
THE ORIGINS, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE BANTU PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SOUTH AFRICA.

by

DANIEL VAN DER SPUY

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P R E F A C E.

"The function of the historian is neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to understanding the present." (E.H. Carr, What is history?, 1964 p.26) The existence of an independent Bantu Presbyterian Church (B.P.C.) has raised many questions and problems which could only be probed by tracing its history. It is fascinating that even with the passing of so many years the issues at stake are still in the forefront. Perhaps in understanding the past one may better understand the present, but only one with acute vision will know the "right solution".

The "Presbyterian mission" has been one of many in South Africa and has been present for over 150 years, yet I found little, as far as published work is concerned, which deals comprehensively with the various bodies comprising this mission. Nor is it clear, even in Presbyterian circles, what its history and policy has been, or meant, in the life of this country. Unfortunately, material is not always readily available, (which I found to my dismay), and both time and expense is involved in collecting such. I have consequently had to rely on scanty information as well as the dry-as-dust, uninformative blue books of the B.P.C. and P.C.S.A., which may indicate trends but very little by way of individual thought. With some spadework done by a few, it is an ardent hope that more will be done to uncover the past to knit the Presbyterian tradition together, that it may take its place amongst other histories, not in any partisan manner, but only to contribute to a healthy ecumenical climate where the worth of each tradition is acknowledged and used to increase the spirit of closer co-operation.

The question of Presbyterian Union has long been present. My hope is that this thesis may clarify and encourage.

(ii)

To a few I owe much. To Prof. Calvin Cook, Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Rhodes, I extend my grateful thanks for his patience and helpful guidance without which I would have floundered. Dr. R.H.W. Shepherd must undoubtedly be thanked for his readiness to supply information. The number of quotations from his work will convince anyone of my dependence on his excellent and inspiring book. To my sister-in-law, Ann Greeff, who typed the draft copy in such haste and trying circumstances, I must make mention of my debt. Last, but not least, to Mrs. Rita Maasdorp, who is responsible for the final typing, and had the unenviable task of doing everything at the last minute. For her time and patience I extend my grateful thanks.

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1. THE MISSIONARY BACKGROUND.

Scottish missionary activity, which produced the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa, springs from the missionary enterprise and fervour so characteristic of the nineteenth century. It began with the rise of the 'Evangelicals' within the churches both in Scotland and England, who, because of their strong piety and enthusiasm, felt the need to proclaim the Gospel to the heathen in far distant lands. After finding themselves frustrated by the lack of sympathy of the 'broad' churchmen who were not fired by the same enthusiasm they turned to different methods. They grouped themselves together to found missionary agencies outside the institutional churches through which they could channel their enthusiasm. Thus in 1796, some of like mind, met in the Chapel-of-Ease Sessionhouse, Albion Street, Glasgow, and formed the Glasgow Missionary Society (G.M.S.). The Society soon produced a report which enshrines particular and important missionary principles and likewise a distinctive missionary outlook.

"The document which is dated 'Glasgow, March 1st, 1796', although couched in the characteristic language of the time, reveals a penetrating and wide-visioned mind. Indeed, it may be contended that if the simple directions the paper contains had been followed the history of modern missions should have been considerably different." 1.

The report begins with the qualities which are to be found in every prospective candidate for the mission field. It then goes on to enunciate general missionary principles as follows:

"1. That two missionaries should be joined in the sacred work: that one's talent consisting chiefly in informing the mind; the other's, in striking

/The...

the passions.

2. That they should be furnished with powers to administer both Word and Sacraments. But whether this should be done by some Presbytery, or by ministers in the Society, we presume not to determine.

3. That previous to their setting out in their sacred Mission, they should in the presence of the Directors, be solemnly recommended by prayer to God, and enjoined to study the knowledge of the truth, fidelity in their mission, and unanimity between themselves, as they regard their own comfort, and the edification of those among whom they minister.

4. That if circumstances permit they should be strongly recommended to the notice and protection of such as are in power in the place whither they are sent.

5. That having reached the place of destination, they should not immediately begin to teach by an interpreter; not only because this is a cold and circuitous manner of communicating sentiment, but also because he may misinterpret their words, and accordingly defeat the end of their mission.

6. That, under the direction of a Teacher, they should immediately apply themselves to learn the language of the country.

7. That, in teaching, they must not ridicule the pagan idols, nor their manner of worship; but calmly reason with them, always shewing the utmost benevolence; that they ought not to expose the innocent customs of the country; but, as far as possible, become all things to all men, that they may save some.

8. That they should neither directly nor indirectly resent injuries, but endeavour, on all occasions, to overcome evil with good.

9. That they should use no party-names, nor unnecessarily discover to the heathen world the multiple and mournful divisions which prevail amongst Christians.

10. That as circumstances admit, they should devote a part of every day, (the Sabbath excepted,) to acquire such knowledge of the language of that country where they minister, that at last, by the good hand of their God upon them, they may be able to translate some parts of Scripture into it, beginning with the Gospel of John and some of the Psalms, as the XXIII, LXXII, CX and CXII.

11. That from time to time they should transmit an account of their situation to the directors of the Society.

12. That if it please the Lord of the harvest to send forth a succession of labourers, the Directors of the Society should send them out two by two, always associating a young Missionary with an older." 1.

These principles have been quoted at length for they convey the theological and social views of the Society to which all members were able to subscribe. Their common basis lay in an evangelical and conservative theology which produced practices that in the racial relationships of South Africa were regarded as 'liberal'. The policies enshrined in the document are similarly a product of the 'liberal' view of missions held by the evangelicals and it is this view which

1. *ibid.* pp. 25-26, quoting the G.M.S. Quarterly Paper, June 1828, pp. 3-4.

shall be traced throughout this analysis of the history leading up to, and the subsequent development of the Bantu Presbyterian Church (B.P.C.). This basis of this evangelical 'liberalism' lies in the hopeful view of the potentialities of human nature through education and evangelism as opposed to a pessimistic view that regards human nature as unchangeable. Unlike some brands of evangelical theology, their alliance with these 'liberal' views issued in involvement in social issues and setting up educational and medical institutions. Speaking of the Scottish missions in general and Lovedale, their foremost station, in particular; Hinchliff² has this to say:

"The education provided has itself been described as the embodiment of paternalism or the imposition of a foreign culture upon a people whose traditions were thereby destroyed. It has also been condemned, of course, as being too 'liberal' and helping to create political agitation."²

The word 'liberal' needs further clarification because of the many shades of meaning attached to it. The G.M.S. expressed a general type of liberalism which showed a readiness to welcome new ideas and freedom from bigotry. This is shown by the fact that it was non-denominational. Their missionaries were enjoined not to use party names, nor to expound the divisions of Christendom to their converts.

The articles which state that the missionaries should not use an interpreter but rather learn the language and to respect both the people and their customs reflects an anti-dogmatic and humanitarian approach. This by no means meant that their theology was an anthropocentric humanism which a man like van der Kemp was in danger of producing. But the Scottish missionaries of the 19th century cannot be separated

2. Peter Hinchliff, The Church in South Africa, London, S.P.C.K. 1968, p. 89.

from their background which was a rising tide of liberal opinion. They can by no means be associated with the British Liberal Party politics but were in agreement with the rights of individuals, and with progress, which they found to be compatible with the fundamental biblical tenets. Nor were the Scottish missionaries alone in their liberal views which forced them, if they were to be true to conscience, to uphold the rights and dignity of their non-white flock. In this respect most missionaries were ahead of white colonial opinion and in the forefront in espousing this cause against the obvious abuse of the day.¹

In 1821, the G.M.S. sent its first missionaries to South Africa. These were William Ritchie Thomson and John Bennie who proceeded to the Chumie Mission Station on the Chumie River run by another Scot, John Brownlee. John Brownlee was formerly a missionary of the London Missionary Society who severed his connection with the Society. His stipend was thereafter paid by the government for which he in return acted as government agent for the area. W.R. Thomson secured a stipend from the government under the same conditions, but his duties were more strictly defined because of Brownlee's objection to certain of the government's demands. Despite hardships, wars and unpredictable climate, their work grew and they were very soon joined by others in the expanding work. Chief amongst the stations was Lovedale, which was to increase in importance in the following decades. This institution which began in a humble fashion, was to grow to one of the leading educational centres blessed as it was by a remarkable succession of principals.

1. Note the case of the Rev. J.D. Don of King Williams Town (1885) who was placed on trial for libel when he condemned the reluctance of the government (in the face of public wrath) to prosecute one W.J. Pelsler for the murder of a native named Zachariah.

The importance of Lovedale in the formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church cannot be overestimated, because it radiated a particular message in the field of race relations. By 1824, the Presbytery of Kaffraria had been formed with William Thomson as the guiding spirit along with John Bennie and John Ross. The members of the Presbytery drew their stipend either from the G.M.S. or from the colonial government, but they adhered to the principles of the Church of Scotland and followed it in matters of doctrine and Church government. The Presbytery was free from all ecclesiastical ties and was solely responsible to the G.M.S. board of directors, until later events in Scotland were to split mission work, which then fell under the wing of the home churches who since had become broadly evangelical in character.

The Frontier War of 1834 dealt Scottish mission work a severe blow. The ruin of "old Lovedale" and the invitation of Captain Charles Stretch to build on the west bank of the Chumie (Tyumie) river led to the beginnings of the "new Lovedale". By 1838 a small house and church-school had been completed which was opened by Bennie. A total of 132 pupils were recorded as being in attendance by the following year.¹ The very next year a memorandum was sent to Scotland requesting approval for the establishment of a seminary. In 1841 William Govan took charge of the newly opened institution as its first principal.

Mission work on the frontier was on several occasions disrupted by frontier wars. To add to their problems the missionaries were also drawn into the conflict of the "Great Disruption" that divided the Church of Scotland. The "Ten Years Conflict" against State interference in Church affairs led to the breakaway of approximately 450 ministers to form the Free Church of Scotland.

1. op. cit. R.H.W. Shepherd p. 88.

"In the first General Assembly of the Free Church (1843) Chalmers was at pains to make it clear that the movement was in no sense directed towards Voluntaryism. 'Though we quit the Establishment we go out on the establishment principle; we quit a vitiated Establishment but would rejoice in returning to a pure one. We are advocates for a national recognition and national support of religion - and we are not voluntaries'.¹

The Free Church advocacy of national recognition suited men like W.R. Thomson who had no qualms about receiving a Cape government salary, to continue as one of its ministers. Its dynamic spirit and its sympathies found whole-hearted support from almost every missionary in both Africa and India. In a remarkable effort the Free Church established itself in the provision of churches, manes and other amenities. In addition to the enormous educational responsibilities at home it took over extensive mission work. Feelings in the C.M.S. were no less affected by the disruption and it soon found itself in difficulties.

"The position of the Society in Glasgow was jeopardised, many of the adherents indicating that unless separation took place between those who adhered to the principles of the Established Church, and those who opposed it, they would withdraw their support from the Society altogether. Thus the missionaries in Kaffirland, at a meeting held at Lovedale on 17th May, 1838, divided themselves accordingly."²

1. J.H.S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, London, Oxford Univ. Press. 1960, p. 354.

2. D. Williams, When races meet, Johannesburg, A.P.B. Publishers, 1967, pp. 136-137.

The G.M.S. was unable to avoid division. It was decided that neither of the two new societies should bear the name 'Glasgow Missionary Society' so that they were now respectively called 'the Glasgow Missionary Society adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland' and the 'Glasgow African Missionary Society'. In the Eastern Cape Captain Stretch and John Brownlee were designated to value the G.M.S. property. Burnshill, Pirie and Lovedale fell to the former society, while Chumie and Igqibigha fell to the latter.^{1.} The 'G.M.S. adhering to the principles of the Church of Scotland' was soon taken under the wing of the Free Church of Scotland. While the societies were split at home, the G.A.M.S. stations remained in close co-operation with the other missions. Events in Scotland were soon to divide the two sister missions more permanently. The United Succession and the Relief Church united to form the United Presbyterian Church. With 518 congregations it was almost numerically as strong as the Free Church but confined mainly to cities and towns.

"There were thus two large Presbyterian Churches outside the Established Church and almost equally hostile to it, but for different reasons. The Free Church opposed an Erastian Establishment, while the United Presbyterians were opposed to Establishment as such. Could these two Churches amalgamate?"^{2.}

Amalgamation was fifty years away. Meanwhile the United Presbyterian Church took over the work of the G.A.M.S. in 1847. This church finally made itself responsible for the education of Tiyo Soga. It developed, among other missions, the work at Emgwali () and Tutura () in the Transkei.

1. D. Williams op.cit. p. 137.

2. Burleigh op.cit p. 363.

The contemporary ecclesiastical developments within the D.R.C. and in its relations with the Scottish missions are further pointers to the 'liberal' attitudes of the men from Scotland in respect of racial attitudes. One must qualify by saying that this should not be confused with the struggle in the Cape Churches between 'liberal' and 'conservative' theologians. By the 1870's theological liberalism was exceptionally strong and many leading theologians adhered to its broad creed:

"that the Bible was not exclusively the word of God and that it had no authority in matters of science; that God operated not by miracles but through natural laws; that Christ was man's exemplar rather than his redeemer; that the doctrines of predestination and original sin, along with a great deal else that was the very core of Calvinism must be rejected."¹

The Scottish ministers were conservative in their theology and it was Andrew Murray, a man trained in Scotland, who was the most vigorous opponent of theological liberalism. Most ministers who were conservative theologically, like Andrew Murray, were against racial segregation and state interference in church affairs, the two touchstones of liberal politics. The liberal theologians were generally content with an Erastian view of church/state relations and not noticeably concerned with mission work.

"Affinity between the D.R.C. and the Scottish missionaries was not a remote possibility. There were a considerable number of Scottish ministers in the Church, and had there been close co-operation from the 1830's onwards, the D.R.C. might have formulated a colour policy on a liberal basis

¹. Hancock Smuts. The Sanguine Years p. 21.

with the support of the missionaries from the Scottish societies in Kaffirland. That this did not happen was due to pressure from members of the D.R.C. and the Scottish missionaries did not wish to associate themselves with this tendency."¹.

William Thomson, one of the first missionaries to South Africa, from the G.M.S., was to see great changes in the mission field during his lifetime, changes which were intimately bound up with his own ministry. He had always maintained the closest of relations with his missionary brethren belonging to the Free Church institutions even after he had gone into the service of the D.R.C. Thomson linked the D.R.C. and the Scottish missions and as minister of the coloured congregations at Hertzog and Balfour, witnessed the rising tide of colour-consciousness in the D.R.C. In 1834, the synod of the D.R.C. accepted his newly formed congregation of Bastaris, Hottentots and Gqonaquas. These two congregations, situated in the Kat River Settlement were vitally affected by the events of the Kat River Rebellion. Prior to the rebellion there were not enough Europeans in the area to make a case for a separate church on the basis of colour. After the rebellion, however, the government had sufficient excuse to break up this exclusive Hottentot settlement, which had always been regarded with great suspicion by the colonists. By 1855 the area was resettled and soon there was found to be a greatly increased white population in the area, amongst whom were a number of Boers belonging to the D.R.C. It was not long before 45 of them requested the coloured session at Hertzog for separate celebration of the Lord's Supper and their own office bearers. The only distinction drawn between the members of the D.R.C. up to and during the early 1800's had been between baptised and unbaptised.

1. D. Williams, op. cit., p. 196.

In 1829 the synod decided, in answer to queries about the racial problem, that there was to be no discrimination but rather that:

"all were to receive the sacrament according to the teaching of the Bible and the spirit of Christianity".^{1.}

This problem soon led to conflict in Thomson's congregation and the matter was put before the Presbytery at Albany, which appointed a commission consisting of the Revs. Thomson, Dr. Roux and van Niekerk to investigate the complaints of the Boers. This led to discussion in the D.R.C. synod where the Rev. Andrew Murray moved an important proposal, which, while recognizing that scripturally there should be common worship but

"ten gevolge van de zwakheid van sommigen"^{2.}

they would allow the whites to build separate facilities. This concession to the weakness of the few was taken on practical and not on scriptural considerations and averted what might have been a schism. This decision had the effect of making the bonds between the Scottish missionaries and the D.R.C. tenuous and the divergence became more apparent as the years proceeded. Thomson subsequently became the 'konsulent' of the newly established white congregation. One cannot draw the inference from this that he totally approved of the separation between white and black because he came through the struggle apparently free from any blemish and his testimony to his fight for the cause of the coloureds lies in the events of the Kat River rebellion.

With the background knowledge of the events surrounding Thomson and the realization that the Scottish

1. D. Williams *ibid* p. 197.

2. *ibid* p. 200 quoting Waresis: *Ons Nedi. Ger. Kerk*, Celenkboek 1952 p. 319.

missionaries stood behind the liberal attitude towards missions and the native missions, we turn to those who maintained and influenced this thought in the latter half of the nineteenth century. One must however, emphasise the fact that the 'liberal' attitude was never at any stage peculiar to the Scottish missions alone. The history of many other ecclesiastical bodies bear witness to the same attitude.

"In the late 1820's, spurred on by the evangelicals, she (Britain) had relieved the Coloured people of their legal disabilities and made tentative efforts to devise a liberal policy towards the Africans on the Eastern frontier of the Cape Colony."¹

The evangelicals included the Wesleyans, the Moravians, the L.W.S. and Scottish missions. It is the attempt of this thesis to establish that the Bantu Presbyterian Church was a product of this 'liberal' attitude. It is significant that the formation of the B.P.C. took place at Lovedale, and it is to the history, influence and outlook of that institution that we now turn to gauge its contribution to the formation of the B.P.C.

The principalship of William Govan at Lovedale had all the problems associated with a growing institution.

"Although catering for the educational needs of such(distinguished) European pupils, Govan never lost sight of the paramount claims of Native education. And while he was thankful for such aid as the dominant White race could give 'he never ceased to impress on the native mind his firm conviction that the main and abiding support for the furtherance of this great cause must come from the Natives themselves.'"²

1. L.M. Thompson, *The Unification of South Africa*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1960 p. 1.

2. R.H.W. Shepherd op.cit. p. 148, citing Laing's Memorials p. 359.

Although expansion at Lovedale was slow, its finances were being placed on a sound footing and the foundations well and truly laid. In 1863 Lovedale was visited by James Stewart who had been companion to David Livingstone in Central Africa. The visit, along with his approval of the educational schemes implemented by Dr. Alexander Duff in India, as well as the fact that Dr. Duff became convener of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Free Church, soon led to the appointment of Stewart at Lovedale in 1867 as a member of staff. Stewart was also entrusted with a set of instructions relating to the re-organization of mission affairs. The Presbytery of Kaffraria was to restrict itself to purely ecclesiastical business; an educational board was to be established comprising of the ordained missionaries in the institution and one representative from the Presbytery, whose duty it would be to regulate the course of instruction in the Seminary and subordinate schools; and a financial board was to be established to relieve Govan of the burden of the financial affairs of the institution which he alone had borne.^{1.}

The relationship of Lovedale to the Presbytery^{2.} was always close and the ordained ministers serving on its staff were members of Presbytery. Therefore, we may safely say that the policies embarked on by the institution had the approval of the Presbytery and that the Presbytery agreed with the opinions expressed by the principals as the institution grew in importance. There was also a traffic of ideas between Lovedale and the Presbytery as well as with the

1. R.H.W. Shepherd op, cit. p. 154.

2. "In 1857 the 'Presbytery of Caffraria' was admitted as a Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland, and later when other Presbyteries were formed in the Transkei a 'Synod of Caffraria' was set up. But the General Assembly of the South African Congregations of the Free Church was the General Assembly in Scotland."

ibid. pp. 340-341.

foreign mission committee which directed both. The thought of Govan, Stewart and Henderson (the latter was a central figure at the inauguration of the B.P.C.) thus presents a clue to the thought that produced the B.P.C. Educational policies underwent a fundamental change when Govan retired as principal and Stewart took over. As convenor of the Foreign Missions committee, Dr. Duff had no small part to play in these changes which were fully supported by Stewart, while Govan with good reason felt that he could not endorse them. The committee in Scotland soon made it plain that the elementary subjects of mathematics, arithmetic and geography should be taught by lay teachers and not ordained men and that their salaries should be the responsibility of the Governor of the Colony. English should be the sole classical language and Latin and Greek dropped as 'unnecessary'.

"Dr. Duff declared that the result of Mr. Govan's policy was that 'the seminary has hitherto been little more than an ordinary secular Grammar School, and the Christian and Missionary element in it has not had the prominence which ought to be looked for in a Missionary institution'.¹

Therefore the committee's main aim was for a class of "thoroughly educated labourers," Christian men, equipped for operations in the mission field. The greater emphasis was to be on the education of a native ministry as readers, catechists or fully ordained ministers rather than a broad education for all. Govan and Stewart admitted a difference on this matter and both submitted statements embodying their respective positions. The difference is of importance for us.²

1. R.H.W. Shepherd *ibid.* p. 158.

2. *ibid.* p. 156. My words are a summary of the statements given in this work.

"In his paper Govan pled that not only should the qualifications required for ordination to the ministry be the same for Natives as for Europeans, but also that 'it is desirable that Natives should be enabled to take their place alongside of Europeans, not only in the office of the ministry, but also in the various positions in society, secular as well as ecclesiastical',"³.

Education was the gateway to equality and to overcome the disadvantages under which the Natives suffer. Govan held that the objects of the institution was:

"first and generally, to supply a higher education to a portion of the Native people, and secondly and specially, to train agents for both evangelistic and educational operations."⁴.

The standard of education was to cater for European children, to equip them for passing the government examinations. His system of education was a fourstream policy viz. (i) a training school for men who had reached a certain standard and who wished to teach. (ii) a preparatory school for elementary instruction in English literature, classics, mathematics, and sciences, based on the Scottish high school model. (iii) a college for higher education. (iv) a divinity school. Govan sensed that Stewart's policies might involve the lowering of standards, which as yet were still meagre, and the dream of an educated ministry "had scarcely been attempted."

Stewart, on the other hand, wished to streamline education to suit the needs and conditions of the African peoples. In line with the policy suggested by the Foreign Mission Committee his aim was to raise a special class of Native teachers and preachers. The intention was not to be

³ Shepherd
3. *ibid.* p. 156. quoting "African Wastes Reclaimed" pp.107 ff.
4. *ibid.* p. 156. quoting "African Wastes Reclaimed" pp.107 ff.
It is interesting to note that Govan's views were finally to succeed with the establishment of the Fort Hare Native College for higher education.

exclusive or to lower the aims of Lovedale. In wishing to comply with government examinations he felt that the institution was being taken too far off its course. There was enough difficulty teaching English, let alone Latin or Greek and some other modern language. He wanted:

"a practical education, giving what is thought will best fit those who receive it for their special work, and omitting much that may perhaps be generally useful, and even desirable, as belonging to a classical education, were it not that the condition of heathen Africa demands that, as professed missionaries, we should specialize our efforts."¹.

The committee opted for Stewart's ideas and the elementary education for many, rather than the higher education of a few. Govan felt that the lowering of the standard of education was a serious reversal of the former policy and to the deep regret of many resigned in July 1870.

The integrity of neither man can be questioned on this issue. Both were devoted missionaries as their lives proved. Both had the cause of the natives close to their hearts. Govan took the individualistic line. For him the objects of the mission was the raising of the few to equal ability which would allow the natives to take their place alongside the European and so also raise their own people. Stewart, on the other hand, aimed primarily at the native as a group. The Word and civilization were to go hand in hand for the raising up of the native peoples at large. For the time being, higher education would have to be sacrificed as only incidental to the primary object of educating

1. R.H.W. Shepherd op. cit. pp. 157-158.

the native ministry. The same differences are to found within the liberal tradition and may be ascribed to this fundamental paradox found within the 'liberal' tradition. As Hoernle¹ put it:

"Even a superficial survey of the history of the modern world, at any rate within the orbit of European civilization, shows that the liberal spirit has worked on two planes: it has worked for the liberation of individuals from hampering disabilities and restrictions; and it has worked for the liberation of groups which, as groups, were oppressed and deprived of their rights."¹

Both these aspects may have operated together but often the one would prevail, then the other. In the case of Stewart it would seem that as a missionary to the Black peoples, he tended towards working for the liberation of that group, while Govan was more concerned with the individual.

In 1870 at the age of 39, Dr. Stewart became the second principal of Lovedale. The story of his labours is one of slowly unfolding success. A boarding school for native girls was opened with 66 boarders by 1873. In 1872 a telegraph operated by natives was opened at Lovedale. Industrial training in such trades as wagon-building, bricklaying, carpentry, printing, bookbinding and agriculture underwent expansion. A monthly magazine, "the Kaffir Express" began to appear in 1870 (from 1876 called the Christian Express). Dr. Stewart was himself foremost amongst its contributors. This magazine was the chief mouthpiece of Lovedale and Stewart and did much to propagate the political, social and religious views of the missionaries. The expansion of Lovedale may be gauged from the fact that in 1872, 300 pupils

1. R.F.A. Hoernle, South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand Univ. Press, 1945, p. 107.

were enrolled and native fees amounted to £400. In 1897, 813 pupils had enrolled, paying £3,544. Donald Ross, the Inspector-General of colleges and schools, said of Lovedale in 1883:

"But the whole of Lovedale is a liberal education; the well kept walks, the rows of trees growing up on all sides, the well filled water furrows, the farm, the Native chapel and a series of minor civilizing influences, showing a mastermind controlling the whole and infusing earnestness into all around. Lovedale and all similar institutions must sooner or later tell upon Native character."¹.

No less was the growth of Dr. Stewart's reputation. He was appointed to the Commission on Native Laws and Customs (1883). It seems clear that the Cape Government was already thinking of self-government for the native territories. For in its terms of reference the commission was asked:

"and to report on the advisability of introducing some system of local self-government in Native territories."².

"In regard to local self-government, the commission made recommendations for the setting up of a Council whose character and functions, as later events proved, were to be the first semblance of those of the Transkeian Territories General Council (now the Transkei Legislative Assembly) and the Ciskeian General Council of the present day."³.

1. R.H.W. Shepherd op. cit. p. 200 quoting a preliminary report on the state of education pp. 53-54.

2. *ibid.* p. 206.

3. R.H.W. Shepherd op. cit. p. 208.

Dr. Stewart firmly believed that Lovedale's duty to the Native people did not end with education nor was it applicable only within the institution. He held firm political views without being dogmatic. He therefore founded the "Kaffir Express" thereby:

"ensuring that his influence, his educational ideas and his convictions were disseminated throughout the Cape Colony, and also to those in Scotland who became subscribers to his journal."⁴

The monthly changed its name to the Christian Express in 1876 and in 1922 became the South African Outlook.

"Education received constant attention and missionary matters in all parts of Africa were extensively reported. The editor received more letters than he could print, the most common topics being the compatibility with Christianity of lobola, circumcision rites, and beer and brandy drinking. Increasingly, there was comment on what was called 'Native Policy' and the measures of successive governments in relation to this. Editorial remarks on political affairs were always severely restrained and careful but, in the atmosphere of the frontier, these editorials still came under fire from small-town newspapers."¹

Dr. Stewart was a realist, neither wishing to paint all the blacks white by posing them as "black wingless angels" nor did he indiscriminately attack all colonists for their attitudes.

"The interests of the European and Native population were essentially one. In the providence of

4. Sheila Brock, James Stewart - Founder, South African Outlook Special Centenary Issue, Oct. 1970. p.145.

1. S. Brock *ibid.* p. 146.

God the Black and White races of this country had been brought together, and whatever might be said to the contrary, their interests were one."².

He consistently pled the cause of the natives. Speaking of his articles dealing with "Her Majesty's Subjects: Black and White," Shepherd says:

"... and though dealing largely with the situation prevailing at that time, (Stewart) expressed in a succinct way the political creed which has been adhered to throughout the course of Lovedale's history."³.

The name of the magazine (S.A. Outlook) adds point to this thesis, namely, that Lovedale stood for a particular outlook, which has been described as a 'liberal' outlook. This outlook too may be traced back to the original G.W.S. report on missionary principles especially in its unsectarian character and respect for native customs and a concern for men both in body and soul.

"(This journal) will be unsectarian in its character. It will represent no denominational body, but the cause of missions generally, and the interests of the native people. (Editorial vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 1870).

(It has been a contribution) to the cause of missions

2. R.H.W. Shepherd op. cit. pp. 201-202.

3. ibid. pp. 201-202. Similarly an editorial in the Oct. 1970 edition of the S.A. Outlook says:

"Having accumulated a wealth of experience through the turbulent years since 1870, the Outlook remains more than ever convinced of the truth of the things for which it has stood consistently - if not always successfully - over the century".

and of justice and righteousness in South Africa.
(March, 1914).

(Its columns) are not for the firing of blank cartridges at authorities ... so much as for the enlightening and leading of public opinion. (Sept, 1930)

It is sometimes argued that the Church should not concern itself too much with 'Political' (by which is meant 'social') matters ... This view which is not only shallow but which ... also does positive disservice to the Christian gospel." (Feb, 1967.)¹

The Christian Outlook, Stewart and Lovedale are bound together in their consistent advocacy of a policy based on:

- (i) protecting the interests of the native people in the face of continued erosion of their rights and dignity.
- (ii) equality before the law and justice in lawmaking.
- (iii) concern for education in equipping the native to take his place alongside the white man in the life of the nation.
- (iv) stating and translating Christian principles in all social and political circumstances with a view to furthering the gospel amongst all races.

What might be described as the Lovedale attitude² became the norm of Scottish mission work not only in South Africa, but also in Nyasaland, Livingstonia (Blantyre) and Kenya. The unity was not only one of principle, but also through the personality and work of Stewart.

While in general the work was 'liberal' there were important modifications made to overseas liberalism by experience in Africa. Realistic rather than romantic, it took account of group differences without making them an excuse for limiting the change possible through evangelism and

1. Editorial, South African Outlook, Oct, 1970.

2. "Both Cecil Rhodes and Lord Milner adopted the "Lovedale attitude to the natives". See James Wells, Stewart of Lovedale, London, Hodder and Stoughton (1909) p. 276.

education. The principles are vital to the prior history of the B.P.C. and they are an influence on the Scottish and South African Presbyterian courses as later events will show.

2. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES.

Seen in relation to contemporary political events more point is given to the liberal attitudes. The predominantly 'Boer' Republics of the Orange Free State and Transvaal were in the process of becoming stronger states and achieving their own independence. The annexation of Natal by the British and the policies of Shepstone represented another divergence from that of the Cape. There thus emerged three different ways of dealing with the Bantu peoples, each based on a view of their place, contribution and capacity.

The Cape Colony represented the most liberal policy. It gave the vote to persons of colour in municipal affairs and later extended a qualified franchise to them. When the Cape Colony received Representative Government in 1853, the British Government ensured a low franchise qualification which then embraced mainly European and Coloured. In 1886, however, a change in the franchise law enabled the Bantu in the recently annexed Transkeian territory to qualify on the usual terms. There was an immediate outcry:

"... and the cry went up that 'blanket Kaffirs' were getting on the register and that it was even proposed to put up a Kaffir as a candidate. At once the Parliamentary Registration Bill was introduced. It struck off the roll a large number of Natives whose registration was found to be doubtful."¹

1. L.E. Neame, The History of Apartheid, London, Pall Mall Press, 1962, p. 21.

The non-white vote continued to increase and Rhodes in 1892 put through a bill raising the property qualification from £25 to £75 and the need for every applicant to sign his name in the presence of a registering officer. Generally, the Cape, while restricting the franchise to a few non-whites, in fact raised the franchise qualification as soon as the non-white vote appeared to be a threat. The erosion of 'liberal' ideas was on the increase and the franchise was never sure. The total removal of the non-white franchise was never far away, much to the disappointment of many missionaries.

Natal, under Shepstone as head of the Native Affairs Department, rejected the idea of equality favoured by the missionaries. Segregation and racial differentiation were the key note.

"The Natives were to live in their own areas, governed as far as possible through their own chiefs under Native law, though cases involving whites were to be dealt with in white courts. He established eight Native Reserves covering over a million acres with a population of eighty thousand. Shepstone wished to guide the Natives to progress through the institutions to which they were accustomed. He was an early creator of Bantustans."¹

From 1856 up to 1865, a qualified voter in Natal was entitled to stand for the Legislative Council irrespective of colour. Thereafter a law was enacted which virtually disenfranchised the entire Bantu population of Natal.

In the Orange Free State, after independence in 1854,

"... it immediately adopted a constitution conferring franchise rights upon white persons only. One of its laws declared:

'No Arab, Chinaman or Coolie or other Asiatic or

Coloured person may settle in the State longer than two months without permission. The Boers in the Transvaal enforced the same policy. The constitution of their republic stated: 'The people will permit no equality between White and Coloured inhabitants, either in Church or State'.¹

The main conflict in the nineteenth century was a growing attitude of colour-consciousness on the part of the Boers and their dissatisfaction both with the Government and with its liberal principles. Mrs. Anna Steenkamp, sister of Piet Retief gave as reason for the Great Trek that slaves:

"were placed on an equal footing with Christians contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and colour, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke: therefore we rather withdrew² in order to preserve our doctrines in purity."

Rivalry between Boer and Briton overshadowed the problem of co-existence between white and non-white. Only in the 1920's did the full realization of the problem begin to appear. Had politicians taken more note of men like Stewart things might have been different. It took courage to proclaim his liberal ideas consistently in the face of the hostile reaction of the colonists and the faint cries of Black nationalists. It would be wrong to give the impression that the Boers were the only ones to reject equality in Church and State. Those of British extraction had just as much part in this feeling and many were as guilty as their Afrikaner counterparts. Generally, it was the English missionaries and the larger proportion of their fellow countrymen, along with the British

1. L.R. Neame op. cit. p. 23.

2. *ibid.* p. 19.

Government, who held the more liberal attitudes.

From the 1880's marked changes began to appear in the social, economic and religious life of the four colonies. As yet unnoticed, liberalism was in the first stages of decline under the stress of opposing forces. Rhodes and Milner drew the support of the liberal forces and were to be locked in combat against the frankly racist republic behind Kruger in the Anglo-Boer flare-up. The attitudes of the Boer republics were then still counterbalanced by the Cape Colony and the Imperial connection, but racialism in embryo would slowly grow and in alliance with nationalism, dominate and later overcome. In May 1939, Hoernlé could say:

"The old Cape Liberalism survives only in a few grand representatives of its departed glory..... The spokesmen of the Nationalist section of the Afrikaner people are especially fond of hurling the word 'liberal' or 'liberalist' (liberalis) as they like to say, at everyone and everything they regard as most 'onafrikaans.' When one reminds these haters of liberals that the 'Liberal' Party, now defunct in England, restored self-government to the Republics defeated in the Anglo-Boer War; how it thereby made possible the Union of South Africa, in which Afrikaners have had control from the start; and how it thus prepared the ground for the development of South Africa itself as a self-governing Dominion..... the reply is: Oh yes, but it is not that sort of Liberalism we object to. To put it bluntly; the Afrikaner who hates the Liberals values liberty only for himself and the Afrikaner people, or at most, for all white South Africans. He denies it for everyone else in South Africa. He approves of liberalism in others only when it helps him to realise liberty for himself; he condemns and rejects liberalism

when it seeks to realise liberty also for others,
and especially for the non-Europeans in South Africa."¹.

During the closing years of the nineteenth century the hardening of social and political attitudes against the natives, an ever present feature of South African life, had already begun. The chances of political and social advancement were diminishing. The Natives' Land Act of 1913, the "white South Africa first" slogan of J.B.M. Hertzog and the extension of the colour bar in 1924 were signs of things to come for the natives. The policies of differentiation and assimilation had both been incorporated in to the Cape Native policy. Differentiation had been applied in regard to the land question while assimilation had been envisaged in the qualified franchise. Elsewhere, differentiation had been expressed in total separation as far as it was possible to implement. The policy of differentiation was favoured by the racialist politicians and would eventually hold sway, supported as it was by a number of government commissions prior to, and following, Union. Pressed to their logical conclusion these policies were bound to lead to 'apartheid' and finally the doctrine of Separate Development and its supporting ideology. The relentless expansion of "settler" attitudes and the hardening of political and social attitudes had a definite effect on the churches whose members represented both racial groups. Missionary credibility and optimism shrank in their wake and the complex problem of inter-racial relations was left to individual churches to work out. The B.P.C. represented only one such 'solution'.

Significant developments were also taking place

1. Hoernlé op. cit. pp. 103-104.

in the Church during the 1880's. It was no less affected by the problem of race relations. Some native ministers began to feel the pinch of their position in society. There is no doubt that their lot was a trying one, restricted in many ways, yet possessing the all-important educational qualifications. The more ambitious found it difficult to rise in social esteem. The church of the day was practically their only highway to increasing influence and greater acceptability, yet even there they met with white men who refused to worship with them. Ethiopianism was their reply to the unfriendly attitudes exhibited by white men in the press, on platforms and in private life. In 1884 the first schism occurred when Nehemiah Tile, a Methodist minister broke away to form the purely "Tembu Church of South Africa". The beginnings of Ethiopianism, however, came with James Dwane, a Wesleyan evangelist who gave the movement its impetus. In 1894, while visiting England, he was entrusted with a sum of money which became the reason for his schism to form the "Church of Ethiopia".

"The avowed aim was excellent. It was to plant a self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating Native Church, which would produce a truly African type of Christianity suited to the genius and needs of the race, and not merely a black copy of any European church."¹

James Stewart was to be similarly affected by a native schism which caused him great disappointment and anxiety. In 1886 the Lovedale congregation, which had always been attached to the institution, was separated from its operations. It had been guided since 1875 by the Rev. Pambani J. Mzimba, the first native minister connected with the Free Church of

1. J. Wells, op. cit. p. 289.

Scotland. For twenty-two years he exercised his ministry with a fair measure of success. In 1893 he was sent to Scotland as a representative of the Native Church in South Africa at the Jubilee celebrations of the Free Church of Scotland. As in the case of Dwane, he was entrusted with a considerable sum of money for his church and he claimed that it was his prerogative to use such moneys as he thought best. In 1895 after a conflict with the Presbytery he resigned his position without warning and drew two-thirds of his congregation with him to form the "Presbyterian Church of Africa." Despite its name the Church was largely Fingo and confined to one area and later had no more than a few thousand followers. Yet it was both a symptom and a precedent which could not lightly be ignored. The Presbytery resorted to a court of law in order to obtain the money, property and documents which Mzimba had appropriated.

"The secession brought peculiar sorrow to Stewart, for in the early days Mzimba had been to him as his own son in the faith. This great sorrow was ever before him, for Mzimba's church and manse were on the hill-top overlooking Lovedale."¹

There can be no doubt that the schisms left their mark on South African Church life. There was considerable anxiety on the part of ministers who saw the need to devolve more authority and independence on the Natives. While one cannot overlook the frankly personal reasons behind the schism such as desire for power, authority, money or dismissal on the grounds of immoral conduct, these have no real bearing unless linked with the political and social influences of the day.

1. Wells. op cit. p. 296.

2. *ibid.* p. 290.

These influences and their results, as displayed in the growth of schismatic African Churches, caused the Scottish missions to look carefully at the racial situation in their own mission and the need to work out some method by which the African Christian could grow to full responsibility and enjoy full participation in the life of the Church. James Stewart, having had considerable experience of South African Church life, was led to the belief that the only solution was the establishment of a purely native church, composed of natives only.² His reason was purely practical, for he held that as soon as the natives were in a majority, the whites would separate. Stewart was a realist in his belief and he knew the racial attitudes which existed in the South African situation. The only alternative left was the formation of an independent Native Church which would give greater scope to Native members. For the time being the advantages of this view outweighed its disadvantages, even though the home church disagreed.

So far, this analysis has found that there was a general tendency to depreciate liberal principles in the political life of the country between 1880 and 1930, which would grow in intensity as time passed. Similarly, there was growth of colour-consciousness in both Church and State. Stewart's belief that whites would separate from blacks in a predominantly native church was as true then, as it is in the present day. The independent church movement was a symptom of this frustration on the part of many native Christians with the contemporary social and political conditions (amongst others.) There can be no doubt that this strengthened the hand of those urging for an independent Native church. The creation of a Native Church

2. Wells op. cit. p. 290.

was never in conflict with liberal principles, which it has been maintained, brought the Native Church into existence.¹ Finding itself frustrated socially and politically in its efforts to liberate the natives as individual entities, the liberal spirit turned to the only course open to it, namely liberation of the group through the Church which was the only influential organization left. Many factors of tremendous proportions and too large to hold politicians completely responsible for, frustrated liberal efforts for complete liberation of individuals of every race and creed. The Scottish missionaries and their native brethren found an outlet in the only way possible: liberation, as far as possible, for the group, through an independent Native Church. In these efforts, Lovedale had a large part to play.

1. Separation or "Separate Development" is not opposed to liberalism and is in fact a liberal principle when it aims to guide each racial group to self determination and develop a culture along its own lines. However, three things in the implementation of the policy conflict with other principles of liberalism.

(i) The rights of individuals are curtailed when they are out of their ethnic region and their rights are practically non-existent during this implementation stage which may continue for many decades to come. (ii) The granting of separate (but not necessarily equal) facilities are granted only in the interests of self-preservation for a dominant and privileged group. (iii) It is doubtful if the policy of 'Apartheid' is in the interests of the country and will serve for the greater liberation of its peoples. i.e. There can therefore be no freedom of movement.

3. MOVEMENTS TOWARDS UNITY.

Within the Presbyterian tradition in South Africa, excluding the Dutch Reformed Church, there were four major traditions. The first two have been the subject of this thesis, namely the G.M.S./Free Church, and the United Presbyterian missions. Another started in 1875 when the Swiss Mission began what was later to be called the Tsonga Presbyterian Church. The other strand began amongst the settlers from Britain and Scotland who settled in the various towns of the colonies. They imported their traditional patterns of church life and after banding together sought to form individual congregations. They were not the result of any missionary policy but the gathering of professed Presbyterians and those who wished to associate with them. This strand has been termed the 'colonial' church.^{1.} Before 1897 these congregations and presbyteries were related either to the Assembly or Presbytery of the Free Church of Scotland or the same courts of the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland. Some were entirely independent of outside control.

The disunited state of affairs distressed many Presbyterians within the colonies and efforts were made towards the end of the last century to negotiate a union of Presbyterian Churches in South Africa. Various congregations and presbyteries met on six different occasions from 1892 to 1897 to discuss proposals for union and to draw up a common basis of union which could be agreed upon. At the fourth meeting of the 'Federal Council' as it was known, a communication dated 19th March, 1895 from the Colonial committee of the Free Church

1. See the unpublished doctoral thesis: "The origins and growth of Presbyterian Ordinances of worship among English speaking European South Africans prior to the foundation of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa in 1897", by the Rev. Jack Dalziel, B.A., PH.D.

of Scotland was read which:

"Resolved to express hearty sympathy with the movement, (towards unity in S.A.) and the hope that it may be successful, especially in connection with the interest which this church has always had in the Christianization of the native races, and the consolidation of the Christian communities in South Africa."¹.

The historic 6th Federal Council met on the evening of the 17th September, 1897, and was later to constitute itself as the "First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa." The Presbyteries concerned with the negotiations are recorded as follows:².

Adelaide - United Presbyterian - (4 congregations)

Cape Town (4 congregations)

Kaffraria - Free Church - (10 congregations and one educational institution).

Natal (11 congregations and one mission station.)

Transkei - Free Church - (6 congregations and one educational institution.)

Kaffraria - United Presbyterian - (9 congregations.)

Transvaal (7 congregations and one mission station.)

Reports were received from the Presbyteries of the Transvaal, Cape Town, Natal and Kaffraria (U.P.) and the Presbyterian congregation, Port Elizabeth, expressing approval of the amended basis of union. Reports were also received from the other negotiating presbyteries, viz., Kaffraria (F.C.), Transkei (F.C.), and Adelaide (U.P.) expressing approval of the Union but stating that "present difficulties" prevented them from entering the United Church meantime. During the second session of the

1. "Proceedings of the 4th Federal Council held at East London, July, 1895." Copy in Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

2. See Appendix 1.

General Assembly a minute received from the Free Church Synod of Kaffraria was introduced for discussion. In view of the eagerness of the home church for unity and the present opportunity to unite, the reasons given by the Synod for declining to unite are important. It read:

"While the Synod recognized the desirability of union among the various branches of the Presbyterian Church in South Africa, and hopes that existing obstacles may be removed in course of time, they are unable to enter into the proposed union at present in consequence of the want of acquiescence on the part of several of the native congregations in two Presbyteries, and in view of discussions which have arisen among Europeans on the subject of the native vote in Church Courts. The Synod agree to indicate two different directions in which some modification of the arrangements contemplated in the united Church is necessary in order to remove these obstacles:- First, that some method be devised of adjusting the balance between Colonial and Mission Churches, which shall be satisfactory to both races; e.g., that a majority of white and a majority of black, separately and conjointly, be necessary to pass a proposal measure into law; or that, in view of future eventualities, the proportion of votes of both races in the General Assembly be strictly defined and preserved. Second, that there be a final Court of Appeal in certain questions be carefully defined, say, to a Board at Home representative^{of}

the British Isles, or even of wider range, such as the Pan-Presbyterian Council could easily furnish."¹.

The Presbyteries electing to stay out of union were the Free Church Presbyteries and one United Presbyterian Presbytery. These had an overwhelming number of native congregations. It was the native churches who felt the greatest anxiety at losing their 'imperial' connection. Nor was their anxiety unreasonable, especially in the fact of the local erosion of the native rights. They were fully acquainted with the sentiments expressed by 'Christians' when referring to the natives, their ability and their vote. To avoid any denial of their present privileges they wanted an assurance of a higher court of appeal than the proposed South African General Assembly. The safeguards for which they asked were to ensure that their part in the decision-making of the Assembly was a real one. Scottish missions had devolved responsibility wherever the ability of the natives occasioned such, and the native congregations had misgivings as to whether the same opportunities and freedom would be given in a union with the 'colonial' church which although smaller in numbers, was a more powerful body.

James Stewart was also involved in the negotiations but would never agree with the decision of the Free Church Assembly to endorse the union of all the South African congregations under one jurisdiction, though it had been adopted by a majority back home.

"He pled for a fully organized native church in federal relations with the Church at home. In addition to financial reasons, he urged that the proposed union would be harmful to mission interests; that the members of the Colonial Church, as a whole

1. Proceedings of the First General Assembly of the P.C.S.A. (1897) pp. 6, 7. Copy in Cory Library, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

were unwilling to receive the native congregations on equal terms; that the native section of the Church, being the larger would submerge the European section; that the Europeans would not consent to be ruled by a native majority; and that this proposed union would hinder union with the D.R.C. It was in the interests of a larger union and of native rights that he opposed the smaller union his church desired.¹

It would seem that Dr. Stewart was led to his conclusions as a result of the feelings of the native ministers, the political and practical considerations of the day. One cannot help but wonder how great an influence the Mzimba secession was in his conclusions. It is likely that he thought a purely native church would increase the opportunities for native ministers and thereby avoid the friction and personality clashes in a multi-racial church which might then be construed as racialism. In their own church courts natives could exercise their own authority and discipline in such matters.

In 1899 Dr. Stewart was honoured by the Free Church of Scotland by being elected as the last moderator before the impending union between that body and the United Presbyterian Church. In 1900 these two churches were united to form the United Free Church of Scotland. The unusual situation now arose that while the home churches were united, their missions in South Africa remained separate. This confusing situation could not be allowed to continue. In 1897 when the Presbyterian Church of South Africa constituted itself, all the congregations and missions of the United Presbyterian Church entered the union, while the Free Church Presbyteries declined. The Natal Free Church missions similarly

1. James Wells op. cit. pp. 385-386.

remained separate from the sister missions.

Between 1897 and 1920 the question of the union of Native Presbyterian Churches was frequently under discussion. The 1920 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa introduced a report of the Conference on the Union of Presbyterian missions. The report did not reflect unanimous opinion but the weight of opinion was for a Native Church which would be self-supporting and self-governing, in a Federal relationship with the P.C.S.A. Provision was made for co-operation in extension work and representation on both Assemblies. In the report the convenor, the Rev. James Pollock stated:

"While complete unanimity was unfortunately not reached, it was felt that definite progress was made..... It will be seen that the vital issue is concerned with the relationship of the proposed Native Church to the Presbyterian Church of South Africa. Is it to be inorganic, and subordinate relationship? or is it to be independent and in federal relationship? Having regard to the weight of evidence, the Conference decided in favour of the latter. It was, however, felt and strongly urged that compatible with this condition of independence, the relationship between the European and Native Churches should be as close and vital as possible. The two races need each other. Their future in Church and State are inextricably bound together. The problem of uniting the scattered fragments of our missions has long been before the Church. Reckless haste must be avoided. But we dare not remain inactive. We may miss the tide."¹

1. Proceedings of the 21st General Assembly held in St. George's, Johannesburg, September 1920. pp. 121-122.

During the same year a deputation from the United Free Church of Scotland consisting of the Rev. Frank Ashcroft and Mr. Andrew Houston, both members of the Foreign Mission Committee, came to South Africa to investigate the existing state of affairs in the missionfield. The Rev. Ashcroft addressed the South African Assembly on the subject of the desirability of union in all the work. As a result of the report and the address, the Rev. James Pollock submitted the following resolution:

"This Assembly in view of the strong desire of the United Free Church of Scotland, as expressed in the address just delivered by the Rev. F. Ashcroft, to have the congregations connected with their missions in Kaffraria and the Transkei united under one ecclesiastical authority, agrees to give the Presbyteries of Kaffraria and Mankazana full power to decide on the question of union with the Synod of Kaffraria, leaving for future consideration the relationship to be established between the enlarged body thus formed, and this Presbyterian Church of South Africa."¹.

The Assembly further appointed a committee to attend the Conference of Deputies of the U.F. Church of Scotland with the Synod of Kaffraria and the Presbyteries of Kaffraria and Mankazana to be held at Blythswood on 20th October, 1920.

On their return to Scotland the Deputies produced a report² which was submitted to the Assembly of the

1. Proceedings of the 21st G.A. of the P.C.S.A. September, 1920, p. 30.

2. The report is dated December 21, 1920 and appears as appendix 1. Though I do not have the reference, it must have been appended to the proceedings of General Assembly of the U.F.C.S. of 1920.

United Free Church of Scotland which gave important reasons for the decision to form the Bantu Presbyterian Church. They were impressed with the progress made in the conversion of the peoples but felt the period of Presbyterian missionary expansion was definitely over. The Mission Council which they had hoped would be the unifying bond of their South African missions proved unequal to its task, torn as it was, by controversies over the question of union. This did not unduly bother the deputies who believed that this authority and control should now be entrusted in the Native Church speaking through its own courts. They were impressed with the creation of a fairly competent and well trained native ministry and eldership who were anxious to take a larger share in the evangelization of their own land and to be entrusted with complete responsibility. The deputies took note of both the pro's and con's of an impending independent Native Church. Objections by some men on the spot were presented on the ground of the anti-white bias in some of the native congregations and the danger that the Church might be captured by a political party hostile to the British Government. These objections the deputies ignored commenting on the anti-white feeling both in India and South Africa which showed itself both inside and outside the Church. The cure they believed to lie, not in repression "but in wise meeting of the claim for a greater voice in their own affairs, which education is producing among the tribes."¹ They also criticized the highly unsatisfactory state of affairs in Natal, where overlapping was much in evidence, and again found the solution in a comprehensive union of native churches.

1. Deputies report, 1920 op.cit. p. 133.

The reasons for the lack of unity in the Mission Council, which had made it ineffective as an administrative body, throw further light on the prevailing attitudes towards the establishment of a Native Church. The principal difficulty lay in the somewhat embittered memories of previous negotiations which had failed. The deputies therefore urged that the past be forgotten and a new effort made to secure positive results. Union of the Free and United Churches in Scotland in 1900 had made things a bit easier, but two ideals still persisted and the time had come to make a choice between the two. In their report, the deputies found that the Synod of Kaffraria, representing the Free Church, stood for an independent Native Church, controlling its own affairs, and ultimately free of white control. The Presbytery of Kaffraria stood for a South African Presbyterian Church in which black and white congregations should have their place under the same General Assembly.¹ The latter ideal had been preferred by the home churches who, in 1901 and 1909 gave their approval to a scheme along these lines. The same arguments summoned in 1897, were again produced, but subsequent history persuaded the deputies to give judgement in favour of the former ideal, cherished by the Synod of Kaffraria. It seemed to them that union between the Presbytery of Kaffraria and P.C.S.A. had not brought much advantage, while separation from the Synod had brought many real evils!

"During their visit to the General Assembly they (the deputies) became convinced that it was not a suitable supreme court for native matters. The difference of language and social condition are

1. Deputies Report op. cit. p. 135.

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."¹.

The dilemma produced by the South African situation had come to full fruition. Was the "solution" to be in one, united, multi-racial church which would have to overcome group differences in language, customs and social background, or was it to be in a racial division between black and white, giving each group the chance to develop along its own lines, but in loose federal co-operation? The difficulty with the latter "solution" was the question of its compatibility with Biblical principles, which the Evangelicals held so close. The debate in South African circles continues on this question, yet an analysis of the thoughts of various ministers on this question, reveals that they believed in the unity of all men before God. In this particular case, therefore, the spiritual ideal which was claimed by the B.P.C. (namely, the unity of all believers) was renounced in favour of the practical (namely, segregation for the welfare of a group of believers). The same questions had to be faced by the architects of the South African political union; either it was to be integration by way of union or differentiation by way of federation. The Scottish missions with their common evangelical/liberal background had produced two schools of thought, both of which can be traced throughout the history of the mission, and paralleled by the history of Lovedale. The Stewart/Govan difference of opinion was an

1. Deputies' report op. cit. p. 136.

archetype of the dilemma. Doubtless, the social and political circumstances of the country occasioned the dilemma. The Liberal pattern working on two levels of liberation; for the individual on the one hand and the group on the other, expressed itself in the two conflicting ideals of either complete union, or federation which would, in the circumstances, allow the group greater autonomy. At the time, granting full autonomy to a Native Church was something completely new in South African society. The new experiment would be anxiously watched as an indicator for the future.

The indictment of the deputies against the P.C.S.A. General Assembly was a serious one and gave a true basis for the fears held by the Synod of Kaffraria. It was lessened only by the Assembly's realization of the problems involved and its readiness to co-operate in reaching some solution. To this end it resolved to allow the Presbyteries of Mankazana and Kaffraria (U.P.) to form their own opinion on the matter and to decide whether to join in the proposed union or not.

The next step was taken at the Blythswood conference held 20th October, 1920. It was attended by the deputies along with the Synod of Kaffraria, the presbyteries of Kaffraria and Mankazana and the Mission Council of Natal. It transpired that the majority desired union but some of the older members of the Presbytery of Kaffraria were unwilling to abandon the ideal to which they had clung for many years with the approval of the home church. For a time it seemed that the minority would carry the day by going to an extreme, but in the end a unanimous resolution to unite was passed. The former United Presbyterians stipulated that the home church should first indicate its willingness that they lay aside the ideal of one church for black and white

Presbyterians, as at present impracticable, and approve of a union of the two organizations to form a self-governing church. The conference appointed a joint commission to steer the uniting bodies through the enabling proceedings. The first meeting was held at Lovedale on 11th July, 1921. It passed a number of resolutions, inter alia; that the name of the united body be the "United Presbyterian Church of S.A."; immediate union occur between the Synod of Kaffraria, the Presbytery of Kaffraria, the Presbytery of Mankazana and the Presbytery of Natal; the financial and credal formulae were remitted to committees; that the P.C.S.A. and the united body be in federal relationship with six representatives in the higher court of the other; that the Mission Councils should cease or that ordained native ministers should have a voice in Mission Council matters.

In 1922, Dr. John Lennox, clerk of the commission, sent the minutes of the second meeting of the commission to the Assembly of the P.C.S.A., which intimated, inter alia, that consummation of union would take place in the first or second week of July, 1923, when the "United Presbyterian Church of S.A." would be formally constituted. The Assembly agreed to the Federal relationship, but objected strongly to the name of the proposed new body, and sent a communication to the Commission.¹ It pointed out that the Assembly agreed to facilitate a Native Church in federal relation with the P.C.S.A. and that the name of the proposed new body failed to make this clear and further would lead to confusion in the public mind. The intention was that this new church was for the Native peoples and the Assembly requested that the name be altered to make this clear. The result of further discussion was the adoption of the name "Bantu Presbyterian Church" (B.P.C.).

1. P.C.S.A. "Blue Book" (B.B.) Sept. 1922, p. 34.

On the 4th July, 1923 the historic Convocation met at Lovedale to facilitate the union of the Presbyterian missions in South Africa. Reports were received from the negotiating Presbyteries and the disjunction certificates were obtained.

The Convocation then proceeded to elect as its Moderator, the Rev. W. Stuart who proceeded to constitute the first General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of S.A. The ideal posed by Lovedale of an independent Native Church where the Native Christian could fully develop his own Christian manhood was in the initial stages of realization. Dr. Henderson, successor to Dr. Stewart as principal of Lovedale for some time had acted as chairman of the Commission which prepared the way. The Rev. John Lennox, who, from 1892 to 1920 had been associated with Lovedale before joining the staff at Fort Hare, acted as senior clerk of the commission and later of the Assembly. The significance of Lovedale as the place where the B.P.C. was constituted, and the number of its staff and former students involved, cannot be overlooked. It was this institution which had forged the ideals which brought the new church into being. Autonomy was granted in perfect goodwill from all the parties involved in the hope that the new instrument would prove to be the better means of the evangelization of the Bantu people. Many people, among them experienced missionaries and laymen, regarded the new development with grave misgivings.

"To not a few the step of granting autonomy to a predominantly African body seemed premature. Some wondered that 'hard-headed Scotsmen' could have sponsored such a step. Lovedale declared that it rested with the Bantu Church to prove these fears groundless....".¹

1. R.H.W. Shepherd, op. cit. p. 344.

The road ahead was to be no easy passage. The blueprint had to be worked out in practice, requiring changes in financial arrangements, facing up to the changing political climate, overcoming obstacles in its relationship with other Presbyterian bodies and facing up to its own internal responsibilities. Everyone who attended the inauguration of the new Church was conscious of the historic step that was being taken. In the first Moderatorial address the Rev. W. Stuart said:

"Today, brethren, we make a definite move forward, fraught with great possibilities, and involving great responsibilities. It is destined to have far-reaching consequences, will influence a vast population, and effect mighty changes in the social, moral and spiritual life of the people. How great these will be in the years that lie ahead, it is difficult to predict."²

Already at its inception there was one problem looming ahead which would make the position of the Bantu Church awkward and even misleading. In the same inaugural address the Moderator unwittingly pointed to this when he said:

"Again, brethren, the Church we form today is not one narrowed down by national prejudice to the exclusion of some from its membership, or to the restriction of the field for the proclamation of the Gospel, as with some, The door must needs be wide. His church is not for Jew against Greek, nor for free as against bond, nor for male as against female The Church of Christ is for any and everyone, irrespective of nationality, colour or tongue, who complies with the spiritual

2. B.P.C. "Blue book" (B.B.) 1923, p. 35.

condition of entrance, penitence and faith."¹. Sentiments such as these would have been more appropriate had they been expressed at the inauguration of a united Church, rather than at the foundation of an expressly Bantu Church. The future possibilities were wide open for the new Church, yet it was placed in a paradoxical position for while it claimed universality and colour-blindness, its very name, composition and future relationships proclaimed something different. The attempt to carry out the broad Christian and Biblical commission as in Matt. 28¹⁹, as well as maintain its social standpoints in the South African context was bound to create a crisis of faith, even if not fully realized. Even so, the ship had been cast afloat.

A. DEVELOPMENT OF THE B.P.C.

(a) in relationship with the Foreign Mission Committee.

There can be little doubt that most native ministers who participated in the moves toward union believed that the young church would soon grow into a fully self-supporting church. That the process of transference of property might take a number of years was acceptable, but when the years began to pass and little property was being handed over, impatience and anxiety soon made themselves felt. The first indications of this feeling started when in April 1925, the Presbytery of Kaffraria submitted: "that the time had come when Pirie should pass under the B.P.C. and that intimation of this be made to the Foreign Mission Committee" (F.M.C.).² In due course this request was acceded to but in the meantime the Revs. H. Mama and T.B. Soga submitted the following motion in 1926:

1. B.P.C. B.B. 1923, p. 35.

2. B.P.C. BB. 1925, min. 225 p. 45. Note that all business between the B.P.C. and the Church of Scotland was handled by the F.M.C.

"In view of the fact that at present the newly formed B.P.C. of S.A. has no direct control over the property held in trust for them, the Assembly desires humbly to petition the F.M.C. of the United Free Church to associate the Trustees of the B.P.C. with the representatives of the Home Church trustees for the South African property, so as to prepare ways and means on the question of transference of property. And that the various Deacon's Courts of the B.P.C. meantime be recognized as the managing courts of these mission properties."².

Mission property was only one of a number of problems to be worked out between the F.M.C. and the B.P.C. There were a number of Scottish missionaries, employed by the Scottish Church who were still active in the field. When such a minister retired or withdrew from service, it was inevitable that the question of whether his successor be a Bantu or not, would soon arise. The retirement of the Rev. J. M. Auld was such an occasion, and the Presbytery of the Transkei requested that his station, Columba, be given the right of Call. Columba had a substantial European congregation and numerous schools. In the event of being given the right of Call the station would be counted amongst the congregations of the B.P.C. and therefore eligible to receive a Bantu minister. The F.M.C. reply showed a certain hesitancy towards the situation confronting them. On the one hand they stressed that although they earnestly desired to find missionaries, they were unwilling to think of them as successors in a certain area. Yet in the case of Columba they were unwilling that it should

2. B.P.C. B.B. 1926, min. 260, p.12.

pass into the hands of a native minister and session in view of the large responsibilities attached to it. To show that this did not prevent the eventual handing over to the B.P.C., the F.M.C. suggested that the station (and all other similar stations) be divided into parishes under European superintendence which the Bantu would eventually control.¹ In effect it meant further division between European and non-European. This was perhaps the only practical solution for the time being which nevertheless evoked a sense of frustration, in that while supposedly independent, they found they were not. Again the paradoxical situation arose that while professing universalism the church found that it was limited in membership and could only exist in peace if it remained so. The answer did not satisfy the B.P.C. Assembly which now displayed its desire to claim for itself that autonomy which they thought had earlier been promised. It (respectfully) referred the minute back to the F.M.C. for reconsideration as it deprived the B.P.C. of rights in the control of congregations which it believed to belong to itself and the lower courts since the formation of the B.P.C. It again requested that the Columba Kirk Session receive the right of Call.²

Events had reached a stalemate and it was realized that discussion and closer co-operation were sorely in need. An attempt at this by a commission of the B.P.C. was brought to nil by the F.M.C. refusal to allow its representatives in South Africa to negotiate. Instead, the F.M.C. now clearly formulated its policy in a minute sent to the B.P.C.³ Both sides stated their problem with the utmost frankness in what was to be the hottest and most crucial debate.

1. B.P.C. B.B. 1925, min. 523, p. 25.

2. B.P.C. B.B. 1928, min. 523, p. 26.

3. B.P.C. B.B., 1929, Appendix, F.M.C. minute "on relation to the B.P.C.", printed in English, Xhosa, Zulu, Sesuto.

In summary, the F.M.C. minute with great thankfulness realized the competence and aspirations of the Bantu Church and

"while alive to the advance of the Bantu Church in the number of its capable elders and ministers, 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 process of development by the Mission Council."¹

The minute again recommended the delimitation of parishes and the appointment of a standing committee (which would include native ministers, elders and Scottish missionaries) to consider matters in which the functions of both the B.F.C. Assembly and the Mission Council were intertwined. The Mission Council was a source of great irritation to the Assembly which felt it intruded on many of its areas and authority. The Council consisted of a number of Scottish missionaries in the S.African mission field who advised the F.M.C. on local matters. It was their task to superintend missions and institutions which were the direct responsibility of the Church of Scotland. In many ways the work of this body and the Assembly were intertwined, and having no Bantu representatives on it, it was natural that Bantu members of Assembly were suspicious of it. The Council advised not only on matters concerning the B.P.C. but also missionary activities wholly unconnected with B.P.C. interests. The minute confirmed the B.P.C. in its autonomous powers in organization and government and all spiritual matters. It was the responsibility of the Bantu Presbytery to appoint all moderators of session, but when a missionary went on furlough the Mission Council was to decide under whose

¹ F.M.C. Min. op. cit. p. 46.

control its interests were to be placed. Should any difficulties arise, it hoped that the proposed special committee would attend to them. The F.M.C. made it clear that its hope was that in time the whole church would be under Bantu ministers and sessions. Buildings and lands under the control of the Mission Council were held in trust by the U.F. Church, some of which were not suitable for parishes or even in the best interests of the mission field. Furthermore, stations or lands under European supervision which the Special Committee felt would be suitable for a native minister should be communicated to the Mission Council and the F.M.C. would consider its recommendation. Any further granting of property either for use or transference would come as a gesture of confidence from the F.M.C. but these could not be claimed as of right. The F.M.C. made it clear that the property was held in trust and it was their responsibility to see that it was used in the best interests of evangelization in Africa. The Committee did not, however, propose to settle a European missionary where a Bantu minister had been duly settled.

The matter did not end there. By the following Assembly no other communication had been received from the F.M.C. Instructed by the Assembly, the Presbytery of the Transkei proceeded to take steps for granting the right of Call to Columba, Malan and Mount Fletcher.¹ When the 1930 Assembly had convened strife had already entered upon the scene and the Mission Council protested against the granting of the right to call without the consent of the F.M.C. and the action of the Presbytery of the Transkei in carrying through the induction of Rev. F.W. Nxenge to the pastorate of Columba Congregation despite disharmony in the Kirk Session of Columba.² The Mission Council drew attention further to

1. B.P.C. B.B. 1929 mins. 645, 647, 648.

2. B.P.C. B.B. 1930 min. 738.

the fact that proper procedures had not been followed in all three pastorates of Malan, Columba and Mount Fletcher, in that the Assembly, while it agreed to instruct the Presbyteries for granting them the right to call, it did not obtain the consent of the F.M.C. upon which depended the use of buildings and land. The only way out now was for the Assembly to appoint a commission to investigate all matters connected with the moderation of the call at Columba. The B.P.C. still had to formulate its reply to the F.M.C. minute on mutual relationships. On this issue, the Rev. T.B. Soga had drawn up a sharply worded memorandum which had been introduced during previous discussion. The lengthy memorandum chafed against a number of alleged inconsistencies and attitudes contained in the F.M.C. deliverance. Above all the fact that the matters which had now arisen were requested to be settled before union and were then thought to be of minor consequence to which he retorts....

"eventually it now transpires that they are of so great importance that they cannot be left in the hands of the Bantu Assembly. Consequently the Native minister is confided in on the one hand, and no-confidenced on the other."³

The Mission Council came under constant attack. What was decided at the Assembly was to be transmitted to an intermediary committee of Assembly and the Mission Council, yet both in the Committee and Mission Council the European might also be a member of Assembly, the Committee and the Mission Council while the native went to the Committee with limited powers. Further, in the event of disagreements between the

3. B.P.C. B.B., 1930, Appendix, memo by T.B. Soga.

Mission Council and the Assembly, the Bantu Assembly had no voice, but such matters would be referred to the F.M.C., where the Bantu Church was again unrepresented, and more weight would ultimately be given to the opinions of the Mission Council as such.

"This is what we understand by the Mission Council's executive powers in South Africa;" and 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.^{1.}

Other points of conflict were the fact that some members of Assembly were members of two Churches; that Natives were qualified to do the spiritual work of the church as full pastors yet not able to administer mission land affairs; that implied in the deliverance was the continuance of the U.F. Mission in Mt. Fletcher and Matatiele which was in the same field as the B.P.C. and therefore "one sees no end to conflict". While this memo was adopted by the majority in Assembly, it was a very slim majority and by no means completely representative of Native opinion, but rather of the opinion of the natives anxious for the complete independence of the Church. Tiyo Burnside Soga (1872-1938) was foremost amongst these, and one who distinguished himself in the service of his Church and people.

"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

1. B.P.C. B.B. 1930, Appendix Memo by T.B. Soga p.49.



restored to the privileges any human being is expected to possess. For this reason many misunderstood his views and aims in advocating the rights of his fellowmen both in State and in the Church courts."¹

In the Assembly debate of 1930 on relations with the Mission Council, T.B. Soga moved "that the Assembly transmit the Memorandum prepared by the Rev. T.B. Soga to the F.M.C. as a reply to the F.M.C.'s minute, and in doing so the Assembly lays stress upon the declaration made in 1900 in the Plan of Union, which was accepted in 1923....., to have European missionaries as assessors of the B.P.C."².

The Rev. R.H.W. Shepherd moved a more moderate and conciliating measure in opposition, which accepted the F.M.C. document but went further in asking the F.M.C. to consider the advisability of arranging legal transfer of some property or properties, in order to give the South African Trustees the opportunity of training in the management of property, and secondly, that all correspondence between F.M.C. and Mission Council affecting the B.P.C. be submitted to the Special committee. On voting T.B. Soga's motion was adopted by 31 votes to 27. The Rev. D.D. Stormont entered his dissent which was adhered to by 13 native ministers and elders and 3 European. It read as follows, inter alia:

- "...2. That the document had introduced a division of class status that had been excluded by the Constitution of the B.P.C.
- 3. That the document, the work of one member of the Assembly, claimed to be the opinion of the Native members of the Assembly, and that the results

¹. B.P.C. B.B. 1938, memorial min. 1399.

². B.P.C. B.B. 1930 min. 735 p. 24.

of the voting (31 for, 27 against) showed that it was not.

4. That in my opinion the second motion was just and equitable as it was framed after due discussion and deliberation."¹

To a certain extent the natives in the Assembly became aware of the new "division of class status" and of their so-called disadvantages. Their attitude was further expressed in a motion passed "that the Assembly express thanks to the Foreign Mission Committee for the gift in person of Mr. Matheson, appoint Mr. Matheson permanently to the charge of Gordon Memorial, and ask the F.M.C. to explain why a new European missionary was appointed to work in connection with the B.P.C. of S.A. without the expressed wish of the Assembly".²

The Assembly was aiming to ensure its independence and bring to the notice of the home church that it should heed the views of the Assembly as well. The outcome was a gradual agreement and in 1931, the Assembly set up a standing committee on 'Relations between the Assembly and F.M.C., and the Mission Council'. Matters immediately began to improve after the receipt by the Bantu Assembly of a communication dated 21st April, 1931, from the F.M.C. which replied to T.B. Soga's memo. Inter alia, they stated their recognition of technical difficulties involved in adjusting relations between the F.M.C., Mission Council and Bantu Church. They believed that further theoretical discussion would only cause needless delay; what they required at the present time were practical proposals. They denied that there was

¹. *ibid.* p. 27.

². B.P.C. B.B. 1930, min. 762 p. 38.

any wish to promote white superintendence by the division of pastorates. This was the function of the Presbytery and the Committee desired African ministers and congregations to assume full status and responsibility. On the question of ownership the F.M.C. drew attention to the fact that property came under their care under various titles of possession. Part was granted by the Government, part bought and many buildings erected and improvements made cost the Scottish Church many thousands of pounds. In addition, trusteeship involved the Church in heavy expenditure on repairs, upkeep and insurance etc. If the South African Trustees were in a position to take over this trust, these burdens would fall to them. Further, the trustees were requested to send their constitution and copy of a certificate of registration which would show that this body was recognized by the government of South Africa, and legally entitled to hold property. In regard to the work at Mount Fletcher and Matatiele (the stations of Mafube, Pabalong and Mpharane) it was pointed out that the F.M.C. undertook missionary service there on behalf of the Paris Missionary Society which was no longer able to maintain the work, and their inclusion in the B.P.C. was a matter for future consideration. The F.M.C. further rejoiced at the spirit of brotherliness between European and non-European displayed thus far and hoped that their present relationship would continue. From this point on there is a definite move towards better relations between the various bodies.

Two events are of note during this period. The first was the consummation of union between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland on the 2nd October, 1929. The mother church was now a greatly enlarged body and by far the largest Church in Scotland. It was met with rejoicing in the Bantu Church and services were held to mark the occasion. The second event was not as happy. In

October, 1929 Wall Street suffered its historic collapse and the effect was soon felt in South Africa. The economy was soon in difficulties after the diamond market slump and the fall of wool prices. In 1931 the economy suffered a further blow when Great Britain went off the gold standard and the depression years soon engulfed South Africa. The Bantu Church already in difficulty, was now fighting for its very existence. The Assembly realized that it could ^{not} ~~never~~ afford the legal expenses and transfer fees involved in gaining the property held in trust. It was grateful for all assistance in terms of money and personell that could be obtained from Scotland and this tended to increase the ties of goodwill. The way was soon opened for the Mission Council to recommend one or more native ministers to serve on that body and in time certain property came to be vested in the Trustees. The Bantu Church had begun to realise the immense difficulties in running the Church and their growth by 1947 was by no means impressive.

In 1947 three F.M.C. commissioners toured Central and South Africa for four months. They were struck by the vivid way South Africa illustrated the effects of the economic and political forces on missionary work and how centrally colour distinction featured in the life in the country. They believed that conditions in the Presbyterian Church life made it imperative that union between the two main bodies be effected as soon as possible. Since the P.C.S.A. had continued with its own Bantu work, they had found a situation where the P.C.S.A. and B.P.C. were working in irritating rivalry to the detriment of both. The Commission saw the need of the B.P.C. to recover the evangelical zeal, to which it owed its existence. Its interest in the gospel had partly been diverted to maintaining

organization and questions of finance, church and school buildings, ecclesiastical status and order. Expansion had come only by natural growth of the Christian community rather than by steady propaganda among their heathen neighbours. They regarded as a matter of utmost urgency the need for more and better trained African clergy. The shortage of ministers they regarded as one of the chief weaknesses after finding one out of every four central congregations vacant. Low salaries were regarded as a serious deterrent but the fundamental need was for a deepening of the Evangelical impulse and to put the claims of the ministry before prospective students.

The F.M.C. itself was experiencing great difficulty. The Second World War had taken its toll in Scotland in terms of lives and money. Recruitment of men for missionary work in South Africa was extremely difficult and requests for financial help had to be turned down. Only from the late 'fifties onwards did matters again improve. Various schemes were aided by the F.M.C. One such scheme was the establishment of central offices for more effective administration. As a result of negotiations, an office was acquired in Umtata, thanks to the financial aid supplied by the F.M.C. In 1955 the Assembly unanimously nominated the Rev. D.W. Matheson to the office of General Secretary. A further scheme which received the priority from the F.M.C. was the establishment of the Federal Seminary close to Fort Hare in the small town of Alice. The educational changes effected by the central Government, necessitated the removal of the training facilities for Bantu ministers to other premises. The F.M.C. of the Church of Scotland was instrumental in securing the premises and the co-operation of other churches in this remarkable ecumenical

venture which rose from the ground in 1962. Common educational facilities were provided while individual Churches maintained their own colleges for their ordinands. The Seminary is built on the slopes of Sandile's Kop upon which rises the memorial to James Stewart which stands as a fitting reminder to all of the great debt owed for his efforts in the field of education. The Seminary may be regarded as a true extension of the principles for which James Stewart and the Scottish Missions stood. Education was the means by which men rose above the pettiness and prejudice of life and along with the gospel of Jesus Christ were fitted to take their place in society as brothers.

The relationship between the Bantu Presbyterian Church and the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland have, on the whole, been cordial. The differences that arose were the expressions of independence which a daughter felt now that she was in the process of growing up. They were necessary to convince the F.M.C. of the desire of the B.P.C. to exercise its independence and to stand on its own feet. With time, the B.P.C. learnt the difficulties involved in taking upon itself many of the responsibilities which had previously belonged to the mother church and with the humility gained ^{from} ~~with~~ this knowledge, restored the affectionate ties between the two churches. The mother Church at almost every opportunity continued to help its offspring and devolved more responsibility upon it, culminating in the Joint Council whereby the Bantu Church has full participation in the future of its South African work. Awake to the difficulties of the South African situation, and while maintaining its responsibilities to the B.P.C., the F.M.C. has expressed the hope that eventually the Presbyterian Missions would amalgamate and make their work more effective.

b. Relations with the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.

By agreement the relationship between the P.C.S.A. and the B.P.C. was to be one of independent churches in federal relationship. The weaknesses of this arrangement were soon exposed. Independency was preferred to federalism and the commissioners acted more like observers than assessors. No real constitutional basis was given to the solving of common problems or co-ordinated evangelistic efforts. In later years the full number of commissioners were not appointed, indicating full use of this link was not being made or even taken seriously. The first signs of an apparent lack of harmony appeared in 1928 when the B.P.C. Assembly appointed an African minister to the Glenthorn congregation.¹ Glenthorn had both a European and an African congregation, the former under the P.C.S.A. while the latter was believed to belong to the B.P.C. It soon transpired that the African minister was expelled from the property by certain authorities of the P.C.S.A. A commission of enquiry in its report found neither side blameless, but the importance of closer co-operation was vividly impressed on the minds of both Churches.

Meanwhile, another crisis had arisen in Cape Town. A number of Bantu members who at home belonged to the B.P.C., attached themselves to other Churches in Cape Town, one of which was the P.C.S.A. They later applied for their disjunction certificates which were then forwarded to the B.P.C. minister at Somerset East. The matter was referred to the Presbytery of the Ciskei where their certificates were accepted with the assurance that ordinances of worship would be supplied in Cape Town. An immediate protest was heard from the P.C.S.A.¹ in view of a complete reversal of what was formerly believed to be accepted policy. In the first

1. B.P.C. B.B., 1934. Appendix II.

place, it was pointed out, that the Presbytery had accepted certificates from members 600 miles away, in the full knowledge that this meant establishing a new congregation. Secondly, such acceptance, especially in an area worked by the P.C.S.A., raised questions of policy which the General Assembly alone was qualified to consider and decide. Thirdly, at the formation of the B.P.C. certain congregations and ministers were transferred from the P.C.S.A. on the understanding that certain areas were recognized as the sole areas of the respective Churches. The disregard of these boundaries would therefore lead to difficulty and strain. The P.C.S.A. committee advised the establishment of a joint council on these matters and that at present the disjunction certificates be set aside.

In 1934 the B.P.C. was faced with the question of its future policy but deferred it until 1935, having decided to remit the matter to the proposed joint council. This was a difficult matter for the B.P.C. because many of its members were moving to the major labour centres and it was these centres that could contribute most towards meagre financial resources. It was common cause that no definite boundaries had been drawn between the two churches and any attempt to do so immediately impinged upon the autonomy of the B.P.C. To some the very act of withdrawing in the face of protest was to exhibit weakness and to negate the ability of the Assembly to decide its own future. T.B. Soga, always the campaigner in the battle for autonomy, moved:

".... that the speedy organic union, considerately proposed, affect for the future only the Bantu and Presbyterian Churches of South Africa, Native Mission work and property and that alone.

That in the critical and complex situation which has arisen, places like Cape Town, Johannesburg and the like be henceforth created into preaching stations^{1.}

In effect, it was a decision to move into all the major centres where the P.C.S.A. already had congregations and could only lead to more friction. Organic union was again brought into the fore and though men like T.B. Soga wished to limit it to the native congregations, many were in favour of reconsidering the whole issue again. The P.C.S.A. similarly appointed a committee to look in to the issue. The question of organic union between the two churches has remained in the forefront of discussion from 1935, but for the time being T.B. Soga's motion was preferred to another proposed by the Rev. R.H.W. Shepherd who suggested that the Assembly approve of organic union in principle and that B.P.C. ministers co-operate with the P.C.S.A. ministers in the labour centres and in doing so to visit their (B.P.C.) people. Soga and the majority of the B.P.C. Assembly preferred further separation of white and black by incorporating the Bantu congregations of the P.C.S.A. and therefore to ensure the B.P.C. freedom to extend its work where it wished. His motion also supported the movement towards the labour centres. After voting was known the Revs. A. W. Wilkie, R.H.W. Shepherd, D.W. Matheson, James Dewar and elder C.D. Zulu entered their dissent and the first two and last named resigned from all appointments stating that they considered such a decision contrary to the mind of Christ and that it violated principles of the most fundamental kind.^{2.}

1. B.P.C. B.B. 1935, min. 1197 p.35. This suggestion was apparently dropped, probably in the face of refusal by the P.C.S.A. ^{2.} B.P.C. B.B. 1935, min. 1199, p. 37 Dr. Shepherd had little to do with the B.P.C. until his return in 1949 when he was elected Moderator for two terms.

The Joint Council was never a success and its efforts did little to ease the situation. The Rev. H. Mama (B.P.C.) proposed a scheme whereby members of one church would be accepted as a member of the other if they moved into a centre which had been evangelized by the other. At the same time he suggested the acceptance of the present situation and the congregations already so established. By 1939 there was still no improvement in relations. On receiving the report of the Joint Council the Assembly recorded its regret that in spite of the suggestions put forward it was reported that the Presbytery of Port Elizabeth of the P.C.S.A. had added a fresh complication by placing a minister in New Brighton. Despite these 'complications' a draft basis of union was placed before the Assembly for consideration.

In 1944 the B.P.C. celebrated the first 21 years of its existence. During celebrations a number of addresses were delivered to mark the occasion. The Rev. T. Finca dwelt on "plans for the future" and in so doing touched upon the relations between the two bodies. He referred to the B.P.C. decision to follow its members into the major labour centres which had brought about serious misunderstanding which had as yet not been overcome. He expressed the same arguments as in 1923 which had placed the churches in their present dilemma. The B.P.C. valued above all its autonomy and self-government while they feared that in a united Church "inferiority and colour bar" would be a great hindrance. The P.C.S.A. on the other hand objected to relinquishing its Bantu missions to the B.P.C. for without them it would cease to be an evangelical and outgoing body. After their disunited state had been realized ("for this was not clear in former days") both Churches had met with bitter experiences. He re-echoed many who ardently hoped that the churches would in the future be joined in a lasting and organic union. The dilemma of the two churches

had once again been stated but by this time one alternative had already been put to the test. Only an analysis of its success would determine the road to be taken in the future.

The 1948 F.M.C. Commission, in its report, stated that they had recently attended the first meeting of a renewed attempt at co-operation through a Joint Council. It also noted the exodus of bantu workers to the wage-earning centres and the decision of the B.P.C. to establish congregations even though it might mean drawing members of the P.C.S.A., while in certain districts of the Cape the P.C.S.A. had taken the place of long established B.P.C. congregations. The commission recommended that nothing short of one inclusive Presbyterian Church in South Africa would be satisfactory.

By 1955 the B.P.C. Committee on co-operation with the P.C.S.A. was forced, in wishing to be realistic, to report that despite the agreements in the past "there is practically no co-operation on the congregational level between the two churches. Thus today while the B.P.C. still ministers to the majority of the congregations in the rural areas, in cities like Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Johannesburg there are congregations ^{of} ~~in~~ both churches."¹.

It was therefore decided that both Churches be free to extend their work where and as they found opportunity to do so. The same committee noted with sorrow the "difficulties" at Donhill and Durban; the former where members left the B.P.C. and were received into the P.C.S.A. and at the latter where P.C.S.A. members formed a B.P.C. congregation. In the same year the Business Committee of the B.P.C. recorded its deploiment of the action of the P.C.S.A. in giving employment to a suspended B.P.C. minister, the Rev. P.M. Mamabolo.

1. B.P.C. B.B. 1955 min. 2840 p.23.

Thus, while expressing concern at the lack of co-operation and unity, both bodies continued to deny that very concern by their actions, to the detriment of both. The protracted union negotiations continued and by 1960 the Senior Clerk of the B.P.C. could report that seven presbyteries were against the scheme of union and only one for it. Yet it seemed that men were being won over to the idea of union. In 1961 a certain amount of agreement was being reached and negotiations were extended to include the Tsonga Presbyterian Church. Both Churches worked in co-operation to establish St. Columba College at the Federal Seminary for the purpose of allowing their students to be trained together. In 1964 the current "Draft basis of Union" was accepted by all three negotiating churches (B.P.C., T.P.C., P.C.S.A.) and talks have progressed favourably, in the hope that 1971 may see the fruition of a scheme which has been as old as the B.P.C. itself. The reasons for its present success will be dealt with in the concluding section.

c. Internal Development.

Any attempt at an analysis of any church is fraught with difficulties. The charge of "onesidedness" or "dwelling on negative aspects" is a possibility which cannot be overlooked, yet this assessment, as brief as it is, wishes only to point to the realities of the matter. It has been a great credit to the leaders of the B.P.C. that they have never glossed over their difficulties, but attempted to face them in a realistic manner and always with great hopefulness for the future. An analysis of a Church by its finance and statistics could never be a reliable guide for it does not indicate the depth of spiritual life or social usefulness. The statistics of the B.P.C. are even more unreliable because of the failure of presbyteries and congregations to provide the information despite repeated

warnings by the Assembly. The following are rough statistics:

Year	Outstations	Elders & Deacons.	Members	Candidates	Congregations
1924	552	1286	24,000	9,066	45
1929	640	1368	22,034	5,880	51
1940	691	1664	25,256	5,064	60
1950	774	1985	31,330	8,228	62
1960	799	2177	39,676	5,369	72
1969	935	3166	42,282	4,736	79

(i) Membership: It is common cause that the growth of the B.P.C. in almost every department of its activity has been much less and slower than anticipated. Time and Time again Moderators sought to draw attention to this aspect. A cursory glance at membership statistics shows that it took approximately seventeen years before the church again reached the figure of 1924. The catechumenate has yet to reach the figure given in 1924. According to a prominent member of the B.P.C.¹ the membership to date should have been closer to 100,000 in view of the vast increase in the African population instead of the present 42,000. The growth rate of church membership barely kept pace with the natural increase of the Presbyterian section of the population. It has been a criticism that the B.P.C., instead of moving into the cities, should rather have concentrated on the heathen in their own areas. The reasons for the slow increase are many. The B.P.C. ministry was faced with an immense shortage of men which resulted in an overworked, overextended and therefore ineffective ministry. In 1941, the Rev. E. Ntuli².

1. R.H.W. Shepherd.

2. B.P.C. B.B. 1941, Moderator's address p. 53.

commented on this aspect, pointing out that almost forty per cent of the congregations were vacant and some ministers burdened with up to three stations. Several Moderators in their addresses to Assembly exhorted their brethren to return to that Evangelical fervour from whence the B.P.C. sprang. The practical difficulties which the men faced, ~~and the~~ especially in the early years, nevertheless gives credit to their calibre. Communications were poor, finances weak even for educational material, and the people were uneducated. The B.P.C. maintained a proud tradition, in the face of official disapproval, of running schools and never failed to show an interest in the institutions which provided education and hospitalization for their people. The experience of running a Church took some time to develop and systems had to be evolved which would be acceptable to their people. The low stipend paid to the ministry did not make for plentiful candidates, yet through all this they maintained a reasonably high standard of education for their ministry. Scottish ministers retiring from the field could not often be replaced. Their salutary influence was acknowledged by all alike but their withdrawal was inevitable. There were 27 at the formation of the B.P.C. and the number has dwindled over the years to the present 6, all of whom have had less than ten years experience in the South African field. With the march of time the Bantu ministers were more frequently and effectively hindered by colour bars and racial prejudice. With their movement restricted the Scottish ministers are now strategically employed to fill such positions that might require excessive movement.

(ii) Finances: It must again be stressed that the quality of the life of a church can never be rated in terms of its finances, nor can one assess a church in terms of its finances. Yet it is a pulse and indicator of the difficulties

which the church had to face. From the start, the church had to expand its work on a rather meagre budget. Special offerings were from time to time taken to cover Assembly and other expenses. The "Manyano" or Womens Associations played a notable part, both in the life of the Church and in raising a great deal of its finance. The B.P.C. owes a great debt to these women who so faithfully served it. In addition they gave an annual sum towards the work in the Zoutpansberg area, without which the work would undoubtedly have suffered. From its inception the Church finances were watched by T.B. Soga. In 1932 an annual collection was introduced throughout the Church to defray a deficit of £219. Presbyteries and congregations were urged to give this matter their utmost attention. In 1937 the first detailed financial scheme was introduced. In that year the auditor could perform only a partial audit due to lack of documentary evidence and dockets. A number of difficulties arose due to a rather poor bookkeeping system. In 1949 the auditor again commented on the unsatisfactory state of the books and a number of amounts that needed investigating. The mother church helped by supplying a number of missionaries and paid their salaries. They gave grants-in-aid towards any particularly needy areas and did much to put the office of General Secretary on its feet. Slowly but surely the church built up its assets but very little could be expended on building projects without^{out} side help. Starting off with the meagre financial diet of a few hundred pounds, the B.P.C. slowly progressed to a fair amount of stability but its position is still far from safe. The auditors for 1969 state that while a revenue surplus is shown for the period up to December 1968, the Church's income is still generally insufficient to meet its financial commitments. It still does

not possess sufficient, by way of liquid assets, to meet the Church's liabilities, after allowing for specific funds.

(iii) Discipline: There is no church which does not experience the need to discipline some of its members in the interests of both the Church and the Christian faith. Relative to other ^{non sectarian} churches, the B.P.C. has had an unusual number of such cases. In 1949, the Moderator, the Rev. R.H.W. Shepherd said:

"...there have been failures, and the garments of the Church have been spotted. Something could be forgiven in the early years of the Church as it walked an unknown way: confusion in organization was perhaps inevitable till understanding of true Church procedure dawned. The desire for power was perhaps also to be looked for. But these failures are not all. Some would charge our Church with having far too many cases of dispute and discipline. It is sad to think of those who have fallen away. It is sad to think of how frequently Presbyteries and Assembly have had to deal with affairs that Church Courts should be troubled with only on rare occasions - moral scandal and hatred between brethren, for all of whom Christ died."¹

Numbers of instances have been recorded where behaviour on the part of either the minister or congregation or both have been decidedly anti-Christian. Again, it would be a mistake to dwell on this negative point. One should also point to the faithful majority, many of whom have been outstanding men and have done much for the increase of Christian faith in this Country.

1. B.P.C. B.B. 1949, Moderator's address p. 44.

(iv) Politics:

The B.P.C., because its membership is almost entirely composed of Bantu has frequently been caught in the whirlpool of South African politics. Besides personal discomfort experienced under the various laws governing the Bantu, such as the colour bar, the Group Areas Act and various pass laws, they have also been vitally affected in their social services such as in the administration of schools and other institutions. The Education Departments refused to allow B.P.C. to be superintendents of registered Bantu Schools in their area. In the Transvaal the B.P.C. either had to appoint another European minister or "make other satisfactory arrangements." Where they had this privilege, it was soon taken away. In 1927, T.B. Soga declared that he carried his pass, required in accordance with the East London Municipality regulations, under protest. This received the attention of the Assembly which quietly disposed of it, but many were in favour of greater protest and publicity. Yet in most cases, the B.P.C. displayed a great deal of restraint, tact and good sense, yet they nevertheless spoke out against many aspects of South African political life. In 1952, in the face of social disturbance they issued the following statement:

"Aware as we are that our people are not in possession of the political instruments that make for peaceful change in the normal democratic society, we are compelled to see a certain necessity in their choice of passive resistance as the one way open to them. Thus we cannot withhold from them our moral and spiritual help. Even so, we make known our word of grave caution. As the campaign intensifies the difficulties and incitements will increase and only as our people can

continue to behave non-violently and without bitterness to any man will their endeavours be found worthy of the blessing of God the Father..."¹.

In 1931 the Rev. H. Mama held an optimistic view of the future of the Bantu. He did not believe that segregation principles would succeed, and with the help of trusted friends and the vast educational opportunities through the Church, he believed there was some hope for a successful end. In his moderatorial address in 1952 the Rev. A.V. Nzimande had this to say about the political situation.

"..... the black man is passing through a critical time..... who is to blame for what is taking place today? The resistance campaign is on, you cannot blame the Africans for it, you cannot blame the civil courts for convictions and imprisonment...
.... who is to blame - it is the Public Opinion and the Legislative Assembly. The situation as it presents itself has brought in, into the political arena, the Church. Various churches have openly denounced the principles of Apartheid as unjust and unrighteous..."¹.

The B.P.C. was by no means in favour of the political policies followed by the Government. These policies were and are segregationalist in character and it is at this very point that the irony of the B.P.C. lay. While attacking Apartheid policies, by its very existence the B.P.C. proclaimed support for those policies. It would be very difficult to reconcile a church holding anti-apartheid views; yet practising such in its own life. In 1944 at the 21st celebrations of the B.P.C., the Rev. N.P. Makaluza said:

1. B.P.C. B.B. 1952, Moderator's address p. 44.

"Does this church mean a separation from persons other than the Black races of Africa? Is the church a political segregation? Is it founded on racial lines? The answer in the first place is in the negative. The Bantu Church knows no isms. It has its basis on the commission set forth by our Lord Jesus Christ. "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature". This Church is a universal church."

Either the speaker did not know the history of the church or had forgotten the realities of the situation, but the arguments in favour of a purely Native church did not in any way imply a universalistic outlook. On the contrary, it was the opposite and the separation was deliberately made along racial lines. A handful of white missionaries did not make the church multi-racial. In their report of 1948 the F.M.C. commissioners pointed to exactly this problem. On the one hand it found that the European was tempted to stand apart from the African Church and criticize its all too obvious weakness.

"The Church, on its side, is tempted to exhalt its independence, to assert its racial rather than its universal features, to emphasise formal and legal matters to the detriment of faith, hope or charity."¹.

The actual problem was not so clearly defined then, and one could therefore forgive the Commission for not grasping the dilemma of the B.P.C. at the time. Conditions have since made the position a lot clearer. Due to the F.M.C.'s own policy, the B.P.C. could not help but move in the direction of asserting its racial characteristics. Its very foundation

1. B.P.C. B.B., 1948, Appendix, F.M.C. Commission Report p.36.

and composition compelled it in that direction, for to speak against it would be to speak against their own church, and the ideals which they had for so long cherished.

(d) Conclusion:

This thesis has traced the origins of the B.P.C. from its earliest foundation. From certain evidence it has maintained that out of the Evangelical/"Liberal" alliance, and in the face of the erosion of native rights, the conviction grew that only a separate and independent Bantu Church would overcome the racial difficulties within the South African Church. The Scottish Mother Church was persuaded by various spokesmen to endorse this attempt to give the Bantu an opportunity to express themselves and apply their own indigenous talents towards the evangelization of the South African Bantu. It has also been maintained that Lovedale was the foremost spokesman in advocating this step. Further, that in the debate on the future of the Presbyterian mission, the men who all belonged to a common evangelical/liberal tradition were faced with a dilemma which yielded two answers. The dilemma, produced by South African social conditions, was whether to incorporate the Bantu people into one united Church where they would struggle to reach equality based on "white" standards, or to form them into an independent self-governing church where they would set their own standards and aims.

The young church experienced a great deal of difficulty in asserting its independence, which has yet to be fully realized. As time proceeded relations between itself and the P.C.S.A. were imperilled by continued disunity and the maintenance of a farcical 'federal' link. Tentative approaches on the subject of union began as early as 1935 and have continued till the present time, when such a

step appears to be imminent.

The thesis has dwelt on pressures of a practical nature which indicated that a union of Presbyterian bodies seemed the more acceptable 'solution'. A factor not dealt with and which has further influenced the decision to press ahead with unity negotiations, has been the growth of ecumenical relations in this country. In 1934 Dr. John Mott toured the country and was instrumental in giving impetus to the foundation of the Christian Council. Since then many denominations have been involved in unity discussions. With the greater fluidity in such relationships and a definite swing towards the rediscovery of the common Christian basis, it was not unusual that the Presbyterian bodies should draw together to find their common basis once again, which had been made so difficult by the racial situation.

The B.F.C. experiment has had 48 years in which to prove itself and to date cannot be thought an unqualified success. The other 'liberal' principle has now come to exert itself, namely, that now the group has had time to find its own feet they may merge and allow individuals of both racial groups to work together and work out their future without the racial separation.

Finally, the political situation gives a further reason for the B.F.C. readiness to enter a wider Presbyterian union. It has lived in a paradoxical situation for many years now, in that while wishing to express a universal faith and outlook it has, in fact, only been able to express a racialistic one, and while in opposition to many of the "Apartheid" policies of the Government, its very composition serves to promote the basis of such policies.

APPENDIX I.

Presbyteries and Congregations forming the Presbyterian
Church of South Africa. (1897).

PRESBYTERY OF CAPETOWN.

St. Andrew's	Rev. J.M. Russell, M.A. B.D.
	" D. Russell.
Gardens	" J.J. Mc Clure.
Cliftonhill	" W. Yule.
Woodstock	Vacant.

PRESBYTERY OF KAFFRARIA. (formerly U.P.)

Tutura	Rev. Wm. Girdwood.
M'bulu	" Jas. Davidson.
Columba	" Jas. Auld.
Malan	" John Lundie, M.A.
Buchanan	" J.W. Stirling.
Miller Station, Bomvanaland	" Wm. A. Soga, M.D.
Engwali	" A. Welsh,
Gillespie, Mt. Ayliff	" P.L. Hunter.
M'bondu, Mt. Frere	" John Soga.

PRESBYTERY OF NATAL.

First Presbyterian, Maritzburg	Rev. J. Gould Smith
St. John's, Maritzburg	" John Smith, M.A.
Commercial Road, Durban	" Wm. Tees.
Addington, Durban	" John Laing, B.A.
Berea, Durban	" A.S. MacPhee, M.A., B.D.
Greyville, Durban	" E. Hewitt, M.A.
Richmond	" W. E. Robertson.
Harrismith	" T.B. Porteous, M.A.
Howick	" Wm. Turnbull, M.A.
Newcastle	" D. McFarlane.
Bloemfontein	" D. Guthrie, M.A.
Meholmnyama	"
Lower Umzimkulu Native	" W. Christison.

PRESBYTERY OF TRANSVAAL.

Bree Street, Johannesburg	Rev. J.T. Lloyd.
Pretoria	" James Gray.
Fordsburg, Johannesburg	" Andrew Brown.
Jeppestown, Johannesburg	" R.B. Douglas, M.A.
Germiston, Johannesburg	" Wm. McIntosh.
Clifton, Braamfontein	" S.J. Hamilton, B.A.
Boksburg	" E.E. Greenfield.
Pretoria (Native)	" Robt. Shemeld.

Port Elizabeth

Vacant.

Note:- At the date of issue Rev. W.E. Robertson has been called to Woodstock, and Richmond thereby rendered vacant.

OTHER PRESBYTERIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

PRESBYTERY OF KAFFRARIA (F.C.)

Pirie	Rev. Bryce Ross, D.D.
Alice and Beaufort	" A. Hanesworth.
Lovedale	" P. N'zimba.
Macfarlan	" E. Makiwane.
Burnshill	" Wm. Stuart, M.A.
King Williams Town	" J.D. Don.
East London	" J.T. Ferguson.
East London (West Bank)	" R.H. Abel.
Johannesburg (Native)	" Wm. Mpamba.
Lovedale Institution	" James Stewart, M.D., D.D.
Lovedale Institution	" D.D. Stormont, M.A.
Lovedale Institution	" J. Lennox, M.A.

PRESBYTERY OF TRANSKEI (F.C.)

Cunningham	Rev. Richard Ross, M.A.
Cunningham	" J. Brownlee Ross, M.A.
Main	" D.D. Young.
Duff, Idutywa	" J. Thomson.
Somerville, E. Griqualand	" W.L. Erskine.
Ross, Tembuland	" M.J.C. Matheson.
Blythwood Institution and Congregation	" W.J.B. Moir, M.A.

PRESBYTERY OF ADELAIDE (U.P.) (Subsequently also joined
P.C.S.A.).

Somerset East	Rev. Wm. Leith.
Tarkastad	" John Dewar, M.A.
Adelaide	" Thomas Meikle.
Glenthorn	" John Black, M.A.

Free Church Mission Stations unattached to Presbyteries.

Gordon Memorial, Umsinga	Rev. Jas. Dalzell, B.D., M.B.C.M
Impolweni	" James Scott.
Maritzburg	" John Bruce, M.A.
Kalabase	" James Dewar, M.A.

APPENDIX II.

MODERATORS OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

1923	Rt. Rev. W. Stuart, M.A., at Lovedale.
1924	" " J. Dewar, M.A., at Pietermaritzburg.
1925	" " Y. Mbali, at King William's Town.
1926	" " P.L. Hunter, at Blythwood.
1927	" " J. H. Soga, at East London.
1928	" " J. Lennox, M.A., D.D., C.B.E. at Ladysmith.
1929	" " W. Mpamba, at Somerset East.
1930	" " B.J. Ross, at Umtata.
1931	" " H. Mama, at Kokstad.
1932	" " W. Gavin, M.A., D.D., at East London.
1933	" " C. Koti, at Durban.
1934	" " J. Dewar, M.A., at Johannesburg.
1935	" " N. Matshikwe, Lovedale.
1936	" " T.B. Soga, at Umtata.
1937	" " M. Sililo, at Umtata.
1938	" " Y. Mbali, at Durban.
1939	" " W. Gavin, M.A., D.D. at Kokstad.
1940	" " E. Ntuli, at Umtata.
1941	" " D.W. Semple, M.A., at East London.
1942	" " R. Godfrey, M.A., at Umtata.
1943	" " M. Xaba, B.A., at Umtata.
1944	" " W. Auld, M.A., at Engwali.
1945	" " W. Mpamba, at Umtata.
1946	" " F.B. Mdani, at Pietersburg.
1947	" " D.W.M. Matheson, M.A., at Durban.
1948	" " N.P. Makaluza, at Port Elizabeth.
1949	" " R.H.W. Shepherd, M.A., D. Litt. D.D., at Umtata.
1950	" " R.H.W. Shepherd, M.A., D. Litt. D.D., at Pietermaritzburg.
1951	" " B.A.B. Gasa, at Queenstown.
1952	" " A.V. Nzimande, at Umtata.
1953	" " A. Ntuli, at Cunningham.
1954	" " D.W.M. Matheson, M.A., at Zwelitsha.
1955	" " D.V. Sikutshwa, at Kokstad.
1956	" " T.P. Finca, at Langa, Cape Town.
1957	" " F.W. Ngxenge, at Lamontville.
1958	" " J. Hongo, at East London.
1959	" " W.P.T. Ndibongo, at Orlando, Johannesburg.
1960	" " J.A. Anderson, M.A., B.A., at New Brighton, P.E.
1961	" " G.G. Nzotyana, at Pietermaritzburg.
1962	" " I. Njoloza, at Paballong.
1963	" " E.E. Kokozela, at Lovedale.
1964	" " J.S. Summers, M.A., B.D., at Port Elizabeth.
1965	" " J.Y. Hliso, at Umtata.
1966	" " B.M. Molaba, at Langa, Cape Town.
1967	" " B.W. Zulu, at Pietermaritzburg.
1968	" " T.T. Dekela, at Johannesburg.
1969	" " J.S. Summers, M.A., B.D., at Umtata.

APPENDIX III.

Presbyteries of the Bantu Presbyterian Church
and their development.

PRESBYTERY OF MANKAZANA.

Adelaide*
Fort Beaufort*
Glenthorn*
Somerset East*
Tarkastad* - 1950

PRESBYTERY OF KAFFERARIA.

Lovedale congregation*
Lovedale institution congregation*
McFarlan*
Burnshill*
Pirie*
Engwali*
East London (1925)

PRESBYTERY OF THE CISKELI. M 853 (1931)

New Brighton Port Elizabeth (1936) - (1950)
Uitenhage (1936) - (1950)
Cape Town (1937) - (1950)
Keiskammahoek (1937)
Queenstown (1939)
Iona House - Fort Hare
Zwelitsha (1958) K.W.T.
Lovedale Theological School.

PRESBYTERY OF CAPE-MIDLANDS AND WESTERN PROVINCE(1950)

Port Elizabeth - New Brighton (1936)
Uitenhage (1936)
Cape Town (1937)
Somerset East*
Grahamstown (1954)
Worcester (1958)
Patensie (1961)
Nababeep (1963)
Knysna (1965)

PRESBYTERY OF THE TRANSKEI.

Blythswood Institution*
(Cala/ (1926) separation from Ugie in 26 reunited 1948 -
Presbytery of Transkei Umtata 52.
Columba*
Cunningham*
Duff*
Enjanyana (1928) /Idutywa.
Kidston*
Main*
Malan*
Mbulu 1939, Paterson*
Neisinde*
North Cunningham*
Tutura, Goodwood Memorial*
Lundie Memorial
MacLay
Njikelana (1956)
Govan (1960)
Elsies River (1968)

PRESBYTERY OF NATAL.

Douglas (1927)
Glenbain (1936)
Gordon Memorial*
Impendhle (1932)
Impolweni*

PRESBYTERY OF NATAL (cont.)

Ladysmith*
Iokweni
Newcastle (1924)/Dundee
Ntambanhlope (1926) m 178/323
Pietermaritzburg*
Pholela Institution (Bulwer*)
Makabeleni (1926)m 178/323 + 1942
Pholela district
Durban (1957)
Estcourt (1958)
Edendale (1965)

PRESBYTERY OF ZOUTPANSBERG - of Transvaal (1941)

Blaauberg (1927)
Donhill*
East Rand Springs
Modder Bee (1941)
Gooldville*
Mpamba (1932)
Stuartville*
Weirdale*
West Rand, Crown Mines (1941)
Manzimangombe (1929)
Rustenburg
Pretoria (1960)
Stilfontein (1962)
North Rand (1967)
South Rand (1967)

PRESBYTERY OF UMTATA.

Erskine (1927)
Lower Rainy (1929)
Miller*
Rainy*
Ross*
Somerville*
Ugie*/Gala.
Church Offices Umtata.

PRESBYTERY OF GRIQUALAND EAST.

Balasi*
Gillespie*
Matatiele*, Springside 1947 - 1955 p. of Matatiele.
Riet Vlei*
Sulenkama, Buchanan*

PRESBYTERY OF MATATIELE (1955)

Mafube (1955)
Mpharane (1955)
Paballong (1955)
Springside - Griqua East 1955
Tsekong- Griqua East 1955
Upper Mkemane (1959)

KEY.

- * congregation which joined B.P.C. in 1923
- () year in which congregation or Presbytery starts.
- + congregation dissolves.
- transference to another Presbytery.
- transference from another Presbytery.

BREAKDOWN OF EXPANSION.

- (11) 1923 - 1930 Cala, Emjanyana, Erskine, Lower Rainy, Douglas, Newcastle, Ntabanklope, Makabeleni, Blaauberg, Manzimangombe, East London.
- (8) 1930 - 1940 Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Cape Town, Keiskammahoek, Queenstown, Glenbain, Impendhle, Mpamba.
- (2) 1940 - 1950 East Rand, Springs, West Rand.
- (10) 1950 - 1960 Zwelitsha, Grahamstown, Worcester, Njikelana, Durban, Estcourt, Mafube, Mpharane, Paballong, Upper Mkwane.
- (10) 1960 - 1968 Patensie, Nababiep, Knysna, Govan, Elsie's River, Edendale, Pretoria/Rustenberg, Stilfontein, North Rand, South Rand.

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