a family's connection with the congregation frequently began through their children attending the day school. The NBMC commented on this influence:

This School should receive our best attention and encouragement, as the Church and Sunday School will both benefit if these children can be held. They are really all heathen children, whose parents do not attend any church. 85

The church building soon became too small to accommodate the growing number of children attending the day school,⁸⁶ so the NBMC decided to extend the building by 12 feet, and to add on two wings, each 10 by 12 feet.⁸⁷ Gqamlana asked for a raised platform in the new part of the building which could be used as a pulpit on Sundays,⁸⁸ and the members of the New Brighton Young Men's Association erected a rail around the platform at their own expense.⁸⁹ The new cost of the extension amounted to £197. 10.0, to which the mission congregation had contributed £72.⁹¹

81. NBMC Minutes, 20 March 1917.

By September 1917 there were 73 children on the roll.

82. NBMC Minutes, 23 Oct 1917.

83. NBMC Minutes, 24 Aug 1920.

ARH, 1917, 11/12.

84. By 1925 there were only five schools in New Brighton, accommodating approximately 400 children. All the schools used church buildings. None of these buildings was suitable as a school, as none had water or toilet facilities.

MOH Report, MM(1925), 56.

85. ARH, 1917, 11/12.

86. NBMC Minutes, 24 Aug 1920.

87. NBMC Minutes, 25 Oct 1921.

88. NBMC Minutes, 20 June 1922.

89. NBMC Minutes, 27 Dec 1922.

90. NBMC Minutes, 17 Oct 1922.

91. idem.

Extension work in areas in and around Port Elizabeth formed another important part of the congregation's witness. In December 1917 Gqamlana informed the NBMC that very little was being done to care for the spiritual needs of the Africans still living in the city.⁹² The Committee decided to hire a hall in Fraser Street, North End,⁹³ which Gqamlana could use to hold a weeknight service for Africans living in the Vlei Post area.⁹⁴ This arrangement worked very well until April 1922, when the Vlei Post congregation was given notice to vacate the hall.⁹⁵ The congregation moved into a hall in Korsten, where it continued to hold services until December 1923,⁹⁶ when the NBMC gave Gqamlana permission to hire a church building in Korsten.⁹⁷ These weeknight services filled a great need in the lives of the Korsten community, many of whom were living in conditions considerably worse than those in the New Brighton location.⁹⁸ The little congregation grew so rapidly in membership and enthusiasm, that in 1926 the NBMC decided to make enquiries for a more permanent venue.⁹⁹ In August 1927 the NBMC acquired a double plot in Korsten,¹⁰⁰ and plans for the new church were submitted to the Committee in May 1928.¹⁰¹

The Rev James McRobert presided over the opening of the new church on 3 February 1929.¹⁰² He had helped to guide the mission from its inception in 1898, through the years of uncertainty under dual control, and had been an active member of the NBMC since the transfer in 1915. Thus it seemed fitting that this service should be his first Presbyterian duty after his retirement.¹⁰³ In his address, McRobert encouraged the congregation to continue its faithful witness

92. NBMC Minutes, 20 Dec 1917.

93. NBMC Minutes, 17 Feb 1918.

94. Vlei Post was a slum area. In 1904 the Government Plague Board had condemned practically the whole of Vlei Post, but the Port Elizabeth City Council had refused to take any further action because of the heavy cost to the ratepayer which such expropriation would entail. MM, 1904, 14.

95. NBMC Minutes, 18 April 1922.

96. NBMC Minutes, 20 June 1922.

97. NBMC Minutes, 18 Dec 1923.

98. Below, 88/91.

99. NBMC Minutes, 4 Aug 1926.

100. NBMC Minutes, 11 Aug 1927. Mr Wells, owner of the plots, sold the one plot to the NBMC for £35, and donated the other. The plots were Erf 98 Korsten: 20 square roods, 99 square feet.
Erf 100 Korsten: 20 square roods, 36 square feet.

101. NBMC Minutes, 9 May 1928.

amongst the Korsten community, and praised Gqamlana for the faithful leadership and wisdom that had enabled the congregation to reach this stage. The new building gave the Korsten congregation a new sense of purpose: within eighteen months the entire debt for the new church building, which had cost £304, had been paid off through the combined efforts of the three white congregations and the New Brighton mission congregation.¹⁰⁴

Gqamlana also started preaching stations at Addo,¹⁰⁵ Salisbury Park and Uitenhage.¹⁰⁶ The decision to form a preaching station at Uitenhage immediately antagonised the Congregational church there because, in the absence of a Presbyterian church, converts from the Presbyterian rural missions had joined the Congregational church when they moved to Uitenhage.¹⁰⁷ The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth eventually came to an agreement with the Congregationalists to allow the work to continue.¹⁰⁸ In February 1931 Gqamlana told the NBMC that twenty one members, a considerable number of adult adherents and thirty five children had attended a service he had conducted in a member's home, and added that 'the place is too small'.¹⁰⁹ The services were also attracting Presbyterians who had joined the Congregational church before the new Presbyterian preaching station had been started. The Congregational church refused to give these members their disjunction certificates.¹¹⁰ In June 1931 the situation was complicated further by the arrival of the Rev G G Miza, a Bantu Presbyterian minister from Somerset East, who had followed his members

102. (continued)

Newspaper report pasted in NBMC Minute Book.
Also printed in PC, vol XXVII, March 1929, 46.

103. P E Presbytery Minutes, 16 Aug 1928.

The Rev J McRobert was granted permission to retire after 47 years in the fulltime ministry. See Appendix E.

104. NBMC Minutes, 10 Sept 1930.

105. PCSA BB(1927), 145.

ARH, 1927, 14/15. This little community, consisting of 11 members, managed to put up a wood-and-iron building, 24ft by 13ft, at a cost of £24. Gqamlana visited them once a quarter.

106. PCSA BB(1931), 728.

107. NBMC Minutes, 17 Oct 1930.

108. NBMC Minutes, 29 Dec 1930.

109. NBMC Minutes, 2 Feb 1931.

110. NBMC Minutes, 4 June 1931.

to Uitenhage and who wanted to establish a Bantu Presbyterian church there.¹¹¹ The NBMC feared that if the Congregational church did not grant the Presbyterian members their disjunction certificates, they would join Miza's followers, and would encourage him to form a Bantu Presbyterian congregation in 'what was clearly our district'.¹¹²

Miza's tactic of following his members to Uitenhage was not unusual, but had been adopted by a number of BPC ministers in an attempt to retain the church's hold on its members once they reached the towns. Moreover, the fact that the BPC was finding it extremely difficult to realise its potential as an independent African Presbyterian church encouraged this kind of aggressive pastoral care. The BPC's federal relationship with the U.F. Church of Scotland had proved unsatisfactory, and created difficulties for the new church in three areas. First, the F.M.C. of the U.F. Church of Scotland delayed the transfer of its property to the BPC, thereby frustrating the BPC's attempts to become a self-governing and self-supporting church.¹¹³ Second, between 1923 and 1936 the F.M.C. withdrew sixteen of its white missionaries; the BPC was unable to fill the vacancies thus created.¹¹⁴

111. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 18 June 1931.

112. NBMC Minutes, 4 June 1931.

113. For instance, when the Rev J M Auld retired from Columba, the BPC Presbytery of Transkei requested that Columba, with its white congregation and numerous schools, should be given the right of call. If this was granted, Columba would be recognised as a BPC congregation and would be eligible to call an African minister. The F.M.C. deferred this request by suggesting that Columba station (and all similar stations) should in the interim be divided into parishes under white superintendence. This suggestion angered the BPC and frustrated its desire for autonomy, but the F.M.C.'s reply to the BPC's protest was conclusive: '...while alive to the advance of the Bantu Church in the number of its capable elders and ministers, (the F.M.C.) cannot overlook the fact that the Native Ministry is not yet adequate to undertake full responsibility for the whole work formerly administered and now in the process of development by the Mission Council' (F.M.C. Minute, in D van der Spuy, op.cit., 48).

114. By 1936 61% of BPC congregations were vacant. The F.M.C. had paid the stipends of its white missionaries, but once these were withdrawn, the burden of finding the African minister's stipend fell heavily on the BPC members, 'the majority of (whom)...are peasants, living in precarious dependence on crops and on money earned in the labour centres'. Most of the congregation's income would be spent on maintaining a minister, leaving little, if any, for outreach or for repairs to buildings.
Lennox Memorandum, 4.

The third area of friction was the continued existence of the Mission Council. The suspicions aroused within the BPC towards this all-white body were heightened by the Council's wide powers in South Africa: it was the Council's task to superintend the missions and educational institutions which had been the direct responsibility of the U.F. Church of Scotland.¹¹⁵ Moreover, the Council had certain powers which the BPC regarded as a challenge to its own authority.¹¹⁶ The Rev T B Soga,¹¹⁷ in a strongly worded memorandum in 1930, clearly expressed the resentment and suspicion with which the BPC regarded the Mission Council's executive powers in South Africa: '...it is an indirect way of nullifying the very autonomy of the Bantu Church. What the U.F. Church gives with one hand, it indirectly takes away with another'.¹¹⁸

The BPC's federal link with the PCSA was also unsatisfactory. The PCSA's decision to hand over its missions in the rural areas, but to retain the urban ones, had adverse repercussions for both churches. In the Presbytery of Mankazana, where white ministers had previously

115. In 1929 the union between the U.F. Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland was consummated. The union had no immediate effect on the conduct of U.F. institutions in South Africa which continued to be administered according to the U.F. Church of Scotland's structures, such as the Mission Council.

116. For instance, the Bantu Presbytery could appoint all moderators of Sessions, but when a missionary went on furlough it was the Mission Council's responsibility to decide under whose control the mission would be placed. Van der Spuy, op.cit., 48/49.

117. Tiyo Burnside Soga (1872 - 1938) was foremost amongst those Africans who worked for the BPC's autonomy: 'His whole heart centred in the arduous duty of building up the walls of the Bantu Church, and tried to lead it to grow strong in its material and spiritual side....His ambition was to see his race once more restored to the privileges any human being is expected to possess. For this reason many misunderstood his views both in State and in the Church courts'. BPC BB(1938), Memorial Minute 1399, in van der Spuy, op.cit., 51/52.

118. BPC BB(1930), Appendix Memo by T B Soga, 49, in van der Spuy, ibid., 51.

regarded the mission work amongst the Africans as an integral part of their ministry, tension arose when the BPC minister attempted to assume control.¹¹⁹ The situation was complicated further when former PCSA mission congregations expressed dissatisfaction with the BPC, and asked permission to be received back into the PCSA.¹²⁰ A common

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119. For details of trouble at Somerset East and Glenthorn see Finding of Joint Commission of PCSA and BPC, which met at Adelaide on 9 Nov 1928. PCSA BB(1929), 398/400. Joint Commission: The PCSA was represented by Dr D Wark, Dr R B Douglas and the Rev J N M Paterson; and the BPC by the Revs J Lennox, T B Soga, G G Miza and R H W Shepherd.
120. Over the next three decades the PCSA was confronted by numerous requests from African congregations that had gone into the BPC when it was founded in 1923, but which subsequently wanted to return to the PCSA:
- i) In 1929 the Glenthorn African congregation submitted a petition to the Mankazana Presbytery informing it 'that the members and adherents of this congregation, of their own free-will have decided that they no longer wish to be associated with the Bantu Church, but desire to be connected, as before, with the Presbyterian Church and have the European minister as their minister'. A copy of this petition is enclosed in the Letter: R H W Shepherd to D Wark, 4 March 1929, (RPC).
 - ii) The Coloured members of the Adelaide church, who resented the name 'Bantu Presbyterian Church' because '...it is not a Bantu Church, but a Church for Coloureds. We want the Church to be named by its former name so as to get the assistance and support of the Presbyterian European Minister'. PCSA BB(1931), 770. Also Letter: J Black to D Wark, 7 Sept 1931, (RPC), and PCSA BB(1932), 96. This predominantly Coloured section eventually formed themselves into the Davidson Memorial Congregation, under the Session of the PCSA's Union Church in Adelaide. P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 April 1936. In 1940 the remnant of the original mission congregation, consisting mainly of Africans, asked to be received back into the PCSA. PCSA BB(1940), 95.
 - iii) In April 1936 the Rev J N M Paterson, Clerk of the Presbytery of Kingwilliamstown, received a petition, signed by 60 members of the Bantu Presbyterian church at Wheatlands and 38 members at Tarkastad, asking to be received back into the PCSA. PCSA BB(1937), 131/133.
 - iv) In April 1939 the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth received a petition signed by over 100 members of the Bantu Presbyterian church in Somerset East for readmission to PCSA. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 April 1939; PCSA BB(1939), 152.
 - v) Petition received by Assembly's AMC from BPC members at Fort Beaufort. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 10 Dec 1941.
 - vi) Petition from BPC congregation at Alice (70 members plus adherents). Assembly's AMC Minutes, 16 Nov 1943.
 - vii) In 1955 members left the BPC congregation at Donhill, Natal, to join the PCSA. PCSA BB(1955), 78/79. See Appendix D for relationship with BPC at Somerset East, Glenthorn and Adelaide.

complaint amongst these petitioners was that they had not received from the Bantu Presbyterian ministers the same pastoral care and regular administration of the Sacraments that they had enjoyed under the PCSA. In part this was because the rapid withdrawal of Scottish missionaries by the U.F. Church of Scotland had left too many vacancies for the BPC ministers to fill. It was also because the financial insecurity experienced by many BPC ministers encouraged them to augment their incomes through other activities,¹²¹ with the result that evangelism and pastoral work was neglected and the organisation and administration of congregational affairs was grossly inefficient.¹²² In their attempts to overcome this financial insecurity, many BPC ministers left the rural charges and, like Miza, followed their members to the urban areas. This policy immediately jeopardised the existence of the PCSA's African missions in the towns. It also created the anomaly of two Presbyterian churches, often in close proximity to each other, competing for the allegiance of the Presbyterian Africans when they entered the towns. This competition gravely damaged the credibility of both churches, but neither church was prepared to stand back and allow the other the right to sole occupancy in the city:

The crux of the matter seems to be this: that the Presbyterian Church feels that, as a Church of Christ, it has a duty of service to the Bantu people and must answer this call for help that comes home to the heart of every Christian, while the Bantu Presbyterian Church regards the whole work amongst the Bantu peoples as its own province, an obligation that should be met by it alone. To anyone conversant with the situation to-day in South Africa, it will be at once apparent that constantly increasing trouble must take place between two Churches, essentially one, yet holding policies so diametrically opposed. 123.

121. Lennox Memorandum, 4 : '...anything from teaching and freelance journalism to farming, running a butchery, insurance agency etc!'

122. ibid., 3 : 'There are very few Bantu men in the whole of South Africa who have the organizing ability necessary to prepare a programme of Christian service for a centre station and several outstations, and to enthuse their workers with loyalty and zeal. There has been a falling away in the much needed work of evangelism among the heathen, and the present Christian community is not being adequately conserved. The systematic visitation by ministers and elders of homes in the district is a thing almost unknown!'

123. PCSA BB(1937), 134.

By September 1931 the tension between the PCSA and the BPC agents in Uitenhage had reached such a pitch that the PCSA Assembly decided to refer the whole matter to the PCSA/BPC Joint Commission for resolution.¹²⁴ The Joint Commission, which met at Adelaide on 16 December 1931, unanimously reaffirmed their belief 'that the advancement of the Church of God in South Africa is conditioned by the degree of co-operation that prevails between these Churches'.¹²⁵ They therefore emphasised that where territorial boundaries had been defined or were recognised by custom, these should be diligently respected by the agents of both churches. The NBMC were satisfied with the Joint Commission's decision, and 'hoped that a stop would be put to Miza's encroachment on our work there'.¹²⁶ The situation seemed to settle after a while and, in April 1932, the NBMC minuted that 'trouble with the Bantu Church seemed to be dying out'.¹²⁷ The burden of ministering to the New Brighton mission congregation; managing the day school and caring for the spiritual needs of the various outstations placed considerable strain on Gqamlana. His serious illness during 1929 convinced the NBMC that the mission had grown too large to be controlled efficiently by one man.¹²⁸ The NBMC appointed evangelist Titus Tatu to assist Gqamlana in June 1931,¹²⁹ but Gqamlana died unexpectedly on 2 July 1932, at the age of fifty.¹³⁰

124. PCSA BB(1931) 672.

Joint Commission: PCSA was represented by the Rt Rev R B Douglas, the Rev J Black, Principal A Kerr, A G Scott.

BPC was represented by the Revs J Lennox, R H W Shepherd and G G Miza.

125. PCSA BB(1932), 135 for Finding of Joint Commission.

Also Assembly's AMC Minutes, 19 May 1932.

126. NBMC Minutes, 23 Dec 1931.

127. NBMC Minutes, 7 April 1932.

128. ARH, 1929, 13.

129. NBMC Minutes, 10 Sept 1930, 4 June 1931.

Tatu was paid a salary of £8 per month on a monthly agreement.

130. P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 July 1932.

NBMC Minutes, 20 July 1932.

PC, vol XXX, Aug 1932, 129.

Port Elizabeth Presbyterian Magazine, Aug 1932, 3.

Gqamlana carried the mission through a crucial time of transition. Internally, the mission had suffered severely through the clumsy system of dual control by the Synod of Kafraria and the Presbytery of Adelaide. When Gqamlana arrived at the mission in 1916 there were only twenty members. By his death in 1931 membership had reached 328.¹³¹ He encouraged the congregation to face the external threats exerted by political, social and economic conditions and, through his patient leadership Gqamlana moulded them into a cohesive and caring community. His energies were not channelled solely into the mission at New Brighton: he also formed the spearhead of the congregation's witness to the surrounding areas. He had encouraged the formation of the day school, thereby alleviating the chronic shortage of schools and also forming a crucial auxiliary to the mission. The preaching stations at Korsten, Addo, Salisbury Park and Uitenhage arose from his enthusiasm and encouragement. At the time of his death Gqamlana was in the process of establishing a preaching station at Barkly Bridge. Gqamlana also made a great contribution to the life of the wider New Brighton community, which the City Council recognised by nominating him to the New Brighton Native Advisory Board when it was established in 1928.¹³² He was also a member of the Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu in Port Elizabeth, and represented New Brighton at government conferences held in Pretoria

131. Membership figures for New Brighton mission and outstations for the period 1916 - 1931:

1916	..	..	20
1917	..	..	44
1918	..	..	48
1919	..	..	67
1920	..	..	82
1921	..	..	94
1922	..	..	118
1923	..	..	106
1924	..	..	131
1925	..	..	145
1926	..	..	158
1927	..	..	227
1928	..	..	242
1929	..	..	244
1930	..	..	287
1931	..	..	328

Figures taken from NBMC Minutes and ARH for these years.

132. The New Brighton Native Advisory Board was established in 1928. It consisted of six members, two of whom were nominated by the City Council, and four were elected by the residents of New Brighton, with the Location Superintendent as chairman ex officio. NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1928), 94. In 1940 the number of members nominated by the City Council was increased by two to four, making eight members in all. NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1940), 71.

and Cape Town. Thus in the course of faithfully ministering to the needs of his congregation, Gqamlana won the respect and love of a wide range of people. In Gqamlana the congregation recognised a leader they could follow; Presbytery trusted his leadership and placed into his hands increasing responsibility for all aspects of mission work; and the City Council valued his contributions to the Advisory Board as representative of the views of the African people.

CHAPTER FOUR

PASTORS AND TEACHERS or PASTORS OR TEACHERS?

Jarvis Gqamlana's unexpected death left the future of the New Brighton mission congregation in the balance. The degree of consolidation and expansion that had taken place during his ministry had confirmed the NBMC's belief that the congregation needed a resident African minister to ensure its continued development. But the scarcity of ordained African ministers in the PCSA made the vacancy very difficult to fill. This task was made more urgent immediately after Gqamlana's death, when the BPC started recruiting members from the mission and the church at Korsten for its new congregation in New Brighton.¹ Ironically, two former BPC ministers prevented the further disintegration of the congregation.

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1. Shortly after Gqamlana's death the Rev G G Miza started attracting members away from the New Brighton mission. The Rev R H W Shepherd informed the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth that he had received a petition, signed by two elders and two deacons from the mission, claiming to represent 200 members of the congregation who wanted to be admitted to the BPC. (NBMC Minutes, July 1932; Port Elizabeth Presbyterian Magazine, Aug 1932, 3). The NBMC were deeply perturbed by this, especially since Miza seemed to have broken the agreement reached at Adelaide in December 1931. The PCSA/BPC Joint Commission, which met at Lovedale in August 1932, dismissed the petition because it seemed too vague and indefinite. (PCSA BB(1932), 136/7). A small group of members subsequently left the mission and the church at Korsten, but the majority remained loyal to the PCSA. (Assembly's AMC Minutes, 18 July 1933).

The BPC also took advantage of the two year vacancy following the Rev J J R Jolobe's resignation in 1937, to place a man at New Brighton. When the Rev G B Molefe was eventually inducted on 3 December 1939, the BPC accused the PCSA of breaking the agreement reached by the PCSA/BPC Joint Committee on 17 August 1938, which stipulated that the towns should be left to the church which had begun work there first. (PCSA BB(1939), 150/151, for full copy of Joint Committee's proposals; also BPC BB(1939), 23/24). Principal A Kerr pointed out to the Joint Commission, at Kingwilliamstown on 6 December 1939, that although the New Brighton charge had been vacant for a long period, the PCSA had occupied that field for many years before it was entered by the BPC, and that therefore the BPC's accusation had been made under a misapprehension. (PCSA BB(1940), 92 for Report of PCSA/BPC Joint Commission). The Joint Commission also dealt with the BPC's protest about the way Molefe, a BPC minister, had been inducted to the PCSA charge at New Brighton. (BPC BB(1939), para 2 of Minute 1451). A Linton, speaking on behalf of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, apologised for the seeming discourtesy to the BPC Presbytery of Natal, and explained that the oversight was due to the fact that Molefe had been approached while he was still studying in America. The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth nevertheless had not inducted Molefe until the BPC Presbytery of Natal had granted his release. (PCSA BB(1940), 92/93 for Report of PCSA/BPC Joint Commission).

For other PCSA/BPC clashes, see below, 95/100.

In March 1933 the Rev James James Ranisi Jolobe was inducted to the mission.² He and his successor, the Rev George Benjamin Molefe,³ reversed the drift towards the BPC, firmly re-established the congregation, and set the tone and the direction for the congregation's development over the next forty years.

These two remarkable men made an invaluable contribution to the life and witness of the mission. They had shared very similar backgrounds and training, and this brought to the mission a considerable degree of continuity. Like Gqamlana, both men had been teachers before entering the BPC ministry. They had trained together at the South African Native College (later the university of Fort Hare)⁴ where, with their friend Africa Nzimande, they became known as the 'indivisible trio'.⁵ The privilege of tertiary education made a deep impression on both men. After their ordination they devoted their talents as teachers and their influence as ministers towards rectifying and raising the appalling standard of African education in South Africa. Both men

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2. J J R Jolobe was inducted as minister of the New Brighton mission church on 12 March 1933. His stipend was £130 p.a., plus travelling expenses, but no manse.
NBMC Minutes, 22 Feb 1933.
P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 March 1933.
 3. G B Molefe was inducted as minister of the New Brighton mission church on 3 December 1939.
P E Presbytery Minutes, 3 Dec 1939.
PC, vol XXXVII, Feb 1940, 48.
 4. PC, vol XXXI, March 1933, 42.
Editorial commented on the graduation of J J R Jolobe and G B Molefe: 'These two men, both of whom were boarders at the Presbyterian Hostel at Fort Hare, went to the college to take their Theological course, which they completed. Concurrently they set themselves to qualify for the matriculation and the degree. Being over 25 years of age, they were conditionally exempted from matriculation and were ultimately able to take degree studies. This involved their passing in the case of Mr Jolobe, Greek on the higher matriculation standard, and in the case of Mr Molefe, Latin on the higher matriculation standard, under the old five subject matriculation regulations. These hurdles both have surmounted mainly by private study...The Principal writes: "I can assure you that to obtain the degree as these men have obtained it has meant much more than the usual amount of persistence and hard work"'.
PC, vol XXXVII, Feb 1940, 48.
 5. G B Molefe, My Life, MS, 7.

eventually received doctoral degrees from Fort Hare University in recognition of their service to the African community.⁶

Jolobe and Molefe became respected leaders and represented their communities in a wide range of positions.⁷ They also pioneered the way for Africans to assume responsible positions within the PCSA. In 1953 Molefe became the first African in the PCSA to be elected as a moderator of Presbytery.⁸ This set a precedent for future appointments within the PCSA as well as within other denominations.⁹ Twenty years later Jolobe was the first African to be elected as moderator of the General Assembly, the highest office in the PCSA.¹⁰

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6. Jolobe received his honorary doctorate in April 1974, in recognition of his considerable contribution to Xhosa literature.
E.P. Herald, 29 April 1974.
SAO, vol 106, Dec 1976.

Molefe received his honorary doctorate in 1978, in recognition of his outstanding service to the church and the community.
Evening Post, 14 Oct 1977; 31 March 1978; 29 April 1978.

7. See individual biographies, Appendix E.
8. P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 October 1952.
Molefe was inducted as moderator on 10 February 1953. Presbytery subsequently received letters protesting about Molefe's appointment from the Boards of Management at Adelaide, Glenthorn, Stanley and Somerset East; (see Appendix D) but these protests were subsequently resolved by a Presbytery Commission (P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 May 1953). Molefe became a target for much criticism and abuse: 'This was the first time that a Black clergyman was elected to head White congregations. Many White politicians decried the appointment. I received many abusing letters from White women. I was happy to have opened an avenue for the service of our Lord Jesus Christ'. (G.B. Molefe, op.cit., 16).
During his term of office Molefe inducted the Rev M A Hartslielief to St Columba's Church, Port Elizabeth:
'This brought another loud outcry among certain denominations because it was the first time that a Black clergyman may induct a White church minister. One statement read, I quote, "South Africa! Beware"'. (idem.).
E.P. Herald, 11 Feb 1953; 24 Feb 1953.
Evening Post, 10 Feb 1953; 27 April 1953.
9. G B Molefe, op.cit., 16, comments on this precedent:
'If there be one healthy thing that the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa did was to open the way for sister churches such as the Church of the Province, the Roman Catholic Church, Methodist Church and a few other denominations followed suit without any fear. Since the event several other churches have nominated Blacks to highest positions in their churches'.
10. PCSA BB(1976), 119/120.
E.P. Herald, 29 April 1974.

Perhaps the greatest quality which these men shared was their ability to reconcile differences and foster peace amongst various discordant groups. Throughout their ministries Jolobe and Molefe preached the Gospel of reconciliation between Black and White, and within their own community. Like Gqamlana, they were determined to work for change within existing church and state structures. This attitude aroused the criticism and hostility of extremists who saw violence and revolution as the only means available to Africans to effect changes. Often at great personal risk Jolobe and Molefe courageously resisted the revolutionary alternative, and constantly endeavoured to dissuade others from that course of action.¹¹ In this way their bold witness

11. For instance, during the late 1950's and early 1960's, when African National Congress (ANC) activity was at its height, both Jolobe and Molefe came under attack from the ANC for their reconciliatory attitudes. In February 1960 Jolobe received a handwritten threat letter addressed to 'Judas Iscariot Who benefits' from 'Central Committee, Hell': 'You know the end of Judas Iscariot. We give you 7 days to resign from Fort Hare Advisory Board. Stick to the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures otherwise if you deviate you will end like Judas Iscariot'.

The Rev Mvusi, the Methodist minister at New Brighton who was also on the Advisory Board, received a similar letter. Neither resigned. The following Sunday the services at both churches were picketed by ANC supporters with placards reading, 'the church must be boycotted as the minister was murdering the students by serving on the Committee'. The usual church attendance was not affected by the boycott: 'We carried on the service without any untoward incident. I may say all the office-bearers and the people were unanimous in condemning the interference of the ANC in matters outside their sphere. They felt we must ignore the threats and carry on our work as usual. We are still carrying on and we maintain that stand'. Letter: J J R Jolobe to M A Hartsliel, Convener of NBMC, 5 March 1960 (RPC).

SAO, vol 106, Dec 1976, 186.

Molefe angered ANC supporters by ignoring calls for a school boycott and by remaining on the Location Advisory Board:

'...I tell you, if it had not been for prayer, I would not have been here now. The ANC called me to a meeting, in the evening. It was winter. I said, "No, if you want to call me to a meeting, call me to a meeting in daylight. You want to send tsotsis so that they can kill me by the wayside and you'll plead not guilty and that you knew nothing about it..." One day, from three o'clock in the afternoon until midnight the telephone was ringing and ringing when I reply. My wife was very terrified. Until two in the morning it rang. A big gruff voice said, "Rev Molefe, wake up, we are coming now." I said, "You coward, if you are coming, come now, don't tell me you are coming", and that was the end of it. Nobody spoke again and nothing more happened. But I had a terrible time. The White fellows in town said, "Please come and stay with us", but I said, "No, I am an African." I told the ANC, "You ask the tsotsis to kill me and they will kill Molefe, but you are making these fellows so thirsty they will later kill you one by one..." '...One day one ANC man came to me and said, "They are just frightening you, they won't hurt you...you are straightforward.

deeply influenced the lives of many people within the PCSA and in the wider community; and became a testimony to the power of Jesus Christ to bring reconciliation and healing to a divided church and nation.

Jolobe was appointed to the New Brighton mission congregation at a time when the future of the African population in Port Elizabeth was in a state of flux. The rate of African urbanization had accelerated rapidly over the years, with the result that the housing facilities both in the city and in New Brighton location were inadequate to cope with the increased population. This situation was made more acute in August 1931 when the City Council extended the Port Elizabeth municipal area northwards by fourteen miles to include the Zwartkops River and Korsten.¹²

After the City Council had destroyed the Cooper's Kloof, Strangers and Gubb locations many people had settled in Korsten because it was closer to the city and therefore more convenient than New Brighton.¹³

11. (cont'd)...

'You have told us that you are on the educational side, and you are teaching people so that if they become real leaders they must be educated, and you don't go and splash in the press about the ANC. I won't do you any (harm)...''

Molefe also played an important part in placating the African school children after the 1976 riots, but he warned that the time was quickly passing when the African youth would listen to reason: 'There is tension now. Fortunately, not because of what I have done or not done, they respect me. They say, "This is our grandfather..." Fortunately they understand us when we talk to them, but there will come a time when they boo us, because there is no change in this country, especially in education. We hope things will change, we do our best and as much as we can. The last time (1976) we did not care whether our houses were to be burned, there were only five of us. We got hold of the students who were boycotting, we got all the young fellows from all over. I said to them, "I am now old and cannot lead, but certainly I will not allow myself to be ruled by an ignoramus." Some were very angry with that, but, the next day they went to school'.

Transcript of interview with G B Molefe, 2 April 1980.

12. MM(1931), 20.

13. Above, 35/37.

Korsten quickly became a slum as existing plots were subdivided to cope with the rapid influx.¹⁴ By 1931 the living conditions were appalling. Korsten had an infant mortality rate amongst white children of 246.57 per 1 000 compared with 82.36 in Port Elizabeth; the rate amongst Africans was 421.34 per 1 000 compared with 162.40 in Port Elizabeth.¹⁵ The Medical Officer of Health for the Port Elizabeth City Council estimated that ten percent of the houses in Korsten were so dilapidated that demolition was the only remedy. A further eighty percent needed extensive alteration or repair, and would have to be vacated to enable them to be properly repaired. Thus only ten percent of the houses required no repair, and were fit for occupation. In an attempt to cope with the alarming influx, many site owners in Korsten had allowed Coloureds and Africans to erect wood and iron shanties in their yards. Most of these had been erected without municipal authority, and were totally unfit for occupation, with defects such as earth floors below ground level, no windows, no ceilings, no cross ventilation, and they were not weatherproof.¹⁶ There was further evidence of extreme poverty in Korsten. Four hundred and forty four homes were found to be overcrowded, yet four hundred and fifteen rooms were vacant. This, together with the fact that most of the vacant rooms were in better condition than those occupied, seemed to suggest that overcrowding was not caused by lack of accommodation, but by poverty.¹⁷ As no public water supply existed, residents in Korsten relied on rain water collected in large open drums. During periods of drought residents had to buy water, sold by the City Council, from a stand-pipe on the city boundary, and retailed by the persons who bought it in barrels and paraffin tins at exorbitant prices.¹⁸

14. In 1904 May J Chalmers Kemsley described Korsten as a 'menace and a danger to the public health of Port Elizabeth'. The City Council contemplated extending the city's boundaries to bring Korsten within the scope of municipal regulations, but the residents of Korsten wanted their own form of local government. A Village Management Board was established in 1904, but this body was dissolved after it failed to change the appalling situation. MM(1904), 16. A second Village Management Board was established in 1906, but this body was also unable to control the erection of large numbers of wood and iron shanties.

15. MM(1931), 20.

16. MOH Report, MM(1932), 72.

17. idem.

18. ibid., 67.

The sanitary facilities were entirely inadequate. The toilets, constructed of wood and iron with earth floors, were situated very close to the houses. The tubs were removed once a week, but these frequently overflowed because of the large numbers using them, and thus most occupants used the yard instead. Rubbish, removed once a week, was dumped in the salt pan, and became a breeding ground for flies which infested the shops and houses in the immediate vicinity.¹⁹ Moreover, many Korsten inhabitants earned their living by transporting water, hawking or other methods requiring animal transport. By 1931 there were about four hundred donkeys kept in Korsten in improvised stables erected in backyards. Because the manure was not removed regularly, 'flies were breeding in large numbers in the manure and bedding, and in the unpaved floors of the stables soaked with urine and soiled by the excreta of the animals'.²⁰ Once Korsten was included in Port Elizabeth, the City Council immediately took measures to alleviate these appalling conditions,²¹ but it became increasingly obvious that these were merely palliative measures and that a more comprehensive scheme was necessary.

The Slums Act No 53 of 1934 gave the City Council wide powers to deal with this situation. Several factors influenced the City Council's approach. Very little racial segregation existed in Port Elizabeth and, more particularly, in Korsten, Whites, Coloureds and Africans lived cheek by jowl.²² The Council hoped to remedy this situation through

19. idem.

20. ibid., 68.

21. idem.

- a) Water pipes were laid down and stand-pipes erected at regular intervals so that inhabitants had only to walk about 400 feet to fetch water.
- b) Nightsoil was removed twice weekly.
- c) The rubbish dump at the salt pan was closed; rubbish bins were installed and the rubbish collected twice weekly.
- d) Four inexpensive camps were erected under the supervision of the cleansing department to keep the donkeys.

22. MOH Report, MM(1931), 46.

Estimated population of Port Elizabeth:

Whites	..	..	42 000
Coloured and Asiatic	..	..	22 000
African	..	..	12 000
			<u>76 200</u>

Estimated population of Korsten:

Whites	..	..	4 000
Coloured and Asiatic	..	..	7 500
Africans	..	..	9 500
			<u>21 000</u>

the implementation of the Slums Act, which made provision for groups to be relocated in areas laid down by the Council. Furthermore, it had become imperative for the City Council to undertake a comprehensive housing scheme. The housing shortage for Africans had reached acute proportions both in the city and at New Brighton.²³ Finally, since about 20% to 25% of the total population of Port Elizabeth lived in Korsten, the operation would have to be on a large scale.²⁴

The Council's Slum Elimination Committee²⁵ recommended that the best remedy would be for the Council to declare the whole Korsten area 'a slum' under the Slums Act No 53 of 1934; to erect 3 000 houses for Africans living in Korsten and in the city at a site yet to be decided upon; to rehouse the evicted Coloureds on a site to the west of Durban Road, Korsten, and the Whites at a site to be selected in Korsten or Sidwell; and to set aside a sum of £1 300 000 spread over five years, for the purpose of slum clearance and rehousing.²⁶

These suggestions were implemented by 1937. Layout plans were drawn up for 3 000 houses in McNamee Village, the new township at New Brighton; for 1 500 homes for Coloureds at a site adjoining Highfield Road, Korsten; and for 250 houses at Gipsonville.²⁷ On 21 November 1937, Councillor A Schauder, chairman of the Housing and Slum Elimination Committee, turned the first sod for the McNamee Village Housing Scheme.²⁸

23. MOH Report, MM(1935), 72 estimated that a minimum of 2 000 subeconomic houses would be required to house the existing New Brighton population.

24. MOH Report, MM(1934), 53.

25. MM(1936), 23.

26. ibid., 24.

The sum of £1 300 000 was allocated as follows:

For expropriation	.. ..	£410 000
For African housing	.. ..	300 000
For Coloured and White housing	.. ..	473 500
For rehousing in other areas of the city	.. ..	<u>152 500</u>

£1 300 000 (sic)

27. MM(1937), 9.

28. MM(1938), 4.

Over the next seven years a total of 15 680 Africans were removed from the city and Korsten, and rehoused in McNamee Village.²⁹

The rapid influx of Africans to Port Elizabeth forced the New Brighton mission to reconsider its mission policy. The mission could no longer be seen as a temporary community which only cared for the converts from the rural stations during their stay in the city. African urbanization had become a permanent feature and thus the mission church needed to adapt itself to meet the new demands a permanent urban community made upon it. This adaptation had three main aspects. First, the mission needed to be situated in a position which would facilitate the congregation's witness to the community; second, its methods of evangelism needed to be adapted to fit the peculiar needs of the growing African urban community; and finally, the scope of its witness needed to be extended to reach the growing numbers of Africans settling in and around Port Elizabeth.

The City Council's decision to implement the Slums Act and to relocate the Africans living in the City and in Korsten, added urgency to the congregation's task. The prospect of a large African township developing to the north of the original New Brighton location raised the question whether the existing church occupied the most suitable site, or whether the congregation would exercise more influence if it moved to one closer to the new township. In his bi-annual report to the NBMC in August 1935, Jolobe stressed that some decision was urgent as the church building was in great need of repair and the present site was proving unsuitable.³⁰ At that meeting the committee decided to build a new church capable of accommodating from 250 to 300 people, and a manse with four rooms and a kitchen, on a new site nearer to the centre of the location.³¹

29. MOH Report, MM(1945), 76.

Total number of slum dwellers rehoused under Slum Act No 53 of 1943:

		Families		Persons
Whites	.. ..	573	.. ..	2 589
Coloureds	.. ..	2 295	.. ..	11 318
Africans	.. ..	3 326	.. ..	15 680
		<u>6 194</u>		<u>29 587</u>

Mr W T Jarman was appointed by the Council to supervise the slum elimination scheme in 1939: 'It says much for his fine sense of humour, knowledge of human relationships and gift of persuasion, that many thousands of slumdwellers of all races were rehoused with not a single seriously unpleasant incident'. MOH Report, MM(1960), 31.

30. NBMC Minutes, 7 Aug 1935

NBMC Minutes, 28 Aug 1935: Jolobe and the New Brighton Session objected to the fact that the church was situated in a beer brewing area.

31. NBMC Minutes, 7 Aug 1935.

The new church was only opened during Molefe's ministry at New Brighton. The main cause of this delay was the City Council's own uncertainty regarding the future of the location. The NBMC decided to reverse its decision to acquire a new site after Dr D L Ferguson, Medical Officer of Health for the City Council and an elder at the Hill Church, informed it that if the location did extend northwards, then the existing site would become an important centre because it was near the Railway station.³² The following year J P McNamee, superintendent of the New Brighton location, advised the NBMC that the new African township definitely was being planned to the north of New Brighton. Therefore it would be preferable to procure a site near the hospital and the T C White Hall, as this would serve both the old and the new locations.³³ Following McNamee's advice, the NBMC reversed its decision once again and negotiated for a site near the T C White Hall.³⁴ When the plans for the McNamee Village were eventually finalised in 1937, the NBMC discovered that the Council had already allocated a site for a new Presbyterian church.³⁵ The NBMC requested the Council to exchange the sites as the site that had been allocated was not as suitable as the one near the T C White Hall. Permission was granted³⁶ and the building was eventually begun three years after it originally had been planned.³⁷

32. NBMC Minutes, 28 Aug 1935.

33. NBMC Minutes, 16 March 1936.

34. NBMC Minutes, 17 Aug 1936.

35. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 17 Feb 1938.

36. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 15 Aug 1938.

The Council granted permission for the transfer on condition that the day school continued at the old mission church until the Department of Education provided adequate school accommodation for these pupils. MM(1941), 38.

37. This delay had not been entirely disadvantageous because it had given the NBMC sufficient time to raise funds towards the £2 000 needed for the new buildings:

- a) The Assembly's Church Extension and Aid Committee agreed to a loan of £500 on a pound for pound basis. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 17 Nov 1936; NBMC Minutes, 8 Feb 1937.
- b) The three white churches in Port Elizabeth held a combined bazaar and concert in March 1937. The profit, £312.14.6, was given to the NBMC for the building fund. P E Presbytery Minutes, 16 April 1937.
- c) The members of the mission contributed £37.9.8½ towards the building fund. PC, vol XXXVII, April 1939, 83.
- d) John Pyott agreed to loan £1 000 to the building fund at an interest rate of 2½% for the first year and 3% for the second. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 24 Nov 1938.

Over one thousand people attended the opening ceremony of the new Presbyterian church and manse in McNamee Village on 5 March 1939.³⁸

The Rt Rev R Ashenhurst, Moderator of the PCSA Assembly, took as his text Exodus 33:7.³⁹ The clear parallel between Moses' tent of meeting, pitched outside the camp, and the new church, removed from its old site to a site in the new location, impressed upon the congregation the need to become a faithful witness in the new community. Thus, in every sense, the dedication of the new church became 'the dedication of every one of its members to the service of God and Man'.⁴⁰

The rapid pace of African urbanization in Port Elizabeth and throughout South Africa challenged the PCSA to adapt its mission policy to the new situation in the towns. Denominational boundaries had been respected in the rural areas, and Presbyterian missions had been left to care for their own members with very little interference from other denominational agencies. But in the cities the various denominations were in close proximity to each other; comity was destroyed and denominational rivalry abounded. The challenge facing the PCSA was thus not only how to care for the spiritual needs of its African members once they reached the cities, but also how to make its urban missions

38. PC, vol XXXVII, April 1939, 83.

The Rev Jolobe read the Scripture lesson in Xhosa.

The new church seated 500 and cost £2 147.

The Rev G B Molefe commented on the 'foresight of the Port Elizabeth Presbytery' for building the new Church and manse in the heart of the new location:

'The structure of these buildings leaves nothing to be desired.

The church has a seating capacity of about 500. It is well-built and the acoustics are good. The walls are high, with many windows, thus providing plenty of fresh air...Thousands of families are being removed from condemned areas. There is therefore an opportunity of spreading the gospel to these people'.

PC, idem.

39. Exodus 33:7, 'Now Moses used to take the tent and pitch it outside the camp, far off from the camp, and he called it the tent of meeting. And every one who sought the Lord would go out to the tent of meeting, which was outside the camp'.(RSV)

40. PC, vol XXXVII, April 1939, 83.

attractive enough to keep its members from joining the multiplicity of other churches in the locations.

The BPC's determination to extend its influence in the towns added urgency to the PCSA's need to make its urban missions more attractive. Some measure of this determination was revealed by the Rev G G Miza's policy of following his members from Somerset East to Uitenhage in 1931,⁴¹ and also by BPC activity among members of the PCSA's New Brighton mission during the vacancy after Gqamlana's death.⁴² But during 1935 relations between the PCSA and BPC deteriorated even more rapidly. The PCSA/BPC Joint Commission, which met at Lovedale on 8 May 1935,⁴³ was alarmed by reports of the rapid breakdown of comity between the two churches on the Rand, at Langa and at Adelaide,⁴⁴ and unanimously resolved that the only solution to the competition and rivalry between the PCSA and BPC lay in union between the two churches:

The resolution in favour of union...indicates the conviction of both parties that, by such union, a common interest that is in danger of being lost sight of in the strife of parties, will be safeguarded. We appeal in advance to our church to take this, our natural and obvious union, into prayerful consideration. If that be done, and we face the question of a basis of union with the conviction that our plain duty lies in this direction, matters of detail will be found easy of adjustment. And surely our first duty does lie in the bringing of unity to our own Presbyterian Church. 45

In September 1935 the PCSA Assembly reiterated the call for an organic union 'which while providing opportunity for the maintenance of what is necessary for the organization of the Native and European membership could allow both elements to maintain and develop their common Presbyterian heritage for the Greater Glory of God'.⁴⁶ But the BPC Assembly destroyed all hopes of a speedy consummation of an organic union. In response to the report on the findings of the

41. Above, 76/81.

42. Above, 84.

43. PCSA BB(1935), 127/133 for Report of PCSA/BPC Joint Commission.

44. Above, 79.

45. PC, vol XXX111, July 1935, 153.

46. PCSA BB(1935), 34.

Joint Commission, the Rev T B Soga tabled a motion⁴⁷ which 'amounted to approval of raiding your Church's congregations in the cities, by the establishment of preaching stations and appointing agents to minister to them'.⁴⁸ The Rev R W H Shepherd put forward a proposal approving the principle of organic union, appointing a committee to confer with the representatives of the PCSA, and appealing to members of both churches to remain in loyal connection with their own communions.⁴⁹ The Rev H Mama seconded this proposal, but later spoke against it. When the Assembly voted on these proposals, Soga's motion received 32 votes and Shepherd's 18.

47. 'That in the light of the present first hand information discussed at this Bantu General Assembly and to restore harmony the following line of action be mutually agreed upon: namely:-
'That the speedy organic union, considerably proposed, affect for the future only the Bantu and the Presbyterian Churches of South Africa, Native Mission work and property and that alone.
'That in the very critical and complex situation which has arisen, places like Cape Town, Johannesburg and the like be henceforth created into Preaching Stations with respective Sessions coming directly under this Bantu General Assembly, and that ultimately this Assembly resolve that these be sent down to the Appointments Committee for settlement'.
BPC Assembly Minute 1197, 3 Oct 1935 (RPC).

48. Letter: R H W Shepherd to F Stakes, 4 Oct 1935, Cory MS 16,460.

49. 'The Assembly having received the Report of the Council and other Documents resolves:

1. To approve the principle of organic union with the Presbyterian Church of South Africa.
2. To appoint a Committee to consider the matter further with representatives of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa, the Committee to take no definite steps for effecting union but to report to next Assembly the progress made.
3. In appointing this Committee the Assembly stipulates that Ministers of the BPC be allowed to co-operate with the local Ministers of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa in the labour centres and in doing so to visit their (BPC) people.
4. Meantime the Assembly appeals to members of the respective Churches to remain in loyal connection with their own communions'.
BPC Assembly Minute 1197, 3 Oct 1935 (RPC).

Immediately following the BPC Assembly's decision, Dr A W Wilkie, the moderator-elect for the next Assembly, tabled his dissent to the Assembly's decision, 'as I consider such a decision to be contrary to the mind of Christ and that it violates principles of the most fundamental kind'.⁵⁰ The Revs R H W Shepherd, D W Matheson, J Dewar and Mr C D Zulu joined Wilkie in recording their dissent. Wilkie, Shepherd and Zulu (who had been appointed Joint Treasurer), went further: they resigned from all official positions in the BPC, including membership of committees.⁵¹ The BPC Assembly received these resignations, then went on to appoint ministers in charge of BPC members at Cape Town, the Reef and other places. Shepherd believed that this policy would lead to serious repercussions in the BPC, 'though a few of the Native ministers who have chafed at the presence and influence of a few of us white missionaries may welcome the withdrawal'.⁵² Although Shepherd regretted that the long struggle to maintain the links between the two churches should end in this manner, nevertheless he was glad that he had no part in the decision: '...I had the same feeling as Dr Wilkie when he told me this morning that he had slept better than usual last night and had wakened feeling "clean" because he had no responsibility for a policy so contrary to the mind of Christ'.⁵³

Many BPC members were bitterly disappointed by the BPC Assembly's decision:

I cannot express the shock that Harold Mgudlwa and I felt in the proceedings of the Bantu General Assembly...I was so thunderstruck with the attitude taken by most native Assembly members that I had to bury my face and had to go out of the House before you and Dr Wilkie left the House. I simply could not stand the foolish clamour made by those men...What other congregations think of this action I do not know, but as soon as this sad news was announced at Main, members as far as the Ncoras unanimously expressed their dissatisfaction with what is going on in the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa, and if there should spring up the Scottish Church in South Africa, they would unhesitatingly cast in their lot. You know Sir, that I have ever depended on your good advice whenever there is such an occurrence in the Church.

50. idem.

51. idem.

52. Letter: R H W Shepherd to D Wark, 4 Oct 1935 (RPC).

53. idem.

You may imagine the feelings we have towards this Bantu Church. We are tired of the many foolish resolutions arrived at during the various sittings of the Bantu Assembly. 54

There were those outside the situation who believed that the policy adopted by Shepherd and the others was the best course open to them:

I think Natives are requiring to be told that they are far too ready to bite the hands that have fed them in their dealings with European Missionaries. It is getting a bit intolerable. I think there is no other way of dealing with them than you ones did. I am so glad you and Wilkie were so agreed on policy to be adopted. That's where the L.M.S. fails. They have never taken a firm stand with their Native ministers and people and the Native Churches know it and hence the weakness that has so crept in...If you saw the weakness of the majority of the Protectorate Churches by an abandoning of principle for expediency, you would see the wisdom of your action. A policy of accommodation has ruined the Protectorate Churches. The Native himself respects and follows ultimately a policy of justice which holds firmness also within it. 55

The Rev H Paterson, Convener of the PCSA's Committee on Relations with the BPC, was deeply disappointed that the years of negotiations for closer relations had come to this, especially when union seemed within reach.⁵⁶ He wrote to Shepherd imploring that some way be found

54. Letter: K K Qusheka of Main Mission to R H W Shepherd, 9 October 1935, (Cory MS 16,460).

This despondency towards the BPC was echoed in a letter from another African elder from Main:

'I may tell you mfundisis that people are tired with the Bantu Church. They say they never asked to be separated from the Church of Scotland and if the Church in Scotland does not send its men to take its work in their own hands they will see where to go. There is no desire for the Bantu Church. It has almost collapsed'.

Letter: S P Kakaza to R H W Shepherd, 28 Oct 1935 (Cory MS 16,460).

55. Letter: Damaged and incomplete probably from his brother, the Rev P Shepherd, written from Molepolole, Gaborones, to Robert and Mary Shepherd, 19 Oct 1935 (Cory MS 16,460).

56. Letter: H M Paterson to R H W Shepherd, 7 Nov 1935 (Cory MS 16,460). Paterson was particularly disappointed in the course adopted by Principal Kerr and John Lennox:

'I have never been more bewildered in my life than when John and Kerr took the attitude that they did. Admittedly, I had noticed, at our last meeting in Lovedale, that they were somewhat perturbed by thoughts that the immediate union suggested, of two branches of the Presbyterian Church, might jeopardise the larger union project contemplated by our church, but it never crossed my mind that they could withdraw from, far less oppose, a resolution they themselves had been instrumental in framing. Apparently I have a lot to learn of ecclesiastical diplomacy which I had rather have left unlearned'.

to restore the relationship and to prevent further harmful division:

What I fear is the isolation of the Bantu Church from all European influence. And I fear the consequences of that for them and for ourselves. And I believe that the first duty laid upon our church is to win the native people of this land into a sense of brotherhood - a brotherhood completely unrestricted by any of our peddling little notions and conventions which have, unhappily, invaded our very churches. 57

In his reply, Shepherd assured Paterson that the BPC Assembly's motion had not been influenced at all by the PCSA's Assembly in Cape Town the previous month, but was rather a movement from within the Assembly itself. Even before the BPC Assembly had convened, Shepherd had been informed by an elder that a section was determined to eliminate all white influence in the Assembly. 'While some of us have been blamed in certain quarters for championing too determinedly Bantu Church interests a section in the Bantu Church - and on this occasion they have prevailed - have felt that we have been placing on them too restraining a hand and that our efforts for goodwill and co-operation have been hindering the development of the Church'.⁵⁸ Shepherd was nevertheless not without hope: he believed that the Assembly had been 'packed' on that day, but that the vast majority of the BPC members were not in favour of this extremist policy. Moreover, he believed that the action taken by those who had resigned could possibly galvanize the laity into action. 'I think we must for some time at least leave the elders, who more than once before have made their power felt, to step in and they will do it all the more effectively if they do it themselves and not with obvious European backing'.⁵⁹ Thus Shepherd believed that at this stage nothing would be gained by attempting to hold a meeting between representatives of the two Churches, but that the most effective action would be to leave the Bantu Church to take its own course for a while. 'It may mean that in some places the situation will appear to get worse but it will be the crisis preceeding the cure'.⁶⁰ A further reason for hope lay in the fact that just before it adjourned, the BPC Assembly elected members to fill the vacancies caused by the resignations of Wilkie, Shepherd and Zulu, thereby ensuring that the PCSA/BPC Joint Committee

57. idem.

58. idem.

59. idem.

60. idem.

continued its existence.⁶¹

The BPC Assembly's decision in 1935 forced the PCSA to reconsider its commitment to African mission and particularly whether its urban missions could withstand the threat the BPC and other churches posed. The question of how to make the urban African church a more 'aggressive evangelistic agency' formed the basis of the Assembly's AMC's discussions in February 1936, and also of the letter written by its Convener, the Rev F Stakes, to all corresponding members of the Committee.

Jolobe was the only corresponding member to reply to Stakes' letter. His ministry at New Brighton had brought him into close contact with numerous Africans who were struggling to make the transition from rural to urban life. He believed that in order to equip the urban missions to assist its members through this transition, the PCSA would have to alter its mission policy in two crucial areas: First, it needed an African ministry able to cope with increasingly educated urban congregations; and second, it needed to increase its involvement in African education.

61. The PCSA/BPC Joint Committee continued to meet after 1935. At its meeting in Kingwilliamstown on 18 Nov 1936, the Joint Committee again raised the question of union. (PCSA BB(1937), 131/133) and a preamble to the Draft Basis of Union was printed in Assembly papers in 1937 (PCSA BB(1937) 133/135). The Joint Committee met to discuss proposal for union at Kingwilliamstown on 17 Aug 1938, with little result (PCSA BB(1938), 148). The final blow to union came at the meeting of the Joint Committee on 6 Dec 1939, when the BPC delegates informed the Committee that the BPC was not in a position to proceed with any form of corporate union between the two churches (PCSA BB(1940), 91/97). In 1940 the Port Elizabeth Presbytery overtured the PCSA Assembly to dissolve the Joint Committee and to allow all future matters concerning the BPC to be dealt with by the Presbyteries concerned. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 9 April 1940). In 1941 Principal A Kerr, Convener of the Committee on Relations with the BPC, admitted that the Joint Committee had 'not succeeded in defining spheres of influence, or in preventing overlapping, and while it has enabled our members to learn a great deal about the problems of the sister church, there has been no real basis for accommodation'. (PCSA BB(1941), 114). The experience of fifteen years of unsuccessful negotiations persuaded the PCSA that union was impracticable and that co-operation seemed unattainable; the least it could hope for was to retain the link between the two Assemblies through mutual interchange of Assembly delegates, 'for it cannot surely be in the purpose of God that when the summons is for unity in the ranks of the Church, there should be brought into existence fresh and disturbing divisions'. (Principal A Kerr, PCSA BB(1941), 114).

In 1922, in an attempt to raise the academic standard of theological education, the PCSA agreed to transfer its theological students from Lovedale to the proposed new Iona House⁶² at the South African Native College.⁶³ Entrance qualifications were high, despite the grave shortage of African ministers: candidates needed to have passed the Matriculation Examination of the University of South Africa or the South African Native College; or an equivalent examination; or to have obtained the Lower Primary Teacher's Certificate of the Cape Education Department or the First Grade Certificate of the Natal Education Department, with two years service as teachers or church workers.⁶⁴ The main difference between the course at Iona House and the Lovedale course lay in the first year, during which students studied non-theological subjects, such as Logic, Ethics, Psychology and Economics, which formed part of the College Matriculation course.⁶⁵

62. Iona House:

The PCSA Assembly agreed to assist the U.F. Church of Scotland establish Iona House, on condition that its students could be trained at Iona, and that the PCSA could have two representatives on the Iona House Committee (PCSA BB(1922), 30,40). Iona House built at a cost of £10 000, was opened in 1924, with the Rev John Lennox as Theological Tutor and Warden.

A Kerr, Fort Hare 1915 - 48: The Evolution of An African College, 76.

63. The South African Native Affairs Commission (1903 - 1905) had originally recommended that an 'Inter-State Native College 'be established to give higher education to Africans, thereby limiting the flow of Africans who left South Africa in search of higher education. The South African Native College in Alice was opened on 8 February 1916. In 1951 the name was changed to 'The University College of Fort Hare'.

A Kerr, ibid, 12/13.

64. T S N Gqobule, An Examination of the Theological Education of Africans in the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational and Anglican Churches in South Africa from 1860 - 1960. PhD. Rhodes University, 1977, 128.

65. A Kerr, op.cit., 60.

The PCSA hoped that through requiring its theological students to complete this course it could uphold the Scottish model of a highly educated ministry. In the short-term this policy proved disadvantageous because it meant that the PCSA lacked sufficient trained manpower to minister to the increasing number of African mission congregations in the cities. To overcome this shortage, the PCSA allowed African lay preachers and evangelists to assist in the congregations, but very often these men had little or no formal or theological education. The Rev S S Dornan, Superintendent of the Transvaal missions, appealed to the Assembly's AMC for assistance in training these men:

It would be a very great help to us to get some means how these teachers could be instructed to cope with the present learned generation in order that they may fill up both young and old members evenly with spiritual teaching. Many teachers we have are inferior to their Church members in knowledge. 66

In his letter to Stakes, Jolobe advised that if the PCSA seriously intended to continue its mission work, it should not allow the standard of its theological training to decline, but aim at having a fully trained African ministry. He believed that the best theological course for Africans was that offered by his alma mater, Iona House at the South African Native College. The PCSA would be wise to take advantage of this course and thus 'reap a harvest of reliable service'. Jolobe had no place in his scheme for ordained evangelists⁶⁷ because he felt these would produce an inefficient

66. PCSA BB(1935), 120.

67. African Evangelists:

The Assembly's AMC did not follow Jolobe's recommendation that ordained evangelists were expendable: the PCSA had to create a place for evangelists partly because it retained its high educational qualifications for its African ministry, and because it needed more manpower for the urban congregations. In 1944 rules regarding student evangelists were presented to Assembly. The minimum education qualification required for an evangelist was a Standard Six certificate. Every applicant had to be recommended by the Session and Presbytery under which he was working. The evangelist had to undergo training for two years, during which he would study Bible knowledge, Bible History, Bible Doctrine, an outline of the History of the Christian Church, Bookkeeping and Practical training (which included sermon preparation, conduct of services, pastoral work, and the principles of the PCSA). This course was to be taken privately until suitable arrangements were made for training evangelists in an institution. (PCSA BB(1944), 64/65).

In 1946 and 1947 (PCSA BB(1947), 80), negotiations were conducted with the Lovedale Bible School regarding the possibility of training evangelists there, but it was decided that the course, 'though excellent as far as it goes, is not sufficient for our requirements'. The situation was reviewed again in 1950, when Lovedale Bible School offered a new one year course. (PCSA BB(1950), 77).

ministry and would antagonise African members: '...there is nothing a Native Presbyterian despises as much as an Evangelist who pretends - they put it - to be a Minister'. Moreover, the system of ordained evangelists tended to breed ill-feeling towards Whites:

...for they imagine you think any kind of man is good enough as a Minister for Natives. Please do not misunderstand me. Natives do not hate Native Ministers...What they resent is placing of Evangelists over them as Ministers. 68

Finally, Jolobe recommended that the PCSA increase its number of lay preachers by creating scholarships for them tenable at the Lovedale Bible School.

Assembly accepted Jolobe's recommendations and issued instructions designed to raise the standard of its lay and ministerial training: it recommended that a large group of lay preachers should be trained at Lovedale Bible School; that the 'Preachers' Helps' printed by Lovedale Press should be more widely distributed in order to facilitate sermon preparation; and announced the formation of a Preachers' Study Class in Johannesburg, to be arranged and conducted by the Rev J Bruce Gardiner.⁶⁹

67. (contd).....

The existence of a group of evangelists raised difficulties because, as a result of the scarcity of trained African ministers, the work done by many evangelists did not differ from ministers, except in their academic qualifications their stipend and their inability to dispense the Sacraments or to act as a marriage officer. Moreover, in many cases these men were given power to dispense the Sacraments for a limited period. The Assembly's AMC pointed out this anomaly and recommended that Assembly create an order of ordained evangelists: these men would be entrusted with a pastoral ministry, would be authorised to moderate a session, and would be paid according to their academic qualifications and theological training. (PCSA BB(1956), 73).

Draft requirements for African ordained evangelists were placed before the Assembly in 1957 (PCSA BB(1957), 89), and the scheme was inaugurated in January 1959 (PCSA BB(1958), 93).

The PCSA also lacked sufficient manpower to care for its White congregations. To meet this shortage, the PCSA began ordaining lay preachers in 1908. (PCSA BB(1908), 42, 220/1). In 1932 it passed draft regulations for the employment of Ordained Evangelists. (PCSA BB(1932), 22, 80/2). But these regulations were unsatisfactory, and were described as 'quite unworkable on several grounds under present conditions'; consequently, the PCSA for some years had no Ordained Evangelists at its disposal. A review in 1952 revealed that the manpower shortage had reached a critical stage: in no single year since 1897 had more than 75% of its pastorates been filled; in 1952 alone there were 20 vacant charges; at least six other charges were filled by men reaching retirement; and finally, in the post-war years the PCSA witnessed a 'remarkable wastage from the Ministry into other professions'. To combat this the PCSA formed an Order of Ordained Evangelists (European). (PCSA BB(1952), 25, 94,95).

Thus throughout its history the PCSA had to live with the fact that it was never able in the circumstances of this country to produce enough ministers, White or Black, who could meet its standards. It therefore had to settle, as did other denominations, for a great diversity of educational qualifications.

68. Letter: J J R Jolobe to F Stakes, 14 March 1936 (RPC).

69. PCSA BB(1936), 119.

In 1938 the Assembly passed a scheme designed to train evangelists and candidates for the ministry.⁷⁰ The minimum entrance qualification for evangelists was a Standard Six Certificate. The course covered two years, and included general education up to Junior Certificate; an elementary course in teaching method and practice; and simple theological instruction which included Bible knowledge, Introduction to Old and New Testament, and Homiletics. The evangelist had to undergo a minimum of four years' probation before he could become a student for the ministry. During this time his practical work, educational attainments and spiritual development would be reviewed annually. Ministerial candidates were required to undergo a three year course at Iona House. Each candidate had to possess either the School Leaving Certificate or the University Matriculation Certificate; or the Junior Certificate or its equivalent.⁷¹ Candidates with a School Leaving Certificate or its equivalent had to take three years of Arts courses along with the Theological course. Thus, although the two groups would attend different classes in general education, they would be tutored together in the Theological classes. Both groups had a large variety of general education subjects from which to choose, but experience had taught that two subjects were essential for the African minister to master: English and bookkeeping were made compulsory.

The PCSA hoped that by extending its training scheme to include evangelists, as well as by differentiating between the course for evangelists and that for ministers, it would retain a high standard of theological education, ensure that its personnel were equipped to lead increasingly educated congregations, but at the same time, keep the entrance qualifications wide enough to attract sufficient candidates.

Jolobe's attempts to help the New Brighton mission members adjust to urban life convinced him that education was no longer an optional extra, as it had been for the rural African, but was the key to upward mobility in the towns. The consistent failure of the State to assume full

70. PCSA BB(1937), 118/121 for full details of scheme.

71. In 1944 the entrance qualification was lowered by the amendment that all candidates must possess at least a Junior Certificate or its equivalent. PCSA BB(1944), 65.

responsibility for African education made the churches' task more urgent: if the PCSA wanted to make its missions more attractive to the urban African it would do well to review its own attitude to African education.

Jolobe suggested that the PCSA's neglect of African education could be attributed to the high educational standard of the Scottish ministers which had encouraged them to take the 'long and liberal view that as long as children get education somewhere why bother and duplicate expense and worry, forgetting that other Churches are pursuing the narrow view of grabbing and elbowing their way on'.⁷² He argued that until the state removed African education from the control of denominational agencies, the PCSA should adopt the 'narrow view' and plough its energy and resources into African education. Such a policy was an important form of outreach to the African community. Most Africans who sent their children to the PCSA's mission schools were not church members, but when they needed a church connection, they looked to the church that educated their children as their church, and 'if a church has no schools, it loses such converts'.⁷³

72. Letter: J J R Jolobe to F Stakes, 14 March 1936 (RPC).

73. idem.

The Inter-departmental (Welsh) Commission on Native Education drew attention to the breakdown of comity in the towns and to the effect this had on African education:

'In the school which from the outset had been a powerful agency for gaining converts to the Christian faith, emphasis now tended to be placed on the denominational aspect of religious teaching. The multiplication of religious bodies became more and more perplexing as more schools were established, sometimes with regard less for the educational needs of a community and the financial obligations involved than for the interests of a particular denomination. Even to-day attempts at proselytising occur, and it is not unknown that even material advantages, such as remission of fees, have been offered to pupils to leave one school and go to another. Teachers sometimes suspect - and not always without reason - that their being given notice of the termination of their services at a school is due to the fact that they do not belong to the denomination controlling the school'.

Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936, the U.G. No. 29/1936, para 335.

If the PCSA failed to provide schools, its members would send their children to schools run by other denominations. At these schools the children would be 'gradually influenced to respect the other church as the Church, and naturally a home to be satisfying must be self-contained - it must do everything for its children or be despised'.⁷⁴ But the greatest danger facing the PCSA was that Presbyterians who had trained as teachers, but who could not find employment in the few PCSA schools, would readily change their denomination in favour of a church that could employ them:

For these reasons, therefore, I believe wherever we have a suitable building we must establish a school, and we must go to the extent of withdrawing our children from schools of other churches where there is need. 75

Jolobe's letter had a significant influence on the Assembly's AMC. In its report to Assembly later that year the Committee encouraged the PCSA to increase its support for its day schools; stressed the need for African Secondary schools on the Reef and in New Brighton; and urged the Assembly to co-operate with other denominations to foster African education. It also condemned as 'visionless' the State's policy of starving African education while considerable sums were spent on white education; and urged the PCSA to recognise that while its educational work 'bristled with difficulties,...(it) ought not to be neglected by any Church which builds for tomorrow'.⁷⁶

The urgency behind Jolobe's plea to the PCSA to extend its interest in African education arose directly out of his experience of the grave shortage of schools in New Brighton. But there was also his personal conviction, shared by Molefe his colleague and successor, that their privilege of tertiary education brought with it the responsibility to foster African education wherever possible. They attempted to do this faithfully, and during their ministries at New Brighton, new day schools were opened at the mission's preaching stations at Korsten, Salisbury Park and Barkly Bridge. Initially, Jolobe and Molefe tried to combine their involvement in African education with their pastoral commitments at the mission. Ultimately, both decided that this area

74. Letter: J J R Jolobe to F Stakes, 14 March 1936 (RPC).

75. idem.

76. PCSA BB(1936), 119.

of need was so great, and the number of trained African teachers so few, that their talents could be most fully used in fulltime teaching. In September 1937,⁷⁷ Jolobe resigned as minister of the New Brighton mission to become assistant tutor to the Rev E W Grant at Lovedale Bible School. This position enabled him to help to develop the fully trained African ministry that he believed to be crucial for the future of PCSA mission work.

Molefe chose to devote his talents towards meeting the other need Jolobe had indicated: in February 1944 he resigned from the New Brighton mission congregation to become principal of Newell High School, the first African secondary school in the New Brighton location.⁷⁸

77. P E Presbytery Minutes, 3 Sept 1937.

Jolobe's decision to leave the full-time ministry and to devote his talents to training African ministers was severely challenged in 1944 when the P.E. Presbytery approached him to fill the vacancy left at the mission by Molefe's resignation.

Jolobe angered the Presbytery by keeping it waiting for twenty months, before eventually refusing the call. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 Nov 1945).

Presbytery questioned the wisdom of Jolobe's decision to remain at the Bible School at a time when the shortage of African ministers was acute. The Presbytery petitioned the Assembly in 1946 not to extend the period of Jolobe's secondment. (PCSA BB(1946), 144). This overture was not granted, but Assembly did appoint a committee from the Presbytery of Kingwilliamstown to discuss with Jolobe how he viewed his relationship with the PCSA. (PCSA BB(1946), 39). Jolobe informed this committee that he felt it was inopportune to return to the pastorate. He believed that his present task of training African church workers was of such importance that the PCSA should only summon him back to a 'ministry comparable in importance' to that in which he was already engaged. He was not totally cut off from pastoral work, but was giving valuable help to the African congregation at 'Ntsalamanzi, Alice. Finally, his continued residence in Alice made it possible for his wife, Jean, to continue her valuable contribution to the nursing staff at the Victoria Hospital, Lovedale. (PCSA BB(1947), 163).

The Presbytery's Committee decided that, while there was a shortage of African ministers, Jolobe was doing an important task at Lovedale Bible School, and therefore should be allowed to continue. The Assembly granted this request, and extended the period of Jolobe's secondment for a further three years. (PCSA BB(1947), 44).

78. P E Presbytery Minutes, 24 Feb 1944.

African education in South Africa lagged far behind the educational opportunities Whites enjoyed. Prior to Union in 1910, mission schools, with or without state subsidy, offered the only education available to Africans.

After Union, African education was placed under the control of the four Provincial Councils, but since each Council followed a different system of African taxation, serious anomalies arose and African education progressed at different rates in each Province. In 1921, in addition to the existing £2 poll tax, the Transvaal tried to impose a direct tax on Africans to pay for African education. The Union Government intervened and passed the Financial Relations Fourth Extension Act No 5 of 1922, under which Provincial Councils were debarred from levying direct taxation on Africans for education, and were required to spend, from state subsidies, not less on African education than they had done in 1921/22.⁷⁹ The Governor-General was also empowered to make grants for African education to any Province out of the proceeds of the direct taxation levied on Africans by Parliament. Although this law did not debar them from spending more on African education than what was paid to them in subsidies, all the provinces assumed that the Union Government had taken over the obligation to extend and develop African education. This assumption effectively hamstrung the development of African education because state aid was pegged at the 1921/22 level. By 1925, when it was clearly evident that more funds would have to be made available for African education, the state established the Native Development Account (called the South African Native Trust after 1936), to be administered by the Minister of Native Affairs in consultation with the Native Affairs Commission. The state paid into the Development Account the block grant of £340 000 per annum, plus one-fifth of the Native poll tax to be used for African education. It was estimated that the Native poll tax would increase by 1.6% per annum, therefore guaranteeing a corresponding increase in the amount set aside for African education. But in reality the income from the poll tax remained constant: during 1925 - 1935 the number of African children enrolled at schools increased by nearly 75%, from 200 000 to approximately 350 000; but expenditure only increased by about 50%,

79. Amount spent by Provincial Councils, 1921/1922:

Cape	.. ..	£240 000
Natal	.. ..	49 000
Transvaal	.. ..	46 000
Orange Free State	.. ..	5 000
		<u>£340 000</u>

from £420 000 to £667 000.⁸⁰ By 1935 the position of African education had become so grave that the state appointed an Inter-departmental committee, consisting of the four Chief Inspectors of Native Education and the Director of the Bureau of Educational and Social Research under the chairmanship of W T Welsh, former Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories, to 'examine and report upon the systems of Native Education of the Provinces' and to make recommendations to the Government regarding the future policy of African education.⁸¹

The Inter-departmental Committee made several crucial recommendations. It paid tribute to the considerable contribution made by the various denominations to African education,⁸² but stated that it would only be possible to provide adequate education facilities for Africans if the country as a whole shouldered the responsibility. The Committee argued that since the bulk of African revenue was paid into the general revenue of the Union, the responsibility for financing African education should be transferred from the Provincial Councils to the Union Government.⁸³ State support for African education should be calculated on a per capita annual subsidy which would increase in proportion with the growth of the school population. The subsidy for a particular year would thus be calculated on 110% of the children in attendance the previous year.⁸⁴ Administration and financing of African education should be dissociated from the Native Affairs Department (including the Native Affairs Commission) and placed with the Union Education Department, under the direction of the Minister of Education.⁸⁵ It also suggested that compulsory education for African children should be introduced in certain

80. O D Wollheim, 'Crisis in Native Education', Race Relations, vol X, No 2, 1943, 38.

81. Report of Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education, 1935-1936. U.G. No 29/1936.

82. The Inter-departmental Committee calculated that during 1935 alone the various denominations paid 12% of cost of educating each child in primary schools, and 13.5% per child in all schools. Report of Inter-departmental Committee, para 410/411.

83. ibid., para 290.

84. ibid., para 251. The Committee estimated the per capita grant for Africans at £3.12.9d. Corresponding grants for Whites and Coloureds were £20 and £5 respectively.

85. ibid., para 295.

areas on an experimental basis;⁸⁶ and that the vernacular should be used as the medium of instruction in all African schools, except in the teaching of English and Afrikaans, during at least the first four years of the child's school life.⁸⁷

The Welsh Committee's recommendations were severely criticised in the Report of the Native Affairs Commission published the following year.⁸⁸ It castigated the education offered by the missions as 'a little clerky instruction in individualism' which had undermined the 'tribal and family communal concepts which they inherited'.⁸⁹ It also rejected the Welsh Committee's recommendations that African education should be placed under the Minister of Education, and stated that 'Native Education should be a Department of State under the Minister of Native Affairs'.⁹⁰ The conflicting recommendations made by the Native Affairs Commission and the Welsh Committee reflected the way White opinion was divided between those who thought first about 'Natives' and those who thought first about 'education', regardless of the race concerned. Since the Welsh Committee was recommending that education be taken away from Native Affairs and put under Education, the Department of Native Affairs' reaction was understandable.

The only concession made to African education as a result of the Welsh Committee's recommendations was that the proportion made available to African education from the Native poll tax was gradually increased: to seven-twentieths in 1935, two-fifths in 1936, three-fifths in 1937, two-thirds in 1940, five sixths in 1942, and the whole amount in 1943. Thus the actual amount credited to African education from this source increased from £233 348 in 1926/7 to £1 459 831 in 1944.⁹¹ This amount was inadequate to meet the growing demand for African education and led to appalling conditions in the schools. Most schools were tin shanties or wattle and daub huts, too small to accommodate the number of pupils crammed into the rooms; the lack of equipment was pitiful, and teachers had to teach pupils without adequate maps, books, pictures, desks or blackboards. The salaries paid to African teachers were very low, while class numbers were excessive: often a

86. *ibid.*, para 409.

87. *ibid.*, para 441.

88. Report of the Native Affairs Commission for 1936, U.G. No 48/1937.

89. *ibid.*, para 41.

90. *ibid.*, para 63.

91. M Horrell, *op.cit.*, 31.

teacher was expected to teach from 80 to 100 pupils in two or three different standards all in the same room.⁹² Despite these conditions, the demand for African education remained high, and the number of African primary pupils in state and state-aided mission schools increased from 183 862 in 1924 to 587 128 in 1945.⁹³

The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth shared Jolobe's and Molefe's determination to raise the standard of African education. The overwhelming response to the day school at the New Brighton mission had vindicated Gqamlana's belief that education could become an important auxiliary to mission, and had persuaded Presbytery that day schools should be opened at the outstations in Korsten, Salisbury Park and Barkly Bridge. The lack of finance, which was bedeviling African education throughout the Union, remained the biggest difficulty facing the day schools. In August 1935 the Rev H M Paterson, minister of the Hill Church, began negotiations with the Department of Education for grants for these day schools: because it did not have sufficient funds the Department refused these grants.⁹⁴ Jolobe reapplied in July 1936, only to be refused again. The refusal placed the day schools in jeopardy. The teachers' salaries were paid by the pupils' parents and were quite inadequate: in one case the teacher received only £2 per month.⁹⁵ If further financial aid was not forthcoming Jolobe would have no choice but to close down the day schools. The Presbytery appealed to the Assembly's AMC to help avert this crisis by making a grant of £5 per month for education purposes, 'until such time as the Department of Education realised its responsibility in the matter'.⁹⁶ The Presbytery also appointed a committee⁹⁷ to interview the Director of Education, and to bring its case to the notice of the Provincial Council.

92. O D Wollheim, op.cit., 39.

93. P A W Cook, 'Non-European Education', E Hellmann (ed), Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa, 366.

94. NBMC Minutes, 7 Aug 1935; 28 Aug 1935.

95. P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 July 1936.

96. idem.

The Assembly's AMC agreed to make a temporary grant of £5 for this purpose. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 18 Aug 1936.

97. Committee consisted of:

The Rev Dr Booth Coventry, the Revs J Paterson Whyte, H M Paterson, S Thomson and Mr Lacy.

P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 July 1936.

This pressure had a degree of success. In November 1936 the Education Department made a grant of £99 p.a. towards the teacher's salary at Korsten,⁹⁸ but still refused to aid the schools at Salisbury Park and Barkly Bridge. Presbytery then requested the Assembly's AMC to increase its grant by a further £2.10 per month.⁹⁹ The Committee had to refuse this request because its limited funds could not cope with the many similar applications for increased aid it had received.¹⁰⁰ This desperate situation was alleviated slightly in July 1937 when Presbytery received a grant of £7 per month from the Education Department for the teacher at Salisbury Park, but the teacher at Barkly Bridge and the assistant teacher at Korsten were still receiving nominal salaries.¹⁰¹ In November 1938 the Education Department finally agreed to a grant for Barkly Bridge, but added the condition 'that suitable accommodation for the children was secured'.¹⁰²

This demand was reasonable: the Barkly Bridge outstation, established in 1933, had been allowed to fall into a bad state of disrepair. This was partly due to the inefficiency of the evangelist, Titus Tatu,¹⁰³ but also because Presbytery had hesitated to build

98. P E Presbytery Minutes, 10 Nov 1936.

Approximately 70 pupils attended the day school at Korsten.
NBMC Minutes, 16 March 1936.

99. P E Presbytery Minutes, 10 Nov 1936.

100. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 7 Nov 1936.

By December 1937 the Assembly's AMC's funds were so low that it informed the P.E. Presbytery that it could only continue the grant of £5 per month until June 1938 (Assembly's AMC Minutes, 21 Dec 1937). But when June came, and the Presbytery had not received grants for all the schools, the Assembly's AMC decided that 'in order not to cripple the good work being done', it would grant £2.10.0 per month for six months, 'after which the grant must definitely be discontinued'. (Assembly's AMC Minutes, 26 July 1938).

101. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 July 1937.

102. NBMC Minutes, 24 Nov 1938.

103. The NBMC had placed evangelist Titus Tatu in charge of the new outstation at Barkly Bridge in 1933 (NBMC Minutes, 27 July 1933). Tatu allowed the outstation to deteriorate, and neglected his duties to such an extent that in 1941 the NBMC decided to dismiss him (NBMC Minutes, 26 March 1941).

a more permanent structure until it could be assured of fixity of tenure at Barkly Bridge.¹⁰⁴ This was eventually obtained in October 1938, when De Beers Limited, Kimberley, granted one morgen of land at Barkly Bridge, free of charge, to the Presbytery on condition that the site would be used exclusively for mission purposes; that all diamond and other mineral rights would be reserved to the company; and that the Presbytery would pay all survey and transfer fees.¹⁰⁵

The decision to build 'The Hector Paterson Memorial Church' at Barkly Bridge revealed the extent of the Presbytery's commitment to education as part of mission. By 1940 the church attendance at Barkly Bridge had fallen off so greatly that the total givings for 1939 and 1940 amounted to £5.¹⁰⁶ But the attendance at the day school had increased to 40, and 20 children attended the Sunday School,¹⁰⁷ despite the fact that the building was 'falling to pieces'.¹⁰⁸ The Department of Education reiterated its warning that it would withdraw the grant if Presbytery failed to provide a suitable building for the day school. The Presbytery could have allowed this to happen since it could expect almost no financial assistance from the African members at Barkly Bridge. Instead, at its meeting in October 1940, Presbytery sanctioned the building at Barkly Bridge of a church-cum-school room with suitable accommodation for a teacher,¹⁰⁹ at a total cost of £500.¹¹⁰

104. The original site of the outstation at Barkly Bridge was occupied by Mr Reimer of the Sunday's River Settlement Company. Reimer could not grant the Presbytery fixity of tenure because the land, which was owned by the state, was due to be auctioned in 1935. NBMC Minutes, 2 Aug 1934; 15 Oct 1934; 27 Dec 1934; 28 Aug 1935.

105. P E Presbytery Minutes, 7 Oct 1938.
The deed of transfer in favour of the PCSA was signed on 18 March 1940, by the Rt Rev H J Barnes, the Rev D Wark, General Secretary of PCSA and A B McDonald, General Treasurer of PCSA. The site granted was situated in the Division of Uitenhage, called Portion No 2 (School Lot) of the farm Lot De B Oliphants Kop; held by the Trustees of De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited under Certificate of Amended Title No 5294 of 22 June 1922.

Copy of Deed of Transfer is held at PCSA Head Office.

106. Report of Presbytery's Deputation, 10 Feb 1940, contained in Presbytery's AMC Minutes.

107. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 7 June 1940.

108. idem.

109. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 2 Oct 1940, for building specifications.

110. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 20 May 1941.

ARH(1939), 19.

D A McLaren donated £250 towards the building fund, and stipulated that it was named 'The Hector Paterson Memorial Church'.

The 'Hector Paterson Memorial Church' was opened on 20 April 1941 by Mrs V Paterson, widow of Hector Paterson, who had done so much during his life to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ among the African people in Port Elizabeth.¹¹¹

The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth further demonstrated its commitment towards education as part of mission by allowing Jolobe and Molefe to devote increasing time towards work in the schools. For instance, in August 1934, Jolobe informed the NBMC that the school committee at Paterson High, a Coloured school in Port Elizabeth, had approached him to teach Xhosa for two hours, four days a week. The NBMC granted Jolobe permission to undertake this work in a temporary capacity for six months,¹¹² but when that time expired, and the school had not found a replacement, the NBMC allowed Jolobe to continue permanently.¹¹³

By the time the Rev G B Molefe was inducted as minister of the New Brighton mission in December 1939, the large scale removal of Africans from the slum areas in Korsten and elsewhere and their relocation in New Brighton were placing an intolerable strain on the overextended school facilities in New Brighton.¹¹⁴ At the request

111. Hector MacLeod Paterson was born in the Island of Mull in 1884. He graduated from Edinburgh University with honours in English. In 1914 he enlisted in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders as a private, and at the conclusion of the War held the rank of Lieutenant. In 1921 he was appointed English Master at Dale College, Kingwilliamstown. In 1922 he was appointed Lecturer in English at Stellenbosch University, and became Professor of English at Potchefstroom University the following year. In 1925 he decided to enter the PCSA ministry, and was ordained in 1926 as minister of the Stutterheim congregation. He accepted a call to the Hill Church, Port Elizabeth in 1929, where he ministered until his sudden death on 15 October 1938.

A brilliant preacher and pastor, Paterson also contributed considerably to the wider work of the church as Clerk of Presbytery, Convener of the Life and Work Committee, the Committee on Sunday Schools, and of the PCSA/BPC Joint Committee. His concern for the welfare of the African people was 'deep and strong and his labours on their behalf unstinted'.

PCSA BB(1939), 58, 148.

MM(1939), 2.

PC, vol XXXVI, Nov 1938, 255.

112. NBMC Minutes, 2 Aug 1934.

113. NBMC Minutes, 15 Oct 1934.

114. MOH Report, MM(1939), 74. The Council rehoused 1 021 African families in New Brighton during the first year of the Slums Elimination Scheme.

of the Port Elizabeth and District School Board, the Council had set aside twelve buildings to be used as temporary schools until proper schools could be provided. These were totally inadequate to meet the demand and were overcrowded almost immediately.¹¹⁵ This critical situation deeply disturbed Molefe. Before he left New York in 1939, Molefe had received a letter from Dr C T Loram, head of the Natal Education Department, reminding him that the privilege of education brought with it a responsibility for sharing it with others:

George, you have received much in learning, and you must give much in service to your people...You will meet with difficulties, but God and people of goodwill will be with you.¹¹⁶

When Molefe arrived in Port Elizabeth, he 'realised that people were suffering, because their children had to pay school and book fees, as well as transport daily, some poor parents finding it difficult to pay for their children's fees'.¹¹⁷ Moreover, as there was no secondary school for Africans in the location, the children had either to go to the Paterson High School, which they resented because it was for Coloured children, or they had to outlay considerable sums for boarding institutions such as Lovedale or Healdtown.¹¹⁸ Within six months Molefe had started a night school at the mission where adults could attend literacy classes taught by one of the deacons.¹¹⁹ The school started with nine members, but within two years 150 adults were attending.¹²⁰ The attendance continued to increase steadily: in 1945 there were over 200 adults at the school;¹²¹ and by 1949 there were over 250.¹²² The night school thus provided an opportunity for adults who had not had the privilege of attending primary school, or who had left school too early to attain functional literacy, to learn the skills of reading and writing that were becoming a prerequisite for many categories of work in the towns.

115. NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1940), 70.

116. Letter: G B Molefe to C F D Hunter, 10 June 1980.

117. idem.

118. Transcript of interview with G B Molefe, 2 April 1980.

119. Bi-annual report of New Brighton Mission, 7 Aug 1940, in Presbytery's AMC Minutes.

The deacon's salary was paid by the scholars, who contributed 5/- each.

120. NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1943), 40.

121. NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1945), 40.

122. NB Manager's Report, MM(1949), 65.

During 1941 the Department of Education erected three primary schools in McNamee Village, each capable of accommodating 600 children. The provision of these schools, which were placed under the Port Elizabeth and District School Board, marked a new departure for Port Elizabeth. Previously the only buildings available for African education were church premises.¹²³ But there was still no promise of a high school for African children. The New Brighton residents brought this need to the attention of the mayor of Port Elizabeth, Councillor Adolph Schauder. His reply was, 'God helps those who help themselves'.¹²⁴ This answer, combined with the fact that the night school was flourishing, encouraged Molefe to start a private secondary school for Africans who could not go to Paterson Secondary School.¹²⁵

Molefe announced in all the churches that he would be starting a secondary school in January 1942. Initially, the response was disappointing as only eight pupils enrolled. Molefe attributed this poor response to the fact that he was a Sotho, and therefore was distrusted as an alien by the Xhosa people.¹²⁶ But the small response did not deter Molefe. Throughout 1941 he taught these eight pupils the six high school subjects in the mission church building, and conducted his experiments in the manse kitchen. Molefe had to employ

123. NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1941), 79.

124. G B Molefe, My Life, MS, 15.

125. idem.

126. Normally, anyone who was not a Xhosa was treated as an alien. A Methodist minister from Grahamstown, whose niece enrolled at Molefe's school, warned his sister: 'Look sister, this alien has come to rob you. This school will never flourish. He just wants your money'.

Molefe asked her why she did not remove her daughter from the school after receiving this advice from her brother. The woman replied: 'No, I said to him (my brother), Xhosas have deceived us so much, let me have an alien to deceive me this time'. Her daughter later became the matron of a hospital in Rhodesia.

When asked whether the New Brighton mission congregation had treated him as an alien because he was a Sotho, Molefe replied: 'No, no. They knew that I had come from America then. I had got a scholarship to go to Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary in New York. So they were quite happy to have me. They may have said I was an alien on the quiet, but not to my ears'.

Transcript of interview with G B Molefe, 2 April 1980.

an old man to act as an interpreter because he could not speak Xhosa. He paid the interpreter part of his own stipend because the school was not recognised by the Education Department and therefore did not qualify for a grant. By the following year Molefe realized that some alternative arrangement had to be made: the church building was unable to accommodate the growing number of children attending the school and the elders were beginning to complain that the children were dirtying the church. Similar complaints had been received from all PCSA missions where the church buildings had doubled as a school: these complaints highlighted the tensions that could develop as a result of combining education with evangelism as a part of mission. Both education and evangelism were separate departments of mission, and each had its own requirements of staff and buildings. But since the PCSA lacked the funds to provide separate facilities, this unsatisfactory arrangement had to continue.

During 1942 Molefe received two grants from the Education Department, but the school was still not recognised. In 1943 he entered his pupils for the University of South Africa's Junior Certificate examination. This was the acid test of his teaching career: seven of the eight original pupils passed this examination, and the eighth passed the following year. This success gave Molefe credibility in the eyes of the African community. When the Newell High School was completed at the end of 1943,¹²⁷ the Port Elizabeth School Board offered Molefe the principalship. He hesitated at first, because of his commitment to the PCSA and to the mission congregation, but when the Board told him that if he did not accept they would place a European in charge of the new school, Molefe accepted the post: 'Man, after having sacrificed so much for this school, let me take it'.¹²⁸ The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth gave Molefe the choice of either accepting the principalship or remaining as minister of the mission, since it was not possible for one man to manage both jobs simultaneously:

I preferred the former, because this was an experiment which I did not want to fail. Remember too that Black graduates were counted by the fingers of one hand then...That is how

127. NB Superintendent's Report, MM(1943), 40.

128. Transcript of interview with G B Molefe, 2 April 1980.

and why I decided to carry on the work I had started, sometimes with tears because people did not understand or appreciate my motive. 129

The New Brighton mission did not seem to suffer at all from the fact that both Jolobe and Molefe devoted increasing time and energy to their work in education. Congregational membership figures showed a steady increase from about 200 members when Jolobe arrived, to well over 300 members by the time Molefe resigned. The services and Sunday Schools were well attended, and the various church organizations, the Women's Association, Girl's Auxiliary and Young Men's Association continued to expand.¹³⁰ The extension work at the outstations also thrived. The preaching station at Uitenhage had developed so quickly that in 1936 the Presbytery decided to apply for a church site in the new Kabah location.¹³¹ The lease for the site in Kabah location was eventually signed in 1942,¹³² by which time there were already 22 full members and three elders attending the preaching station.¹³³ The work at Barkly Bridge had also begun to recover after the setback it had suffered under Evangelist Tatu.¹³⁴ In August 1941 the Presbytery's AMC employed Samuel Elson as an evangelist at Barkly Bridge on probation for a period of six months.¹³⁵ The preaching station revived rapidly under Elson's leadership and the Committee decided to make his appointment permanent in May 1942.¹³⁶

129. Letter: G B Molefe to C F D Hunter, 10 June 1980.

Presbytery subsequently accepted Molefe's resignation at its meeting on 24 February 1944, and granted his request to remain as a minister of the PCSA without charge, with a seat in the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth. Molefe was also granted permission to render assistance to the mission congregation if he wanted, subject to the permission of the Rev W D Campbell, interim moderator. PCSA BB(1944), 37, 117.

130. PCSA BB(1936), 120.

131. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 24 Nov 1938.

132. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 11 June 1942.

133. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 22 Aug 1941.

134. Above, 112/113.

135. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 22 Aug 1941.

Evangelist Elson received a stipend of £5 per month plus living quarters.

136. Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 11 June 1942.

By June 1942 there were 14 members at the Barkly Bridge outstation.

The New Brighton mission possessed two valuable attributes which helped to ensure this steady growth. The continuing financial support from the three white churches could have prevented the mission church members from acknowledging their responsibility for the mission's existence. This financial support had been considerable during the ministries of Jolobe and Molefe at New Brighton. The new church and manse at McNamee Village,¹³⁷ and the 'Hector Paterson Memorial Church' at Barkly Bridge had been financed mainly by the three white churches. They had also sustained the increased financial burden the day schools incurred. The mission congregation nevertheless tried to contribute what it could towards the support of the congregation and the outstations, but by 1940 its financial position was grave. The Presbytery's AMC appointed a deputation¹³⁸ to meet with office-bearers from New Brighton, Korsten, Salisbury Park and Uitenhage at Korsten on 10 February 1940. The deputation outlined the current and short-term expenses, and encouraged the congregations to help meet these by increasing the average subscription slightly.¹³⁹ The response was remarkable. In March 1941, the Presbytery's AMC received a letter, written on behalf of the members of the New Brighton congregation, informing the Committee that the various branches of the New Brighton mission had collected £50. 15. 10 to defray the debt on the new buildings:

This sum has been contributed at a time when many of our members have become either unemployed altogether or work for certain days only in a week. We do feel that the Lord has been with us nevertheless, because these people have saved enough out of their meagre earnings, in order to help the church. 140

137. Report of Deputation, 10 Feb 1940, Presbytery's AMC Minutes.

The New Brighton Church and Manse cost £2 000:

Three white churches collected	.. ..	780
New Brighton collected	.. ..	50
Borrowed	.. ..	1 300

138. The deputation consisted of A Linton, W McDonald and R Thomson. They met with the Rev G B Molefe and about 30 office-bearers from the various stations.

139. Report of Deputation, 10 Feb 1940, Presbytery's AMC Minutes.

The average subscription at New Brighton mission was 7/9d p.a.

140. Letter: in Presbytery's AMC Minutes, 26 March 1941.

The congregation was thus beginning to assume responsibility for its own affairs, a crucial step in the development towards full status.

The congregation possessed another extremely valuable asset. By 1935 Jolobe could rely on a team of sixty lay preachers to assist him in his preaching and pastoral activities at the mission church and at the outstations.¹⁴¹ The services offered by these men were hardly acknowledged in the official minutes, but their tireless devotion enabled Jolobe and Molefe to enter the educational sphere without an adverse effect on the congregation. It also taught the mission congregation a crucial lesson: that the maturity of the congregation was not determined only by its financial or numerical strength, but by the ability of its members to minister to each other as part of the body of Christ.

What effect did the PCSA's decision to see education as part of mission have on the standard of African education in South Africa? The short-term benefits were evident almost immediately as day schools were started in most mission congregations. It also had the indirect benefit of making the PCSA white members more aware of the gross deficiencies within African education. But in the long-term the PCSA had no more success than any other denomination in stemming the relentless movement towards educating the African 'along his own lines'.¹⁴²

The Native Education Finance Act No 29 of 1945, piloted through Parliament by J H Hofmeyr, J C Smuts' Minister of Finance and Education, received widespread acclaim by those who cherished the hope of diminishing the gross discrepancy between the amounts spent on White and African education. The Act provided, for the first time, that African education should be financed out of general revenue and not out of direct taxation of African males.

141. PCSA BB(1936), 120.

142. Report of Inter-departmental Committee on Native Education, para 455.

Hofmeyr did not attempt to transfer control to the Union Government, as the Welsh Committee had recommended, but left it under the provinces. He established instead a Union Advisory Board of Native Education, with the Secretary for Native Affairs as chairman, and the secretariat was provided by Hofmeyr's own Union Education Department.¹⁴³

As a result of Hofmeyr's Act expenditure on African education increased from £2 610 673 in 1946/7 to £5 041 910 in 1950/1; whereas if the 1925 basis of finance had been adhered to, the amounts available for African education would have been only £1 534 530 and £1 620 000 respectively.¹⁴⁴ Those churches involved in African education welcomed Hofmeyr's Act as a crucial development that would begin to afford Africans the same educational opportunities as whites. But their joy was shortlived: the Nationalist victory in the May 1948 elections crushed the hope of educational parity, and set in motion the machinery designed to ensure that Africans developed 'along their own lines', as understood in the Nationalists' sense.

In 1949 the Nationalist Government appointed a commission, led by Dr W W M Eiselen, to formulate 'the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration'. The Commission was also required to suggest how the existing structures could be changed to conform with these aims, thereby preparing 'Natives more effectively for their future occupations'.¹⁴⁵

The recommendations of the Eiselen Commission formed the basis of the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953. The Act provided for the transfer of the control of African education from the provinces to the Department of Native Affairs. Three types of African schools would

143. A Paton, Hofmeyr, 398/9.

144. M Horrell, op.cit., 33.

145. M Horrell, A Decade of Bantu Education, S A I R R, 4.

exist. First, the Bantu Community Schools, established or maintained by Bantu Authorities or any other tribal or community organisation which had Government approval. Second, the Government Bantu Schools, either newly established or taken over from the provinces. Finally, state-aided schools, which included mission schools. Before granting aid to these schools the Minister of Native Affairs was required 'to consider whether the existence of such a school will preclude or retard the establishment of a community or Government school'.¹⁴⁶

Dr H F Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, hinted that the second and third types of schools would gradually disappear in favour of Bantu Community schools. The ominous provision that every school was to be registered at the discretion of the Minister of Native Affairs, seemed to favour the formation of Bantu Community schools.

The Bantu Education Act dismayed the various churches involved in African education. Verwoerd made it quite clear that he disliked the mission schools, was suspicious of the liberal education which they provided, and that he was determined to destroy them if necessary, in order to bring them into line with his segregationist policies.¹⁴⁷

In introducing the Bantu Education Bill Verwoerd warned: 'I just want to remind Honourable Members that if the native in South Africa today, in any kind of school in existence, is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake'.¹⁴⁸ Nor did his later pronouncements allay

146. M Horrell, *ibid.*, 10

147. There was widespread mistrust among Afrikaner nationalists for the English churches and their mission schools:

'Mistrust of the English churches, the lineal descendants of the hated missionaries, includes a distrust of their educational role among the Blacks, especially Africans. Their English orientated education was an anglicizing, "denationalizing" force that induced Blacks, but especially Africans to look to political assimilation as the logical complement to cultural assimilation. Because of this education Africans would naturally incline to the English side, while the total cultural environment would become much more English in character to the detriment of Afrikaans culture'.

D Welsh, 'The Politics of White Supremacy', L Thompson and J Butler, (eds), *Change in Contemporary South Africa*, in V C Paine, The Confrontation Between the Archbishop of Cape Town, Joost de Blank, and the South African Government on Racial Policies (1957 - 1963). M.A. Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1978, 13.

148. Hansard 1953, col 3586.

the fears of those who believed that an inferior education was being proposed, specifically adapted to equip Africans for a subordinate role in a common society. Verwoerd alleged that race relations 'cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of frustrated people...Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live'. Furthermore, African education would be linked to the idea of separate development:

...education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the Native environment and Native community. There Bantu education must be able to give itself complete expression and there it will have to perform its real service. The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Within his own community, however, all doors are open. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community while he cannot and will not be absorbed there. Up till now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and partially misled him by showing him the green pastures of the European but still not allowing him to graze there. 149

The Bantu Education Act effectively sounded the deathknell for the mission schools. The Minister of Native Affairs was given wide powers over African education. All schools had to be registered: power lay in the hands of the Minister of Native Affairs to grant registration and government subsidies to mission schools until 1957, when these subsidies would be discontinued altogether. The churches could continue their schools as unaided institutions, provided they were registered as private schools and their syllabuses had been approved by the Minister. The alternative was to sell or lease their schools to the Department of Native Affairs. Dr A Kerr expressed the dismay of many churches when he wrote:

It is true that the state under the Bantu Education Act does not in so many set words propose to take over compulsorily the missionary institutions. It issues a challenge to the Church.

149. A N Pelzer (ed) Verwoerd aan die Woord: Toesprake 1948-1962, 83, in D Welsh, 'The Growth of Towns', M Wilson and L Thompson (eds), The Oxford History of South Africa, vol 11: South Africa 1870 - 1966, 225.

It says in effect: 'You may continue if you care, but if your work is as important as you say it is, you should be prepared to sustain it by your contributions. The state recognises your excellent work too, and will continue to subsidize you, but you may expect only one half or at the most three-quarters of what you have been accustomed to receive'. 150

The churches involved in African education reacted to the Act differently. The General Synodical Commission of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in the Transvaal issued a statement which said that for the state to accept responsibility for the control of African education was a 'natural development'. The Commission saw nothing in the Act which 'is in conflict with accepted principles', but welcomed 'the opportunity created by the new legislation whereby non-Europeans can themselves accept responsibility for the education and upbringing of their children'. It also welcomed the opportunity left to the Church of retaining some of its institutions on certain conditions, the prospect of the expansion of educational facilities, and the assurance that there would be a 'Union-wide syllabus'.¹⁵¹

The Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Southern Africa were determined to make every sacrifice to ensure that its schools continued. In 1954 the Roman Catholic Church was running about 688 subsidized schools (about 15% of the total number for Africans), and was receiving more than R1 000 000 a year in State grants. These schools had approximately 306 religious and 1 953 lay teachers and 111 361 pupils. The church also had about 130 unsubsidized schools.¹⁵² By March 1972, 391 Catholic schools still existed, which provided education for 80 000 pupils. The church has subsequently found the financial burden unbearable, and has been forced to close or amalgamate many of its schools.¹⁵³

In October 1954, the Methodist Conference declared its opposition to the Act as 'a policy which, in effect, aims at conditioning the African people to a pre-determined position of subordination in the State (and) is incompatible with the Christian principles

150. A Kerr, 'The Bantu Education Act', SAO, June, 1954.

151. PCSA BB(1955), 101 for Statement issued by the General Synodical Commission.

152. M Horrell, A Decade of Bantu Education, 25

153. A Paton, Apartheid and the Archbishop, 232.

for which the Church stands'.¹⁵⁴ But for financial reasons the church decided to relinquish control and to hand over to the state its schools, including Healdtown, the Moroka Institute and, in 1957, Kilnerton Institution.

The Church of the Province of South Africa pursued two different policies. On the one hand were those who believed that the church should lease its buildings to the Department. Foremost of these was the Archbishop, Geoffrey Clayton, who admitted that he was

...haunted by the fear that if the number of school buildings available is greatly reduced by refusal of the missions to lease any of their buildings, the result will be the throwing of large numbers of children upon the streets...Even a rotten system of education is better than that which young children pick up in the streets, when, as is usually the case, their fathers and mothers have to go to work and cannot supervise them. 155

On the other hand Ambrose Reeves, Bishop of Johannesburg, believed that the church should keep the buildings, but close the schools.

He wrote in Forum:

The Church has no alternative but to refuse to co-operate in any way in furthering an education policy which violates the principles from which all true education ought to spring, for it proposes to train the great majority of African children for a status in life which has been assigned to them. 156

Clayton respected Reeves' response to the dilemma, and permitted Reeves to close all the schools in his diocese. Twenty five schools under Reeves' control which were on private property were handed over to the owners to run (farmers, mining groups or industrialists), while the remaining twenty three schools situated on church property or on land leased in municipal African townships, were closed.¹⁵⁷ The Community of the Resurrection in the Transvaal and the Society of the Sacred Mission in the Orange Free State decided to do the same. All other schools were rented to the Government for African education.

154. M Horrell, op.cit., 31.

155. A Paton, op.cit., 235.

156. ibid., 236.

157. M Horrell, op.cit., 29.

The PCSA Assembly offered various objections to the Bantu Education Act. It deplored the transfer of African education from the control of the Provincial Administrations to the Department of Native Affairs. Not only was this an unnecessary duplication of the Department of Education, but the Department of Native Affairs was 'naturally distrusted by the Natives, for in their mind it is allied to questions of taxation. The Natives in general look upon the Department of Native Education as a repressive organisation, hence to transfer Native Education into the hands of this Department automatically induces a strong feeling of distrust in the mind of the average Native'.¹⁵⁸

A second objection lay in the wide, almost unlimited powers granted by the Act to the Minister of Native Affairs. But the main objection was the fear that the Act would become the tool whereby the political and social engineers could force the African into the framework of apartheid. The Act itself did not indicate in which direction African education would proceed, 'but from various extraneous statements reported to have been made by the Minister and other officials, education of the Native is to be used as an instrument for the furtherance of sociological ideas, namely, that education should be such as will compel the Native for ever to occupy a subservient position in the community'.¹⁵⁹

The PCSA Assembly resolved that while it did not oppose the principle of state-controlled education, nevertheless it could not support the Government in the theory underlying the Bantu Education Act:

We therefore solemnly state that full responsibility for the implementing of this policy and its consequences rests entirely on the Government, and we therefore give authority to each Presbytery in consultation with the Assembly's African Missions Committee to let, but not to sell, to the Government such school buildings as it deems advisable. 160

158. PCSA BB(1954), 92.

159. ibid., 93.

160. ibid., 74.

The Rev D S Robertson, Convener of Assembly's AMC, recorded his dissent to this resolution, for the following reasons:

- i) 'The Church is not called upon to pronounce for or against political theories (the theory underlying the Bantu Education Act).
- ii) 'The present application of the Act to African Education is so recent that no one can safely say what its tendencies are likely to be.
- iii) 'I do not believe that these clauses represent the mind of the Church'.

The mission schools run by the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth were affected by this decision. Within a year the mission schools at New Brighton, Korsten, Salisbury Park and Barkly Bridge had been transferred to the Government, but the Presbytery still managed the day schools at the rural missions at Adelaide, Glenthorn and Somerset East because these were classified as 'farm schools' under the Act.¹⁶¹

The Bantu Education Act betrayed all the ideals for African education which Jolobe and Molefe had struggled to attain. Their shared sense of responsibility for raising the standard of African education had led them to champion education as an important auxiliary to evangelism. Thus they felt keenly the painful process whereby the PCSA handed over its mission schools to the Department of Native Affairs. When the Lovedale Training School closed down in 1959, Jolobe did not apply for another teaching position, but returned as minister to the New Brighton mission congregation. Molefe retired from Newell High School in 1959 and was placed in charge of the new preaching station in Kwazakele, where he remained until his retirement in 1974. Their lives had thus come the full circle: from teaching, to fulltime ministry, to teaching, and back to fulltime ministry once again. Each move had been guided by the sense that at that particular time their gifts could be used more fully in the other sphere. But in the end both men decided that they could proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ most effectively within the mission congregation, untainted by any link with a Government department.

161. PCSA BB(1955), 73.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANOTHER WAY

The New Brighton mission congregation continued to expand despite the long vacancy that followed Molefe's resignation. By the time that the Rev W M T Ntintili was inducted as minister on 7 April 1946,¹ the membership had risen to 449 members at nine preaching stations; there were six Sunday Schools, with 215 pupils; and three day schools with a total of 386 pupils.² But this prosperity did not last. Like Gqamlana, Jolobe and Molefe, Ntintili was not involved in direct political action, nor did he encourage political activity amongst the members of his congregation. But unlike his predecessors, Ntintili did not accept the authority Presbytery had vested in the NBMC for the oversight of the mission: he saw the NBMC's very existence as a challenge to the congregation's independence. Within a year the mission congregation was deeply divided between those who accepted the NBMC's authority, and Ntintili's followers, who wanted to throw off white ecclesiastical control and to establish the mission as a self-governing congregation. Initially the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth did not understand the full implications of Ntintili's actions. It exercised considerable patience with him and ascribed the financial irregularities at the mission to errors in procedure. But as Ntintili's real intentions became clearer, Presbytery realised that his defiance arose out of his determination to free the mission from white control. Thus the conflict took on a greater urgency and complexity: Ntintili had not merely erred on a procedural point, but had challenged the General Assembly to reveal where the real power lay.

The PCSA had opened itself to this challenge by its failure to define adequately the process whereby its African missions could develop from mission congregations under white supervision to churches in full status. In part this failure arose from the Assembly AMC's inability to centralise control and thus to impose a consistent policy on the African mission work undertaken by each Presbytery.³

1. W M T Ntintili was licensed and ordained by the Transvaal Presbytery in 1945 (PCSA BB(1945), 71). He accepted the invitation to the New Brighton mission, at a monthly stipend of £15, plus £2.10.0 cost of living allowance, plus free manse, free electricity and sanitary arrangements, and £2.10.0 travelling allowance. P E Presbytery Minutes, 7 April 1946.

2. PCSA BB(1946), 76.

3. Above, 22/23.

As a result the mission congregations in each Presbytery were at different stages of development. There were the single mission congregations situated in the urban areas, such as Langa, New Brighton and in Durban. Then there were the African congregations in the Orange Free State under African ministers, which had been grouped together in 1921 to form a separate Presbytery - the Orange River African Presbytery.⁴ In Rhodesia and on the Rand African mission work was carried out under the supervision of white Superintendents. Finally, there were the African mission congregations at Adelaide, Glenthorn and Somerset East where the minister of the local white congregation doubled as missionary to the African congregation.

The lack of a mission policy also stemmed from the fact that the predominantly white PCSA had not come to terms with what it meant to be a missionary church. Most members accepted that the Lord had laid upon the church its mandate to evangelise, and that in the South African situation this task was made urgent by the great numbers of Africans to be evangelised, and formidable by the disparity between African tribal custom and western civilization. But its commitment to this task was complicated by the fact that in practice evangelism seemed to produce two conflicting principles of mission policy. On the one hand, experience seemed to suggest that effective mission needed white supervision. On the other, the desired end of developing African initiative and leadership suggested the necessity of separate and autonomous African church structures. The Synod of Kafraria had chosen the latter course and had established the BPC as an independent African church in federal relation to the U.F. Church of Scotland and the PCSA; but the PCSA chose the former, and therefore was forced to consider how and when the transition from white control to black independence would take place.

The PCSA Assembly displayed a curious reluctance to formulate this policy despite numerous warnings from the Assembly's AMC that delay would be detrimental to its African mission work. The Rt Rev C B Hamilton, in his opening address to Assembly in 1915, tried to rebut the allegation that the PCSA had no mission policy by questioning whether, given the rapidly changing life style of the African, a hard and fast policy was desirable or even possible.⁵ Nevertheless, Hamilton did go on to say that the ultimate aim of the PCSA's mission policy must be the formation of an African church. The white missionary

4. PCSA BB(1921), 31.

This Presbytery included the African mission congregations at Heilbron, Reitz, Diamond Fields, Lindley and Kroonstad.

5. PCSA BB(1915), 191.

would still be necessary to teach them the doctrine and form of Presbyterian government, but '...the evangelisation of the native races of South Africa must ultimately rest with the native Christians themselves':⁶

We cannot expect that our methods of organisation and work will be copied in their entirety by them. The methods of the native Church will evolve spontaneously out of its own sense of adaptation to its environment. Its interpretation of Christ will reflect its distinctive racial thought and feeling. Errors and lapses will no doubt retard its growth, just as they have retarded ours. But under the guidance of the Holy Spirit inconsistencies and excrescences will fall away, and only its true contribution to the sum total of Christian faith and experience will remain. 7

Although the PCSA acknowledged full status as the eventual goal of its African mission congregations, nevertheless successive Assemblies failed to outline the process whereby these congregations could achieve this end. In his report to Assembly in 1933, the Rev J Bruce Gardiner, Convener of the Assembly's AMC, urged the Assembly to formulate a consistent mission policy for its African mission congregations. It must not allow itself to be influenced by the growing feeling amongst Whites that the African should be kept in his place. These people did not 'trouble to go on to ask what this place is in the eternal purpose of Almighty God. To keep a rock in its place is one thing; to keep a river in its place is another. The one is fixed; the other moves on. Of course the Native has his place. An overflowing river can be destructive to the surrounding country, to itself'.⁸ Rather, the PCSA's mission policy must ensure that the 'broad, deep current of life is allowed to move on', and to discover 'what designs He has for the Native peoples who laid down His life for them as well as for us and Who is not ashamed to call them brethren'.⁹

6. idem.

7. ibid., 192.

8. PCSA BB(1933), 103.

9. idem.

On several occasions during 1938¹⁰ the Assembly's AMC discussed the need for a mission policy that could be imposed equally on all its African mission congregations. Its report to Assembly later that year challenged the PCSA's fuzzy thinking about its mission work and called for definite action:

What is lacking is a well considered policy which would clearly arrange the respective spheres and mutual obligations of the whole work of the Church, especially in the relations between its European and African sections. 11

Such a review of its mission policy challenged the PCSA to face five important questions. First, it needed to decide whether the relation between its white and African churches would develop along the lines of integral co-operation or separate parallel development. Second, it needed to develop separate courts within which its African leaders could discuss problems or raise issues with ease.¹² The General Assembly had thus far proved an unsuitable forum because the small number of Africans who attended were usually silent onlookers.¹³ Third, the number of properly trained African ministers would have to be increased considerably if they were to assume greater responsibility.

10. Assembly's AMC considered the following issues at its meeting on 3 Feb 1938:

- i) Whether its mission work was to be regarded as an integral part of the work of the white congregations; or
- ii) whether it was to be run on parallel lines with the European organization; or
- iii) whether it was to be regarded as a subordinate section of the PCSA's work.

These considerations were discussed again at Assembly's AMC meetings on 15 March 1938; 10 May 1938; 23 May 1938; 15 June 1938.

11. PCSA BB(1938), 138.

12. The problem of language and the difficulty of mastering the techniques of Assembly procedure prevented many Africans from participating in Assembly discussions. It is revealing that when C J Dambuza, a delegate from the U.F. Synod of Kafraria, addressed the PCSA Assembly in 1916, the CE commented that this was 'the first time a Native brother had addressed the House in his own language'.
CE, vol XLVI, Nov 1916, 169.

13. PCSA BB(1938), 139/140, for Assembly's AMC's recommendations on the constitution of this Court.

This raised the need to provide suitable theological training to equip the African ministers to carry these heavier responsibilities. Finally, an increase in the number of African ministers would require an increase in income: 'To train and appoint a staff and then to fail to give them reasonable salaries is to break their hearts and possibly to expose them to temptation'.¹⁴

The Assembly shelved these recommendations,¹⁵ but was forced to reconsider its mission policy in 1942 when the Orange River African Presbytery requested the Assembly to give a ruling on the status of the African ministers in this Presbytery, and to give guidance on the procedure to be adopted for the future placing of African ministers.¹⁶ In 1921 Assembly had ruled that the status of African ministers in this Presbytery was that of Assistant ministers.¹⁷ In view of this ruling the Presbytery had allowed its mission congregations to call its ministers, rather than have them placed there, as was the case in the mission congregations in other Presbyteries. Thus the Revs A R S Poho, E A Maphike, M Kalmuck and E C Lediga had been called, ordained and inducted to their respective charges, and were listed in the Assembly's Blue Book as ministers. This request for a statement of policy thus challenged the PCSA to reveal how it saw its African ministers: were they to be accepted as ministers, of equal standing with their white colleagues; or were they something less?

The commission¹⁸ appointed by Assembly to consider this issue agreed that since Poho, Maphike, Kalmuck and Lediga had been called, ordained and inducted to their present charges, they should be recognised as being in full charge of their congregations, subject only to the

14. PCSA BB(1938), 139.

15. PCSA BB(1938), 30, Assembly instructed the AMC to reconsider its recommendations and report back to Assembly, but no suggestions were presented by the AMC in 1939, or in the following two years.

16. Extract Minute from Orange River African Presbytery, 13 May 1942, PCSA BB(1942), 112.

17. PCSA BB(1921), 31/2.

18. PCSA BB(1942), 31. The Commission consisted of: Dr A Kerr, the Revs D McRae, R N Dryden, J Pollock and A R S Poho. It met on 27 April 1943 in Bloemfontein.

superintendence and direction of the Orange River African Presbytery. But future appointments were to be made with two safeguards. First, that only ministers who had successfully undergone the prescribed theological training and were otherwise suitably qualified should be called to these congregations. Second, that only those congregations which could provide reasonable¹⁹ support for their minister should be granted the right to call a minister. Finally, the two white elders, appointed by Assembly in its 1921 ruling,²⁰ would continue to attend this Presbytery.

The significance of the commission's finding lay in the fact that it pointed the way forward for African ministers and congregations who were pressing for more independence. Before this could happen, not only would ministers have to be suitably trained to shoulder such responsibilities, but the congregations themselves would also have to acknowledge their responsibility in providing the financial backing that would make them independent of white support. It is not without significance that at the same Assembly at which this finding was presented, the Rev J J R Jolobe warned that the PCSA, in common with other denominations in South African, needed to face the demand that members of the church should have equal rights of membership in all congregations, irrespective of race. He pointed out that in the Roman Catholic Church the priest was a priest, irrespective of colour, and had a right to minister to all members whatever their colour. Africans acknowledged that equality in the social sphere was beyond their reach at present, but they were beginning to question the preservation of inequality in the religious sphere:

This question threatens to become a major issue in the life and thought of the African people in the churches, and I think it will ultimately be one of the fundamental tests of the unity of the Church in this country. I must say, however, that Africans are not demanding social equality but they expect and are beginning to ask for equality in religion and of opportunity in the political spheres. 21

19. PCSA BB(1943), 69.

By 'reasonable' the commission meant 'to the extent of two-thirds of the recognised stipend'.

20. PCSA BB(1921), 31:

'Two European Elders, to be appointed by Assembly, as assessors, with the same rights as Ministers'.

21. PCSA BB(1943), 73.

Little further discussion on mission policy took place at Assembly level over the next five years, although a statement on the PCSA's mission work, issued by the Rev W Samson, Superintendent of the PCSA's Transvaal missions, gave some indication of the Assembly's AMC's attitude.²² But in 1947 the Assembly was brought up short: the Rev W M T Ntintili's defiance, first of the NBMC, then of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth and ultimately of Assembly itself, challenged the Assembly to reconsider its fuzzy thinking and practice and to formulate clearly how it saw its African ministers and the development of its mission congregations.

Ntintili's drive for independence from white control raised the issue of the New Brighton mission congregation's status for the first time. When the Presbytery of Adelaide accepted the transfer of the mission from the Synod of Kafraria in January 1915, it vested authority for the congregation's spiritual affairs in the NBMC.²³ Similarly, the mission's finances were entrusted to the treasurer of the NBMC.²⁴ Although the congregation later formed a Session²⁵ and a Deacons' Court,²⁶ these bodies were responsible to the NBMC, which in turn reported to Presbytery. The congregation could not call a minister because it did not possess full status. It therefore relied on the NBMC to appoint a man to the mission. Thus although the Rev Gqamlana

22. The Presbyterian Church of South Africa: A factual Statement of its Mission work, Annexure to Assembly's AMC Minutes, 28 Oct 1947.

'Policy: Presbyterianism has no colour bar. We aim at giving our Africans increasing responsibility as their capacity for it grows, but we do not aim at producing an independent African Church running parallel to the European Church. We believe that it is God's plan for us to show to a Race-ridden world how black and white Christians can harmoniously work together to the end of time in the one Church organisation. An independent African Church would be a sign of our failure, but a black Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa would be a sign that we were keeping on the rails. The African Presbytery of the O.F.S. is a mistake. It has been a failure, and is now on its way back into combination with the European Presbytery of the O.F.S. We are learning by the method of trial and error, and believe that God will guide us in the difficult steps leading up to the end of racialism and world peace'.

23. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 10 Nov 1914.

NBMC Minutes, 8 Dec 1914.

Above, 46.

24. NBMC Minutes, 7 Feb 1916.

25. New Brighton mission congregation's Session was constituted on 17 July 1915.

NBMC Minutes, 5 July 1916.

Above, 48.

26. New Brighton mission congregation's Deacons' Court was constituted on 3 October 1915.

NBMC Minutes, 4 Oct 1915.

Above, 48.

was a fully ordained minister, the congregation had not been able to call him; the NBMC had appointed him and had placed him at the mission as a missionary.²⁷ The mission congregation had accepted the NBMC's supervision, and the link between the two had grown closer over the years.²⁸ Ntintili's attempt to throw off this control thus deeply divided the congregation between those who were willing to work for independence within this relationship, and those who saw the NBMC's existence as an insult to the congregation's ability to manage its own affairs.

Relations between the NBMC and the mission congregation deteriorated very soon after Ntintili's arrival in New Brighton. In February 1947 Presbytery held a pro re nata²⁹ meeting to investigate certain irregularities in the congregation's affairs reported by the NBMC. The NBMC were disturbed by the considerable increase in membership that had taken place since Ntintili's arrival at the mission: membership had increased from 449 to 790 during 1946 alone.³⁰ Further

27. NBMC Minutes, 3 July 1916; 7 Aug 1916.
Above, 49.

28. For instance, in 1934 Dr Wark suggested to the NBMC that the administration of the mission should be transferred to the Assembly's AMC, and that all contributions and collections should be sent to the General Treasurer in Cape Town, who would be responsible for all payments. The NBMC unanimously rejected this proposal because it was 'detrimental to the best interests of the New Brighton mission and that local interest in the mission would decrease'.
NBMC Minutes, 27 Dec 1934.

Ironically, this was the same argument as the U.F. Church of Scotland missionaries had used against entering the PCSA: would not the support of the Home church cease if its missions entered another church?
Appendix A: for similar attitude expressed by White missionaries in the Presbytery of Adelaide.

29. Pro re nata meeting: is called to deal with business requiring immediate attention. Seven days' notice of the meeting must be given to every member of the Presbytery, and the business distinctly stated in the notice. It is convened by the Moderator either on his own responsibility or on the requisition in writing of two or more members of the Presbytery, who must state their reasons. The Moderator may decline to call a pro re nata meeting, in which case he must submit his reasons to the next ordinary meeting of the Presbytery and seek confirmation of his action. At a pro re nata meeting the action of the Moderator in convening it must first be confirmed before the Presbytery can proceed with the business. No other business than that for which the meeting was called may be transacted. The meeting may be adjourned for the completion of business if necessary.
The Manual of Law and Procedure of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, paras 231/234.

30. ARH(1946).

investigation revealed that certain names had been added indiscriminately to the Communion Roll and that many new members had been admitted without fulfilling the regulations laid down in the Book of Order. The NBMC were particularly concerned because the Session had admitted Samuel Gazi to membership, despite his unsatisfactory testimonial. Presbytery ordered the New Brighton Session to investigate these additions to the Communion Roll and to submit its reasons for admitting Gazi to membership to the next Presbytery meeting.³¹

Ntintili informed Presbytery at its next meeting in April 1947 that the New Brighton Session had disregarded Presbytery's injunction, and had admitted Gazi to membership. Presbytery expressed 'extreme displeasure at the dilatoriness' displayed by the New Brighton Session, and ordered the Session to suspend Gazi from membership immediately and from all other activities at the mission.³² By July 1947, the Session still had not implemented this instruction. This dilatoriness revealed that the real issue concerning the Session was not whether Samuel Gazi was suitable for membership, but rather whether the right to determine a person's suitability for membership lay with the New Brighton mission Session or the NBMC.³³

The New Brighton Session was not alone in its defiance of Presbytery's authority. A Linton, Convener of the NBMC, informed Presbytery at the pro re nata meeting in February 1947, that the irregular methods adopted by the New Brighton mission's Deacons' Court were 'shattering in the extreme' and had resulted in the resignation of W McDonald as treasurer of the NBMC.³⁴ Ntintili had not handed over regularly the money collected at the mission to the NBMC. Moreover, the mission congregation had raised about £150 to be used as a building fund for extension work at Coega and Dassiekraal. Both the building fund and the extension work had been started without the NBMC's permission or knowledge. Ntintili admitted that the sum had been raised and was kept not in a separate account, but in his own

31. P E Presbytery Minutes, 24 Feb 1947.

Samuel Gazi had been the evangelist at Glenthorn, but had been dismissed by Presbytery in 1944. P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 Nov 1944. Minutes do not disclose the reasons for Gazi's dismissal.

Also letters: S Workman to S Gazi, 11 Sept 1944 (RC).

S Gazi to S Workman, 23 Sept 1944 (RC).

32. P E Presbytery Minutes, 15 April 1947.

33. P E Presbytery Minutes, 8 July 1947. The issue concerning Gazi's membership seemed to diminish as other irregularities became evident. In Nov 1947 Presbytery agreed that the relevant passage concerning Gazi be expunged from the Presbytery Minutes of 8 July 1947. No reasons were given for this.

See P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Nov 1947.

34. P E Presbytery Minutes, 24 Feb 1947.

personal account at Barclays Bank. The Rev T L Clarke, moderator of Presbytery, pointed out that this was highly irregular and 'fraught with great difficulties' for Ntintili. Thereafter Presbytery ordered Ntintili to give Clarke a bank statement to show that the money was in his account by the next day, 25 February 1947. Presbytery also ordered that the £150 collected for the building fund, and any other money that might be collected, should be deposited in an account called 'New Brighton Presbyterian Church Mission Fund', which could be operated only by the minister of the mission church, the clerk of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth and the treasurer of the NBMC.³⁵

Ntintili explained that these financial irregularities had arisen because the New Brighton mission congregation 'were of the opinion that the time was now opportune for them to take the burden from the European congregations and were desirous of conducting their own affairs'.³⁶ The Moderator ruled that the congregation could not obtain this independence until the resolution, passed by General Assembly in 1915,³⁷ which had placed all control for the affairs of the New Brighton mission in the hands of the NBMC, had been rescinded. Until then, the congregation must continue to co-operate with the NBMC.

35. It was also reported to this Presbytery meeting that £11.12.6, which had been handed to the Rev Ntintili after the African Women's Conference, had not been satisfactorily reported upon. Ntintili promised that the Deacons' Court would return this sum to the African Women's Conference. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 24 Feb 1947). At the following meeting of Presbytery, Ntintili informed the Presbytery that this sum was being handed over to Mrs T L Clarke, the Presbyterian Representative of the Women's Association. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 15 April 1947).

36. P E Presbytery Minutes, 24 Feb 1947.

37. PCSA BB(1915), 28.

Neither Ntintili nor the Deacons' Court had any intention of co-operating with the NBMC. On 1 March 1947 the NBMC met with the Deacons' Court to determine what had happened to the balance of the building fund money that Ntintili had deposited in his personal account. The Deacons' Court could account only for £64. 7. 9.³⁸ Nor could Ntintili give a satisfactory explanation of this expenditure to Presbytery at its meeting on 15 April 1947.³⁹ Presbytery expressed its 'grave doubt as to the correctness and reliability' of Ntintili's explanation, but decided to accept it, 'in view of Rev W M T Ntintili's acknowledgement of error and promise to work in co-operation with the New Brighton Mission Committee',⁴⁰ and in view of the impossibility of getting further details. The Moderator then censured Ntintili and the Deacons' Court, and warned them that in future they should work within the framework of the PCSA. Ntintili promised to submit to Presbytery's authority, but his subsequent attitude revealed that he intended only paying lipservice to Presbytery.

38. In Ass Pro Re Nata (Transcript), some explanation is given of the expenses drawn from the building fund:

On Saturday/Sunday 8th and 9th February total income	£153. 4. 7
Expenses, food and cattle, 8th/9th February	.. 14.19. 6
Travelling to buy cattle	.. 6. 0
Bringing in cattle	.. 4. 0
Cattle to butcher	.. 5. 0
Melville Building (Coega) Materials, Howard Young	.. 9. 7. 0
Man for Melville Building	.. 8. 0. 0
Expenses for teacher at Thornhill July-February	.. 24. 0. 0
Feeding for school at Thornhill (60 children)	.. 7. 6. 3
	<hr/>
	£64. 7. 9

Income	.. ..	£153. 4. 7
Expenses	.. ..	64. 7. 9
		<hr/>
		£ 88.16.11

A further £70 was withdrawn from the Bank and only the balance, £18. 16. 11, was paid to the NBMC in March 1947, (Ntintili File, RPC)

39. P E Presbytery Minutes, 15 April 1947.

40. idem.

On 10 August 1947, the Revs W D Campbell, G B Molefe and Mr A Linton visited the New Brighton mission.⁴¹ The report of this visitation was only presented to the Presbytery at its meeting in April 1948, with the explanation that although it was outdated by subsequent events, it was nevertheless the last attempt to find a peaceful settlement of the affairs at New Brighton.⁴² The visitors met first with the Session, which informed them that the various organizations in the congregation were in a healthy condition and were maintained very well. The only problems that the Session had had with congregational discipline had been caused by continued support for marriage by lobola and attendance at heathen dances. The visitors assured the Session that such problems were not extraordinary in the difficult transition from rural to urban life, and encouraged them to maintain what safeguards they could for the welfare of the congregation. But when the visitors met with the congregation it quickly became clear that the Session had glossed over deeper problems that were destroying the unity of the congregation.

One member informed the visitors that the preaching plan was no longer being published. Formerly, the plan for each quarter had been published three months in advance to allow the congregation and lay preachers thorough time for preparation. The visitors pointed out that they could not enforce the restitution of the plan because it was a matter for the Session to decide, but they did stress 'the value of deep preparation, not only of subjects, but of speakers and hearers'.⁴³ Concern for the management of the congregation's finances was also expressed. A Gungaluza raised the question regarding the payment of Ntintili's stipend, and alleged that Ntintili had stated from the pulpit that he had not been paid. Linton answered 'this most indelicate suggestion', by assuring Gungaluza that if there had been this oversight the NBMC would have been informed since the Deacons' Court always referred the congregation's financial affairs to the mission committee. Another member expressed concern that no record or statement of the amounts given to the Harvest Thanksgiving Fund in

41. P. E. Presbytery Minutes, 13 April 1948.

This was the triennial visitation of the congregation by Presbytery as laid down in Book of Order, para 173: 'The Presbytery takes cognizance of all matters relating to the condition of its congregations, by visitation in accordance with the rules of the General Assembly or otherwise'.

42. idem.

43. Visitation Report, P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 April 1948.

November 1946 had been given to the congregation at the Thanksgiving Service, or at any other services. The usual custom was to open these offerings at the Thanksgiving Service and to read out the amounts to the congregation. Once again Linton stressed that this was a matter for the Deacons' Court to discuss, but he did admit that the NBMC had received no record of the amounts collected.

Another question that provoked considerable discussion was the use of the pulpit. One member stated that during some sermons sentiments were expressed which were neither 'conducive to the well-being of the church as a united body, or to the upbuilding of souls'. An elder appealed to Presbytery to supervise the procedure of the church services and to guide the minister, since 'we lack a oneness, there is a lack of professional etiquette, (and) ministers criticise each other and their predecessors to laymen'. Ntintili replied to this question himself by reiterating first in Xhosa, and then in English, that 'the pulpit is mine'. When the final speaker rose and said, 'There is no use blinking the fact that this is a divided congregation...there are caucus meetings, and major matters are discussed and decided before being brought to meetings of the Kirk Session', a great uproar broke out and proceedings had to be stopped as many people in the congregation rushed for the door. Once this disturbance had been quelled, the chairman asked those who were prepared to stand by the congregation and to uphold the welfare and unity of the church to show their support by rising to their feet: the whole congregation responded and rose to their feet.⁴⁴ In their report to Presbytery the visitors expressed deep concern for the continuing unity of the mission.⁴⁵ Their worst fears were confirmed over the following few months as the issues raised during the visitation continued to divide and debilitate the congregation.

44. idem.

45. For full Finding of Presbyterial Visitors, P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 April 1948:

'We would...point out, that in its survey of the Presbyterial Visitation the Presbytery feels that progress has been made along certain lines, but certain things give us cause for deep disquiet, as to whether these lines are the deepening of spiritual life, and the nurturing of the Body of Christ.

'Until recently, a congregation which was so united and prosperous and happy, questions of finance and of policy and government have seemed to perplex you. And though there is not definite division, the Presbytery feels very deeply that there is a certain lack of harmony and mutual confidence'.

A Gungaluzza's 'most indelicate' question to the visitors about the alleged non-payment of Ntintili's stipend brought him into conflict with the New Brighton Session. Soon after the visitation he received a letter from the Session summoning him to a meeting on 11 October 1947. The Session excommunicated Gungaluzza at this meeting, 'because he had not given satisfactory answers to the questions put to him by the Session...(and because) it was felt by the Session that the questions asked should have been asked of the Session and not at a Congregational meeting during a Presbyterial Visitation'.⁴⁶ Gungaluzza appealed against the Session's decision. When the Session took no steps to bring his appeal to Presbytery, Gungaluzza appealed directly to the clerk of Presbytery in a letter dated 13 October 1947, and protested that the Session had acted irregularly by excommunicating him.⁴⁷ Presbytery considered Gungaluzza's appeal at its meeting on 11 November 1947.

Other disturbing reports were also presented at this Presbytery meeting. The clerk informed Presbytery that Ntintili had disobeyed Presbytery's previous injunction directing him to open an account in Barclays Bank in the name of the 'New Brighton Presbyterian Church Mission Fund', with himself, the clerk of Presbytery and the treasurer of the NBMC as signatories,⁴⁸ by having opened one in the name of the 'New Brighton Presbyterian Church of South Africa', with himself and two other members of the Deacons' Court, Lolwana and Matsha as signatories.⁴⁹ Jekeqe, an elder from the mission, informed Presbytery that Ntintili had opened this account on the instructions of the Deacons' Court. Another elder, R Qalinge, stated that he had attended a meeting of the New Brighton mission Session on 2 November 1947, at which the Session members had been asked to confirm the action of the Deacons' Court regarding the opening of the bank account. Thereafter, some members of the Deacons' Court had appealed to A Linton, Convener of the NBMC, to stop these financial irregularities. Linton had warned the Deacons' Court that the mission was still under the guidance

46. Ass Pro Re Nata, 19.

47. idem., 15.

48. Above, 137.

Also P E Presbytery Minutes, 15 April 1947, Presbytery agreed that 'All monies collected be handed over in cash within a week of the Deacons' Court meetings to the Treasurer of the New Brighton Mission Committee. That no payments be made except through the Treasurer of the New Brighton Mission Committee. That no liabilities be incurred, and no extensions be embarked upon without the previous concurrence of the New Brighton Mission Committee'.

49. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Nov 1947. The clerk was informed of this in a letter from the Manager of Barclays Bank, 30 Oct 1947. See Ass Pro Re Nata, 14.

of the NBMC, and that 'if the Deacons' Court persisted in their attitude, the consequences would be extremely serious'.⁵⁰

Further complaints of financial irregularities were also received. Members from the preaching station at Uitenhage complained about the manner in which Ntintili had collected their money. The Rev W D Campbell also reported that the NBMC had received no money from the mission since September 1947, nor had it received any statement of the amount collected from the Harvest Thanksgiving in 1946. Elder Jekeqe tried to excuse this delay by asserting that since all the monies had not yet been collected, the Deacons' Court had withheld the money from the NBMC and instead had deposited it in Ntintili's bank account. The Presbytery found this explanation highly unsatisfactory.

These various instances of defiance combined to convince Presbytery 'that the ends of the Ministry are not being served, and from its experience during the last eighteen months are not likely to be served, in the New Brighton Mission Church by the present incumbent'.⁵¹ Presbytery therefore decided to dissolve the pastoral tie between Ntintili and the mission from 11 November 1947, but undertook to pay Ntintili £20 per month until it had decided on further disciplinary action. It also ordered him to vacate the manse in New Brighton by 31 December 1947,⁵² and directed the members of the Deacons' Court to be removed from office and given their Disjunction Certificates because they had declared their 'resolve not to obey the precise instructions of the Presbytery dated the 15th April 1947, relating to the Temporal Affairs of the Congregations, and has (sic) acted in defiance thereof'.⁵³ Furthermore, all books,

50. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Nov 1947.

51. idem, Finding of P.E. Presbytery.

52. idem.

This course of action was outlined in Book of Order, para 257, 43: 'If, after due hearing of parties, the judgment of the Presbytery shall be that there is no hope of the ends of the Christian ministry being served in that particular congregation under the existing pastorate, they may, on such pecuniary provision being made for the Minister as in the circumstances of each case the Presbytery shall deem equitable, dissolve the pastoral tie, but without prejudice to his ministerial standing, and subject to complaint and appeal in the ordinary form'.

53. idem.

records, financial statements and papers of the Session and Deacons' Court were to be handed to the Interim Moderator, the Rev T L Clarke, by 18 November 1947. Finally, Presbytery ordered Barclays Bank to freeze the money credited to the New Brighton Presbyterian Church and to transfer this money to the NBMC for current expenses.

Ntintili protested against Presbytery's action, stating that the irregularities had not been motivated in defiance of Presbytery, but had arisen because he had misunderstood the status of the congregation. He had thought that the congregation was in full status and had therefore reported all matters to the Session, Deacons' Court and congregation, rather than to the NBMC. He claimed he had not realised that he had been appointed by the NBMC, and not called by the congregation, and therefore that he was responsible to the NBMC. Molefe was not convinced by Ntintili's explanation and countered Ntintili's argument by emphasising that if Ntintili and the Deacons' Court had really believed that the congregation was in full status, they would have objected to attending NBMC meetings, and 'Mr Ntintili was well aware that he had raised no objections'.⁵⁴ This answer terminated any further discussion: Ntintili agreed to abide by Presbytery's decision, although he insisted that Presbytery had misunderstood his intentions.

On 12 November 1947 Ntintili wrote to the Rev W D Campbell, Moderator of Presbytery, protesting against the order of suspension which Presbytery had served on him the previous day.⁵⁵ Ntintili claimed that Presbytery had issued the suspension order without following the procedure laid down in the Book of Order.⁵⁶ It had not prepared a 'full and explicit statement of the facts and grounds upon which they have come to this conclusion', nor had it heard 'the Minister and other parties thereupon', but had

54. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Nov 1947.

55. Ass Pro Re Nata, 4/5 for full letter from W M T Ntintili to W D Campbell, 12 Nov 1947.

56. Book of Order, para 255, 42/43:

'Should it come to the knowledge of the Presbytery that the state of a congregation is seriously unsatisfactory, and that the ends of the Christian ministry seem not to be served therein, they shall take immediate steps to ascertain the cause, and use all ordinary means to remedy this state of things'.

para 256:

'If the Presbytery, after exhausting all ordinary means, shall find that the ends of the ministry are still not being served, that there is prime facie ground to believe that the responsibility for this

issued the suspension without even giving any indication in the agenda that a case would be heard.⁵⁷

Presbytery discussed this letter at a pro re nata meeting on 2 February 1948, called by Campbell to deal with the deteriorating situation at New Brighton. Presbytery agreed to forward the letter to the General Assembly simpliciter, with all the relevant documents on condition that this would not hinder any further action which Presbytery might find necessary to take in order to assert its legitimate authority.⁵⁸ Ntintili inquired whether his appeal did not hold the Presbytery's suspension order in abeyance until General Assembly had given its judgment. Presbytery dismissed this inquiry as 'frivolous and vexatious' because Ntintili had not obeyed the suspension order anyway: since November 1947 he had officiated as minister of the mission, had presided over Session meetings, and had ordained and inducted new elders, all without any reference to the Presbytery or to the Interim Moderator, the Rev T L Clarke.⁵⁹ Moreover, the Session and Deacons' Court had also continued to defy Presbytery's authority. The Session had called a congregational meeting on 4 January 1948, without giving proper notice or obtaining permission from the Interim Moderator;⁶⁰ Campbell had received an insulting letter from Maneli, Session Clerk at New Brighton;⁶¹ and Clarke found his position as Interim Moderator at the mission intolerable. In

56. (contd)....

state of things rests mainly with the Minister, and that there is no reasonable hope that these ends will be served by a continuance of his ministry in that congregation, they shall prepare a full and explicit statement of the facts and grounds upon which they have come to this conclusion, and shall hear the Minister and other parties thereupon'.

For para 257, above, 142.

57. Ass Pro Re Nata, 4/5.

58. P E Presbytery Minutes, 2 Feb 1948.

59. idem.

60. idem.

61. idem.

None of the New Brighton delegates at the Presbytery meeting could say who had directed Maneli to reply to Campbell's letter in such 'insulting and defiant terms, but it was admitted there was a Committee of Deacons and Elders before whom Mr Campbell's letter had been read and discussed'.

endeavouring to perform his duties, 'he had been subject to insult and contumely and his authority flouted in every way'.⁶² Ntintili claimed, and was exercising, the office of minister of the mission, and had even held a service to celebrate his 'victory' over Presbytery. In view of this intolerable situation, Clarke submitted his resignation as Interim Moderator, but the Presbytery could not accept it because it was a pro re nata meeting and therefore not empowered to grant his request.

The NBMC had discussed these defiant incidents at its meeting on 27 January 1948. It had appointed Campbell to indict Ntintili before Presbytery on three charges: of preaching dissension and separation of the New Brighton mission church from the PCSA; of contumacy; and of unrighteousness in judgment.⁶³ Presbytery received this indictment at the pro re nata meeting on 2 February 1948, handed a copy to Ntintili, and cited him to appear before Presbytery at its meeting on 10 February to submit any appeal or statement he would like to make regarding the relevancy of the indictment.⁶⁴

Ntintili took exception to the indictment for the following reasons: that the NBMC had no locus standi, neither as an administrative body nor as a body to institute proceedings; that the indictment was embarrassing in law and vague as it did not cite the paragraphs of the Book of Order that had been violated; that the procedure in the Book of Order for dealing with an alleged erring brother had not been observed; and that according to the Book of Order the Deacons' Court of the New Brighton Mission Church had full charge and custody of the monies of the congregation and of their disposal.⁶⁵ This final assertion was immediately challenged by the Presbytery on the grounds that the instruction to hand over the money to the NBMC had come from Presbytery, and not from the NBMC, and that therefore the Deacons' Court was obliged to obey.⁶⁶ At this stage Molefe entered the room and,

62. idem.

63. As a copy of this indictment does not appear in the Presbytery Minutes, nor in Ass Pro Re Nata, I have included it as Appendix G. Civic Appeals(1949), in Supreme Court of South Africa.

64. P E Presbytery Minutes, 2 Feb 1948.

65. idem.

66. The NBMC were in grave financial difficulty. It had not received any money from the mission since Aug 1947. Presbytery's instruction to the NBMC to pay Ntintili £20 monthly had exhausted the £100 legacy from T McKechnie's Estate; the guaranteed overdraft of £10 from the Bank had been reached; and white support had dwindled.
P E Presbytery Minutes, 10 Feb 1948.

almost immediately, Ntintili asked leave to retire because he was feeling unwell. Presbytery granted Ntintili this request, but warned him that in terms of Paragraph 419 of the Book of Order,⁶⁷ he was suspended from exercising any functions of his office until the case had been decided. Ntintili acknowledged that he fully understood this. After Ntintili left, Presbytery unanimously attested the relevancy of the indictment and agreed to send it to Ntintili by registered letter, with special emphasis given to how the provisions of Paragraph 419 affected him. Presbytery then considered Clarke's position as Interim Moderator. Clarke complained that he had found it impossible to fulfil his duties as Interim Moderator of the mission, 'owing to intimidation, threatened and overt violence, insult and contumely'; in which some former and some present office-bearers took part, especially during the service at which he had read the decree dissolving the pastoral tie: 'at which disorder and disturbance was little short of blasphemous'.⁶⁸ Qalinge, an elder at the mission, corroborated Clarke's evidence. He stated that when Clarke left the Session meeting a cry was raised to 'beat him up' and that, during the Sunday service led by Clarke, 'there was dancing up and down the aisles, sticks were carried, one man yelled "there will be blood spilled here" and there was general commotion'.⁶⁹ Initially Presbytery accepted Clarke's resignation, but later pressed him to continue because no other minister was available.⁷⁰ Clarke protested against the 'impossible situation' as Interim Moderator:

He was being asked to preside over a Session, some of whom attending, and claiming to be duly elected had been deprived of membership of the congregation by the Presbytery, and a Deacons' Court all of whom had been dismissed by the Presbytery, and to do all this without the countenance and support even of a representative of the New Brighton Mission Church present here in the Presbytery. 71

67. See Appendix F.

68. P E Presbytery Minutes, 10 Feb 1948.

69. idem.

An Extract from Bantu World, 24 Jan 1948, was also read out in which congratulations were given to the mission congregation for its resolve to retain Ntintili. It also stated that a meeting would be held later to rejoice with him over his victory.

70. idem.

W D Campbell was prosecuting in the case and therefore could not be Interim Moderator, and the Hill Church was vacant at this stage.

71. idem.

In the end Clarke agreed to continue as Interim Moderator, 'as far as it may be possible to exercise the functions of that office with due regard to the dignity and respect attaching to it'.⁷² Presbytery also decided to refer the whole situation to the General Assembly and to request the Moderator to summon a special meeting, since its efforts to rectify the situation had been repeatedly thwarted by the minister and congregation at New Brighton.⁷³

Ntintili was informed of Presbytery's decision to uphold the relevancy of the indictment in a registered letter dated 12 February 1948, and signed by Campbell and Linton, Moderator and Acting Clerk of Presbytery respectively.⁷⁴ Ntintili immediately protested that the indictment could not be sustained because he had not been asked to plead. In their reply, Campbell and Linton pointed out to Ntintili that this was not an omission of Presbytery's part, but was owing, 'as you are perfectly well aware, to the fact that after you had read your statement excepting to the relevancy of the Indictment and before the relevancy had been sustained so that the Presbytery could proceed to the formality of asking you to plead, you asked to be excused from attendance as you were unwell. In the light of your exception now taken this would seem to have been a subterfuge on your part'.⁷⁵ But, in order to meet Ntintili's exception, on behalf of Presbytery they formally asked him whether he acknowledged 'the truth of the charges as set forth in the indictment', and requested him to reply within seven days.⁷⁶

Over the next fortnight Ntintili wrote four more letters to Presbytery in which he complained about errors in procedure. In a letter dated 14 February 1948, Ntintili criticised Presbytery for having implemented Paragraph 419 of the Book of Order without having first complied with the provisions of Paragraph 418, which gave the minister the right to admit or deny the truth of the charges in the indictment.⁷⁷ Four days

72. idem.

73. idem.

Paragraph 275 (Book of Order, 46) provided for special meetings of General Assembly:

'Special meetings of the General Assembly are of two kinds:

(a) meetings appointed by the General Assembly, and (b) meetings summoned by the Moderator in emergencies'.

74. Letter: W D Campbell and A Linton to W M T Ntintili, 12 Feb 1948, (RPC).

75. Letter: W D Campbell and A Linton to W M T Ntintili, 16 Feb 1948, (RPC).

76. idem.

77. Letter: W M T Ntintili to P E Presbytery, 14 Feb 1948: Exception to Second Suspension Order (RPC).

later Ntintili wrote another letter in which he accused Presbytery of committing a procedural error by serving two indictments and two suspension orders for the same case.⁷⁸ The third letter criticised the letter from Campbell and Linton on the grounds that they had asked him to plead to the indictment as if they constituted a Court of Presbytery. Ntintili alleged that this communication was 'not more than a letter from the two Officers of the Presbytery, and does not, and cannot, constitute a Court of the Presbytery'.⁷⁹

Presbytery had indeed committed an error in procedure at its meeting on 10 February 1948, by serving the indictment and referring the case to the General Assembly without having called on Ntintili to plead. Campbell called a pro re nata meeting of Presbytery for 26 February 1948 to rectify this omission. In the agenda Campbell gave notice that Presbytery would have to review and rescind its decision to refer the case to the General Assembly. This would then allow Ntintili the opportunity to plead, after which the Presbytery could serve the indictment and then refer the case to the Assembly once again.⁸⁰ In his fourth letter to Presbytery Ntintili took exception to this agenda.⁸¹ He claimed that Presbytery could not be constituted to review and rescind its own proceedings; neither could it call upon him to plead; nor could it sustain the relevancy of the indictment before it had referred his exceptions to the superior court.⁸²

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78. Letter: W M T Ntintili to P E Presbytery, 18 Feb 1948: Exception to the Second Indictment and to the Second Suspension (RPC).
79. Letter: W M T Ntintili to P E Presbytery, 18 Feb 1948: Exception to Irregular Procedure (RPC).
80. Agenda for pro re nata meeting of P E Presbytery, 26 Feb 1948.
81. Letter: W M T Ntintili to P E Presbytery, 25 Feb 1948; Exception to Procedure on Grounds of Irregularity (RPC).
82. idem. Ntintili suggested that the following exceptions be placed before the superior court:
- a) First Suspension Order served on 11 Nov 1948.
 - b) Exception taken at P E Presbytery, 10 Feb 1948. Above, 145.
 - c) Exception taken to Statement addressed to the clerk of the New Brighton Session, 12 Feb 1948, and exception dated 14 Feb 1948.
 - d) Exception taken on receipt of letter from Campbell and Linton, 12 Feb 1948. Above, 147.
 - e) Exception taken to letter from Campbell and Linton, 16 Feb 1948. Above, 148.
 - f) Exception to procedure indicated in agenda of pro re nata meeting of P E Presbytery to take place on 26 Feb 1948.

The pro re nata meeting of Presbytery on 26 February 1948 proceeded exactly as had been intimated in the agenda, despite Ntintili's exceptions. First the Presbytery agreed to review and rescind the indictment that had been sustained at the Presbytery meeting on 10 February 1948; then it agreed that the request for the special meeting of the General Assembly passed at the same meeting also be reviewed and rescinded. This allowed the Presbytery the freedom to go through each exception Ntintili had raised, and to deliberate on the validity of his statements. The only exception Presbytery found to be valid was his protest that Presbytery had served the indictment upon him without giving him the opportunity to plead in terms of Paragraph 417 of the Book of Order. This omission had occurred because Ntintili had excused himself from Presbytery prior to the decision regarding the relevancy of the indictment. Presbytery then went to great pains to ensure that it followed the correct procedure. Ntintili was asked whether he acknowledged the truth of the charges laid down in the indictment. He denied these. Presbytery then found the indictment relevant and served it upon Ntintili personally. Paragraph 419 was read and Ntintili was ordered to discontinue exercising his ministerial functions in the mission church as he had been doing in defiance of Presbytery. Finally, Presbytery agreed to request a special meeting of General Assembly to deal with the situation at New Brighton.⁸³ Presbytery hoped that through following this elaborate legal procedure it would block any loophole which Ntintili might exploit to his advantage.

Presbytery's decision to refer the whole situation to Assembly added significance to the Ntintili affair. This was the first time that a special meeting of Assembly had been called; it was summoned to deal with an erring African minister. The Rev Hugh Agnew, Clerk of General Assembly and General Secretary of the PCSA, emphasised in his letter to the Moderator, the Rt Rev Hugh Yule, that the Ntintili case would arouse great interest amongst the African people as a whole, and that the future of the PCSA's mission policy could depend on the way the case was handled.⁸⁴ Agnew had been deeply disturbed by the attitude displayed by the African representatives at the meeting of the PCSA/BPC Joint Committee, the Mission Council and the Church of

83. P E Presbytery Minutes, 26 Feb 1948.

84. Letter: H Agnew to H F Yule, 19 Feb 1948 (RPC).

Scotland's Foreign Mission Committee's (F.M.C.) Commission at East London on 12 November 1947:⁸⁵

At that conference we were really alarmed by the attitude of the African people. Their true leaders told us that there was a determined movement among the Africans to institute a colour bar in response to all the alleged unfair treatment of the African by the European. To this end there had been a very active propaganda in force, and New Brighton is but one case in which many parts are involved including our own Orange River Presbytery. 86

Agnew suggested to the Moderator that the matter could be dealt with most effectively by an advisory commission consisting of Assembly leaders,⁸⁷ but Yule believed that such a commission could not bring the case to finality and that the six month delay until the Assembly met

85. The F.M.C. Commission, consisting of the Revs J W C Dougall, R Ross and Mr D W Menzies, had been sent to South Africa in an attempt to foster better relations between the PCSA, BPC and the Church of Scotland's mission in South Africa. The Commission met first with the Assembly's AMC on 14 Oct 1947. (Assembly's AMC Minutes, 28 Oct 1947 for Minutes of Meeting with Commission of F.M.C. of the Church of Scotland, 14 Oct 1947).

At its meeting in East London on 12 Nov 1947, J W C Dougall informed the representatives that the purpose of the meeting was to establish machinery for co-operation between the three parties. He believed that there should be no difficulty in achieving this since the F.M.C.'s experience in 'China, India and Rhodesia warranted their belief that no insuperable difficulty stood in the way of real co-operation between two churches like the B.P.C. and the P.C. of S.A. for both had grown from the same roots'. (Assembly's AMC Minutes, 25 Nov 1947 for Report of meeting of the Joint Committee, 12 Nov 1947). The subsequent negotiations between the BPC and PCSA quickly proved Dougall's optimism premature.

At a meeting between the F.M.C. Commission and the PCSA Assembly's AMC and Finance Committee on 18 Nov 1947, Dougall acknowledged that the formation of the BPC had perhaps been premature. The BPC, particularly as regards its financial affairs and lack of qualified personnel, was in a very bad position and Dougall believed it could be greatly helped by a closer association with the PCSA. (Assembly's AMC Minutes, 25 Nov 1947 for Report of meeting of the Joint Committee, 12 Nov 1947).

86. Letter: H Agnew to H F Yule, 19 Feb 1948 (RPC).

87. *idem*.

Agnew suggested that the Commission should be made up of:
The Rt Rev H F Yule, Mr E Beardmore, Principal A Kerr,
the Revs A Paterson, W Samson and himself.

would be fatal, 'in view of the dangerous nature of the whole matter':

The business of the Assembly is congested as it is but I envisage the whole time being taken up should there be any weakness on our part in handling the New Brighton situation as soon as possible. The issues at stake and the nature of the African mind add complications that can only be faced by a gathering of the standing of Assembly with time to give undivided attention to the issues at stake and the weight and authority of the whole Church to back up its decision...You can rest assured that neither Beardmore nor I would have suggested this step if the matter was not as urgent and as grave as it is. 88

The PCSA General Assembly held a special pro re nata meeting in Port Elizabeth on 23 and 24 March 1948 to hear the parties in the Ntintili case.⁸⁹ The Court first considered the letter Ntintili had written appealing against the suspension order placed upon him by Presbytery on 11 November 1947.⁹⁰ The Assembly's judgment on this matter was unanimous: '...in our judgment...an error in procedure was made by the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth and, therefore, the appeal of the Rev W M T Ntintili must be upheld'.⁹¹ The Assembly then proceeded to hear evidence on the first charge of the indictment: that Ntintili had preached dissension and separation of the New Brighton mission church from the PCSA.

The Rev W D Campbell, the prosecutor in the case, called several witnesses to substantiate this charge. Low Jantjies, formerly a deacon of the preaching station at Uitenhage, testified that Ntintili had urged the congregation at Uitenhage to separate from the Europeans. At the first service Ntintili had conducted at Uitenhage, 'he preached from the pulpit saying that we should depart and separate from the Europeans because the Europeans are sucking our blood. We

88. Letter: H.F. Yule to H Agnew, 20 Feb 1948, (RPC).

Yule sent the following telegram to Agnew on the same day:

'Wire letter received stop Commission inadequate to situation stop Gravity and danger to whole church demands bringing case to final issue now repeat now stop Delay illadvised writing' (RPC)

89. Ass Pro Re Nata, for details of trial.

90. Above, 143.

Presbytery had considered this appeal at its meeting on 2 Feb 1948, but had agreed to forward it to General Assembly simpliciter for judgment.

91. Ass Pro Re Nata, 6.

must be a congregation that is on its own, like Limba'.⁹² Jantjies, Samson Thoba and a third member of the Uitenhage preaching station were deeply disturbed by Ntintili's attitude and by the way Ntintili was handling the monies collected from this station. They wrote to him, 'stating that we were not going to break away from the Church, rather than this we would be under the supervision of the Church'.⁹³

92. Ass Pro Re Nata (Transcript).

Bishop James Limba founder and head of the Bantu Church of Christ was born in 1883 in the Middledrift area. In 1910 Limba became a porter at Kendrew station, but subsequently went to Cape Town where he became a preacher in the Methodist Church. In 1917 he left the Methodist Church to join the Church of Christ under the Rev M Sigxabayi. Limba quickly became a popular preacher and Sigxabayi transferred him to Kingwilliamstown to start a branch there. In 1928 Limba came to Port Elizabeth, accompanied by his family and 11 members of his church. While in Port Elizabeth he quarrelled with Sigxabayi on various administrative matters. Limba, supported by his elders, ultimately broke away from Sigxabayi to form the Bantu Church of Christ. He built his first church in 1936 in the new McNamee Village, and later built churches in Veeplaats and Uitenhage. By the time of his death, on 23 June 1963, Limba had built up the church's membership to 120 000. His funeral took place on 7 July 1963, and was conducted by the Rev G B Molefe, minister of the Presbyterian mission congregation in Kwazakele. (Molefe had also conducted the funeral services of three other members of Limba's family: in 1940, he had buried Limba's son, Rubin; in 1946 Robert Limba, his brother, and in 1961, Limba's wife.)

Molefe said at Limba's funeral that his followers were a credit to him in their pattern of behaviour. Limba had trained them and had created jobs for them. His followers were well disciplined - they neither smoke nor drink.

Although no mention is made of Bishop Limba in the Presbytery Minutes, Ntintili tried to emulate him in several areas. Ironically, on 16 Nov 1948, the same day that the PCSA held its in hunc effectum meeting to deal with Ntintili, Limba was summoned to appear in the Grahamstown Supreme Court on charges related to the underpayment of an African employee and failure to allow this employee his annual holiday. The applicants subsequently withdrew this charge, and acknowledged that 'we unreservedly withdraw any allegation made that he has in any way mismanaged the affairs of the church or not acted in its best interests'.

E P Herald, 26 Nov 1948.

Also: E P Herald, 24 June 1963.

Evening Post, 24 June 1963; 6 July 1963.

Both Limba and Ntintili were represented by the same attorney, J H Spilkin of Messrs Brown and Braude.

93. Ass Pro Re Nata (Transcript).

Ntintili did not reply to this letter, although it had been sent by registered post. When Jantjies and his companions went to see Ntintili about the matter, 'the minister told us that we would be scratched off the roll and we were told not to undertake any work'.⁹⁴ Subsequently, they were called to appear before the New Brighton Session to give their reasons for sending the letter. Ntintili told the Session that 'Thoba and Jantjies are very tricky. This meeting should do something about them. They should be stopped from doing any work at all because they are problem people. They won't obey my orders. We do know so'.⁹⁵ When Thoba and Jantjies informed the meeting that they intended writing to Presbytery about the situation at Uitenhage, the Session suspended them without following the procedure laid down in the Book of Order. Samson Thoba corroborated Jantjies' evidence. They had been excommunicated by the Session because Ntintili said 'they were the ringleaders who were spoiling the (Uitenhage) congregation'.⁹⁶ Immediately after the meeting these men had written to Campbell, protesting against their suspension, and asking whether the Uitenhage congregation could be separated from the New Brighton congregation, and could send its money directly to the NBMC.

E Vena, a member from the Addo outstation testified that at a Communion service during 1947 Ntintili had told the Addo congregation that they were slaves of the Europeans, and that they should break away from the supervision of the NBMC.⁹⁷ The members had not obeyed Ntintili because they were all satisfied with the present organisation of the work under the NBMC.⁹⁸

W M Mokonyenyane, who was a member of the Deacons' Court and who had been a member of the New Brighton mission church for many years, said that throughout this time there had been no reason to question the supervision exercised by the NBMC over the congregation's affairs. But Ntintili began to foster resentment among the congregation towards the NBMC soon after his arrival at New Brighton:

On 14th April 1946⁹⁹ was the first time I took particular notice.

94. idem.

95. idem.

96. idem.

97. idem.

98. Ass Pro Re Nata, 8.

99. Ntintili had been inducted to the mission on 7 April 1946, the previous Sunday. P E Presbytery Minutes, 7 April 1946.

He said that we were glad that he had now been accepted by the Europeans. Then he said he was not glad because we native people are like a child that is not able to walk. Although the father loves his son it still remains that he is not able to walk by himself. He said that our Church is like that. He carried on this way several times. One day, I cannot give you the date, he spoke in a manner that proved to us that we have a right to stand on our own. He gave an example of Limba who owns everything. In all his preachings at the services the spirit that he showed was that of creating hatred between Whites and Blacks. There is proof of it. We native people of New Brighton have a foolish idea of hating the Europeans. 100

Mokonyenyane also testified that Ntintili had attempted to discredit the NBMC by announcing from the pulpit that he was starving because he had not received his stipend for three months after the death of the NBMC's treasurer, T McKechnie. 'He then wept in the pulpit and pointed to Elder Jekeqa and asked Elder Jekeqa to lend him £1'.¹⁰¹ But Ntintili had made no mention about this omission or his financial difficulties to the meeting of the Deacons' Court.

Other evidence submitted by the prosecutor was the Annual Report of the New Brighton mission church for 1946, which claimed that 'the minister and congregation have had as their objective, from the outset, the establishment of a self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating African Church';¹⁰² and evidence that Ntintili had pasted a resolution written in his own handwriting in the Session minutes of 9 November 1946. Ntintili said that he had drafted this resolution for the meeting, but could not give a satisfactory reason why it had been pasted in the book.¹⁰³

Ntintili conducted his own defence. He led evidence to substantiate his assertion that he had not preached secession from the PCSA, but had tried to encourage the mission to be self-supporting. Ntintili called Makoleni of Uitenhage as his first witness. Makoleni denied ever hearing Ntintili preach separation from the PCSA, but did admit that he had heard Ntintili urge the congregation to become financially independent from the NBMC. As far as he was aware, this had not led to difficulty either in the Session or in the Deacons' Court, but had

100. Ass Pro Re Nata, (Transcript).

101. idem.

102. Ass Pro Re Nata, 8.
ARH(1946).

103. Ass Pro Re Nata, 8.

been discussed in a friendly manner.¹⁰⁴ Six other witnesses corroborated Makoleni's evidence.¹⁰⁵

The prosecutor then introduced the second charge in the indictment: contumacy. He produced evidence to substantiate Presbytery's claim that the New Brighton mission had been placed under the NBMC from the outset,¹⁰⁶ and that the NBMC's authority had been acceptable to all concerned.¹⁰⁷ Within a month of his arrival in New Brighton, Ntintili

104. ibid., 16.

105. ibid., 16/20.

D Matsha; Qusheka (elder from Uitenhage); L Nappies (Uitenhage); C Nzwana; Nabungiza and Gqomo (all from New Brighton).

106. ibid., 9.

Campbell submitted the following as evidence:

- a) NBMC Minutes, 8 Dec 1914; 2 Feb 1915: which record the history of the mission from the date of its transfer from the Synod of Kafraria to the care of the PCSA's Presbytery of Adelaide.
- b) Extract Minute from PCSA BB(1915), 28.
- c) Extract Minute from Presbytery of Adelaide, 11 Nov 1913; 10 Nov 1914, dealing with the formation of NBMC.
- d) Extract of NBMC Minutes dealing with the appointment, licensing and ordination of J W Gqamlana.
- e) Extract of NBMC Minutes, 7 Feb 1916, dealing with appointment of a treasurer.

107. ibid., 10

Campbell submitted the following as evidence:

- a) NBMC Minutes, 3 May 1915, dealing with formation of Session.
- b) NBMC Minutes, 2 Aug 1915, dealing with request for appointment of Deacons' Court.
- c) Extract of NBMC Minutes, 6 Sept 1915, recording vote for election of Deacons' Court.
- d) Extract of NBMC Minutes, 4 Oct 1915, dealing with appointment of Deacons' Court.
- e) Extract of NBMC Minutes, 14 June 1915, dealing with appointment of minister in the capacity of missionary.
- f) Extract of NBMC Minutes, 27 Dec 1934, which contained the suggestion that the authority of the NBMC should be transferred to the Assembly's AMC in Cape Town.
Above, 135.
- g) Extract of NBMC Minutes, 24 Nov 1938, dealing with the question of an African representative on the NBMC.

had begun his attempts to free the mission from the NBMC's control. At the Session meeting on 27 April 1946, he intimated that he wanted to change the sustentation system the NBMC introduced in 1939. Under this system record cards were distributed to the deacons in each district, who then collected money from their districts and entered the amount on the card. Each deacon brought the money and the record card to the church every second Sunday. The minister collected the money, handed it to the treasurer of the NBMC who, in turn, deposited it in the bank. This system worked well and enabled members to keep a clear record of what they were giving each month.¹⁰⁸ Ntintili changed this system without the NBMC's permission. Under the new 'tithing' system each member was required to give a minimum of one shilling a week which Ntintili deposited into his own personal bank account.¹⁰⁹ Ntintili then forwarded a personal cheque to W L MacDonald, treasurer of the NBMC. MacDonald testified that prior to Ntintili, all money given to the NBMC from the mission had always been in cash, and had been handed over monthly. Once Ntintili changed the system the money was handed in two months late, and the amount remitted gradually diminished. At a meeting of the Deacons' Court on 12 October 1946, Ntintili announced that he would in future send only £32 to the NBMC, and would place the remainder in his personal account. MacDonald explained that Ntintili had arrived at this figure after he had sent Ntintili a statement showing the average givings of the congregation and indicating that the nett amount required from the congregation was £32 monthly.¹¹⁰ When the NBMC heard of this irregularity it warned Ntintili to hand over the whole amount. Ntintili refused, and

108. Ass Pro Re Nata (Transcript).

See also NBMC Minutes, 20 Jan 1939.

109. Letter: W D Campbell to C F D Hunter, 3 July 1982.

Ntintili had clearly based this new system on the 'tithe' system introduced by Bishop Limba. Under Limba's system 'all monies contributed by or collected from members shall be paid over to the Treasurer who shall pay the same into a Bank Account to be opened for the purpose;...during the tenure of his office by Bishop Limba such contributions...known as Tens or Tithes shall be paid by the Leader of each congregation to him and the use thereof shall be in the sole discretion of the said Bishop Limba'.

Constitution of the Bantu Church of Christ, para 16(f), in Limba File, E P Newspaper Library.

110. Ass Pro Re Nata (Transcript).

stated at the Annual General meeting of the NBMC on 13 Feb 1947 that the excess money would 'be withheld by the congregation for the benefit of the church'.¹¹¹

Ntintili had defied the authority of Presbytery and of the NBMC further by establishing a building fund. The New Brighton Deacons' Court had decided at its meeting on 17 January 1947 that each male preaching member of the congregation would pay £2 toward this fund, ordinary members £1, and women 10/-. The target was £800. By the time the NBMC heard of the fund £150 had already been placed in Ntintili's private account.¹¹² Presbytery had ordered Ntintili to transfer this money to a new account specifically for the Building Fund,¹¹³ but Ntintili had merely withdrawn the money, closed his account,¹¹⁴ and subsequently had opened another account in the name of the New Brighton Presbyterian Church of South Africa.¹¹⁵ J Smith, the present treasurer of the NBMC, testified that since Ntintili had opened this second account, no money had been received from the congregation.¹¹⁶

The third instance in which Ntintili had defied the NBMC was in the collection of the Harvest Thanksgiving Fund. This fund had been introduced during 1943. Small envelopes were distributed to every member for their contributions. These were then handed to the minister, who would give the money to the NBMC. Each elder and deacon then received from the minister a full statement of the amount collected. In 1943 the Harvest Thanksgiving Fund had realised £40, but the amounts had dwindled since then. In 1946 the envelopes had been distributed and collected, but no acknowledgment was made of the amount collected.¹¹⁷

111. Ass Pro Re Nata, 11.

112. ibid., 11/12.

113. ibid., 13.

P E Presbytery Minutes, 24 Feb 1947.
Above, 137.

114. Letter: W D Campbell to C F D Hunter, 3 July 1982.

115. Ass Pro Re Nata, 14.

P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Nov 1947.

116. Ass Pro Re Nata, 14.

117. ibid., 14/15.

In his defence Ntintili suggested that the procedural errors of the Deacons' Court in these financial matters had not been motivated by contumacy, but by the difficulties the Deacons' Court had found in working harmoniously with the NBMC. The Deacons' Court had found that the functions of the two bodies overlapped and that the existence of the NBMC was hindering the congregation's development towards full status. Ntintili's two main witnesses, D Matsha and L Lolwana, had been co-signatories for the bank account which Ntintili had opened in defiance of Presbytery.¹¹⁸ Matsha testified that he was not satisfied with the administration of the congregation's funds by the NBMC. He resented the way the NBMC had occasionally prevented the Deacons' Court from spending money as it desired, and he insisted that the Deacons' Court should manage the mission's finances. The Deacons' Court therefore had defied Presbytery's order to submit all monies to the NBMC to show its dissatisfaction with that committee. Lolwana testified that the Deacons' Court decided to open the new bank account with the full knowledge of Presbytery's injunction to hand over all monies to the NBMC. He admitted that the Harvest Thanksgiving Offering for 1946 had been collected, but had not been counted before it was handed to Maja, treasurer of the Deacons' Court.¹¹⁹ He claimed that there was a 'perfectly satisfactory explanation' about how this money had been distributed, but he had not been given the opportunity to make this explanation at the Presbyterial visitation in August 1947. Nor did he offer this explanation to the Court at this point.

The next witness, C Nzwana, an elder at New Brighton, contradicted Lolwana's statement that Ntintili had opened the new bank account on the authority of the Deacons' Court. He testified that Ntintili had opened the bank account on his own authority.¹²⁰ Another witness, Nabungiza, supported Lolwana, and testified that a properly constituted meeting of the Deacons' Court had resolved to open the account for the Building Fund.¹²¹ Ntintili's final witness was Gqomo,

118. Above, 141.

119. Ass Pro Re Nata, 18/19.

120. ibid., 17

121. ibid., 17/18.

chairman of the Building Fund committee. Gqomo explained that although £150 had been raised, the Deacons' Court decided not to hand over the whole amount, but only gave the NBMC the balance after certain expenses had been met.¹²² He also gave details of how Ntintili had changed the system of collecting money. Both these matters had been authorised by the Deacons' Court, in the full knowledge that the NBMC, and not the Deacons' Court, was ultimately responsible for the congregation's finances.

The third charge of the indictment dealt with the 'unrighteous judgment' which Ntintili had shown A Gungaluzza after the Presbyterial visitation in August 1947.¹²³ Gungaluzza testified that he had protested against his excommunication at the Session meeting on 11 October 1947. When this met with no success he had complained to the Clerk of Presbytery that the Session had acted irregularly in the matter of his excommunication. The Rev T L Clarke corroborated this statement, and testified that the only approach Presbytery had received had been from Gungaluzza: neither the Session nor Ntintili had forwarded Gungaluzza's appeal to Presbytery.¹²⁴ A G N Nqcongola, the former Session Clerk at New Brighton, told the court that Ntintili had asked him to alter the Session minutes at which Gungaluzza had been excommunicated. Nqcongola had complained to Campbell about this on 15 January 1948. Jeremiah Mpongoshe testified that he had attended this meeting and that after the minutes had been read Ntintili had said 'Don't mention my name, you must use other leaders' names because when you use my name you bring me into trouble'.¹²⁵

Ntintili's defence was that the 'unrighteous judgment' had been unintentional. He thought that Gungaluzza had allowed the case to lapse. To corroborate this evidence Ntintili called Gqomo who confirmed that Gungaluzza had been excommunicated because the Session felt that the questions Gungaluzza had raised with the Presbyterial visitors should have been raised first in the Session. Gungaluzza had appealed against the Session's decision and had asked for an extract of the minute dealing with his excommunication. But when, after ten

122. ibid., 19
Above, 138 for explanation of expenses.

123. ibid., 15.
Above, 141.

124. idem.

125. Ass Pro Re Nata (Transcript).
A letter signed by A S Tsewu, M M Dudula, M Koyana,
R D Qalinge and J J Mpongoshe also submitted as evidence.

days, Gungaluza had not given reasons for appealing against the sentence, Ntintili had announced his excommunication from the pulpit in the mission church.¹²⁶ He had decided to announce Gungaluza's excommunication before the appeal had been heard by Presbytery to encourage the mission congregation to pray for their brother.¹²⁷ This brought the case for the prosecution and for the defence to a close, and the Assembly went into committee to decide upon the verdict. The finding was unanimous. On the first count of the indictment, the Assembly was not satisfied that the prosecutor had proved that Ntintili had intended to form a new and separate church apart from the PCSA:

We are satisfied that he meant to work within the framework of our Church, but that he sorely misled our African people and the office-bearers at New Brighton and its out-stations by creating or fomenting dissension on racial and unchristian basis. 128

The Assembly found that the evidence for the charge of contumacious conduct 'abundantly supports our judgment of his collaboration with certain of his office-bearers to set at defiance the authority of the Presbytery and a duly constituted Mission Committee'.¹²⁹

The third charge of 'unrighteousness in judgment' had also been proved. The Assembly was 'shocked that one, whose knowledge had led him to protect himself by insisting on the most detailed compliance with procedure should have shown such an absence of Christian grace as not to protect another who had appealed against the Session's judgment!'.¹³⁰

The Rev W D Campbell, the prosecutor in the case, then addressed the Court. He stressed that the Court's judgment was of crucial importance not only to the life of the New Brighton mission congregation, but to African mission work throughout South Africa. Any leniency in the matter would merely prolong the instability in the congregation. He therefore asked the Assembly to pass the ultimate censure on Ntintili: to dissolve the pastoral tie between Ntintili and the New Brighton mission; to deprive Ntintili of his position as a minister in the PCSA; and to deprive him of his membership of the Church.¹³¹

126. Ass Pro Re Nata, 21.
Also Ass Pro Re Nata, (Transcript).

127. Ass Pro Re Nata, 21.

128. idem.

129. idem.

130. idem.

131. ibid., 22.

Ntintili then appealed to the Assembly not to be too severe in its judgment. He claimed that he had always tried to seek the best for the mission, and had not intended to flout the authority of the Port Elizabeth Presbytery or the General Assembly. This plea for clemency dissuaded the Assembly from excommunication. Instead the Assembly passed judgment that 'Mr Ntintili be suspended from the functions of his office as a Minister of this Church for an unspecified period with effect from to-day, thus terminating his appointment at the New Brighton mission charge'.¹³²

The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth was disappointed by Assembly's judgment. Campbell commented:

Public sentiment, or rather sentiment from a public and from a Court which had no intimate dealings with the gentleman, overruled our request and he was sentenced to suspension - sine die. We objected, but without avail. 133

Presbytery was also perturbed because the Assembly made no provision for the likelihood that Ntintili would defy the Assembly's sentence. In anticipation of such an event, Campbell asked Assembly to make some ruling about the status of the New Brighton mission. But this request was refused because it was improper for Assembly to deal with business other than that stated on the agenda. Campbell also asked for guidance if Ntintili refused to vacate the manse. Again the Assembly failed to give a clear ruling, and pointed out that the Assembly had no 'carnal weapons' to use in this matter, only spiritual authority.¹³⁴

Thus the pro re nata meeting of General Assembly concluded on an uneasy note. On the one hand, Ntintili and his supporters felt aggrieved and misunderstood; on the other, the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth was convinced that Ntintili would soon pose a problem again; and in between

132. idem.

Paragraph 422 of the Book of Order (Appendix F) set out the sentences which Assembly could consider. The Assembly decided on the third censure, that is, suspension from the functions of office. Assembly also applied para. 450, which provided for the suspension to be sine die, thereby terminating the minister's appointment.

133. Letter: W D Campbell to C F D Hunter, 3 July 1982.

In a letter to H H Munro, shortly before the in hunc effectum meeting of Assembly in Nov 1948, E Beardmore admitted that 'subsequent events have proved that your Presbytery was justified in asking for Ntintili's deposition in March, but Assembly favoured a locus poenitentiae - hinc illae lacrimae'.

Letter: E Beardmore to H H Munro, 16 Oct 1948 (RPC).

134. Ass Pro Re Nata, 23.

was the Assembly, which had tried to deal justly with both parties and to discipline an erring minister, without opening itself to allegations of racism.

The NBMC doubted that Ntintili would abide by Assembly's ruling. He had not shown any respect for Presbytery's authority: would he be any more likely to respect Assembly's? In anticipation of such disobedience the NBMC drew up a memorandum outlining how it could implement the Assembly's sentence,¹³⁵ and presented this to the Presbytery on 13 April 1948.¹³⁶ The NBMC recommended that Ntintili should be given notice to vacate the manse at New Brighton by 30 April 1948; that an inventory should be taken of all church property at Korsten and New Brighton; and that the buildings should be closed immediately. If, as the NBMC suspected, these conditions were not met, the Presbytery should immediately enlist legal help to enforce them. Once these conditions had been fulfilled, the New Brighton mission work should be recommenced de novo at a suitable date to be fixed by Presbytery. A congregational committee would then be appointed to assist the NBMC in organising the work at New Brighton. A new membership list and a list of suitable preachers would also need to be compiled. Finally the NBMC needed to obtain legal custody of any funds collected by the congregation in the interim.¹³⁷

Presbytery accepted this memorandum as a guideline for the immediate future of the mission,¹³⁸ but emphasised that in the long term some statement of the congregation's status would be crucial for the future relationship between the mission, the NBMC and the Presbytery.

135. NBMC Minutes, 12 April 1948.

136. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 April 1948.

137. idem. Memorandum to Presbytery from NBMC.

138. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 April 1948.

- Several other points emerged from the discussion of the Memorandum:
- a) A question was raised about the appointment of a caretaker for the buildings while these were vacant. Legal advice was sought to resolve this.
 - b) The insurance cover would be increased to bring it into line with present values:

Church building	increased from	£1 200	to	£4 200	
Church furniture	"	"	100	to	300
Manse building	"	"	700	to	2 000
 - c) Qalinge, the New Brighton commissioner at Presbytery, was assured that although the representation of New Brighton elders at Presbytery had ceased, he would be welcome to attend Presbytery meetings in an unofficial capacity.
 - d) Qalinge suggested that the minutes of the various courts at the mission should be kept in English in future. Presbytery agreed to this.

Campbell had tried unsuccessfully to get the Assembly to give such a statement at the pro re nata meeting. Presbytery thus decided to overture the General Assembly 'that the time is now urgent to define the constitution and organization of African Mission Churches'.¹³⁹ It called upon Assembly to appoint a Committee to draft a model constitution to guide African churches from their inception to full status; to recommend how existing churches could be brought into line with this model constitution; and to revise the Book of Order so as to incorporate the constitution.¹⁴⁰

Almost immediately Ntintili defied the Assembly. On 28 March 1948, only four days after Assembly had suspended him sine die from his position as minister at New Brighton, the elders from the New Brighton mission invited the Rt Rev H F Yule to preach at the mission church. When he and his party arrived, they found the church and manse locked, and Ntintili holding a large meeting in front of the church:

It was a meeting to enlist the sympathies of the populace, and he was swinging the keys of the manse on his fingers...he swung them under our noses - and we could do nothing about it except retire on our beaten dignity. 141

Presbytery instituted civil proceedings to have Ntintili ejected from the manse, but the situation deteriorated rapidly during the long delay before the case was heard in the Magistrate's Court. Marwanga, a member of the New Brighton mission, informed Presbytery that Ntintili had set up a separate congregation and was encouraging members from the mission and newcomers to Port Elizabeth to bring their disjunction certificates to him.¹⁴² Ntintili was also fomenting antagonism towards the Presbytery and the NBMC amongst his followers. He 'commenced a war of attrition wherein Campbell and Molefe were the representatives of the evil one, and that we two would one day quarrel and kill each other, and that he alone and the free congregation would reign in New Brighton. As evidence of this the heads of a cat and a dog were solemnly placed under the pulpit, one named for each of us'.¹⁴³

139. idem.

140. idem.

141. Letter: W D Campbell to C F D Hunter, 3 July 1982.

142. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 July 1948.

143. Letter: W D Campbell to C F D Hunter, 3 July 1982.

Meanwhile Presbytery tried to care for the spiritual needs of the loyal members of the congregation. Campbell met with this group, but they decided that it would be better not to meet at all, than to divide the congregation further by meeting in a separate room.¹⁴⁴

Campbell, Munro and Clarke, the ministers of the three white churches in Port Elizabeth, maintained the outstations of the New Brighton church, dispensed the Sacraments and held services there regularly. During the course of one of their visits to Uitenhage they discovered that L Nappies, one of Ntintili's supporters, had been leasing the church for about three years, but had not forwarded this money to the NBMG. This misappropriation of funds was also referred to the legal agents. Presbytery also decided to stop Ntintili's new method of collecting money and to return to the card system.¹⁴⁵

By September 1948 the situation at New Brighton was once more critical. That month the General Assembly passed a resolution, moved by the Rev T L Clarke, 'that a special meeting of General Assembly be held as soon as possible at a time and place to be fixed by the Moderator for the purpose of taking such action as it may deem necessary to bring to an end the unhappy state of New Brighton mission, Port Elizabeth, created by the Rev W M T Ntintili'.¹⁴⁶

This time the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth made elaborate preparations to ensure that Ntintili could not fault it on any legal aspect, as he had done in the previous trial. Presbytery was guided in this matter by the Clerk, the Rev H H Munro, who had been inducted to the Hill Church in February 1948, too late to play a major role in the pro re nata meeting of General Assembly held later that month. Munro gave considerable assistance to Campbell, now Moderator of Presbytery, as 'he prompted me, put words into my mouth (I knew nothing about the law at that time)'.¹⁴⁷ Munro carefully sifted through all the evidence, sought out reliable witnesses and painstakingly followed each legal requirement laid down in the Book of Order.

144. Ass In Hunc Effectum, 19.

145. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 July 1948.

146. PCSA BB(1948), 49.

147. Letter: W D Campbell to C F D Hunter, 3 July 1982.

The first point of law that troubled Munro was whether a fresh indictment of Ntintili was necessary. In a letter to E Beardmore, K.C., Convener of Assembly's Legal Advice Committee, Munro suggested that the correct procedure would be to summon a meeting of the General Assembly, which would examine the situation at New Brighton, and decide whether it warranted the implementation of Paragraph 455.¹⁴⁸ At this meeting the Moderator and Clerk of Presbytery, or a prosecutor representing them, would produce written proof, supported by oral evidence if necessary, to demonstrate that Ntintili had exercised all the functions of a minister of the church despite his suspension in March 1948. Ntintili would be cited to appear in his interest, and would be told of the situation to be investigated, but this would not entail a fresh indictment:

A situation is being investigated arising out of a previous sentence, and while it would be courteous to give him a chance to be there and to say anything he might want to say, the situation can be proceeded with whether he bothers to come or not. 149

Beardmore pointed out that Munro had misinterpreted Paragraph 455 and that an indictment was necessary. Paragraph 455 was purely a penalty clause and could not be used as an authority on procedure. The only case in which Paragraph 455 could be tested would be if Ntintili were found guilty as 'a fugitive from discipline' in terms of Paragraph 402. In such a case Ntintili would have to be cited to appear for trial on the main charge on two occasions separated by at least six days. Thus the Presbytery could not take a short cut under Paragraph 455:

It is unsound interpretation to read into a penalty clause authority for an otherwise unauthorized procedure, and nowhere does the Book of Order authorise summary proceedings in respect of grave offences. I wish it did in a case of this nature, but it doesn't - and we are bound by the rules as they are, until we amend them. 150

The second question was whether the responsibility for prosecuting Ntintili lay with Presbytery or General Assembly. Munro believed that Presbytery had no jurisdiction and could not raise a fresh indictment,

148. See Appendix F.

149. Letter: H H Munro to E Beardmore, 14 Oct 1948 (RPC).

150. Letter: E Beardmore to H H Munro, 16 Oct 1948 (RPC).

'because no offence has been committed against our court'.¹⁵¹ Again legal opinion was against this interpretation. Beardmore pointed out that the fact that a superior court had sentenced an offender did not displace the jurisdiction of an inferior court to try a fresh offence, which the sentence of the superior court had made possible. By suspending Ntintili from office sine die, Assembly made it possible for him to commit the offence of exercising the functions of a minister in the PCSA without authority. Because Ntintili was doing this within the bounds of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, it certainly was a matter for that Presbytery's jurisdiction, because although suspended, Ntintili was still subject to Presbytery's jurisdiction.¹⁵² Thus Beardmore emphasized that it was Presbytery's clear duty, under Paragraph 162 of the Book of Order,¹⁵³ to ensure that Ntintili observed Assembly's injunction and, if necessary, to enforce that injunction by disciplinary action:

I will not dispute that the duty of your court in this matter is an unpalatable one, but it is none the less real, and I loth (sic) to believe that there is not one man in the Presbytery prepared to do it. If the Presbytery continues to refuse to do its duty, then it may be necessary for the Moderator to convene a pro-re-nata meeting of Assembly in the Free State, where he is now on tour, for the purpose of giving your Presbytery special directions under paragraph 477 to enter upon the necessary judicial procedure against Ntintili. 154

151. Letter: H H Munro to E Beardmore, 8 Oct 1948 (RPC).

152. Letter: E Beardmore to H H Munro, 16 Oct 1948 (RPC). Beardmore gave this analogy to prove his point: 'Take the case of a motorist, who has negligently killed a pedestrian. He's tried by the Supreme Court for culpable homicide, found guilty, and part of his sentence is that his driver's licence is suspended sine die. If he should be found, while his licence is suspended, driving a car on a public road, it would be competent in law for the Magistrate's Court to try him for contravening the Motor Ordinance, and that is the course which would be taken. No prosecutor would bring him before the Supreme Court on a charge of Contempt of Court. The analogy is perfect'.

153. Book of Order, para 162:

'A presbytery has no legislative powers or funtions; but it is its duty as a court to execute the laws and observe the injunctions issued by the General Assembly, and to see that all subject to its jurisdiction, in their several places and relations, do the like'.

154. idem. In his reply to Beardmore, Munro stated that the Business Committee of the P E Presbytery had accepted Beardmore's view ('which I appreciate without being quite wholly convinced'), because it felt that a radical split between Presbytery and Assembly's legal advisor would 'rather please Ntintili'. Munro told the Committee that Assembly had the power to instruct Presbytery to open the case whether Presbytery wished to or not, thus 'our best course was to accede with a good grace without letting the support of our own views pass over into obstructionism. (Not but what, if less serious issues were involved, I would like to have called your bluff about a Special Meeting in the Free State!). Letter: H H Munro to E Beardmore, 20 Oct 1948 (RPC).

The other reason why the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth should begin proceedings against Ntintili, was the fact that the Assembly could not possibly sit for weeks in Port Elizabeth to fulfil the requirements under paragraphs 384, 409, 412, 417 and 418 stipulated by the Book of Order.¹⁵⁵

The third point to be decided upon was whether the ecclesiastical case should precede the civil case, or vice versa. Once again Beardmore and Munro differed in opinion. Beardmore believed that it would not be wise to meet for the ecclesiastical case before the civil case for the ejection of Ntintili had been heard, 'seeing that it was the Church, and not Ntintili, who had instituted action in the civil court, and that therefore out of respect for the civil court the Church ought to await its judgment before taking further action'.¹⁵⁶ It would be unseemly, having appealed to 'Caesar', to push forward the original judgment before 'Caesar' had tried the case:

It also savoured of a 'trick' and might even prejudice those in charge of the Civil Case against our methods. Besides, an adverse judgment (after we had met and unfrocked the man) would with (sic) circumstances be even more disastrous to us, morally. A favourable (civil) judgment would leave us with no urgent action on our hands. The matter is still 'sub judice', civilly. We would be dealing with it 'anticipating' a favourable outcome. We shall be in a strong position to proceed further with a favourable judgment of a civil court to support us. 157

Munro saw no reason why Assembly should wait for judgment in the civil case before proceeding with the ecclesiastical case. Each case was dealing with different charges: in the civil case Presbytery was suing Ntintili for continued occupation of the manse and for debate of account. The ecclesiastical case dealt with his continued exercise of ministerial functions, which could not come within the purview of a civil court:

If the Civil Court took any view of the matter at all, and I don't see how it could, it might surely be to ask the commonsense question as to why the Supreme Court of the Church had done nothing to assert its jurisdiction in matters purely ecclesiastical. If the meeting is held on 16th November, it can fairly be said that the Assembly has acted as promptly as possible...On the other hand, if nothing is done by November 16th, the most that we could answer to any question as to asserting our purely ecclesiastical authority would be that the officials concerned were thinking about it. 158

155. Letter: E Beardmore to H Agnew, 11 Oct 1948 (RPC).
See Appendix F for these paragraphs.

156. idem.

157. Letter: J McDowall to H Agnew, 11 Oct 1948 (RPC), after he had received a letter from Beardmore setting out his reasons for postponing the ecclesiastical case until after the civil case.

158. Letter: H H Munro to E Beardmore, 14 October 1948 (RPC).

Beardmore was quite prepared to waive his opinion that the civil trial should come first, and to agree to an Assembly meeting on 16 November, on condition that Presbytery had been able to fulfil the necessary legal requirements by that date. Perhaps the most harmful allegation that the predominantly white PCSA Assembly could incur during this period when a renascent African nationalism was struggling to assert itself, was the suggestion that it had dealt summarily with an African minister who had been striving for independence. Beardmore warned the Presbytery to follow the legal requirements carefully:

It may be that Ntintili will assist you by ignoring the Presbytery, and thus bring himself under paragraph 402, but please mind your step, and let everything be done decently and in order, for he has shown considerable astuteness. 159

Munro worked out a timetable whereby the legal requirements under paragraph 402 could be fulfilled, and the Presbytery's case could be ready for the in hunc effectum meeting of Assembly on 16 November 1948.¹⁶⁰ He submitted this timetable to Beardmore for approval:

It involves not a scrap of courtesy to the accused but it keeps within legal limits. I should not proceed in this way if it were a case of genuine doubt, since it leaves the accused very little time. On this timetable, which is rather breakneck, we are already embarked... 161

The first stage in the proceedings had already been initiated by the Business Committee of Presbytery at its meeting on 19 October 1948. This committee had decided that the situation at New Brighton warranted an indictment being presented to Ntintili, had appointed Munro and Campbell as prosecutors, and had settled upon a day to hear the case. The committee had called two pro re nata meetings of Presbytery, to be held on Friday 22 October, 1948, at 10.00am and 11.00am.¹⁶² The first meeting would be to enable Presbytery to meet with Ntintili in the matter of his alleged offence, 'privately and in a brotherly way', thereby fulfilling paragraph 384 of the Book of Order. The second

159. Letter: E Beardmore to H H Munro, 16 Oct 1948 (RPC).

160. Meeting in hunc effectum: is one appointed by Presbytery or a superior court having jurisdiction for the transaction of specified business. The time, place and business of the meeting must be announced at the meeting making the appointment and recorded in the minutes. At this meeting the extract minute appointing the meeting is read, and no other business than that referred to in the minute may be transacted. If necessary the meeting may be adjourned for the completion of business.

The Manual of Law and Procedure of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, para. 229, 230.

161. Letter: H H Munro to E Beardmore, 20 Oct 1948 (RPC).

162. P E Presbytery's Business Committee Minutes, 19 Oct 1948.

meeting would be to hear the indictment. At the latter meeting Munro planned to give notice for an in hunc effectum meeting of Presbytery on 29 October 1948, in order to hear pleas of relevancy on the indictment. This would give the accused the six clear days' notice laid down in the Book of Order. If Ntintili attended all these meetings, the matter would then be referred to Assembly for trial on 16 November 1948. But if he failed to attend them Munro had already informed Ntintili that his failure to meet with Presbytery privately would not stay proceedings, nor would his absence prevent the formal hearing of the indictment at the 11.00am meeting of Presbytery on 22 October.¹⁶³ If he ignored the meeting on 29 October to plead relevancy, for which formal citation, a copy of the indictment and a list of witnesses would have been sent to him, Presbytery would need to prepare a fresh citation with six days' notice. This meeting would be held on 5 November 1948. If he were still absent at that meeting, he would be held guilty of contumacy and the matter would be referred to Assembly for judgment. Munro's task was to prepare three sets of documents to meet every eventuality. The first set would be a reference to the Assembly for judgment, on the assumption that he attended the Presbytery meetings and pleaded guilty. The second set was based on the assumption that he had attended the meetings and had pleaded innocent. This set would contain a reference to Assembly for trial, accompanied by any exception which Ntintili might make to the indictment. Assembly would then have the right to amend the indictment if any exceptions were proved. The third set was based on the assumption that Ntintili would absent himself from the Presbytery meetings. In this event the case would be referred to the Assembly for judgment on contumacy and a fugitive from discipline. The only flaw Munro detected in this timetable was the discourtesy this tight timetable might cause to the members attending the special meeting of Assembly. To avoid possible inconvenience, Munro suggested that the Rev H Agnew, Clerk of Assembly, should immediately send a circular letter informing commissioners of the situation and of the likelihood that a special meeting of Assembly would be held on 16 November 1948.

163. Letter: H H Munro to E Beardmore, 20 Oct 1948 (RPC).

Munro had been informed by Ntintili's legal advisors that they had told Ntintili that he had no case and therefore they advised him to attend the Presbytery meetings.

The official notice calling commissioners could then be sent either on 29 October or 5 November, depending on when Presbytery's reference came through.¹⁶⁴

Subsequent events proceeded precisely as Munro had anticipated and the Presbytery carefully went through each stage required by the Book of Order. Ntintili failed to appear at the first pro re nata meeting on 22 October 1948. The Rev T L Clarke made a thorough search of the premises to ascertain whether he was in the vicinity, but there was no sign of him. Munro informed Presbytery that as Ntintili had made no attempt to excuse himself from the meeting, although he had received a registered letter on 20 October 1948 informing him of the meeting, the Presbytery had failed in its purpose under paragraph 384 of the Book of Order through default, by the non-appearance of Ntintili.¹⁶⁵

Ntintili also failed to appear at the second pro re nata meeting on 22 October 1948. As Munro had warned him, his non-appearance did not stay the proceedings. The Presbytery heard the indictment, and called for an in hunc effectum meeting of Presbytery on 29 October 1948, for the purpose of calling the parties, hearing any exceptions which the accused might want to make and to decide upon the relevancy of the indictment in terms of paragraphs 410 to 420 of the Book of Order.¹⁶⁶

At the in hunc effectum meeting, Munro read a letter which he had received from Ntintili which gave some explanation of his non-appearance at the pro re nata meetings on 22 October 1948. Ntintili had received the registered letters informing him of these meetings, but he felt that 'no good purpose could be achieved by my answering the latest indictment, for...I am confident that no matter what I say or do nothing will alter your determination to have me ex-communicated (sic) from the Church and it is for this reason that I have no intention of appearing on the 29th instant to answer the indictment'.¹⁶⁷ He admitted that 'all the unpleasantness' had forced him to question seriously whether

164. idem.

Agnew took his advice and sent out a preliminary notice on 28 Oct informing the commissions of the Special Assembly on 16 Nov, and that he would confirm the date 'probably 6 to 7 days before the meeting'. Notice: from H Agnew, 28 Oct 1948 (RPC).
Agnew confirmed the meeting in a notice dated 6 Nov 1948.

165. P E Presbytery's pro re nata Minutes, 10.00am 22 Oct 1948.

166. P E Presbytery's pro re nata Minutes, 11.00am 22 Oct 1948.
In the discussion following the reading of the indictment, a

he should leave the ministry altogether, not 'because I am guilty of any of the allegations made by you but merely because I felt that if this is part of religion I do not wish to be party thereto'.¹⁶⁸

The reason why he had not resigned 'was because of the continual plea by my congregation not to abandon my ministry. You must agree that they, and they only, are in a position to judge whether or not I have carried out my duties in a proper and efficient manner'.¹⁶⁹

The real purpose of the letter was to suggest that 'a meeting should be arranged between your goodselves and myself and my elders, at which meeting the matter could be adjusted and thereafter we could all continue with the furtherance of our aims and ambitions, which, after all is the only thing that really matters'.¹⁷⁰

Presbytery gave this letter careful consideration, and paid special attention to the practical outcome at that stage of a meeting such as Ntintili suggested and to the Presbytery's moral, as distinct from legal, obligation in view of this request. After a long discussion, Presbytery unanimously agreed that no useful purpose could be served by this meeting. The main reasons for rejecting the meeting were minuted very fully in case Ntintili at a later stage took exception that Presbytery had dismissed an opportunity to apply paragraph 384

166. (contd)...

question was raised as to why incidents such as the forcible entry into the Church at New Brighton after it had been officially closed by Presbytery, did not figure in the indictment. Munro gave two reasons for this omission: first, the great difficulty in providing legal proof that Ntintili was personally involved in such acts, as distinct from his supporters; and second, that the 'gravamen of the present charge was sufficiently contained in the present indictment'.

167. Letter: W M T Ntintili to H H Munro, 27 Oct 1948, in Ass In Hunc Effectum, 10/11.

168. idem.

169. idem.

170. idem.

of the Book of Order. 171

171. P E Presbytery's in hunc effectum minutes, 29 Oct 1948.

The main reasons were:

1. Mr Ntintili affirmed his decision not to answer the present indictment, but sought a meeting to end 'the dispute'. This could only refer to previous decisions of General Assembly, regarding which Presbytery could not now enter into discussions.

2. Mr Ntintili acknowledged Presbytery's letter of 19/10/1948, but made no comment on his failure to avail himself of the private meeting therein suggested on the subject of the present indictment.

3. Since Mr Ntintili chose to believe that Presbytery was acting maliciously and persecuting him, there being no point in his appearing since 'no matter what I say or do nothing will alter your determination to ex-communicate me', it was difficult to see what good purpose Mr Ntintili could envisage from such a meeting.

4. Presbytery having before it the Minute of Pro Re Nata meeting of Assembly (p.22) with the terms of Mr Ntintili's acceptance of the verdict, it was impossible to believe that his present accusation of unfairness in his late trial indicated a state of mind in which a meeting would have useful results.

5. In view of all the above, Presbytery was forced to the conclusion that the terms of his last paragraph could only mean a round table discussion between Presbytery representing the Church on the one hand, and himself and his 'elders' on the other, to negotiate as equal parties a compromise affecting the decisions of Assembly in March 1948. Presbytery was bound to reject this completely. There was no real sign of penitence, even for past proven faults: Presbytery was equally bound with Mr Ntintili to accept past decisions of Assembly without query; and finally Presbytery could not negotiate with a body of 'elders' whose locus standi it could not recognise'.

On the advice of Presbytery's legal agents, a private meeting was held with Ntintili. This did not conflict with Presbytery's decision of 29 October 1948, because this meeting was not held under Paragraph 384 of the Book of Order, but was to discuss the pending civil action. The Revs W D Campbell and H H Munro attended this meeting in their capacity as prosecutors in the action, but nothing was discussed in connection with the ecclesiastical case.

P E Presbytery's in hunc effectum Minutes, 5 Nov 1948.

Ntintili did not attend the in hunc effectum meeting of Presbytery on 29 October 1948. Once again Clarke searched the premises for him. Munro's timetable thus entered its final stage: Presbytery had to send Ntintili a second citation, with six clear days' notice, to attend an in hunc effectum meeting of Presbytery on 5 November 1948, at which Presbytery would call the parties; hear any exceptions Ntintili might make; determine the relevancy of the indictment in terms of paragraph 410 to 420 of the Book of Order; and take any further steps required by the Book of Order for the further prosecution of the indictment, including any matters relevant to the reference of the case to General Assembly.¹⁷²

Ntintili failed to attend the in hunc effectum meeting. For the final time Clarke was sent to ascertain whether he was in the vicinity. Munro then laid before the Presbytery the minutes of the Presbytery meetings held on 19 October, 22 October, 29 October and of the present meeting, 5 November 1948, by which Presbytery had fulfilled all the legal requirements up to that stage. He also presented two citations to Ntintili in the proper form together with proof that these had been posted by registered express delivery on 22 October and 29 October respectively. Ntintili's non-appearance enabled Presbytery to 'treat him as a fugitive from discipline, hold him liable to censure for contumacy, and declare him no longer a member of the Church',¹⁷³ since Presbytery had fulfilled all the requirements of paragraph 402. But the case would still have to be referred to the General Assembly for judgment, because paragraph 453 laid down that only General Assembly could pronounce the sentence of deposition upon a minister in his absence.¹⁷⁴

Munro was concerned that in a case such as this, where such fundamental authority was being challenged, and where the allegation of racism could be made by extremists of either side, Presbytery should not even give judgment that paragraph 402 applied;

I think that we should take note that it seems to apply and refer the matter to Assembly to judge whether it in fact does apply. My reason is that if we make judgment, as I think we are entitled, Assembly can only be called together for sentence, which could be

172. idem.

173. idem.
For paragraph 402 of Book of Order see Appendix F.

174. idem.

disposed of in ten minutes. Commissioners might object to this as a waste of their time, though Paragraph 453 requires it. More importantly, while it is not legally required, I think that for future public repercussions it would be well for Assembly to assure itself that the indictment is capable of proof. It would be a bad thing if it could ever be suggested that he was unfrocked for a technical flight from discipline on an indictment that might have not been capable of being sustained...For this reason the main weight of my evidence...will be signed statements before witnesses as to the exercise of various ministerial functions. 175

Both the Presbytery and the General Assembly shared Munro's concern that they might leave a loophole which Ntintili, or any future opportunist, could exploit to his advantage. Both courts also wanted to avoid giving the impression that they had dealt summarily with Ntintili. Thus the Presbytery decided to refer the case to the General Assembly with the caveat that the Assembly might not wish to pass sentence under paragraph 453 until it had satisfied itself that the indictment was both relevant and proved.¹⁷⁶

At the in hunc effectum meeting of General Assembly on 16 November 1948, Beardmore took Munro's advice and called for evidence to prove that Ntintili had exercised ministerial functions since his suspension sine die in March 1948. Ntintili did not attend this meeting, but his absence did not stay the proceedings. J B Marwanga, a member of the New Brighton mission church, was the first witness. Marwanga testified that he had attended the graveside service of Mfuku, a former member of the New Brighton church, who had died on 19 August 1948. Marwanga could not state who had conducted the funeral service at the church, because 'I came late', but he could testify that Ntintili had conducted the service at the graveside 'as Minister of the Presbyterian Church'.¹⁷⁷ Marwanga also testified about the service that the Rt Rev H F Yule was supposed to have conducted at New Brighton on 28 March 1948, but could not, because 'the gates were locked and the door was locked and so he addressed the congregation of people who had assembled outside the gates'.¹⁷⁸

Anie Mtani, another member of the New Brighton mission, testified that she had attended a service Ntintili had conducted at the church on

175. Letter: H H Munro to E Beardmore, 30 Oct 1948.

176. P E Presbytery's in hunc effectum Minutes, 5 Nov 1948.

177. Marwanga's evidence was corroborated by Mrs N Quma, who testified that she attended Mfuku's funeral service both at the church and at the graveside. Both were conducted by Ntintili 'as minister of the Presbyterian Church' in his gown and 'wearing the white bands that a Minister usually wears'.
Ass In Hunc Effectum, 17.

178. ibid., 15.

11 April 1948.¹⁷⁹ G B Koyana told the court that Ntintili had conducted services regularly at the New Brighton mission since his suspension.¹⁸⁰ Koyana's father stated that Ntintili had also conducted Communion services at the church, 'but I never attend, because if we attended we were told we would be thrashed. It was said that we must go to Campbell's Church'.¹⁸¹

Campbell then testified that he had received a baptismal certificate, dated 11 July 1948, signed by Ntintili. He had also received a certificate of the proclamation of banns of marriage at Dassie Kraal signed by Ntintili as minister. Finally, Campbell told the court about complaints Low Jantjies, an elder at Uitenhage, had made about Ntintili and his supporters:

Subsequent to my visit to Uitenhage a further meeting was being held by the Women's Association in Uitenhage (when) Mrs Gqamlana an ardent follower of Mr Ntintili's and several other women from the New Brighton Women's Association entered the Church and pulled the woman who was presiding over the meeting and told her that as they were Ntintili's people this was Ntintili's church. The others were Campbell's people and were to get out. 182

Campbell had also received similar complaints from the congregations at Salisbury Park, Korsten and Barkly Bridge.

This evidence was sufficient to prove to the Court that Ntintili had continued to exercise his functions as a minister of the PGSA after his suspension in March 1948, and that Presbytery had been justified in passing sentence under paragraph 402. The Assembly unanimously decided to impose the sentence that Campbell had requested at the pro re nata Assembly in March 1948. The Rt Rev J McDowall pronounced judgment on Ntintili, in absentia, deposing him from the 'office of the Holy Ministry, prohibiting and discharging him from exercising the same or any part thereof, in all time coming, under pain of the severest censure of the Church: and I do declare the said W M T Ntintili to be no longer a minister or member of the Church'.¹⁸³

179. ibid., 16.

180. idem.

181. ibid., 18.

182. ibid., 19.

183. ibid., 21.

The deteriorating situation at New Brighton could be attributed partly to the fact that the terms of reference for the pro re nata meeting of General Assembly in March 1948 had precluded any discussion on the issues outside its agenda. Thus Campbell's request for a statement on the status of the New Brighton mission had to go unanswered. Beardmore had written to Munro to remind him that the terms of reference for the in hunc effectum meeting of Assembly on 16 November 1948, were wide enough to deal with the whole situation at New Brighton:

...may I suggest that your Presbytery give careful consideration to what it should request Assembly to do regarding the pro-Ntintili faction there. We are not coming to Port Elizabeth merely to unfrock Ntintili, but also to decide what further action should be taken to close the breach and advance the work. 184

Presbytery had discussed this at its meetings on 29 October¹⁸⁵ and 5 November¹⁸⁶ and had decided to request guidance from the General Assembly on four issues. Presbytery wanted a resolution on the status and functions of the NBMC; a general statement on the status of the congregation at New Brighton, which Assembly had declined to give in March 1948; guidance on an interim constitution for New Brighton until Assembly promulgated a general constitution for African churches; and guidance on methods of dealing with Ntintili's supporters in New Brighton, and methods of rebuilding the work.¹⁸⁷

The first step in guiding Presbytery was to dissolve the mission congregation because 'de facto the mission congregation at New Brighton had ceased to exist'.¹⁸⁸ The Assembly reminded Presbytery that the status of the New Brighton mission congregation would be decided by the special committee Assembly had appointed in September 1948 to investigate the position of African missions in the PCSA.¹⁸⁹ In the interim Assembly instructed the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth to

184. Letter: E Beardmore to H H Munro, 16 Oct 1948 (RPC).

185. P E Presbytery's in hunc effectum Minutes, 29 Oct 1948.

186. P E Presbytery's in hunc effectum Minutes, 5 Nov 1948.

187. Letter: H H Munro to H Agnew, 5 Nov 1948, in Ass In Hunc Effectum, 4/5.

188. Ass In Hunc Effectum, 21.

189. PCSA BB(1948), 87.
Below 181.

establish a mission station in New Brighton, and to place it under a special committee.¹⁹⁰ This new NBMC would consist of the minister, and an elder and manager from each of the white congregations in Port Elizabeth, and any other person which the Presbytery might wish to co-opt. It would be responsible for all the affairs of the mission, and the spiritual affairs would be dealt with by a sub-committee consisting of the ministers and elders represented on the NBMC. In order to facilitate its supervision, Assembly authorised the NBMC to appoint an African committee made up of those members who had remained loyal to the PCSA during the Ntintili affair. This African committee would exercise whatever functions the NBMC allocated to it, and would be responsible and subject to the supervision of that committee. The NBMC was instructed to report on the New Brighton mission at each regular meeting of Presbytery. Finally, the Assembly appointed a commission to take whatever action was necessary in the civil action against Ntintili.¹⁹¹

The civil case, in which the PCSA sued Ntintili for ejection from the manse and church in New Brighton, took place on 19 November 1948. In the summons the PCSA alleged that it owned the church building and manse of Block 23, New Brighton location, and that it leased the land from the Port Elizabeth municipality. Ntintili had been appointed by the PCSA as minister of the

190. Presbytery had devoted a considerable amount of time to discussing what form future supervision of the New Brighton mission should take. At its pro re nata meeting at 11am on 22 October 1948, and at its in hunc effectum meeting on 29 October 1948, Presbytery asked for a definitive statement 'as to the status and functions of the NBMC'. This issue was complicated by the fact that this committee would have to exercise spiritual oversight over the mission until another African minister was appointed. Presbytery discussed this question fully at its in hunc effectum meeting on 5 November 1948. Several suggestions were made. First, that the NBMC should have spiritual oversight of the mission: this was rejected because there were ladies on the NBMC. Second, that the mission should be placed under Presbytery's AMC: the NBMC objected to this because it would divide responsibility for the mission. Finally, that the ministers and elders who were members of the NBMC should form a sub-committee responsible for spiritual oversight. The Presbytery decided to refer these options to the General Assembly. The Assembly described the status of this new NBMC very carefully to prevent any possible misinterpretation. The authorization for its formation was prefaced by the reminder 'that the Mission Congregation at New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, has never been recognised in the records of the Church as a charge in full status'.
Ass In Hunc Effectum, 21.

191. ibid., 23.

Commission consisted of the Rt Rev J McDowall, the Revs H M Agnew, W D Campbell, T L Clarke, H H Munro, and Messrs H D Pettit and A L Shirras.

New Brighton church and as part of his salary and emoluments he was given the right to occupy the manse. But when Ntintili was suspended sine die by the General Assembly in March 1948, his appointment as minister terminated and Presbytery gave him notice to vacate the premises by 30 April 1948. When he failed to do so, Presbytery instituted civil proceedings against him. In his plea Ntintili denied that the PCSA owned the property and that his emoluments included occupation of the manse. He also alleged that his suspension sine die was unlawful. He claimed that he had been given the right to occupy the manse without any reservations whatsoever. He also denied that he had been placed at the mission by the Presbytery. He asserted instead that he had been called by the congregation of the mission church; that he had been requested by that congregation to continue his ministerial duties, and that his suspension was therefore wrongful and unlawful. ¹⁹²

In considering judgment the Magistrate was guided by the following points. The Port Elizabeth City Council had granted the NBMC permission to erect a church on Block 23, New Brighton, in March 1936, ¹⁹³ and a manse in September 1936. ¹⁹⁴ Paragraph 263 ¹⁹⁵ of the Book of Order laid down that all property and lands came under the jurisdiction of the Trustees of the General Assembly of the PCSA, except those congregations established before 1897. Since the New Brighton mission was established after 1897, and had no constitution of its own, it was wholly under the General Assembly's jurisdiction. Thus Ntintili's allegation that the PCSA was neither the owner nor the lessor of the property was fallacious:

I think counsel's contention is unsound in as much as the evidence

192. Magistrate's Court Records for the District of Port Elizabeth, Case No. 2223/1948, 1.

193. ibid., 2.
Above, 93.

194. idem.
Above, 93/4.

195. Book of Order, para 263:
'The officials of the General Assembly are the Moderator, the Clerk and the Treasurer. All churches, manses or other buildings or lands which are the property of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa are vested in these officials as Trustees for the Presbyterian Church of South Africa. The General Assembly sanctions the acquisition, sale, transfer or mortgage of all such buildings or lands; and upon such sanction all powers of attorney, deeds, declarations and documents necessary to be signed in connection therewith may be signed by any two of the said officials holding office for the time being. This shall not apply to any churches, manses or other buildings or lands which are or may become the property of any individual congregation or existing trust, whether vested in the Trustees of the Congregation or in the Moderator and Clerk of the Presbytery on behalf of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa under Rule 5 of the Church Extension Loan Fund'.

clearly establishes that the plaintiff is the owner of the church and manse and had the right of occupation of the land approximating that of an owner and I do not think whether such right is held by virtue of a grant or lease affects the position. Provided plaintiff complied with the conditions on which it was given the use of the land, plaintiff was in no way subject to the control or directions of the Municipality and virtually had the right to deal with the property as though it were itself the owner. 196

The Magistrate passed judgment in favour of the PCSA with costs, and ordered the messenger of the Court to hand Ntintili a warrant of ejection the following day:

the free occupation of the property was a condition of the defendant's appointment and in my opinion once this appointment was terminated, his right to occupation ceased and plaintiff was entitled to recover possession of the property. (Vide Brakpan Mines Ltd. vs. Sliney, 1944, W L D 64). 197

Ntintili appealed against the Magistrate's judgment.¹⁹⁸ He continued to occupy the manse at New Brighton until his case came before the Supreme Court in Grahamstown, where it was heard by Acting Judge President Gardner and Mr Justice Lewis on 9 March 1949:

In dismissing the case with costs, the judges referred to the patience and justice which Ntintili had received from the Church in dealing with his misdemeanours. In equally strong terms Ntintili was an unscrupulous man, who ought not to have caused such a waste of time and money: he ought never to have brought this appeal, in fact, he should not even have defended himself in the Magistrate's Court. 199

Though Ntintili vacated the New Brighton mission church manse on the evening of 9 March 1949, legal proceedings dragged on. On 26 March 1949, Campbell and Munro appealed to the Port Elizabeth Circuit Local Division of the Supreme Court for an interdict restraining Ntintili from entering or conducting services at the PCSA premises at Korsten, New Brighton and Salisbury Park. They had received information from Molefe that Ntintili had conducted a service in the Presbyterian church in Korsten on 20 March 1949, and that at that service he had announced his intention to conduct a communion service in the church the following Sunday. It was also alleged that Ntintili had informed his followers that he had been given permission by the church to conduct services

196. Magistrate's Court Records, 4.

197. ibid., 5

198. Ex Parte Application, in Magistrate's Court Records.

199. P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 April 1949.
Also: Record of Trial in Supreme Court (Eastern Districts Local Division), 9 March 1949.
E.P. Herald, 11 March 1949.

in any church belonging to the PCSA.²⁰⁰ Campbell and Munro believed that, in view of the urgency of the situation, action could not be delayed in order to verify the statements from Molefe's informants. The Judge granted a temporary interdict, and gave Ntintili until 1 April 1949 to declare why this interdict should not be made permanent. In response to this interdict, Ntintili filed an affidavit in which he denied either attending the Korsten church or conducting a service there. Furthermore, he stated that he had arranged with the Rev Mtinkulu of the Bantu Methodist Church before 20 March 1949, to hold a communion service in the Bantu Methodist church on 27 March 1949. Ntintili then filed numerous other affidavits supporting his contentions. Immediately after receiving Ntintili's affidavits, the PCSA's lawyers asked Molefe to meet with the people who had informed him about Ntintili's alleged entry into the church at Korsten. It emerged in the course of this interview that the informants had been mistaken in their allegation that Ntintili had preached on 20 March 1949. One of Ntintili's supporters had preached in the church on that date. This admission gave the lawyers representing the PCSA no alternative but to instruct Counsel to withdraw the proceedings because the church had no cause for action. The case was subsequently withdrawn and the Court ordered the PCSA to pay Ntintili's costs.²⁰¹

The second action involved the sum of £74 Ntintili, Lolwana and Matsha had deposited in the New Brighton mission's account at Barclays Bank.²⁰² On 5 May 1949 the Magistrate granted the PCSA a temporary interdict restraining Barclays Bank from paying this money to Ntintili. The PCSA informed Ntintili's lawyers that it would be willing to settle its action for a statement and debate of account if Ntintili would transfer the money deposited in Barclays Bank to the PCSA. Ntintili accepted this offer, on condition that the settlement excluded all claims which he might have upon the church. He then filed a claim for the payment of £80 which he alleged was due to him by the PCSA for his stipend for January, February, March and April 1949. The PCSA found this latter proposal totally unacceptable, and reiterated its offer to drop the case if Ntintili would allow the PCSA to withdraw the money deposited in the Bank.²⁰³

200. PCSA BB (1949), 24.

201. ibid., 25.

Lawson, Brown and Anderson represented the PCSA throughout.

202. Above, 137, 141, 157/159.

203. PCSA BB (1949), 26.

The final incident concerned Ntintili's threat to institute proceedings for reinstatement as a minister. The PCSA regarded this threat as 'so nebulous, that it need not be considered at this stage'.²⁰⁴ This brought to an end three years of legal and ecclesiastical wrangling. Ntintili eventually realised that the methods he had employed to free the mission from white control were totally unacceptable to the PCSA, and that he would not achieve his goal within the PCSA's existing framework. Ironically, he did not join the Bantu Church of Christ whose leader, Bishop James Limba, Ntintili had tried to emulate. Instead he was accepted by the Presbyterian Church of Africa, the separatist church founded by the Rev P J Mzimba in 1898, where he ministered until his death a few years later. Thus, despite differing mission policies, both the PCSA and the Synod of Kafraria had to face the pain and disappointment caused by an African minister who believed that African independence was being thwarted by white ecclesiastical domination.

In its wake the Ntintili affair left deep division in the mission: only about eight families remained from what had been a united and cohesive community.²⁰⁵ While this was a timely reminder to the PCSA of the threat an ambitious and frustrated African minister could pose to the unity of the church, it also revealed that the blame for the disintegration of the New Brighton mission did not rest solely with Ntintili. The PCSA Assembly was also at fault because it had failed to formulate clearly or consistently a policy that would bring an African mission congregation to full status.

In 1948, at the height of the Ntintili affair, the Assembly appointed a Special Committee to 'explore the whole question of African Mission Policy in our Church, the desirability of making fuller provision in the Book of Order for the administration of that policy, and the possibility of closer relations with the Bantu Presbyterian Church in carrying out that policy ...'²⁰⁶ In its report to Assembly this Committee acknowledged that Presbyteries had no uniform policy in the organisation of mission stations largely because the Assembly had not clearly formulated a consistent mission policy. The church

204. PCSA BB (1949), 26.

205. Transcript of interview with G B Molefe, 2 April 1980.

206. PCSA BB (1948), 87.

had wandered into a maze of errors:

In the circumstances it is small wonder that the New Brighton Mission Station was rent asunder and almost wrecked by an African missionary with the status of a minister, whose mind was probably unable to analyse aright the tangle into which the organisation of our missionary operations had been brought by the Church. 207.

The most urgent task facing the Assembly was thus to unravel this tangle of organisation and status, and to formulate a code to govern the organisation, establishment, maintenance and administration of the mission congregations. The Committee advised caution because these errors, where they were found to exist, could not be brushed aside lightly without causing considerable hurt to those affected:

Our African brethren will readily appreciate the justice of one law for all, which demands the same high standards for all members, irrespective of race; but they will inevitably nurse a sense of great injustice if we, at this late stage, without the most careful deliberation repudiate the status which they, in all good faith and relying upon our knowledge and judgment, believed that they have received from us. 208

On the basis of this recommendation, the Assembly appointed a Commission consisting of most of Assembly's leading men,²⁰⁹ to 'investigate thoroughly the constitutional position of mission stations which have been referred to, or treated in any measure, as congregations, and to submit its recommendations with reasons, for the clarification of their constitutional position and the declaration of their status'.²¹⁰ The two areas where the constitutional status had been most hazy were the New Brighton mission and the Orange River African Presbytery. In the former case, the Commission agreed that its status was a mission congregation, for although the Session was practically at the third stage of development, the Deacons' Court was only at the first stage, almost ready to pass on to the second. In its ruling concerning the Orange River African Presbytery the Commission reiterated that the PCSA's policy was to allow full equality to Africans and Whites in church courts. Although the practical expression of this would be the amalgamation of the existing African and white Presbyteries, the Commission acknowledged that such a step was inopportune and advised the continuation of the status quo until amalgamation

207. PCSA BB (1950), 86/87.

208. ibid., 88.

209. PCSA BB (1951), 89/95 for Report.

The Commission consisted of : The Revs G B Molefe, A R S Poho, A P Molebatsi, J J R Jolobe, D S Robertson, R H R Liddell, H H Munro, Dr A Kerr, E Beardmore, D K Adams, the Rt Rev D McRae and the Rev J Paterson Whyte (General Secretary).

210. PCSA BB (1950), 34.

could be achieved. ²¹¹

The Commissions's second task was to 'prepare a set of rules for the establishment, organisation, maintenance and administration of Mission Stations, such rules to be so framed as to guide and aid in the training of members of mission stations to qualify those stations for recognition by General Assembly as fully sanctioned charges'. ²¹² These new regulations established three stages of development through which a mission congregation had to pass before it could attain full status. The first was the Preaching Place, which could be established by a Presbytery or any Kirk Session wherever a new opening was sought for the preaching of the Word and the administering of the Sacraments. This organisation was designed to explore the opportunities and responses to extension work and was thus experimental and temporary in character.

211. PCSA BB (1951), 90.

The Commission suggested a basis for such amalgamation:

1. African charges which have been regarded as being in full status shall remain in full status in the united Presbytery.
2. The office of Moderator was to be held alternately by White and African Ministers.
3. The Clerkship of Presbytery was to be joint, consisting of one African and one White person.
4. One agenda for the Presbytery, White and Africans to meet together at the same time.
5. African languages and English to be used.
6. Finance: The ordinary income of the two Presbyteries to be merged. But special funds which had been allocated for either White or African work would be retained for that specific work.

The General Assembly eventually ordered the two Presbyteries to amalgamate in 1954: 'The Assembly instructs the Presbyteries of the Orange River, African and European, to unite: and to delimit the area of the present African Churches in such a way that the districts not readily served from any existing centre may fall under the care of a Missions Committee of the united Presbytery'. PCSA BB (1954), 73. This instruction terminated the independence the African Presbytery had enjoyed since its formation in 1921.

212. PCSA BB (1951), 90.

The second stage of Outstation or Preaching Station could only be reached when certain qualities were displayed.²¹³ Once an outstation had been established it would be placed under the oversight of an existing Kirk Session or Mission Session, or any other suitable body of ordained office-bearers. This body, and the congregation to which it was attached, was to be responsible for the administration and development of the outstation. If necessary, Presbytery could give financial aid to the congregation towards the maintenance of the outstation. The outstation had no separate rights or privileges, but when it was attached to an African congregation or mission congregation, its members would become members of the congregation and its office-bearers members of the appropriate court(s) of that congregation. In the case where a dispute arose between an outstation and the congregation, the outstation could appeal to Presbytery through its African Missions Committee, but it would not take a matter beyond Presbytery.

When Presbytery was satisfied that either a Preaching Place, an Outstation, or a group of such organisations has reached a further stage of development,²¹⁴ it could be accorded the status of a Mission congregation. The establishment of every outstation and mission congregation was probationary: the Presbytery

213. Presbytery had to ascertain that:

- i) there was a continuing nucleus of regular worshippers in full communion (approximately 10);
- ii) there was a suitable person among them to act as Elder or Deacon (there should be at least one Elder);
- iii) there was proof of regular financial contribution by them (even though small); and
- iv) that adequate provision could be made for the oversight of the station. PCSA BB(1951), 91. This became para 190 in Book of Order (3rd Edition), 40/1.

214. Presbytery must be satisfied that:

- i) there was reasonable ground to believe that an African congregation in full status would meet a permanent need in that area;
- ii) that the number of regular members made the possibility of a fully sanctioned charge there a probability in the future;
- iii) there was satisfactory evidence that there would be sufficient regular financial support there to meet the ordinary running expenses of the congregation and a reasonable portion of the stipend; and
- iv) there was a sufficient number of suitable members available to form a Session and Deacons' Court and to maintain a preaching plan. PCSA BB(1951), 92. This became para 194 in Book of Order (3rd Edition), 41/2.

reserved the right to review the state of these bodies, 'if it has prime facie reason to believe that such state is not satisfactory, and to take such action in the matter as it may deem to be necessary in the interest of the work'.²¹⁵ In addition, the Presbytery was required to make triennial visitations to mission congregations to assess their growth and development. A mission congregation did not have the right to call a minister, but where a minister was in charge of the work in a mission congregation, he would be moderator of its courts. If there was no minister, Presbytery would appoint either an ordained missionary or a white minister as interim moderator. Presbytery was also responsible for establishing a Mission Session and a Mission Deacons' Court. The Mission Session was to exercise the functions of a Kirk Session, but was subject to the Presbytery's AMC. It also had the right to nominate an elder to attend Presbytery meetings. If the Presbytery, in its triennial visitation, was sufficiently impressed by the Session's development and responsibility, and the Session had maintained that position for a period of two years, the Presbytery could consider whether the Mission Session should be granted the right to commission elders to be members of Presbytery on the same basis as Kirk Sessions.²¹⁶ The Mission Deacons' Court had to collect monies and to pay these at least monthly to the Presbytery's AMC. It was also entitled to receive a copy of the financial statement on missions submitted by the Presbytery's AMC. Once the Presbytery was convinced that the congregation's finances were stable and consistent, it could grant the Deacons' Court the power to authorise, without prior reference to the Presbytery's AMC, the payment of the Mission congregation's current expenses. But the Deacons' Court was still required to account monthly to the Presbytery's AMC for all such payments, and to remit to it any balance of income.

215. PCSA BB(1951), 92.

216. ibid., 92/93. This became para 200 in Book of Order (3rd Ed), 43. In deciding whether to exercise this power the Presbytery had to consider whether the Mission Congregation:

- i) possessed a number of Session elders suitable for membership of the superior courts of the PCSA;
- ii) the contributions, if any, made by the Mission Congregation to Presbytery and the General Assembly assessments; and
- iii) the extent to which the congregation voluntarily contributed to the Assembly Schemes of the Church.

When Presbytery was satisfied that the Mission congregation was sufficiently competent to handle its financial affairs subject only to Presbytery's normal supervision, it could grant the Deacons' Court the authority to deal with the whole revenue and expenditure, including the grants-in-aid. It was left to the discretion of the Deacons' Court to appoint a white treasurer, approved by Presbytery, who would have the status of full Assessor in the court and, as treasurer, would be subject to the court.

When the mission congregation had displayed sufficient stability in both its membership and its financial standing,²¹⁷ it could apply to the General Assembly through Presbytery, to be raised to a fully sanctioned charge. As such, the African church would have the same rights and duties as the white charges, although Assembly might discriminate in favour of African charges when fixing assessments and contributions to the schemes of the Church. Once an African congregation had attained full status the Church Extension and Aid Committee, and not the Assembly's AMC, was responsible for making grants-in-aid, although the payments of these grants might continue to be made through the Assembly's AMC.

The Commission also clearly laid down the rights and duties of the Presbytery's AMC.²¹⁸ This committee was to be responsible to Presbytery for the initiation, co-ordination, regulation and expansion of evangelistic and educational work carried out within the Presbytery. It was also to be responsible for the appointment of all persons, paid or unpaid, who were engaged in mission work. Furthermore, it was responsible, under the supervision of Presbytery, for the administration of funds for mission and educational work raised locally, and those granted by the Assembly's AMC itself or by the General Assembly. The Presbytery's AMC was required to keep the Assembly's AMC informed about local missions through the submission of a detailed report, including statistical

217. ibid., 93. This became para 206 in Book of Order (3rd ed), 93.

Such applications should include evidence to the satisfaction of General Assembly that:

- i) there was a sufficient regular membership to continue as a congregation;
- ii) the courts of the congregation had been functioning successfully over a period of not less than three years at the highest level of responsibility below full status; and
- iii) there was financial stability to the extent of at least two-thirds of the total amount required to maintain the congregation as a fully sanctioned charge.

218. PCSA BB (1951), 94, for full description.

and financial returns, as well as through preparing a detailed budget of estimated income and expenditure for the following year. It was also required to co-operate with Assembly's AMC in recommending suitable candidates for the ministry, and to provide vacation employment for these students. Finally, it must recommend to the Presbytery regarding the raising of the congregation's status.

The Assembly's AMC was given three main functions.²¹⁹ First, it was responsible for administering the funds allocated to African Missions in the All Schemes Budget. Second, it had to provide any literature required by the various Presbytery Mission Committees. Third, it was to supervise the training and appointment of African students for the Ministry and Evangelists.

The PCSA Assembly had procrastinated for years before it faced the questions, What happens when its African ward grows up? and, Who determines when he does? The disastrous split and dissolution of the New Brighton mission congregation had forced the PCSA to acknowledge the urgency of this question. By defining the status of the New Brighton mission congregation and the Orange River African Presbytery, as well as by listing the stages through which a congregation had to pass before it attained full status, the Commission hoped to indicate the way forward to the PCSA's African members. On the other hand, by clearly delimiting the powers vested in the Assembly's AMC and the Presbytery's AMC, and by stressing their responsibilities towards the African congregations, the Commission endeavoured to impress upon the white members their part in assisting the ward to grow up. Thus, while politicians were attempting to justify the continued domination of the African ward by the white trustee, within the PCSA there was the gradual recognition that this domination could not be maintained in the religious sphere, and that provision had to be made for Africans to attain their full stature in Christ.

219. ibid., 94/95, for full description.

CHAPTER SIX

RESURRECTION

1948 formed a watershed in the history of the New Brighton mission congregation, the PCSA and South Africa as a whole. The Assembly's decision to excommunicate Ntintili and to dissolve the mission congregation meant that if there were to be Presbyterian mission work in the New Brighton location it would have to begin afresh. At the same time the Nationalist victory in the May 1948 elections cast an ominous shadow over the continuation of the mission as an interracial enterprise. The few families who had remained loyal to the PCSA during the Ntintili affair, together with the NBMC, tried to rebuild the disintegrated mission community and to foster trust between African and white Presbyterians once again. But at the same time the Nationalists' 'apartheid' programme was designed to separate the races, by repression if necessary. The next fifteen years were thus crucial. During this time the mission congregation consolidated itself once again, extended its witness into the new Kwazakele location and gradually moved towards full status, all the while maintaining a link with whites in the process. These years were also crucial for the PCSA because during this time it had to face the fact that, despite its criticism of government policy, its own life was not free from the spirit of 'apartheid', thus its witness to the reconciling gospel of Jesus Christ was compromised. For South Africa as a whole these were tragic years: the Nationalist policy of forcing black and white South Africans into its 'apartheid' framework increased polarisation between the races, squandered much of the Africans' trust in the white man's justice and culminated in the disaster and bloodshed of Sharpeville. They were tragic also for the chief architect who was assassinated in the very arena where he was undisputed champion.¹

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1. Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd was born in Amsterdam, Netherlands, on 8 Sept 1901. He initially enrolled as a theological student at the University of Stellenbosch, but later changed to psychology and philosophy, obtaining first an M A and then, in 1924, a D Phil. In 1925 he was awarded a scholarship to study at the Universities of Leipzig, Hamburg and Berlin. On his return to South Africa in 1928 Verwoerd was appointed professor of applied psychology and psychotechnics at Stellenbosch University, and in 1932 he became professor of Sociology and Social work at the same university. In 1936 Verwoerd accepted the editorship of Die Transvaler, a Nationalist-backed daily newspaper that was started by Voortrekkerpers the following year. This position gave him considerable influence in the political sphere, although he only actively entered the political arena in 1948 when he stood as the Nationalist candidate for the Albertyn constituency. Although S J M Steyn, the United Party candidate, defeated Verwoerd by 171 votes in the May 1948 elections, Verwoerd was appointed to the Senate in July 1948. In October 1950 Dr D F Malan appointed Verwoerd to succeed Dr E G Jansen as Minister of Native Affairs, a position Verwoerd held until his election as Prime Minister in September 1958. On 9 April 1960 David Pratt fired two shots at Verwoerd at point blank range while Verwoerd was visiting the Rand Easter Show in Johannesburg. Verwoerd survived this assassination attempt remarkably well: he was not as fortunate six years later when, on 6 Sept 1966, Dimitrio Tsafendas, a messenger of the House of Assembly, fatally wounded Verwoerd in the House of Assembly.

At the first General Assembly after the Nationalist election victory, the Rt Rev John McDowall declared in his opening address, that 'apartheid' was not a Nationalist creation, but that the real 'apartheid' lay deep within the soul of man. The PCSA, along with other churches in South Africa, had compromised itself because it had not cared 'for the widow and the fatherless and the "politically negligible"', but had allowed its witness to be eroded by apathy and sentimentality:

A curious commentary on sentimentality is afforded by the horror with which we rightly greet the gigantic, spectacular and instantaneous death at Hiroshima, but, by contrast, our comparative indifference when we are told that the same hates and fears and ruthlessness which activated the atomic bomb and made wars among the nations are stealing through shantytown, leaving, through the years, their grim wake of myriad death. Why do we not cry out against these forces which have made themselves a home in our midst? Why do we reserve our horror for the blast of the machine, and why do we slowly realise that it is the blast of greed and the lust for power that makes wars amongst men, as the Scripture plainly tells. Or having cried, in a Blue Book, let us give answer, what have we done? Verily the true 'apartheid' is in the soul of man. 1a

Several factors lay behind the complacency and apathy displayed by the PCSA and other English-speaking churches towards the pain and suffering experienced by African members.² These churches had failed to teach their members that the Gospel had far-reaching social implications. Consequently, many members adopted

1a. Ass In Hunc Effectum, 32/33.

2. English-speaking churches: John de Gruchy, in the Church Struggle in South Africa, (David Philip, Cape Town, 1979), 85/97, describes the designation 'English-speaking churches' as a 'somewhat clumsy and untheological description', because it does not refer primarily to some common doctrinal or liturgical commitment and practice, nor does it include all those churches in South Africa which use English as their main language in communication and worship. 'Rather, the designation refers to those churches of British origin which have grown together over the years as a result of the ecumenical movement and their common attitude towards the racial situation in general and apartheid in particular. They have not claimed this title for themselves. It has been given to them by the mass media, politicians, other churches, and the populace in general. The English-speaking churches are regarded as those who oppose the racial policy of the Nationalist government'. (85)

The title is also misleading because it may suggest that these churches are mainly white, and culturally uniform. In fact, the majority of the members are black, and their mother-tongue is not English. 'English is the common language of communication beyond the local level, but racial and cultural diversity is part of the very fabric and significance of these churches'. (86)

Finally, it is important to note the exclusive character of the designation. Those normally included are the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches. The Baptists are generally excluded, especially since the Baptist Union withdrew from the South African Council of Churches. The Pentecostal Churches have been excluded by their distinct character and lack of involvement in ecumenical groups and social issues. The Roman Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran Churches, which have been in many cases in the vanguard of Christian action and witness in South Africa, are excluded because they are not of British origin.

a 'pragmatic pietism' whereby, because they did not wish to become involved in political and social issues as Christians, they resorted to a wholly inward and individualistic interpretation of Christianity. This attitude surfaced in demands such as 'politics should be kept out of the Church' and warnings to ministers to stop 'preaching politics' and to preach the 'Word of God'. But it failed to recognise that the word of God had very clear things to say about political, social and economic matters and that the church had the obligation to live by the gospel it proclaimed. For while the fulness of the Kingdom of God remains an eschatological event, the Gospel offers a new order in human affairs beginning now. To remain true to its mission the church must live with the constant tension its nature and commission create:

Piety or spiritual devotion is a necessary element in the life of the Church, but when this element results in an unbalanced stress on the individualistic and inward aspects of devotion at the expense of Christian involvement and action in society it becomes a false pietsim that hinders the mission of the Church in the world. On the other hand while involvement and social concern are equally necessary parts of Christianity, they too, can degenerate into an activism that loses any specifically Christian motivation, insight or direction. Each of these one-sided approaches is a form of escapism and is equally disastrous for mission. 3

This basic misunderstanding or underestimation of the Gospel's power to create a new order in human affairs has led to a considerable gap between the PCSA Assembly's resolutions, and congregational resolve and action. Many far-reaching resolutions passed by Assembly failed to result in obedience at the level of individual congregations and members' lives. Thus what ultimately compromised the PCSA's witness was not what it might say in the church courts, but the discrimination it continued to practise in the ordinary life of its congregations. This failure to translate theory into practice - a gap which the Nationalist government was not slow to exploit as blatant hypocrisy - severely damaged the PCSA's credibility and led many to question its right to pass judgment on the State. Finally, division and disunity between the churches over political and social issues, meant that the churches spoke not with one voice but with a babble. Thus the Church's fundamental message that God, through Christ, has effected reconciliation between Himself and man and also between man and man, was largely lost, through compromise, contradiction and confusion of counsel.

3. P. Randall, (ed) Apartheid and the Church, Spro-cas Publication, No 8, 63.

Despite these obvious shortcomings in its witness, the PCSA has attempted, through its membership of the Christian Council of Southern Africa,⁴ through participation in various conferences on racial issues,⁵ and through Assembly

4. The Christian Council of Southern Africa:

In 1934 Dr J R Mott had toured South Africa and had encouraged the formation of a National Christian Council, 'which will give direction, unity, momentum to the whole of our missionary activities, will save us from overlapping and give us a fresh start in the great and truly grand enterprise in winning the Native peoples of the land for our God and His Church'. (PCSA BB (1934), 102). Largely as a result of Mott's visit the Christian Council of Southern Africa was formed in 1936 and became an important agent in fostering ecumenism amongst the churches and in deepening the churches' understanding of the complex political and social issues facing Christians in South Africa.

5. Even before the formation of the Christian Council, several conferences had been held to discuss racial issues. For instance:

i) Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches summoned a conference at Cape Town in January 1927, to discuss General J B M Hertzog's proposed African legislation. The proposed bills were carefully examined and unanimous findings agreed upon, 'except that dealing with the franchise in the Cape Province, on which unanimity could not be reached'. PCSA BB (1927), 149/150; also PC, vol XXV, March 1927, 26/28.

ii) Conference of Joint Councils, European and Native, held at Cape Town in 1929. PCSA BB (1929), 364.

The Christian Council organized various conferences to promote dialogue and understanding between churches:

i) 'Christian Reconstruction', at Fort Hare in July 1942. PCSA BB (1942), 32, 63, 81.

ii) 'Christian Citizenship in a Multi-Racial Society', at Rosettenville, Johannesburg from 11-13 July 1949. PCSA BB (1949), 80/81 for Conference Statement; and 87/89 for Conference Findings.

In November 1953 the Federal Council of DRC held a conference in Pretoria. Many viewed this conference with hope because the DRC, which had withdrawn from the Christian Council in 1941 and had refused to participate in the Rosettenville Conference, now seemed once more to discuss racial affairs ecumenically. But the difference in opinion on racial affairs, described in Point Four of the Conference Statement, remain an accurate description of the lines that still separate White Christians in South Africa. There were '... those who sincerely believed in a righteous racial separation in the Church based on the Scriptures; ... those who made no such confession but nevertheless practised some form of separation because circumstances demanded it although such separation did not correspond with the ideals of the Christian Church; ... those who were convinced that separation in the Church was wrong and stood condemned, according to Scripture'. 'Christian Principles in a Multi-Racial South Africa', a report of the DRC Conference of Church Leaders, Pretoria, Nov 1953, 176ff, in de Gruchy, *op.cit.*, 57. No Africans attended this conference. The Rev D S Robertson, Convener of the Assembly's AMC, commented on this defect in conference organization: 'Even the Pretoria Conference, from which we still hope so much, was a conference about Non-Europeans and not with them. It will fail in its

resolutions,⁶ to discern the Word of God in the South African situation.

5. (contd) ...

purpose and betray the hopes reposed in it unless it is followed by the promised conference in which Non-European delegates take a fair and responsible part. There is a great difference between talking at a man and talking with him, praying for him and "praying agin' him". That difference is always important, but it is particularly relevant for all African contacts'. PCSA BB (1954), 64.

In 1955 the Cape and Transvaal Synods of the DRC held a multi-racial conference to discuss 'The Extension of the Kingdom of God in Multi-racial South Africa', under the joint chairmanship of the Rev C B Brink, Moderator of the Transvaal NGK, and Archbishop Geoffrey Clayton. What became of this conference, described by an observer as a miracle child, conceived by a country thought to be barren?

'Nothing....That all the delegates wanted justice in their country, no one could doubt. But some believed it could be achieved only by racial separation, and the others did not. It is hard for Christians to cherish a common end when they are so deeply divided about the means....So the conference came to an end, with words of warmth, love, hope and congratulation. Look upon it graciously for its like has not been seen again'. A Paton, Apartheid and the Archbishop, 244.

6. In 1934 the PCSA formed a new standing committee to deal with political, social and economic issues facing the church. Previously these issues had been dealt with by the Temperance Committee (above 61/62), but this Committee could not handle the variety and complexity of the 'new' issues facing the church. Consequently, the Assembly '... realising the serious and dangerous spread of world-wide movements which are creating enthusiastic devotion among large numbers of young people, movements which are hostile to the principles of our Christian faith, and also realising the necessity of courageously declaring the Gospel of Jesus Christ in all its fullness of content and implication, appoints a Committee to draw up a declaration of principles to guide the attitude of all Christian people in relation to the economic, social, national and international needs and problems of this age..' PCSA BB (1934), 44.

This standing committee, known as the Church and Nation Committee, became the main mouthpiece for Assembly's resolutions on these issues from 1934 onwards. PCSA Assembly resolutions on legislation affecting Africans included:

- i) Natives Land Act No 27 of 1913: PCSA BB (1913), 30.
- ii) Native Affairs Administration Bill: PCSA BB (1917), 129; PC, vol Xv, May 1917, 59.
- iii) Natives (Urban Areas) Act No 21 of 1923: PCSA BB (1922), 138.
- iv) The Mines and Works Amendment Act ('Colour Bar') of 1926: PCSA BB (1925), 38, 44, 145; PC, vol XXII, April 1925, 37; PC, vol XXII, July 1925, 78.
- v) Hertzog's three Native Bills tabled on 23 July 1926: PCSA BB (1926), 40; PCSA BB (1927), 40; PCSA BB (1930), 465; PCSA BB (1932), 32.
- vi) Native Parliamentary Representation Act, 1936: PCSA BB (1935), 30, 92. Assembly's AMC's telegram to Prime Minister and J H Hofmeyr, Ass' AMC Minutes, 18 Feb 1936; PCSA BB (1936), 82/83.
- vii) Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953: PCSA BB (1954), 73; PCSA BB (1955), 72/73, 101.
- viii) The Senate Act of 1955: PCSA BB (1955), 101.
- ix) Extension of University Education Act of 1959: PCSA BB (1959), 84.
- x) General Laws Amendment Act: PCSA BB (1961), 117.

A new level of confrontation between Church and State was reached in 1957 with the promulgation of Clause 29(c) of the Native Laws Amendment Bill. Since church opposition to this Clause included some of the Afrikaner churches the government was forced on the defensive. For once the government had to face the charge of interfering with religion instead of being able to charge churches with interfering in politics. Clause 29(c) was designed to make interracial association in 'church, school, hospital, club or other institution, or place of entertainment' difficult if not impossible. It provided inter alia that no church established in the 'white' part of a town after January 1938, and which admitted an African, could be continued without the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs in concurrence with the local authority. Furthermore, permission was required for any meeting, gathering or assembly which was attended by an African on church premises. Church opposition to this Clause was immediate and vehement. Prime Minister Strijdom⁷ received protests from various churches, including the Cape Peninsula Church Council; the Christian Council of Southern Africa; the Methodist Church of South Africa; the Baptist Union of South Africa; and the Seventh Day Adventist Church Conference. The Roman Catholic Archbishops of Durban, Pretoria and Cape Town stated that their churches would remain open to all races, regardless of the consequences. Perhaps the most famous protest was a letter addressed to Strijdom from the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa warning him that 'if the Bill were to become law in its present form we should ourselves be unable to obey it or to counsel our clergy and people to do. We therefore appeal to you, Sir, not to put us in a position in which we have to choose between obeying our conscience and obeying the law of the land'.^{7a} Archbishop Geoffrey Clayton died the day after he had signed the protest letter thereby clothing it with a degree of drama it might not otherwise have had. The PCSA Assembly made no official statement during the first reading of the Bill because there was some uncertainty surrounding the exact meaning of its provisions. Once these became clear, the Moderator, the Rt Rev R H R Liddell, entered into correspondence with Dr H F Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, and clearly stated the PCSA's objections to the Bill.⁸

7. Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom was born at Klipfontein on 14 July 1893. He obtained a B A degree from Stellenbosch University in 1912, and established his own law firm in Nylstroom in 1918. That year Strijdom was elected divisional secretary of the National Party in Waterberg. In 1929 he won the seat for the Waterberg constituency, which he represented until his death. In 1934 Strijdom, along with 17 other Nationalist members of Parliament who were opposed to the Hertzog-Smuts Fusion government, formed the Purified Nationalist Party under the leadership of Dr D F Malan. After the Nationalist election victory in May 1948 Strijdom was appointed Minister of Lands and Irrigation, a portfolio he held until he succeeded Dr D F Malan as Prime Minister on 30 Nov 1954. Strijdom died on 24 Aug 1958.

7a. A Paton, Apartheid and the Archbishop, 280.

8. PCSA BB(1957), 196/204 for full correspondence between Liddell and Verwoerd.

The most obvious motivation for the Bill was the government's desire to preserve 'law and order':

As you will have noticed it is not the intention of the Government to prevent or interfere with normal worship. It has the duty, however, to co-operate with local authorities in protecting the rights of European communities by preventing disorder, unpleasantness and overcrowding caused by the presence of native areas. This can only be done if the Clause under discussion is adopted. 9

But more ominous was the desire to protect Whites from the sight and sound of Africans congregating in 'white' areas:

Natives are by nature gregarious, and are unfortunately, in their present stage of development, unnecessarily demonstrative and loud in conversation and in the display of their emotions, and easily give offence where they congregate in European residential areas. 10

Moreover, the Department of Native Affairs had received complaints from Whites that the 'attendance by natives at church services, on premises situated outside native residential areas, is causing a nuisance to residents not necessarily members of those churches in the vicinity of or along the route to such premises'.¹¹ Verwoerd believed that Clause 29(c) would provide an administrative remedy, 'instead of a judicial one with its involved and costly processes',¹² and thus safeguard 'white' streets from the African 'nuisance':

One simply cannot ignore the violation of the rights of such persons, who are entitled to the ordinary comfort and convenience of their homes and must, therefore, be protected. It is not only the natives whose interests need safeguarding but in such areas more particularly those of the European community. 13

Clause 29(c) was re-drafted twice as a result of the numerous protests and delegations. In its final form the Clause empowered the Minister of Native Affairs to order that the attendance of Africans at any church or religious service in other than an African area should cease as from a specified date. He might only do so if in his opinion the Africans were causing a nuisance to residents or if he considered it undesirable for them to be present on the premises in the numbers in which they ordinarily attended. Furthermore, the Minister was required to take into account the availability or otherwise of alternative facilities within an African residential area, and the church concerned would be afforded reasonable time to make representations before any ban on Africans was invoked. Finally, the Minister could act under this clause only with the concurrence of the local authority concerned. Thus it would appear that under the amended Clause 29(c), local authorities possessed

9. Letter: H F Verwoerd to R H R Liddell, 11 April 1957, PCSA BB(1957), 197.

10. Letter: H F Verwoerd to R H R Liddell, 13 June 1957, PCSA BB(1957), 203.

11. ibid., 201.

12. ibid., 203.

13. ibid., 201.

powers to veto any Government decision to debar Africans from attending churches in white areas.¹⁴

The PCSA Assembly was deeply disturbed by the fact that power lay with the Minister to decide whether it was undesirable that Africans should be present in 'white' areas. Such power did not rightfully belong to the Minister or to the local authority, but it was the 'function of the Courts of Law to decide questions arising between the State and its subjects, between subject and subject, without fear, favour or prejudice':¹⁵

In the view of our branch of the Church the proposed law shakes the confidence of the not inconsiderable number of persons who share its view in what they have regarded as the subject's real safeguard, the palladium as it is termed, of liberty in every civilized country, namely, access to the Courts of the land to everyone seeking redress.¹⁶

Verwoerd replied to this protest by reiterating that there was nothing in the proposed legislation which interfered either directly or indirectly with this right. 'Affected persons will still, to the same extent as in the past, be able to rely on the Courts'.¹⁷ The situations for which Clause 29(c) had been designed were those for which no court of law could provide adequate protection. For instance, 'where organised groups under the guise of worship, set out Sunday after Sunday to demonstrate their political aims, viz. an integrated or mixed society, and in doing so could seek to provoke those opposed to this outlook with disastrous results to what Sunday should mean to all Christians'.¹⁸ Verwoerd also disputed the widespread protests that Clause 29(c) had made religious freedom 'conditional on the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs'. This was not so: the Minister could only act if he had the concurrence of the local authority. But Verwoerd's reply left out of account the churches' contention that the local authority had as little right to control church attendance as the Minister himself.¹⁹

14. In 1937 the United Party, under J B M Hertzog and J C Smuts, made an amendment to the Native (Urban Areas) Act which provided inter alia that any institution (church, school, place of entertainment, club or hospital) established after January 1938 anywhere except in an African residential area and catering mainly for Africans, could not be conducted without Government approval given with the concurrence of the local authority. Although this amendment had imposed limitations upon freedom of worship, it did not meet with the strong opposition that surrounded Clause 29(c), possibly because its full implications were not understood by the churches at the time.

L. Cawood, The Churches and Race Relations in South Africa, 11/12.

15. PCSA BB(1957), 104.

16. Letter: R H R Liddell to H F Verwoerd, 23 April 1957, PCSA BB(1957), 200.

17. Letter: H F Verwoerd to R H R Liddell, 13 June 1957, PCSA BB(1957), 202.

18. idem.

19. See A Paton, op.cit., 284.

Thus amended, the Bill became law on 24 April 1957. The united opposition of the churches, joined for once by the DRC, which protested that 'the right to determine how, when and to whom the Gospel shall be proclaimed is exclusively in the competence of the Church',²⁰ had demonstrated that pressure could change if not the direction, then at least the pace of segregation. It also revealed that if the churches were to have any effect on politics, they would have to enter the political arena on political terms: the DRC's opposition to Clause 29(c) was thus crucial, since what mattered was the political pressure they could bring to bear. But the fact still remained that the state had created machinery to act against multi-racial worship if it so desired. The PCSA Assembly solemnly warned the government that the Assembly rejected its 'apartheid' policies, and 'prays and will ever pray that measures will not be pursued which would do mortal hurt to the souls of men, or which would destroy in any way those great Christian graces of faith, and hope, and love, which bind peoples together in a common fellowship',²¹

The provisions of Clause 29(c) formed a timely reminder to the PCSA that Nationalist 'social engineering' aimed at 'apartheid' in the social, political, economic and religious spheres. In the past PCSA protests against discriminatory legislation had been impotent largely because it had failed to speak with a united voice on racial matters. In an attempt to clarify its own position, in 1959 the Assembly appointed a commission to produce a statement on race relations which would express PCSA's discernment of the will of God for South Africa.²² The Statement on Race Relations, published in 1960, reaffirmed the historic position of the PCSA on race relations²³ and called upon its members

20. The Federal Council of the DRC produced a 'Statement of Principles' in March 1957. Only four of the eight points were published. The unpublished points criticised the Bill for transgressing the bounds of what the State, from a Christian perspective, was permitted to do. The DRC discussed these criticisms with Verwoerd, who gave assurances that the Government would not trespass on the bounds of the Church, thereby destroying the need to publish the critique.

See A Paton, ibid., 285/286.

J W de Gruchy, op.cit., 61.

21. PCSA BB(1957), 105.

22. PCSA BB(1959), 33.

Above, 70/71.

23. PCSA BB(1960), 121/122, Statement on Race Relations:

'There is no barrier on the grounds of colour or race, to attendance at worship or to membership in any congregation, but we follow the Reformation principle of the right to worship in one's mother-tongue and the freedom to develop forms of worship appropriate to different cultural backgrounds. Language and residence have led to the formation of separate congregations, but members of all races meet together in Presbytery and General Assembly. We believe this arrangement, for practical purposes, to be conformable to the will of God, and acceptable to our members of all racial groups. We must nonetheless be constantly alert that this natural division does not produce real alienation between groups within the Church'.

to build the PCSA into a Christian community that 'works, worships and witnesses without regard to the fundamentally irrelevant divisions of race'.²⁴ Later that year the PCSA sent delegates to the Cottesloe Consultation, held in Johannesburg under the auspices of the World Council of Churches (WCC), from 7 - 14 December 1960. The Consultation took place against the tragic background of Sharpeville and the subsequent state of emergency and mass bannings.²⁵ Each of the eight constituent members of the WCC in South Africa were asked to send a deligation of ten; there were six WCC representatives, including Dr Franklin Clark Fry, chairman of the WCC central committee, who presided over the proceedings; Dr Visser't Hooft, the General Secretary; eighteen African leaders and eight lay people. The Consultation produced a Statement²⁶ which was accepted by at least 80% of the delegates, but which was rejected outright by the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) delegates. The DRC delegates, who had contributed significantly to the preparatory documents which formed the basis of the Statement, were almost unanimous in their approval.

Reaction to the Cottesloe Statement was immediate and fierce. The Prime Minister, Dr H F Verwoerd, declared in his New Year message that Cottesloe was an attempt by foreigners to meddle in South Africa's internal affairs and that the Statement was merely a reflection of opinions held by individual DRC delegates, rather than the official DRC viewpoint. At the Synod of the Transvaal NGK in April 1961, 54 church councils submitted proposals to reject the Cottesloe Statement and to terminate the church's membership of the WCC. The Cape Synod passed a similar resolution at its meeting in November 1961.²⁷

24. PCSA BB(1960), 119.

25. Sharpeville:

On 21 March 1960 the police opened fire on a crowd of demonstrators who were protesting outside the police station at Sharpeville location, Vereeniging, Transvaal, against the discriminatory pass laws. Sixty-nine Africans were killed and 180 were injured. Many of the dead had been shot in the back.

On 28 March the Government introduced legislation to declare the Pan African Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) illegal organizations, and from 30 March over 18 000 people were detained under the new emergency regulations. Of these over 5 000 were convicted and sentenced for various offences. A state of emergency was proclaimed in 122 of the Union's 265 magisterial districts, thereby empowering the authorities to prohibit gatherings, impose curfews, detain suspects, impound publications, search premises and do whatever was believed necessary to maintain public order. See T R H Davenport, South Africa: A Modern History, 285/287.

26. PCSA BB(1961), 154/158 for Statement of World Council of Churches' Consultation Cottesloe, Johannesburg, 7 - 14 Dec 1960.

27. P Randall, (ed) Not Without Honour: Tribute to Beyers Naude, 17/23.

The DRC had thus rejected totally the part played in the Consultation by its own distinguished theologians. Dr Visser 't Hooft commented on this contretemps:

I have always wondered whether the majority of the delegates (ie. to the Synods) realized that they were not voting against positions imported by the World Council and imposed on their Churches, but against the convictions expressed by the best minds of their Churches and submitted at Cottesloe by their own trusted leaders. 28.

The PCSA greeted the Cottesloe Statement with 'cordial approval' and 'gave thanks to God for the working of the Holy Spirit in the Cottesloe Consultation'.²⁹ The Statement pointed the way forward to a church 'so deeply compromised with the world that it can neither speak nor hear the prophetic voice'.³⁰ In the past the PCSA had failed to reflect the Christian community, and had practised discrimination within its courts and congregations:

With a few exceptions that redound to the glory of God, contact between black and white in the Church is so rare and superficial that there can be no understanding of one another, no desire to pray for one another, no desire to bear one another's burdens. The contact is rare because the world has infected us with its own fear and suspicion, and has stifled that perfect love which can cast out fear. What kind of spiritual insight can be granted to a Church where brotherly love is so conspicuously lacking? That there is much to arouse our compassion, who can deny? 31

The PCSA had thus discovered that before it could proclaim Christ's offer of reconciliation to a divided nation, it needed to appropriate Christ's forgiveness for its own racism, and to re-discover Christ's reconciliation within its own courts and congregations.

The task of rebuilding the New Brighton mission congregation took place against the background of increasing segregation and polarisation on the one hand, and on the other, the PCSA's growing conviction of the need to root out apartheid and racial discrimination within the country as a whole and in its own courts in particular. The task was complicated further by the fact that the African

28. W A Visser 't Hooft, *Memoirs*, 287 (London, 1973), in J W de Gruchy, *op.cit.*, 68.

29. *PCSA BB*(1961), 37.

30. *ibid.*, 116.

31. *idem.*

community in Port Elizabeth was in turmoil. The rapid increase in industrial development during and immediately after the Second World War³² had resulted in a further large influx of semi- and unskilled workers to Port Elizabeth.³³ This influx placed an intolerable strain on the grossly overextended housing facilities in the city. Slums began springing up once again in Korsten and Dassiekraal where people used all kinds of scrap material to erect shelters:

No regard is paid in their construction to even the most elementary health requirements in regard to lighting, ventilation, sanitation etc., and there is the gravest danger of a vast shanty town developing on the municipal commonage and on the outskirts of the City. 34

By 1948 the housing crisis had reached acute proportions. Over 1 000 shacks had been constructed in Korsten in the first eight months of that year alone. This slum area had become such a health hazard that Council could not afford to ignore it.³⁵ To meet this emergency the Council initiated three sub-economic housing schemes. In the first scheme the Council built 378 houses (known as 'austerity houses') during 1948/1949, in an area that came to be known as Boastville Township.³⁶ The houses had 4½ inch thick brick external walls, 4½ inch brick internal walls bagged and limewashed, corrugated asbestos roofs, suspended wood floors, steel windows and no ceilings. These houses had water and sewerage provided and were leased at rates ranging from 4s 2d to 6s 6d per week.³⁷

32. MM(1946), 2.

33. Total Population of Port Elizabeth:

1938	..	..	105 246
1939	..	..	109 969
1945	..	..	133 878
1947	..	..	146 231
1950	..	..	158 283

Figures taken from MOH Reports in Mayor's Minutes for these years.

34. MOH Report, MM(1947), 85.

Also MOH Report, MM(1954), 52.

The Dassiekraal slum area was a low-lying area, 800 x 150 yards, to which water from the surrounding areas drained every time that it rained. An estimated 8 500 people (1 581 African and 114 Coloured families) lived in this area.

The Korsten slum was inhabited by approximately 8 000 African families occupying 'slum hovels, which are totally unfit for human inhabitation'.

35. MOH Report, MM(1948), 91.

36. See Map Showing Growth of African Townships, Appendix K.

37. MOH Report, MM(1958), 118.

C T Boast was the Manager of Native Affairs in New Brighton.

In the second scheme the Council built 978 timber houses during 1948/1951 from motor car packing case made available, free of charge, from Ford Motor Company (South Africa) and General Motors South Africa Limited.³⁸ They were constructed with timber framing, on hardboard posts, covered externally with weather boarding, lined internally with corrugated cardboard and limewashed. They had corrugated asbestos roofs, suspended wood floors, timber partitions, steel windows, no ceilings and no internal doors. Each house had a brick fireplace with a No 6 Dover Stove provided. There was a communal water tap, shared by ten houses, but no electricity. Rental ranged from 4s 8d to 6s 6d per week.³⁹ The area where these houses were built became known as Kwa Ford.

During 1951/1954 the Council built 2 502 houses for the third scheme in the Elundini township. Each home had 9 inch thick brick and breeze cavity walls, 4 inch breeze plate walls internally, were bagged and limewashed, with corrugated asbestos roofs, suspended wood floors, steel windows, water and sewerage supply, but no ceilings and internal doors. The rent ranged from 6s 6d to 12s 6d per week.⁴⁰

These sub-economic housing schemes fell far short of meeting the growing demand for accommodation. Similarly, the educational facilities in New Brighton could not cope with the rapid increase in the location population. In 1948 there were nine schools to provide education for the whole African population in New Brighton. The Newell High School, the only African secondary school in Port Elizabeth, had over 450 pupils. Cowan⁴¹ and Molefe Higher Primary Schools had 1 000 pupils, while Kama and Pendla Lower Primary Schools had 1 700. Kama had begun a double session to cope with the great demand. About 1 800 pupils attended the four private schools: the Upper and Lower United, the Catholic and the Limba Schools.⁴² During 1949 some attempt was made to extend the educational facilities. The residents in New Brighton pooled their resources and established a Bantu Primary School where five teachers were employed to teach 500 pupils. The Education Department also agreed to allow the Pendla

38. MM(1949), 3.

39. MOH Report, MM(1958), 119.

40. idem.

The Type N4 houses had internal doors.

41. The Cowan Higher Primary School was established by the Department of Education to cope with the enormous demand for higher education. In 1952, 301 Standard six pupils were transferred from the Newell High School, which had over 800 pupils on the roll, to the Cowan Higher Primary School. G B Molefe, My Life, MS, 16

42. Manager of Native Affairs' Report, MM(1948), 56.

Lower Primary School to introduce a double session from the following year.⁴³
In 1951 D B Naude, Port Elizabeth city council's Acting Manager of
Native Affairs, estimated that about 1 000 children of school-going age could
not be admitted to the existing schools because of the lack of school
accommodation.⁴⁴ The following year classes were held in the T C White Hall⁴⁵
and a mission church, but still the need for school accommodation was acute.⁴⁶
The frustration with the limited educational facilities manifested itself in
an increase of teenage hooliganism and cases of assault. The situation became
so grave that during 1950 the New Brighton residents formed themselves into a
Civilian Protective Service to protect their families against tsotsi vandalism.⁴⁷

The lack of adequate accommodation and education was not unique to Port Elizabeth,
but was reflected in locations throughout South Africa. Furthermore, the
stream of repressive legislation promulgated by the Nationalist government
fanned African resentment towards the new apartheid regime.⁴⁸ This resentment
came to a head in 1952 when the Joint Planning Council, formed by members of
the African and Indian Congresses, with representatives from the Coloured
Franchise Action Council, co-ordinated the efforts of Africans, Indians and

43. Manager of Native Affairs' Report, MM(1949), 65.

44. Acting Manager of Native Affairs' Report, MM(1951), 65.

45. MOH Report, MM(1958), 117.

The T C White Hall was erected in 1934 at a cost of £2 271.19.0.
It could accommodate approximately 400 people, and consisted of a hall,
58ft x 40ft, with two dressing rooms each 11ft 6" x 10ft, two committee
rooms, each 18ft x 12ft 6", and a projection room.

46. Manager of Native Affairs' Report, MM(1952), 59.

47. Manager of Native Affairs' Report, MM(1950), 94.

In 1946 there were 344 assault cases in New Brighton, compared with 580
in 1950.

48. For instance, the Unlawful Organisations Bill (1950), gave the Minister of
Justice, C R Swart, power to ban any organisation whatever which he believed
to be furthering the aims of Communism. The Bill defined Communism to
mean not only Marxist-Leninism, but also 'any related form of that doctrine'
which sought to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, or to bring
'any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union by the
promotion of disturbances or disorder', whether in association with a
'foreign government' or not, or by encouraging hostility between Europeans
and non-Europeans. This bill, which became The Suppression of Communism
Act, No 44 of 1950, was rushed through Parliament in 30 hours. It became
a cornerstone for the draconian legislation that followed the Defiance
Campaign. The Act made the Communist Party unlawful. It authorised the
Minister to declare any kindred organisations unlawful, to 'name' the office-
bearers and active supporters of these organisations, and to prohibit such
'named' persons from participating in their activities. Further, he could
restrict the movement of 'named' persons and prohibit any gatherings which
he considered would further the aims of Communism.

See T R H Davenport, op.cit., 264;

A Paton, op.cit., 196.

Coloureds in a mass campaign for the repeal of the most odious apartheid legislation: the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, the Coloured vote legislation and the culling of stock in the reserves.⁴⁹ The Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign began in Port Elizabeth on 26 June 1952. Professor Z K Matthews,⁵⁰ in his address to a crowd of 3 000 Africans in New Brighton location, warned them what the Campaign would involve: 'Fighting for freedom is not a picnic...it is a very painful process and in that fight there is going to be suffering and even death'.⁵¹ Thereafter, twenty-five men and three women, all wearing ANC armbands and shouting 'Mayibuye, Africa! - Freedom now, Africa!' went through the EUROPEANS ONLY entrance to the New Brighton railway station. A white police sergeant immediately informed their leader, Raymond Mhlaba, an ANC official and a Communist trade union organizer, that they were contravening the law: Mhlaba replied that this was a deliberate act of civil disobedience. The police then arrested the group and escorted them to the other side of the station which, ironically, meant using the EUROPEANS ONLY bridge. Mhlaba was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment and the others to fifteen days. The Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign had begun.⁵² The Defiance Campaign drew its greatest support from the Eastern Cape. Two-thirds of the resisters came from this area whereas only one quarter came from the Transvaal where, according to the 1951 census, about 40% of the African population was concentrated.⁵³ In Port Elizabeth

49. T R H Davenport, op.cit., 262/266.

L Kuper, 'African Nationalism in South Africa: 1910-1964, in M Wilson and L Thompson (eds) The Oxford History of South Africa, vol 11, 462.

50. Zachariah Keodereleng Matthews was born in Kimberley in 1900. In 1918 he enrolled at the South African Native College in Alice, where he completed his matriculation and B A degree thereby, in G B Molefe's opinion, opening 'the eyes of many who had believed that the African can only go so far and no more'. In 1925 he took up a teaching post at Adams College in Natal, and was later appointed principal of the College. During this time he also obtained his L L B degree from the University of South Africa. He won a scholarship to do an M A degree at Yale University; and then went to London where he studied Social Anthropology. On his return to South Africa he was appointed lecturer in Native Law and Social Anthropology at Fort Hare. He was later appointed professor and then head of the Department of African Studies. Matthews held this position until 1959 when he resigned in protest against the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act, which brought Fort Hare under the direction of the Department of Bantu Education. In 1966 Sir Seretse Khama, first President of Botswana and Matthews' former student, appointed him as Botswana's Ambassador to the United States and the United Nations, a position he held until his death two years later. See tributes by Dr A Kerr, M Wilson, M G Buthelezi and G B Molefe in SAO, vol 98, July 1968, 110/113.

Matthews stayed with G B Molefe the night before he delivered this speech because he knew that Molefe was trusted and respected by the location community. Interview with G B Molefe, 15 Dec 1982.

51. M Benson, South Africa: The Struggle for a Birthright, 144.

52. ibid., 147.

53. L Kuper, op.cit., 462.

alone over two thousand Africans were convicted for contravening the Railway and Post Office regulations. The Campaign reached a peak in Port Elizabeth on 18 October 1952, when numerous acts of violence and arson led to the deaths of several Africans and whites.⁵⁴ The Campaign's success in this area was largely because the Africans in the Eastern Cape were a homogenous group who spoke the same language: Xhosa. In contrast, the campaigners on the Rand had first to overcome suspicion and hostility between heterogeneous racial groups before they could unite in political action. Despite the large support given to the Campaign in the Eastern Cape, there is no evidence to suggest that the members of the New Brighton mission congregation were involved in the Campaign in any significant numbers. In his annual report to Presbytery, the Rev G B Molefe did not even mention the Campaign or its effect on the congregation. Some young people in the Adelaide, Glenthorn, Stanley and Somerset East districts joined the ANC and took part in the Campaign, 'but we found no antagonism towards the European amongst them. Throughout the year there has been a spirit of friendly co-operation'.⁵⁵ By the end of the Campaign 8 577 passive resisters had been arrested and 26 Africans and 6 whites had been killed. The Campaign had consolidated African resistance: ANC paid-up membership, which had stood at approximately 7 000 in the months before the Campaign, rose to approximately 100 000, with an unknown number of sympathisers.⁵⁶ But the Campaign also heightened white fears of a 'black peril', thereby enabling the government to pass draconian measures designed to prevent the repetition of a similar protest.⁵⁷

Thus the task of rebuilding the New Brighton mission came at a time during which the whole African community underwent a crisis. Nevertheless, the growth was slow, yet steady, and gradually many of the scattered and divided members were brought together again. On Sunday 4 March 1949, a communion service was held at St Columba's to mark the re-opening of the mission church.

54. Manager of Native Affairs' Report, MM(1952), 60.

55. P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 May 1953.

56. P Walshe, Black Nationalism in South Africa: A Short History, 31.

57. The Public Safety Bill (1953) authorised the government to declare a state of emergency over all or parts of South Africa and to introduce emergency regulations to deal with any contingencies which might arise.

The Criminal Law Amendment Act (1953) imposed heavy sentences of fines, imprisonment and punishment for breaches of the peace or incitement.

The Christian Council of South Africa, presided over by Archbishop G Clayton protested against these laws and sought an interview with the Prime Minister who was 'unable to grant it'. This refusal marked the beginning of a government practice which is not invariable, but became increasingly common. The Prime Minister and his Cabinet frequently decline to meet delegations from organizations which are known to hold contrary views, probably on the grounds that it is a waste of everyone's time.

T R H Davenport, op.cit., 266.

A Paton, op.cit., 224.

About 80 people attended.⁵⁸ Thereafter services were held regularly in the mission church and the work at the outstations was fully resumed. 'In this we owe a great debt to the Rev G B Molefe,...who has voluntarily carried out this work', in addition to his duties as principal of Newell High School.⁵⁹ In July 1950 Molefe reported to the Presbytery on the mission's progress. There were now 186 communicant members and 101 adherents on the roll. The elders and deacons had assumed responsibility for holding regular services at New Brighton and the outstations. Molefe preached mainly at New Brighton, but dispensed the sacraments at the outstations as well. All these services were well attended. Molefe also reported that there was a strong Women's Association at New Brighton and that the Young Men's Association had been restarted with great enthusiasm. Perhaps the most significant comment in Molefe's report was that the New Brighton congregation was beginning to plough its energy and resources back into the mission. On their own initiative, and at a cost of £80, they had built a pulpit and a platform for the choir and elders, 'all by themselves...(and) without approaching the treasurer for help from the general funds of the Mission'.⁶⁰ As trust and confidence rekindled among the congregation, so renewed interest and concern for the material fabric of the building seemed to increase. In 1954 the pews 'that have given the congregation great inconvenience by unbalancing and causing adults and children to fall on the floor', were repaired by the congregation with no assistance from the ordinary church funds.⁶¹ Shortly afterwards the congregation began collecting funds to add to the existing church building a kitchen and hall.⁶² These extensions were officially opened and dedicated on 18 December 1960.⁶³ Meanwhile the congregation had displayed great willingness to raise funds for the building,⁶⁴ with the result that the total debt on the building was paid off within two months of the official opening.⁶⁵

58. P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 April 1949.
PCSA BB(1949), 26.

59. idem.

60. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 July 1950.

61. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 May 1954.

62. P E Presbytery Minutes, 9 Oct 1956.

63. P E Presbytery Minutes, 18 Dec 1960.

The extensions were dedicated by the Rev J McDowall, Moderator of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth.

64. P E Presbytery Minutes, 26 July 1960.

65. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 Feb 1961.

The mission continued to grow despite the lack of a permanent minister. Evangelist Mfusi was brought from Newcastle, Natal, to assist with the work at New Brighton until he returned to complete his studies at Fort Hare in 1952. Mfusi found a group of Presbyterians from the Adelaide district who had settled in Greenbushes, so he visited Boyer, a local farmer, and found him to be 'sympathetic to our work, and...offered ground and materials for the building of a wattle and daub church building'.⁶⁶ The people were very keen and continued to meet regularly in this little building. Meanwhile Tokota, the evangelist stationed at Barkly Bridge, found another group of Presbyterians from Adelaide living at Sandflats. On 12 February 1952 Presbytery placed this group under the New Brighton mission church as an outstation.

The encouraging progress at Greenbushes and Sandflats was not reflected in the other outstations. In October 1952 Molefe expressed concern to the Presbytery that there had been no increase at all in the work at Barkly Bridge or at Addo. He believed that part of the problem was that Evangelist Tokota was not adequately supervised:

The work at Barkly Bridge and Addo is stagnant...average attendance at Barkly Bridge is exceedingly low...It is very important to have the Evangelist here, and to let him work from the central station...I have a plan which I would request the man to follow every week, and if he were here, either I, or the resident minister when he is found, will be able to check on him, as he would have to send in a weekly report, based on the scheme that has been drawn up. A resident minister would then from time to time check these reports by visiting these places himself. 67

Similarly, the work at Korsten had been allowed to decline and the building was dilapidated. It still doubled as a day school during the week, but 'it is an eyesore to anybody...Young school children continue to attend classes in this building, in whose premises it is most undesirable for children to continue their studies during their formative years'.⁶⁸

The need for a resident minister at New Brighton had become urgent. Molefe preached regularly at the mission and attempted to keep the various organisations functioning smoothly, but he found it increasingly difficult to care pastorally for the congregation in addition to his commitments at the Newell High School.⁶⁹ By 1955, the strain of holding two jobs simultaneously had proved too much for him, and he relinquished his voluntary work in the congregation shortly before

66. P E Presbytery Minutes, 31 July 1951.

67. P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 Oct 1952.

68. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 May 1954.

69. P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 Oct 1952.

he went overseas with a Moral Rearmament Team.⁷⁰ Fortunately the mission congregation was not left long without a minister: the Rev Elliot Thethiwe, formerly of the Transvaal mission at Orlando, agreed to come to the mission at New Brighton⁷¹ and was inducted on 19 February 1955.⁷² Presbytery offered Thethiwe a gross stipend of £27 per month.⁷³ This was higher than the minimum because Presbytery felt that the importance of the work at New Brighton warranted this.⁷⁴ But it did mean that the mission could not be expected to support the minister themselves. In order to meet this shortfall, the NBMC requested the

70. PCSA BB(1955), 68.

71. idem.

72. P E Presbytery Minutes, 26 July 1955.

73. idem.

Gross stipend: £27. This was made up of the basic stipend of £17.6.8., plus cost of living allowance of £8.13.4., and a children's allowance of £1.0.0.

74. Minimum Stipends for African ministers and evangelists:

In his letter to the Rev F Stakes in March 1936, the Rev J J R Jolobe had recommended that the Assembly's AMC review the stipends it was paying its African ministers and evangelists. (Letter: Jolobe to Stakes, 14 March 1936, RPC). Further suggestions were placed before the Assembly's AMC in 1941 (Assembly's AMC Minutes, 10 Dec 1941). But the Committee only undertook a systematic investigation into African stipends in 1945. The minimum stipend for African ministers was fixed at £120 p.a., plus £4 p.a. for each child under 16 years, plus cost of living allowance (COLA) and a free house. Evangelists were to receive £72 p.a., and the same fringe benefits as ministers (Assembly's AMC Minutes, 21 May 1946). In 1950 the Assembly's AMC urged the Assembly to 'dismiss the superstition that Christian work can be done on starvation wages', and to increase the minimum stipend. (PCSA BB(1950), 79). Assembly raised this in 1954: African ministers were to receive a minimum of £15, with COLA of £7.4.1. per month; and African evangelists £10 with COLA of £4.6. per month. Both would also receive a free house and allowance of £4 p.a. for each child under 16 years. (PCSA BB(1954), 73). White ministers were receiving a minimum stipend of £480 p.a., and a minimum monthly COLA of £14.14.8 (PCSA BB(1954), 86). In 1959 the Assembly's AMC turned down the request for another rise in the minimum stipend and stated that none would be forthcoming until the African ministers taught their congregations that the onus lay with them for raising the minister's stipend. The Rev D S Robertson, Convener of Assembly's AMC, complained that it had 'always been an article of faith that the payment of stipends is a European responsibility, and that monies raised by the congregation or its agencies can be spent frivolously, on non-essentials and on (blessed word) "travelling expenses"' (PCSA BB(1959), 76/77). The amalgamation of the Church Extension and Aid Committee and the Assembly's AMC into a single committee in 1962 marked a turning point in the process towards equalization of stipends. An attempt in 1952 by the former Church Extension and Aid Committee to get the PCSA to equalise stipends had been unsuccessful and had only served 'to emphasise and aggravate the appalling discrepancy between the amounts paid to European and African ministers... The Holy Ministry is surely the last trade in all the world in which men following the same calling should suffer the barbaric discriminations of our

Hill, St Columba's and St Andrew's to give £6, £5 and £4 respectively each month towards Thethiwe's stipend.⁷⁵ The NBMC also requested the Assembly's AMC to continue its monthly grant of £10 until the mission congregation showed signs of being able to support Thethiwe themselves.⁷⁶

Thethiwe did much to consolidate the work at New Brighton and to re-unite the congregation. Gradually a new stability manifested itself in the congregation's willingness to take responsibility for the spiritual leadership of the work and in their recognition that the white congregations could not carry the financial support of the mission indefinitely. By 1958 the Assembly's AMC could report to Assembly that 'New Brighton has almost forgotten the troubles of the past years and has recovered much of the lost ground... It is hoped that within a short time the very generous contributions of the Port Elizabeth Churches to the mission will be used for capital purposes only. There is no reason why this mission should not be able to pay its own expenses'.⁷⁷ But before the congregation could achieve this level of independence, Thethiwe accepted a call to the mission church at Langa, Cape Town, where he was inducted on 19 April 1959.⁷⁸

During the vacancy an unfortunate incident revealed that petty divisions within the congregation still existed. The Presbytery considered Thethiwe's call to Langa at its in hunc effectum meeting on 10 March 1959. At the same meeting it appointed the Rev M A Hartslief as interim moderator of the New Brighton mission. Hartslief accepted this position on condition that Presbytery would allow Molefe to deputise for him, since he felt he could not supervise the mission in addition to his other commitments.⁷⁹ Three

74. (contd)...

society in all their crudity, merely because of a difference in colour and an admitted, but sometimes over-emphasised, difference in training'. (PCSA BB(1952), 83). The creation of a single Church Extension and Aid Committee gave the PCSA the opportunity 'for the first time, for all stipends to be dealt with administratively by the same body'. (PCSA BB(1963), 66).

75. P E Presbytery Minutes, 26 July 1955. The NBMC met on 21 June 1955.

76. P E Presbytery Minutes, 9 Oct 1956.

77. PCSA BB(1958), 90.

78. P E Presbytery Minutes, 30 May 1959.

79. Presbytery's In Hunc Effectum, 30 May 1959. Evidence submitted by the Rev W M J Lund.

members of the New Brighton congregation, the Rev Thethiwe, B J M'Nyanda and A S Tsewu, were present when the arrangement was made. They made no protest at this stage, but shortly afterwards M'Nyanda, who was Session Clerk at New Brighton, wrote to Hartslief stating why he considered it inadvisable to appoint Molefe as his deputy at New Brighton.⁸⁰

M'Nyanda had held a consultation with 'loyal and law-abiding members of our congregation', from which it emerged quite conclusively that 'there is a general consensus of opinion amongst our church members at New Brighton against the appointment of the Rev G B Molefe either as your deputy or as a successor to the Rev E V Thethiwe':

Therefore, I have been asked to make representations to you, pointing out that we feel that an extremely bad precedent would be created if Mr Molefe, who has not been to church for the last three and a quarter years, were asked to act either as your deputy or to be appointed successor to the Rev Thethiwe. We, as elders and members of the congregation, have NEVER known it to happen that a man who has chosen to stay away from church services for three years, has been rewarded with the appointment of either acting minister or successor to a minister who has resigned his post. 81

In the light of this opposition, M'Nyanda warned Hartslief to reconsider his decision to allow Molefe to deputise for him, since it 'might lead to confusion, untold trouble, disorder and chaos'.⁸² Hartslief showed Molefe this letter, but both men agreed to adhere to the original arrangements.

80. Letter: B J M'Nyanda to M A Hartslief, 24 April 1959, included as evidence in Presbytery's In Hunc Effectum, 30 May 1959.

81. idem.

One reason for Molefe's poor attendance at New Brighton during Thethiwe's time was that he was travelling extensively for Moral Rearmament. In 1955 he went on a world tour, visiting America, Hawaii, Honolulu, Japan, South Korea, South China, Philippine Islands, Bangkok, Burma and India. In 1956 he was invited to Coventry, England, to address the coalminers; and during 1957 and 1958 he went overseas for shorter periods.

G B Molefe, My Life, MS, 16/19.

Evening Post: 12 June 1954, 10 July 1954; 19 July 1954, 10 Dec 1954; 13 May 1955; 9 June 1955; 20 June 1955; 1 Aug 1955; 5 March 1956.

Ministerial etiquette also required that a former minister gave his successor an opportunity to establish himself and his ministry before returning to the congregation.

Interview with M A Hartslief, April 1980.

82. Letter: B J M'Nyanda to M A Hartslief, 24 April 1959.

Molefe preached the New Brighton mission vacant on 26 April 1959.⁸³ Before the service he met with the elders and explained that he would try to fill the vacancy as expeditiously as possible. In fact, he had seen J J R Jolobe the previous day in Alice and had already begun negotiating with him to return to New Brighton. Elder Tsewu then asked Molefe why he had come to preach the charge vacant, and not Hartslief, as M'Nyanda had requested in his letter. Molefe replied that Hartslief had shown him the letter, but that they had decided to continue as previously agreed at Presbytery. When Molefe entered the pulpit Mrs Tsewu immediately walked out, followed by Mrs M'Nyanda, Mrs Mtywaru and a few others. Shortly thereafter elders B J M'Nyanda, A S Tsewu and S Dinge walked out and were followed later by L Mgubela, a teacher at the Pendla Lower Primary School. Meanwhile, J Mtywaru, a deacon, went to lock the main gates thus preventing people from entering the church premises; and Mgubela stood at the junction of Jolobe Road and Mtimka Street and told members of the congregation that the church service had been cancelled. Molefe was deeply disturbed by this incident, and advised Hartslief 'very strongly that drastic action should be taken against the three elders, the teacher and the deacons, as it is a dangerous precedent to our Church discipline'.^{83a}

Following upon Molefe's report, Hartslief met with the New Brighton mission Session and warned them of the grave consequences that could result from the walkout. The Session agreed that an apology should be given to the congregation, the Interim Moderator and to Molefe, for 'certain happenings that caused three elders to leave the Church'.⁸⁴ This apology was read to the NBMC at a meeting attended by both M'Nyanda and Tsewu. But when Hartslief received the intimation book in which the Session's apology was written, he discovered that the apology differed significantly from the apology originally tendered. This discrepancy persuaded Presbytery to call an in hunc effectum meeting to ascertain the real motives behind the walkout. This meeting was not designed as a judicial proceeding, but was merely a Presbyterial inquiry.⁸⁵

83. Procedure in Vacancies: When a pastoral charge becomes vacant the Presbytery appoints a minister as Interim Moderator who is responsible for preaching the charge vacant (declaration of the vacancy) on the first convenient Sunday and for encouraging the congregation to fill the vacancy as expeditiously as possible.

See The Manual of Law and Procedure of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, paras 171/210.

83a. Letter: G B Molefe to M A Hartslief, in Presbytery's In Hunc Effectum.

84. Presbytery's In Hunc Effectum.

85. idem.

On 29 May 1959, the day before the inquiry was due to be held, Hartsliel received a letter from M'Nyanda and Tsewu in which they tendered their resignation as members of the PCSA.⁸⁶ Both men resented the fact that Presbytery had decided to call the in hunc effectum meeting in spite of their apology for the walkout. Moreover, they feared that they would not receive a fair hearing from Presbytery, 'because some Presbyters, who will be serving on the inquiring body might approach the whole matter from a preconceived point of view. In our view, the proposed inquiry would still be prejudiced, especially as the inquiry is the direct result of an inaccurate report by the Rev G B Molefe, M.A., who, as many Presbyters should know, is, himself, not kindly disposed towards certain elders, deacons and church members at New Brighton'.⁸⁷ Under these circumstances M'Nyanda and Tsewu believed that it was expedient to resign their position as members of the PCSA:

It is in many ways unfortunate that, because of the incident in question, we have been misunderstood; and, as a result, the service we have done to our Church, however small, seems to be forgotten. 88

Presbytery decided to continue with the inquiry despite the resignation of the two ringleaders. The Rev T L Clarke, Clerk of Presbytery, informed Presbytery that 'if it emerges from this inquiry that their conduct is blameworthy, then resigning does not absolve them from responsibility - moral responsibility - and since others who walked out of the Church on the day when Mr Molefe declared the Church vacant, have been named, their conduct must also be considered by this court'.⁸⁹

Two disturbing factors emerged from the Presbyterial inquiry on 30 May 1959. First, the deep distrust and resentment toward white motives, prevalent during Ntintili's ministry, had re-emerged over the congregation's mistaken belief that Presbytery had appointed Molefe as Thethiwe's successor. How could this misunderstanding have arisen? At no time had it been suggested either by Presbytery or by the NBMC that Molefe should act either as acting minister or as a successor to Thethiwe. The Rev W M J Lund submitted that this misunderstanding might have arisen because the New Brighton representatives who had attended the Presbytery at which the arrangements were made for the vacancy possibly did not understand English. This suggestion was quickly

86. Letter: B J M'Nyanda and A S Tsewu to M A Hartsliel, 27 May 1959, in Presbytery's In Hunc Effectum.

87. idem.

88. idem.

89. Presbytery's In Hunc Effectum.

repudiated when it was pointed out that M'Nyanda and Tsewu had been the two representatives at the Presbytery meeting in March 1959, and that they both understood English well.⁹⁰ Why then did M'Nyanda and Tsewu not protest immediately to Presbytery if they had understood the arrangements for preaching the charge vacant, and if they knew that Molefe would not be accepted by the congregation as Hartslielief's deputy? Menta, an elder from the New Brighton mission, suggested that M'Nyanda and Tsewu 'could not make the objection because they did not know how the people would react to this decision. They only got to know when they got back and gave the news to the Kirk Session'.⁹¹ This answer 'delighted' the Rev Harold Munro:

I had never before realised how simple and innocent a person my friend, Mr M'Nyanda, was. I have sat at so many meetings with him, in which, without the slightest hesitation and in his very fluent English, he has told us what the people of New Brighton think. I suggest that Mr M'Nyanda was always in a position to say what New Brighton thought, largely because the reactions of New Brighton have been produced by Mr M'Nyanda for the last few years.⁹²

At length it emerged that M'Nyanda had told some members at New Brighton that 'the Presbytery is determined to have Mr Molefe whether the Kirk Session is against it...that caused a lot of ill-feeling and disappointment, and I think that is one of the things that led up to that ill-feeling when this incident took place'.⁹³ Thus once again dissension had been fostered in the New Brighton mission by a small group of individuals motivated by personal rather than religious motives.⁹⁴

Second, the inquiry revealed that the walkout had highlighted the deep, but unspoken, division within the congregation that had emerged during Thethiwe's ministry. Mbanga first raised this issue when he told Presbytery that 'in New Brighton we are divided into two camps. Since Mr Thethiwe took over ministry at New Brighton, certain of the congregation is administered to by Mr Molefe, the other by Mr Thethiwe. When we want the truth of the whole thing it must be considered the whole thing is based on that'.⁹⁵ Menta substantiated Mbanga's statement:

It is a very, very painful happening indeed. When we had the new minister, the Rev Thethiwe, all the friends of Mr Molefe became indifferent to our work. My good friend, Mr Matibela, who is here, during the time of

90. idem.

91. idem.

92. idem.

93. idem.

94. M A Hartslielief believed that M'Nyanda was jealous of Molefe. M'Nyanda was a respected man in his own right, and one of the Africans to hold the post of personnel officer in a Port Elizabeth factory. But he resented Molefe's popularity, and therefore fostered resentment in the congregation in a bid to discredit him. Interview with M A Hartslielief, April 1980.

95. idem.

Mr Molefe was a very active deacon. The moment Thethiwe came he stood in the background. I went to their house one evening, and I persuaded them to come forward and do the good work that they were doing. I said to him and his late wife that we have to serve God and the Presbyterian Church, and not serve personalities. I said to him the Rev Thethiwe will come and go and another minister will come along, but if we are true servants of God we want to do the work all the time. It is true to say that all those people who were active during Mr Molefe's time, were blankets to our efforts when Mr Thethiwe came. Mr Matibela cannot deny it. 96

Matibela told the court that his enthusiasm for Thethiwe had declined one Sunday when 'I went for the key at 9 o'clock to open up the Church and dust, he mentioned to me, "By the way, I don't know you - you are the deacons under Molefe. I want to establish my own deacons." So he did that. He shoved us right to the back. Well, we fold our arms because we do not want to worry him in his work, and that's what made me sit down and not to interfere with his duties'.⁹⁷

Munro pointed out that this kind of behaviour happened as much in white as in African congregations, and, while it was regrettable, it was not a matter requiring church discipline.⁹⁸ But the walkout M'Nyanda and his followers staged did not merely indicate their preference for Thethiwe over Molefe, but flagrantly denied the authority Presbytery itself vested in Molefe.

One encouraging revelation of the inquiry was that the dissenters had not disenchanted a large number of the congregation, as was the case under Ntintili. Only a few members of the Session, and not the New Brighton congregation as a whole, had been involved in planning and executing the walkout. Menta pleaded for clemency since those involved in the walkout had made an important contribution to the New Brighton congregation during a time of particular hardship:

I speak with great sadness, because the people who are involved in this mistake are the people who have worked very, very hard to build up our congregation during the last three years. These men have sacrificed their time, their energy and their money, working under very great difficulties, and may I point out with all humility that our work at New Brighton has been very, very difficult. I have been in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Queenstown, and I have never seen any place as difficult as New Brighton. You are the fathers of our congregation, and I feel you must know the truth...We are human - to err is human and to forgive is divine. These are your people. These are your children. Is it right, just because they made one mistake, just for one day, that the work that they have done for three years should be forgotten? I speak with humility and respect. I am a blind man, but I have been touched by the work these men have been doing under a great difficulty. 99

Munro dismissed this appeal since the main cause of the dissension was M'Nyanda, a recent 'convert' to Presbyterianism. Munro warned Presbytery of the danger to the congregation's unity when a new member was allowed to assume such an influential position in the congregation:

96. idem.

97. idem.

98. idem.

99. idem.

He was a Methodist all his life. He came into our Church as a new member about five years ago, and in some strange way that I never quite understood, within a year of his joining as a new member, he was Session Clerk. New Brighton may be a difficult place, but we are not lacking in loyal elders who have been members for many years, and it is an interesting thing to look over the dates on which some other elders were admitted to the Kirk Session. One finds quite a number who only became elders when Mr M'Nyanda was Session Clerk. And it is even more interesting to find that they came from other strange churches with which we have had no connection. These people, who have been gathered from the Mzimba Church, and other separatist sects, including the small group which followed Mr Ntintili, these are the band of brothers who, we are told, are so important to Presbyterians. I do not in the least object to the Presbyterian Church making converts, but I would remind the New Brighton Church of the advice of St Paul, that new members should not too rapidly be advanced to positions of responsibility; and I would also remind all who have come in from all those strange places, that even if we are prepared to welcome them into Presbyterianism, as we are, they themselves must be prepared to learn to be good Presbyterians, and the only way to do that is to accept the guidance of people who have been Presbyterians for many years. 100

Presbytery was convinced M'Nyanda and his supporters were responsible for fomenting division and dissension, and that therefore no grounds existed for disciplinary action against the whole congregation. Instead, the Presbytery authorised the Clerk to issue the disjunction certificates requested by M'Nyanda and Tsewu, and instructed the New Brighton Session to appoint a new Session Clerk as quickly as possible. 101

In his closing address, the Rev John McDowall, Moderator of Presbytery, pointed out that the division in the congregation had been a sad reflection of the congregation's understanding of the Christian gospel. M'Nyanda and his followers had attempted to incite the congregation for their own personal gain, as Ntintili had done, and had not been concerned with preserving the unity of the church.

Presbytery could not tolerate this any more than Assembly could countenance Ntintili's open defiance of the authority vested in the NBMC and the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth:

If there are people who are going to destroy the unity of the church they are the enemies of the King and Head of the Church, and this Presbytery cannot permit it to be done...It is absolutely necessary that you should come together as God's people. Nobody says a word about it, but it's politics - African politics. That is the curse of your church: That is the curse of South Africa: Setting the things of politics before the Lord Jesus Christ. We must all be concerned about that. The first thing is our loyalty to the King and Head of the Church, and it is the duty of this Court to protect those who are loyal to the King and Head of the Church... The church does not belong to one group or to the other group; it is for all who look to its King in Heaven. Let us remember what a serious thing this is without any doubt - a congregation divided - a congregation coming together, one group with the minister, and the other group against the minister. It is a terrible thing. After the happenings in the time of Ntintili we hoped to see this congregation growing, and growing in

100. idem.

101. idem.

responsibility, growing in powers. There are some who evidently want to put the clock back, who want to hinder all these things... Troubles of this kind disturb us deeply: For your sakes, and for the sake of the King and Head of the Church, in Whose service we all are. 102

Shortly after receiving their disjunction certificates, both M'Nyanda and Tsewu applied to Presbytery for re-admission to the PCSA. Presbytery granted permission to Tsewu to be received as a member in full communion at its meeting in October 1959 but would not consider M'Nyanda's application at this stage.¹⁰³ Five years later, M'Nyanda wrote to the Rev R B Donaldson, Clerk of Presbytery, apologising 'for my attitude and action in the year 1959. I refer to the occasion when I walked out of church during public worship. I sincerely apologise for anything I did consciously and unconsciously to hurt the members of the church. I deeply regret that unhappy incident'. He asked for the Presbytery's forgiveness, and requested re-admission to membership at the New Brighton mission church:

If this application is acceded to, I promise that for the rest of my life I shall always promote harmony and foster the spirit of fellowship, mutual trust and goodwill. I seek no honours but I desire to serve God and His Church.

My daily prayer is 'God take me as I am and use me as Thou seest fit', and I am learning to put into practice the old and true saying that 'he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city'. 105

Presbytery appointed a committee to meet personally with M'Nyanda.¹⁰⁶ At this meeting, on 30 March 1965, M'Nyanda admitted that his actions in 1959 had been 'rash and impetuous', and that the intervening years had given him time to reflect on his 'serious misbehaviour'. The committee unanimously agreed to recommend to Presbytery that since M'Nyanda seemed sincerely repentant and felt keenly his isolation from the mission congregation over the previous five years, Presbytery should allow him to be re-admitted to membership.¹⁰⁷ At its meeting in May 1965, Presbytery granted M'Nyanda permission to be received back as a member of the New Brighton congregation but declared him ineligible for election as an office-bearer until after a two year probationary period.¹⁰⁸

102. idem.

103. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 Oct 1959.

104. P E Presbytery Minutes, 9 Feb 1960.

105. Letter: B J M'Nyanda to R B Donaldson, 8 Jan 1965 (RC).

106. Committee: The Revs T L Clarke, J J R Jolobe, G B Molefe and M A Hartsliet.

107. Report of committee which met with B J M'Nyanda on 13 March 1965, (RC).

108. P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 May 1965.

The considerable political ferment of the 1950's had polarized black and white in South Africa further than ever. The Nationalist government had clearly outlined its designs for a segregated society and had introduced repressive legislation to deal with those who threatened their implementation. Meanwhile, the various African political movements had begun consolidating themselves to form a more united front. Between these extremes, the PCSA was trying to discern at Assembly and Presbytery level the Word of God for South Africa and to ensure that its own courts and congregations were not conformed to the 'apartheid' that was elsewhere becoming entrenched throughout South Africa. For the New Brighton mission congregation it was also a time of consolidation, in which the members who had been scattered and divided during the Ntintili affair, were once again gradually moulded into a cohesive community. But the vacancy showed the continuing vulnerability of the congregation, which people motivated by personal ambition and jealousy rather than religious devotion could exploit. Fortunately for the New Brighton mission congregation, Thethiwe was succeeded by the Rev J J R Jolobe who had already shown, first during his previous ministry at New Brighton, and then at the Lovedale Bible School and Training College, that he would not allow his faith or his witness to be swayed by extremists on either side.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FULL STATUS

The mission congregation welcomed the NBMC's decision to place the Rev James Jolobe at New Brighton. Many members still remembered the considerable contribution he had made to the congregation's life and witness during his previous ministry at the mission. Jolobe had largely motivated the decision to move the congregation from the original wood and iron building in New Brighton to the new McNamee Village, although the new church had only been built during the ministry of his successor, G B Molefe. Jolobe had also encouraged education as an important auxiliary to mission and, under his supervision day schools were established at all the preaching stations. But his second ministry at New Brighton demanded a new force and approach to meet the new challenges to the mission. During the two decades he had spent at the Lovedale Bible School and Training College the mission congregation had changed in character. The rapid industrialization during and after the Second World War brought increasing numbers of Africans to Port Elizabeth. Whereas the site in McNamee Village had served the original community well, it was peripheral for the growing numbers of Presbyterians who were settling in the new Kwazakele location to the north of New Brighton. Thus the mission, which the three white churches had started in an attempt to care for Africans coming to town from the rural areas, now needed to care for the Africans living in the new locations. Yet before the congregation could become an effective evangelising agency, its members needed to be reconciled with each other. The mission had weathered the painful division and disintegration that had split the congregation during Ntintili's drive for independence. Although Molefe and Thethiwe consolidated the mission considerably, the vacancy incident revealed that within the congregation and between it and the NBMC areas of distrust still existed. During Jolobe's ministry much of this distrust was rooted out. In Jolobe the various factions recognised a leader they could follow and trust. They were willing to drop their differences and conflicting ideals, and follow Jolobe's programme for the congregation. Similarly, the NBMC saw in Jolobe a peacemaker, to whom it could entrust increasing responsibility for the congregation.

Under Jolobe's leadership the New Brighton mission congregation developed with a new sense of purpose in two main directions. First, in a society in which 'apartheid' had steadily undermined hope and morale, and had polarized

and alienated black and white South Africans, the congregation began witnessing in a new and compelling way. Second, the congregation grew in its sense of responsibility for its affairs. Jolobe ensured that the slow movement towards full status was not motivated by resentment and hostility towards whites, as had been the case under Ntintili, but arose from the congregation's willingness to accept responsibility for all aspects of the life and work of the mission.

The three housing schemes¹ established by the City Council proved totally inadequate for the growing African population. By 1955 the housing crisis had once again reached acute proportions. At least 10 000 African families who were living in slum areas in the city or under conditions which resulted in excessive overcrowding of the existing townships in New Brighton urgently needed accommodation.² As an emergency measure, the City Council introduced a Site-and-Service scheme to provide African families with a plot serviced with water and sanitation. The onus lay on the occupants to erect a shack at the back of the plot, and, as soon as possible, the Council would erect a permanent house at the front and remove the shack. The rationale behind this decision was for one shack to be erected to house one family on a serviced plot of reasonable dimensions, was more hygienic than to allow up to thirty or forty shacks to be occupied on a very small plot to which no services were available, as was the case in the slum area of Korsten. The Council undertook this enormous scheme in two stages. In the first stage completed during 1958 the Council built 4 237 dwellings at a cost of £111 each. 4 428 two roomed dwellings, at a cost of £109 each, were erected in the second stage, which was completed by 1960. In the interim before these plans were completed, the serviced sites were leased at a rental of 17s 6d per month.³

The first slum dwellers were transferred from Korsten to Kwazakele in April 1956. By 31 December 1956, 8 695 people had been relocated, and

1. Above, 199/200.

2. MOH Report, MM(1955, 43.

3. MOH Report, MM(1958), 120/121.

2 140 shacks had been destroyed.⁴ By the end of 1957, the figure had risen to 28 817 persons, while 6 167 shacks had been demolished.⁵ Amongst those removed to Kwazakele were all the members of the preaching station at Korsten.⁶ Some provision had to be made to care for the spiritual needs of these members, as well as for those Presbyterians who had moved from the rural areas to settle in Kwazakele. Almost immediately, the NBMC applied to the Department of Native Affairs for a site in the new location.⁷ This was provisionally allocated in February 1958,⁸ but Ministerial approval arrived too late for occupation before 1959.⁹ During this time the preaching place grew rapidly: Presbytery transferred responsibility for its care from the New Brighton Session,¹⁰ to the Hill Church.¹¹ In May 1959 Presbytery placed Samuel Qeque, an evangelist, at Kwazakele for a probationary period of three months.¹² His appointment was confirmed in July 1959, when Presbytery received Ministerial authorization for a site in Kwazakele.¹³ The Department of Native Affairs required some structure to be erected upon the site within six months. An official from the Department commented to the Rev Harold Munro that he hoped that the church would not be 'one of those horrible unsightly shacks'. Munro retorted, 'It...(will) certainly be horrible and unsightly, but that the remedy was to expedite our permission to build'.¹⁴ By October 1959, a shack had been built by the members and financed completely by them, at a cost of £15. The Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion were administered for the first time at Kwazakele on 11 October 1959. Those elders and members from the Hill Church who attended the service 'were conscious of a strong sense of worship, of faith and of concentration in the congregation. Despite the roaring of the wind outside, the occasional voice of a child within and the crude simplicity of the church/shack, it was indeed the House of God'.¹⁵ All services and

4. MOH Report, MM(1956), 28.

5. MOH Report, MM(1957), 54.

6. P E Presbytery Minutes, 20 May 1959.

Presbytery decided that the site and building should be sold when expedient, and that the proceeds thereof be made available to the Kwazakele sub-committee for building purposes. The Korsten property was sold eventually in 1965. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 Oct 1965.

7. P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 Feb 1957.

8. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Feb 1958.

9. Manager of Native Affairs' Report, MM(1958), 173.

10. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Feb 1958.

Presbytery decided that the work at Kwazakele would be continued under the New Brighton Session until its membership reached 200, when it would be established as a separate charge under its own committee.

meetings were held here.¹⁶ Meanwhile, the little congregation and the Hill congregation began saving towards building a permanent church and manse at Kwazakele. By May 1960 sufficient funds had been raised to begin the building.¹⁷ Part of the funds had been donated by the Assembly's AMC, with the suggestion that the new manse should be called 'Robertson Cottage', in memory of Donald Stewart Robertson, who had been convener of the Assembly's AMC from 1950 to 1959.¹⁸ The manse was completed by August 1960,¹⁹ and was dedicated, together with the church hall, by the Rt Rev R B Mitchell, Moderator of the General Assembly, on 11 February 1961.²⁰ The design of the church hall marked a new development in the PCSA's African church architecture. It was light and airy, with its beautifully panelled sanctuary as the focus of attention. The building was also multi-purpose: curtains screened off the Sanctuary when not in use for worship. It was a far cry from the wood and iron shack in New Brighton where the congregation had originally begun. This contrast symbolised the

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11. (contd)...
P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 Oct 1958, 28 July 1959.
Presbytery decided to proceed with the above decision although the membership had only reached 102.
Also Contact, vol 2, Jan 1959, 10.
 12. P E Presbytery Minutes, 20 May 1959.
Contact, vol 4, April 1959, 4.
Qeqe was formerly an evangelist in the BPC.
 13. P E Presbytery Minutes, 28 July 1959.
 14. Contact, vol 2, July 1959, 1/2.
 15. Contact, vol 2, Nov 1959, 7.
 16. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 Oct 1959.
The corrugated iron sheets for the shacks were bought from a farmer who lived some distance from Kwazakele. Mrs Qeqe organised the women of the congregation to collect these sheets and to carry them to the site on their heads. Most of the sheets had been blackened by fire. When the Rev Harold Munro entered the shack/church for the first time, he remarked, 'Surely, this is the wrath of God!' Nevertheless, this willingness to help themselves marked an important step in the congregation's life.
Interview with Mrs F van't Hoogerhuijs, April 1980.
 17. P E Presbytery Minutes, 10 May 1959.
 18. P E Presbytery Minutes, 26 July 1960.
 19. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Oct 1960.
 20. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Feb 1961.

shift that had taken place in the Presbytery's attitude towards its African mission work. It recognised African urbanization as a permanent phenomenon and that therefore adequate provision needed to be made for the Africans' spiritual needs in the new locations. Furthermore, the new building indicated that the widely held notion that any sort of building would do for African worship had been replaced by 'the more Christian principle that a house of God should be a seemly place, whoever may be going to worship in it'.²¹

The Hill Church contributed much towards these buildings. Initially a few members of the Hill Board of Management had expressed concern over the congregation spending money on extension work in Kwazakele, when the congregation was already £4 000 in debt to the Christie Fund.²² But the Board agreed to proceed with the project and, by 1961, had spent almost £5 000 on buildings and furnishings at Kwazakele. This meant that in its Centenary year the Hill had the largest debt it had had in its entire history, apart from the first ten years of its existence:

We should be clear in our minds how this has come about. We know that we found ourselves required to build our extension project at Kwa Zakele rather sooner than we intended and we had to go into overdraft to do this. It is easy for this immediate cause to give some of us the mistaken notion that we have undertaken too large an outside project for our resources, or even that we have tried to do proportionately too much for non-European work when we should have thought more carefully of our own needs first. The cold facts of the situation shame any such opinion into silence. The nett amount that we have spent on our Zakele building over the last two years is just under £5 000. Over the past ten years, and in one way or another, we have spent about £60 000 on our own properties. Indeed, the overdraft on Zakele would no longer exist had we not spent on our own properties some R4 500 since we built at Zakele. 23

White involvement in the new church was not limited to financial contributions. The Hill Woodwork group, under the convenorship of R L Brotchie, made and installed the panelling and furniture in the sanctuary. They were assisted by members of the Kwa Zakele congregation. An inscription in Xhosa in the sanctuary commemorated this joint effort: 'This sanctuary was made by European and African Christians, working together'.²⁴ Individuals also

21. Contact, vol 4, March 1961, 1/2.

22. Hill Board of Management Minutes, 1 July 1958.

Christie Fund: in 1954 the Hill Board of Management received notification that the late Mrs L A Christie, a former Hill member, had bequeathed a sum of £8 486.4.5 to the Hill congregation, to be administered by the Board of Management. Hill Board of Management Minutes, 8 June 1954.

23. Contact, vol 4, Dec 1961, 33.

In February 1961 South African coinage became decimalized: the exchange rate in 1961 was £1 = R2.

24. ibid., 28.

The Hill Woodwork group had made the provision of furniture for the African mission churches its particular concern. In 1958 the group had made Communion furniture for the Agnes Mary Black African church in Adelaide. (Contact, vol 1, April 1958, 3). A complete set of

gave numerous gifts including a set of Communion vessels from Mrs V F Paterson and her two daughters in memory of the Rev Hector Paterson;²⁵ £24.12.6 from Mrs Firman, a former Hill member, for furnishings;²⁶ and a silver bowl for the font from the Hill Sunday School.²⁷ The Kwazakele congregation seemed to have so much in its favour: a multipurpose building on a prime site in the new location, with a considerable amount of white financial support and encouragement to back it. But initially this congregation did not fulfil the high expectations Presbytery held for it, once again because it was almost immediately plunged into division and disunity caused by petty jealousy and party strife.

In July 1960 Presbytery appointed the Rev G B Molefe as Interim Moderator at Kwazakele. He had offered to do six months' voluntary work in the congregation, during which time he would do all the ordained work, leaving Evangelist Qeqe to do the rest. At this meeting Presbytery also raised the status of the Kwazakele congregation from a preaching station to a mission congregation; and authorised Molefe to form a Mission Session and a Mission Deacons' Court.²⁸ The Kwazakele congregation, following the lead of a few African congregations in the Cape and Transvaal, opted for a Board of Management rather than a Deacons' Court. Since the main difference was that women could serve on a Board but not on a Deacons' Court, this decision seemed to witness to an increasing importance of women in African church life.²⁹ Initially this system seemed to work well, and Molefe made considerable progress in straightening out the membership roll and in increasing the congregation's income.³⁰ But friction soon developed within the mission

24. (contd)...

church furniture, pulpit, communion table and elders' seats for the African church at Somerset East was the group's next project. This was dedicated by the Rev Munro in Somerset East on 14 Feb 1960. (Contact, vol 3, March 1960, 7). Munro commented, 'It is a particular pleasure to be asked to do so, since in between many other duties I have from time to time had a small part in making it'. (Contact, vol 3, Jan 1960, 1/2).

25. P E Presbytery Minutes, 10 May 1960.

26. P E Presbytery Minutes, 26 July 1960.

27. idem.

28. idem.

29. Contact, vol 3, Sept 1960, 2.

30. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Oct 1960.

congregation after Presbytery agreed³¹ to the Kwazakele sub-committee's suggestion,³² that Molefe should be appointed as minister of the Kwazakele congregation and Qeqe transferred to Adelaide.³³

Qeqe's supporters both in the Session and in the congregation opposed this decision. Immediately after Molefe announced that he had been appointed as minister, 'all the people left the service and marched outside, making a very great noise'.³⁴ Seven elders from the Kwazakele session subsequently wrote a letter directly to the Rev M A Hartslief, Clerk of Presbytery, in which they made allegations against Molefe's conduct at the mission.³⁵ They admitted in their letter that the correct procedure would have been to submit these complaints through the Session, but they feared that as Molefe was the moderator of Session, 'there would not be a free and frank discussion...(and) Mr Molefe would, perhaps, be tempted to stifle discussion'.³⁶

The main purpose of the letter was to inform Presbytery that 'we do not want Mr Molefe to be our Minister'.³⁷ Four reasons were given for this request. First, the elders resented the fact that Molefe preferred to work independently of the congregation and the elders, particularly in the

31. P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 Feb 1961.

32. Kwazakele sub-committee Minutes, 10 Jan 1961.

33. Presbytery appointed a commission, consisting of the Revs H H Munro, M A Hartslief, W M J Lund, T L Clarke, M Manxoyi, and Messrs C Harris, A A Binning and H Parker to meet on 15 Feb 1961 to discuss the overall needs of the African mission work in the Presbytery.

The commission resolved:

- a) Edward Magula, who was stationed at Glenthorn, was to be appointed as evangelist to the New Brighton mission congregation, but would live in Uitenhage so that he could give special attention to the congregation there.
- b) Evangelist Dold Mqede and Samuel Elson were to continue their work at Somerset East and Adelaide respectively.
- c) Evangelist Qeqe was to be moved to Glenthorn.
- d) G B Molefe was to be appointed as minister at Kwazakele.

P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 Feb 1961.

34. Letter: Clifford Ndimu to H H Munro, 20 Feb 1961 (RC).

35. Letter: signed by Elders T Mangwana, W Deyi, C Ndimu, M Mantanga, M Ndimu, J Soyaya and H Mdlungu to M A Hartslief, 3 March 1961 (RC).

36. idem.

37. idem.

area of the mission's finances. 'He goes it alone, and conducts all the affairs of the church against the will of the congregation and without the active co-operation of the elders'. When certain elders questioned him about this, Molefe 'always replies that, we, the elders and members of the congregation, are "amaqaba" (ie. illiterates, savages, unbelievers etc)'.³⁹ Molefe further antagonised the elders by telling them that they were not true elders, 'we were merely ordained and declared elders, because, this church at Kwazakele is still new...We wish to emphasise that this is a provocative and insulting statement'.⁴⁰ Second, the elders resented Molefe's having placed people from the New Brighton mission in prominent positions in the Kwazakele community. Lalendle, a school teacher from New Brighton, was ordained as an elder and then made Session Clerk, 'although we, the elders of Kwazakele did not know him, neither was he (Lalendle) a member of the Kwazakele congregation'.⁴¹ Molefe had also brought several teachers to work in the Sunday School at Kwazakele. The final straw was at the Christmas party when Molefe brought 'children of his bosom friends from New Brighton, and handed toys to them, and did not give toys to the children of Kwazakele'.⁴² Third, the elders complained that Molefe regularly attended the meetings of the Women's Association and the Girls' Auxiliary. 'He attends each and every meeting of these organisations. This is a strange and unnatural conduct. As a result, there is confusion amongst our women'.⁴³ Finally, Molefe had brought the Rev James Calata, a minister of the Church of the Province of South Africa and an active member of the ANC, to address the congregation on 8 January 1961:^{43a}

The Rev Calata was wearing shorts. Mr Molefe took him to the pulpit from which the Rev Calata began to insult us, saying that he and Mr Molefe were very highly educated. Mr Calata went on to say that an educated person is close to God. But, said he, an uneducated person shall never see the Kingdom of God. Mr Calata went on to say that he is a prominent member of the African

38. idem.

39. idem.

40. idem.

41. idem.

42. idem.

43. idem.

43a. Canon James Arthur Calata was born at Debe Nek, near Kingwilliamstown, in 1895. He trained as a teacher at St Matthew's College and then entered the Anglican priesthood, ministering for over 40 years at St James Mission, Cradock. In 1930 Calata joined the ANC and was elected provincial president for the Cape that same year. In 1936 he became secretary-general of the ANC, a position he held until 1949 when his concern over the increasingly militant ANC Youth League dissuaded him from seeking re-election either as Cape president or secretary-general. Calata nevertheless continued to serve on the ANC national executive committee and as the ANC senior chaplain, thereby playing a moderating role against the increasingly extremist elements in the ANC.

National Congress. Mr Calata appealed to members of the congregation (our congregation) to join the African National Congress. This was at the 11 o'clock service. All of us who were present in church that day were surprised at the appeal by Mr Calata (in the presence of Mr Molefe) that we should join the ANC. The surprise was caused by the fact that he made this appeal from the pulpit, and our pulpit at that! Mr Calata, in the presence of Mr Molefe and with his approval, said the ANC is the African people's national organisation, to which all of us should belong by paying membership subscription. 44

These allegations were investigated thoroughly at the pro re nata meeting of Presbytery on 25 March 1961.⁴⁵ Molefe refuted each allegation made against him. He testified that he had not attempted to act independently of the Session in financial matters. The Board of Management, which included the elders, met on one Saturday every month, and the total amount collected was announced from the pulpit the following Sunday.⁴⁶ He also denied that he had forced the election of Lalendle as Session Clerk upon the congregation: at no time had the Session opposed the admission of Lalendle to membership, nor was any other person suggested for the position of Session Clerk.⁴⁷ Molefe admitted that he had attended the Women's Association meetings four times while Mrs Qeqe was on holiday in Adelaide. Before leaving she had told him that the attendances were very poor, and therefore he had gone to the meetings in an attempt to encourage the members to attend. Over the four visits the numbers increased from four, to nine, to fifteen, and then to twenty. He vehemently denied attending the Girls' Auxiliary meetings on Wednesdays.⁴⁸ Munro commented that he found this particular complaint very strange, in view of the fact that Evangelist Qeqe had regularly attended these meetings before Molefe came to Kwazakele.⁴⁹ Finally, Molefe submitted a letter from the Rev James Calata in which he refuted the charge made against him as 'wholly false':

I could not sponsor the ANC in a church service. I never do it in my own church. I knew that you were not a member of the ANC and to have spoken as quoted would have been insulting to you personally. Secondly I was in my Scout uniform. That alone forbade me from making political references. Thirdly I spoke for about 3 minutes and could

44. idem.

45. Presbytery called this meeting in terms of Book of Order (Amendments) para 66, see above, 184/185.

46. Presbytery's Pro Re Nata, (Transcript), 4.

47. ibid., 1.

48. ibid., 3.

49. idem.

not have said anything beyond what I had gone there to say. I had gone to your Church to tell your congregation of your elevation to a position of Assistant Divisional Commissioner and to appeal to the parents to have a Church Scout Group. All my remarks as I am sure your congregation will remember were concerned with scouting and not with anything else. 50

Presbytery came to the unanimous decision that none of the elders' complaints against Molefe had been established by uncontradicted evidence, nor were they so grave as to be beyond settlement within the Kwazakele Session. Far from discrediting Molefe, these allegations had in fact revealed the true sources of unrest within the congregation. Presbytery felt that 'in these complaints there is evidence of an unwillingness to settle difficulties and a certain evidence of the making of trouble'.⁵¹ This spirit of antagonism had manifested itself most notably in a demonstration organised by members of the congregation during the visit of the Rt Rev R B Mitchell to Kwazakele.⁵² Although it was not clear what part the elders had played in organizing the demonstration, nevertheless 'it is still true that even if the people acted for themselves, the elders should not have been a party to it. Elders are men who should not only be leaders of the people, they should be leading the people in a certain direction. They are told not only to be leaders of the flock but to be examples to the flock - that is, examples of Christian living and of Church order, and to be loyal to the Church'.⁵³ Under normal procedure, the seven elders would have been removed from the church. But Presbytery took account of the fact that these men were 'not mature as elders and that some or all of them may indeed be sorry and feel that they have been misled'.⁵⁴ Presbytery therefore did not remove the seven men from ordinary membership, but suspended them from exercising the office of elder until

50. Letter: J Calata to G B Molefe, 16 March 1961 (RC).

Molefe commented on this incident: 'Qeqe caused some trouble at Kwazakele saying that I was a politician, and because when I was there I was also a scout and I also became the Vice Deputy District Commissioner of Scouts of the Africans. The chairman was Canon Calata and I took him to church one day to tell the people the importance of youth. The accusation they made because they knew Calata was a politician, but I remember well what he said in the church had nothing to do with politics. He spoke about scouting and the importance of youth, but they said a Presbyterian was preaching politics, putting politics in the church...Presbytery found that they were all in the wrong and they were excommunicated. Qeqe was the leader because he did not want to leave. His main aim was insecurity. I don't blame him. He thought he would be insecure, although whilst I was here I told him that he would never be insecure, but he felt he would be insecure'.
Transcript of interview with G B Molefe, 2 April 1980.

51. H H Munro's address, Presbytery's Pro Re Nata, (Transcript).

52. Rt Rev R B Mitchell had visited Kwazakele on 11 Feb 1961 to dedicate the new church hall and manse.

Above

53. H H Munro's address, Presbytery's Pro Re Nata (Transcript).

54. idem.

Presbytery deemed it fit to reinstate them. Presbytery also appointed A Gungaluza and L K Ntlabati as assessors to the congregation because the suspensions reduced the Kwazakele Session.⁵⁵

Presbytery's suspension order dealt effectively with the disaffected members of the Kwazakele Session, but there still remained a number of the pro-Qeque faction within the congregation who continued to intimidate the loyal members.⁵⁶ Qeque wrote a letter to Presbytery in which he stated that he refused to accept any responsibility for the violence caused on his behalf.⁵⁷ Presbytery decided that the only way to deal with the troublemakers was to instruct the Kwazakele Session to remove them from membership.⁵⁸ Once this was done, the congregation quickly settled down.⁵⁹ In July 1961, Presbytery reinstated W Deyi, M Mantanga and M Ndima as elders.⁶⁰ J Soyoya and H Mdlungu were reinstated at the following Presbytery meeting, and C Ndima was granted his disjunction certificate to join the BPC.⁶¹ The reinstatement of these elders enabled the appointment of Gungaluza and Ntlabati as assessors to be terminated; the Session could return to its normal duties; and the congregation could once again witness within the Kwazakele community with a united voice.⁶²

55. Presbytery's Pro Re Nata.

56. P E Presbytery's Minutes, 9 May 1961.

Molefe reported that of the 7 elders who had been suspended, 3 were loyally accepting discipline, 1 had left the PCSA, 2 had not attended church since the decision, and W Deyi, who had been absent at the Presbytery's pro re nata meeting, had ignored the decision.

57. idem.

58. idem.

59. P E Presbytery Minutes, 25 July 1961.

The following people were removed from membership:
Lillian April, Kosina Gcantsana, A Lucwaba, Georgina Magongoma, Moxon Mgidlana, Nozolile Mgidlana, Gelbooi Hlam, Winnie Hlam, Amelia Hlam, Timothy Mpepo, William Mqikela, Agnes Mqikela, Solomon Nyawumbi, Janet Nyawumbi, Christopher Qeque, Johnson Qeque, Evelyn Qeque, Marjone Soyaya and Ntshayi Ebba.
These people subsequently threatened to establish a branch of the PCSA in a schoolroom in Kwazakele, but the P.E. Presbytery disclaimed any connection with them, and warned the school authorities against them.

60. P E Presbytery Minutes, 25 July 1961.

61. P E Presbytery Minutes, 10 Oct 1961.

The remaining elder, Templeton Mangwana, remained suspended.

62. idem.

The lack of recreational facilities in Kwazakele deeply concerned Molefe. The Isaac Wolfson Sports Stadium was completed by 1960,⁶³ but apart from this there was no other facility to cater for the recreational needs of the approximately 50 402 inhabitants of Kwazakele.⁶⁴ This lack had contributed to the growth of juvenile delinquency, the increase of hooliganism, liquor abuse and dagga peddling.⁶⁵ Molefe believed that the mission congregation could help to combat these anti-social activities by using the hall for showing slides and films on religious and educational subjects. This suggestion met with immediate success. During 1962 and 1963 films were screened to a packed hall on various subjects, including the Oberammergau Passion Play⁶⁶ and slides on the life and death of Jesus Christ.⁶⁷ But what really shocked the Presbytery into taking some firm action to implement Molefe's suggestion to build a hall at Kwazakele was the death of Molefe's younger son, Roland, who was himself a victim of the location violence:⁶⁸

I felt that we must build a hall. That was after one young man had stabbed my last born child, a boy...I felt that the reason (for the killing) was because we do not train our young people. We neglect our young people and that if we did not neglect our young people this thing would never have happened. We collected money and we got a loan

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63. The Isaac Wolfson Stadium was officially opened on 20 Aug 1960. (Native Affairs Manager's report, MM(1960), 187). It had been designed to provide seven playing surfaces for rugby, soccer, hockey and cricket; a children's playing area; tennis courts and provision for netball courts and cricket nets. (Native Affairs Manager's report, MM(1958), 178).
64. Native Affairs Manager's report, MM(1962), 207, Annexure C.
65. See Native Affairs Manager's Reports, MM(1958), 174/5, 179; MM(1959), 149/151.
66. P E Presbytery Minutes, 8 May 1962.
67. This was screened regularly, and was particularly popular during Lent and Easter.
P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 Feb 1962; 14 May 1963.
Molefe had been given this film by the Principal of Columbia University.
Interview with F van't Hoogerhuijs, April 1980.
68. 'What happened was that my son was at school here and one night he was walking with some friends and he found a big man molesting a young girl with whom he was in school some years past. So this girl said, "Oh Boysie", (they all used to call him Boysie), "don't leave me. Just look at this big man molesting me." So he said, "Look man, you are a big man, why do you molest such a young child?" Then the girl had the chance of running away. So he said, "You are interfering with me. She would never have run away if you did not interfere." But my boy said, "No, I did not interfere, the girl called me then I just spoke to you to leave this girl." The man said, "Alright, I'll show you." Then my son went on. The man came from behind and stabbed him and he died'.
Transcript of interview with G B Molefe, 2 April 1980.

and built a sizeable hall at St Barnabas (Kwazakele)...We used it quite a lot - concerts and bioscopes, educational films and occasionally we would see funny films like Charlie Chaplin. And young people would laugh themselves sick and I felt that these would make them quite happy and they would forget themselves and keep themselves occupied. Because the main trouble in this country is that our boys have no time for leisure. They play football or soccer in the afternoon, and some become spectators, but in the evening they have nothing to do and then they start killing and raping etc., because we have neglected to provide for the evening occupations. 69

Immediately after Roland's death, Councillor Adolph Schauder and W F J van't Hoogerhuijs opened a public fund to raise money for a projector for the Kwazakele congregation. This projector was used for many years to screen films for the Kwazakele community.⁷⁰ The hall only became a reality a decade later. It was dedicated on 27 October 1973.⁷¹ Less than a year later, on 15 September 1974 - Molefe's 73rd birthday - Molefe formally gave up his charge at Kwazakele.⁷² The hall was thus the last scheme Molefe initiated before his retirement, 'so that it becomes a monument to me when I pass the church and see it standing now'.⁷³ The extension work undertaken by the New Brighton mission congregation in Kwazakele and, on a smaller scale, in Uitenhage⁷⁴ and in

69. idem.

70. Random thoughts on the Rev G B Molefe, written by W F J van't Hoogerhuijs to C F D Hunter, April 1980.
E.P. Herald, 5 June 1965.

71. Contact, vol 17, Feb 1974, 5.

72. Contact, vol 17, Sept 1974, 6.

73. Transcript of interview with G B Molefe, 2 April 1980.

74. Uitenhage: The extension work done at Uitenhage was hindered initially by the uncertainty regarding whether or not the original site in Kabah location would be incorporated into the new Coloured location. In Oct 1959, Presbytery authorised the NBMC to build a temporary church, 32'x20', which could be removed if the African township was moved. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 Oct 1959). This building was assembled in the St Andrew's Church premises, and subsequently transported to Uitenhage. It was dedicated on 8 Nov 1959. This congregation, which received monthly financial aid from St Columba's and St Andrew's churches, grew quickly. On 16 April 1961, Edward Magula, formerly evangelist at Glenthorn, was officially welcomed to the New Brighton mission, and introduced to the Uitenhage congregation the following Sunday. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 9 May 1961). The congregation steadily progressed under Magula's leadership. In Oct 1962 Presbytery raised its status from an outstation of the New Brighton mission, to a church extension congregation with a session under Jolobe as interim moderator. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 19 Oct 1962). In 1966 Presbytery agreed to change the name to 'St Thomas' Presbyterian Church', in recognition of the considerable contribution which the Rev T L Clarke had made to the African mission. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 27 July 1966; and interview with M A Hartslief, April 1980).

Veeplaas,⁷⁵ was the practical outworking of the renewed sense of purpose and direction that had developed in the mission congregation under the Rev James Jolobe's leadership. This also manifested itself in a willingness to assume full responsibility for every aspect of the congregation's witness which would be necessary before the congregation could be elevated to full status.

The Presbytery's Church Extension (African and Coloured) Committee raised the possibility of the New Brighton mission congregation reaching full status at its meeting on 11 October 1960. The congregation had met all the conditions laid down in paragraph 206 of the Book of Order.⁷⁶ The Committee believed that the elevation to full status would encourage a sense of responsibility in the congregation and would also consolidate the work. Presbytery accepted the Committee's recommendation, and empowered the Deacons' Court to be responsible for all items of regular expenditure, except Jolobe's stipend.⁷⁷ At the

75. Veeplaas: A preaching place was established here in 1960. Once it was certain that the Coloureds in this area were being moved, and that the area would become an African township, the New Brighton Session requested a loan from the Assembly's Church Extension and Aid Committee to purchase the former Coloured Methodist church in Veeplaas. The Rev H H Munro, by then the fulltime secretary for this committee, informed the Presbytery that when he had taken over the Extension Loans Fund fourteen years previously, 'we found a number of loans to African congregations, every one of which was a bad debt. The committee had to repay all of them out of our own annual income. We resolved then that never again would we lend money to an African congregation. If we had it to give, we would; but we would not lend money which had to come back'. (Letter: H Munro to R B Donaldson, 27 May 1964 RC). Nevertheless, in the case of the New Brighton congregation, the Church Extension and Aid committee were deeply impressed that an African congregation, which had itself only recently reached full status, was willing to undertake the responsibility of mission work. The committee therefore decided to meet the New Brighton Session's request in full, granting it R1 000, and loaning it R2 000. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 29 July 1964). This confidence proved to be fully warranted and the extension work grew rapidly. In 1965 Presbytery granted the New Brighton Session's request for the Veeplaas Preaching station to be renamed St James, in honour of the Rev James Jolobe. (P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 Oct 1965). Over the next two decades Veeplaas, now called Zwide, became the centre of the Presbytery's African extension work in Port Elizabeth. In May 1975 Presbytery gave its wholehearted support for a community centre, costing approximately R160 000, to be built at Zwide. (Contact, vol 18, Sept 1975, 5). The foundation stone was laid on 9 April 1978 by the Revs E S Pons and L Mateza, ministers of the St Andrew's and St Patrick's congregations respectively. The name of the centre was Sisonke, Xhosa for 'together', and the whole venture was a combined effort of black and white, working together. (Contact, vol 21; May 1978, 5).

76. Above, 186.

77. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Oct 1960.

following Presbytery meeting, the Church Extension (African and Coloured) Committee reported that the New Brighton mission congregation had reached the first stage of full status. This Committee had deposited £150 in the name of the New Brighton Presbyterian Church in an account at Barclays Bank. This account could be operated by any two signatures of the Minister, Session Clerk or Treasurer of the New Brighton mission congregation. To ensure that it was managing the funds properly the Deacons' Court was obliged to submit a monthly financial statement to the Church Extension (African and Coloured) Committee.⁷⁸

The New Brighton mission Deacons' Court handled the congregation's finances so responsibly that in February 1962 Presbytery empowered it to deal with the total revenue and expenditure of the mission congregation.⁷⁹ The Deacons' Court continued to submit a financial statement to the Church Extension (African and Coloured) Committee each month, together with an official balance from the bank. In July 1962 the New Brighton mission submitted an application to Presbytery to be elevated to full status. It had fulfilled all the requirements necessary for this step. The congregation had a regular membership of 414 members in full communion and 160 adherents; the courts of the congregation had been functioning successfully under Presbyterial supervision for a number of years at the highest level of responsibility below full status; and the congregation had supported itself financially for a number of years.⁸⁰ The Presbytery unanimously agreed to forward this application to the General Assembly, with its 'most cordial approval'.⁸¹

The General Assembly granted this request at its meeting on 14 September 1962.⁸² One immediate benefit of full status was that the congregation was now free to call a minister, whereas previously it had had to accept a minister placed there by the NBMC. A congregation meeting was held at New Brighton on 23 September 1962, at which the Rev M A Hartslief, in the absence of the Interim Moderator, the Rev T L Clarke,⁸³ informed the congregation of Assembly's

78. P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 Feb 1961.

79. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 Feb 1962.

80. P E Presbytery Minutes, 8 May 1962.

Although the congregation had received financial aid from the white congregations in Port Elizabeth, it had never needed a grant-in-aid from the Assembly's Church Extension and Aid Fund. The revenue from purely African sources had increased significantly under Jolobe. For instance, the annual income from 1956/1959 had averaged R785.00; whereas for 1961/1962 it was R1,150.00.

81. PCSA BB(1962), 230.

P E Presbytery Minutes, 31 July 1962.

decision and called for nominations for a minister. A Gungaluza proposed, and it was unanimously agreed that the Rev J J R Jolobe be formally called to the New Brighton congregation. The call was signed by 242 members out of a total membership of 452, and by 84 adherents. As remuneration Jolobe was offered a stipend of R864 per annum, with a travelling allowance of R60 per annum, a manse, free electricity, water, telephone and a garage.⁸⁴

Jolobe accepted the call, and was inducted on 20 October 1962 as the first minister to be called by the New Brighton church in full status. At the same service the Rev Harold Munro, the Moderator of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, officially raised the congregation to full status. During the ceremony Munro received the NBMC's Minute Book from J Smith, a member of this committee, and formally handed it over to Jolobe as minister of the New Brighton church.⁸⁵ This simple gesture terminated the relationship between the NBMC and the mission congregation that had spanned nearly half a century and authorised the congregation to assume full responsibility for every area of its life and witness. The relationship between the NBMC and the mission church had thus come to fruition. Jolobe's ministry had proved that through promoting this close relationship between black and white Presbyterians, and not by isolating itself from the white congregations as Ntintili had done, the mission could progress most effectively towards full status. He was fortunate enough to harvest the crop which the previous ministers had carefully planted, watered and nurtured. Each one had played a crucial role in the development towards full status and each ministry had formed a necessary prerequisite for the next stage.

82. (contd)...

PCSA BB(1962), 230.

83. P E Presbytery Minutes, 31 July 1962.

T L Clarke was appointed as Interim Moderator at New Brighton, 'in recognition of the long period of service Mr Clarke had rendered to the New Brighton Mission Committee and the exemplary service he had given in that period'.

84. P E Presbytery Minutes, 19 Oct 1962.

85. P E Presbytery Minutes, 20 Oct 1962.

There was the foresight of the Hill Presbyterian Church. It had cared for the small mission congregation and had eventually assumed full control of the mission from the Synod of Kafraria, despite the fact that the Assembly's AMG could promise little or no support. This marked the beginning of white involvement in the mission church, an involvement that proved crucial to the continued existence of the mission. Next came the careful and tender pastoring of the Rev J W Gqamlana. During his ministry at New Brighton he consolidated the little mission congregation and formed it into a cohesive community at a time when the African population as a whole was going through very difficult stages in the processes of urbanization and industrialization. Gqamlana was followed by two teachers, Jolobe and Molefe, each of whom saw education as a crucial auxiliary to evangelism and as the lever whereby the African community could be raised. Ntintili cut right across this path. He rejected the former three ministers' attempts to work under the NBMC within existing church structures. He regarded the committee's very existence as an indictment of the mission's independence and ability. He believed that the way to independence lay in throwing off the restraints placed upon the mission by the NBMC and issuing a direct challenge to the General Assembly to reveal where real power lay. His goal was a united, independent African church in New Brighton: he achieved just the opposite. He did not build up the New Brighton mission as a healthy part of the Body of Christ, but fractured it and further alienated and polarised the mission from the white churches, at a time when the PCSA ought to have been a witness to the reconciling power of Christ in a deeply divided nation. Nevertheless, the Ntintili affair did challenge the PCSA to reconsider its inconsistent mission policy and to formulate clearly how its African mission congregations could achieve full status. The ministries of Molefe and Thethiwe were crucial for reconstructing the congregation after the Ntintili affair. But this was a long and painful process and the incident during the vacancy proved that there were still deep divisions and hostility between groups within the congregation. Jolobe's ministry brought sensitivity and integrity to the situation. He would not allow himself to be threatened or swayed by extremists. He realized that the Africans' desire for ecclesiastical independence embodied an inherent danger to the unity of the Body of Christ. He therefore rejected Ntintili's confrontational tactics outright, neither would he embrace the measures advocated by African nationalists in the political sphere. Instead he channelled the congregation's desire for full status through the steps laid

down by Assembly after the Ntintili affair and worked closely with the NBMC and the white churches to achieve this goal. This meant that full status, when it came, was not seen as a triumph over white ecclesiastical imperialism, nor was it accompanied by bitterness or recrimination from either the whites or the Africans. Instead it was the joyous celebration that the African congregation had discovered resources within its own community that would enable it to assume full responsibility for witnessing, pastoring, teaching and ministering to the surrounding community, while at the same time showing to sceptical or incredulous whites what God had wrought. In the divided world engineered by 'apartheid' there were still places where white and black could enjoy a united apostolic fellowship.

CONCLUSION

Separation, confederation or integration? The newly formed PCSA faced these choices for handling interracial contact within the church. The Rev P J Mzimba, star pupil of Lovedale and minister of the Free Church of Scotland's African mission church at Lovedale for twenty-two years, chose separation. Within a year of the formation of the PCSA, he broke all links with white Presbyterians, and built his Presbyterian Church of Africa within sight of Lovedale: a monument to one understanding of the Home Churches' avowed intention of creating self-governing, self-propagating and self-supporting 'Native' churches. The Synod of Kafraria hesitated to enter the PCSA largely because its white missionaries feared that the substantial grants from the Home Churches, essential for the maintenance of its educational institutions such as Lovedale and Blythswood, would cease before the PCSA was strong enough financially to assume this burden; and because they feared that their African converts would remain second-class members of a church dominated by whites. The Synod eventually decided that the only feasible model for handling interracial contact in South Africa was confederation. As a result, the Bantu Presbyterian Church was formed in 1923. Its structure attempted to free its African members from white ecclesiastical domination without repudiating the measure of white fellowship and cooperation the federal links with the U F Church of Scotland and the PCSA represented. The PCSA accepted the third option: integration. But belief in integration had to be translated into the means of achieving this end at a time when urbanization was forcing the church to rethink its mission policy as a whole, and when colonial and local governments were hardening their resolve to impose separation as a means of controlling interracial contact in the cities. Nevertheless, integration meant that from its origin the PCSA had to cope with the same complex of relationships that has perplexed South African society ever since, and about the interpretation of which historians disagree according to their ideology.

Up to the diamond rush, South Africa was a largely agrarian and pastoral society, so the context of missionary work was necessarily rural where it was not also tribal. Moreover missionary reports often gave the impression that the main flow of activity was from white to black, and sometimes also missionaries seemed to require, and converts to accept, that conversion for blacks involved becoming 'white' in order to become Christian. Critics, both white and black, have branded the missionaries

as the spiritual arm of colonialism and imperialism; have blamed them for destroying traditional African culture and patterns of authority; have argued that the missionaries' real motive was to further the capitalist system by establishing a demand for manufactured goods and a money economy, encouraging employment for wages and fostering an acquisitive society; and finally, for creating an image of African inferiority on which 'apartheid' came to rest.¹ Yet the emergence of various forms of African Christianity in all areas of missionary activity shows that the link between conversion and acculturation, however close, was never essential. Certainly the examination of the PCSA's Africa mission work in general, and the development of the New Brighton mission in particular, reveals a picture different enough to suggest that some of these criticisms need revision.

By the time the PCSA entered the South African mission field as a latecomer in 1897, most of the damage to African traditional society and patterns of authority that 20th century critics are so quick to blame on 19th century missionaries had already been done: many Africans had been deprived of their right to the land; tribal authority patterns were crumbling; and in increasing numbers Africans were leaving their traditional pastoral existence to enter the industrial labour market. Moreover, the increase in African urbanization had changed the focus of African mission work from a predominantly rural context to an increasingly urban one. The criticisms of the rural missions thus cannot be applied automatically to the urban missions, just as the rural mission policy could not be tacked on to the urban mission.

Though urbanization exacerbated the problem of dealing with interracial contact that had proved intractable in the rural areas, it also presented the PCSA with new opportunities for mission. In 1897 the PCSA's claim

1. N Majeke, The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest.

D Thebehali, 'Has Christianity any Relevance and any Future?', in A New Look at Christianity in Africa, vol 11, 40/45.

L B Zulu, 'A Black Assessment of Nineteenth-Century Missionaries', in A New Look at Christianity in Africa, vol 11, 35/39.

See also: M Wilson, 'Missionaries: Conquerors or Servants of God?', SAQ, vol 106, March 1976, 40/42.

E Kendall, The End of an Era : Africa and the Missionary.

B Hutchinson, 'Some Social Consequences of Nineteenth Century Missionary Activity among the South African Bantu', Africa, vol XXVII, 1957, 160/177.

to be a multi-racial missionary church could hardly be justified by its actual involvement in mission or the composition of its membership, but within two decades the rapid acceleration in urbanization had forced the PCSA to practise what it preached. The Synod of Kafraria found itself unable to care properly for its urban African members. Meanwhile the local white Presbyterian churches had become increasingly committed to caring for African converts from the Presbyterian rural missions who were entering the towns in search of work. This renewed commitment to mission encouraged the Synod of Kafraria to transfer its African mission work in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London and Cape Town to the PCSA's care, thereby turning the PCSA from a church that talked about mission to a church actively involved in mission.

The African mission in New Brighton provided the PCSA with an unique opportunity to discover its vocation as a multi-racial integrated church ministering not only to the needs of Africans in the city but helping the whole church to maintain its catholic mandate. When the Assembly decided to accept transfer of the mission from the Synod of Kafraria, the African Missions Fund was already overdrawn by £51. 5.10: the Assembly's AMC therefore could offer no financial assistance to the mission at this stage, much less support a white superintendent in charge of the mission as it had done on the Rand, Kimberley and Rhodesia. These financial straits forced the Presbytery of Adelaide to live up to its profession to be part of an integrated church and to design a mission policy which reflected this commitment. The Presbytery accepted full responsibility for the New Brighton mission and adopted a pattern for the mission which turned out to be a remarkably successful combination: an African minister in charge of the mission, working in conjunction with and under the supervision of a white mission committee. This combination created opportunities for cooperation and fellowship between black and white Presbyterians at a time when the lines of racial segregation were hardening in the rest of South African society. It also meant that just when many Africans were beginning to reject the white man's gospel because of the gap between professions to govern in a spirit of 'Christian trusteeship' and pagan practices, most of the evangelisation of Africans was being done by the Africans themselves. Whites did not thrust the Gospel upon the Africans at the mission either as a means of taming the urban black or as a projection of their unreconciled guilt. The African members at the mission were not dupes of the white man, but people who

had discovered for themselves the Gospel's message of forgiveness, reconciliation and hope, and who were committed to sharing this with others. Thus the mission did not destroy African familial or tribal links - urbanization had already done this - but it became a place where people experiencing the attenuation of these links could find fellowship, hope and the opportunity to build new relationships with others undergoing the same experience. This process of evangelism was not something new: even in the Presbyterian rural missions Africans had gladly evangelised Africans, and when they moved to the city the same process of sharing the Gospel with the neighbour continued. Its effectiveness in the urban context nevertheless underlines the important principle that nothing fosters church growth more than the personal recommendation of friend to friend. Moreover, the active involvement of Africans in the process of evangelism stimulated the mission members to do some hard thinking about how to design an indigenous ministry to cope with the specific needs of the urban African. In doing this they had the support of the three white churches in Port Elizabeth; yet the members also had sufficient liberty to devise their own communities, customs and ethos, as African as they were also urban. This degree of liberty was crucial: it enabled members to discover that the Gospel could be trusted and its promises translated into their everyday lives, thereby exposing the lie that the Word was as untrustworthy and fickle as the white man's word; it also goes some way towards explaining why the African independent churches - another attempt by African Christians to cope with urbanization - did not attract members away from the New Brighton mission in any significant numbers.

Jarvis Gqamlana, the first African minister to be placed permanently at the New Brighton mission after its transfer from the Synod of Kafraria, designed a pattern of mission which each of his successors adopted with very little variation. He established the mission as a 'comfort station', where people whose familial and tribal links urbanization had attenuated, could find fellowship and community. In addition to the weekly worship services and prayer meetings, a number of congregational organizations such as the Women's Association, Girls' Auxiliary and Young Men's Association enabled members to meet people with similar interests and so face the trauma of urban life together. Gradually, those Africans who had received comfort and hope at the mission station discovered the need to extend this to others living outside New Brighton who were undergoing a similar transition from rural to urban life. The formation in 1917 of the small

outstation for Africans living in the Vlei Post area began the tradition in extension work carried out by the mission congregation that culminated in 1964 when the New Brighton mission congregation, which had only recently reached full status itself, accepted responsibility for the extension work being done at Veeplaas. So far the pattern of organizational structure and extension work did not differ greatly from any white congregation except in one significant respect: whereas in white congregations youth work tended to concentrate on young adolescents, in the New Brighton mission congregation the Young Men's Association (YMA) was made up of older persons and its activities included the training of lay preachers and the organization of revival meetings. Thus there was a clear stress on the YMA's purpose of evangelizing others.

Gqamlana quickly discovered that if the mission was to care adequately for the needs of the urban African, it was not sufficient to impose the organizational structure and patterns of ministry that existed in the white congregations: in the towns ministry to Africans' spiritual and emotional needs involved equipping them with the new skills necessary for urban life. Foremost of these was education. The combination of mission and school was not new: it dated back to the First Book of Discipline (1560) and had also been an integral part of the Presbyterian rural missions. What was new was the urgency behind its African ministers requests that the PCSA should encourage African education as a part of its mission work. Education, a luxury in a pastoral society, was the key to upward mobility in the towns. The white Presbyterian church did not need to offer secular education as part of its programme because the State had assumed responsibility for this already; but African education, still largely run by the various denominational agencies with state aid, lagged far behind. Gqamlana therefore encouraged the NBMC to foster education as part of its mission work until the State recognised its responsibility in this sphere. Jolobe and Molefe continued and extended Gqamlana's emphasis on education as part of mission: during their ministries new day schools were opened at all the outstations; a night school established for adults in New Brighton; and the PCSA as a whole committed itself more fully to fostering African education in all its missions. This emphasis on education was of crucial importance for the PCSA's African mission work: it formed an important auxiliary to mission because many members' established their first contact with the mission when their children attended the mission school; it witnessed to the African community that the PCSA cared about the grave shortage of schools in the African locations;

and equipped its members to assume positions of greater responsibility within the church and the wider community.

The mission also became a place which equipped people to cope with the anxiety and trauma that accompanied urbanization. Renunciation of heathen practices, such as lobola and circumcision, had frequently been the requirement for church membership during the early 19th century. Yet in the urban surroundings these traditional practices were being undermined or changed anyway. Moreover, urbanization had not merely disturbed these traditional customs and rituals, but had created living conditions which produced new and formidable problems. The transition from a pastoral or even an agricultural setting to an urban one was accompanied by a great diminution of living space; urban housing was overcrowded and the locations lacked the infrastructure of sewerage, lighting and other prerequisites needed for increased concentrations of population; traditional building materials were not readily available, nor was there land for the private production of food at even the subsistence level of rural communities. Finally, urban life changed not only the pattern of work by imposing the constraints of machines on time and men, it also affected leisure activities. What education there was, was insufficient for this transition, and the solitary scrubby playing field was symptomatic of the absence of suitable recreational facilities. These circumstances produced new hazards to public health and new levels of personal misery which increasing numbers of urban Africans sought to alleviate through alcohol. Alcohol abuse thus became at once a symptom and a cause of much urban misery. Many of those who found themselves in these squalid circumstances spent a disproportionate amount of their already insufficient cash to purchase drink. Alcohol abuse thus came to symbolise and to complicate the difficulties Africans experienced during the process of urbanization. It made the diminished living space more dangerous; it detracted from already insufficient diets and undercut incentive to learn the new skills required for survival in urban life, and gave opportunities to exploit those who lived in the towns. Finally, the connection between crime in the locations and alcohol abuse not only upset the solutions proposed by various social theorists, but in practice produced situations that exposed police and other law enforcement agencies to the loss of the respect upon which all real social order rests. Since the social needs of urban Africans were on such a vast scale, and since the churches did not organise themselves to deal with these needs collectively, the location churches, including the New Brighton mission congregation, tended to confine their efforts to more manageable matters such as education and temperance, rather than tackling the broader social and political issues where they had little or no leverage.

Urbanization changed the context of traditional African drinking in a number

of ways, not the least being that in the towns liquor was bought and sold instead of being offered as a ritual gift. Consequently, the new African locations underwent the same experiences with liquor abuse that the cities of Britain and Europe had endured in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Methodists had had to combat 'Gin Lane' and in doing so made their members sober and thrifty; General Booth had proposed a similar remedy of industry and thrift for 'darkest England' in 1886. Yet there was one crucial difference between British and African experience. Whereas the poor in Britain had by 1910 won the franchise and hence some control over their political destiny; in South Africa the long process of total disfranchisement of Africans was well under way. The New Brighton mission congregation, along with other PCSA African mission churches, took seriously the Scriptural injunction to be filled with the Holy Spirit and not with alcoholic spirits (Eph 5:18), and made total abstinence a prerequisite of church membership. In doing this they grasped a fundamental insight into how to help people to cope with the pressures of city life. Alcohol was the opiate; it did not answer the anxiety and despair that accompanied urbanization, but only masked them and diverted funds that might have helped location dwellers to deal with their poverty. Worse, drunkenness eroded the little dignity left to those who lived in the squalid conditions of the urban location. Finally, alcohol, which offered itself as a servant to ease the distress accompanying urban life, in the end became a master, whether through the manipulation and control of the largely white liquor interests, or in shebeens and drinking clubs where illegality offered piquancy to patrons.

As black and white congregations had differed in their emphases on education because of the differences in their social conditions, so they also differed over the matter of how to deal with the use of alcohol. The Africans made total abstinence a condition of membership whereas among the whites, despite many resolutions, it remained a counsel of perfection, rather than the rule. Despite much activity on behalf of total abstinence, many white Presbyterian members held that drink was a 'private' matter, between the individual and God, in which it was inappropriate for the church to intervene. But their experience of urbanization had been somewhat different. Whites were members of the dominant class: their transition from country to town was assisted in many ways not available to Africans. In addition, because more cash was available, the amount spent on liquor was a much smaller part of the budget. Finally, the sanction of being thought poor worked more powerfully among whites than among blacks for whom to be black was often also to be poor. The differing experience of urbanization and the differing means available to ease the transition adds pathos to the PCSA's attitude to the repeal of prohibition for blacks. In 1962 the predominantly white PCSA persuaded itself that the Liquor Act should not be opposed because, despite expanding the market for white liquor interests, the Act seemed a step towards the removal of

discrimination. When its own African ministers warned that the Act would be deleterious to African family life and to the church's African mission work, was the Assembly not as deceived as any alcoholic by the notion that freer liquor represented any real advance towards liberty?

Neither Gqamlana nor his successors encouraged involvement in direct political action, despite their commitment to alleviating the poverty and raising the quality of African urban life. This bypassing of organised political activity seems to lend credence to the Marxist allegation that religion was an opiate, particularly since the New Brighton mission was situated in the heart of the politically sensitive Eastern Cape and other Christian denominations in this area were producing leaders in African political and trade union activities. Molefe's testimony provides a crucial clue to understanding this position. His deep conviction after reading Baroness Orczy's book, I Will Repay, that vengeance belonged to God and not to him, had transformed him from a political activist bent on revenge, to a man committed to working for reconciliation between the races both in his personal capacity and also as a member of the Moral Re-Armament Movement.² The other Presbyterian ministers seemed to share Molefe's attitude: they left direct political action to others, and concentrated on indirect political action through involvement in education and temperance work. This often meant that they stood in the lonely position of mediators between black and white, and were frequently rejected by both groups, yet in this position they have been channels of peace and reconciliation in a troubled land.

In justification of this stance it should be noted that during the period under review, African nationalism was a much less cohesive force than white, and the Nationalists' march to power was in part based on the specific exclusion of Africans from the national political process. In such a situation there was little room for manoeuvre other than to choose between revolution and a passive resistance that worked within the arbitrary and elastic limits of 'apartheid'. Sooner or later the contradiction between using Africans as 'labour units' only and their basic human needs would lead to the kinds of concessions needed to keep the 'units' efficient. So migrant labour would be replaced by a settled urban community and since man is not merely a 'labour unit' but also a 'political animal', the minimal provisions would have to include some concessions to his political existence. The dilemma of the Uitlander would return eventually in an even more intractable form.

Although in secular politics the period under review was one of regression for Africans, members of the New Brighton mission enjoyed a considerable degree of ecclesiastical self-government. The Session and Deacons' Court were

2. See Appendix E, 289.

responsible for the mission's spiritual and financial affairs, and the mission was represented in Presbytery and Assembly, although the NBMC still retained final responsibility for its welfare. This gave the congregation considerable freedom in the domestic affairs of the mission and also provided valuable opportunities for training its members to assume more responsible positions in the church and in the wider community. At the same time the mission, through the NBMC, kept contact with the three white churches in Port Elizabeth in a period when the growing separation between the races was greatly adding to the difficulty of making good the church's profession to have maintained 'unity of fellowship'. White support - a cruse of oil that although at times ran low never dried up completely - was crucial for the mission's growth and development. The financial contributions from the three churches stabilised the mission's fluctuating income and guaranteed the continuation of the mission during times of severe economic depression. But white support was not limited to financial giving. In each generation a small group of men and women gave extravagantly of their time, energy and creativity to ensure that the mission continued and expanded. Moreover, these people were able to transmit to others their commitment to African mission work. For instance, the financial backing for the development of the Kwazakele outstation came almost entirely from the Hill congregation, and was motivated mainly by its minister, the Rev Harold H Munro. A man deeply committed to extension work among blacks and whites, Munro was able to fire others with enthusiasm for mission so that they gave not just their money but, as the wood-panelled sanctuary of the Kwazakele church suggests, their creativity as well.

The close contact through the NBMC between the white congregations and the New Brighton mission became an important example of what could be achieved by black and white Christians working together. But for the Rev W M T Ntintili this link chafed. The degree of self-government he enjoyed in the mission congregation heightened his frustration that this was denied Africans in other spheres: for him the NBMC was yet another example of white domination. Ntintili took as his model Bishop James Limba, a man of such charisma that he attracted within his lifetime a following more than the total PCSA membership. While Ntintili had the power to destroy the unity of the congregation, he lacked the gifts to draw sufficient numbers after him. Ntintili had his henchmen in the Session, Deacons' Court and congregation, but a solid group of members still remained loyal to the NBMC: they had seen how the mission had benefitted from the relationship and therefore did not respond to Ntintili's call to destroy it.

The Ntintili episode nevertheless revealed clearly that though the PCSA had accepted a model of integration, its life was conformed in many ways to the segregation evident in South Africa rather than acting as a transforming

witness. It had confidently claimed that 'of necessity the Presbyterian Church of South Africa is a Missionary Church. The mission work lies at its very door, and if it ceased from it, the Church would abandon its proper work'.³ Yet from the outset its concept of mission recognised racial divisions in the creation of two mission committees: the Assembly's AMC and the Church Extension and Aid Committee. The vast differences in language, experience and tradition between white and black in South Africa in 1897 seemed to suggest that mission work among the two groups was as far apart as 'home' and 'foreign' missions and thus justified the division of the PCSA's mission work into two separate committees. Yet this division meant that Christ's command to 'Go out into all the world and make disciples...'⁴ in practice tended to limit evangelism to one's own racial group. There is nothing wrong per se in evangelism being done by members of one group towards other members of the same group. Church growth studies show this to be the fastest way of church growth. At the same time the church has to retain some sense of catholicity; increasingly in practice this means transcultural evangelism. What is not permissible is the limitation of evangelism to one's own group. PCSA policy largely left African evangelism to Africans assisted by a few whites; what was needed was the reciprocal recognition that a few Africans might help in the task of whites evangelising whites. In effect men such as Jolobe and Molefe have already begun this process. The moral integrity and deep spirituality clearly evident in their lives dispelled the image of the African as a 'lazy kaffir' and revealed to sceptical and incredulous whites the Gospel's power to transform the lives of individuals so that their witness was able not only to transcend cultural barriers, but also to reconcile racial differences.

As a result of its experiences during the period under review the PCSA came to see the importance of conforming its structures to its claim to be a multi-racial missionary church. In 1958 the Assembly created two separate mission committees to deal with its Coloured and Indian work. Two years later these two committees, together with the African Missions Committee, became a sub-committee of the white Church Extension and Aid Committee. Yet almost immediately the Assembly discovered that urbanization had levelled many of the differences between the various racial groups in South Africa that had seemed to justify two separate mission committees in 1897. It therefore decided that a united structure

3. PCSA BB(1900), 216.

4. Matthew 28: 18-20.

was even more important than the division suggested by diversity and subsequently amalgamated the various mission committees into a single Church Extension and Aid Committee, responsible for all extension work carried out by the PCSA. It is significant that the same Assembly that decided to form this single Church Extension and Aid Committee also granted the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth's application to raise the New Brighton mission church to full status. Whatever the case elsewhere in the church, throughout the history of the PCSA the New Brighton mission's experience remained a model for the rest of the church, because it showed what could be achieved through mature sharing and cooperation between black and white.

The Ntintili incident also revealed that the PCSA had failed to integrate its African members fully, and thus had partly realised the Synod of Kafraria's fear that union would lead not to integration but to continued white domination. Full status was the accepted goal for white extension charges, but the PCSA was slow to realise the need for a comparable policy for its African mission congregations. Furthermore, it had not designed procedures to enable its African members to assume positions of leadership in the church as a whole. In its Assembly and Presbytery meetings it adhered to the western method of debate and procedures, so that anyone wishing to participate actively had to learn these skills as well as be proficient in English, the language of debate. A number of Africans have managed to master these skills and thus win the acceptance and approval of the predominantly white PCSA. The three most conspicuously successful came from the New Brighton mission: G B Molefe, who became the first African to be elected moderator of Presbytery (1953); J J R Jolobe, who was elected as the first African moderator of the General Assembly (1973/1974); and L S L Mateza, elected by the 1982 General Assembly as its moderator-designate, largely because of his ministry as Jolobe's successor at New Brighton and his capacity to act as a spokesman and interpreter of black opinion. In contrast, C B Hamilton, superintendent of the PCSA's Transvaal African mission work; C E Greenfield, superintendent of the mission work in Rhodesia; and W Samson, nicknamed Pulamahiboho - the man who crosses rivers - were among the very few whites who succeeded in adapting themselves to the requirements of African culture and tradition.

The PCSA had also discovered how difficult it was to translate Biblical principles and injunctions into practice. For instance, it had proclaimed the possibility of 'unity in fellowship', but found this hard to implement. Hence while the Hill congregation had affiliated the original

African mission in Port Elizabeth as a congregation 'worshipping separately', there was very little evidence of African domestic, commercial or industrial workers worshipping in the white city church, or of the white church building being offered for their use. Instead African workers trekked back to the location to attend the services at the mission church. The importance of 'love' was also stressed, but the church frequently failed to comprehend what this involved, particularly the relationship between love and justice. Finally, the PCSA found it easier to remain the prisoner of history, culture and tradition, rather than of the hope of the new order that lies at the heart of the Gospel.

Despite these obvious shortcomings in the PCSA's witness, it nevertheless clung to the belief that an integrated polity was the best witness to Christ's reconciling power in a divided nation. This stand was bound to have political repercussions, particularly after 1948 when the trend towards separation became institutionalised. But, along with other churches in South Africa which share this view, the PCSA failed to translate its opposition into effective political action. In part this was because a considerable gap existed between Assembly resolutions, and local congregational action. This meant that Assembly resolutions seldom moved beyond scolding or advice, and often lacked the consensus needed to effect change either in the country as a whole or in individual lives. The effect of disunity has been particularly clear in the realm of political witness: because the churches in South Africa have not spoken with one voice, the Government has managed to drive a wedge between them. Only in one instance - the opposition to Clause 29(c) of the Native Laws Amendment Act - was the churches' habitual discord harmonized into a single tune. This unanimity gave the churches sufficient weight to halt if not the direction, then at least the pace of segregation in this admittedly narrow sphere. In this instance it was DRC support that gave the churches the necessary political muscle: without DRC support every other attempt at political resistance was an exercise in futility. Meanwhile, in a disturbing way the church of the oppressed Afrikaner became the church of the oppressors: the path of separation, the strategy aimed at turning the flank of imperial unification, in a far more systematic way came to impose a single will.

Nothing has done more to fuel the churches' drive for ecumenism than their opposition to 'apartheid'. In 1961, the Government decided to request republican status, a step which increased South Africa's isolation from the international community. The same year the PCSA moved to widen the scope of its integration by entering union negotiations with the Church

of the Province of South Africa, a move which led to the establishment of the Church Unity Commission involving eight churches in all. The move underlined a conviction that the vocation of the church, irrespective of its political circumstances, is to transform South African society, a transformation that can only be realized when Christians act together as Christians.

The history of the New Brighton mission congregation, now called St Patrick's, serves as a model of what can be achieved when Christians work together as Christians. There were certainly times in its history when personal ambition and jealousy destroyed congregational unity; when zeal for evangelism waned; and when white supervision seemed more like white domination; and yet, despite these shortfalls, the model stands firm. The mission began as an earnest attempt by whites to care for African Presbyterians who had come to Port Elizabeth in search of work and who had appealed for their help. The focus soon changed as African Presbyterians began evangelising themselves, as well as witnessing to the surrounding community. But throughout its history the link with the white churches remained an essential feature of the mission's life and work. The result was a rich mixture: a witness authentically Christian; a mission policy distinctively African; and disciples whose moral calibre undercut one of the pillars upon which 'apartheid' stands: the notion of the moral inferiority of one race that gives to another the right to rule over it. In the end such an achievement rested not only on the maturation of the fruits of the Spirit, but also on the discovery and development of His gifts, used for the 'equipping of the saints for ministry'.

APPENDIX A

HOME CHURCH GRANTS FOR AFRICAN MISSION WORK IN THE PRESBYTERY OF ADELAIDE.

Anxiety about finance consistently plagued the ministers doing missionary work in the Presbytery of Adelaide. Where would the funds come from? Would these be sufficient not merely to maintain the work being done, but to extend it? Would the funds be continued, or would they dry up and leave the missionaries stranded with a large mission and no funds? These fears, repeatedly expressed by the white missionaries, also dictated mission policy: they had kept the Presbytery of Adelaide out of union in 1897; and had also perturbed the PCSA missionaries who entered the BPC in 1923. In 1897 the fear was that the new church could not afford to maintain the substantial grants made by the United Presbyterian Church to its missionaries in the Presbytery of Adelaide. The realism of experience lay behind the fears in 1923: these men had learnt in the interim how quickly Home support could be diverted elsewhere, and how the PCSA's scanty resources could not maintain this area of mission. The U P Church's involvement in the Presbytery of Adelaide had started as mission 'on the cheap': the white minister doubled as the missionary to the African mission church. The tragedy of mission work in this area was that the PCSA continued this policy. But mission cannot be done successfully 'on the cheap'; it demands the backing of the whole church and a substantial share in the resources of men and money.

The link between the white colonial churches and the mission stations in the Presbytery of Adelaide had always been close, largely because either the missionary found members of his own race neglected, or the minister undertook to do missionary work. When the Rev J F Cumming arrived as missionary at Glenthorn in 1840, the white congregation had no settled minister, and so Cumming agreed to minister to them as well as to the African community.¹ Conversely, when the Rev Peter Davidson was called as the first minister of Adelaide Union Church in 1862, the congregation decided 'that this church, sensible of its duty with respect to the natives, resolves to promote mission work amongst them'.² The response from the white congregation was substantial.

1. PC, vol X11, March 1914, 37.
CE, vol XXV1, April 1896, 54.

2. PC, vol X11, March 1914, 37.

At the first annual meeting the congregation could report that 'a place of worship has been hired for the natives...Divine service has been held among them twice every Lord's day, in the afternoon by the pastor, and in the evening by a member appointed from the Church. The attendance has been very good, often amounting to 80 or 90, the average being 60'.³ A day school was also started at the mission and a member of the white church guaranteed the salary of an African teacher. But within two years the white congregation, which consisted of 25 members, discovered that they could not support their own minister. The African work had grown so rapidly during this time that the white congregation applied to the U P Church to take over the mission work and to recognise Davidson as its paid missionary agent. Davidson requested 'one half of a missionary's salary' for the work he was doing amongst the Africans. The U P Mission Board agreed to recognise his work, but replied that it 'could not give him more than £100'.⁴

Similarly, the Rev William Leith was inducted to the white congregation at Somerset East in 1869. In addition to ministering to the white congregation, on Sunday afternoons and Tuesday evenings he devoted his attention to work amongst the Africans at Glenavon, Cookhouse and, from 1877, in Somerset East itself. The rapid expansion of this work encouraged Leith to apply to the U P Mission Board for aid. The Board agreed to make Leith a grant for his own personal use as it had done in Davidson's case, in return for his supervision of the mission work.⁵

The Rev John Dewar came to South Africa as a missionary agent of the U P Church. During the war of Ngcayecibi (the Galeka war) in 1878, Dewar fled to Tarkastad where the white inhabitants asked him to form a Presbyterian congregation.⁶ He hesitated at first, stating that he 'had come to South Africa as a native missionary, and he was unwilling to sever his connection with the natives',⁷ but later consented because there was an inviting field

3. ibid., 38.

4. Letter: W Struthers, minister of Adelaide Union Church, to H Crawford, Convener of Assembly's Finance Committee, 24 Oct 1916 (RPC).

5. PC, vol X11, March 1914, 38.

6. Tarkastad: Despite the fact that Tarkastad was transferred to the Presbytery of Kingwilliamstown in 1906, (PCSA BB(1906), 165), it falls naturally into this study because it shared in the lump sum granted to the PCSA by the U F Church of Scotland for mission work in this area.

7. Memorandum: On the Tarkastad Native Mission in Relation to the Grant from the U F Church of Scotland.
Prepared by H W Cochran, 17 Dec 1918 (RPC).

for mission work in the Winterberg, a short distance from Tarkastad. The U P Mission Board granted Dewar permission to start a white congregation as well as to continue his African mission work, and gave him an annual grant of £55.

These grants from the U P Mission Board were not grants-in-aid to supplement the white congregation's income, but were for the missionary himself, in return for his work amongst the Africans. These grants were highly valued by the missionaries: they were a reliable source of income in a country where ministerial stipends were known to dry up during times of drought and hardship. The missionaries in the Presbytery of Adelaide thus regarded the proposed union of Presbyterian elements in South Africa with suspicion, and feared that the Home Church would no longer feel responsible for the support of the missions. The U P Church strongly approved of union. In 1895 the U P Mission Board had expressed its satisfaction with the union negotiations, its earnest hope that these might be successful, and had also assured its missionaries that it would 'extend to them such help as was in their power to give and as the circumstances of the brethren in South Africa might require'.⁸ But this assurance was not sufficient either for the missionaries in the Presbytery of Adelaide or for the newly formed PCSA: both wanted a guarantee that the U P grants would continue after union. Such assurance was sought in a letter from the newly formed PCSA to the Synod of the U P Church in 1898:

It will be evident from the circumstances in which we are placed - a small Church to occupy a large country - that we must look for a continuance of the supply of both men and means from the parent Churches for some time to come.⁹

The Synod's answer seemed to guarantee this:

The Synod is specially gratified to find that the whole of the Presbytery of Kaffraria under its care has gone into the Union, and trusts that the Presbytery of Adelaide...will be led to do so without delay.¹⁰

So far as the Synod is concerned, we can assure you that the fact of such a union will in no way alter our relations with the congregations which

8. FMC Minute 4087, 17 April 1917, (RPC).

9. Letter: PCSA General Assembly to Synod of U P Church, in FMC Minute 4087, 17 April 1917, (RPC).

10. Letter: R B Douglas to H Ross, 29 Oct 1913 (RPC), citing from Synod of U P Church's letter to PCSA, 6 May 1898.
Also PCSA BB(1898), 63.

enter into it, nor prevent the continuance to them of aid in their work. 11 The Rev James Buchanan's letter further reassured the white missionaries in the Presbytery of Adelaide that union would 'not in any way affect our relation with the Home Church'.¹² These guarantees allayed the missionaries' fears that the PCSA would not be able to support them as the U P Church had done, and persuaded the Presbytery of Adelaide to enter the PCSA at its second Assembly in 1898.

Although the union of the Home Churches in 1900 did not initially affect the continuation of these grants, the U F Church of Scotland's determination to create a 'fully organized native church' in each mission field meant that the relation was bound to change in time.¹³ The first step in the creation of a 'native church' would be the gradual withdrawal of aid, both money and manpower, from the daughter church so that the latter could take upon itself the responsibility of supporting its men and financing its mission work. An examination of the grants to the four ministers involved in mission work in the Presbytery of Adelaide reveals the tensions that accompanied this step. On the one hand was the FMC, anxious to cut its financial obligations to the South African missions. On the other, the PCSA was struggling to finance the African mission work already under its supervision, without adding to its obligations by accepting responsibility for mission work in the Presbytery of Adelaide. Caught between these two were the missionaries who attempted to prolong the final cessation of the grants until the PCSA was willing to assume the financial responsibility for these missions.

The first hint that the U F Church of Scotland might renege on its assurance of continued financial support for the missions came when the Rev William Leith retired from his charge at Somerset East in 1902. He had received £100 annually for his work among the Africans. When his successor, the Rev William McIntosh, was inducted to the charge in 1903, the Presbytery recommended to the FMC the continuance of this grant. But the FMC stated that it could only give £50 for the first year, and £10 less each successive year until the grant ceased.¹⁴

11. Letter: Synod of U P Church to PCSA, 6 May 1898, in FMC Minute 4087, 17 April 1917, (RPC).

12. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 13 April 1898.
Above, 11.

13. Act 111, 1900, Manual of the Practice and Procedure, 139, in CE, vol XXXVII, May 1907, 67.
Above, 31.

14. PC, vol 1, April 1903, 35.

This reply perturbed the Presbytery of Adelaide because it lacked funds to maintain the station. It therefore asked the PCSA Assembly 'who is responsible for the maintenance and oversight of the various missionary agencies at Somerset hitherto undertaken by the minister of Somerset at the instance of and under responsibility to the U P Church of Scotland'.¹⁵ The Assembly responded to this query by informing the FMC that 'the withdrawal of any financial assistance hitherto given for the support of mission work...would be inimical to the progress of mission work among those natives who have been located in areas with a small white Presbyterian population'.¹⁶ This appeal had little effect on the FMC's resolve to decrease the grants to the South African missions.

In 1903 the FMC informed the Rev Alexander Leith Grant, who had been inducted as the Rev Thomas Meikle's successor at Adelaide in November 1902, that it would be diminishing the grant to Adelaide as it had done for the mission at Somerset East.¹⁷ The PCSA General Assembly once again appealed to the FMC to reconsider this decision.¹⁸ The FMC agreed to peg Adelaide's allowance for a further two years, by which time it hoped that the PCSA and the Mission Council of Kaffraria would have made permanent arrangements for the continuation of this mission work.¹⁹ At the end of this period, the FMC informed the Kaffrarian

15. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 18 June 1903.

The PCSA Assembly agreed to make a grant of £50 p.a. to the minister at Somerset East. PCSA BB(1904), Appendix 111, Finance, Native.

16. PCSA BB(1903), 33.

17. The Rev Thomas Meikle: was ordained to the ministry and inducted to the oversight of the Adelaide Union Church on 5 November 1893. In April 1899 the Presbytery of Adelaide received a letter (dated 3 Jan 1899) from Meikle intimating his resignation from the charge, 'not on account of any unpleasantness between myself and the congregation, but...the provision made for the support of the minister and for the carrying on of the work here is inadequate'. The Presbytery decided to write to the FMC informing them of the difficulty which the Meikle family found in living on £250 p.a., and emphasising the 'great development of the Native work and the additional demand which it makes both on Mr Meikle's time and resources'. Meikle withdrew his resignation at the Presbytery meeting in November 1901: the FMC had increased its grant by £15 on condition that the congregation would add £10 to Meikle's salary. But in February 1902 Meikle resigned once again: his house had been sold over his head; the financial provision for the support of a minister had been inadequate and no provision had been made for times of rest. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 19 Feb 1902.

18. PCSA BB(1904), 64.

19. FMC Minute 332, 26 Sept 1905, (RPC).

Mission Council that intended to reduce the grant to Adelaide as it had stipulated in 1903. Leith Grant despaired: 'I have been left here again high and dry with a large mission to provide for and no aid'.²⁰ He wrote to the FMC protesting against its decision and emphasised that the need for the grant 'is as great as it was two years ago and even greater'.²¹ Later that year the FMC informed the Rev John Black, minister at Glenthorn, that it intended to reduce his grant from £135 to £100 from 1 July 1906,²² because 'the people should be growing in their willingness and ability to do something for their own support'.²³

The Mission Council of Kaffraria protested against these reductions and recommended, in the case of Adelaide, that the FMC renew the grant of £60 p.a. as from 1 October 1905, 'to enable the work among the natives, which has been in operation for forty years, to be continued'.²⁴ The reduction hit the Glenthorn mission work even harder. When the Rev John Black had been inducted to Glenthorn in 1894, the FMC had agreed to pay him £135 p.a. for his work amongst the Africans.²⁵ On Black's return from furlough in 1902, the white congregation at Glenthorn augmented the FMC's contribution by £50, making £150 in all. The FMC commended the congregation's attempt to increase its responsibility for the maintenance of the minister, and continued the grant of £135. At the same time the Africans undertook to increase their givings so that they could make up the £20 formerly granted by the FMC for station expenses. These efforts had already placed the white and African congregations under severe financial strain:

The European congregation comprises twenty-two members. The native congregation of 220 are farm servants or half-sowers. The former receive 10s per month, with maize rations. The latter, owing to successive seasons of drought, are burdended with debt. 26

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20. Letter: A Leith Grant to J Lennox, Clerk of Mission Council of Kaffraria, 24 Oct 1905, (RPC).
 21. FMC Minute 332, 26 Sept 1905, (RPC).
 22. FMC Minute 408, 19 Dec 1905, (RPC).
 23. Letter: J Buchanan, FMC Secretary, to J Lennox, 27 Dec 1905, (RPC).
 24. Kaffrarian Mission Council Minutes, 31 Jan 1906, included in FMC Minute 479, 27 March 1906, (RPC).
 25. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 10 Oct 1894.
 26. Kaffrarian Mission Council Minutes, 31 Jan 1906, included in FMC Minute 479, 27 March 1906, (RPC).

Since the proposed reduction was thus more than either congregation could afford, Black would suffer financially. The Mission Council of Kaffraria therefore urged the FMC to reconsider its decision and, in the light of these circumstances, not to reduce the grant to Glenthorn. The FMC consented to a grant of £30 to Adelaide for mission work in 1906, but stated that the whole question of grants would be reconsidered at a later date.²⁷

While the FMC was attempting to reduce its grants to the South African missions, the PCSA was seeking to acquire FMC support for its missions. The FMC, at its meeting in April 1906, had before it an appeal for aid for the PCSA, submitted by the Moderator, the Rev J M Auld. The PCSA had made a promising beginning in its African mission work, but urgent appeals for missionary support from Kimberley, the Rand (to cope with Chinese indentured labour) and Rhodesia, made the work 'altogether beyond the unaided strength of the young Church'.²⁸ The PCSA thus appealed to the Home Churches for support:

Would it be too much to expect that the two great Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, the Presbyterian Church of England, and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, should each provide one missionary? ²⁹

The FMC nevertheless decided to defer any action on these appeals until the Commissioners had given their decision in regard to 'the Mission Funds of the Church and legacies at present under suspense'.³⁰

27. FMC Minute 479, 27 March 1906, (RPC).

28. FMC Minute 504, 24 April 1906, (RPC).

29. idem.

30. idem.

'legacies at present under suspense'.

The U F Church of Scotland's General Assembly had been preoccupied with a legal wrangle involving themselves and a small minority (known as the 'Wee Frees') who were strongly opposed to union with the U P Church. They claimed to be the authentic Free Church and engaged in legal action to have their position and their sole right to the property of the Free Church recognised and declared. In the Scottish Courts in 1901 and 1902, the verdict was unanimously against their claim and in favour of the U F Church, but, in 1904 the House of Lords reversed this decision: 'more than ten millions of pounds, valuable heritable properties, including the Assembly Hall, Colleges, Mission Buildings, and over a thousand Churches and Manses, handed over to a score or two of protesting ministers and elders'.

J R Fleming, A History of the Church in Scotland: 1875-1929, 70.

The 'Wee Frees' were incapable of administering these vast properties, and so a government commission was set up which assigned to the U F Church of Scotland all the properties that the Free Church was not able to use. A total of 170 churches and manses, certain official buildings, and funds amounting to £500 000 were allocated to the Free Church.

J R Fleming, ibid., 56/80.

In April 1906 the Rev John Black accepted a call to North End congregation, Port Elizabeth. This move forced the FMC to define its financial obligations towards the missions, since the Glenthorn congregation needed to know what stipend it could guarantee Black's successor. At a meeting held with representatives of the Presbytery of Adelaide, the Glenthorn white congregation agreed to continue its contribution to the minister's salary at the same rate as it had paid Black (£150 p.a.). It also decided to ask the FMC to send a suitable man to continue the work, but warned that unless the FMC grant was continued, the congregation would be unable to maintain a minister.³¹ The Presbytery supported this request because it believed that valuable mission work was being done in the Glenthorn area:

It would be a pity to let such a place go down. We have a guarantee of £150 p.a. from the few European farmers and a good house for the missionary standing on Mission ground. There are many Kaffres all round and altogether it is a place that should be maintained.³²

When the FMC met in June 1906 they had before them the appeal from the Glenthorn congregation forwarded by the Presbytery of Adelaide; a Minute of the Kaffrarian Mission Council in which the Council agreed to support the appeal; a letter from John Black, urging that another minister should be sent to Glenthorn, 'as withdrawing from the station would do countless harm in fostering Ethiopianism'; and a letter from R R Dower, a lawyer in Bedford, stating that certain clients of his, having heard that the FMC might be withdrawing from Glenthorn, desired to have first offer of the property.³³ All these factors combined to encourage the FMC's Africa Sub-Committee to recommend 'that the Foreign Mission Committee intimate to the Kaffrarian (sic) Mission Council and the Presbytery that they have no intention of withdrawing from the work at Glenthorn or of disposing of the property there; they also suggest that the congregation of Glenthorn should proceed to make the choice of a minister to succeed Mr Black,³⁴ the Committee being prepared to pay the allowance already sanctioned for the second half of the present year, and to determine before the close of the year what aid would be given in future'.³⁵

31. FMC Minute 563, 26 June 1906, (RPC).

32. Letter: J Dewar, Clerk of Presbytery of Adelaide, to J Lennox, 27 April 1906, (RPC).

33. FMC Minute 563, 26 June 1906, (RPC).

34. The Rev J Dewar wrote to J Lennox asking for his assistance in choosing a suitable man for Glenthorn:

'The people do not wish to call in this Colony but I think if a suitable man was brought before them they might change their mind. I write to you more especially because it is a Mission station, and the Native work may suffer as well as the European if they are left too long without a man'.

Letter: J Dewar to J Lennox, 7 Sept 1906, (RPC).

35. FMC Minute 563, 26 June 1906, (RPC).

In September 1906 the FMC formulated the policy it was to follow in the case of Adelaide and Glenthorn, as well as outlining the future relationship with the missions in South Africa as a whole. The Rev Alexander Leith Grant of Adelaide had informed the FMC that unless the £60 grant which had formerly been given to Adelaide was continued, 'he will be unable to support himself and carry on his work'.³⁶ The FMC accepted this appeal and agreed that the grant to Adelaide would be £60 instead of £30 in 1906.³⁷ In his capacity as Interim Moderator of the Glenthorn Session, Leith Grant informed the FMC that at a congregational meeting held on 19 August 1906, the congregation resolved to request the FMC to appoint a minister from Scotland for Glenthorn. If the FMC refused, the congregation agreed to appoint a man, provided 'the Committee say definitely what sum they are ready to give for a period of eight or ten years as a grant, provided the sum be adequate in their judgment'.³⁸ The FMC's response to Leith Grant's letter reveal a distinct attempt to shift responsibility for the missions in the Presbytery of Adelaide to the Mission Council of Kaffraria. The FMC did not appoint a man to Glenthorn as Leith Grant had requested, nor did it guarantee a grant 'for...eight or ten years', but instructed the Glenthorn congregation to take steps 'towards securing a new minister under the financial arrangements detailed in this Minute, - the congregation to raise, according to promise, not less than £150 per annum'.³⁹ Instead of making a separate grant to the three other congregations, a lump sum was to be given to the Kaffrarian Mission Council for it to allocate to the congregations. The sum granted would be at the rate of £225⁴⁰ per annum for 1907, 1908 and 1909, 'after which it is hoped that the congregations may so advance in their own

36. FMC Minute 630, 25 Sept 1906, (RPC).

37. idem.

38. idem.

Leith Grant informed Lennox that the Glenthorn congregation had decided that if the FMC 'would rather that the Glenthorn people called a minister', it would request the FMC 'to give a guarantee of a fixed amount for ten years as a grant for mission work'.

Letter: A Leith Grant to J Lennox, 10 Sept 1906, (RPC).

39. idem.

At this meeting the FMC also confirmed the special arrangements regarding Somerset East made in 1902. FMC Minute 198, Dec 1902.

40. In a letter to Lennox (10 Oct 1906), the Rev J Buchanan apologised that he had miscalculated the amount of the lump sum. Instead of £225 it should have been £215: 'the sum of £215 was arrived at in view of the fact that Glenthorn receives £100, Tarkastad £5 and Adelaide £60'. But in later communications Lennox states that the amount given was £225.

Letter: J Lennox to J Pollock, 18 June 1913, (RPC).

contributions that the grant may be somewhat diminished'.⁴¹ Although the responsibility for the allocation of the grants had been passed on to the Kaffrarian Mission Council, the FMC nevertheless attempted to retain some control by instructing the Council to inform the FMC what amounts it allocated to each congregation and to forward a detailed report of the work at each of the stations each January.⁴²

The FMC had hoped that by continuing the grants undiminished for a further three years it would encourage the PCSA to assume responsibility for these missions. These hopes were disappointed: in 1909 the PCSA appealed for a further extension of the grant for three years, and, when this expired in 1912, the FMC agreed to continue the grant undiminished for another year. But at its meeting in April 1913 the FMC resolved to reduce the grant to £200 for 1914 and thereafter decrease it by £40 annually until it was exhausted.⁴³ It also encouraged the PCSA to accept direct responsibility for these missions by instructing the Treasurer of the Kaffrarian Mission Council to pay the grant direct to the PCSA, 'on the understanding that that Church accepts full responsibility for the work at these stations and reports annually until the grant is extinguished'.⁴⁴

The PCSA General Assembly refused to accept any diminution of the grants. The Assembly considered the assurance given to the Presbytery of Adelaide in 1898 as 'a binding engagement of honour which no Church can repudiate', and thus 'trusts the U F Church of Scotland will continue undiminished financial help in the future to these four stations'.⁴⁵ The FMC did not interpret the assurance given in 1898 as guarantee of a grant in perpetuity, but that it merely promised equal treatment to these stations along with the other PCSA mission stations in South Africa. Furthermore, 'in the case of them all we feel at liberty to alter grants in aid according to the needs of the case'.⁴⁶ The FMC believed that the four congregations in the Presbytery of Adelaide should undertake the African mission work without further help from Scotland. One way to

41. FMC Minute 630, 25 Sept 1906, (RPC).

42. idem.

43. FMC Minute 2680, 29 April 1913, (RPC).

44. idem.

45. PCSA BB(1913), 30.

46. Letter: F Ashcroft to J M Russell, 26 Dec 1913, (RPC).

encourage these congregations to be self-supporting would be to diminish these grants annually: 'We have done this repeatedly in India with the best results. When congregations realise that they have to depend upon themselves they increase their liberality in a marked degree'.⁴⁷ Although the FMC decided to continue reducing the grants, it did nevertheless make the concession that if the Assembly could 'make out a clear case then for one or all of them receiving the grant in full for a few years more your application will be considered like any similar request from one of our stations'.⁴⁸

The Rev H Ross, Convener of Assembly's AMC, informed the incumbents of the four stations of the FMC's decision to diminish the grants and asked them whether the shortfall could be made up locally. The Rev William McIntosh of Somerset East stated that his claim on the fund was small in comparison with the three others because he already received a grant from the Assembly's AMC. He nevertheless saw no likelihood of the reductions being made good locally. 'The proposal of reductions is very disquieting for some of us as our domestic burdens increase and the European Churches in country centres such as this are finding the strain very great'.⁴⁹ The Rev J T Ferguson of Glenthorn replied 'as to whether my deduction could be made good locally, there has been no opportunity to consult local parties, but I am afraid not'.⁵⁰ The Rev W Struthers of Adelaide was slightly more optimistic. Since the grant would only be diminished pro rata by one ninth, 'I have little doubt that this deficiency could be made up locally...(but) I cannot say that it will, as my guarantee on "call" was £250 from the European congregation, plus such sum as the Mission Council might see good to allow'.⁵¹

By 1915 it was clear that the reduction of the grants had resulted in severe hardship to these missions.⁵² The PCSA Assembly instructed its AMC to appeal to the FMC to reconsider its decision and to revert to and continue the full

47. idem.

48. idem.

49. Letter: W McIntosh to H Ross, 9 March 1914, (RPC).

50. Letter: J T Ferguson to H Ross, 13 March 1914, (RPC).

51. Letter: W Struthers to H Ross, 9 March 1914, (RPC).

52. PC, vol XIII, Oct 1915, 119:

'Great hardship has been experienced by the congregations and ministers of the four congregations in the Adelaide Presbytery owing to the lessening of their mission grants from the U F Church of Scotland. The home grant has not only grown fine by degrees and beautifully less, but its promised end is the vanishing point. It is a lamentable certainty that the U F Church does not mean to make South Africa a permanent field of mission work'.

grant for the present.⁵³ This appeal had to be transmitted through the Kaffrarian Mission Council to the FMC. The Rev J Lennox, Clerk of the Council, informed J W Stark, Convener of the Assembly's AMC, that he could not support the PCSA's request in that form, but suggested instead that the FMC suspend the diminution for a year and continue the 1915 amount of £160 for 1916, thereby extending the period during which the diminution would operate by a year.⁵⁴ The FMC approved of this suggestion and, in the 'exceptional circumstances', agreed to continue the 1915 grant of £160 for another year.⁵⁵

The death of the Rev John T Ferguson in December 1915 brought the problem of the grants once again to the fore.⁵⁶ In March 1916 the Rev W Struthers and W Pearson informed the Kaffrarian Mission Council of the difficulty the the Glenthorn congregation had experienced in calling a minister as Ferguson's successor. They appealed that no further diminution of the grant-in-aid be made for at least three years to enable them to guarantee the minimum salary which they felt they could offer a minister. The Mission Council instructed the Glenthorn congregation to direct its appeal through the PCSA Assembly's AMC, thereby implying that the responsibility for Glenthorn lay not with the the Council, but with the PCSA. It also indicated that it could not support a request for the further suspension of the diminution of the grant, 'in view of the enormous difficulties that the Home Church will have to meet in the next two or three years when the burden of the war expenditure will fall on the Home public'.⁵⁷ Moreover, the Council expressed its disappointment that, despite the repeated warnings that the grant would be reduced, the Glenthorn congregation had made no plans to cope with the increased financial burden that would fall upon the congregations concerned:

We are not criticising our friends for this, but we feel that we cannot in these circumstances ask the Home Church for further continuance of the unreduced grant when their own responsibilities have become so exceptionally grave. 58

53. PCSA BB(1915), 28.

The Presbytery of Adelaide had requested that the Assembly's AMC make 'such provisions for our Missionaries and Ministers working in these fields, as that their salaries for this year and for future years shall at least be maintained at the present level'.

Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 14 May 1914; 12 May 1915.

54. Letter: J Lennox to J W Stark, 16 Nov 1915, (RPC).

55. FMC Minute 3641, 21 Dec 1915, (RPC).

56. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 24 Dec 1915.

57. Letter: J Lennox to J Stark, 11 March 1913, (RPC).

58. idem.

The Mission Council nevertheless did undertake to raise with the FMC the question of the transfer to the PCSA of the Glenthorn property. 'Mr Pearson and Mr Struthers seemed to think this would greatly encourage the Glenthorn people and let them feel that the responsibility for the church and its future is really theirs'.⁵⁹

The FMC agreed to transfer the Glenthorn property to the PCSA on the understanding that the PCSA would become responsible for the mission work there.⁶⁰ At this same meeting the FMC agreed to transfer the New Brighton mission in Port Elizabeth to the PCSA. Both these steps were attempts to encourage the PCSA to take over the missions in South Africa, thereby freeing the FMC to concentrate on other areas. While the PCSA accepted the transfer of these properties, it refused to sanction the FMC's decision to withdraw its financial support: in September 1916 the Assembly instructed its AMC to draw up a full statement of the case for submission to the FMC.⁶¹ Hugh Crawford, Convener of Assembly's Finance Committee, wrote to the ministers at Tarkastad, Glenthorn, Adelaide and Somerset East inviting them to state their case for the continuation of the grants and to give any reasons that might assist the Committee in supporting the application to be made to the FMC.⁶² Their replies give an insight into the extent of the African mission work being done in these areas and the conditions under which the ministers laboured.

The Rev W Struthers alleged that the diminution of the grant to Adelaide had led to considerable hardship for the minister. Moreover, the white congregation was doing more than it had ever done to alleviate the situation, despite the fact that the depopulation of the rural areas left it numerically and financially weaker than it had been for many years:

The town has no accessions of English speaking people, nor is it likely to have. It would be unfair - not to say harmful and discouraging - to ask the struggling European community to do more than it is doing, now that for 7 years past with no accession of families, it has given £60 more than formerly. 63

59. Letter: J Stark to J Lennox, 11 March 1916, (RPC).

60. FMC Minute 3909, 19 Sept 1916, (RPC).

61. PCSA BB(1916), 35/36.

62. Letter: H Crawford to ministers at Tarkastad, Adelaide, Glenthorn and Somerset East, 19 Oct 1916, (RPC).

63. Letter: W Struthers to H Crawford, 24 Oct 1916, (RPC).

Meanwhile the African congregation, with its two outstations and two day schools, continued to make great demands upon the time and energy of the minister. Struthers suggested that if the FMC refused to renew these grants, the PCSA would have to assume the financial burden during the incumbency of the present ministers, and review the arrangements whenever a vacancy arose. The present ministers would suffer through the reduction, 'but I am sure I speak not for myself alone, when I say that whatever may be done or not done, the work will still go on, European and Native alike'.⁶⁴

The Rev Samuel Workman of Glenthorn emphasised the large district served from Glenthorn, much of which was still inhabited by unevangelised 'red Kaffirs'. The white farmers had done their best to make up the shortfall resulting from the diminution of the grant; nor could the Africans, most of whom were farm labourers, be expected to contribute any more. 'For the Natives to keep up their several school buildings and their Church building, to help with local contributions towards the Teacher's salaries, and when possible to support an evangelist is as much as can be expected from them'.⁶⁵ Any further reduction of the grant would thus 'entail hardship and perhaps the paralysing of the work'.⁶⁶

64. idem.

Struthers traced the gradual reduction of the grants to Adelaide:

- i) Under the Rev P Davidson the amount granted was uncertain, but 'not more than £100'.
- ii) In 1903 the FMC announced its intention to reduce the grant from £60 to £30, but after protest it agreed to continue it.
- iii) In 1906 the FMC agreed to continue the grant of £60.
- iv) In 1911, when Struthers accepted the call to Adelaide, he was offered £250 p.a. from the white congregation and £60 from the FMC for African mission work. Six months later the Kaffrarian Mission Council reduced the grant to £5 to equalise the stipends of the ministers at Adelaide and Somerset East. His salary gradually diminished from 1913:

1913	Total salary	.. ..	£305 00 00	p.a.
1914	" "	.. ..	289 17 09	p.a.
1915	" "	.. ..	289 02 03	p.a.
1916	" "	.. ..	289 02 03	p.a.

65. Letter: S Workman to H Crawford, 27 Oct 1916, (RPC).

66. idem.

The Rev H W Cochran of Tarkastad argued that it should not rest with him to justify the continuation of the grant, but that the FMC should be asked to justify the withdrawal of it. The African mission work under his supervision was extensive and widespread, but the Africans could not be expected to contribute further to the mission:

What do they do with their money? The answer is they have very little money to bless themselves with. The average wage of a native farm labourer here is 10/- a month and a ration so inadequate that only the grace of God and the fear of the law keeps him from turning sheep-stealer. A boy in the town gets about 15/- per month without the chance of helping himself to the mutton. These natives are spending all that they can spare from the inadequate nurture of their bodies, upon the upkeep of their Church buildings and schools and the cost of their children's education. 67

Cochran was adamant that the African congregation should not be expected to make up the shortfall: 'I would rather go unpaid than take a penny from those poor creatures who are in such need themselves'.⁶⁸

The Somerset East congregation seemed to be the least affected by the diminution of the grant, largely because since 1902 the Assembly's AMC had paid £50 p.a. to the Somerset East minister for the work done amongst the Africans.⁶⁹

These returns convinced the PCSA Assembly that it had a firm case for requesting the FMC to reconsider the decision to reduce the grants. In March 1917 the Assembly's AMC sent a solemn protest to the FMC against the breach of the agreement ratified by the Synod of the U P Church in 1898. The protest raised three issues for the FMC's consideration. First, the work of the four mission congregations was substantially the same as when the grants initially had been given by the U P Church. 'There has been no falling off to make the work less important or to justify the withdrawal of help'.⁷⁰ Second, the reason given for the withdrawal of aid was that the white congregations in these areas were able to provide for the whole support of these missions. The Assembly had discovered that 'while some of these European Congregations have made an effort to increase their contributions in order to make up for the amounts already withdrawn, it would be quite unreasonable to expect them to do more in this

67. Letter: H W Cochran to H Crawford, 15 Nov 1916, (RPC).

The Africans had raised £70 p.a. towards the teachers' salaries and the Education Department paid the balance of £140. The five teachers were all trained at Lovedale and Emgwali, and 'if anything should hurt the work here they would be the principal sufferers'. In addition to this expenditure, the African congregation was trying to clear a debt of £35 still outstanding on their church building (which was valued at £400), and the Winterberg congregation was trying to raise money to put an iron roof on their church.

68. *idem*.

69. Letter: W McIntosh to H Crawford, 16 Nov 1916, (RPC).

70. Letter of Protest to FMC written by J Stark, 5 March 1917, (RPC).

direction'.⁷¹ Third, the Assembly's Native Missions Fund was already inadequate: while it was able to support the missions on the Rand and in Rhodesia, the AMC had to refuse urgent requests for a Superintendent in the Orange Free State and for an assistant in Rhodesia because of the lack of funds. Nor did there seem any likelihood of improvement.⁷² The AMC urged that, in the light of these factors, and in order to prevent any further hardship to the ministers or missions concerned, the FMC should continue its grant at the present level.

The FMC discussed this protest at its meeting in April 1917 and decided to refer the whole matter to the General Assembly for its ruling.⁷³ The General Assembly of the U F Church of Scotland endorsed the FMC's policy of diminishing the grants to the South African missions. It ruled that the reduction and cessation of these grants did not constitute any breach of the agreement in 1898 between the Synod of the U P Church and the PCSA, 'but is the application of a policy consistently pursued by the Foreign Mission Committee, of encouraging congregations in mission areas to become independent of home support, and responsible for the evangelisation of their own areas as soon as possible'.⁷⁴ In fact, as a result of special representation by the PCSA's AMC, 'these grants have been renewed and continued...much longer than is usual in such cases'.⁷⁵ The Assembly thus empowered the FMC to reduce the grant, which amounted to £120 in 1917, by £40 annually until the fund was finished.⁷⁶

This decision meant that the PCSA could no longer depend on the FMC to finance its missions in the Presbytery of Adelaide, but would have to make provision for these missions from Assembly funds. The PCSA had already begun to make inquiries into the possibility of augmenting the finances of these missions. In 1916 the Assembly had instructed the Finance Committee to investigate the extent to which the four incumbents had suffered as a result of the withdrawal of the grants, and to take step to have these deficiencies made up locally, or from the Native Mission or Church Extension Funds.⁷⁷

71. idem.

72. idem.

The Native Missions Fund for the financial year ending 30 June 1916 amounted to £1 352, which included a special grant of £50 from the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. In December 1916 the Fund had a balance of £35. During the first half of 1917 the receipts were already £37 less than those for the same period in 1916.

73. FMC Minute 4087, 17 April 1917, (RPC).

74. Extracted from the Records of the General Assembly of the U F Church of Scotland, 26 May 1917, (RPC).

75. idem.

76. PCSA BB(1917), 130.

77. PCSA BB(1916), 36.

At its meeting in August 1917 the Finance Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly to make up the salaries of the ministers at Adelaide and Somerset East to £300 each; and to make up the shortfall to Glenthorn and so raise Workman's salary to £250.⁷⁸ Nothing was voted to Tarkastad, since the stipend was £300 plus a manse, whereas formerly there was no manse.⁷⁹ It

78. Letter: H Crawford to J Stark, 25 June 1917, (RPC), gives details of how the reduction of the grants affected the ministers:

1913

<u>CONGREGATION</u>	<u>STIPEND</u>	<u>U F GRANT</u>
Adelaide	£ 250	£ 49 and manse.
Glenthorn	150	89 and manse.
Tarkastad	250	49 no manse.
Somerset East	240	49 and manse
		+ £ 50 from PCSA.

1917

<u>CONGREGATION</u>	<u>STIPEND</u>	<u>U F GRANT</u>
Adelaide	£ 250	£ 29 and manse.
Glenthorn	180	53 and manse.
Tarkastad	300	29 and manse.
Somerset East	240	8 and manse
		+ £ 50 from PCSA.

79. Tarkastad Grant:

H W Cochran of Tarkastad protested against the Assembly's decision not to include him in the grants. In a Memorandum he explained the great extent of the mission work and the desperate need of finance and assistants. He asked the Assembly's AMC to consider three points:

- i) That 'this Grant was not - never has been - a grant in aid of the European stipend', but was paid in acknowledgment of the work which the minister did among the Africans.
- ii) That 'if nothing is done to make provision for this work, the minister will hand it over to the native Missions Committee and confine his attention to the work among the Europeans'.
- iii) That the Africans themselves were distressed by the situation and offered to contribute towards the missionary's support, 'but the principle has been repeatedly stated on the floor of the Assembly that European missionaries should not be paid by the natives'.

Cochran complained that the U F Grant for 1918 was £4.17.9 per quarter, but that in 1919 it would be reduced considerably to about £1 per month: this would scarcely pay for the upkeep of the horse and trap which Cochran used to travel through the extensive area under his supervision. The Presbytery of Mankazana supported Cochran's case: 'The Presbytery has never dictated to the Finance Committee: it has never asked for the whole grant to be given: but we have asked and once more we do ask that something be allocated, - even if it were but to recognise the fact that the work formerly financed by the U F Church of Scotland has been taken over by the Presbyterian Church of South Africa'. (Letter: W Struthers, acting clerk of Presbytery of Mankazana, to J Stark, 25 Nov 1919, RPC).

In 1920 the Assembly resolved 'that in future a grant of £10 per annum be made to the Minister of Tarkastad Native Congregation for his travelling expenses from the same funds as the other congregations receive theirs'. PCSA BB(1920), 44.

Memorandum: On the Tarkastad Native Mission in Relation to the Grant from the U F Church of Scotland. Prepared by H W Cochran, 17 Dec 1918, (RPC).

recommended that the General Treasurer should be authorised to pay these grants quarterly to the three congregations and to debit the amount to the Native Missions Fund and the Church Extension and Aid Fund - one half to each.⁸⁰ The Assembly authorised the annual grants to the ministers at Adelaide, Glenthorn and Somerset East.⁸¹ This action seemed to signify that the Assembly had accepted that responsibility for the maintenance and continuation of mission work in South Africa no longer lay with the Home Churches, but with the PCSA. In fact, the Assembly saw these grants as a temporary measure to make good the shortfall for the present incumbents and not as a permanent measure to be granted to their successors. This was made quite clear in 1925 when the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth asked for the grant to be continued for the Rev J Colville Peattie, Struthers' successor at Adelaide.⁸² The Finance Committee replied 'that the allowance paid in settlement of the shortfall in the salary of the Rev W Struthers, through the discontinuance of the U F Church grants some years back, cannot be paid to the Rev J Colville Peattie, nor can it be allowed to any minister they may call'.⁸³

The PCSA justified the discontinuation of these grants by asserting that in 1923, when the BPC was formed, the Presbytery of Mankazana, which contained the African mission work in this area, entered the BPC. Since any revenue from these missions went to the BPC, that church and not the PCSA should be

80. Letter: H Crawford to J Stark, 7 August 1917, (RPC).

Crawford commented on this decision: 'I congratulate you on the excellent result you have achieved for the past year, and am sorry we have to encroach on your balance. You should however be thankful that we did not debit your Fund with the full shortfall, as, strictly speaking we should have done, the deficiency being entirely in the Native Mission Section'.

81. PCSA BB(1917), 28.

82. Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 15 Jan 1924.

The Presbytery sustained Struthers' call to Vryheid, Natal. In the end, Struthers was not succeeded by Colville Peattie, but by Dr Charlton. In the confusion of the vacancy, Charlton was led to believe that the grant would be continued. Presbytery agreed to petition the Assembly to restore the grant. The Assembly granted £50 to Adelaide, which would be reduced by £10 annually until it was wiped out. This amount would be debited to the Church Extension and Aid Fund.

PCSA BB(1925), 40, 154/155.

83. Letter: D Wark to W McIntosh, 28 Feb 1925, (RPC).

responsible for the grants. In 1926 the Assembly extended this ruling to Somerset East and Glenthorn:

...inasmuch as the Native Mission work being done in the congregational areas of Glenthorn and Somerset East has passed wholly under the control of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, the grants now being made from the Assembly's Native Mission Fund to the Ministers of those Congregations be not continued. 84

The federal link between the BPC and the PCSA soon proved unsatisfactory and members from the African mission congregations at Somerset East, Adelaide, Glenthorn and Tarkastad requested to be received back into the PCSA.⁸⁵ In December 1931 the Assembly's AMC received an application from the Rev Thomas Wilcox, minister of the Glenthorn white congregation, for a grant of £60 p.a. for the PCSA's African mission work in the Glenthorn area.⁸⁶ The Assembly's AMC agreed that it would pay £30 p.a., and would request the Assembly's Church Extension and Aid Committee for a further £30 p.a. It stipulated that this grant was for Wilcox, in recognition of his work amongst the Africans, and 'not to relieve the (Glenthorn) Committee of their obligations'.⁸⁷ Similar grants were made to the African missions at Adelaide, Somerset East and Tarkastad, thereby symbolising that the PCSA had acknowledged at last that final responsibility for these African missions had passed from the Home Churches to the Assembly's AMC.

84. PCSA BB(1926), 49.

85. Above, 79.

86. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 17 Dec 1931.

87. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 20 Dec 1932.

APPENDIX B: TABLE SHOWING INCOME & EXPENDITURE FOR AFRICAN MISSION CHURCHES (AMCh) IN RELATION TO TOTAL INCOME OF WHITE CHURCHES AND EXPENDITURE ON CHURCH EXTENSION & AID (C E & A).

YEAR	TOTAL INCOME OF WHITE CHURCHES	TOTAL DEBT OF WHITE CHURCHES	TOTAL INCOME FROM AMCh	INCOME FROM HOME CHURCHES FOR AMCh	INCOME FROM OTHER SOURCES FOR AMCh	TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON C E & A	TOTAL EXPENDITURE ASSEMBLY'S AMC	TOTAL EXPENDITURE FOR AMCh
1903	£ 35 141	£ 48 488	£ 3 200	£ 3 377	£ 96	£ 1 439	£ 8	-
1907	43 074	84 889	3 384	2 105	606	2 093	43	-
1910	44 599	-	2 518	2 762	1 229	2 195	1 205	-
1915	45 330	62 010	3 803	2 445	1 259	1 512	1 229	-
1920	55 587	49 402	3 807	2 742	1 514	1 859	1 792	-
1925	63 821	47 649	2 418	1 060	192	1 976	1 887	£ 3 654
1930	68 856	42 049	2 895	1 811	476	2 836	1 734	4 412
1935	64 020	46 154	2 470	430	337	2 914	2 650	5 059
1940	-	-	2 596	65	228	3 204	3 409	-
1945	74 127	21 101	4 114	50	220	2 414	2 209	6 687
1950	-	34 487	5 019	50	339	1 482	2 277	-
1955	-	100 486	6 017	NIL	322	6 217	6 546	-
1960	-	163 624	8 241	50	2 105	11 636	9 120	-
1963	-	-	-	R 100	R 5 450	R 19 934	R 23 561	-

APPENDIX C.

Councillor Adolph Schauder, in his Mayoral Minute (1941), 37/39, gives a list of sites granted to the various denominations in New Brighton:

1. Lot No 10/A, Block No 10: granted to Trustee of Queen Street Baptist Church, Port Elizabeth, and successors, on 9 September 1907. (P E Freeholds, vol 8, No 22).
2. Lot No 14/A, Block No 14: granted to Rt Rev Hugh MacSherry, Roman Catholic Vicar Apostolic of Eastern Province and to his successors, on 11 July 1907. (P E Freeholds, vol 8, No 16).
3. Lot No 21/A, Block No 21: granted to trustees of the Edward Memorial Church Congregational Union of South Africa and successors, on 11 July 1907. (P E Freeholds, vol 8, No 17)
4. Lot No 22/A, Block No 22: granted to the Rt Rev the Bishop of Grahamstown on behalf of the Order of Ethiopia, affiliated with the Church of England and his successors, on 11 July 1907, (P E Freeholds, vol 8, No 18)
5. Lot No 24/A, Block No 24: granted to trustees of the Bantu Independent Church Congregational Union of South Africa, P.E., and their successors, 11 July 1907, (P E Freeholds, vol 8, No 19)
6. Lot No 26/A, Block No 26: granted to chairman of Grahamstown District of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, on 6 December 1907, (P E Freeholds, vol 8, No 24)
7. Lot No 27/A, Block No 27: granted to W J Richards in his capacity as Commissioner of the Salvation Army and to his successors, 11 July 1907, (P E Freeholds, vol 8, No 20)
8. Lot 28/A, Block No 28: granted to the trustees of the U.F. Church of Scotland and their successors, 8 October 1907, (P E Freeholds, vol 8, No 3)
This property was transferred to the Trustees of the P.C.S.A. by Deed of Transfer No 1319, dated 21 February 1922.
9. Lot No 29/A, Block No 29: granted to Chairman of the Grahamstown District of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa, on 6 December 1907, (P E Freeholds, vol 8, No 25)
10. Lot No 35/A, Block No 35: granted to Rt Rev Bishop of Grahamstown on behalf of the Church of the Province of South Africa, and to his successors, 11 July 1907, (P E Freeholds, vol 8 No 21)
11. Block No 17: site occupied by the American Methodist Episcopal Church.
12. Block No 52: site occupied by Wesleyan Methodist Church of South Africa (Coloured).
13. Block No 35 (Lot No 35/8): right to occupancy only held by Roman Catholic Church.

APPENDIX D

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PCSA AND BPC IN SOMERSET EAST, GLENTHORN AND ADELAIDE: 1923 - 1940.

The PCSA's Presbyteries of Mankazana and Kaffraria resolved to unite with the Synod of Kafraria to form an African Presbyterian church at the Lovedale Conference in July 1921.¹ The PCSA General Assembly ratified this decision and, 'while deeply regretting the passing from us of these Presbyteries', authorised the Moderator and Clerk of Assembly to grant disjunction certificates to these ministers and congregations, and to 'bid them God-speed in the task to which they have set themselves'.² When the BPC was constituted on 4 July 1923, the PCSA handed over to the BPC all the African mission work in these Presbyteries. The white ministers in the Presbytery of Mankazana, who previously had ministered to the African congregations at Adelaide, Somerset East and Glenthorn, were accepted as Assessors with full rights in the BPC Assembly and in the Presbytery of Mankazana, and thus were still available for advice and encouragement in the period of transition during which responsibility for the missions passed from whites to Africans.³ Yet in practice this transition was not as easy.

The first hint that transition would not be as easy as originally anticipated came when the Rev W McIntosh resigned from his charge as the minister of the white congregation at Somerset East in June 1926.⁴ McIntosh also intimated that he would resign as superintendent missionary of the Somerset East African congregation as from 31 December 1926.⁵ In view of McIntosh's impending resignation, in July 1926 the BPC Assembly appointed the Rev B A B Gasa to the BPC congregation in Somerset East to act as an assistant to McIntosh.⁶

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1. CE, vol L1, Sept 1921, 144/145 for Lovedale Conference, 11 - 13 July 1921.
 2. PCSA BB(1921), 29.
 3. BPC Minute 204, 7 July 1925, (RPC).
 4. P E Presbytery Minutes, 21 June 1926.
 5. PCSA BB(1929), 398/400 for Finding of Joint PCSA/BPC Commission, 9 Nov 1928.
 6. idem.

The PCSA General Assembly protested to the BPC about Gasa's appointment because he had not resigned from the PCSA: '...the Assembly has heard with surprise that the Minister of one of the Native Congregations of this Church has been accepted as a minister of the Bantu Church without his having resigned from the ministry of our Church, and having received a certificate of disjunction...' PCSA BB(1926), 50. The Senior Clerk of the BPC Assembly replied to this protest, expressing regret at the irregularity, and stating that the discourtesy was quite unintentional. 'To my mind this is how it happened. The Assembly, assuming that Mr Gasa was simply a locally appointed assistant to Mr Pollock without the full ecclesiastical status of a minister duly called and inducted to the charge of a congregation, forgot that, notwithstanding, a formal letter of disjunction from the Presbyterian Church was necessary. A new and very young clerk of Assembly had just been appointed and the point may have escaped his notice. Had Mr Lennox still been acting he would have remembered

When McIntosh decided to remain as superintendent after December 1926, the BPC Assembly informed the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth that McIntosh's supervision should cease and that the Presbytery of Mankazana should be 'instructed to transfer the whole supervision of the mission congregation at Somerset East to the native missionary in charge'.⁷ But transfer was complicated by the fact that the African church and school buildings were vested in the Moderator of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth as trustee. The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, on the advice of Dr D Wark, Convener of the Assembly's AMC, decided to delay any transfer until the AMC had discussed the matter.⁸

The Assembly's AMC had 'no doubt...that the property was wholly the property of the European congregation, and that it should be recognised as such and retained'.⁹ It therefore instructed the Presbytery to charge the BPC congregation a nominal rent for the occupation of the buildings and thus 'to maintain the Church's title to them without question'.¹⁰ The white congregation accepted this proposal and informed the BPC that an annual rent of £2 would be charged for the use of the three buildings.¹¹ The BPC Assembly protested against this decision¹²

...(continued)

6. that he gave Mr Gasa his credentials when he left us in 1923'. Letter: D W Semple, Acting Senior Clerk of the BPC Assembly, to D Wark, 17 Dec 1926, (RPC). The PCSA Assembly 'received this explanation with much satisfaction'. PCSA BB(1927), 17.
7. P E Presbytery Minutes, 5 Oct 1927, (RPC).
8. idem.
9. Letter: D Wark to S Thomson, 5 April 1928, (RPC).
10. idem.
11. idem.
H S W Dennis, Session Clerk of Somerset East white congregation, wrote to Wark informing him that 'in order to make the charge as little of a burden to the Native Church as possible they have offered to pay certain Insurance charges that have hitherto been borne by the Natives, so that the actual rent accruing to the European Church will be only a few shillings annually'.
12. P E Presbytery Minutes, 8 May 1928.
Initially the BPC Presbytery of Mankazana sent a deputation (consisting of the Revs W Ruthven-Hall, B A B Gasa, and Elder Malfus Rhoxo) to the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth. This Presbytery appointed a commission (consisting of the Revs J McRobert, S Thomson and Messrs H S W Dennis, A C Scott and R G McClelland) with powers to deal with the situation. The matter was raised at the BPC Assembly in July 1928, whereupon the Assembly decided to refer the whole question to the PCSA/BPC Joint Commission.

and referred the whole matter to the PCSA/BPC Joint Commission which met at Adelaide on 9 November 1928.

The Joint Commission¹³ found that although the BPC Assembly had appointed Gasas as sole missionary in charge of the Somerset East African congregation, through an unfortunate oversight the Session had not recorded the minute recommending this change in the supervision of the mission congregation, nor had McIntosh been informed. The Joint Commission recommended that Gasas nevertheless should be recognised as the sole supervisor of the African missions in the Somerset East area, but, in view of McIntosh's long and valuable ministry among the Africans, the General Assembly should declare him missionary-emeritus with a seat in the Presbytery of Mankazana.¹⁴ Furthermore, although the property at Glen Avon was bequeathed to the white congregation in Somerset East unconditionally, and the property in Somerset East was held by the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth in trust for African mission work, the Commission advised that the situation would be eased if the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth would recognise that the BPC congregation in Somerset East was fulfilling the terms of the trust. Nevertheless, should the BPC cease to have any work in Somerset East, the PCSA/BPC Joint Commission should reconsider the further use of the property.

The Joint Commission were convinced that the time had come for supervisory powers to be handed over to the Africans, yet some commissioners feared that this step

13. PCSA/BPC Joint Commission: The PCSA was represented by Dr D Wark, Dr R B Douglas and the Rev J N M Paterson and the BPC by the Revs J Lennox, T B Soga, G G Miza and R H W Shepherd.
PCSA BB(1929), 398/400 for Finding of PCSA/BPC Joint Commission, 9 Nov 1928.

14. The Rev W McIntosh:

William McIntosh was born on 19 February 1867 in Dundee, Scotland, and served as an assistant minister in Leith and Cambuslang before coming to South Africa in 1896. He ministered in Germiston until the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War when he moved to Clifton Hill, Cape Town. In 1903 he received a call to the Somerset East congregation where he ministered to the white congregation and the African mission congregation for 23 years, until failing health forced him to resign in 1926. He died three years later, on 2 September 1929. He was remembered particularly for his 'loving interest in the native people'. It is significant that, despite the misunderstanding in 1926, the foundation stone of the BPC church in Somerset East, built in 1957, was laid in memory of him, and the BPC manse bore his name - 'McIntosh Villa'.
P E Presbytery Minutes, 18 June 1903; 21 June 1926.
See also: PC, vol XXIV, March 1926, 27.
PC, vol XXIV, Sept 1926, 111.
PCSA BB(1929), 276/277.

would lead to inefficiency and disorganisation. A fortnight after the PCSA/BPC Joint Commission met, H S W Dennis, Session Clerk of the white congregation in Somerset East and superintendent of the African Sunday School for many years, informed Dr D Wark that he could not continue as Treasurer for the African church as the Joint Commission had requested:

...my hands are too full and I must get relief somehow. The long ministerial vacancy in the European Congregation imposes a great deal of extra work upon me - and more often than not I have to take the Services myself. I hope to continue the Native Sunday School which I have carried on for many years now, as I see no prospect of any one to take my place, but I feel that is the utmost I can undertake. 15

Wark's reply revealed the misgivings which some commissioners felt about the transfer of supervisory powers to the BPC:

It is not, I think, betraying any confidence to say that all of us were much concerned at the manner in which Gasa's records were kept - or rather, were not kept. The book that he produced with the little bits of paper stuck in, for the subsequent recording of Minutes, was an unpleasant revelation; and the reason that nothing was said as to the custody of the Books was that it was hoped that they would remain with you and that you would have a watchful eye over them. 16

Meanwhile, trouble had arisen between the PCSA and the BPC at Glenthorn. On 6 March 1928 the Rev T Wilcox was inducted to the pastoral charge of Glenthorn white congregation and guaranteed a stipend of £240 p.a. 'with manse, and grounds which can either be let for grazing or can be cultivated'.¹⁷ When Wilcox arrived at Glenthorn he found that the BPC had placed the Rev W Ndibongo as minister to the African congregation at Glenthorn. Moreover, as Ndibongo had no accommodation, the BPC had appealed to the white congregation for assistance, and Jack Pringle, clerk of the Board of Management, had given him permission to stay in the manse outhouses, on condition that he vacated the premises when a call was given to a white minister.¹⁸ Wilcox found Ndibongo's continued occupation of the manse outhouses intolerable and eventually ordered him to leave the premises:

When I arrived I found the Evangelist still in possession, and evidently determined to remain if he possibly could. The situation was impossible, and our Presbytery had been dealing very gently with the case. Naturally the people here were annoyed, and some were inclined to use 'forceful'

15. Letter: H S W Dennis to D Wark, 29 Nov 1928, (RPC).

16. Letter: D Wark to H S W Dennis, 4 Dec 1928, (RPC).

17. P E Presbytery Minutes, 28 Nov 1927.

18. Letter: T Wilcox to D Wark, 13 June 1928, (RPC).

persuasion, particularly as the Evangelist is credited with disturbing the peaceful relations - existing until his arrival - between European and Native. Anyway, he has 'queered the pitch' for any Native Minister or Evangelist here. No farmer in the district will allow him to visit on his farm, so you may assume that there are strong reasons for this, as the farmers here are in no way antagonistic to the Native, and they have very generously supported the Native Church. 19

The BPC protested that Wilcox's treatment of Ndibongo contravened the PCSA's agreement with the U F Church of Scotland²⁰ that after transfer the Glenthorn property would continue to 'provide a home for the European Minister and facilities for the carrying on of work among the natives of the valley'.²¹

The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth acknowledged Wilcox's mistake and instructed that the Africans should have free use of the church on the Glenthorn property and permission to erect a home for their minister or evangelist on a site chosen by the managers of the white church. The African minister was also to have 'the right to run one horse and two cows on the veldt, and have one morgen of arable ground appointed him for garden purposes'.²² Moreover, to prevent further misunderstanding with the farming community, the Presbytery advised that 'this is a case where the Native congregation would be well advised to seek admission into the PCSA'.²³

The BPC viewed the situation differently. When the U F Church of Scotland transferred the Glenthorn property to the PCSA in 1918, the PCSA had acknowledged that the Africans had contributed half of the purchase price for the Glenthorn church land.²⁴ Moreover, by accepting the transfer, the PCSA

19. idem.

20. FMC Minute 3909, 19 Sept 1916, (RPC).
Also Appendix A, 259.

21. P E Presbytery Minutes, 8 May 1928.

22. idem.

23. idem.

24. Letter: R H W Shepherd to S Thomson, Clerk of Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, 4 June 1928, (RPC).

Shepherd drew his argument from a memorandum prepared by J Lennox, Secretary of the South African Board of Representatives of the General Trustees of the U F Church of Scotland, dated 31 May 1928, (RPC).

Lennox stated that negotiations for the transfer of 'Austry' Glenthorn, from the General Trustees of the U F Church of Scotland to the PCSA were held between 1916 - 1918. In or about 1887, during the time when the Rev T Shearer was missionary at Glenthorn, the Africans raised a sum of money, stated by them to have been £180. In 1918 it was found impossible to substantiate the Africans' claim to have contributed £180, but the PCSA was prepared to acknowledge a sum of £150. Dr J Henderson, acting-secretary of the Board of Representatives, put the U F Church of Scotland's position to the PCSA in a letter dated 1 May 1918:

'As regards the Glenthorn transfer I understand that your (finance) committee will not oppose an acknowledgement of the share that the Glenthorn Natives had in raising the money for the purchase of the property if our Church feels under obligation to insist on the same. Our position is such that acknowledgement should be made. The mission at Glenthorn is peculiar in

also accepted the position of trustee and guardian of the Africans' right to the property: 'these are in no way curtailed or modified by the fact that the Native congregation with the full consent and approval of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa became a congregation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa'.²⁵ Since the African congregation legally owned one half of the Glenthorn property, the BPC interpreted Wilcox's eviction of Ndibongo as 'a grave infringement of the rights of the Native Congregation of Glenthorn and of the duly appointed Native minister'.²⁶

R H W Shepherd believed that it was inopportune to offer any amendment to the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth's resolution concerning the the Africans' right to a share in the property, but 'whether they are adequate expression of the Natives rights may require further consideration'.²⁷ He also believed that the resolution recommending that the African congregation should seek entrance into the PCSA seemed impracticable. Instead, 'the farming community should recognise frankly and cordially the history which has brought this Native congregation into its present position as a congregation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church'.²⁸ As far as Wilcox was concerned, 'I can only suppose that (he) has acted in ignorance of the true facts of the situation. In placing the facts in your possession I must express the hope that Mr Wilcox will at once withdraw from the mistaken attitude he has adopted and make suitable acknowledgement of the painful and humiliating position in which he placed Ndibongo and his family'.²⁹

...(continued)

24. being so to speak a partnership between the European congregation and a Native mission, and it appears reasonable and just that the Natives, who are the weaker partners, should have their rights protected in the transition now being effected, by the acknowledgement of the capital so to speak that they have deposited in it'.

H Crawford, Convener of the PCSA's Finance Committee, replied to this on 5 June 1918, stating that the Finance Committee agreed to acknowledge that the Glenthorn Africans had a share amounting to £150 in the purchase of the Glenthorn property.

25. idem.

26. idem.

27. idem.

28. idem.

29. idem.

The Glenthorn white congregation were 'unanimously opposed to any portion of the property being occupied by a Native Minister',³⁰ and fully endorsed the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth's recommendation that the African congregation should be admitted to the PCSA. Meanwhile Wilcox stood firm:

I do not claim to be the minister of the Bantu congregation. I have nothing to do with it as Bantu, but I do claim the property as ours, and the right to conduct services for any natives still connected with our Presbyterian Church, for I am told there are a number of Natives who have not been 'dragooned' into the Bantu Church. So far as I know I have infringed no rights of the Native Congregation or Minister, and as for humiliating Mr Ndibonga I merely asked him to do what he should have had the courtesy to do some months before my arrival. 31

Wilcox's letter alleviated Wark's fears about the Glenthorn situation and assured him that 'his action was no so high-handed and arbitrary as it was represented, and that he quite recognised his relation to the Native work in the Glenthorn area'.³² Wark suggested to Shepherd that the appointment of 'a Commission of Assembly to confer with a Commission of our Assembly (would) accomplish far more and in a more satisfactory way'³³ than any attempt to resolve the Glenthorn impasse on the Assembly floor. Shepherd in turn persuaded³⁴ the BPC Assembly to appoint a Commission which met at Adelaide on 9 November 1928, to discuss the trouble at Somerset East and Glenthorn.³⁵

30. Letter: T Wilcox to D Wark, 13 June 1928, (RPC).

31. idem.

32. Letter: D Wark to R H W Shepherd, 26 June 1928, (RPC).

33. idem.

34. Letter: R H W Shepherd to D Wark, 20 July 1928, (RPC).

Shepherd commented: 'In regard to Glenthorn, I confess I found feeling among our Native members regarding the treatment meted out to Mr Ndibongo very intense, but we were able, without waste of words, to have a Commission appointed and a request sent to your Assembly for the appointment of a similar Commission'.

Feeling among the white congregation at Glenthorn was also intense: 'The Bantu folks are hungry for land. Personally, I feel that any claim they may have had has lapsed long ago, and instead of the Bantu Church having an interest of £150 in this property, they are very deeply in debt to our Church. If the services of Rev Ndibongo are worth £108 per annum, what were the services of our Ministers worth who for years ministered to the natives here on a declining grant, and with no grant at all? The claim from Lovedale looks like a big piece of bluff. Why: our secretary tells me that since 1921, only, our Glenthorn Church has spent £325.18.16 on the upkeep of this property and fences'. Letter: T Wilcox to D Wark, 30 Aug 1928, (RPC).

35. BPC Minute 515, 4 July 1928, (RPC).

PCSA BB(1929), 398/400 for Finding of PCSA/BPC Joint Commission on Somerset East and Glenthorn.

The PCSA/BPC Joint Commission upheld the fact that the BPC had appointed Ndibongo as its minister in charge of the Glenthorn African congregation, and that Wilcox did not have any authority over this congregation. Yet, 'the settlement of two ministers in the Glenthorn area has created a situation which leads to friction and should not be permanent'.³⁶ The Joint Commission had been appointed with Assembly powers and therefore could have resolved the situation at Glenthorn, but it chose to refer the matter back to the two Assemblies. The Commission nevertheless recommended that in the interim before the Assemblies met, the white congregation should 'accept the situation loyally and...afford all proper facilities meantime to the Native Missionary to carry out his duties'; Ndibongo should 'exercise the utmost discretion in the carrying out of his duties so that he may commend himself and his ministry to all parties';³⁷ and that Wilcox should have no authority over Ndibongo or his congregation:

...any attempt on your part to exercise authority or to conduct services in the local Native Church would probably be regarded by the Bantu Assembly, not unreasonably, as an intrusion and would be calculated to cause irritation. 38

The Joint Commission's overcaution arose out of the desire to have both Assemblies in agreement, but in so doing it left the way open for further misunderstanding. The question of Wilcox's authority over the African congregation was raised again even before the Joint Commission's Finding had been published. Wilcox claimed that on Sunday 11 November 1928, two days after the Joint Commission had met, a deputation of elders and deacons from the African church 'came...to say they did not wish to be recognised as belonging to the Bantu Church. They desire to be, as they have always been, associated with the Presbyterian Church, with the European minister as their minister'.³⁹ Wilcox agreed to conduct the service in the African church because the deputation insisted that the congregation was unanimous in this decision. Wilcox's 'blazing indiscretion' horrified Wark:

One can hardly imagine it possible that knowing the Commission had just been sitting he would not have recognised that now of all times, until the Finding had been communicated to him at least, he should have interfered in any way with the Native Church. I greatly fear that he has nullified

36. PCSA BB(1929), 398.

37. ibid., 399.

38. Letter: D Wark to T Wilcox, 16 Nov 1928, (RPC).

39. Letter: T Wilcox to D Wark, 13 Nov 1928, (RPC).

any good effect that our inquiry and deliverance might have had. This is not saying anything about the action of the Native office-bearers, which in the face of the statement made to us in Adelaide is difficult to understand. 40

The situation was complicated further by the allegation that the white farmers had exerted pressure on their employees to return to the PCSA. S Mpongoshe, BPC Assembly Elder and a member of the Glenthorn African church, informed the Rev J Lennox:

Some of the farmers sent messages through their boys...urging the elders to hand over the church keys, etc. to the Rev T Wilcox, failing which they were threatened of being banished from the farms where they were employed. This was done by the farmers immediately after the meeting of the 8th instant. Everyone then came to the church under the impression that this was the decision of the commission which had met as the farmers put it to them. 41

It was quite clear where white sympathies lay, whether or not the farmers had exerted pressure on their African labourers to return to the PCSA:

We are still of the opinion that your Board...do not realise the harm that the Bantu section of the Presbyterian Church have done in foisting an objectionable character on this old mission post before first consulting the European section who have for years spent money on the upkeep of Manse and fences, rates etc. - not a penny has been given by the Natives towards upkeep - even in the building of the Native school or Church house the Europeans assisted financially besides loaning waggons etc. and the older natives of the Church here were the contributors and these descendants of the old Native Presbyterian Church do not see why an outsider should be planked on to them. They resent it, and this move caused no end of harm to the Church's sympathy, besides instilling wrong ideas into the younger natives. You have to be here on the spot to realise the position - this is not kafirland. We farmers feel and resent the attitude adopted by the Commission who were appointed to collect or get at the question. 42

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40. Letter: D Wark to R B Douglas, 16 Nov 1928, (RPC).
Douglas replied, 'I had much rather wire Lennox not to be a stiff fool. He ought to have leapt at the chance of terminating an impossible situation. It is nonsense to say that they must wait till Assembly meets. They are A Commission of Assembly and could carry out the recommendations of the Joint-Committee if they cared'.
Letter: R B Douglas to D Wark, 19 Nov 1928, (RPC).
41. Report on Events at Glenthorn, furnished at the request of the Moderator of the BPC General Assembly, by S Mpongoshe, Assembly Elder, (RPC).
42. Letter: J E B Pringle, Secretary of Glenthorn Presbyterian Church, to D Wark, 14 June 1929, (RPC).

Wark reprimanded Wilcox for his indiscretion:

In view of the fact that you knew that the Joint Commission had just sat and had not yet issued its Finding, and that consequently the case was in effect still sub judice I regret exceedingly that you took any action even though it was in response to a request of the local Native people...I fear you will be regarded as having acted with grave discourtesy to the Bantu Church in the special circumstances...The position of the Bantu Church must be considered and its feelings respected. The Native missionary was regularly appointed and until his own Church relieves him our Church has no right to interfere with him. 43

He also advised Wilcox to inform the African congregation that any application must be made through the BPC Presbytery of Mankazana. This time Wilcox followed Wark's advice: when the African congregation approached Wilcox on 25 November 1928, he informed them that he would not conduct any more services for them until they had applied to the Presbytery of Mankazana for transfer to the PCSA.⁴⁴

The Glenthorn African congregation submitted a petition to the Mankazana Presbytery informing it 'that the members and adherents of this congregation, of their own free-will have decided that they no longer wish to be associated with the Bantu Church, but desire to be connected, as before, with the Presbyterian Church and to have the European minister as their minister'.⁴⁵ The Presbytery discussed this petition at its meeting in February 1929 and decided to forward it to Shepherd in his capacity as clerk of the Joint Commission, together with Stephen Mpongoshe's allegation that neither congregational nor office-bearers' meetings were held and that when the petition was sent round, nine office-bearers refused to sign it.⁴⁶

The Joint Commission had declared in its Finding of November 1928 that there was not enough work in the Glenthorn district for two men to work there without tension. Moreover, it was adamant that an African could not minister to white Presbyterians. This left two possible solutions to the trouble at

43. Letter: D Wark to T Wilcox, 17 Nov 1928, (RPC).

44. In his Report on Events at Glenthorn, Mpongoshe alleged that pressure from the white farmers lay behind this second approach to Wilcox: 'The majority of the congregation composed of all the four elders, two deacons and more than three-quarters of the members pointed out that as (the) position with their masters was such a critical one, it was best to agree unanimously to abide by the decision of the 11th instant'.

45. Glenthorn petition: signed by Charles Williams, John Taris Austir, James Slinger, Oliver Swartbooi and John Mahleza. A copy of this petition was enclosed in Letter: R H W Shepherd to D Wark, 4 March 1929, (RPC).

46. Presbytery of Mankazana Minutes, (extract) 6 Feb 1929, (RPC).

Glenthorn. Either the Africans could be received back into the PCSA and Wilcox could continue to minister to them as his predecessors had done, or Wilcox could be received into the BPC.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the immediate problem of the BPC missionary at Glenthorn was resolved when the BPC moved Ndibongo to the Zoutpansberg.⁴⁸

Tension between the PCSA and the BPC increased during the year which elapsed before the Joint Commission reconvened. The African congregation sent a petition directly to the Moderator of the PCSA General Assembly requesting to be received back into the PCSA.⁴⁹ Meanwhile, within the BPC itself there was growing antagonism towards the PCSA and the white missionaries:

I came from this Assembly more discouraged than from any other of our annual meetings, whether Assembly or earlier, Synod of Kaffraria (sic), which I have ever attended. There was manifested a spirit of determination to get hold of everything to the exclusion of the white missionary wherever possible. It seemed that a number seemed to think their self-respect was bound up in this policy of getting hold of everything, eg. property and stations which for any reason fall vacant of white missionaries. This, at the very time when earnest work is needed to hold effectively that which has already been entrusted to the Assembly. Finances are bad, numbers in all important sections of the Assembly's work are down. It is a grave situation, and as one who for many years worked for the establishment of the BPC, I feel deeply concerned at the direction things are taking.⁵⁰

The PCSA requested that the Joint Commission should reconvene after it had received petitions from both the white and African congregations at Glenthorn. The PCSA/BPC Joint Commission met at Glenthorn on 14 August 1930 and its finding was unanimous:⁵¹ since the majority of the Glenthorn African congregation had received their Disjunction Certificates from the BPC⁵² and had expressed their desire to enter the PCSA, they should be received into the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, with the Rev John Black, minister of the

47. Letter: D Wark to R H W Shepherd, 9 March 1929, (RPC).

48. Letter: R H W Shepherd to D Wark, 7 June 1929, (RPC).

49. Petition from Office-bearers of Glenthorn African church to the Moderator of the PCSA, 16 June 1929, (RPC).

50. Letter: J Lennox to D Wark, 11 Oct 1929, (RPC).

51. PCSA BB(1930), 570 for PCSA/BPC Joint Commission's Finding.

52. PCSA BB(1931), 775: 'The Session Clerk laid on the table 82 Certificates of Disjunction belonging to members who had left the BPC. He stated that there were 7 members who still wished to remain in the BPC. Another member present claimed that there were 20 more, but the Session Clerk disclaimed knowledge of these'.

Also P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 July 1931.

Glenthorn white church, as the minister-in-charge. The minority of Africans who wished to remain members of the BPC were permitted to use the church building for worship at times to be mutually arranged.

The policy of dual occupation of the church buildings by the PCSA and BPC soon proved unsatisfactory. In April 1937 the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth was asked for a ruling on the PCSA's right to the church property at Glenthorn,⁵³ and the following year the Clerk of the BPC Presbytery of the Ciskei reported to the Port Elizabeth Presbytery that the instructions of the 1931 Joint Commission had not been implemented.⁵⁴ At its next meeting the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth had before it correspondence from the BPC Presbytery of the Ciskei, as well as a petition from the members and adherents of the Glenthorn African congregation, 'strongly deprecating the conduct of certain members of the BPC in holding illicit meetings, and spreading untruths by propaganda to the disturbance of the community, culminating in a public assembly at Glenthorn of Sunday, 3rd July, 1938'.⁵⁵ The Presbytery decided to refer the whole question to the Joint Commission which met at Kingwilliamstown on 17 August 1938.⁵⁶ The Joint Commission was unable to find a practicable solution to the tension between the PCSA and BPC members at Glenthorn. Finally, in November 1941, when the PCSA's African members complained once again about the continued disturbances caused by the BPC's use of the church buildings, the Presbytery instructed 'that the Mission Church at Glenthorn be used only for services of the Presbyterian Church'.⁵⁷ In 1942 the

53. P E Presbytery Minutes, 13 April 1937.

The Clerk of Presbytery explained that 'this property stands on ground privately owned. Church and Manse built in 1840 by a Mr Pringle, and in terms of his will, it was clearly understood that the building was to be used at all times by the Presbyterian Church, the cost of upkeep to be defrayed by the descendants of Mr Pringle'.

The Presbytery decided that, in view of the tense relations between the BPC and the PCSA, 'some arrangement should be made, whereby the Presbyterian Church might have some claim to the building for its work and worship in that area'.

54. P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 April 1938.

55. P E Presbytery Minutes, 12 July 1938.

Also Overture to PCSA General Assembly, PCSA BB(1938), 177.

56. PCSA BB(1938), 147/151, for Report of the Committee on Relations with the Bantu Church.

57. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 Nov 1941.

At this meeting the Presbytery also considered the use of the Glen Avon Mission Church by members of the BPC, and instructed the Rev J N M Paterson, minister of the Somerset East white congregation, to notify the Rev G G Miza 'that the use by him of the Glenavon (sic) Church should forthwith cease'.

BPC attempted to persuade the Presbytery to reverse its decision, but 'with a full knowledge of conditions pertaining to the Mission Church at Glenthorn, both in the past and at present, the Presbytery reaffirms its decision of 11th November 1941, prohibiting the use of the Glenthorn property to the BPC'.⁵⁸

Tension also arose between the Coloured and African members of the Adelaide church.⁵⁹ A petition was drawn up at a congregational meeting on 24 April 1931 protesting against the change of name from the 'Presbyterian Mission Church' to the 'Bantu Presbyterian Church':

We...are not in agreement with this change, as it is not a Bantu Church, but a Church for Coloureds. We want the Church to be named by its former name so as to get the assistance and support of the Presbyterian European Minister. 60

The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth referred this petition to the Assembly,⁶¹ which agreed to receive the Coloured members into the PCSA,⁶² and to recommend to the PCSA/BPC Joint Commission that some arrangement should be made for the joint use of the church buildings.

58. P E Presbytery Minutes, 10 Nov 1942.

59. Letter: J Black to D Wark, 7 Sept 1931, (RPC).

The situation was complicated by the fact that the petitioners did not want just to be received back into the PCSA, but also asked for their share in the use of the church building. The matter needed urgent attention: 'For, in the meantime, these members of the Mission Church who are not satisfied with the Bantu Church have been deprived of all church privileges. They have been cut off from membership (in April 1931): and whereas the coloured elders have always had an equal share in conducting the services, Mr Miza and his session have recently (beginning of August 1931) deprived them of this privilege which some of them have enjoyed for the past 25 or 30 years. Altogether a serious and most unwholesome condition of things exists, and a very early settlement is greatly to be desired so that religious ordinances may be renewed to them within the church building belonging to the Mission'.

60. PCSA BB(1931), 770.

The majority of the signatories were Coloured, but there were a few Xhosas who also signed. Letter: J Black to D Wark, 7 Sept 1931, (RPC).

61. PCSA BB(1932), 96.

It was pointed out in the Report of the Assembly's AMC that the PCSA Assembly had made a procedural mistake when it resolved to instruct the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth to receive the Adelaide congregation into membership before referring the matter to the BPC Assembly, although the reception of these members was ratified by the Joint Commission at its meeting in Adelaide on 16 December 1931. The Assembly apologised to the BPC for this mistake, and added that it wished to assure the BPC 'that it does not wish to undertake work in areas which are adequately served by the BPC and asks for a reciprocal undertaking from that Church and that it instructs its commission to survey the whole field of relationship with the BPC in order that a clear understanding may be arrived at of the spheres of labour of the two Churches'. PCSA BB(1932), 34.

62. PCSA BB(1931), 666.

The PCSA/BPC Joint Commission, which met at Adelaide on 16 December 1931, recognised that the division between the section of the Adelaide Mission Church adhering to the PCSA and the section connected with the BPC 'cannot be healed at this time'.⁶³ It suggested that the former section should be organised as a congregation under the pastoral oversight of the white minister in Adelaide, and have the use of the church building for the afternoon service every Sunday;⁶⁴ and that the latter should come under the care of a BPC minister, and have the use of the building for the evening service every Sunday. Each section would have the use of the building for the morning service on alternate Sundays. A local committee, elected equally from both congregations, would be responsible for the use of the building on week days and for any other matter of common interest.⁶⁵

The arrangement of dual occupation of the church buildings proved as unsatisfactory at Adelaide as it had been at Glenthorn. The Rev G G Miza complained to the PCSA/BPC Joint Committee, which met at Lovedale on 15 November 1934, that under the existing arrangement the BPC had no chance of arranging an afternoon service. This was a hardship because most Africans could only attend worship in the afternoon. The Joint Committee instructed the Rev J Black to negotiate whether a scheme of occupancy of the building on alternate Sunday afternoons was feasible.⁶⁶ Relations between the PCSA and BPC members at Adelaide had deteriorated considerably by the time that the Joint Commission met again at Lovedale on 8 May 1935. The Rev Hector Paterson informed the Joint Commission that he had held a meeting with the office-bearers of the Adelaide Mission church ministered to by the Rev J Black. They were adamant that the time had come for a permanent settlement of the differences between the two congregations which they believed could only be achieved by determining the right to occupancy of the church buildings to one or other party. Furthermore, they offered to pay a sum of money (the amount to be settled between the two churches), to ensure that they would be left in 'undisturbed possession' of the church. Failing the acceptance of this offer, they were prepared to consider any reasonable

63. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 19 May 1932.
PCSA BB(1932), 135/137 for PCSA/BPC Joint Commission's Finding.

64. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 19 May 1932.
The Rev J Black reported that the Coloured membership was 100 at the end of December 1931. He asked for financial assistance for the supervision of this work because the financial depression had affected the white congregation severely and the African contributions totalled only £30 p.a. The AMC agreed to make a grant of £30 p.a. to the congregation supervised by Black.

65. idem.

66. PCSA BB(1935), 127.

offer made to them by the BPC, whereby that church would remain as sole owners of the 'church building'.⁶⁷ The Joint Commission considered this a fair proposal and transmitted it to the Rev G G Miza and his BPC congregation at Adelaide for their consideration.⁶⁸

The BPC did not discuss the situation at Adelaide at its Assembly in 1935. By 1936 the situation was critical: in April 1936 the Rev John Black asked the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth to discontinue the joint occupancy of the mission building as soon as possible. Black also submitted an application for a loan to enable his Coloured congregation to erect a new church in Adelaide.⁶⁹ This new church, named 'The Davidson Memorial' in memory of the Rev P Davidson, the first minister of Union Church, Adelaide, was dedicated on 3 April 1937.⁷⁰ The PCSA Assembly paid tribute to Black and to the Adelaide Mission congregation for their courage and charity in collecting funds for the building of a separate church, thereby ending 'an impossible situation in that district'.⁷¹

In 1940 101 members from the original African mission congregation in Adelaide signed a petition to be received back into the PCSA and requested sole occupancy of the church building. The Rev John Black advised these members to remain in the BPC;⁷² but the PCSA/BPC Joint Commission, meeting at Somerset East on 18 February 1940, granted them their disjunction certificates and instructed them to make their own arrangements regarding a place of worship.⁷³ The Rev John Black gathered these Africans into a community, as he had done earlier with the Coloured members who had left the BPC. On 17 January 1946 a new mission church was dedicated for their use. It was named the 'Agnes Mary Black Memorial', in memory of John Black's late wife, 'a great friend and Christian worker', who together with her husband, 'made possible the erection of this new building, which will serve as a place of worship for the African section of the mission and provide during the week two spacious and modern class-rooms'.⁷⁴

67. PCSA BB(1935), 128.

68. idem.

69. P E Presbytery Minutes, 14 April 1936.

70. PC, vol XXXV, May 1937, 113.

71. PCSA BB(1937), 133.

72. PCSA BB(1940), 95.

73. ibid., 96.

74. PL, vol XLIV, May 1946, 46.

The Joint Commission also discussed the tension that had developed between the PCSA and the BPC at Somerset East. In April 1939 the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth had received a petition from a large number⁷⁵ of BPC members and adherents in Somerset East appealing to the Presbytery to receive them into the PCSA.⁷⁶ The petitioners complained that they had had no regular minister for some time as the Rev G G Miza, the former minister, had left Somerset East to start a BPC congregation at Glen Avon, about four miles out of Somerset East. The Presbytery of Port Elizabeth wrote to the Assembly's AMC requesting that urgent action be taken. The Rev F Stakes, Secretary of the Assembly's AMC, visited Somerset East and Glen Avon and consulted with the petitioners. It transpired that the properties at Somerset East (a church and a school building) were owned by the PCSA and that the Glen Avon church (also used as a school building) was registered in the name of the white congregation in Somerset East. In 1928 the white congregation had agreed to lend the buildings to the BPC on condition that they were kept in good repair and that the BPC paid insurance for them.⁷⁷ Yet the properties, especially the Glen Avon church, had deteriorated and, despite repeated warnings, the BPC had not paid the insurance for 1938/1939. The white congregation had to pay the insurance to keep the property covered. When the Joint Commission discussed this situation on 3 May 1939, the BPC representatives had urged that the matter should first be submitted to its Presbytery of the Ciskei.⁷⁸ This was done, but when no acknowledgement was made by the Presbytery of the Ciskei and another application for admission to the PCSA was received, the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth resolved that an urgent appeal should be made to the General Assembly to accede to the petitioners' request.⁷⁹ The BPC delegates appealed to the PCSA Assembly not to accept the petitioners, since the BPC had appointed an interim moderator to the Somerset East congregation. Moreover, they requested that the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth send copies of the petitions to the Presbytery of the Ciskei and that the findings of both the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth and the Presbytery of the Ciskei be laid before

75. The number of petitioners varies between 100 (in Assembly's AMC Minutes, 8 May 1939) and 116 (PCSA BB(1939), 152).

76. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 April 1939.

In 1937 the Rev J Paterson Whyte, clerk of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, on a visit to Somerset East had received a deputation of Africans from the BPC, seeking admission to the PCSA. No action was taken by Presbytery since no application for admission had been received. P E Presbytery Minutes, 31 Dec 1937.

77. Above, 269.

78. Assembly's AMC Minutes, 8 May 1939.

79. P E Presbytery Minutes, 11 July 1939.

the Joint Commission. The PCSA Assembly decided that, in fairness to the sister church, it ought to grant this request although it meant that settlement would probably be delayed.⁸⁰

The Joint Commission met on 6 December 1939 to discuss the trouble at Somerset East. The Commission decided to recommend to the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth that bone fide members and adherents of the BPC congregation in Somerset East should be received back into the PCSA, despite the Rev B A B Gasa's allegation that he had not neglected the congregation. The Commission also agreed to grant disjunction certificates to the petitioners, but urged them to remain in the BPC until its recommendation was confirmed.⁸¹

The Joint Commission confirmed this recommendation on 18 February 1940, and instructed the Rev D A Diedrich and the Session Clerk of the Somerset East white congregation to receive the BPC members back into the PCSA. It also instructed the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth to procure possession of the church building and accept responsibility for it.⁸²

In 1897 the Synod of Kafraria had rejected the PCSA's attempt to integrate black and white Presbyterians into a single Presbyterian church as unfeasible in the South African situation, and subsequently had formed the BPC as an independent African church, linked federally both to the U F Church of Scotland and the PCSA. Yet by 1940, all the African mission congregations from the PCSA's Presbytery of Mankazana that had entered the BPC in 1923, had requested to be received back into the PCSA. Though different issues motivated the decision to return to the PCSA, in each case the African members had recognised that the PCSA's policy of integration, albeit limited and defective, had proved more beneficial to African mission work than the BPC's policy of separate parallel development.

80. PCSA BB(1939), 152.

81. PCSA BB(1940), 93/94.

82. P E Presbytery Minutes, 29 Feb 1940.

APPENDIX E

SHORT BIOGRAPHIES OF SOME OF THE MEN WHO CONTRIBUTED TO THE PCSA'S
AFRICAN MISSION WORK IN THE PRESBYTERY OF PORT ELIZABETH

JOHN BLACK

In 1894 John Black came to South Africa from Scotland and was inducted as the Rev Thomas Shearer's successor to the Glenthorn white congregation and the Glenthorn African mission church. In June 1906 he moved to Port Elizabeth where he was inducted as minister of the North End congregation (now called St Columba's). In 1909 Black accepted a call to Woodstock congregation, Cape Town, where he remained until 1930, when he returned to the Eastern Cape as minister to the white congregation at Adelaide. Black did not limit his ministry to the white Presbyterians living in Adelaide, but worked extensively among the Africans, especially after relations started deteriorating between the PCSA and the BPC members living in this area. In 1937 the 'Davidson Memorial Church' was opened to care for Coloured members who had left the BPC; and in 1946 the 'Agnes Mary Black Memorial Church' was opened for those members of the original African mission congregation who had decided to leave the BPC and to return to the PCSA. These two churches were established largely through the generosity, dedication and hard work of John and Agnes Black. John Black also contributed to the life and work of the wider church, and was chosen as Moderator of the PCSA General Assembly in 1921. In 1949, after 55 years of ministering to white and black congregations in South Africa, Black retired from the fulltime ministry. He died seven years later, on 10 July 1956.

References:

PCSA BB(1956), 43/44.

Presbytery of Adelaide Minutes, 10 Oct 1894; 29 June 1906; 25 May 1909.

P E Presbytery Minutes, 4 June 1930; 8 Feb 1949.

CE, vol XXVI, Nov 1894, 174.

PL, vol XLIII, July 1945, 677.

PL, vol XLIV, May 1946, 45.

Above, Appendix D,

JAMES JAMES RANISI JOLOBE

James Jolobe, son of James Jolobe, a Presbyterian minister, and Emily Nobethus, was born at Indwe, Transkei, on 25 July 1902. He completed his primary school education at Matatiele, East Griqualand. In 1916 he entered St Matthew's College, Keiskammahoek, and completed his training as a primary school teacher in 1919. His first post was at Masakala Primary School in Matatiele, from where he was transferred first to Mabhobho and then to Lower Mvenyane, Mount Frere. In 1926 he registered at the South African Native College for the Matriculation examination and, as a candidate for the BPC ministry, for the Theological course. He completed the College Matriculation Certificate in 1927. The following year he enrolled at the South African Native College for the B A Degree, majoring in English and Ethics, and graduated in 1932. During his time at the College Jolobe was chairman of the College branch of the Students' Christian Association (SCA) and was elected to the Students' Representative Council. He was ordained in 1931, and his first appointment was to the BPC congregation at Tarkastad. In 1933 he accepted the call to the PCSA's African mission church in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. During his time in New Brighton he met and married Jean, daughter of Samuel Nongogo, Court Interpreter and Methodist Circuit Steward in Port Elizabeth.

In January 1937 Jolobe attended the world Y M C A conference at Mysore, India, as one of the two African representatives from South Africa. Later that year Jolobe resigned as minister of the New Brighton mission congregation to accept the position as assistant tutor to the Rev E Grant at Lovedale Bible School. In 1946 Jolobe was appointed Tutor at the Bible School. The financial difficulties experienced by the Bible School precipitated Jolobe's resignation in 1949. He moved to the Lovedale Training College, but continued to assist at the Bible School as often as possible. Throughout this time Jolobe voluntarily conducted services at the John Knox Bokwe Church in Ntselamanzi, Alice, and at the Dorrington Presbyterian Church in Fort Beaufort. He was elected to the Senate of the Lovedale Missionary Institution (1953 - 1956) and to the Lovedale Governing Council for 1954 - 1955. In 1955 he was appointed as Lovedale's Teacher Representative on the Department of Education's Xhosa Language and Literature Committee. In September 1958 Jolobe's great contribution to Xhosa poetry and literature received recognition when he was awarded the Margaret Wrong Memorial Medal and prize.

The Lovedale Training School closed down in 1959. Jolobe returned to the fulltime ministry, and accepted the invitation to the New Brighton mission congregation later that year. He was officially called and inducted to the congregation on 20 October 1962, after the mission had been elevated to full status. In 1965 Jolobe became President General of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa - IDAMSA. He retired from the fulltime ministry of the PCSA in 1970, and returned to Alice, where he assisted Professor J H Pahl in the Xhosa Dictionary Project. Jolobe was appointed to the Advisory Council when Fort Hare University received its full status as a university.

In September 1973 Jolobe was inducted as Moderator of the General Assembly of the PCSA, the first African to achieve this honour. The Rev G B Molefe wrote a letter of congratulation to Jolobe, to which he replied, 'This is an honour few are worthy of, and I am among the least worthy. I feel the honour is more for all the African people in our church. It is a privilege with much responsibility, but I trust your good wishes and prayers will uphold me'.¹

James Jolobe died on 16 May 1976 at St Lucy's Hospital, Tsolo, Transkei, where his wife, Jean, was matron. G Soya Mama, who had met Jolobe in 1935 when he had visited Mama's home in New Brighton to pray for his sick grandmother, and whose literary talents Jolobe had encouraged, expressed the sentiments of many when he paid tribute to Jolobe as 'a man who was an instrument of peace and reconciliation. A man of the people. Above all, a chosen vessel of Christ. A teacher of rare qualities and a devout Christian gentleman who lived a life that was above suspicion'.²

References:

PCSA BB(1977), 119/120.

PC, vol XXXV, April 1937, 88/90 for Jolobe's article entitled, 'My Impressions of the Mysore Conference'.

P E Scott: James James Ranisi Jolobe An Annotated Bibliography, for a full list of Jolobe's literary works.

SAO, vol 106, Dec 1976, 184/186.

E P Newspaper Library: J J R Jolobe File.

Article in South African Missionary Museum File, Kingwilliamstown.

1. SAO, vol 106, Dec 1976, 185.

2. idem.

JAMES McROBERT

James McRobert spent eleven years as minister of the Levenside Free Church in the Vale of Leven, Scotland, before accepting a call to the Presbyterian Church in Port Elizabeth in 1897. Under McRobert's leadership the Hill congregation grew rapidly: new charges were established at South End in 1898 (now called St Andrew's) and North End in 1905 (now called St Columba's). He was also instrumental in starting a Presbyterian church in Oudtshoorn in 1921; and played an important part in the growth and development of the African mission congregation at New Brighton. In 1909 he was appointed Moderator of the PCSA's General Assembly. McRobert resigned as minister of the Hill Church in August 1928, at the age of 70 after ministering to the congregation for 32 years, yet he continued to preach and to advise congregations in the Presbytery until his death on 4 September 1948.

References:

PCSA BB(1948), 55.

P E Presbytery Minutes, 22 Nov 1911; 16 Aug 1928; 10 Nov 1936.

Above, 27/28.

MBANGO JAMES GEORGE BENJAMIN MOLEFE

George Molefe was born at Mbulwana, Ladysmith, Natal, on 15 September 1901. His father, Lakana Ben Molefe, and mother, Sophia Dhlamini, died while he was very young, leaving Molefe to be brought up by his grandmother, Maria Lekalakala. He attended a nearby primary school until Standard Four, when a distant uncle, Josiah Mguni, offered to pay for his schooling on condition that Molefe would reimburse him once he had finished his teacher's training course. Molefe subsequently moved to the Gardenville Intermediate School at Alkock Spruit, about sixty miles from his home. After passing Standard Six, he moved to St Chad's Training College where he obtained the second grade teacher's certificate.

Molefe started his teaching career in 1920, as principal of the Esididini Government school in Dannhauser, Natal. During his time as principal the school roll increased from 200 to 700 pupils, and the staff from six to fifteen teachers. In 1923 he was transferred to the Gordon Memorial Mission Government school in the Helpmekeer District, Natal. Molefe began preaching at the mission church, and also started accompanying the missionary on his rounds. In 1924 Molefe wrote Lovedale's Andrew Smith Bursary examination, and was placed second out of 72 competitors. He

resigned his teaching post and enrolled at the South African Native College in 1925 as a candidate for the ministry of the Bantu Presbyterian Church. Principal Alexander Kerr advised Molefe and Jolobe that they should enroll for the B A Degree after they had completed their College Matriculation examination:

We were furious, complaining that the work was too difficult for us. Dr Kerr drove us out of his office like a group of little boys, telling us that we should never miss such an opportunity as this. He further told us that we should be the first black ministers of the Presbyterian ministers to obtain a degree if we persevered and worked hard. It was needless for us to argue. We therefore decided to put our hands to the plough and look straight on. 1

At the end of his second year, Dr A Kerr, the Rev R H W Shepherd and M Yergan, Secretary of the Students' Christian Association (SCA) asked Molefe to become assistant travelling secretary for the SCA. Molefe managed to combine this with his private study, and he graduated with a B A Degree in 1932. Molefe travelled extensively for the SCA. During a visit to the Limana Mission Training School, Molefe contracted malaria. The doctor in Pretoria, who diagnosed the disease, recommended that Poppy Jane Mbelle, 'the daughter of I Bud Mbelle, who was a qualified midwife, would see to my needs. She did indeed see to my needs because about four years afterwards she became my wife'.²

During his time as assistant travelling secretary Molefe also underwent an experience that profoundly affected his future life and ministry. He arrived in Bulwer, Natal, late one winter's night. He asked a local white minister for accommodation because he could find nowhere else to stay. The man refused, and Molefe was forced to return to the railway station where he spent the night, deeply humiliated and determined to revenge the man's action. The following day he bought Baroness Orczy's I Will Revenge which he read while on the train. This book moved Molefe deeply. He wept bitterly as he realised that he had allowed hatred for the white man to consume him, forgetting that vengeance was God's domain. This experience altered his attitude towards whites and convinced him of the need to work for reconciliation between the races. From this stage on God's grace and man's need for repentance became the recurrent theme in his sermons. This experience also ultimately changed his attitude towards political involvement. Molefe was a long-standing member of the ANC and actively supported its attempts to improve the Africans' lot in South Africa. He nevertheless resigned from the ANC in 1949 when Dr J S Moroka replaced Dr A B Xuma as President General of the Congress, and the ANC adopted the

1. G B Molefe, My Life, 8.

2. ibid., 10.

Program of Action, which endorsed passive resistance, non-collaboration and strike action, because he believed that the ANC's use of violence would not resolve the situation, but only polarise the races further. He subsequently channelled his energies into multi-racial movements, such as the Moral Re-Armament Movement (MRA), which aimed at fostering reconciliation between the races.

In 1932 Molefe resigned as travelling secretary, and was inducted to the Bantu Presbyterian Spookmill Church, at Newcastle, Natal. In addition to his pastoral duties, Molefe started a secondary school in Fairleigh location in Newcastle. In 1937 he received a scholarship to the Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He obtained an M A Degree from Columbia University the following year. Molefe travelled widely during 1939. In June 1939 he addressed the Scout Movement at the World Exhibition in New York; and attended a meeting of the Older Boy Scouts at Namur, Belgium. He also attended the World Conference of Christian Youth at Amsterdam, and represented the South African churches at an international Conference in Geneva. In July 1939 he visited Britain and preached in several Scottish churches, before returning to South Africa in September 1939, just after war had been declared.

On his return to South Africa Molefe accepted the call to the PCSA's African mission congregation in New Brighton. He was deeply disturbed by the lack of education facilities for the African children living in New Brighton, and used his skills as a teacher and his influence as a minister to improve African education wherever he could. When the Newell High School was opened in April 1944, Molefe resigned from the mission congregation to assume the principalship.

Molefe made a significant contribution to the New Brighton community. From 1947 he was a member of the Locations Advisory Board of South Africa. In 1950 he became vice-chairman of the Principals' Association for the Port Elizabeth district. That year he also became the first African to be elected chairman of the regional committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations. He was also Deputy Commissioner of the African Boy Scouts Association, Midlands Division. In 1957 he was appointed as a commissioner of oaths in Port Elizabeth. Once again, this was the first time that an African had held this position.

Molefe was a devout member of the Moral Re-Armament Movement, and was invited by the Movement to do extensive tours of Europe, Asia and America in 1953, 1955 and 1959-1960. On his return from his first tour in 1953, Molefe was elected as Moderator of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, the first African to hold this position. The Boards of Management of Adelaide, Glenthorn, Stanley and Somerset East white congregations strongly protested against Molefe's appointment. At a combined meeting of the Glenthorn and Stanley congregations on 17 February 1953, the following resolution was passed unanimously:

This meeting views with deep concern the recent appointment of the Moderator of the Eastern Cape Presbytery.

We deplore the action of those responsible for this appointment, feeling that besides being premature, it was starting a dangerous precedent at a time when friction between the Europeans, as well as between the European and Non Europeans was rapidly reaching a climax.

While fully aware that our Church does not concern itself with Politics, it is felt that this appointment could influence the course of events in the near future, the outcome of which is of such vital importance to us all. 3

Molefe resigned as principal of the Newell High School in 1959. In 1960 he was placed in charge of the new preaching station at Kwazakele, where he remained until his retirement in 1974. On 31 March 1973 Molefe became the first African in the Cape Province to receive the Freedom of the Township:

It was an honour bestowed on me by the Black members of the Joint Advisory Board as a token of the work I had done to improve the lot of the Black children and adults in Port Elizabeth Township. 4

When Molefe eventually resigned from the Joint Advisory Board in November 1977, the East Cape Administration Board awarded him a certificate of merit. In 1978 the University of Fort Hare awarded Molefe an honorary doctorate in recognition of his outstanding services to the church and community.

Molefe's retirement has not terminated his ministry, but has merely altered the emphasis. Each day crowds of people wait outside his home. Some have come to ask Molefe for testimonials, or to find them employment, or because they are hungry; others have come for advice, because they recognise in Molefe a man of great wisdom, integrity and grace.

References:

G B Molefe, My Life, MS.

Interview with G B Molefe, 2 April 1980; 15 December 1982 (latter not recorded)
Article in South African Missionary Museum File.

E P Newspaper Library: G B Molefe File.

3. Glenthorn File, (RC).

4. G B Molefe, My Life.

HAROLD HANKINSON INNES MUNRO

Harold Munro was born on 3 May 1912 in Scotland. He received his M A Degree and Theological training at Glasgow University, and was ordained in November 1938. He ministered in Old Monkland Parish, Howwood, and then in Rosyth, Scotland, before being inducted to the Hill Presbyterian Church, Port Elizabeth in February 1948. The Hill congregation benefitted greatly from Munro's ministry: he gathered around himself a group of men and women who were committed to working both for the Hill Church as well as for outside projects, such as the Kwazakele outstation. Munro also played an important part in the wider church. His fastidious attention to detail made him an excellent clerk of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth and later, of the Johannesburg Presbytery. In 1959 he was elected Moderator of the PCSA's General Assembly.

In 1951 Munro was appointed Convener of the Assembly's Church Extension and Aid Committee. Under his leadership the Church Extension and Aid Fund grew rapidly and the Committee was able to expand the PCSA's extension work as far north as Zambia. His Committee also persuaded the PCSA Assembly to establish an Order of Ordained Evangelists to deal with the shortage of lay preachers in the church; and to narrow the gap that had existed between the stipends paid to ministers and evangelists of different races. In 1962, when the Assembly decided to amalgamate the African, Indian and Coloured mission committees with the white Church Extension and Aid Committee, it appointed Munro as the first fulltime convener of the Church Extension and Aid Committee, a position which he held, together with the position of Junior Clerk of General Assembly, until his death on 26 July 1977.

In addition, Munro was Convener of the Committee on Aids to Devotion and was largely responsible for the new Service Book and Ordinal; he also made a considerable contribution to the Committee on Education and Training for the Ministry; the Christian Education Committee; and was largely instrumental in establishing the Printing Department at the PCSA Head Office, Johannesburg.

Harold Munro's contribution to the life and work of the PCSA was enormous: a brilliant debater, an able administrator and a man deeply committed to extension work among all race groups in South Africa, who also possessed

the ability to inspire others to commit themselves to the task of extending the Church of Christ in South Africa.

References:

PCSA BB(1977), 77/78.

P E Presbytery Minutes, 18 Feb 1948; 19 Oct 1962.

Above, 21 : Munro appointed first fulltime convener of Church Extension and Aid Committee; 103 : formation of Order of Ordained Evangelists; 206 : beginning made on equalisation of stipends.

SAMUEL WORKMAN

Samuel Workman was born in Ireland in 1874, and trained as a candidate for the Presbyterian ministry at Queen's College, Belfast, before emigrating to South Africa to become the first minister of the Cambridge Presbyterian Church, East London. He was called to St Andrew's, Port Elizabeth in 1907; and in 1916 accepted a call to the Glenthorn white congregation. He also worked extensively among the African mission congregation and its outstations in this area. In 1921 he accepted a call to the newly established charge at Oudtshoorn, and in 1931 General Assembly granted him special permission to become minister of the Bedford Free Church (since 1956 the Bedford Presbyterian Church). He retired from the fulltime ministry in 1942, and returned with his wife to settle in Adelaide. Almost immediately he was asked to supervise the white congregation and the African mission work in this area. He did this faithfully until failing health forced him to stop in 1953, after which his health steadily deteriorated. Samuel Workman died on 1 March 1957 in Grahamstown. A Memorial Minute, printed in the Minutes of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth on 14 May 1957, described Workman as 'somewhat shy and reserved in temperament, he never found it easy to express himself to those whom he met. But in the pulpit and in his letters to those in need he could give full expression to the love and the truth which burned in his heart. Life had not always been easy for him. This made his faith all the more rugged and his feeling for those in difficulties all the more deep'.

References:

PCSA BB(1957), 57/58.

P E Presbytery Minutes, 2 May 1907; 6 June 1907; 5 April 1916; 25 Oct 1921; 3 Feb 1931.

APPENDIX F.

THE BOOK OF ORDER OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA
(Publishing office of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa,
2nd Edition, 1924).

The first General Assembly of the PCSA in 1897 realised the need for a Book of Order as a guide for the different courts of the church in the management and transaction of business. Prior to union the various presbyteries and independent congregations had used different books. In order to secure uniformity of procedure throughout the church, the Assembly adopted the Book of Order of the Presbyterian Church of England (1894 edition) as being best suited to the circumstances of the church in South Africa. This edition formed the basis and model of the draft Book of Order presented to the PCSA Assembly in 1905. The draft Book of Order was eventually accepted by the PCSA Assembly in 1908 and the first edition published in 1909.

Work on the second edition began in 1917 and was finally approved by the PCSA Assembly in 1923. Since copies of the 1924 edition are very hard to procure, I have decided to include the various paragraphs referred to in the Ntintili Affair in the footnotes, and have included the entire Chapter IX on Discipline in this Appendix.

CHAPTER IX.

Discipline.

Section I. - Nature and Ends of Discipline.

376. Church discipline is the exercise of spiritual authority in a brotherly spirit for the reclaiming of offending brethren, for deterring others from the commission of offences, and for vindicating the honour of Christ and the purity of His Church.

377. Discipline is purely spiritual, and can be exercised only within the spiritual province of the Church.

378. Discipline is exercised by those appointed to rule in the Church, in their respective judicatories. There is a right of appeal from the Session to the Presbytery, from the Presbytery to the General Assembly.

Section II. - Subjects and Grounds of Discipline.

379. The subjects of discipline are the ministers, office-bearers, and members of the Church in full fellowship.

380. Discipline is required by anything in the teaching or the conduct of those under the jurisdiction of the Church (a) which has been declared censurable by the Word of God, or by the law and practice of the Church, founded thereon, or (b) which gives rise or may give rise to scandal; and which is thus manifestly injurious to the purity or peace of the Church.

381. In the case of an offence which is not in itself heinous and which has not created scandal, the ends of discipline may be attained without entering on a judicial process, by members of the judicatory which has primary jurisdiction over the alleged offender dealing with him in a private and in a brotherly way.

382. If an offence be heinous, and has given or is fitted to give rise to scandal, it becomes a proper ground for discipline by judicial process, and it is the duty of the court having primary jurisdiction over the alleged offender to take steps for such process according to the rules of the Church.

383. An offence committed more than five years previously cannot be made a ground of discipline, unless it be heinous and has recently become a cause of scandal.

Section III. - Preliminary Steps in Discipline.

384. No case of discipline is to be formally proceeded with until the court before which the case comes has met with the alleged offender privately in a brotherly way.

385. A court cannot enter on a judicial process against an alleged offender unless some person or persons undertake to sustain the charge, or unless the Court itself finds it necessary for the ends of discipline to investigate the alleged offence.

386. In a case of alleged personal and private injury, a court must not enter on a formal process of discipline unless those means of reconciliation have first been tried which are commanded by our Lord (Matt. xviii. 15-17).

387. Anyone bringing a charge of offence before a court ought to give sufficient notice thereof to the party charged.

388. A member of the Church bringing a charge against a fellow-member lightly or maliciously is himself guilty of a grave offence, and is liable to censure.

389. On the basis of a public report of an offence (fama clamosa) a court may proceed to confer privately with the alleged offender, and to inquire into the nature of the alleged offence and the evidence available.

390. If the report should appear to be ill-founded, or if the alleged offence be not flagrant and the accused acknowledge his error and submit to such admonition as the Court may deem needful, no further proceedings are taken.

391. If the Court find that the alleged offence requires the exercise of discipline by a formal process, the Court itself charges the alleged offender with it and proceeds with the case according to the rules of the Church.

Section IV. - Statement of Charge.

392. The charge of an offence must in every case be put in writing, and it must set forth the nature of the alleged offence, specify as far as possible the time, place and circumstances in which it is said to have been committed, and give the names and designations of the witnesses, known and available, who are to be cited in support of the charge.

393. A Court receiving or making a charge in a case involving discipline must transmit in writing to the alleged offender the particulars set forth in the foregoing paragraph, informing him at the same time that he has the right to cite witnesses in his defence, and requiring him to furnish the Clerk of the Court, within a specified time, with the names and designations of the witnesses known and available to be cited in his defence.

394. The Court may, if it sees fit, require a further statement, more or less detailed, according to circumstances, or the character of the evidence to be brought forward in the case.

Section V. - Citation.

395. A Court having resolved to proceed to trial in a case of discipline must cite the following to appear before it, namely: (a) the party making and prosecuting the charges; (b) the party charged with the offence; (c) the witnesses specified in paragraphs 392 and 393 of the foregoing section. The citation may be oral or written.

396. An oral citation is made by authority of the Court, through its Moderator or Clerk, when the parties or witnesses to be cited are present in court. It specifies the time and place of the meeting of Court at which the persons cited are to appear; and the fact of such citation must be recorded in the minutes.

397. A written citation must (a) run in the name of the Court; (b) specify the time and the place of the meeting of the Court at which the persons cited are to appear; (c) set forth the nature of the charge to be tried; and (d) be signed by the Moderator and Clerk of the Court. The fact of such citation having been ordered must be recorded in the minutes.

398. The time allowed after citation for the appearance of a party or witness is determined by the Court with due regard to the circumstances of the case, and must not be less than six clear days.

399. A written citation is duly served upon a party or witness when delivered to him personally by the hand of someone authorised by the Court, or by registered letter addressed to him at his last known place of residence.

400. The citation must be obeyed by members of the Church duly cited by a court to appear either as parties or as witnesses; if after a second citation they do not appear to furnish satisfactory reasons for non-appearance, they shall be dealt with as contumacious; and witnesses refusing to submit to examination shall be dealt with as contumacious.

401. Witnesses who are not members of the Church can only be requested by the Court to appear and give evidence.

402. If, after being orally cited, or after written citation duly served upon him twice to two several meetings of the Court with not less than six clear days between them, a party in a case of discipline does not appear or furnish satisfactory reasons for his non-appearance, the Court at the second meeting shall treat him as a fugitive from discipline, hold him liable to censure for contumacy, and declare him no longer a member of the Church.

Section VI. - Procedure in Ordinary Cases.

403. A Court met to deal with a case of discipline, not of a serious nature, shall conduct the trial in the following order:

- (a) announce specifically the charge made.
- (b) call the party making the charge. If the Court itself makes the charge, it appoints one or more of its members to act in support of it.
- (c) call the party charged.
- (d) call the witnesses (1) for the charge and (2) against it.
- (e) take their evidence.
- (f) hear the parties.
- (g) give a decision in the case.

Section VII. - Procedure in Cases of Grave Offence or Heresy.

404. In cases of very grave offence or heresy, a court may find it necessary to proceed to a formal judicial trial upon an Indictment against the alleged offender, which indictment must be framed with the greatest care.

405. An indictment consists of three parts:-

- (a) The first part, which should be as brief and comprehensive as possible, sets forth the nature of the offence or offences (with aggravations, if any) charged, and declares the same to be punishable according to the word of God and the laws of the Church.

(b) The second part asserts that the accused is guilty of the offence or offences set forth in the first part as punishable, and narrates the facts involving his guilt, it being essential that the time, place and circumstances of the alleged offence or offences be accurately and precisely set forth.

(c) The third part, which should be a logical conclusion from the first and second parts, states the necessity for punishment, provided the accusation be found proven.

406. An indictment may be presented at the instance of one or more persons, and, if they undertake to produce evidence in proof of it, the Court, if satisfied, proceeds to trial.

407. A court on the basis of public report or information otherwise received, or on the basis of a petition, and after preliminary investigation and private dealing with an alleged offender, may resolve to proceed by indictment on its own initiative, in which case it appoints two or more of its members as prosecutors in the case to frame the indictment, and to lay it before the Court.

408. Parties appointed by the Court for the prosecution or the defence are not allowed to vote in the case.

409. A court, on receiving an indictment signed by one or more prosecutors, hears it read, and orders that a copy of it, attested by the Moderator and the Clerk, be delivered to the accused, either personally by someone authorized by the Court, or by a registered letter addressed to him at his last known place of residence. The indictment must be accompanied by a list of the witnesses to be called in support of it, without prejudice to additional witnesses being afterwards brought forward, three clear days' notice being given.

410. At the same time the Court either then and there cites the accused, or orders that he be cited, to appear at a meeting to be held within not less than six clear days for the purpose of receiving any statement he may desire to make at this stage, and of considering the relevancy of the indictment.

411. The relevancy of an indictment includes two questions:

(a) whether the offence charged in the first part is truly punishable according to the Word of God and the laws of the Church; (b) whether, if so, the facts alleged in the second part, if admitted or proved, would be sufficient to convict the accused of the offence charged and render him liable to punishment.

412. At the meeting held on the day appointed, the Court calls for the parties, hears any statement the accused may desire to make, and then proceeds to consider the relevancy of the indictment. The prosecutors are entitled to be heard in support of the relevancy, and the accused against it. The accused has no vote on the question of relevancy.

413. Before deciding the question of relevancy of an indictment, the Court may, if it see cause, give leave to amend the indictment.

414. If the indictment be found irrelevant, it is dismissed, and thereupon the case may take end or a new indictment may be framed and served.

415. If the indictment be found partly relevant and partly irrelevant, the Court proceeds on the relevant portion.

416. Appeals or complaints on the question of the relevancy of an indictment do not stop all procedure in a case; but these must be disposed of by a superior court before a verdict in the case can be given.

417. When a court has found an indictment relevant, it formally asks the accused whether he acknowledges the truth of the charge or charges set forth in it; and if he thus confess, his confession must be reduced to writing, must be signed by him as his own free and voluntary confession, and must be recorded in the minutes of the Court; the Court then pronounces sentence as required by the circumstances, the nature of the case and the rules of the Church.

418. If the accused deny the truth of the charge or charges in the indictment, the Court resolves:

- (a) that the indictment, as found relevant, be formally served on the accused, as in the case of a citation (Section V., par. 399);
- (b) that the taking of evidence in the case be entered upon by the Court at an appointed time and place;
- (c) that all the parties be cited to appear at the meeting appointed for taking evidence.

419. Suspension (which is not of the nature of a censure) follows the formal service of an indictment upon a minister, missionary or office-bearer, who is thereby suspended from the exercise of all the functions of his office until the case is finally adjudicated on, either by the Court itself or, if an appeal be taken, by the Supreme Court.

420. Professional counsel is not allowed to appear in any of the courts; but an accused person may request and obtain leave from the Court for a member of the Court to act with him and for him in the progress of the case. The member so engaged is not allowed to vote in the case.

421. The following order is observed in a case of trial upon an indictment:-

- (a) The Court calls the party presenting the indictment; when the indictment is at the instance of the Court itself, it calls those members who were appointed prosecutors in the case.
- (b) The party indicted is called.
- (c) The opening statement of the prosecution is heard.
- (d) The witnesses for the indictment are called and their evidence is taken.
- (e) The opening statement of the defence is heard.
- (f) The witnesses against the indictment are called and their evidence is taken.
- (g) The Court directs that the evidence of witnesses be taken down in writing, be read over to them, and, when acknowledged to be correct, be subscribed by them in the presence of the Clerk or of a member of the Court appointed for the purpose.
- (h) Parties in the case heard upon the evidence, first those for the indictment, then those against it.
- (i) The Court proceeds to a verdict.

Section VII. - Rules of Evidence.

422. Witnesses are examined after a solemn affirmation administered to them by the Moderator.

423. Witnesses are first examined by the party calling them, then cross-examined by the opposite party; then, if desired, re-examined by the party calling them.

424. Any member of the Court may put questions at any time; and the Court may, if at any stage it sees fit, order the withdrawal or exclusion of witnesses.

425. If a member of the Court is called on to give evidence, he is thereby disqualified from voting in the case.

426. The prosecutor and the accused may, if either of them choose, give evidence on condition that they submit to cross-examination.
427. The unsupported evidence of one witness is not sufficient to establish a charge.
428. Hearsay evidence is not valid, and evidence of facts not relevant to the issue is inadmissible, but circumstantial evidence is admissible.
429. The evidence of witnesses is taken down in writing, is read over to them, and after correction, if necessary, is signed by them in presence of the Clerk, or of a member of the Court appointed for the purpose.
430. When a Court finds it necessary to take evidence in a case by commission, the commission proceeds according to the rules followed by the Court itself and lays the evidence in a complete and authentic form before the Court for its consideration and judgment.
431. The evidence of witnesses unable because of ill-health, old age or other sufficient reason to appear may be taken by a committee, according to the rules followed by the Court itself, and when so taken is laid before the Court as part of the evidence in the case.
432. No member of the Court may vote as a judge in the case unless he has heard or read all the evidence.
433. The evidence in a case, properly attested by the Moderator and Clerk of the Court by which it has been taken, is held as valid evidence by a higher court to which the case may be appealed.
434. In dealing with questions of evidence the higher court must form its judgment from the full records of the evidence transmitted by the clerk of the inferior court, with due attention to the pleading of the parties at its own bar.
435. The higher court may correct any irregularity or defect found in the record of the proceedings of an inferior court in a judicial trial.
436. If in the prosecution of an appeal new evidence is proffered which, in the judgment of the higher court, has an important bearing on the case, it may either refer the whole case to the inferior court for a new trial, or, with the consent of the parties, take this evidence and then hear and determine the case.
437. If, after a trial before any court, new evidence is discovered, the Court may re-open the case if justice seem to require it; provided that if the court be an inferior one and the case has been appealed from that court permission to re-open it has first been obtained from the higher court.
438. When the evidence in a case is so conflicting that the Court cannot form an opinion either for or against the charge, it refrains from proceeding to a verdict, and waits till God in His providence gives further light on the case.

Section IX. - Church Censures.

439. When a court has, after a judicial trial, found a charge proven, and any appeal or complaint taken against its decision has been dismissed by a superior court, it considers what sentence should be pronounced upon the offender. The sentences of the Court in such cases are called Church Censures.
440. When a court has determined what censure is due in a case of discipline, it calls upon the offender to appear, and on his appearance the Moderator, in the name and in the presence of the Court, pronounces sentence, and addresses him in terms befitting the nature and circumstances of the case.
441. If, when duly cited, the offender does not appear to receive censure, the censure is pronounced by the Moderator in his absence, and a copy of it, and of the judgment upon which it is based, is transmitted to him by the Clerk.

442. Church censures are (a) Admonition; (b) Rebuke; (c) Suspension from the rights and privileges of church membership, or from the functions of office; (d) Deposition from office and removal from the membership of the Church.

443. Admonition is the lowest degree of censure, and is a solemn address to an offender, setting his sin before him and exhorting him to repentance and watchfulness.

444. Rebuke is a higher degree of censure than Admonition. It is a solemn reproof in the name of the Lord Jesus, and is administered to persons guilty of the graver offences.

445. Suspension is a form of censure higher than Rebuke, and is a prohibition of the offender from exercising the rights and privileges of church membership, or the functions of office in the Church.

446. Suspension is resorted to (a) when the offence requires a severer censure than Admonition or Rebuke, or (b) when after Rebuke the offender makes neither profession of repentance, nor promise of amendment, or (c) when the offence is repeated.

447. Suspension is either for a specified or an unspecified time, according to the gravity of the offence and the circumstances of the case.

448. If an offender suspended from the rights and privileges of church membership be also an office-bearer, he is thereby suspended also from his office; and if his suspension be the act of a superior court notice thereof must be given to the inferior court of which he is a member.

449. Suspension from office does not necessarily imply suspension from the rights and privileges of church membership.

450. Suspension of a minister from his office for a specified time does not itself involve the dissolution of the pastoral tie between him and his congregation, but when he is suspended sine die the pastoral tie is thereby dissolved.

451. Notice of the suspension of a minister is given to his congregation by authority of the court which has passed the sentence.

452. Deposition is one of the highest forms of censure, and takes place only in the case of a minister or office-bearer. It consists of depriving him of his office in consequence of conviction or confession of some very grave offence or of heresy.

453. Sentence of deposition must in all cases be reported to the General Assembly; and the General Assembly alone can pronounce sentence of deposition on a minister in his absence.

454. If a licentiate be found guilty of some very grave offence or of heresy, he is deprived of his licence.

455. In cases of contumacious resistance to the authority of the courts of the Church, or of flight from discipline, and in cases of peculiar aggravation where the offence, although fully proved, is obstinately denied, or if acknowledged is justified, and the offender continues impenitent, his name is removed from the roll, and he is declared to be no longer a member or office-bearer of the Church.

Section X. - Removal of Censures.

456. The removal of censures is effected only by the courts by which they are inflicted, or by courts acting under the instructions of the Supreme Court.

457. Suspension for a specified time from the rights and privileges of church membership, or from the functions of office, ceases at the expiration of the time specified, unless the court which pronounced the censure sees cause to remove it earlier.
458. Suspension for an unspecified term from the rights and privileges of church membership, or from the functions of office, ought to be removed as soon as the court which pronounced the censure is satisfied that the ends of discipline have been attained.
459. In restoring an offender who has been suspended from full communion or from office, the Moderator, in the name of the Court, addresses him in terms appropriate to the circumstances of the case, and declares him restored to full communion or to his office.
460. In the case of a minister who has been suspended from his office sine die, the removal of the suspension does not restore him to his former pastoral charge, but only restores him to the exercise of his ministerial functions, and renders him eligible for a call from a congregation.
461. Deposition from office may be removed upon profession of repentance, followed by a course of consistent conduct. But in the case of a minister this can be done only by the Supreme Court, or by a presbytery acting under its direction. The removal of deposition does not restore to office.
462. Restoration to office, after removal of deposition, is dependent, in the case of elders and deacons, upon a due election by a congregation; and, in the case of a minister, upon a call carried out according to the rules of the Church.
463. A probationer who has been deprived of his licence may have it restored upon profession of repentance, followed by a course of consistent conduct.
464. Offenders who have been subjected to discipline, and who have been duly restored, ought to be received in their respective positions in the Church with tender and brotherly regard.

Section XI. - Courts Administering Discipline.

465. The Courts by which discipline is administered are Sessions, Presbyteries, and General Assembly.
- A. Session.
466. A session has power of discipline within the congregation under its jurisdiction.
467. A session has no power of discipline over ministers or probationers; these are subject only to the jurisdiction of the higher courts.
468. A session takes the first steps for the exercise of discipline over the members of a congregation; but in the event of its neglect to take such steps, and in special cases, it may be directed to do so by a superior court.
469. A session, on receiving information of acts on the part of a member of the congregation manifestly inconsistent with Christian conduct, but not of an aggravated character, considers whether the purposes of discipline may not be attained by dealing with him privately.
470. If a session decides in the affirmative, it appoints the Moderator, or other of its members, to confer with the members, and deal with the case. If this private action proves satisfactory, no further steps are taken.

471. If an alleged offence on the part of a member or office-bearer, who does not admit his guilt, be of a flagrant character, a session proceeds by indictment, according to the rules provided for that form of procedure.

472. An indictment must be presented by one or more persons acting as prosecutors, or by one or more members of the Session appointed to act as prosecutors.

473. In cases of special difficulty or importance, or in cases involving the highest censures of the Church, a session, before proceeding to trial, may with advantage report them to the superior court, and request instructions as to further proceedings.

B. Presbytery.

474. A presbytery has power of discipline over its own members, over the congregations upon its roll, and over the probationers and ministers without pastoral charge under its jurisdiction.

475. A minister without pastoral charge or a probationer is under the jurisdiction of the presbytery which has recognised him as resident or labouring within its bounds. On removal he is required, within the space of three months, to put himself under the jurisdiction of the presbytery within whose bounds he has gone to reside.

476. A probationer who has not been recognised as resident within a presbytery is under the jurisdiction of the presbytery which granted him licence.

477. Judicial procedure in discipline in the case of a probationer or a minister can be entered upon only by the presbytery which has jurisdiction over him, and can be so entered upon either by virtue of its own authority or by special directions given to it by the Supreme Court.

478. The exercise of discipline by a presbytery over elders, deacons, and members of the Church is in ordinary practice limited to cases brought before it from sessions by reference, appeal, or complaint.

479. When a presbytery proceeds to the trial of a case upon indictment it proceeds according to the rules provided for that form of procedure.

480. If a minister in a pastoral charge be suspended from office until his case be adjudicated, the Presbytery notifies the suspension to his congregation, appoints a Moderator of Session in his room, and makes suitable arrangements for the supply of his pulpit while the suspension lasts.

481. If a minister feels himself aggrieved or injured by the circulation of charges seriously affecting his teaching or conduct, he may require his Presbytery to set forth these charges in the form of a regular indictment, before he is called upon to make any statement respecting them.

482. It is competent to a presbytery, after having served an indictment upon a minister, to refer the case, if it see cause, to the Supreme Court of the Church. This reference is not to be made except in cases of special difficulty or importance. It may be made either on the ground that the circumstances are such as to render it inexpedient for the Presbytery to act both as prosecutors and as judges, or because they are such as to make it desirable that the proof should be taken before the court which has the power of giving a final deliverance in the case.

483. A presbytery has power to direct a session to originate a process of discipline on office-bearers or members under its jurisdiction, and to carry it on according to the rules of the Church.

484. If an offence alleged against a probationer, or a minister without pastoral charge, be declared to have been committed within the bounds of a presbytery other than that to which he belongs, and be brought by public report or otherwise under the notice of the presbytery within whose bounds the offence is declared to have been committed, it is the duty of the said presbytery to communicate the information which it has received to the presbytery which has jurisdiction over the alleged offender, in order that it may proceed according to the rules of the Church.

C. General Assembly.

485. The General Assembly, as the Supreme Court of the Church, has power of discipline co-extensive with the Church.

486. In ordinary practice the General Assembly exercises its power of discipline only in cases brought before it from inferior courts by reference, appeal or complaint.

487. In such cases the rules applicable to references, appeals and complaints on other matters are observed.

488. If the question before the General Assembly be as to the relevancy of an indictment against a probationer or a minister, and the indictment be found irrelevant in whole or in part, the General Assembly may, if it sees fit, give leave to amend the indictment, and direct the inferior court to proceed in the case upon the indictment as amended.

489. If the question before the General Assembly be as to the judgment of the inferior court upon the merits of the case, the General Assembly proceeds upon the evidence laid before the inferior court, duly authenticated and transmitted by the clerk thereof, and upon the pleadings at the bar.

490. When the General Assembly enters on the merits of a case of indictment brought from an inferior court, it observes the order set forth in this Chapter (pars. 418 - 421).

491. When the General Assembly, with consent of parties, remits a case of discipline to a commission, it either gives the commission special instructions as to the nature and limits of its procedure, or full power to carry the case to an issue on its merits according to the rules of the Church (pars. 418-421 and 430). In all cases the commission reports its action to next General Assembly. In a case of indictment against a probationer, when the judgment of the General Assembly is deprivation of licence, or, against a minister, suspension or deposition from office, the General Assembly either itself pronounces the sentence, or directs that it be pronounced by the presbytery from which the case has come up.

APPENDIX G.

INDICTMENT OF REV W M T NTINTILI, DRAWN UP BY THE NEW BRIGHTON MISSION COMMITTEE AND PRESENTED AT THE IN HUNC EFFECTUM PRESBYTERY MEETING, 10th February 1948.

The Rev W D Campbell, who prosecutes for and on behalf of the New Brighton Mission Committee, presents and gives the Presbytery to be informed that the Rev W M Ntintili (hereinafter called the accused), a minister within the bounds and subject to the jurisdiction of the Presbytery, is guilty of the grave offences hereinafter set forth, to wit:-

FIRST

- a. In that, whereas it is contrary to the Word of God and the laws and discipline of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa to stir up dissension and diversion to the injury of the unity and peace of the Church, yet the accused, in or about the Month of May, 1946, and thereafter on divers dates till November, 1947, and at Uitenhage within the bounds of the Presbytery, did wrongfully and wickedly in the course of his ministry to the mission congregation at that place exhort the said congregation to separate from the Europeans, who, he alledged, were drinking their blood, and be independent like Limba, saying that they would be pigs and have no preaching or service, if they did not follow him, the accused, or words to that effect, with intent thereby to injure the unity and peace of the Church.
- b. and further, within the Church at New Brighton and at other places within the bounds of the Presbytery, did preach dissension and did maliciously endeavour to cause division with the Church.
- c. and at the house of N Koyana during the months of May and June, 1946 and to other private individuals at sundry times and places did wickedly endeavour to separate them and entice them to separate from the Presbyterian Church of South Africa by telling them that they would always be slaves and children unless they learned to stand on their own feet like Limba, and to build their own Church and govern their own monies, or words to that effect, with intent thereby to injure the unity and peace of the Church.

SECONDLY

- a. As also, in that, whereas the New Brighton African Mission and the Preaching Stations organised and established in connection therewith have been from the beginning duly committed to the care and control of the said New Brighton Missions Committee, and whereas the said Committee had, prior to the appointment of the accused at New Brighton, introduced a system of recording and accounting for all monies collected for the purpose of the said mission, to the end that all monies might be checked and faithfully and punctually delivered to the treasurer of the said Committee, and be available through the said Committee for the uses for which they were given, and whereas it was the duty of the accused at all relevant times in accordance with the

Word of God and the laws and discipline of the said Church faithfully to adhere to the Committee.

- b. Yet the accused, not regarding his duty in that behalf did between the 27th April, 1946, and the 24th July, 1947, and at New Brighton within the bounds of the Presbytery, wrongfully and wickedly discontinue the use of the said system by depositing collections or other monies received into his private banking account notwithstanding that he had been warned personally and instructed in writing on 12th September, 1946 and 22nd October, 1946 by the Convener of the Presbytery's African Missions Committee to discontinue the system and on 13th February, 1947 by the New Brighton Missions Committee, and notwithstanding such warnings and instructions continued to deposit such monies in his private account and whereas he was warned by the Committee and on the 24th February, 1947 and 15th April, 1947 by the Presbytery, to account to the Committee for monies received on behalf of the mission, yet the accused, having received a sum of £150, or thereabouts, for a missions Building Fund, opened by him without the knowledge or authority of the Committee, did upon or about the 25th February, 1947, and at Port Elizabeth within the bounds of the Presbytery, wrongfully and wickedly fail to hand over to the Committee more than £88.16.11. of the said money;
- c. and whereas he was on the 15th April, 1947 directed by the Presbytery to hand over in cash to the Committee within one week of the monthly meeting of the Deacons' Court all monies collected in the Mission, to make no payments except through the committee, and to incur no liabilities and to embark upon no extensions without the previous concurrence of the committee, yet accused did, during the months of August, September, October and November, 1947 and at Port Elizabeth aforesaid, wrongfully wickedly and contumaciously disregard the direction of Presbytery and delay to hand over such monies and did finally remit them by cheques drawn on his private banking account and did upon or about the 30th October 1947, and at Port Elizabeth aforesaid
- d. wrongfully, wickedly and contumaciously open an account with Barclay's Bank in the name of the New Brighton Presbyterian Church of South Africa for the deposit of such monies in that account and did thereafter deposit such monies in the said account;
- e. and whereas he held a Harvest Thanksgiving in or about November, 1946, within the bounds of the Presbytery, and received monies for the mission to an amount unknown to the Committee the accused did thereafter wrongfully, wickedly and contumaciously fail to account for and hand over to the Committee any of the monies so received by him; and thus the accused did ignore the authority of this court and offend against the good governance of the Church and render himself punishable according to the Word of God and the laws and discipline of the Church.

THIRDLY

- a. As also, in that, whereas by the Word of God and the laws and discipline of the Church no unrighteousness may be done in judgment and whereas upon or about the 10th August, 1947, and at New Brighton aforesaid, at a meeting of the mission congregation convened to meet a Presbyterian Visiting Commission upon the instruction of Presbytery and discuss the life and work of the said congregation, A Gunguluza, a member of the said congregation in full communion, asked, as he was entitled to do, for information regarding the accused's stipend, the funds received at the Harvest Thanksgiving, and the use of the pulpit, and stated that there was division in the congregation, thereafter, upon or about the 11th October, 1947, and at New Brighton aforesaid
- b. the accused and the Session of the said congregation did wrongfully and wickedly and in gross abuse of the authority of the ministry and the courts of the Church, condemn the said A Gunguluza for his questions and statement at the said meeting, and suspend him from the enjoyment of the right and privileges of a member in full communion for an indefinite period, and, notwithstanding that the said A Gunguluza did then and there lodge and appeal against the judgment and the said suspension thereafter upon or about the 12th October 1947, and at New Brighton aforesaid, the accused did wrongfully and wickedly announce to the congregation there assembled the ex-communication of the said A Gunguluza, and at no time thereafter did the accused bring the foregoing unrighteous treatment of the said A Gunguluza to the notice of the Presbytery for redress; and thus the accused acted contrary to the Word of God and the laws and discipline of the Church and in a manner unbecoming the sacred office of the ministry and did render himself liable to punishment by the Church.
- c. Further that whereas according to the laws and discipline of the Church a correct record of proceedings of the Courts of the Church must be accurately minuted the Rev W M Ntintili did openly scold the Session Clerk for recording his, Ntintili's remarks within the Kirk Session, and did instruct him that even if he, Ntintili, made statements or suggestions at the Kirk Session meetings the name of any other elder was to be entered and not that of Ntintili.

And thus the accused did pervert the truthful record of the meetings and did act contrary to the Word of God and discipline of the Church.

Wherefore upon due proof and conviction thereof the said Rev W D Campbell craves the judgment of the Presbytery against the accused according to the laws and discipline of the Church.

This indictment was not recorded in full in the Minutes of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth.
Copy taken from Civil Appeals 1949 in the Supreme Court of South Africa. (Archives, Cape Town.)

APPENDIX H.

INDICTMENT

of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth against the Rev W M T Ntintili formerly Minister of New Brighton Mission Church, Port Elizabeth.

TO the Rev W M T Ntintili, formerly Minister at New Brighton Mission Church, Port Elizabeth; but being under suspension sine die by sentence of the General Assembly given at Port Elizabeth on 24th March 1948, at present a Minister without Charge resident within the bounds of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth and hence under its jurisdiction:

YOU are indicted at the instance of the Rev Harold H Munro, M.A., duly appointed prosecutor on behalf of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, in that:-

WHEREAS it is clearly maintained in the Word of God (Matthew Ch. 18, verses 15-18) that the Church has final authority over its members in all disputes, and that its voice must be heard and received by them if they are to remain within the Church:

WHEREAS, moreover, this branch of the Church, the Presbyterian Church of South Africa, recognises as its subordinate standard the Articles of Faith, wherein it is set forth its interpretation of the Word of God in this matter of discipline (Appendix Ch. 3), affirming all members to be subject to its government and discipline:

WHEREAS, moreover, the interpretation of this branch of the Church of the Word of God in respect of the final authority in the visible Church is set forth in its subordinate standard (Appendix Ch. 1) to be vested in the General Assembly:

WHEREAS, moreover, all members being bound to accept this interpretation and polity, and you more particularly in that bishops are commanded in God's Word to be an example to the flock, and you were therefore bound anew by the Vows of your Ordination to accept the said government and polity:

AND WHEREAS you were indicted before General Assembly on charges of Fomenting dissention, contumacy, and unrighteous judgment, and having been found guilty on all three counts, were sentenced by Assembly to suspension sine die from all ministerial functions on 24th March, 1948,

AND WHEREAS you then publicly acknowledged the authority of Assembly to reach its verdict and accepted its sentence:

YOU are now indicted of contumacy and resistance to the authority of the Church, which is a grave and heinous offence, punishable, if proven, according to the Word of God and the Articles of the Faith by excommunication, termed in the Book of Order of this Church "deposition from office and removal from the membership of the Church."

IN THAT at various dates between 24th March, 1948 and 19th October, 1948, being at the time under suspension from all ministerial functions, you did exercise within the Mission Church at New Brighton, and among the members of the congregation of the said Church, various functions restricted to those set apart as Ministers of the Word and Sacraments in the Presbyterian Church of South Africa:

TO WHIT that you have dispensed the Sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion: that you have conducted Public Worship in the status of a Minister of the Gospel in this Church: that in the same capacity you have published Proclamations of Banns of Marriage: that you have in the same capacity conducted the Service for the Burial of the Dead:

FURTHER, that by the exercise of these functions from time to time within the specified dates, and moreover by your retention of occupancy of the Manse at New Brighton, which is for the use of the Minister of the Presbyterian Mission Church there, you have throughout this period represented yourself to the people of that congregation and community as the Presbyterian Minister thereof.

ALL WHICH, or part thereof, being found proven against you, the said W M T Ntintili, by the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, or by the General Assembly, should the said Presbytery refer the case at any stage to Assembly, before which you are to be tried in terms of your own public confession or after competent proof, you, the said W M T Ntintili, ought to be punished according to the rules and discipline of the Church, and the usage observed in such cases, for the glory of God, the edification of the Church, and the warning of others holding the same sacred office not to commit the like offences in all time coming.

SIGNED at Port Elizabeth, in name, presence, and by appointment of the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, this twenty-second day of October, nineteen hundred and forty-eight.

Signed:

Harold H Munro.

List of witnesses to be called by the above mentioned Prosecutor in support of the above mentioned indictment:

The Rev H F Yule	Elder N Koyana
The Rev J D Yule	Elder R Qalinge
The Rev G B Molefe	Elder S Mcoseli.
Mr Charles Anderson	Elder Kato
Mr J van der Spuy	Elder Ngcongolo
Mr A Gunguluza	Elder Dhudula
Mrs Mkana	Mrs Grace Madikwa

Which list is given without prejudice to the calling of further witnesses on three clear days notice of such additional witnesses names being given to the accused

Signed:

Harold H Munro.

Duly attested by:

W D Campbell Moderator

H H Munro

22 October 1948.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

This thesis has undergone numerous changes in form and content in an attempt to cope with the range of material available. What started out as a seemingly straightforward research topic had to adapt to four difficulties. First, no official history of the PCSA exists. While Dr J Dalziel's thesis covers the period from the beginning of Presbyterianism in South Africa to 1897 and Dr S M Brock's gives some background to the Synod of Kafraria's dilemma about union, nothing comparable exists for the subsequent period. Prof C W Cook is at present at work on this account, but meanwhile he and other workers face a vast expanse of unexplored territory. This task is complicated by a second difficulty: the PCSA has no archival system. The General Assembly has recently stressed the importance of preserving church records and has suggested that these should be housed at the PCSA Head Office, 24 Wellington Road, Parktown, Johannesburg; yet the situation remains almost as unsatisfactory as that to which Dr J Dalziel drew the church's attention over twenty years ago.¹ I have discovered valuable records in a variety of places, ranging from fire-proof safes and ministers' vestries, to damp cellars, garages and private homes. Even the facilities at the PCSA Head Office are unsuitable for storing this material: I found some valuable correspondence in an outside shed. Third, although there is a growing amount of material being written on missionary activity and its affect on African culture and traditional society, very little has any bearing on this topic. Most of the material dealt with 19th century missionary activity and thus did not describe the conditions facing the PCSA, which entered the mission field as a latecomer in 1897. Moreover, most studies concentrated on the rural missions thus leaving the missionary activity in the urban areas largely unexplored. Those studies that did exist on urban missions did not deal with Presbyterian missions or the experience of Port Elizabeth. The final and most difficult obstacle to overcome was the fact that I was a white, English-speaking South African, with little knowledge of Xhosa language, culture or tradition, attempting to write the history of a comparatively small mission congregation using the traditional tools of historical research. It has been both frustrating,

1. PCSA BB(1959), 176, 178.

The Assembly appointed the Rev J Dalziel as Church Historian and instructed him to 'prepare a Short History of Presbyterianism in South Africa...(and) to make recommendations regarding all ancient records'. A sum 'not exceeding £5' was set aside for the research after the defeat of an amendment to increase this sum to £50. ibid., 21/22.

because so little material was written or preserved by people undergoing the transition from a pre-literate to a literate culture; and challenging, to piece together the scattered material in which the PCSA's attempt to remain faithful to its calling as a missionary church in South Africa is recorded.

The main source of my material has been the official church records: the Assembly Blue Books; the Minutes of the Assembly's AMC and Church Extension and Aid Committee; and the Minutes of the Presbytery of Adelaide/Port Elizabeth. At times these records were exasperating because although reports were received for the various African missions, more often than not these were not published in the official reports, nor were they preserved. Similarly, the reports of official inquiries into congregations or individuals were treated as confidential and were therefore not published. For instance, in 1944 the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth held an official inquiry into the life and conduct of Samuel Gazi, the evangelist at Glenthorn. The Presbytery Minutes record that the report of this inquiry was handed in, but no record of its contents exists, and thus the reasons for his dismissal remain a mystery. Moreover, the amount of material recorded on the life and witness of individual mission congregations depended largely upon who was in charge of the mission. The white mission superintendents, C B Hamilton, S S Dornan, C E Greenfield and W Samson, who had been brought up in the tradition of keeping written records, all kept detailed diaries and records of their missions' affairs. No such records exist for the African mission congregations in the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth, where black ministers were only gradually discovering the importance of written records. The amount of material recorded in Presbytery Minutes was dependent largely upon the clerk's own interest in African missions. For instance, there is a quantum jump in the standard of Presbytery minute-keeping after the Rev H H Munro became Presbytery clerk in 1948. His fastidious attention to detail and faithful preservation of reports enabled me to reconstruct the Ntintili affair more fully than most other sections. I also gleaned a considerable amount of material for this section from a collection of correspondence which I have called 'The Ntintili File', but which I found wrapped in brown paper in the Head Office shed. I also found a box containing minutes and correspondence relating to the PCSA's African mission work, kept by the various Conveners of the Assembly's AMC, in the shed. I have placed this material under the heading 'Records of the Presbyterian Church' (RPC), and have used it extensively in Appendix A and D, as much to preserve the material as to use it to illustrate aspects of the thesis.

The Minutes of the white mission committees, first the Laymen's Missionary League District Band and then its successor, the New Brighton Mission Committee, provided valuable information about the everyday occurrences at the mission which was absent from the official records. When the New Brighton mission reached full status in 1962 a copy of the NBMC Minute book was handed to the late J J R Jolobe. I have not been able to trace this, nor any other NBMC Minute book since 1943. This was unfortunate because it has meant that the NBMC's record of the conflict between itself and the Rev W M T Ntintili has been lost, as well as the detailed history of the congregation under the Revs E Thethiwe and J J R Jolobe. The minute books of the Presbytery of Adelaide; the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth; the Laymen's Missionary League District Band and the New Brighton Mission Committee are kept in the minister's vestry at St Columba's Presbyterian Church, Port Elizabeth. I have also placed all the minute books, baptism and marriage registers and correspondence relating to the Presbytery's African mission work which I collected during a tour of Adelaide, Glenthorn and Somerset East in the vestry until more suitable arrangements can be made for their preservation. I have grouped this material under the heading 'Records at St Columba's' (RC).

The Hill Church records, kept in a fire-proof safe in the minister's vestry, provided valuable information. The progress of the New Brighton mission has been described in the Minutes of Session, Board of Management and the Annual Reports; and the history of the Kwazakele congregation was well documented in Contact, the official magazine of the Hill Church which the Rev H H Munro began in 1958.

I have not been able to discover any secondary material on the history of the New Brighton location. The Reports of the Medical Officer of Health and the Location Superintendent, published in the Mayor's Minutes, provided most of the information on location conditions. Yet once again, this is the history from the official side, and does not reveal the extent of the dislocation and the range of emotions experienced by those undergoing urbanization. The archives of the South African Temperance Alliance (S A T A), P O Box 109, Claremont, Cape Town, had some interesting articles and press cuttings on Kaffir Beer and its effect on African welfare and living conditions.

Material for the Presbyterian rural missions at Adelaide, Glenthorn and Somerset East was even more difficult to procure. The South African Missionary Museum, Kingwilliamstown, had very little information on these missions which were on a much smaller scale than the mission stations run by other denominations

in this area. I visited each of these mission churches and managed to collect records from various sources, including material from elderly members of the African mission congregations who had stored these in old trunks and battered boxes. Much of this material was totally illegible or had been destroyed by white ants. All the records and minute books for the African mission congregation at Somerset East were burned after the death of H S W Dennis, Treasurer of the congregation for many years. Similarly, the records of the outstations in the Bedford/Baviaans River valley area have been lost or destroyed. Another disturbing discovery during this rural tour was that the relationship between white and black Presbyterians seemed to have broken down almost completely. Previously, whites had been involved in overseeing the African mission churches and outstations. Today, very few white Presbyterians knew that these existed, much less were able to show me where the outstations were. Each group seems to have gone its own separate way.

The final and most difficult source of information was the oral evidence. On the white side I was fortunate that several people who had played an important part in the development of African mission work were still living. The interviews with the Revs W D Campbell, T L Clarke, M A Hartsliet, the late W M J Lund, and Mr W F J and Mrs van't Hoogerhuijs, were encouraging and enlightening. It was more difficult to get information from the black side not only because I do not speak Xhosa, but also because it took time to establish confidence and credibility in an informer-ridden society. Despite these obstacles, the Revs L S L Mateza, E Magula and other African Presbyterians welcomed me into their homes and shared their reminiscences of the congregation's history with me. My contact with the Rev G B Molefe was particularly important. His incomplete autobiography gave me valuable information on his early life; his interviews were sincere, honest and informative; and the example of his life gave me the courage and determination to finish what at times seemed an exasperating and endless task.

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 - Lease: Uitenhage African Mission Church.
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G ORAL INTERVIEWS

A set of these tapes will be deposited in Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

- i) T L Clarke and M A Hartsliet (former ministers of St Andrew's and St Columba's Churches, Port Elizabeth) and Mr W F J and Mrs van't Hoogerhuijs (formerly actively involved in African mission work and close friends of G B Molefe) : held at St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Port Elizabeth, 2 April 1980.
- ii) W M J Lund (former minister of Adelaide Union Church and Convener of Presbytery's African Missions Committee) : held at St Columba's Presbyterian Church, Parkview, Johannesburg, August 1980.

- iii) E Magula (minister at Adelaide) : held at Khobonqaba, Adelaide, 12 July 1982.
- iv) L S L Mateza (former minister of St Patrick's, New Brighton) : held at St Columba's Presbyterian Church, Port Elizabeth, July 1980.
- v) A Meaker (Treasurer of Somerset East African Mission Church from 1949-1977) : held at Somerset East, 15 July 1982. (not recorded).
- vi) L Mgubela, F Tonjeni, W Mbanga and Mrs Hanise (members of St Patrick's, New Brighton) : held at St Columba's Presbyterian Church, Port Elizabeth, July 1980. (F Tonjeni interpreted).
- vii) G B Molefe : held at St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Port Elizabeth, 2 April 1980.
- viii) G Morgan (former Treasurer of the Glenthorn African Mission Church) : held at Adelaide, 13 July 1982. (not recorded).
- ix) E Yose and P Nyati (Session Clerk and Secretary of the Board of Management of Somerset East African Mission Church respectively) : held in Nyati's home, New Brighton, Somerset East, 15 July 1982.



Sisonke Community Centre, Zwide (1978).





The Hector Paterson Memorial Church (left)
and teacher's house (right)
Barkly Bridge (1940).



Rockville Church/School (Glenthorn District)
Note pulpit in centre.



Mission Church at Somerset East (1907).



Mission Church at Glenthorn (1911).



The Davidson Memorial Church (1937)

Adelaide.



The Agnes Mary Black Memorial Church (1946)

Adelaide.



The first Presbyterian church building at Kwazakele (1959).

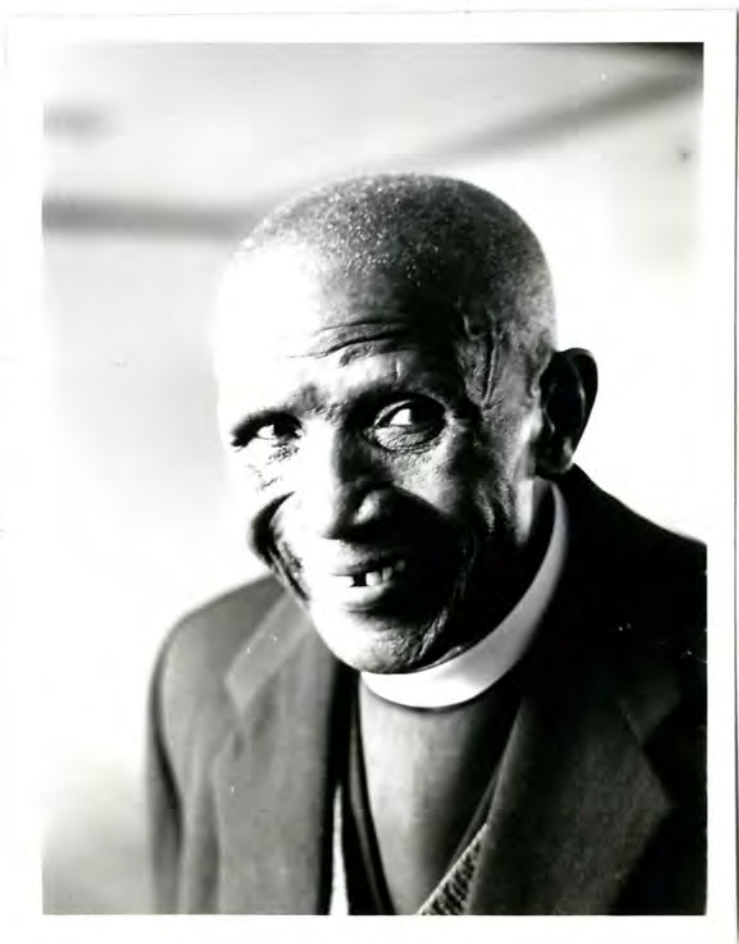


St Barnabas Church (1960)

Kwazakele.



The Rt Rev J J R Jolobe
at the induction of his successor in office, the
Rev Professor C W Cook as Moderator of General Assembly,
Bloemfontein 1975.



The Rev G B Molefe, 1981.



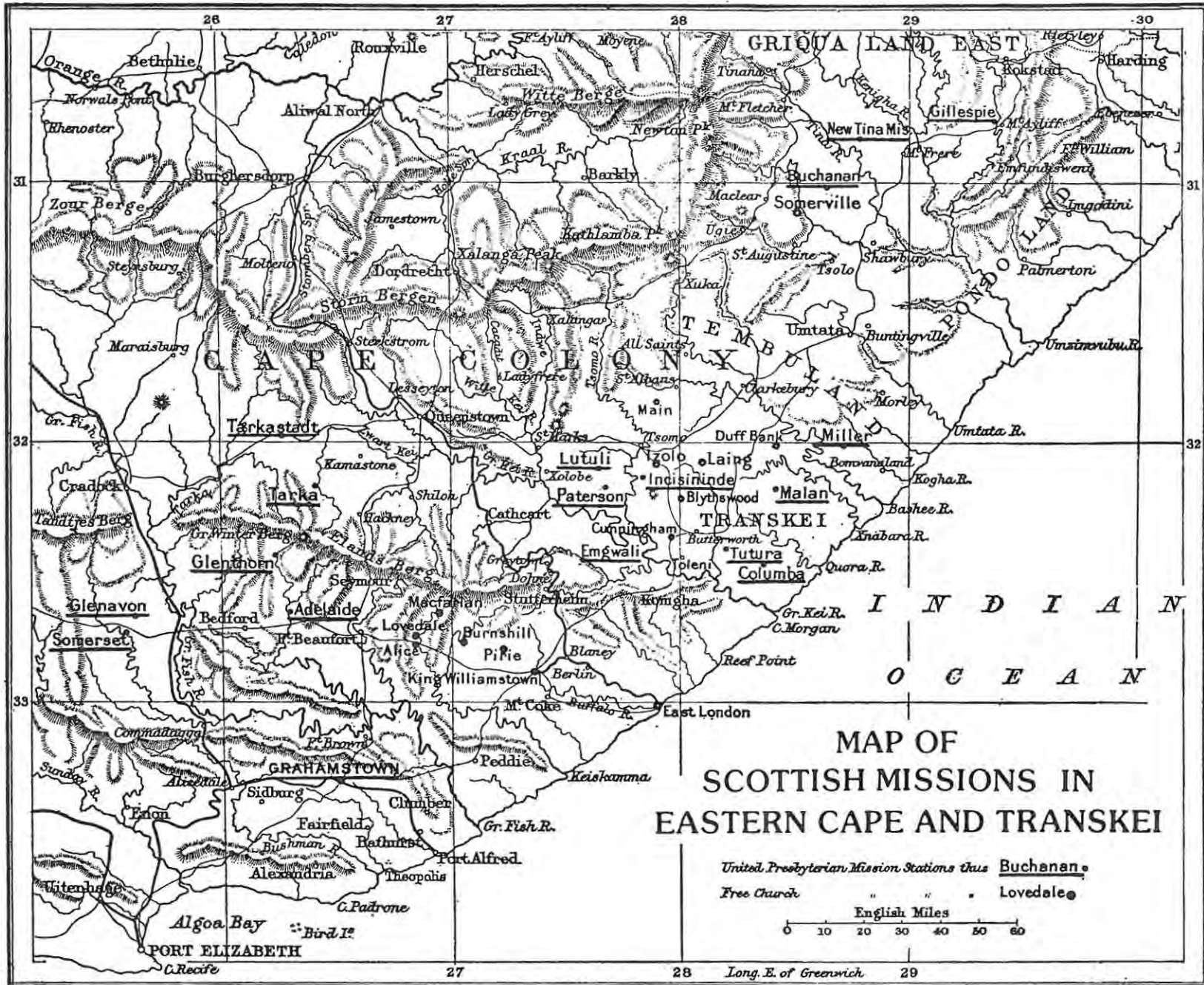
Opening of the New Brighton African Mission Church & Manse
McNamee Village, 5 March 1939.



St Patrick's Church & Manse
McNamee Village, New Brighton, 1983.

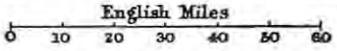
MAP SHOWING ORIGINAL
NEW BRIGHTON LOCATION c.1904
AND MCNAMEE VILLAGE c.1937.





MAP OF SCOTTISH MISSIONS IN EASTERN CAPE AND TRANSKEI

United Presbyterian Mission Stations thus Buchanan
Free Church " " " Lovedale





**MAP SHOWING
GROWTH OF AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS
c. 1904-1977.**

0 500 1000 2000metre
0 1 2kilometre