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**THE EXPERIENCES OF A BLACK BAPTIST TOWNSHIP PASTOR IN THE
APARTHEID SA: THE CASE STUDY OF REVEREND SIMON LUKWE FROM THE
EASTERN CAPE**

BY

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DECLARATION

I HEREBY DECLARE THAT “THE EXPERIENCES OF A BLACK BAPTIST TOWNSHIP PASTOR IN APARTHEID SA: THE CASE STUDY OF REVEREND SIMON LUKWE FROM THE EASTERN CAPE” IS MY OWN WORK AND THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN SUBMITTED FOR ASSESSMENT TO ANOTHER UNIVERSITY OR FOR ANOTHER QUALIFICATION.

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VUYO PATRICK MKOWANA

JUNE 2015

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ABSTRACT

The role of the Church in politics is always a contentious issue, this is not only the case in South Africa but all over the world. Christian traditions vary in their understanding and interpretation of Biblical teaching on what role Christians and clergy should play in city politics. The primary gist or objective of this thesis revolves around the birth, calling and the ministry of Reverend Simon Lukwe as a representation of black ministers in the Baptist Church. The secondary objective is to look at the pastoral methods that he employed based on the challenges of the day. It is acknowledged that there have been autobiographies and biographies written on the experiences of well-known clergy like Dr. Frank Chikane, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Reverend Beyes Naude and others, but there is puzzling silence about other Christian permanent persuaders who played a pivotal role in the public life in South Africa. This individual is one of those like many who were able to trounce the inferior and oppressive education that was offered to black ministers in the Baptist Union of Southern Africa. This dissertation is a narrative of a heart-breaking but fascinating account of a black minister who was detained and tortured by security forces; sadly, he was even forsaken by his own brothers and sisters in Christ (Baptist church members). It also seeks to examine what might be the call to the modern religious ministers based on the current socio-economic and political challenges, and what pastoral methods might be relevant to effectively minister in this context.

ACRONYMS

ACAT	African Christian Agricultural Training
ANC	African National Congress
AZAPO	Azania People Organisation
BCSA	Baptist Convention of South Africa/Bantu Baptist Convention of Southern African of the Baptist Union of South Africa
BUBA	Baptist Union of the Border Association
BUSA	Baptist Union of South Africa
CFC	Ciskei Fieldwork Committee
UDF	United Democratic Front
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction, background and research methods

1.1 Introduction and background

The discussion on politics and church is a conflict-ridden subject in the Christian community. Many churches and denominations do not agree on this subject yet it is critical for the church and its mission in society. In the midst of such diverse opinions, the society at large and political leaders expect the church to play a meaningful role in shaping the society and its political landscape. Many political leaders have appealed to the church to be active in the political life of their countries. For instance, the former president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere while addressing the American Church said “The church has an obligation to fight for a society which will enable citizens to live with dignity...” (Parratt 1997:109). This call has also been made many times in South Africa during and after apartheid.

The late President Nelson Mandela made the same plea during the ushering of the new democratic government. He spoke about the importance of religion (Christianity) in nation building and social transformation. In 1994, during the moral regeneration meeting, Mandela said, “we do not only need a housing and community Reconstruction Development Program (RDP), South Africa needs an RDP of the soul.” Regardless of this expectation, the church is still divided on the subject. However, there are many individual figures across the globe who have defied their leaders to pursue their convictions on the subject. Many have put their lives on the block and even lost it, while some have been lucky to survive and become celebrated figures in their communities and the world around them. Yet, there are many individuals who have equally played a meaningful role and made big strides for their people but have remained unnoticed by their communities, they are the unsung heroes and heroines of our communities.

In South Africa, there have been three main Christian opinions regarding public political involvement of the church. The first has been that which supported apartheid as God

ordained which was led by the NG Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church). According to Boesak (1984), the NG Kerk and its affiliates viewed apartheid as an expression of the will of God for South Africa. The second opinion openly opposed apartheid as evil and therefore made means to express its dissatisfaction with such a political system. It was led by churches affiliated with the South African Council of Churches (SACC). The third has been more of a silent stance which believed that Christians should not be involved in politics. This last group did not necessary verbally support apartheid but they also did not oppose it and their focus was on saving souls. This group mainly consists of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches including the Baptist Union of South Africa (BUSA). Ntombana (2012) discusses in detail various opinions on the role of BUSA during apartheid and how its role is variedly interpreted. The strongest opinion found on Ntombana's (2012) paper is that the Baptist Union of South African (also called BU, BUSA or Union) did not necessary support apartheid but was silent, thus suggesting that they were part and also in support of apartheid.

The stance and opinion on the church and politics did not only divide black and white Baptists but even blacks against black Baptists. The black-to-black schism is seen on some of reason cited for the failure of the merger discussion; the ministers who joined the BUSA from the Baptist Convention of South Africa (also called BCSA and Convention) who felt that other black ministers were too radical and politically motivated when they refused to merge with BUSA. On the other hand, the ministers who opted to remain with BCSA felt that those who joined BUSA sold them out to white people. The BCSA ministers further aligned themselves with SACC and other churches that openly opposed apartheid. Furthermore, it can be seen that the ministers who opted not to join BUSA (1988), some of whom include reverends Maphetho, Makhanya, Lukwe, Madolo and Ngodela, openly opposed apartheid; as a result, they were labelled as communists.

The discussion of the church and politics is an old debate, yet a fundamental subject which continues to haunt and wound the Christian community. Denominations and churches have condemned the race biased politics in favour of a just society; but, in practice, they tend to be different in most of those denominations and churches. As will

be demonstrated later in this dissertation, Reverend Simon Lukwe refused to accept the status quo in his leadership. He was in practice, a pastor and a theologian contextualising his ministry. Lukwe immensely suffered as a result of his approach to his ministry; and, he became a lame duck among his own brothers both black and white and also among his congregation the Mlungisi Baptist Church in the township of Mlungisi in Queenstown. It is this phenomenon that is explored in this dissertation. The researcher is conversant with the life histories and biographic approach and theories, but he will situate this work on the debate on the church and race politics in relation to Lukwe.

This work is about a person who has played a meaningful role in the history of the South African Church and social landscape. The role that he has played has come at an immense personal cost to him and his family, affecting his life, ministry and credibility as minister of the Gospel in his denomination – The Baptist Union of Southern Africa. Lukwe came from humble beginnings, yet he has immeasurably contributed to his people. However, his church has not acknowledged his contribution even though they are the recipients of his involvement for betterment of black people in South Africa. He is a man who, despite his limited education, managed to transcend the divide which ordinarily was transcended by those who had been educationally empowered. This work seeks to narrate his life history and understand the things that made him to be the man that he has been as a minister in the Baptist Church of South Africa.

1.2 Research problem

The South African liberation was a bloody and painful affair for all South Africans; yet there is little information that has been chronicled regarding many selfless individuals who have contributed immensely to the current state in South Africa. What has been chronicled is the role played by a few individuals at the national scale, such as Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and Robert Sobukwe among others; on the church front it is the likes of Frank Chikane, Beyers Naude, Desmond Tutu and others. It is to the interest of South Africans to collect and document histories of individuals who have made a major contribution to South Africa's democracy. The life and contribution of Lukwe is one such

life that needs to be chronicled for next generations to celebrate and emulate. Without the written history, the next generations will never know the great price it took to gain freedom and heroes and heroines who have showed their ultimate commitment to fight for freedom (Ndlela, 2013). According to Ndlela (2013), these are great individuals who made selfless sacrifices without expecting recognition.

South Africa has a long way to go in its development of democracy, both in its institutions and politics; and, there are probably many fights that still need to be fought in order to strengthen it. These life stories could help to strengthen and encourage next generations to be courageous in their fight for what they believe to be true and just for all South Africans.

1.3 Research questions

The following are the research questions for this study:

- Who is Lukwe, the husband, the father and the pastor?
- What are the influences that shaped his life and ministry?
- Why did he go against the established norm in relation to politics and defy his denomination?
- What price did he pay for going against the church?

1.4 Research objectives

The following are the research objectives for this study:

- To examine and document the life, calling and ministry of Lukwe;
- To chronicle the history and contribution made by Lukwe to the ministry of Baptist Church in South Africa; and
- To chronicle the role Lukwe played as the leader of his community in seeking to free them from the shackles of oppression (apartheid).

1.5 Significance of the study

This is of highest importance in the history of South Africa, as it deals with the life, ministry and leadership of an unsung hero. This study chronicles a man that served his people to his own detriment, yet endured to the end. This study will help many individuals who find or might find themselves in similar situations, as the subject of church and politics is still a contested terrain in the religious fraternity and denominations across the globe.

1.6 Research approach: biography

Biographical writings were once regarded as merely a subsection of history with a focus on particular individuals of historic importance, (Concise Encyclopaedia – Online). It is an account of a person's life; it also encompasses other narrative forms such as letter, memoirs, journals and diaries. Popkin (2005:x) says autobiography is an interesting body of text because historians who have turned into autobiography unconsciously demolish the existing wall between historiography and autobiography. Merrill and West (2009:31) claim that the term auto/biography was coined to draw attention to the inter-relationship between the constructions of one's own life through autobiography and the construction of the life of another through biography.

Biography is about people's stories that were not intentionally constructed by the individuals who lived it. Robinson (2011:23) argues that the histories of the actions of the human beings in the history of the world produce an effect altogether different from "what they themselves intend and accomplish". In reality, in writing human life stories, we are also writing about our stories which contain and reflect our own histories, social, economic and cultural realities whether past or present. Robinson (2011:23) further says, "People make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by them, but under circumstances encountered, given and transmitted from the past." This is the truth and the reality of the life is explored in this biographical work, the life of Lukwe.

1.7 Theoretical framework: psychobiography

According to Howe (1997:237), psychobiography is the science of psychology and the art of biography. Fouche and van Niekerk (2010:2) believe that “it is about studying historically significant and extraordinary individuals over their entire life span with the aim to uncover and reconstruct their lives psychosocially.” Eliastam (2010:6) says it is an in-depth description of individuals’ lives focused on bringing together evidence, theory and interpretation.

Psychobiography has its value in the fact it creatively and artistically unearths an individual’s life story and sheds light on the uniqueness of that individual. It also provides us with psychological descriptions for the behaviour (Eliastam, 2010:12). Runyan (1984:3) believes that it provides a framework for reassessing our own experiences, fortunes and possibilities for existences.

The theological convictions of the individual being studied are also explored within this psychobiography in order to ascertain that impact within the thinking and behaviour of the subject.

Eliastam (2010:8) believes that psychobiography is the best method for case studies in that it is an in-depth and holistic exploration of the ‘phenomenon’ within its real-life context. Case studies reconstruct and interpret a person’s life story based on available evidence.

1.8 Ethnography (qualitative)

This study will apply the ethnographic enquiry as a research method. De Beer (2000:16) says, “Ethnographic fieldwork refers to first hand, direct, intensive (face to face) contact and the participation of the anthropologist as researcher in the lives of people being studied.” During this process the anthropologist observes what the people are doing and questions them about their behaviour and events taking place.

Anthropological research is by means of ethnographic fieldwork like mere observation, participant observation and in-depth interview. Qualitative research always attempts to study human actions or behaviours from the 'insider's' perspective with the purpose of focusing on the process rather than just the outcome (Babbie and Mouton 2001:279). Lichtman (2010) notes that qualitative research depends on what people say and how the researcher listens and gathers information.

1.9 Data collection

Data collection was done through literature review and field work. Relevant literature which includes books, newspapers articles, documents, journals and other material was reviewed. In-depth semi-structured interviews (formal interviews and informal discussions) were conducted with Lukwe, his family, community members, colleagues, and individuals whom he worked and interacted with. These interviews were more conversational allowing respondents a chance to answer and ask questions where they did not understand.

1.10 Target population

Population is defined as a group of individuals who have one or more characteristics common that are of interest to the researcher (Best and Khan 1993:13). The population consisted of Lukwe, his family, his colleagues, BCSA and BUSA members, Mlungisi and Whittlesea community members.

1.11 Ethical considerations

Participants who agreed to partake in the study were informed of the aims and objectives of the study. Informed consent was made voluntary and respondents were not coerced in any way to participate and they were also given opportunity to withdraw at any point if they wished to do so.

1.12 Chapter outline

Chapter one deals with the introduction, background and research methods. Chapter two deals with historical developments of the Baptist Church in South Africa. The main focus of the discussion is to find the development of Bantu Baptist Church and role of the blacks in that process. Chapter three examines the experiences of Black ministers in the Baptist Union missionary wing (SABMS). The challenges the ministers faced and how those challenges have emerged are also discussed. Chapter 4 traces the life of Lukwe starting with his birth, his calling, his ministry, his political involvement and the consequences thereof. The chapter closes by looking at his last days. Chapter 5 examines the influences that shaped Lukwe's life and ministry approach and will also outline what the author deems as traits that made him to think outside the box as opposed to his training and theology and the norm of other black ministers.

1.13 Conclusion

Biographical works helps us to look into our stories through the lens of other people's lives. It helps us learn both the good that have been accomplished and also teaches us about the shortfalls and mistakes that others have made, making us to learn and be wise.

CHAPTER TWO

History of the Baptist Union and the Baptist Convention of South Africa

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines a brief history of the beginning and development of the Baptist Church in South Africa. In tracking this development, the researcher inadvertently studies the relationship between black and white Baptists – which is the history of the socio-economic and political reality of South Africans. This chapter focuses more on the dynamics of BUSA, SABMS and BCSA structural relationships. This chapter does not seek to give a detailed history of the Baptist Church in South Africa, but offers a brief history and the context in which the South African Baptists found themselves. The main purpose for this review is to examine the historical context that shaped Lukwe's life and ministry.

2.2 The history of the Baptist Church in South Africa

The Baptist history has been studied and documented from different perspectives by various writers and scholars such as Kretzschmar (1990), Mhlophe (1996), Roy (2002), Ntombana (2012, 2013), Mogashoa (2000), Makhanya (1990), Matshiga (2006) and many others. As mentioned above, this chapter does not intend to rewrite what others have already done, but to show a historical context for the calling and ministry of Lukwe. The historical context of the Baptist in South Africa played a major role in shaping the experiences of Lukwe and his ministry. As already noted by other authors, the history of the church in many parts of the world is embedded in socio-political and economic conditions. One cannot separate the church from the context in which it exists due to the fact that church members are an integral part of the broader social structure which is also informed by socio-economic and political conditions (Ntombana 2012:8). Likewise, the history of the South African Baptists is the story of a people within a specific context. In order for one to understand the historical reality of the Baptists in South Africa, it is pertinent to see it through the broader South African history of injustices of the past where

black people were regarded as boys (servants) while white people were regarded as bass (superiors). Not only in the community but in the Christian Church, including Baptists, white people were regarded as superior and blacks as subordinates.

As already mentioned, this chapter is not intended to present an exhaustive history of Baptists in South Africa but seek to review certain aspects which will highlight the background and the kind of relationship the white Baptist Church had with natives. Furthermore, this chapter takes deeper interest in how the same gospel was interpreted in various ways in order to promote others while suppressing others. This is the historical context in which Lukwe found himself. This chapter focuses on the history of the Baptist church in three parts, namely:

1. The arrival of settlers in South Africa
2. Bantu Baptist Church
3. Baptist Convention of Southern African

2.3 The arrival of English settlers in South Africa

The establishment of the Baptist Church was a direct result of the settlers both of English and German origins. The first settlers to arrive in South Africa were English settlers who arrived in 1820; they came as a result of economic condition in their country of origin. For example, the English government established the Emigration Aid Fund of £50 000, whose sole purpose was to help those immigrating with relocating costs and to enable them establish themselves in a foreign country (Reed, 1983:1). As a result, settlers also established their missions which were financially supported by their respective governments in order to reach out to African people. Shaw (1923:4) notes that people of any denomination were free to choose a minister of their own with Colonial Treasury committing to give an annual grant that would support that minister irrespective of the denomination they were to serve. He further states that a number of Wesleyan families chiefly resident in London resolved to avail themselves for this opportunity to immigrate to South Africa. They were joined by some Episcopalians, Baptists, and others; thus they made up rather more than the required number of 100 men exclusive of their wives and

families (Shaw, 1923:4). Of the 5 000 settlers who settled in the Cape, nine families were Baptists which comprised 35 individuals inclusive of man, women and children.

Establishment of English Baptist Churches in South Africa

Reed (1983:9) asserts that the first Baptist church was established and led by William Shepherd who was a leader of the Baptist group during their journey to South Africa. Shepherd built the first church building in Salem which was made up of Wattle and daub. Once the church was established, William Miller was elected as their pastor. According to Shaw (1923:59), Miller was not a trained minister but a carpenter; he was also a person of strong sense, a ready speaker and a good man. By 1874, the English Baptist Witness (church) grew rapidly with churches in Grahams' Town, Kariega, Port Elizabeth and Alice.

2.4 The arrival of German settlers in South Africa

The explosion of the Baptist Witness in the Cape Colony came as a result of the 1857 influx of German settlers. This was a result of dire conditions in Crimean War and its subsequent end. These were men who had fought along British soldiers but who found themselves dispossessed after the war. The British had to find a way to draft them into society and the South African settlement scheme proved handy. Out of 8 000 soldiers, about 2 362 settled in the Colony; this number is in spite of the rosy picture that Sir George Grey used in his efforts to have a larger group relocate to the Cape. His intention was to deter what he termed "to be bulwark against the inroads of the native and to provide a population equalization which would enable Black and White to live in juxtaposition without fear..." reported Hoffman, a Legion engineer who came to interview Sir George Grey together with Major I. Grant.

According to Reed (1983:65), among German settlers who settled in the Cape Colony were five Baptists; Carsten Langhein, his wife Dorothea, Carl Gustav, Aldolph Schmidt and his wife Maria Christine and Christian Friedrich Sandow a writer of the German Baptist history in South Africa. It is the work of the German settlers that saw the growth

of the Baptist Witness in Cape Colony. These five settlers were situated in different locations in a radius of about +-80kms from Panmure (East London) to Frankfort and to Stutterheim. On 15 April 1861, they met at Frankfort and established a church there. Langhein was elected to be an elder of the church, and was subsequently ordained later that year to lead the church through the help of Reverend Alexander Hay Grahamstown of the English Baptist Church. The church was growing rapidly (300 people in 1868); as a result, Langhein was asked to be an interim leader. Furthermore, the church sought leadership help from Reverend Johan Oncken who was the Baptist Church leader in Germany. Subsequently, Reverend Hugo Gutsche, a pharmacist by training, was sent after two years of training for this assignment. He arrived in South Africa on 7 December 1867 in King Williams' Town where he was going to pastor. By 1 June 1868, there were nine small congregations scattered across the border area (British Kaffrairia) with members ranging from 15 to 62. Gutsche led the church effectively and by 1877, there were 12 church buildings built debt free under his leadership and guidance. Gutsche believed in opening debt-free churches, and among these German churches there was a native church that was opened on 17 July 1870 namely, Tshabo Baptist Church. According to Roy (2000:22), Gutsche managed to build 25 church buildings in 25 years.

Establishment of German Baptist Churches in South Africa

The work of the German Baptist Church gave birth to Afrikanse Baptist Kerk through Odendaal in 1886, a mission school and South African Baptist Missionary Society which was instrumental in the establishment of Bantu Baptist Church in 1927 in Tshabo Village just outside Berlin. The work with natives came as a result of Carl Pape, a farmer fluent in isiXhosa, who was later ordained as an evangelist by Gutsche in 1874. When the Baptist Union was established in 1877 with 795 members, German Baptists had almost the two-thirds of that number which was 452 while the remaining 343 belonged to the English Baptist Church. It is worth noting that this number was exclusive to natives (Tshabo Baptist church). The exclusion of the natives in Baptist Union suggests that the separate development policy of Botha's Apartheid was already in force although it was only introduced much later as a political strategy (1947).

2.5 The establishment of the Bantu Baptist Church

As a body and organised formation there are basically two narratives for the formation of Bantu Baptist Church (BBC). The first one is that the organisation was started and initiated by black ministers under the leadership of William Mashologu. The other narrative is that it was initiated by white missionaries so as to make sure that native congregations were separated yet remained dependent on white people. Whether the BBC was Mashologu's initiation or a project by missionaries, it is clear that Mashologu as a visionary played a pivotal role in uniting black congregations while on the other it is evident that the BBC ended up being a project run by white people through SABMS.

It is reported that from the establishment of the Tshabo Baptist Church, a number of other native churches sprang up all around the British Kaffraria stretching to Transkei, Natal, and Transvaal. It is important to note that almost all literature written by likes of Roy, Reed and other white historians on Baptist Church in South Africa does not recognise or include the role played by black pioneers in establishing native or Black Churches but only place them as assistants to white pioneers. The interest of such writers was obviously to highlight the success and accomplishments of white preachers. Yet, according to interviews conducted during this study; literature written by black authors and the BU assembly minutes; SABMS report to the BU assembly; Field Committee minutes covering the period 1892 to 1984, more than 90% of the black churches were started and planted by black preachers.

For example, according to Mogashoa (2000:33), there were 11 native ministers between 1892 and 1925 and that list excluded lay preachers. In 1874, Samuel Mzimba was in charge of day school which was in operation at Tshabo Baptist Church. Mzimba left the school to be a court interpreter in Alice in 1875 and James Mangane took over from him but did not stay longer as the school kept losing government grants. Harding subsequently took over the running of the Tshabo School in 1879.

According to Makhanya (1990:33), in 1925, Mashologu encouraged the black Baptists who were more scattered to form a more formal structure and further devoted his time to starting new churches and strengthening small Baptist churches.

Mashologu is defined as a spiritual and intellectual giant born in Keiskammahoek; as result of his leadership, native churches grew and became stronger. Mashologu, who was a teacher by profession from an early age, had contacts with black American missionaries who had a great influence on him. Mashologu himself pioneered and established many schools in the Transkei area. Wherever he started a school he would also plant a Baptist Church. He believed that all Baptist natives should come under one umbrella body, he started lobbying and negotiating with different strands around 1925/6, leading to the February 26 – 27, 1927 Conference in which the Bantu Baptist Church was established in Tshabo Baptist Church in Berlin. It is also important to note that the Conference was not only made up of churches in the Cape Colony, but also churches and ministers from as far as Transvaal and one of ministers who attended from Transvaal was Reverend W.E. Ostrich.

Seeing that the BCC was more organised and becoming a force to reckon with, the BU passed a resolution that the BCC was not to be left to govern itself but the SABMS was instructed to play a key role in governing them. As stated in the SABMS Report (1925/26:19), the BU assembly had resolved that “European control is needed not because of racial difference but stored experience.” This statement is interesting as the BU did not want to come out on their racial prejudices, but sugar-coated it with “stored experience”. Their racial prejudices were confirmed by their decision of not allowing the BBC to BUSA membership and only allowing them to elect one of their representatives to attend the assembly as an observer and advisor on issues related to natives (BUSA Handbook 1928/9:58).

The relationship between SABMS and the BBC

The SABMS was established on 20 April 1892 by the Baptist Missionary Society and the Baptist Union of Southern Africa. The main reasons cited for its establishment was to oversee and to control Baptist work among Blacks, Griquas and, in some cases, among Indians (Makhanya 1990:34). In overseeing and enforcing the control of the BU, the SABMS had various documents and practices that were created in order to deal with the BBC relations. The following are some of the traits that characterised the SABMS (BU) – BBC relations:

- Domination – as per 1922 BU assembly, SABMS maintained decision making status in the BBC.
- Superintendents made decisions concerning ministers and local church issues;
- Unequal economic relations with black ministers earning low income without benefits. Only in 1955 a Bantu Pension fund was established with a R13 pay out per male member, and R 6, 50 for females. In 1988 it increased to R30 for males.
- Church property was never owned by native churches themselves but belonged to BU.
- Europeans remained teachers while blacks were perpetual students.

One of those controlling measures was the fact that the BBC constitution was not formulated by the BBC members but was made by the SABMS and it did not serve the needs of the BBC members but to enforce control of BU through the SABMS. For example, it was stated in the BBC constitution that all the councils of the natives were to be chaired by white Superintendents and the chairmanship of the BBC was to be in the hands of SABMS. Even though BBC could deliberate on issues of concern to them, it was the prerogative of the SABMS leadership to make a final decision on matters of BBC together with BU leadership (Constitution of the Native Baptist Church Councils in connection with SABMS” – (BU Handbook 1922 – 1923). In this way, all BBC decisions had to be approved by the SABMS and the superintendents were the eyes of the SABMS that was ever present in all black local churches. The constitution document states that two of the objectives, among many, why the Bantu Church was established was for self

development of blacks, and that of being advisor to the SAMBS, whereby the Bantu coordinator's role among other roles was to be part of the SABMS board representing blacks, with the objective of giving advice to the board regarding ways of reaching Bantus. Kretzschmar (1990:26) raises objections to real reasons cited for the formation of SABMS. Firstly, she questions how the BBC which was established in 1927, could come under the auspice of the SABMS. She further argues that SABMS never intended to develop black leaders who would lead their organisation or BUSA for that matter. She states that

The most charitable interpretation is that this (SABMS) provided the opportunity for black Baptists to develop their own leadership structures, independent from the tutelage of the Baptist Union. But such an interpretation would only be valid under certain conditions: if the white Union or SABMS leaders no longer exercised authority over the Convention churches, or if the leaders thus developed, exercised authority alongside their white counterparts over both Union and Convention Churches, through the Baptist Union Executive. But neither of these possibilities emerged. (Kretzschmar 1990:26)

According to Makhanya (1990:34), "in the 1960s the motto was Evangelisation of the Bantu by Bantu." This meant that black pastors were never part of the Baptist Church but were employees and their role was only to assist the white Church by evangelising black people. Dr Jonson (1984:17) noted that "everything was viewed from a White perspective and that it was the 'Big brother' who made the decision and who felt that the responsibility for planning, for providing, for protecting and for preserving the interest of the so called 'Non-whites' was vested in white leadership." Johnson (1984:19) further noted that "it was felt that government was doing a good job and needed the full support of the church. A defensive attitude was adopted, a kind of window dressing of what the whites were doing for the blacks regardless of the fact that the blacks were non-participants of their future." One can conclude that the relationship of the SABMS and the BBC was that of a master and servant and further discouraged black people from taking ownership and leadership of their own plight and future, thereby relegating them to a life of recipients. These practices affected black people in all spheres of their church life, which was a replica of their social life. For example, black Baptist Church buildings were built by SABMS through superintendents; as a result some black Baptist Churches carried names of white superintendents. Notably, some modern Churches have superintendent's names

inscribed to the walls of the local churches as one who opened and dedicated them to Glory of God.

One can also summarise the relationship of the SABMS and the BBC by looking at the four resolutions taken by SABMS executive committee meeting regarding constitutional draft (Minutes of the SABMS executive committee held at Johannesburg Central on 13/04/1961):

It was 'agreed in principle' that "If there are major changes of our missionary policy, we must consider carefully – and dare not lose sight of – disadvantages, which will be quite evident. Firstly: Only if the SABMS is separate from BU can we see that Bantu men come on to the SABMS Executive and can make a real value on such an Executive. On the issue of the Missionary Field Committee – It was agreed in principle that 'We are convinced that our Bantu brethren shall not serve on the field committee: 1. Language problem would create difficulties as the Bantu is not proficient enough in English to follow carefully and to understand fully what was said and implied'. 2. On Leadership- educational standard and training. The regional committee feels that the problem of leadership is involved with the standard of education which is reached by the Institution and the question of enforcement of at least standard 6 as a condition to enter the institution should be strongly considered.

Kretzschmar (1992:219) refutes the idea of Standard 6 being an entrance for theological education for black students while the entrance of the white students to Park Town was Standard 10 as being segregative and oppressive. She argues that this is one of the practices which shows that the Baptist Union was supportive of the apartheid ideology although it professed a separation of state and religious belief. Kretzschmar's idea is further strengthened by the closing down of Millard Institute in Orlando due to the view that black people were regarded as non-permanent residents in an urban area.

According to Cawood (1964:78), "Dr D.L. Smith of the United Party circulated a circular letter to the House of Assembly on May 3, 1960, with intention to influence and inhibit the rise of black ministers in the denominations to the positions of executive administration which were reserved for 'European' ministers. This move was bluntly refused by both Methodist Church and Church of the Province which went on to appoint Reverend Seth Mokitimi as president of Methodist of South Africa and Canon A.H. Zulu as the first black

Bishop of the Church of the Province. This alludes to the argument of Kretzschmar that BUSA supported separate development ideology; hence the policies they had in place were intended to elevate whites at the expense of black people. Kretzschmar (1990:28) further argues that BUSA could have done what Spurgeon's College in London did, concerning the issue of education level of its candidates. She says Spurgeon's College adopted an upliftment approach to their students from disadvantaged backgrounds. Kretzschmar's argument makes a lot of sense as it is difficult to believe that all black candidates had lower education, especially considering the fact that South Africa had many black people who were highly educated especially from the Eastern Cape. The historical facts dispute the idea of uneducated blacks and language incompetence as substantial and authentic reasons, but what is clear is the deliberate agenda to down play black people.

The other matter which comes out of the minutes is the issue of pastoral salary, which even at that stage was mainly the responsibility of the SABMS. As stated in the minutes, the ministers were paid from the budget of £3 960 per annum. This was made to bear witness among other factors by the fact that "Churches have no real say in the appointment of their ministers – they are appointed by the council. Finances come to a central fund from which the minister receives salary" (Ciskei Field Committee Minutes 1961:4).

The above quotes and arguments reveal startling evidence that Bantu churches had no authority over their existence as the church, and thus were condemned to the life of being controlled, with no leadership development plan, and lack of respect of the indigenous leadership by congregants because although they were preachers and local leaders; but superintendents made decisions on their behalf. Tradition says that members would report the pastor to the superintended if a dispute or crises had ascended, and superintendents also were able to beat up the minister in front of the congregants like a child, without the pastor trying to fight back. It also shows that there was no will from the BU to help develop black people. One can rightly conclude that the BU and SABMS constitutions and their practices towards black churches established and galvanised an

inferiority complex in black ministers with intentions of making them see themselves as incapable and less human.

2.6 The evolution from Bantu Baptist Church to Baptist Convention of Southern Africa

In 1966, the Bantu Baptist Church was growing fast in numbers and its leadership felt it was unchristian for the Baptist Church to remain racially segregated; as a result, a formal application to be fully incorporated into the BU membership was made (Mhlophe, 1999:14) Instead of a full membership status into the BU being granted, the Bantu Baptist Church was granted an association status and its name changed from Bantu Baptist Church to Baptist Convention of Southern African (BCSA). The BCSA yearned for a normal relationship with BU but it was not granted access to this relationship. Until 1978, all white missionaries were full members of the BCSA but BU introduced a work review policy which changed this status. This policy shift allowed every race to be a missionary under the BU, but Makhanya alleges that even though that was the case – blacks could also be missionaries but the salary scales were not equal.

In 1982, the Convention Assembly held in Atteridgeville decided to excuse white missionaries in their executive meetings on the basis of Work Review Policy of 1978. This action gave rise to sharp criticism of the Convention by both Convention members and the BU. However, the executive argued that according to their constitution there was no place for the missionaries since their positions and title has been changed as per Work Review Policy, which change missionary superintendents to area coordinators; they argued that coordinators had not been accommodated in their constitution. In December 1984, the BCSA met in Bloemfontein at Bochabelo Baptist Church, this gathering was attended by 45 native ministers and 100 men representing seven associations under BCSA. The assembly nominated its first General Secretary Reverend Gideon Makhanya.

2.7 Merger talks and BCSA discontinuing its affiliation with the BUSA

During the mid-1980s, the structure of the BUSA and BCSA still reflected racial divisions that were imposed by apartheid policies in South Africa. The apartheid system remained a dividing force between the two organisations so much that enmity was created between some members of the two denominations (Ntombana, 2012:2). The conflict was not only between blacks and whites, but black ministers started fighting among themselves resulting in the fulfilment of the divide and rule policy which was one of the aims of the apartheid government. It is said that some BCSA ministers were favoured by white people; as a result, they received better treatment, better salaries and items such as old clothes and groceries. On the other hand, some did not receive such and some like Lukwe refused such treatment and called it hypocrisy and eating from the master's table. Those who refused such treatment labelled those who were favoured sell-outs and those who received such treatment saw others as communists who were influenced by politics against white people.

During the mid-1980s, various churches, more especially those affiliated with the SACC, began wrestling with their own identity in relation to apartheid, liberation, justice and reconciliation (Ntombana 2012:1). At this time, the SACC and its affiliates met at various meetings to seek meaningful ways of addressing the political situation in South Africa and to find a common voice for the Christian Church. The various meetings and engagements resulted in various public pronouncement and publications of various documents such as *Behlar Confessions* (1982), *Kairos Document* (1987) and *Barkly West Awareness Workshop* (1990), which contained various church and theological responses to apartheid. These documents gave collective direction to the church and also raised a united Christian voice regarding the state of affairs at the time. Furthermore, those documents openly condemned apartheid and its segregation policies and the state of affairs between the black and white church and carried a message of justice, equality, freedom, and reconciliation. These events and engagements provided a context for members of the BUSA and BCSA to engage each other on finding a common ground for the Baptist Witness in South Africa.

Consequently, there were various meetings which opened discussions about merging the two bodies. Such discussions did not result in a merger but instead, some members of the BCSA decided to discontinue their affiliation with the BUSA. In 1987, at the height of political uprising, the Convention Churches walked out of the BU assembly, leading to a schism in Convention with the majority of the Cape churches choosing to remain within the BU. The Convention continued to strengthen itself setting up its offices and theological training as an independent Baptist body. However, a number of attempts were made to reconcile the two Baptist bodies but they decided eventually to remain as they were after a number of failed attempts. There are different views and suggestions regarding the failure of the merger. The decision for the independence from BUSA is also interpreted differently by both organisations. The BUSA, including the blacks who remained with the BUSA argue that those who left the BUSA were politically motivated and did not want to reason with the BUSA. The BCSA argues that the BUSA was not genuine in its quest to merge with them. According to Rae (2004), “these meetings resulted in a build-up of bitterness, frustration, lack of understanding and lack of a repentant spirit.”

It is out of such failed discussions that there exists the current BUSA which consists of both blacks and whites and a BCSA that is mainly for black people. In the former Ciskei-region, there were only two ministers who remained with the BCSA; it was Lukwe and Moloji, and almost 70% of churches and ministers resigned from the BCSA and joined the BUSA. Also, in the former Ciskei, the conflict was so severe that it resulted in legacy of bitterness leading to the division of the Njwaxa Baptist Church into two groups during the same service. Consequently, the BCSA members sat on one side while the BUSA sat on the other and none wanted to give up the building (Ntombana 2013:3). Even prior to the discussions about the merger, Lukwe had already identified himself with the youth and community activists who were openly fighting against apartheid which led to some of his experience discussed in chapters four and five. On the other hand, the BCSA members felt that the BUSA like other white churches did not do enough to oppose the apartheid system. The argument of the BCSA is strongly supported by Prozesky (1990:220) that the agents of oppression were in many cases active Christians themselves. He argues

that all white South Africans are guilty of the sin of apartheid, except a few individuals such as Reverend Trevor Hudson and Dr Louise Kretzschmar. He further mentions that if white Christians were against violence, then they could have at least used non-violent actions to oppose apartheid.

2.8 Reconciliation and unity talks between the BUSA and the BCSA

2.8.1 National reconciliation meetings

It was only in 1994 that the political situation changed for the first time in South Africa; there were free and fair elections where everyone irrespective of their colour and gender, were able to participate in an election. For the first time, there was a black president and the walls of apartheid were broken down. Since then, South Africa has been involved in a transformation process. Part of this reconciliation process involves the establishment of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). The TRC was formed under the Act of promotion of national unity and reconciliation Act, 1995, No 34. The mandate of the TRC was:

- a) To reveal the truth concerning a lot of unlawful actions that took place during apartheid, for individuals and groups who were responsible for killing, torturing etc.
- b) To create a platform for forgiveness between parties involved and grant amnesty to the perpetrators.
- c) To facilitate reconciliation between the victims and the perpetrator.
- d) To facilitate and advise the government of ways that will help with rehabilitation and reparation of the victims.

The government realised that reconciliation was partly a religious concept. This became clear when religious leaders were given the responsibility to lead the TRC. Archbishop Desmond Tutu became the Chairperson of TRC. The Christian community took the opportunity to reconcile with each other. Due to the impact of apartheid, South African churches were divided into two; the white and the black Church. The Dutch Reformed, Presbyterians, Baptists and other churches came forward to say that damage had been

done and expressed a need for reconciliation and even wanted reunion between black and white churches. In the Baptist family, this process was started by the general secretaries of both the BUSA and BCSA, when they joined other Church leaders in going public to repent and forgive each other. This was followed by their confessions which were recorded and broadcasted by SABC radio. The statements were written by the General Secretaries of the Union, Rae and the Convention, Hoffmeister with consultation with their organisations. In presenting these confessions, the understanding was that they were speaking on behalf of their organisations. This is a summary of the major points in their confessions as found in TRC archives.

2.8.2 Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) Submissions

Confessions from the Baptist Convention of South Africa

Presented by Hoffmeister, the Secretary of the Baptist Convention:

- He condemned apartheid and all those who supported it as forces of evil.
- He explained that the BCSA has always maintained that apartheid was an evil system that needed to be removed. He further explained that this is one of the main reasons the BCSA opted to be on its own because they could not bear oppression in community and oppression in the church.
- He expressed that he believes that the enemy of humankind is the devil; therefore whatever happened between the BUSA and BCSA was due to the tricks of the enemy.
- He encouraged both BUSA and BCSA members to embark on 'spiritual warfare' and never allow the enemy to divide them.
- He asked the members of the BUSA to forgive him and the whole convention for the wrongs they have done. He mentioned some individual, e.g. Reverends Ngamlana, Rae and others, and asked them to forgive him for specific events.
- He committed himself and the Convention to be instruments of building a non-racial South Africa.

- He committed the Convention to working towards reconciliation and unity between Baptists in South Africa.
- The confessions were much appreciated by members from both organisations and were taken as a foundation for reconciliation. The Baptist World Alliance (BWA) and other international Baptist organisation saw these confessions as true commitment to reconciliation and unity. This led the international community to start praying with the Union and Convention and availed them when a need arose.
- Reconciliation was no longer a burden for only BUSA and BCSA but other international Baptist organisations offered their support.

Confession from the BUSA

Reverend Tae Terry, the General Secretary of the Baptist Union:

- He admitted that the BUSA did not do enough to oppose apartheid; therefore on behalf of the BUSA he asks for forgiveness from God and those who have suffered due to this silence as well as the whole SA society at large.
- He denounced apartheid as a sin against God's will and that all human beings are created in God's image and should be respected not according to colour of skin or nationality. Apartheid created misunderstanding, misinterpretation and mistrust between the BUSA and BCSA. This led to a lot of people being hurt. He requested the BCSA members to forgive the BUSA for any hurt they have caused them.
 - He further asked Hoffmeister to personally forgive him for all the times he had intentionally or unintentionally hurt him. He went to quote some instances that he remembered that he had a direct confrontation with Hoffmeister.
 - He committed his denomination to work for reconciliation and participate in building a non-racial South Africa.
 - Lastly, he committed his denomination to working for reconciliation between the BUSA and BCSA so that Baptists can speak together with one voice.

The general secretary's confessions were followed by various national reconciliation meetings between the two denominations. The meetings were held at various places,

some in Johannesburg, Durban and the Eastern Cape. Provinces were also encouraged to hold their own reconciliation meeting and Lukwe was part of the meetings that took place in the Eastern Cape.

2.8.3 The Eastern Cape reconciliation and unity meetings

In the Eastern Cape, the meetings were led by the late Reverend S. Dyasi from the Union and Reverend D. Madolo from the Convention. Lukwe did not miss any of the meetings and he always took his youth with him. It is during these meetings that for the first time, Lukwe confronted some of his colleagues from the Union and forgave them as they also forgave him. Interestingly, the discussion in most of these meetings was about reconciliation and forgiveness and not unity. However, according to Lukwe, the meetings were about unity. One of Lukwe's Church members in Whittlesea recalls when the reverend came back from the meetings and said "*ngoku sibanye*" (now we are one). Lukwe went to an extent of approaching Reverend Boy who was a Baptist Union pastor in Sada which is about 5 kilometres from Dongwe. He said that since there were now one, they could combine the two churches and further suggested Boy to be the main pastor of the new united Baptist Church. Lukwe did not understand why people who were once united as one denomination could meet and only talk about forgiving each other without any plans uniting. That was one of the issues that disappointed Lukwe about the reconciliation talks so much that when he realised that the talks were not yielding any results, he stopped attending and called them "*incitha xesha*" (waste of time).

2.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, the historical development of the Baptist Church in South Africa has been discussed, with a special focus on the Bantu Development. It has been observed that unlike other denominations, white Baptists never sought to build a homogenous church but the one divided on racial lines. The Baptist could not manage to reconcile in spite of the efforts put into the goal of a united Baptist church. The cost of apartheid and racially

segregated church has been too expensive for black Baptists in South Africa and has even paralysed subsequent generations.

CHAPTER THREE

The narrative of being a black Baptist pastor during apartheid

3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief background and a narrative on how it was like to be a black Baptist Union pastor/minister during apartheid. The historical details of the Baptist Union of South Africa and its relationship with the Bantu Baptist Association (later called BCSA) have already been discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter takes more interest in the detailed experiences of the Black Baptist minister during apartheid in South Africa. This chapter discusses the context in which the Baptist pastors found themselves – which was extremely influenced by apartheid policies. As already discussed in the previous chapter, Ntombana (2012:8) also gives a clear picture and the influence of apartheid on the Baptist ministry in South Africa. The structure of the white and the black Baptist bodies reflected the role played by “*oomongameli*” (superintendents) and missionaries who are identified as vehicles to achieve white Baptist supremacy over black ministers.

3.2 Education and training

Theological education for Baptist ministers was part of the broader Bantu Education system for black people. According to Mogashoa (2000:16), the kind of theological education the black Baptist ministers received resulted in ‘dependency syndrome’. This kind of education was designed to make sure that black people could not recognise themselves as equally able and equally gifted as white people. They were made to feel inferior in every aspect so that they could depend on white people. In making this point, Mogashoa (2000:17) further quotes Verwoerd’s utterances: “When I have control over native education, I will reform it so that the native will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them.” Verwoerd’s words confirm that the Bantu education was not by mistake but a designed system to keep black people weak and inferior in order to advance white supremacy. This became a reality among Baptist churches; the Baptist Union operated under the segregation system of training suited to

subject the black Church to an inferior position (Msiza et al., 2007:14). The commitment of BUSA (SABMS) to subjugate black people was seen in their shift from an inclusive training of the ministers of 1892 to 1912, whereby ministers were trained in the same way whether black or white. Prior to segregated education, a number of black ministers were graduates of American and European universities and seminaries according to Mogashoa (2000:17). The 1910 shift followed the political landscape of the country, even though the theological position of the church was the separation of the state and the Church. This position was philosophical in nature but the practice was modelled as that of the national politics. One can argue that the education of the ministers before the political gearing shift was not watered down as were to be seen later, especially after Verwoerd took office. By 1961, BU ministerial training had been altogether organised into racial groupings, with Baptist Theological College in Park Town (JHB) serving white trainees, Cape Town satellite (currently known as Cape Town Baptist Seminary) catering for coloured trainees and the Baptist Bible Institute in Debenek (Ciskei) for the black trainees. The Baptist Bible Institute in Debenek used to be Millard Baptist Institute based in Orlando, Soweto, but was moved to the homeland of Ciskei in conformity to the politics of the day.

Kretschmar (1990:30), says the reason for separate education of the Baptist ministers given by the BU, was that blacks would not be able to keep up with the white counterparts given their poor secondary education. This view was embedded in the minds of SABMS that natives were not capable; even in the 1960s it was still strong. According to Johnson (1984:19), “everything was viewed from a White perspective...it was nonetheless the ‘big brother’ who made decision and who felt that the responsibility for planning, for providing, for protecting and preserving the interest of the so called ‘Non White’ was vested in white leadership.” Makhanya (1990:54) notes that this mindset was premised on the idea of keeping law and order, which was understood to mean ‘keeping blacks in their place’. The above statement is indicative of the fact that whites believed that natives were incapable humans.

Mhlophe (2007:17) says the training of the black ministers intended to create misfits, in that it was watered down and that challenged the African customs and values as 'evil and ungodly'. The curriculum was foreign to the African context and people and this was the kind of education in which black people were never encouraged to think for themselves but were told exactly what to do and how to do it.

The view that native ministers within the Baptist Church could not keep up with other white Baptist ministers, is in direct contrast with the historical facts of the day of which Odendaal in his seminal work (*The Founders*), gives a splendid description of the life of the natives of 1865. He notes that after Fingoland had been established in the Transkei in 1865, 100 headmen held regular meetings with the magistrate; they collected a voluntary tax to administer the district, contributed large sums of money to build the educational institution of Blythswood (Odendaal 2012:24). To some extent, Grutsche (1927:27) in his 50th anniversary report gives credit to black pastors by citing Samuel Mzimba as a teacher in charge of the Tshabo Day in 1874, who later became an interpreter in Alice. According to Grutsche's report, Mzimba was replaced by Mangane; these men were natives and were as capable as white leaders.

The inability of the natives to 'keep up' with the white counter parts is further vilified by The BUSA Assembly Minutes of 1892/93 to 1940 and SABMS annual reports of the same time. This view is further nullified by the work done by the native ministers and evangelist. To list all the native ministers and the work they did would be laborious, but among them there was Mashologu who established schools and churches across the Eastern Cape especially in Transkei; Lepele who wrote hymns; Nazo a blind evangelist who also established churches and also composed hymns; and Duma an evangelist with a gift of power and healing.

The belief that whites were superior was not just Verwoerd's idea of separate development and inferiority of blacks but the view also held by the BUSA – that blacks were incapable people even though they had been trained by them. This view is captured well in the (1925/6:19) BUSA assembly resolution that "European control is needed not

because of racial difference but stored experience". Yet, in spite of all this, the contradictory facts are staggering. The spirit of leadership within these native ministers defied the odds against them and proved that in spite of the subjugating system and education designed for inferior citizenry, the human spirit triumphs above all because all humans are created in the image of God.

3.3 Financial dependency

The kind of education that was forced on black people was to make sure that they did not view themselves and their congregations as resourced but rather dependent on provisions which came from white people. One such major dependency syndrome was in the area of finance. In 2007, a group of senior black ministers belonging to the Baptist Convention of South Africa, formerly known as the Bantu Baptist Church, penned a paper entitled "A journey before 1987". In this paper, they narrated their sad story of how they were degraded into people who could not think for themselves and a situation where they lived at the mercies of their white counterparts. However, they also noted that at the time, they appreciated the role played by white superintendents and white churches in BBC life and formation. In their appreciation, they mentioned the following which was done by the BUSA for them:

- They built all church buildings during that era.
- They built and ran all the ministerial training institutions.
- They provided free ministerial training.
- They donated bicycles as means of transportation for pastors.
- They collected and distributed mission parcels and Christmas hampers.
- They gave mission grants for pastor's stipends.
- They paid for the pastor's pension fund.
- They offered special skills training for pastor's wives.

The conciliatory tone of the senior minister is not shared by many. However, it is of the utmost importance to note that many black ministers are oblivious of the positive role that the BU and white churches have played; yet they say it is their segregation and embracement of racial policy that has undermined their efforts. Jonson (1984:18) says

not all white missionaries and BU administrators had a racist agenda, but were intensely devout and had a genuine interest in black people. He says these did not have any sense of arrogance or disrespect. But Jonson is quick to point out the fact that what whites were doing for the blacks disregarded the fact that they were non participants both in their current reality and in their future.

Zanekile (2006), a black minister in the former Transkei and a member within the BUSA church, in his Master's thesis lambasted the effects of missionary teaching which had crippled black congregations to dependency even years after white churches had pulled out all their financial support from black churches. Zanekile (2006) narrates a story he heard from a black senior pastor; this story is set in 1973. Apparently, this senior minister was travelling with the superintendent to a village and he was going to preach, the superintendent cautioned him not to teach people about tithing because according to him, people were poor unlike those in urban settings. Zanekile felt that this reasoning on the part of the superintendent was a smack against Biblical principles of giving and reaping. A principle of sowing is applicable to any farmer irrespective of the locale. A seed never multiplies because a person keeps it because he does not have abundance thereof.

It is important to note that from the beginning of the Baptist work in 1820s, the issue of the collective effort had been an integral part of the philosophy of ministry. This philosophy is clearly outlined by Reverend Stokes' letter to the BU churches on 31 July of 1877 in which he was thanking members for their contribution to the "Sustentation Fund" which by then was four years since its formalisation. Secondly, in the 12 churches that Hugo Gutsche had opened until 19 August 1877, there was not a single church in debt. He had taught the churches a system of giving and a need to stand together. Thirdly, foreign donation was another form of support that used to establish Baptist work in Cape Colony. P. Gutsche (1927: 5) states that a total of £238.15.8 and more was received from German churches since 1870 to 1 May 1875. This contribution was a result of an appeal made by H. Gutsche on 27 June 1869 to the Frankfurt Conference. The SABMS Annual Report for 1904 speaks to a piece of land in Rabula Keiskama Hoek, which was donated by Mshumfela – a senior deacon for a church property. Mshumfela also contributed £20

towards the church building while other members paid the rest. This implies that there is no single race within the Baptist Church in South Africa that has not functioned without the help of others, but the black or native church was not allowed to grow like other racial groups.

The BU through SABMS decided that black people were not capable of managing their affairs while the English, German and Afrikaanse Baptists had that liberty. It is important to note that natives did have interest to take ownership of their reality and future but the system did not allow them. Missionaries did not allow them a space and opportunity to partake in financial management of their own affairs, as funds were micro managed by superintendents. Every church offering was sent to the superintendent responsible for and a portion would be used to pay ministers' stipend and that decision was made by the superintendent in charge. This is further illustrated by a story of Reverend Elias Ngondela a student of Baptist Institute Theological Studies (BITS) (Debenek – Ciskei) in the 1980s. He says that during his student days, he was once invited into the office of the principal to receive money of which someone had apparently donated for him; on his inquiry of the identity of the donor and amount donated the principal refused to divulge that information but just gave him R15 and the following month the same thing happened and this time he was given R45 with no further information. It is important to note that not all students saw anything wrong with this.

3.4 Remuneration of native ministers

In most cases, native's ministers did not have a standard income, but their income was dependent on how the SABMS felt about that particular person although this somewhat changed later. The 1924/5 SABMS Report records a discussion of the Southern Council region ministers' meeting in which the issue of stipends was raised by the native ministers. This discussion did not lead to the desired results, to the contrary, their stipends were decreased by 10% and this was interpreted as a reprimand for having raised the issue. The reason for this decrease according to the report was that the natives must "develop

self-support". In 1944, the highest paid native minister was given £6 and the lowest payment was £2.

The minutes of the Annual Missionary Conference of 1964 under Supervisory Committees, Reverend E.A. Richardson a SABMS Treasurer tabled a report from an investigation of June 1963 which recommended that stipends of native ministers be increased to R24 per month. This recommendation also highlighted that they receive free manse and that those who were already at that income or above receive a further increase of R4. The treasurer reported that the total cost would be R3 750 of which SABMS would be responsible for R1 250 while the native churches would cover the remainder. All this was going to be in effect as of 1 July 1964. It is important to note that this decision was taken by SABMS and was going to be implemented with minor or no contribution from the native church.

The Ciskei Field Committee minutes of 5 July 1965 held in Cambridge Baptist Church, reads "It was noted that the action of the Treasurer and the Missionary Director in assuming the Field Committee that Mr. Lukwe 's salary of R24 would be paid, has been confirmed. Regarding a house for Mr. Lukwe, it was noted that houses are only made available when a congregation has a church site". In another meeting held on 7 February 1966, at Fort White on a matter of Reverend Nkanjeni taking pastorate of Duncan Village Church and his salary, a decision was reached that Nkanjeni's salary would be R26 – R12 was going to be covered by SABMS while the church was going to pay the rest. While on the matter of Reverend Nazo, a decision was reached to increase his salary from R16 to R24. Yet in another meeting held on 16 May 1966 at City Baptist Church, it was reported that "The stipends of the ministers on the Ciskei Field are as follow – four men receive R26 per month, two receive R28, the three remaining men receive R29, R30, R32 per month. All of the men live in manse for free".

It has been observed that some men were paid far less; an example of this is Reverend Mani, whose case was discussed in a meeting held in Berea Baptist Church on 16 June 1969. In this meeting, it was decided that Mani must continue on that scale of income. It

is also observed that a meeting of 22 August 1972, this matter was raised by a superintendent responsible for the Albany Circuit, a prayer was requested for Mani.

The majority of Eastern Cape Black (inclusive of both Ciskei and Transkei) ministers under BU in the late 1990s and early 2000s were earning less than R2 000 per month. While the writer was serving as President of Border Baptist Association in 2007/8, there were over 10 ministers that were supported through R100 food parcels and a donation of Vincent Spar in East London. These food parcels were distributed as far as Sterkspruit and Elliot in the former Transkei. In the Convention churches the status had not been much different than that of the BU blacks even though in 1987 Convention churches broke away from the BU. In 2001, the BU published a schedule of income for minister serving under its umbrella inclusive of all races. The purpose of the schedule was to serve as guideline for churches in remunerating their pastors. The schedule had five levels of income brackets with varying degrees and scenarios. According to this schedule, a freshmen from college serving as an assistant pastor should receive a salary of R70 700 – R116 000 per annum (level 1). A senior minister in the level 5 category, being a senior minister with a team of pastors under his care, a starting salary should be +R137 000. (BUSA used a department of education remuneration schedule as a guide for their minister's remuneration packages). This schedule did not apply to black ministers within the BU, but was only meant for white ministers in white suburban churches. There is no black church that is following the guide due to affordability and the schedule is not enforced in any way. The Baptist Convention has also recently developed its own schedule entitled – "Recommended minimum commencing salary scales for Pastors within BCSA churches". The recommendation states that as of 1 March 2010, a church whose income ranges between R5 000 – R10 000, a minister shall be remunerated R5 000; then between R10 000 – R15 000, a minister shall receive R7 000.

3.5 Pension benefits

Retirement is the reality of every worker, even ministers retire but for many black ministers and their families this has been a painful reality. It is the responsibility of an employing organisation to look after their workers. This is not just a biblical injunction but a South African legislation. From the beginning of the native Baptist Church, there has been an inability in the church to cushion their ministers against the harsh realities of old age. Many black ministers' lives have become better as a result of government pension pay out; apart from it they had nothing to assist them. This reality was first experienced by Reverend Ostrich who reportedly fell ill and was unable to work and fell prey to a system that did not cover their workers. The SABMS found itself having to deal with his plight. Due to the fact that Reverend Ostrich was one of their eminent ministers, they had to find a way to deal with the issue. The SABMS (1929/30:12) reported that "In view of his long service to the Baptist cause in the Transvaal, a pension has been given him, though our funds will not permit at present of making this a general rule".

In 1966, SABMS faced yet another issue related to pension cover or funeral insurance for Reverend Nazo. SABMS could not pay any pension benefits as it had not covered him. They decided to repay what was due to him but was withheld for unknown reasons. The minutes of the CFC held at Bethany Baptist Church in King William's Town on 18 July 1966 report, "Mrs. Nazo: The executive has agreed to make Mrs. Nazo a grant of R120, this being the shortfall in the salary paid to Douglas Nazo since the revised salary scale for African ministers was adopted. The amount is to be administered by Rev Winkelmann". Another widow who had a similar situation is Mrs. Ntsiko in 1972; she was given R50 as an *ex gratia*. *Ex gratia* is a Latin legal term meaning that the money is paid out to a person as a favour or gratuitously with no legal obligation to do so. According to the Human Resource Online Question and Answer site:

ex gratia is a payment made to made to no individual in respect of loss or damage to personal property in a situation where the County Council accepts no liability for the loss or damage but is willing to make some reimbursement without accepting liability. Most commonly such payments are made to employees in respect of personal property. *Ex gratia* payments

are not made in situations where the loss is fully insured, either by the individuals or the County Council.

Pension benefits for native ministers had been established since 1892 but they seem to all die with nothing to show; as a result, their families ended up living in severe poverty. In 1974, it seems that it was working to a degree, although the payouts were still much low. A member of the pension fund was entitled to R13 a month and a widow to R6.50 a month (Mhlophe,1990:55). In 1988, the contribution had increased to R200 per annum, with the minister contributing R66.33, SABMS same amount and the local church the same amount. Even in this era, ministers and their families still suffer the same fate as their predecessors. Recently, there are several black ministers who have passed on or retired. Among these ministers, was Reverend Mantsanga who was a prominent figure within the Union black churches, after his passing away his wife and children greatly suffered and some of the children had to drop out of school as a result of the failure of the system to insure the minister's pension. The other case is that of Reverend Cweba, also a veteran minister, his family suffered severely. They had suffered while he was alive and also after his death. The children in both families had to leave school due to non-payment. Another case is that of Reverend Dingiso who also retired after more than 30 years of ministry service but he retired with nothing. If it was not for government pension support these ministers would be paupers.

The bitterness, anger and frustration experienced by black minister's families are beyond measure. These men and women of great capabilities have lost extensively not just in monetary terms both current and future but in many ways than one. Some have lost their children to destructive lifestyle due to anger and frustration. Some of their children lost out in education opportunities not because they were unable but their parents' inability hindered them. Some of these ministers had their marriages breaking down as a result of their inability to provide. Temple (2008:67) argues for the need for proper remuneration of ministers and lamenting the failure of churches to do. Temple (2008:67) further notes that "pastors devote themselves to their jobs almost to the exclusion of everything else. The consequences are often dysfunctional families and broken health".

3.6 Conclusion

The narrative draws a picture of how it was like to be a black Baptist pastor during apartheid. Furthermore, it also shows a strong relationship between apartheid policies and the policies of BUSA which were meant to enforce white supremacy over black people. As already mentioned, this is the reality of Lukwe's ministry of struggle and pain.

CHAPTER FOUR

The life and time of Reverend Simon Lukwe

4.1 Lukwe's parents and his birth



Ruben Lukwe – Simon Lukwe's father

(Picture courtesy of Mrs. Lukwe)

In chapters two and three, Reverend Simon Lukwe's life was wrapped up in socio-political and economic realities of African people and black South Africans in particular. A history of a people plays a pivotal role in determining who and what they become both positively and negatively. This is also the case with Reverend Lukwe. A first born son of mining migrant Ruben Lukwe and his wife Reginah Nowhini, Simon was born in 1936 at KwaGqumashe village in Alice. Generally, at this time due to Western Christian influence, black people in this area were divided into two 'households' (Ntombana 2011:120). That was the *amagqobhoka* (Christianised or schooled) and *amaqaba* (non-Christians /unschooled) or *ababomvu* (the red). *Amaqaba* or *ababomvu* were those who conformed

to African way of life and resisted to be westernised and to be Christianised, while *amagqobhoka* were those who embraced westernisation and Christianity.

In defining the difference between *amaqaba* and *amagqobhoka*, Meyer (1980:4) aptly remarks that “the Red stood for human dignity by maintaining their identity in the way laid down by ancestors (*izinyanya*), while the school people looked for human dignity in the achievement of civilisation (*impucuko*).” Maxengana’s (2012) thesis which explores the history of Alice and the impact of missionaries among other issues, says the issue of missionary presence and the schools was not a good thing to everyone. Some distasted the whole idea of Christianity, as it was seen as being a threat to culture and heritage of the black people there. Indeed, those coming to Christianity were challenged to put away part of their culture which was perceived as primitive and ungodly. Ruben Lukwe belonged to a group of *amagqobhoka* and it is that environment and socialisation in which Ruben and Reginah started their family and raised their children. Ruben and his wife (Reginah) were religious people, adherents and committed Baptists. Ruben was a keen preacher who would use part of his holiday from the mines back in his village for open air preaching or what some would call street preaching. Although he was not educated, he loved preaching. Simon’s wife reminisces that Ruben was known in that village for having cursed a dog that died as a result of the ‘curse’. It is reported that one Saturday afternoon, Ruben was going around the streets of his community preaching, and a dog named Pompom came out barking after him. It is said that he turned around and said to the dog, “*nawe nja lingatshona elinamhlanje ufile*”, loosely translates as “and you dog this day could end with you dead”. Indeed the dog died that day. It is an act that lingered on, in the minds and conversations of the villagers for many years even after the death of Ruben. As a result, Simon was known as the son of a powerful preacher who cursed a dog to death. It is also said that even when Simon was young and whenever he drank beer in the village, his peers would reprimand him that he should be a preacher just like his great father who cursed a dog.

The birth of Simon became a momentous occasion for Ruben, whose clan name was “*mfene, lisa kaJambase, hlathi, sanzanza, canzi*”. Ruben was overjoyed and declared that Simon was going to become a preacher one day. Unfortunately for Simon, it was not going to be long before his father contracted tuberculosis in the mines and died in 1939 three years later. According to Setai (1998: 25), “the death rate caused by Tuberculosis was 6% to 8% per 1 000 per annum for whites but 40% to 70% per 1 000 per annum for Africans in most of the mines.” Ruben did not live to see his son grow up and Simon did not grow up to see his father also. Macgregory (2001:35) says “It may be hard on some fathers not to have a son, but it is much harder for a boy not to have a father.” Like any boy, losing his father greatly affected Simon more especially that he was too young to know him.

As a young widow, Simon’s mother Reginah was forced leave home to seek work in order to support her family of three by that time. She found jobs as a domestic worker in King William’s Town and East London. Simon was then taken to his maternal uncle who raised as his own son, a practice which is still common among Xhosa people. It is usually the role of the uncle to raise his sister’s children as his, in case of a need. Simon’s uncle played a pivotal role in shaping and modelling his nephew’s journey to manhood. He was a hard worker who emphasised work above books. Unlike his father, his uncle was an *iqaba* and not *igqoboka*. He was also not educated so he did not value education that much. There was no church going in his home and he viewed church going as “*into yabafazi*” (a thing for women). Simon’s uncle was one of the staunch traditionalists who viewed Christianity as having misled Africans and also as a weapon used to steal their land. This view has been shared by many generations of black Africans that whites came with the Bible on one hand and the gun on the other. It is widely known that colonialists and missionaries in particular used the Bible to blind the black Africans while they used the gun to forcefully take their land from them. Mkhabela (1996:111; 104) in his seminal work on Tiyo Soga, speaks of how missionary teachings disintegrated community life, created conflict and family breakdown. He also says that “while the Xhosa had no objection to the content of Christianity, they harboured strong feelings that something was not right with the way Christianity had come”. Simon grew up in this environment that was

infested with such contradictions and division among his own people. The village in which he was born had a school and a church and at a stone throw away there were also other villages that did not accept school or church. Simon was in the centre of such contradictions where one was either a *qaba* or a *gqobhoka*. Simon was discouraged from attending church and was expected to follow traditions as this was what his uncle emphasised. As a traditionalist, Simon's uncle did not subscribe to 'western religion' but he believed in a Xhosa God called Qamata, the King of the Xhosas, as per Ntsikane's song. His worldview was that no one could approach God on their own but needed the help of the ancestors since they were perceived to be close as the spirit beings than those who are living.

4.2 Lukwe's childhood and his initiation into manhood

Lukwe grew up like any other Xhosa village boy heading livestock of his homestead with his siblings and cousins as already mentioned; his uncle instilled in him a spirit of hard work and responsibility. Every month, his mother sent money to her brother for care of her children and would come home during holidays. During school holidays, Simon and his siblings Nomabhaso, Fezeka (both late) and Nocawa, sometimes visited their mother at her workplace (*kwamlungu*).

When Lukwe was in Form 1, (Grade 8) he ran away from school and went to look for a job in the mines. His mother was heartbroken because she had hoped that Lukwe would be educated and thereby fulfil his father's desire of becoming a minister of the Gospel.

Lukwe worked hard at the mines and saved his earnings. There were older men from his village who looked after him in the mines and groomed him to be a person with integrity. He used some of the earnings to prepare for initiation school and to buy livestock, which was a common practice and a sign of responsibility and maturity among the Xhosa boys working in cities at the time. In 1956, Simon went home for an initiation ritual, a milestone in the life of a Xhosa boy. After graduating from initiation school he did not return to the mines; instead, he chose to look for a job in the factories in Port Elizabeth, closer to home.

After a short time in Port Elizabeth, he decided to move even closer to home, so that he could be at home constantly and be of assistance to his mother. He then found a job in Zwelitsha at a textile factory. While in Zwelitsha, his life became stable and like many of his counterparts, he enjoyed life.

4.3 Lukwe's conversion

Lukwe's conversion was a mixture of hurt and spiritual confusion. As young man who been born to Christian parents, and also raised by a practising traditionalist, he found himself at the crossroads between being an *iqaba* and a *gqobhoka*. As already discussed there were not just terms, these were two distinct identities and at that time one could not be both. One was either a Christian or a traditionalist.

At the time of his conversion, Lukwe was unemployed after he was dismissed from a textile factory in Zwelitsha. While working at Zwelitsha, Simon's life was going well but was suddenly disrupted when he became unemployed. Seeing his frustration, his friends and some family members advised him to visit *igqirha* (traditional healer) that was going to help him get his job back. He visited the traditional healer, who gave him *iyeza* (traditional medicine) to put on his eyebrows when visiting his employer, assuring him that he will be reinstated in his old position. Lukwe was then encouraged and went back to his former employer. On his arrival the boss did not even want to see, or even talk to him; as a result, he was chased out of the firm. Discouraged and dejected, he returned home to KwaGqumashe. The following week, Lukwe was invited to church by Dikana, a neighbour and a deacon in a local Baptist church. Lukwe's visit to the church coincided with the arrival of student ministers who had come to preach at the church for a holiday revival. He was impressed by these students from Fort White Bible Institute in Debe Nek, who were almost his age group. It was during the preaching of the young students that Lukwe gave his life to the Lord and he accepted Jesus Christ as his Lord and Saviour. He was then advised to go back to work and ask for his job back and this time around his job was given back to him as per advice from the church people. Back in Zwelitsha, he attended church service in Zwelitsha Baptist Church (now called Pearce Memorial Baptist

Church) under Reverend Snymaan. After giving his life to the Lord his life changed drastically. In 1961, Lukwe showed interest in becoming a minister, his pastor enquired on his behalf and also recommended him for admission and training.

4.4 Pastoral training and early pastoral ministry



Simon Lukwe in 1963 as a student at Baptist Bible Institute (BBI) in Debenek

(Curtsey of Mrs. Lukwe)

In 1962, Lukwe was accepted and he commenced his pastoral training at Fort White Bible Institute, a dream his late father had at the time of his birth. He was at Bible College for three years and graduated in 1964, a year in which he married Ntombomzi Grace Mkhohlwa a daughter of Mr Mkhohlwa, a senior deacon in Bantu Baptist in East Bank location in East London. The Mkhohlwas were originally from Tshalomnqa, a village outside of East London towards Port Alfred. Grace was a professional nurse when she met Lukwe; they were married on 22 August 1964 in East Bank. Ministers were

encouraged to marry before they could go on the field, which was believed to help strengthen their ministry.



Simon Lukwe and Grace Lukwe on their wedding day

Lukwe was then sent to start Baptist work in Mdantsane, a new location for blacks at the outskirts of East London. Mdantsane was a new home for blacks as they were being moved from East London, an enforcement of the Group Areas Act. The Group Areas Act was an act of apartheid parliament was passed to force South Africans to live and do business in segregated areas according to racial groups. In January 1965, Lukwe started a Church in Mdantsane with some Bantu Baptist church members who were moved from East London. According to the minutes of the extra 4 May 1965:

the secretary reported that the under mentioned (Rev S. Lukwe) proposal had been unfortunately omitted from minutes of the previous meeting and requested the permission of the council to record it in the minutes of the extra ordinary meeting, so that the decision of the committee can be presented at the June meeting. Proposal – that the executive be requested (i) to agree to the appointment of Rev S. Luke as a Sunday school and youth worker and (ii) to pay Mr Lukwe a stipend of R24 per month plus travelling expenses.

CFC met again on 17 May 1965 at Cambridge Church. In this meeting, this report was conveyed concerning Lukwe, "It was noted that (i) Mr Lukwe was receiving the requested monthly stipend from the Society as from May, (ii) that at the moment he is stationed at Mdantsane concentrating on children's work, while at the same time attending to the spiritual needs of the small nucleus of believers." What is clear from these minutes is that Lukwe was already at work when the committee held a meeting in Hogsback as the minutes of 17 May 1965 state that his stipend was being paid for May. The nucleus of believers was Baptist members who had already left East Bank for Mdantsane, which he had already formed into a small group that was meeting in homes of members. When CFC was deliberating on Lukwe's stipend, he had already started his work in January of 1965 and had made some in-roads.

In June of that same year, Lukwe invited a team of students from Fort White to run a crusade for him in Mdantsane, whose intention was to win more souls and to grow the work. Reverend Peter Mabena of Shad Mashologu Baptist in the current Duncan Village, a long-time friend and a student then, says "I met Lukwe and Grace in a Campaign of 1965 in Mdantsane, Lukwe was appointed by the association to look after the people who were moved to Mdantsane in 1963. He says Lukwe was a fine gentleman, an evangelist by gifting; he had already managed to bring together old members and had won new ones. The campaign was to help him consolidate and strengthen his work. At the end of the campaign Reverend Lukwe and his congregation were given a class room by Mr Sikhumbuzo Mashologu a principal of Bulumko Primary school in NU 2. Mr Mashologu himself was a Bantu Baptist member and a son of the late Reverend Shad Mashologu" (Interview – 20/08/2013). The congregation was growing well and more people from East London were moving to Mdantsane, growing the pastorate there, in many ways.

Reverend Winkelmann (an area Superintendent) helped secure a site in NU 2, according to the minutes of CFC on 16 May 1966 held at City Baptist in East London, "Mr Winkelmann reported that permission had been received to occupy the site, but an amount of R 3,15 per month had to be paid. He was asked to investigate if this included service charges". On subsequent meeting of CFC held at Bethany-Emmanuel in KWT, it

was reported that “(i) the executive have agreed to pay the R 3, 15 per month as requested, (ii) a plan is being prepared by an architect through the Missionary Secretary and (iii) R 5, 000 from the Babb’s bequest be earmarked for the building, on the understanding that the treasurer be reimbursed if compensation is received for the Duncan Village building. The superintendent requested that Mr. Edmunds be approached immediately, as the plan was urgently needed. Mr Winkelmann reported that the site was situated in NU 2 and was very central, being accessible to NU 1 and NU 3”.

4.5 Grahamstown call



Simon Lukwe and Grace Lukwe (3rd on the right) on the Ciskei Minister list

As the work grew in Mdantsane, Lukwe was then seconded to Grahamstown while Nkanjeni was moved from Duncan Village to Mdantsane as Lukwe’s replacement. There was controversy around Nkanjeni’s move to Mdantsane as some felt like it was unfair on Lukwe as he had worked hard to build the church in Mdantsane while others felt that it was Lukwe’s evangelist and church-planting gifting that led him to move to Grahamstown. The explanation that was given at the time was that Nkanjeni, a senior minister whose congregation was being moved from Duncan Village to Mdantsane due to the Group Areas Act, was not willing to go somewhere else. Furthermore, Lukwe was still young,

had energy and also had potential to do more than what he had achieved in Mdantsane. That was the argument in favour of Nkanjeni. An old man from Lukwe's family was unhappy about the move; even at Lukwe's funeral, his younger brother Madodana, mentioned the relocation issue as a painful experience that the reverend went through. During the funeral some people were uncomfortable that Madodana mentioned this issue as it happened long ago, but Madodana instead said that even though Lukwe accepted it and moved to Graham's town but as family they opposed it as Nkanjeni now was the one who reaped from Lukwe's hard work in Mdantsane. Lukwe moved to Grahamtown Circuit and later on added Alexandria, (Mnyameni as part of Grahamstown); he served these two areas for a year and half until the end of 1968.

4.6 Stutterheim Ministry 1969 to 1975

Early in 1969, Lukwe was seconded to Stutterheim to establish the Baptist work there. Stutterheim is a small town +_70 kilometres (R63 road) from East London towards Queenstown. It was reported that on 23 February 1969, he was going to baptise 11 new converts, and that he was also trying to secure a place of worship and manse for his lodging according to the CFC minutes. Lukwe was proving to be successful as an evangelist and pastor; he had the ability to start up new work and revive dying congregations, a gifting known only to the likes of Mashologu, a pioneer church planter of many Bantu Baptist Churches. Mashologu was known for his leadership and almost his apostolic ability as many of the black leaders were raised out of his ministry, and the likes of the Evangelist Nazo who also played an eminent role in establishing Baptist churches around Ciskei and Transkei areas.



Simon Lukwe baptising one of his new members

Lukwe had such a special and rare gift; as a result, he differed from other ministers who had to wait to be appointed by a well-established church. He could go to a place where there was no church and start one or go to a small church and convert people. He grew the Stutterheim Church into an established church.

4.7 Lukwe in the secular job



Simon Lukwe and Grace Lukwe with their children relaxing at home

In 1973, Lukwe left ministry for secular work, as there was not enough money to support his family. Even though his wife was well educated as a professional nurse, she was not allowed to work in the sphere of her qualification due to the politics and that also meant

she was not paid well. By this time, Lukwe and his wife had two children, Samuel their firstborn, Amanda second born and the third one Nxaxheba was born in 1976. Both their salaries were not enough to support the family and their dreams. Later on, they had adopted Lydia their niece and took her as theirs. It is important to note that adoption has always been practised by African people but to say people are adopted was not welcome. In African people, once parents take responsibility for children they become their own and treat them as their own.

Lukwe and his wife Grace were both professionals; so, due to their status they should have at least been able to meet their basic needs but this was not the case. Due to the colour of their skin they were not worth proper remuneration for their educational qualifications. Lukwe had responsibilities as a father and a husband to feed, clothe and shelter his own family; yet his work was not affording him the means to be able to do so. Many pastors and their families have endured the brunt of economic abuse from the church for many years. Black ministers in South Africa like Lukwe were discriminated and lived in abject poverty; in contrast, their white counterparts enjoyed a better life and status.

Lukwe sought work and was employed at Victoria Hospital as an ambulance driver, which in a way gave him a better salary than working as a minister. Even though he was no longer in full-time ministry, his heart was always in ministry. He became an assistant to his church pastor and long-time friend – Reverend Peter Mabena. Mabena was now a minister in Alice, a home to Lukwe. Later on, Lukwe was employed at ACAT a Christian NGO that employed a number of black ministers to help with community developmental needs. ACAT was also helping people with agricultural skills so they could farm better. He was with ACAT until 1982, a year before his re-entry into pastoral ministry in Queenstown at Mlungisi Baptist Church in 1984.

4.8 Mlungisi Baptist Church Ministry – community-oriented ministry approach

As already mentioned, Lukwe returned to full-time ministry on 1 April 1984 and responded to a call to Mlungisi Baptist Church in Mlungisi Township in Queenstown. Mabena the then secretary of Baptist Convention, played a pivotal role in facilitating his return. As was his style when he is starting in a new place, he invited a team of student ministers from the Seminary to run a tent crusade for him. This crusade yielded a great harvest of young people from the township and it opened doors for him to preach in the schools in the township. Young people fell in love with Lukwe and due to his influence, he helped avert a major stay away from school when other students across the country were on strike in 1985. According to Grace Lukwe and Maho, Simon Lukwe stood between the future of Mlungisi children and comrades who were adamant that children stay away from school and even wanted to burn schools. As a result of Lukwe's guidance and intervention in Mlungisi, not a single school was torched as it was a common feature across townships at the time. Mlungisi students remained in school at that time because Lukwe together with some influential community doctors and other leaders convinced the students and comrades that students must remain in school. The Mlungisi Baptist Church was used as a platoon and study centre that facilitated the education of children in the midst of a volatile environment. Maho contended that it was Lukwe's stubborn nature and leadership qualities that made this possible. Maho further added that Lukwe had a firm 'no', which other Christian leaders did not have.

Lukwe was sensitive to children, he was always surrounded by them. In his home, he always had children who lived there but were not related to him or his wife. Among those adopted by the Lukwes is the Ugandan lady, Lydia. Lydia says she was thrown out by her husband (a Ugandan) and the Lukwes took her in as their own daughter and went on to assist her to open up a preschool in their church premises. Lydia is now owning and running a number of private schools in Queenstown and Alice.

Lukwe opened his church for youth to meet there and this was interpreted as sponsoring of politics by Mlungisi Baptist Church members. Church members argued that Lukwe

allowed UDF and ANC politicians to hold meetings at the Church premises and that was against the policy of the church. Baptists believed that the church should not be involved in politics. According to Nxoyi, a deacon of the Church then, Lukwe did not only open the church to community meetings but he was also an active member of the ANC. This assertion is refuted by Maho who claims that he was an activist and underground member of the ANC and UDF leader. Maho further argued that Lukwe loved young people and thought that the Church was the safest place for them as he could monitor them with intention to influence them against violence. Furthermore, Lukwe used the time the youth were on the church premises to preach the word of God; as a result, most of the youth joined his Church.

The church members were not pleased at all with having community meetings in their premises; so, the matter was reported to the Executive committee of CFC. A meeting was scheduled to discuss the matter with BUBA executive (a new name for CFC) led by the late Reverend Mburwana. According to Nxoyi, this meeting never took place at the church building because Lukwe did not allow it there and an alternative venue was sought at Queenstown Baptist Church which also refused due to fear of violence breaking out. An alternative venue for the meeting was subsequently found at the back of a grocery store called Tiekam, at the main street in Queenstown. According to Nxoyi, in this meeting, church leaders levelled their grievances to Mburwana who was there to listen. It seems that the meeting did not reach a conclusion that Mlungisi leadership had anticipated and Lukwe was not found guilty of misconduct; thus, he continued to be their pastor.

Lukwe did not separate his ministry from the issues that affected his people. His pastoral method was deeply embedded in the realities of his flock. His action in allowing the community to use the church as venue for meeting was in defiance against everything he was taught and against his oath of office as minister in a Baptist denomination. What seems to be contradictory is that some members of Mlungisi Baptist Church were also actively involved in community politics which affected them directly irrespective of being church people. Their realities dictated that they could not remain silent hoping for comfort in heaven when their lives were at stuck. Yet, the people who developed these policies

were not affected by the system. In actual fact, they were beneficiaries of the system and the ones who kept it alive.

Nxoyi says there were no ministers known to them at the time who were as involved in politics except for Mncedisi Mbilini who was a deacon in the church and also was a member of the Azapo. Nxoyi reports that they were against their pastor getting involved in politics as they wanted a minister who would focus on their spiritual needs. It is interesting that Nxoyi does not make mention of Lizo Ngcana who was also a member of the Mlungisi Baptist Church and a community leader. Ngcana was killed by the police forces while giving an address on a peaceful report back meeting at Nonzwakazi Methodist in 1986. This incident was to be later known as Queenstown massacre.

4.9 Lukwe in prison

The involvement of Lukwe in his community as minister and community member in the issues that affected his people had a negative effect to his ministry credibility in his denomination and negatively affected his family. Lukwe and his family experienced pain as a result thereof. It is true that every worthwhile project has its price, and those who dare believe it pay the price. In 1985, the community of Mlungisi decided to oppose the community councils and house evictions which were initiated by the then President P.W. Botha, and consumer boycott was used as strategy to show displeasure. On a meeting that was held at Nonzwakazi Methodist Church on 17 November 1985, police opened fire on a peaceful gathering, an act that led to this day being known as Queenstown Massacre. On this day, Ngcana a deacon at Lukwe's Church and also a close friend of the reverend, was killed while addressing the people. Lukwe was not at this meeting but his daughter Amanda was present. She was subsequently arrested with other young people and was detained for 14 days without trial. These activities directly affected Lukwe and his congregants of Mlungisi.

In 1986, Lukwe was also arrested and detained without trial for a year. His wife and children did not know where he was for about three months. Sadly, Lukwe was actually

arrested by one of his own church members, Vukuthu, a police constable in the SAP services. Mrs Lukwe and her children were subsequently chased out of the mission house. One day while working, she received a call that her belongings were loaded into a truck and the truck was already on its way to Alice. Nxoyi reports that the church took the 'opportunity' and decided to remove his furniture from the church manse, without the approval of Mrs Lukwe. She later reported the matter to the police. Nxoyi says these church members were arrested on arrival in Alice. Reverend Jongilanga was dispatched to Alice Police Station to defend their cause and they were later released.

Church members and Baptist ministers both black and white stood against Mrs Lukwe and her children, and her husband was labelled a 'Communist'. According to Mrs Lukwe, it was the Presbyterian white minister and her white boss who came to her rescue. Reverend John Dickson supplied Mrs Lukwe with food while her superior at work gave her a place to stay in a nurse's home at Whittlesea Hospital. Among the Baptist community, it was only Reverend Mhlophe and Reverend Maphethu who travelled all the way from the Transvaal to check on her.

For the first time, the Lukwe family was separated. Mrs Lukwe took some of her children to Alice, the home of her husband and hired a domestic worker to look after them. She only remained with Amanda because she did not want to separate from her as she was a teenager by then. She says her children were greatly affected by the episodes of Mlungisi that they had lost faith and confidence in the church altogether. After three months of searching, Mrs Lukwe finally discovered where her husband was imprisoned; he was at the Takarstard Prison. In prison, he did not stop preaching, he became famous by conducting prayers and leading people to faith in Christ Jesus. One of the prisoners, Maho, who by that time was not even a Christian, says Lukwe's leadership brought about order and unity in their prison. Out of a prisoner a pastor was born. Maho reports that the reason he converted to Christianity was the genuine concern Lukwe had for people, which was so evident in prison. He says it was not only him who decided to accept Christ in prison but a number of the prisoners with whom they shared a cell. However, once they

were released, some of the prisoners, did not become committed Christians or practising Christians.

The time of Lukwe's arrest coincided with the Assembly of the Baptist Convention which was held at Nyarha (Bedford). At this Assembly, Lukwe was excommunicated from the ministry and fellowship of the Church without giving him an opportunity for a hearing. This meeting was chaired by Jongilanga who was the President of BCSA in the Eastern Cape region.

4.10 Life after prison



Simon Lukwe in front of his new church building and the congregation in Whittlesea Dongwe Location

The years 1985 – 1987 were challenging times for communities such as Queenstown Township and many others across South Africa. Coming out of prison did not mean the end of challenges for Lukwe and his fellow brothers. New challenges and more complex ones, aroused as the result of the state of emergency. Many families faced life without members of their families; some had disappeared with no trace while others lay in police mortuaries. On his return from prison, Lukwe was jobless, and had to start from the bottom. He went to live with his wife in Whittlesea and tried to recollect the pieces of their lives. Even though he had just left prison, the problems and challenges that led him to

prison still existed. Many families were experiencing a lot of pain, with members of their families missing and some found murdered. Lukwe found himself at the forefront of community work again working in the Advice office as a spiritual counsellor. According to Maho, Lukwe worked with Dickson and Stort organising monthly prayer meetings for all ministers in Queenstown. He visited those who were awaiting death row and offered prayers and counselling for them. Among those he visited is Samson Mabhandanda who was on death row but was subsequently released from prison. Maho says that they constantly teased Mabhandanda and joked that had it not been Lukwe's prayers, he would have been dead.

Lukwe started a Church at Dongwe Location a new extension area in Whittlesea. He managed to buy an old church in Whittlesea (town) where they established a day care centre for children while using the building for church services on weekends. In the Eastern Cape, Lukwe tried to reconnect with his fellow Baptist Church family but was not given the chance or hearing. The churches that were based in Transvaal and were the new Baptist Convention of South Africa welcomed him into fellowship. This group is one that was originally the home of all black Baptists under SABMS but they broke away in 1987. Unfortunately, in the border, it was only Lukwe who remained with BCSA and the rest of the ministers left the Convention and joined the BUSA. Many of the black ministers in the Baptist circles were not willing to accommodate him due to the stigma of being a terrorist.

4.11 Lukwe in Whittlesea Baptist Church

In 1985, Mrs Lukwe was now working as a senior nurse in Hewu Hospital; therefore, Lukwe's family moved to Ekuphumleni Township which was also called Dongwe. This was a new township built by the Ciskei government. Lukwe's family managed to get a house in this township in an area called New Zone. Typically, Lukwe could not just sit and do nothing but responded to the calling of God and subsequently established a new church in Ekuphumleni. Again, as per his tradition, he invited student ministers from Fort White Bible Institute to lead a tent crusade. He identified a huge piece land just behind

his house; the land later became his church site. The crusade was successful as the Whittlesea Baptist Church grew in numbers with the majority being young people. In Whittlesea, Lukwe was known as *umfundisi wabantu* (people's pastor). He often preached at schools, memorial services and funerals of politicians and teachers, in hospitals and in prisons. His youth church choir often accompanied him to all these events. One of the community members who later became a major in 2006, Elvis Ndinisa said there was no community event that Lukwe did not attend. Ndinisa further alluded that Lukwe represented God in the community so much that he would preach at community events even when he was only expected to open with prayer, just before he prayed he would talk about the God who saves. According to Ndinisa, some people referred to Lukwe as the Bishop Tutu of Queenstown. Ndinisa who at some point could not connect with God due to the teaching of most ministers who often preached that Christians should not be involved in politics found comfort in the God that Lukwe preached. Ndinisa later joined Whittlesea Baptist and became an elder in the church. Ndinisa said that Lukwe, just like Bishop Tutu, was never an ANC card-carrying member but at some point ANC members wanted to elect him to be a mayor but he refused. According to Ntombana (2015), who is also one of Lukwe's sons in the Lord, when Lukwe was asked about why he refused political positions, he would often laugh and respond "*ipolitiki ayinanyani*" (there is not truth in politics).

The schools in Ekuphumleni Township worked well with Lukwe, so much that he became a spiritual leader to them. Sometimes, when Lukwe had missionary visitors, he would take them to schools; as a result, schools received various gifts from missionaries. At some point Ekuphumleni High School received a television, video and overhead projector from Lukwe's visitors.



The first day care centre that open in Lukwe's church in Whittlesea

Lukwe is well known in Whittlesea as a pastor of young people, most of the parents of the youth in his Church were not members in Whittlesea Baptist and it was often due to his love for youth that their parents joined his church. According to Ntombana (2015), Lukwe invested all his life and energy in the future; he strongly believed that in teaching the youth, he was saving the world. Ntombana narrates that when he permanently moved to Whittlesea, he was already a church goer and was not sure which church to join. On his arrival, he visited various churches but fell in love with Lukwe's church. What really attracted Ntombana was that Lukwe believed in young people. Ntombana's mother often asked "*ngumfundisi otheni lo uhla enyuka nabantwana*" (What kind of pastor is this who is often up and down with children?). According to Pastor Xolani Klass who is also Lukwe's spiritual son and also from Whittlesea, Lukwe was a father to the fatherless as most of young people in his church were from poor families and did not have or did not know their father. Ntombana remembers how Lukwe would come to his home and secretly open cupboards in order to see if there was food and in seeing that the cupboards were empty he would leave money with his mother to buy food. Ntombana further noted that this worried him as at times Lukwe would take money he could have used to support his family to support them. Thus, at Lukwe's funeral, Ntombana remarked, "First and foremost I would like to thank Lukwe's children for allowing him to share his life and family resources with us." Ntombana's and Klass's assertions were anchored by Khaya Stemele, Dideka Mqgabuzana and Nono Ndinisa who were all among those who benefited from Lukwe's giving and loving spirit.

In Whittlesea, Lukwe is remembered for his preaching against sin and calling people to repentance. As a result of his preaching and teachings, young people changed their lives, some stopped drinking, stopped smoking and the youth abstained from sexual intercourse. Even among the Baptist Convention in the Eastern Cape, Lukwe's youth were known as more conservative and were against promiscuity. Young people often teased Lukwe for evangelising all the time and his response would often be *“ingxaki yenu niyasithanda nesono, kanti ndizakushumayel nide nicaphukele kwanto ifana nesono”* (your main problem you live sin and I will preach until you start hating anything that look like sin). One of the ways in which Lukwe kept his youth away from mischievous behaviours was through giving testimonies; he believed that a young person must give a testimony at every Sunday service. Lukwe believed giving a testimony was one way of telling the church and adults that a young person was still living for the Lord. According to Amanda, Lukwe' daughter, young people would have to make sure that they lived a responsible Christian life and in that way their testimonies would testify to that. Khaya Stemele and Nxaxheba Lukwe, Reverend Lukwe's son, remember how when they were at the University of Fort Hare, they were expected to come and tell the church how they handled themselves at University and that was done during testimonies. Young people from Whittlesea all agreed that Lukwe's assertions on testimonies worked well because those who were not living a righteous life did not give testimonies and that was due to each person's conscious.

In Whittlesea and among his colleagues and in the Baptist Convention, Lukwe is also remembered for giving young people a chance. According to Ntombana, Klass and Ndyalivane all from Whittlesea Baptist Church and later joined the ministry, it was due to the opportunity given by Lukwe to preach and to lead that they matured in the Lord and in leadership. They further noted that as a preacher, it was not that Lukwe overlooked himself but he was so good to the point that he wished others could preach like him and even more than him. Majikela also noted that he learnt preaching and leadership from Lukwe. Zukile further notes that even when we was at the university, he knew that going to Church in Whittlesea meant that he would have to prepare a sermon to preach. Zukile

further reports that sometimes he was unhappy about this preaching responsibility and felt that it was the pastor's role, but as he matured he realised that Lukwe strongly believed in him.

In Queenstown and Whittlesea, Lukwe also built strong relationships with business in support of the poor. In Queenstown he worked well with Hersels Stores and in Whittlesea he worked with shops like Sondelani and would often collect groceries from them in order to give to poor families. At times, he also assisted poor unemployed people to find jobs; one of the community members shared how Lukwe convinced Sondelani to offer him a job. Eventually he joined his church out of his own will with no pressure from the Reverend.

4.12 Retirement

In 2009, Lukwe decided to retire from active ministry after 44 years, he left Whittlesea for Alice his home town. As an old man, Lukwe now suffered from age-related illnesses. Among the health challenges he faced was a frequent loss of memory. His wife of 49 years and the mother of his children took care of him and at some stage she had to quit active work as a nurse and look after her husband. Lukwe was well received by many of the young Baptist Convention ministers who affectionately called him the Bishop, a term frowned upon by Baptists for their theological reasons. Lukwe peacefully passed away on 24 August 2014 at the age of 78, as an old man full of life and having contributed incalculably to life and history of his people and denomination it Lukwe was laid to rest at his home in KwaGqumashe in Alice on 29 August 2014. Many people including senior leaders from the BCSA and the BUSA and other churches attended his funeral service. Many individuals, families and communities have been impacted positively by the life of this servant of God and servant of the people.

Eulogy:

Lala ngoxolo Mfene, Lisa, Jambase.

You have run the race

Have fought the fight,

You have kept the faith and awaiting your reward.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and conclusion

5.1 The making of the man Lukwe

Lukwe was born at a critical time in his life and was also raised in an interesting environment, Alice. Individuals do not make themselves but are part of the collective which shape them and their experiences. In order for a life to be understood it has to be placed in context which then helps us understand life. Mills (1972:12) says, "Individuals contribute to the shaping of their society by their lives and history, and they are also shaped by its historical push and shove." This chapter will highlight significant historical facts that might have had a role in shaping the life and ministry of Lukwe. There are four historical facts, which, one way or the other, have had an impact in his life, namely: 1. The balance of evangelical and charismatic influences; 2. Political influence; 3. Social influence – debacle between *ubuqaba* and *ubugqoboka*; 4. Black (black consciousness) and liberation theology.

5.1.1 The balance of evangelical and charismatic influence

From a Christian and Baptist front, according to Reverend Madolo, one of Lukwe's colleagues who opted to remain with the Convention, Lukwe was a great preacher who could have only been influenced by Baptist preachers before him. He was influenced by the likes of Duma, a man whose ministry and influence knew no colour boundaries, Mashologu and many other Baptist ministers. He was not only influenced by Baptist preachers, but also by the preaching of Reverend Nicholas Bhengu, one of the great pioneers who arrived in East London in the early 1960s around the same time that Lukwe was at the Bible College. Bhengu established the Assemblies of God Church which is still one of the strongest churches in the Eastern Cape, particularly in East London. Bhengu was a symbol of emancipation for many black evangelic ministers. While in East Mdantsane, Lukwe attended some of Bhengu's crusades and was impressed at Bhengu's evangelical gift and at his authority in pulling out crowds. Mrs Lukwe recounts an event

which occurred in Mdantsane, where Lukwe preached at a funeral attended by members from Assemblies of God Church. After preaching, some of the members from Bhengu's church said, "this pastor preaches like one of our pastors but the problem is that he is wearing a collar." What confused them was the evangelical tone of salvation that Lukwe used in preaching, which was rare among most of his colleagues at the time. Furthermore, the Assemblies of God did not wear collars while the Baptists did; so as a Baptist minister, Luke wore a collar.

5.1.2 Political influence

As a pastor in East London in 1960, Lukwe lived in the midst of political uprising which led to the death of Sobukwe in the 1960s and Biko in the 1970s. Contrary to some of his colleagues who turned a blind eye, Lukwe wrestled with the question of the gospel of Jesus and politics. Consequently, he realised that there was no way he could turn a blind eye to the needs of black people, not only in East London but also in Alice which is known for two prominent academic institutions, the University of Fort Hare and Healdtown. Both these institutions are closer to KwaGqumashe. During Lukwe's time, the life and politics of students in this area were vibrant. It is obvious that Lukwe's route crossed path with students' influence just like these students influenced other areas of Alice lifestyle. It is important to highlight that the villages around Alice Town were also residential areas for many students who could not find or afford lodging in the campus. Alice was a breeding ground of political leaders; the ANC youth league was active in this area and so was PAC. Even though he did not go to either of those institutions, but it is conceivable that student politics would spill over the campus. Considering that his home was not far from these institutions, there was no way that he would not have met these political fire brands.

5.1.3 Social influence: *ubuqaba* and *ubugqobhoka* debacle

The *amaqaba* and *amagqoboka* in KwaGqumahe were mostly at loggerheads with each other. People were sharply divided into two neighbourhoods due to western influence and religion. One needs to be aware that these were not just groups but represented different

identities and influences. The division of the villages into two identities made life difficult, and disintegrated the communities. The core of the division was watering down of cultural values of the conquered people, as evil and ungodly. Unfortunately for Lukwe, he was born of a preacher and a *gqobhoka* but raised by his uncle who was a staunch traditionalist who opposed to the Christian way which was embraced by some of neighbours including his sister (Lukwe's mother) and her late husband Ruben Lukwe (Lukwe's father). Lukwe's uncle had clear views about the church which was represented by whites, so he probably had unpleasant and negative views about them. At an early age, Lukwe was forced to drop out of school due to family circumstances. Later on as a minister, together with some of his generation, he suffered at the hands of whites through assimilating western education and way of life which they were made to believe would make them accepted but unfortunately, proved otherwise. Due to the system orchestrated by white people, his wife was never recognised for her qualification and capabilities; as result, she was refused an equitable remuneration. He experienced difficulties economically, in spite of his commitment and productive levels he was not remunerated well and he was never treated as a fellow Christian minister by his white counterparts. This entire scenario which was perpetuated by white missionaries and the apartheid government played a role in Lukwe's perception of ministry and politics. To Lukwe as long as a person was black according to white people there were always *amaqaba*, even though they were *amagqobhoka* but they would never be like white people. Lukwe witnessed some of his colleagues eating from the master's table but he preferred to be poor than to worship white missionaries and white pastors. According to Grace Lukwe, Lukwe was convinced that he was to suffer with his people like Moses the leader of the Israelites. Like Moses he suffered for his decision, he was fired from Baptist ministry and suffered a lot in many ways.

5.1.4 The influence of black and liberation theology

Oosthuizen says Seminary education that does not equip the minister to critically deal with matters of the nation; he believes that it does not expose them to that level of thinking and information. In spite of the type of education he received, Lukwe was able to walk the

walk of the few. His life challenged the philosophy and ethos of doing ministry in a Baptist church. His life was a life of a minister whose life was intertwined with that of the people he pastored. London and Wiseman (2006:17) in their book – *The heart of a great Pastor*, say that Jesus is a model for our pastoral ministry he valued people and placed them first. They argue that Jesus went where people were and dealt with their reality. Lukwe's ministry demonstrated the belief that his humanity was worth fighting for, it is as if Lukwe was conversant with Black Theology for he embodied these ideals in spite his limited education. Goba (2010:112) state that the position of black theology which emphasised that black people were also made in God's image carried with it certain responsibilities. To be black under black theology meant to look unflinchingly at a history in colour represents poverty, disinheritance, all that is ugly and soiled, while at the same time working to change this reality. I have God endowed dignity. Lukwe believed that he had a God-given dignity and his people were worthy of the respect and dignity that was given to them by their creator, of whom he was his representative and prophet. His life proved that he believed the gospel message he preached; he did not run away when things did not go according to what was just and fair. But he demanded of those in power to be just and fair to those under their authority.

5.2. Distinct traits of Lukwe as a leader

One of the main questions for this study was how come this minister was able to come out of his community of faith and think out of the box in spite of the inadequate training he received? There are other critical issues that we overlook when we seek to academically study people because some of them make a leader to live out of his/her class. Munro (2004: 33) says leadership is a spirit, and in this dissertation the researcher argues that it is this spirit of leadership that separated Lukwe from his colleagues and made him to be the leader he was. There are three main issues that that are basic to Lukwe and others leaders like him irrespective of their education standard: the calling, the gifting and God's enabling.

5.2.1 The calling

We learn from the scriptures that individual people are born with a purpose which they are supposed to fulfil in this their life time. The scriptures and modern-day literature is full of individuals who knew whereas some were not aware that they had been called by God to serve their generation, but had an unquenchable passion to do certain thing irrespective of the price. The calling that these individuals have or had, made them to see things differently than others in their generation. The calling itself makes these individuals to be trendsetters and leaders in their own right, and many times leaders without titles. The examples include but not limited to Joseph – Egyptian prime minister (Genesis 39); Moses – the liberating and founding leader of Israel (Exodus 3); Stephen Bantu Biko – founding leader of Black Consciousness in South Africa; Elijah Mzimba – founder of Episcopal Church of Africa; Frank Chikane – AFM pastor and SACC General Secretary; Martin Luther King Jr – Baptist pastor and leader of Civil Rights Movement in USA. What these leaders were about was significant to them and was urgent for their people to be free. They did not set out to seek fame or fortunes but they simple served their people. They had a burden that if something could not be done about the situation their people’s plight could not be changed. Lukwe was called of God to serve his people, and he did serve his people. The Bible in Romans 8:30 says, “Having chosen them, he called them to come to him. And having called them, he gave them the right standing with himself. And having given them right standing, he gave them his glory” (NLT). The books of Acts 9:15 says “But the Lord said to Ananias “Go!” This man is my chosen instrument to proclaim my name to the Gentiles, and to their kings and to the people of Israel”.

5.2.2 The gifting

Romans 8:3 says God gives gift to each person as he sees fit, no one chooses the gift he/she has. Jesus also stresses this point in a number of his teachings, the stories of talents, minas, or stewards (Matthew 25:14 – 30; Luke 19:11 – 27; Luke 16:1 – 13 respectively). In each of these stories the story line is the same, that it is giver who determines who has what. Lukwe was a gifted pastor; he had genuine love for his people.

He is known not just for his love of young people, his was always surrounded by children. He loved people irrespective of their background or nationality, this is demonstrated by the life of Lydia – a Ghanaian lady whose life was transformed by love and care of Lukwe and his wife. From the time he entered the ministry, Lukwe was a man of distinction, both as an evangelist and a pastor. In every place he ministered into, he left a clear trail.

5.2.3 God's enabling

God's enabling or the anointing as some call it is what characterises history makers. Men or women of great burden, men and women who are not ambitious but are vision driven. Adeyemo (2009:22) says the anointing or charisma "separates the anointed unto God and empowers the individual to operate supernaturally for as long as the anointed endures. For any leadership assignment that God issues, he literally pours Himself and His power into the life of the candidate". The anointing empowers people to function effectively and supernaturally in their given area of calling and gifting. The anointing more than compensate for what might be lacking in a candidate.

In spite of the little knowledge or education that Lukwe had, he served his people and was able to contextualise his theology. He was able to combine the evangelical gospel which to a great extent, tends to focus solely on the spiritual aspect and the socio-political concern which was unknown within his church and been the terrain of the Methodists, Anglicans and Catholics.

As a pastoral minister, Lukwe was forced into political landscape because it was what affected the sheep he was shepherding and what also affected his family and himself. Magaziner (2010:11) writes, "Faith knows what it knows to be true and hope waits the time when this truth shall be manifested." Lukwe, unlike Chikane, Tutu, and Boesaak, did not become a household name. He is one of our unsung heroes, known only to old or senior people around Border and his church community. He is recognised by the ANC and Nelson Mandela. Martin Luther Jr (2001:40) says, "The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at

times of challenge and controversy.” It is said that a people with no history are no people at all, there is need to put together the history of people of South Africa for the benefit of the future generations so that they can learn what their forefathers have done for their benefit. The price for liberation of people in South Africa has become a high cost to many individuals and families, and without the likes of Lukwe we might not have achieved what we have achieved as a people. Their work is labour of love and we ought to appreciate them for the sacrifices that they have made for the benefit of many generations to come. I, together with South Africans of different races are indebted to many men and women whose name and contribution might not be preserved in this way, however we are grateful to them and their families for their selflessness to the cause of freedom.

5.3 Conclusion

Lukwe retired from ministry in 2010 as an old man, full of life but sickly. He went back to live in his village of KwaGqumashe in Alice. He did not live a luxurious life and he was financially dependent on his government pension. Unlike many other theologians, Lukwe did not have an education that made him to be in this league yet, yet he become part of that league. In spite of limited education, this minister served his people and was able to contextualise his theology. It is clear that this minister was forced into a political landscape and was also influenced by his environment. Lukwe’s faith saw the impossible, what others could not see but got on the mould set up for them. Magaziner (2010:11) concludes that it was their faith in God that enabled these men and women like Lukwe to stand up to the merciless system and win the day. Lukwe died an old man, his family (wife, children, sibling and extended family) together with neighbours and church family came to bid him farewell, on a chilly Thursday morning. Ministers of the gospel young and old came to celebrate his life.

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