

# THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDIGENOUS CATHOLIC CLERGY IN SOUTH AFRICA: 1919-1957

George Mukuka  
Faculty of Arts, Design and Architecture, University of Johannesburg,  
South Africa

## *Abstract*

The aim of this article is to examine whether Roman Catholic policies, as laid down in four separate encyclicals, were taken seriously in the mission fields, in South Africa in particular. In order to reach a conclusion, the article provides an overview of these encyclicals and a brief examination of the number of priests ordained during the period 1919 to 1957. It goes on to consider the events leading to the establishment of the minor seminary at Ixopo and the subsequent major seminary at Pevensey, both in the erstwhile province of Natal. Although by 1957 local clergy were being trained in South Africa, numerous difficulties were encountered in establishing an indigenous Catholic clergy.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The Roman Catholic policies aimed at the mission fields were contained in four encyclicals: the *Maximum illud*, *Rerum ecclesiae*, *Evangelii praecones* and *Fidei donum*, which appeared between 1919 and 1957. In examining how seriously these mission fields – especially those in South Africa – took these encyclicals, it has been necessary to consider numerous factors influencing that period. These include the process of indigenisation of the African clergy and the events that led to the establishment of the seminaries at both Ixopo and Pevensey in the erstwhile province of Natal. To conduct this examination, it is necessary to bear in mind that various power structures, including those in Rome and Germany, played a vital role during this period. Missionaries were subject, consciously or unconsciously, to at least three power bases at this time, namely Rome, their country of origin, and the country in which they resided. This inclination towards the West sometimes gave rise to significant

conflict on the mission fields, a topic that will also be explored here.

## **2 OVERVIEW OF BLACK CLERGY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA 1919-1957**

During this period, thirty-eight priests were ordained. The first four secular priests, ordained in Rome (Frs Mnganga, Mncadi, Ngidi and Mbhele), were by this time already working in parishes in the Mariannhill diocese. However, during these years most of the priests were trained at either St Mary's or St Peter's seminaries. While most were African seculars, there were also twelve Franciscan Familiars of St Joseph (FFJ), and one priest from the Pallotines. The first coloured diocesan priests were Henry Damon (1940)<sup>1</sup> and Romuald Booyesen (1947), who were trained by the Pallotines at Swellendam and worked in the diocese of Oudtshoorn.<sup>2</sup>

Although this article does not focus on Lesotho, it is important to give a brief overview of training in that country by reason of the fact that, due to circumstances created by apartheid in South Africa, the training of some black candidates was undertaken in Lesotho. A total of thirty-nine priests were ordained at St Augustine's Major Seminary in Lesotho. Of these, one was a Servite, twelve were Diocesans and the rest were Oblates from South Africa and Lesotho. Six local priests were ordained at St Joseph's Scholasticate: four of these were coloured, and the remaining two were Zulu priests from Natal. By 1957 only the FFJ, the Pallotines, the Servites and the Oblates in Lesotho and South Africa had ordained local clergy. The other orders were making efforts in this regard, but succeeded only later in the century.

## **3 INDIGENISATION OF THE CHURCH**

What follows is a brief discussion of the Roman Catholic policies aimed at the mission fields contained in four encyclicals: *Maximum illud*, *Rerum ecclesiae*, *Evangelii praecones* and *Fidei donum*.

### **3.1 Maximum illud<sup>3</sup>**

The encyclical *Maximum illud* laid the foundation for the missionary activities of the Catholic Church for the next half-century. It clearly

stated the mission of the Church and the propagation of the Catholic faith in the world. With regard to South Africa, the aspect highlighted was the training of indigenous clergy, who were supposed to be “well trained and well prepared” and receive “the same kind of education for the priesthood that a European would receive”. Local clergy were not to be trained merely as assistants of foreign priests; the intention was that they should take up God’s work on the same footing as priests from other countries.<sup>4</sup>

The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (SCPF)), also known as Propaganda, was assigned the duty of founding new seminaries in many new mission territories. The heads of missions were asked to extend their missions, develop joint ventures in evangelising people, and meet regularly. For the pope, this meant a de-emphasis of nationality, race and congregation in striving for a more effective way of running the church. In 1918, Cardinal van Rossum became the Cardinal Prefect, and dedicated himself to the indigenisation of the Church. The papal encyclical *Maximum illud* was an important directive in this regard, not only in Natal but also in the whole of Southern Africa.

Following the First World War, the Church faced a significant challenge in that the number of clergy was drastically reduced. For instance, in East Africa the German missionaries from the Benedictines of St Ottilien, who had come to East Africa in 1888 under the leadership of Bishop Thomas Spreiter, were interned during the war or expelled. They were expelled from what was then Tanganyika, and left for Europe in April 1920. They came to South Africa in the same year and, after they had tried several areas, it was decided that they should take over Zululand. The vicariate of Natal was subsequently divided into three separate vicariates: Natal, Zululand and Mariannhill; this decision was influenced by the Benedictines and the Mariannhill monks.

### 3.2 *Rerum ecclesiae*<sup>5</sup>

The main emphasis of *Rerum ecclesiae* is the need for an indigenous clergy. The missions were instructed to develop and encourage indigenous clergy, as it was they who could properly instil the

message of Christ and also govern the people. Pius XI also predicted some of the political upheavals which were to occur, especially following decolonisation. In his view, the missionary apostolate did not rest solely on the pope, but also on the Church. Most of the message of *Maximum illud* is reiterated and emphasised with great vigour and urgency in *Rerum ecclesiae*.

Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) is known as “the pope of the missions” for having reinforced and built upon the foundations laid by Benedict XV. In his time, the centre of missionary activity moved from France to Rome, as he approved the transfer of the SCPF, or Propaganda, from Lyons to Rome. A permanent missionary museum was erected at the Lateran Palace in Rome, and missiology became a separate subject of study.

### 3.3 *Evangelii praecones*<sup>6</sup>

The encyclical *Evangelii praecones* was issued by Pope Pius XII on the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Rerum ecclesiae*. Despite the interruption created by the Second World War, the missions had achieved a great deal. These achievements are listed in the encyclical, and include a steady growth in the numbers of indigenous clergy and bishops. The letter emphasises the importance of education, especially at a time when communism was spreading rapidly. An important injunction contained in the encyclical was that missionaries should respect the culture and customs of the people.

Let not the gospel, on being introduced into a new land, destroy or extinguish whatever its people possess that is naturally good, just or beautiful. For the church, when she calls people to a higher culture and a better way of life under the inspiration of Christian religion, does not act like one who recklessly cuts down and uproots a thriving forest.<sup>7</sup>

In general terms, *Evangelii praecones* reaffirms the content of the earlier encyclicals.

### 3.4 Fidei donum<sup>8</sup>

Issued by Pius XII, the encyclical *Fidei donum* is devoted to the situation in Africa. Earlier, the attention of the Church had been focused on the Far East, especially China. 1957, however, is considered the year that brought “the winds of change”, for it was from this date that many countries in Africa gained independence from their former colonial masters. Also, there was a need for the Church to focus on Continental Africa, as it had not made as much progress there as the pontificate had wished. Continental Africa was still European in leadership and ministry, a fact that caused considerable concern.

Rome intended to establish a local indigenous clergy, and the encyclical therefore expressed joy at the establishment of hierarchies in many countries. Many African priests were ordained to the priesthood, in conformity with the “ultimate purpose” of missionary labour, which is to establish the Church “firmly and permanently” among new peoples. However, even though hierarchies had been established, missionary efforts in Africa were not coming to an end, but rather just beginning as Africa was beginning to develop.

The desire of popes Benedict XV, Pius XI and Pius XII to see the indigenisation of the Church is clearly expressed in the four encyclicals just discussed, and the Catholic Church supported this process. There is evidence, however, that in some cases missionaries were very comfortable with what they had – so much so that they delayed ordaining local, indigenous clergy. In other cases, local clergy were indeed sent to Propaganda College in Rome, but when they returned home they experienced only rejection and frustration.

In what follows I will look at the establishment of the indigenous clergy in South Africa, and how in some cases they served as perpetual assistant priests, never being put in charge of any missions. This is in clear contradiction of the stated intentions of the various Roman pontiffs mentioned above to allow indigenous clergy to take over the control of the local church. In addition, I will attempt to highlight the discrepancies between the teaching of Rome on local

indigenous clergy and what actually took place on the mission fields.

#### 4 CREATION OF THE VICARIATES OF MARIANNHILL AND ZULULAND

It came as a shock to Bishop Henri Delalle OMI to be informed by Cardinal van Rossum that his vicariate of Natal was to be divided. While in Rome in 1920 for the Oblate General Chapter he had had an audience with the Cardinal, and nothing of this nature had been mentioned. Cardinal van Rossum in fact felt that the vicariate should not have been divided so soon after the war. However, Propaganda went ahead, and confirmation that Mariannhill was to be a separate vicariate reached Delalle in October 1921. The vicariate of Mariannhill was to include the Transkei and southern Natal.

The Oblates would be left with the Durban district, the coast from Tugela to Umkomaas, inland along the Umlaas River as far as Impendle, and then following the provincial boundary. Mariannhill itself would be in Delalle's vicariate, but independent of it. The Oblates would gain two Mariannhill stations, Besters and Maria Ratschitz, but would lose St. Joachim's (Umsinsini), Umzinto and all the Transkei mission.<sup>9</sup>

The appointment and consecration of Bishop Adalbero Fleischer as Vicar Apostolic of Mariannhill by Bishop Delalle on 15 August 1922 signalled the beginning of a new era.

When Bishop Fleischer took over in 1922, there were fifty-two Mariannhill confreres and four secular priests.<sup>10</sup> In December of the same year, the apostolic delegate Archbishop Bernard Gijlswijk was appointed by decree of Pope Pius XI. The delegate was to co-ordinate missionary activities throughout Southern Africa,<sup>11</sup> and to help in the negotiation of the new divisions that were to be created. Following *Maximum illud*, Cardinal van Rossum again divided the Natal diocese by creating a new Prefecture of Zululand on 1 September 1921. The further division of Zululand was a great disappointment to the Oblate General Administration. In terms of this arrangement, the whole of Zululand was given to the Benedictines who had been expelled from Tanganyika, and the area was raised to

the status of Vicariate of Eshowe. From that time onwards there was tension between the Oblates and the Benedictines, which was in direct contradiction of the spirit of co-operation called for amongst the congregation for the spread of the gospel.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.1 Franciscan Familiars of St Joseph

After the establishment of Mariannahill vicariate, the aim of the Mariannahill missionaries was to reach as many indigenous people as possible, and to initiate the local training of priests. Bishop Fleischer laid a great deal of emphasis on the training of priests, and so the first thing he did was to generate interest in the training of his own priests, that is, the Congregation Missionaries of Mariannahill (CMM). In 1923, the major seminary in Würzburg, Germany was transferred to South Africa.<sup>13</sup> The bishop believed that the students of philosophy and theology should receive their training in the country in which they would be missionaries.<sup>14</sup> The seminary began its activities at Mariannahill on 1 February 1924, and five months later moved to Mariathal Mission. The candidates at the seminary were from Europe. Although Bishop Fleischer wanted to shift the centre of the CMM by having the seminary in South Africa, it seems strange that he imported students from Europe and trained them in South Africa; one would have thought that, especially after *Maximum illud*, the bishop would have encouraged and fostered local vocations in his congregation. It is likely, however, that the bishop considered the time not yet right to have local vocations joining his congregation.

The situation changed in 1926, when Mariannahill's General Chapter was transferred to Europe and a "step of the utmost importance was the establishment of Pius Seminary at Würzburg in 1928 for the formation of priestly vocations".<sup>15</sup> The following year, a larger major seminary was built in the same town in Germany. After the seminary was transferred to Europe, Fleischer decided to foster indigenous vocations.

The bishop's second initiative involving the training of clergy was the formation of new indigenous congregations. Following the directives of *Maximum illud*, Bishop Fleischer founded a new congregation in 1923 for black sisters. He was facing a dilemma regarding vocations to the religious life, as he had to decide whether to accept candidates

into established congregations of European origin or to found new ones that might be more adaptable to the mentality and conditions of the local people. He chose the latter.

Fleischer founded the first female religious congregation, called the *Filiae Sancti Francisci de Assisi* (FSF), or Daughters of St Francis of Assisi. Sister Aemiliana Armbruster CPS was put in charge, and the third order rule was followed. According to the publication *Southern Cross*, the establishment of a congregation for girls was successful.<sup>16</sup> The decision was undertaken because numerous applications had been received from black candidates who wished to join the Precious Blood Sisters, and the founding of the FSF was a way of accommodating them.<sup>17</sup> Following the establishment of the FSF, inquiries about a religious congregation for black men were received. Fleischer was again faced with the choice of incorporating applicants into the Mariannahill congregation or founding a new one, and opted for the latter. It has been noted that:

the general Chapter of Mariannahill Congregation of 1920 had encouraged the missionaries to think of training indigenous priests and to accept them into their own congregation, this had so far not been realised. Some missionaries were of the opinion *that time had not yet come to train African boys to be either brothers or priests along side the Europeans*. On the other hand, Bishop Fleischer firmly believed it to be the better course to form them into a separate congregation. He took this inspiration again from the encyclical *Maximum illud* and published a pastoral letter on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1923. He said he was going to found the Congregation of the Franciscan Familiars of St Joseph (FFJ).<sup>18</sup>

In a pastoral letter written in Zulu to the indigenous congregation of the vicariate, Fleischer said, inter alia, that he wanted to put before the people a further “idea of development of monastic life for men”. Two classes of candidates were to be considered: brothers and priests, both under the protection of St Joseph. “The further destination of the members will be to help their own tribes by prayer and work, by becoming priests, teachers, catechists, nurses of the sick, or by being used in any other useful occupation. They shall all



observe a common life after the same rule.”<sup>19</sup> They were to be guided by the Mariannahill congregation until they were able to govern themselves. The basic training was to be a one-year postulancy and two-year novitiate, followed by profession.<sup>20</sup>

However, some of the black priests regarded this congregation with suspicion, considering it to be a second-class religious order. In fact, it was alleged that the brothers were servants of the CMM. The congregation was to be guided by Mariannahill, which meant that it was to imitate Mariannahill. Bishop Fleischer’s action in this regard supports the notion that Africans were supposed to imitate rather than invent: ideas originated with a culturally “superior” congregation, and the resultant plans were imposed on the lesser, “childlike” congregation. Biyase, in considering the circumstances of the founding of the FFJ, suggests that it was justifiable but,

unfortunately, he (Fleischer) was imbued with the idea of himself, because he would have made them diocesan priests. Fr. Malachias Mkwane was a diocesan priest not an FFJ. The FFJ were like a diocesan congregation, if you were from Mariannahill you were supposed to join it, Franciscan Familiar of St Josephs, but we used to call it Far From Jesus (FFJ). So Fleischer succumbed, he would have loved to make them CMM, but he found the FFJ.<sup>21</sup>

For Fr. Natalis Mjoli, a secular priest from Eshowe diocese, the founding of the FFJ was consistent with the current segregation-based practices of South Africa, and the belief that Africans were not yet ready. In Mjoli’s view, Bishop Fleischer could not go against the current thought, because all the white “Mariannahillers” believed that an African could never be a priest. The CMM did not support Bishop Fleischer’s desire to see blacks ordained as priests. Mjoli suggests that if Fleischer had really wanted black men as religious priests in the Mariannahill Congregation, this could have been achieved. Yet he instead established a congregation separate from the CMM, and entirely dependent on him.

According to Mjoli, these congregations – the FFJ and FSF – were subject to the bishop, and there was a perception that their members were treated like domestic servants. They started by helping the

priests and, later on, were introduced into hospitals, while those who could teach could become school principals.<sup>22</sup>

Fr. David Moetapele, a secular priest of the Diocese of Pretoria, suggests that the founding of the FFJ was part of a clear segregatory policy, and that it was founded as a second-class congregation. In his words:

It was to accommodate the blacks because the CMMs wouldn't. They would not accept black guys to join their congregation. They said that, no! This is a German thing. It is not for blacks, that time. They could say so, because they used to get new vocations from overseas so they were not in need of candidates from the country, unless you were white, you could join. That is one of the reasons why Bishop Fleischer had to start his own congregation the FFJs because the CMM would not accept the black vocations.<sup>23</sup>

The founding of the FFJ followed Bishop Fleischer's establishment of the clerical seminary at Ixopo, after he had been commissioned to do so by other ordinaries at the 1924 meeting in Kimberley.

#### **4.2 St Mary's Seminary, Mariathal**

In July 1924 the vicars and prefects apostolic of South Africa held a conference in Kimberley. Central to their discussion was the urgent desire of the Church to establish an indigenous clergy in the mission countries and to build seminaries to train black candidates. The meeting was held under the presidency of the apostolic delegate, Archbishop J B Gijlswijk.

Pope Pius XI had supported the establishment of seminaries to train black priests. The prelates gathered at the Kimberley conference and, following the example of other mission countries, decided to establish a regional seminary for South Africa, believing that this seminary would help in propagating and preserving the faith among the local people, as vicars and prefects would send young men who felt called to be priests to the seminary for training.

At the meeting, none of the prelates felt ready to undertake the task, and so the building of the seminary was made the responsibility of Bishop Adalbero Fleischer of Mariannhill. He took the matter in hand at once and wrote circular letters and pastorals appealing to the clergy and the faithful to pray for God's grace on the work on which he was about to embark, and to implant in the hearts of the young "the call to the Holy Priesthood". As mentioned earlier, the Mariannahillers had started a seminary for their students from Germany at Mariathal mission station, and Bishop Fleischer chose this mission for the seminary for black candidates. Work started at once, and a little brick building was very soon erected, which was to become the future seminary for priests. On 31 January 1925, in a very impressive ceremony, the blessing and opening of Mariathal Latin-School (as it was called) took place. On the Feast of Our Lady, 2 February 1925, under the guidance of Father Prefect, some seventeen students began their studies. Subjects taught included Religion, Latin, English, Arithmetic, History and Geography. The timetable may have been simple, but with it the seminary was established.<sup>24</sup>

By 1926 the number of students had increased steadily, and more teachers were appointed. The seminary soon outgrew its building, and Bishop Fleischer was forced to erect a new seminary. He appealed to the clergy and the faithful for spiritual and financial help, and was in addition encouraged and supported by the pontifical work of the Society of St Peter the Apostle. On 30 November 1928 he invited Archbishop Gijlswijk, the apostolic delegate, to bless and lay the foundation stone for the new building. At this ceremony several dignitaries were present, including bishops, priests, brothers, sisters and lay people both black and white. Also present were thirty-three students, along with six professors, three priests and three African teachers who are not mentioned by name.<sup>25</sup> The seminary was built by the brothers of Mariannhill, and took two and half years to complete.

On 29 June 1931, on the Feast of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, the apostolic delegate, Archbishop Gijlswijk, opened the seminary. The ceremony was witnessed by thirteen bishops and prelates, thirty priests from different vicariates and prefectures, and over two thousand African people. The seminary was dedicated to

Our Lady, Sede Sapientiae, and the Blessed Martyrs of Uganda. At the time of the opening there were thirty-five students in the minor seminary and four in the major seminary. They were taught by five professors, three priests and two Africans (not named). Teaching was more or less in line with the syllabus prescribed by the education authorities for high schools in the country, as the Church wanted the seminarians to be on the same level as other students in the country. Subjects taught in addition were Religion, Church History and Latin, the language of the Church at that time.<sup>26</sup>

Two years later, on 6 December 1933, the first students of the seminary received the tonsure at the hands of the apostolic delegate, who had been invited by Bishop Fleischer to officiate. Then followed ordinations in succession – minor orders and major orders. The first student to be ordained was Malachias Mkwane on 10 December 1936.<sup>27</sup> He was followed by Bonaventure Dlamini in November 1937 and, in early 1939, by Fidelis Ngobese and Killian Samakande. On 3 December 1939, Patrick Mbhele, Solanus Ndlovu and Paulus Ngobese were ordained.<sup>28</sup>

The major and minor seminaries shared a building until 1946, after which they were separated so that, from then on, each began to function independently.<sup>29</sup> The Rector of St Mary's at the time reports that "The former rector of this seminary went with the students of the major Seminary to the new place, called St Peter's Seminary. I myself ... was appointed as the new rector of this seminary here in January."<sup>30</sup>

A broader picture of indigenous training in Southern Africa may be obtained through an investigation of the establishment of St Augustine's Seminary, a major seminary in Lesotho, to which a number of the Oblates and diocesan candidates from South Africa were sent.

#### **4.3 St Augustine's Seminary, Lesotho**

The training of the indigenous clergy in Lesotho was initiated when Raphael Mohasi presented himself as the first candidate. He was placed under Guilcher, an Oblate, who taught him Latin. By 1924, St Augustine's Seminary had opened. In the mean time, two further

candidates, Emmanuel 'Mabathoana and Benedict Lempe, had joined the seminary. Although Bishop Cenez, vicar apostolic of Lesotho, had opened the seminary shortly before the Kimberley conference, the seminary continued to be the subject of discussion. Initially, the apostolic delegate, Bernard Gijlswijk, wanted to have one central seminary in Southern Africa. However, as the development of the seminary in South Africa was going to take too long, it seemed imprudent to interrupt Bishop Cenez's initiative, and so the seminary in Roma, Lesotho was retained.<sup>31</sup>

The Roma seminary was divided into the minor seminary, where students were taught the Classics, and the major seminary, where Philosophy and Theology were taught. By 1925 two priests had been put in charge. The seminary was opened in 1930. On the occasion of its opening, the apostolic delegate, Gijlswijk, expressed the hope that the day would come when the seminary in Roma would serve a large part of Southern Africa. Indeed, two years later, students from Lesotho were joined by Aloysius Munnik from Kimberley and Peter Hlope from Natal.<sup>32</sup>

Most of the African religious candidates from the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Servants of Mary and the Priests of the Sacred Heart were sent to this seminary rather than to the one at Mariathal in Ixopo.

On 8 December 1931, Raphael Mohasi was ordained as the first indigenous priest in Lesotho. From then onwards, recruiting for the seminary was intensified and missions were asked to look out for vocations. Three years later, a young man, Emmanuel 'Mabathoana was ordained as the first Oblate priest. Later he became the first bishop and, subsequently, archbishop of Maseru. In 1936, Aloysius Munnik was also ordained. Even though the seminary speedily established itself, problems were nevertheless encountered. For instance, a number of missions suffered because staff were transferred to the seminary. Another difficulty was the distinction between diocesan clergy and clergy in religious life. Raphael Mohasi, for example, wanted to be an Oblate, but his request met with such a tardy response that he was instead ordained as a diocesan priest. The Oblate General Administration was under pressure from Rome to train diocesan clergy, whereas they would have liked candidates

for themselves, but did not want to appear to be coercing young men to join them, which would have been contrary to the policy of Rome. Rome was very reluctant to subsidise institutions training mainly religious clergy.<sup>33</sup>

The question of training candidates for the diocesan or Oblate Congregation was treated with suspicion. The authorities felt “that some of the students were creating an atmosphere of mistrust by saying that the authorities wanted the students to join the Oblate Congregation”.<sup>34</sup>

From 1924 to 1957, thirty-nine priests were ordained from St Augustine’s Seminary. Of these, twenty-five were Oblates, one a Servite, and the remainder diocesan. Aloysius Munnik was the only coloured priest to be ordained. In addition, three white priests were trained at St Augustine’s: Victor Guegen, John O’Brien and Elias Shea. The rest were black indigenous priests, most of whom were from Lesotho and worked there. However, twelve were from South Africa and one from Namibia.<sup>35</sup>

## **5 OBLATE PRIESTS AND BROTHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

This section will consider the Oblates’ contribution to the indigenisation process in Southern Africa. Although they came to the region in 1852, they ordained the first indigenous priest only in 1936. They had, however, allowed local brothers to join their congregation; Leo Gumede, for instance, joined in 1895. I will first discuss the Oblate brothers, then African clergy, and finally the Indian and coloured priests.

### **5.1 Oblate brothers**

By the end of nineteenth century, the Oblates had begun training indigenous brothers. Between 1887 and 1957 the Oblates professed three brothers, two of whom were Zulus and one Indian. The first was Brother Leo Gumede, who had been a brother since 1895. He was born in Durban in 1873 and took his first vows in 1902. From 1905 to 1942 he worked in a number of places, including Pietermaritzburg and Entabeni, where he managed a farm at the Holy Cross Mission.<sup>36</sup> He worked at Greyville, Shallcross, Montebello and finally at

Inchanga, where he died in November 1942.<sup>37</sup> He also taught catechism. He had a “very good education generally. For instance, he could speak beautiful English, [and] he was at home with most of the ordinary teachings in the church”.<sup>38</sup>

He was followed by an Indian brother, Marian Nicholas (1888-1968), who came to Natal from Madras and Mylapore in India. He took his first vows in 1924 and was solemnly professed in 1930. He worked in many places as a catechist, and died in Pietermaritzburg on 6 June 1968. He is buried in the Cedara cemetery.<sup>39</sup>

The third Oblate brother was Joseph Kubone, who was born in Natal in 1902. He took his first profession in 1937 and was finally professed in 1943. Not much information about him is available in the Archives of St Joseph’s Scholasticate.<sup>40</sup>

Between 1937 and 1957 the Oblates ordained eighteen black priests. Of these, five were coloured, and the remaining thirteen were Africans from what were then Natal, the Northern Transvaal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Only two of the African priests were trained at St Joseph’s Scholasticate, established in 1943; the rest were trained in Lesotho. This was due mainly to the fact that the Oblate scholasticate in South Africa was situated in the white areas of Cleland and Cedara. The superior encountered any number of problems with the authorities and white residents as a result of having coloured or black students at the seminary, so, in most cases, they were sent to Lesotho.<sup>41</sup>

## **5.2 African Oblate clergy**

The first African Oblates in South Africa were from Natal. They were Jerome Mavundla and Dominic Khumalo.

Mavundla was born on 15 September, 1917. He took his first vows in 1941 at Inchanga and his final vows in Roma, Lesotho in 1944, before being ordained on 2 July 1946. Both he and Khumalo attended the teachers’ training college at St Francis, Mariannhill from 1949 to 1951, after which Mavundla taught at Inchanga High School, where he later became principal. From 1963 he concentrated on his pastoral work in various parishes, including Machibisa and Elandskop

in Pietermaritzburg and Lamontville and Chesterville in Durban.<sup>42</sup> He died in 1987.

Khumalo was born on 5 February 1919 in Maphumulo, in northern Natal. He took his first vows on 17 February 1941 and his final vows on 17 February 1944, before being ordained on 2 July 1946 at Emmanuel Cathedral in Durban. In 1971, Khumalo celebrated his ordination silver jubilee, and was consecrated auxiliary bishop of Durban on 4 May 1978.<sup>43</sup>

From 1907, Bishop Delalle had refused to ordain any black priests, and Mavundla and Khumalo were the only African priests ordained by him shortly before his retirement in 1946.<sup>44</sup>

These ordinations were followed by the ordination of Johannes Ngubane (b. 1923), in 1950. He also came from Natal and worked in the Mariannhill diocese. A year later, George Qwabe (1910-1993), a priest from the diocese of Bethlehem, joined the Oblate novitiate at Inchanga. Qwabe had trained at St Augustine's Seminary in Roma, Lesotho, and had already been a diocesan priest for seven years when he joined the novitiate. After joining the Oblates, he worked mainly in Natal.

In 1954, Patrick Sibisi (1929-1997) was ordained at Besters. He studied at St Joseph's Scholasticate and obtained an MTh at New York State University, Maryknoll, in 1987. He worked in several parishes, among them Inchanga, Machibisa, Esigodini, Port Shepstone and Dumisa in Umzimkulu.

Two years later, Linus Mkhize (b. 1927), from Mariannhill, was ordained. He left the congregation in 1973, however. Sibisi and Mkhize were the only two Zulu priests trained at St Joseph's from the time of its inception until 1957. Later, many black students were trained at the scholasticate; these were not only Oblates, but also students from other congregations.

Finally, in 1957, two Oblates, Peter Butelezi (1930-1997) and Jerome Skhakhane (1930-2001), were ordained. Butelezi, after matriculating from St Theresa Minor Seminary and taking his first vows, was sent to undertake his studies at the International Oblate Scholasticate in



Rome, where he was ordained.<sup>45</sup> Skhakhane was trained at St Augustine's Seminary in Lesotho. He taught at the seminary for some time and later joined the University of Swaziland, where he became Dean of Humanities. He later returned to South Africa and taught at St Joseph's Theological Institute. He died as pastor of St Vincent's parish in Pelham, Pietermaritzburg.

### 5.3 Indian Oblate clergy

The first two Indian Oblate priests were Leo Gabriel (1910-1975) and Claude Lawrence (1909-1995). They were cousins, born in South Africa.

Their parents came as government officials to this country, they were Catholics from India and they came out as interpreters in the court and to work in the immigration offices for indentured labour. ... They both joined the Oblates, they studied in the then Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, came back and they were ordained to the priesthood. Gabriel stayed, Claude had some differences, we don't know what, with Delalle and went back to Sri Lanka. The older priests might know exactly what happened.<sup>46</sup>

Gabriel and Lawrence completed their higher education in Sri Lanka before going to Rome to further their studies. Both were ordained on 1 May 1934 by Bishop Henri Delalle, and were the only Indian Oblates ordained in South Africa until 1957. After their ordination, Lawrence decided to return to Sri Lanka, as he found the racial segregation in Natal and South Africa as a whole intolerable. There he worked and died. Archbishop Denis Hurley speaks warmly of Gabriel: "But Leo Gabriel stayed here and he was a lovely priest he worked so well. When I came back as archbishop he was in charge of St Anthony's parish in Pietermaritzburg."<sup>47</sup> After Lawrence left, Gabriel worked at

St Anthony's in Pietermaritzburg (for 26 year) and then at St Anthony's in Durban. From Durban he founded the small parish of St. Paul for the benefit of Indians in Reservoir Hills and ... he looked forward to having it as his retiring place ... He was a lovely man.<sup>48</sup>

Interestingly, in his ministry Gabriel encouraged people not to abandon their culture - this even before Vatican II. He was very keen on inculturation, and introduced a number of cultural practices still adhered to in the Indian communities today.<sup>49</sup>

#### 5.4 Coloured Oblates

The first coloured Oblate to be ordained was Aloysius Munnik (1907-1997), from the Kimberley Province. He joined the Oblates in the early 1930s and was trained at St Augustine's Major Seminary in Lesotho. He was ordained on 8 April 1936.

Munnik was followed in 1953 by Frank Bindeman (1922-1991), a coloured priest who originated from Johannesburg in the then Transvaal. Unlike Munnik, Bindeman studied at St Joseph's Scholasticate. He worked in Soweto for a while, and later moved to Canada.

In 1955, three coloured Oblates were ordained as priests. They were tremendously successful, as Archbishop Hurley recalls:

The first coloured Oblate priests were Fr. Cyril Carey, ... Fr. Albert Danker, Charles Langlois. They were all very successful priests ... They were accepted ... and trained by the Oblates and ordained here in Natal. Fr. Albert Danker became the provincial of the Oblates and Charles Langlois become my vicar-general and they were very good priests.<sup>50</sup>

The eldest of the three, Cyril Carey (1927-1996), worked on the missions for some time before being sent to Wentworth in Durban to establish a parish. Even though the area was crime- and drug-ridden, Carey built a wonderful parish. As Hurley recalls, "Cyril Carey was a great parish priest. The spirit he built up in Wentworth was superb."<sup>51</sup>

Charles Langlois (1928-1998) learnt Zulu in the novitiate. After his ordination he worked in the diocesan minor seminary in Inanda. Later he was made vicar-general and was an extremely efficient man.<sup>52</sup>

Albert Danker (b.1929) worked with Young Christian Workers as chaplain, initially at regional level, then later at national level. During his time as chaplain, his passport was confiscated by the South African government, without any reason being given.<sup>53</sup> In 1977 he became the first coloured provincial of the Oblates in Natal. On completing his term in 1983 Danker went to St Anne's parish in Sydenham, where he was serving at the time of writing.

## 6 THE DOMINICANS

In this section I will examine the efforts of the Dominican order to train local vocations. The discussion will cover both the English Dominicans and the Dutch Friars.

### 6.1 The English Dominicans

In the 1920s the English Dominicans concentrated on establishing themselves, and did not seriously consider recruiting indigenous vocations into their order. Until that time, however, only one white Dominican had been recruited, namely Ceslaus Hylands, who was trained and ordained in England in 1925. The English provincial, Bede Jarret, was the first to make a public call in favour of indigenous vocations, which he did on his second visitation in 1930. In an article published in *Southern Cross*, he wrote that the time had come "to ordain coloured priests in the Cape and black priests in the country".<sup>54</sup> To fulfil this intention, Jarret bought a house in Stellenbosch, which was meant to be a novitiate for local vocations. However, the primary objective of buying the house was to provide a base from which the Dominicans could penetrate the Afrikaner world, as at that time it was impossible to train coloured and black Dominicans. In 1937 Oswin Magrath arrived from England and, although he did some work among the coloured communities in neighbouring Stellenbosch, this work was not seen as the "primary focus of the house".<sup>55</sup> In February 1944, a training programme was started, but only white candidates were admitted. The house of studies started with three students and, in 1947, a novitiate was opened. By 1957, the novitiate offered courses in philosophy and theology.<sup>56</sup> From the time the house was opened until the late 1960s, the English Dominicans trained only white candidates.<sup>57</sup> A coloured

candidate was admitted in the novitiate in the late 1950s, but left the Order.<sup>58</sup>

## 6.2 The Dutch Dominicans

The Dutch Dominicans, on the other hand, took a bold step and started a training house for black Dominicans, which was established on a farm at Allingham in the northern part of the Kroonstad diocese, near Koppies.<sup>59</sup>

Laurentius Teeuwen, the Dutch provincial, convinced his friend, Constant Dony, to come to South Africa as a lay missionary and run the farm. Dony was an advocate by profession, and former mayor of Huissen. He arrived, accompanied by Reginald Dellaert, and they soon converted one of the rooms into a chapel. Dony started ploughing with enthusiasm, despite his complete lack of agricultural experience.<sup>60</sup>

Two candidates arrived from Johannesburg on 8 June 1948, recommended by Finbar Synnott, an English Dominican. Others followed, and by October of the same year seven candidates were living at the farm. On 8 October 1948, they were clothed as tertiaries (*donati*) of the Third Order of St Dominic. One of them later left, but three more joined, one of whom was coloured.

This project did not succeed for several reasons, including the fact that Dony, in his capacity as farm manager, had no farming experience. In addition, the neighbouring farmers treated the brothers with suspicion because they had black people on the farm despite the fact that in terms of the Group Areas Act, promulgated in 1950, Koppies and the surrounding areas had been declared “white”. Also, most of the friars vigorously opposed the venture, as the farm had been bought for the diocese and not for the order. Finally, in 1949, the apostolic delegate informed the vicar provincial that Rome wanted black candidates to be trained for the diocesan clergy. The Dominicans then abandoned this project, and the training of indigenous vocations was successfully resumed only in the 1980s. The Dominicans stand out during this period for their failure to train indigenous clergy.

## 7 ST PETER'S SEMINARY

### 7.1 Policy on seminaries

The decision to establish two seminaries (one for whites and one for blacks) was taken at the plenary session of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) in Mariannhill in March 1947.<sup>61</sup> At the recommendation of the apostolic delegate, Martin Lucas SVD, a new seminary was to be established for whites. It was built on a site offered by the Sisters of Nazareth in Waterkloof, Pretoria. Called St John Vianney, the seminary was officially opened in March 1951 and staffed by Irish Franciscans.

At the same meeting, the vicar apostolic of Mariannhill, Fleischer, suggested that the two seminaries of his vicariate – St Peter's, the major seminary at Pevensey, and St Mary's, the minor seminary at Ixopo - become the regional seminaries for the African and coloured students for the priesthood. This proposal was accepted, but implemented only in part. The minor seminary remained under the Congregation of Mariannhill, and St Peter's was taken over by the SACBC.

“At the time of the decision no one queried the establishment of two seminaries for that time the practice of racial segregation was accepted even within the church.”<sup>62</sup> As Archbishop Peter Butelezi succinctly puts it, “the question of black and white happened to be a *de facto* situation”.<sup>63</sup> Nobody at the bishop's meeting came out in strong support of the non-racial option.<sup>64</sup> As Fr. David Moetapele observed:

the seminary was still under the influence of apartheid. That time we had separate seminaries, the white seminary ... St John Vianney was there only for whites. Pevensey was the seminary for blacks students who wanted to be diocesan priests. Otherwise, those who wanted to be religious had no place. We didn't have Dominicans or Redemptorists they wouldn't allow blacks to join them. The Oblates, yes, from long ago in Natal and Lesotho they would allow black candidates to join their congregations. But then they sent them to Lesotho.<sup>65</sup>

## 7.2 St Peter's Seminary<sup>66</sup>

The seminary begun at Mariathal was moved to a new location at Pevensey, and acquired the new name of St Peter's Seminary.<sup>67</sup> At first it used the buildings of the defunct Reichenau Agricultural School, which had been founded in 1928. Seventeen students and three priests moved to St Peter's.<sup>68</sup> Bishop Fleischer later made available a site for a new St Peter's, near the old St Joseph's Home. When the bishops took over the seminary, a Board for Seminaries was established, with Archbishop Hurley of Durban as the first chairperson. The opening ceremony took place on 17 June 1951. The Mariannahill congregation agreed to staff the seminary, and a former provincial, Lawrentius Schleissinger, was appointed rector. The Sisters of the Precious Blood and Daughters of St Francis were entrusted with the domestic care of the seminary.

In the 1950s a fairly large number of seminarians came from outside Mariannahill, which led to some tension between staff and students. The Mariannahill Fathers had found it increasingly difficult to find staff for the seminary since 1947, and had asked the bishops for help. The bishops thought that a change of direction was appropriate. In April 1956, the apostolic delegate, Celestino Damiano, began negotiating with the English provincial, Hilary Carpenter, for the transfer of St Peter's Seminary from the Congregation of Mariannahill to the Dominicans. It took almost a year for the negotiations to be finalised, and the English Dominicans agreed to take over the staffing of the seminary.<sup>69</sup> "Until then forty priests had been through St Peter's under the Mariannahillers for the church in South Africa."<sup>70</sup>

The situation was exacerbated by the fact that most of the Mariannahill Congregation lecturers at the seminary were not academically trained to teach. Very often a tired missionary in need of rest would be sent there because, after all, the students were all black people.<sup>71</sup> The CMM gave the programme of studies a pastoral orientation, which probably explains why there were very few qualified lecturers with licentiate or doctorate degrees.<sup>72</sup> It was only later that one or two qualified lecturers, such as Archbishop Karlen of Bulawayo, were brought in as members of staff. Karlen taught Moral Theology, while Pirmin Klaunzler, a priest from the Mariannahill Congregation, taught

Philosophy.

The contract between the hierarchy of Southern Africa and the English Province of the Dominicans concerning the administration of St Peter's was signed on 27 June 1957 by Archbishop Hurley, on behalf of the Bishops, and by Hilary Carpenter (the English provincial), on behalf of the Dominicans. The latter accepted, for an indefinite period, the direction and ordinary administration of the regional seminary of St Peter's. The Dominicans were to be treated as an exempt community of the regulars. The contract was accepted by Propaganda on 22 August 1958, and the retiring Rector, Lawrentius Schleissinger CMM, handed over to Oswin Magrath on 10 December 1957. Students held the training provided by the Dominicans in high regard. Moetapele recalls that the arrival of the Dominicans at the seminary heralded change, and that they knew their work, "so at least things were changing against history. ... The Dominican fathers really did a great job until the seminary had to be moved to Hammanskraal".<sup>73</sup>

Towards the 1960s, there were five houses of studies for the priesthood in Southern Africa – St Augustine's Seminary at Roma; St Joseph's Scholasticate at Cedara; St Nicholas Priory, situated in Stellenbosch; St Peter's Seminary at Pevensey; and St John Vianney Seminary in Pretoria. This meant that the Catholic Church had a complete infrastructure for the training of both religious and secular priests. The training of priests was now done predominantly by the local Church; only a handful of religious orders, for instance the Jesuits and Redemptorists, sent their students overseas. One of the major shortcomings of this arrangement was the fact that, apart from Cedara, the training of clergy was segregated. Segregation persisted until the 1980s, when some seminaries amalgamated.<sup>74</sup>

## 8 CONCLUSIONS

This article has examined the establishment of the indigenous Catholic clergy in South Africa. In some cases, the indigenous clergy served as perpetual assistant priests, never being put in charge of any missions. In other cases, inferior religious congregations, such as the FFJ, were founded to cater for the Africans. This was in clear contradiction of the desire of three Roman pontiffs to allow

indigenous clergy to take over the control of the local Church. For instance, *Maximum illud* stipulated that the local clergy should be well trained and well prepared, and receive the same kind of education for the priesthood that a European would receive: local clergy were not to be trained merely as assistants of foreign priests; they were supposed to take up God's work on the same footing as priests from other countries.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, the training of priests was racially segregated in 1947, influenced by the apartheid policies, and black and white priests received different training. The encyclicals *Rerum ecclesiae*, *Evangelii praecones* and *Fidei Donum* emphasised the indigenisation of the Church in Africa, yet there were clear discrepancies between the teaching of Rome on local indigenous clergy and what actually took place on the mission fields.

In this article, the establishment of the local religious congregations and seminaries was also considered. The initiative displayed by Bishop Fleischer ensured that some of what Rome encouraged and what the local bishops and believers wanted was put into practice. Local clergy were trained in South Africa, although numerous difficulties were encountered in the establishment of the indigenous Catholic clergy by 1957. The last priest to be ordained in that year, on 3 December, was Aloysius Khoza from the diocese of Pretoria. From 1958 onwards the Dominicans took over the staffing of the seminary.

## WORKS CONSULTED

### Oral interviews

- Biyase, Mansuet, Bp 1997. Bishop's House, Eshowe, 22 April.  
Danker, Albert, Fr., OMI 2000. Sydenham, Durban, 18 September.  
Hurley, Denis, Archbishop, OMI 1999. Cathedral, Durban, 28 July.  
Khumalo, Dominic, Bp, OMI 1988. Pietermaritzburg, 25 March.  
Majoli, Natalis, Fr. 1997. Empangeni, 22 October.  
Moetapele, David, Fr. 1997. Holy Cross Convent, Pretoria, 24 November.  
Oscar, Henry, Fr. 1994. Pinetown, 7 September.  
Shunungam, Reginald, Fr., OMI 1999. Woodlands, Pietermaritzburg, 3 August.



## Archives

Archives of Mariannhill Monastery  
Archives of St Mary's Minor Seminary  
Archives of St Joseph's Scholasticate, Cedara  
Archives of the Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference  
Provincial Administration Archives of the Missionary Oblates of Mary  
Immaculate  
Southern African Dominican Archives

## Newspapers/Magazines

*Daily News*, 14 November 1969  
*Southern Cross*, 21 March 1923  
*The Sunday Tribune*, 24 March 1968  
*Vergissmeinnicht* 1919-1945

## Encyclicals

*Evangelii praecones*, "On promotion of Catholic missions," encyclical of Pius XII, promulgated 2 June 1951.

*Fidei donum*, "On the present condition of the Catholic missions, especially in Africa," encyclical of Pope Pius XII, promulgated 21 April 1957.

*Maximum illud*, "On the propagation of the faith throughout the world", apostolic letter of Pope Benedict XV, 30 November 1919.

*Rerum ecclesiae*, "On Catholic Missions," encyclical of Pope Pius XI, promulgated 8 February 1926.

## Publications

Brain, J 1982. *Catholics in Natal*. Vol. II: 1886-1925. Durban: Archdiocese of Durban.

Denis, P (ed.) 1995. *The making of an indigenous clergy in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Denis, P 1998. *The Dominican friars in Southern Africa: A social history 1577-1990*. Leiden: Brill.

Denis, P 1999. Clergy training. In Brain, J & Denis, P (eds) *The Catholic Church in contemporary Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Hermann, A 1990. *Reichenau Mission*. Mariannhill: Mission Press.

Hermann, M A 1984. *History of the congregation of the missionaries of Mariannhill in the province of Mariannhill, South Africa*. Mariannhill: Mariannhill Press.

Kneipp R, CMM, 1964. Transformation by immolation: Mariannhill and independent mission congregation. In *Mariannhill and its apostolate: Origin and growth of the congregation of the Mariannhill Missionaries*. Reimlingen: St Joseph Mission Press.

Mukuka, G 1997. "Black man you are on your own": An interview with Archbishop Peter F Butelezi. *Grace and Truth* 14(3).

*Pallotines: Society of the Catholic Apostolate. 75 years in South Africa*. 1997. Stutterheim: Pallotti Press.

Skhakhane, J 1995. "The beginning of indigenous clergy in the Catholic church in Lesotho". In Denis, P (ed.), *The making of an indigenous clergy in Southern Africa*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 "Ein Mischling wird Priester", *Vergissmeinnicht* no. 63 (1945), p.90. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery; see also *Pallotines: Society of the Catholic Apostolate. 75 years in South Africa* (Stutterheim: Pallotti Press Queenstown, 1997), pp.32-3.
- 2 Other coloured priests were trained at St Peter's. The first two coloured priests trained for the diocese of De Aar were Joseph J Alacaster (1962) and Cecil J Wienard (1962). However, discussion in this article is restricted to priests ordained by 1957.
- 3 *Maximum illud*, "On the propagation of the faith throughout the world", apostolic letter of Pope Benedict XV, 30 November 1919.

- 
- 4 *Maximum illud*, pp.5-6.
- 5 *Rerum ecclesiae*, “On Catholic missions”, encyclical of Pope Pius XI, promulgated 8 February 1926.
- 6 *Evangelii praecones*, “On promotion of Catholic Missions”, encyclical of Pius XII, promulgated 2 June 1951.
- 7 *Evangelii praecones*, § 56.
- 8 *Fidei donum*, “On the present condition of the Catholic missions, especially in Africa”, encyclical of Pope Pius XII, promulgated 21 April 1957.
- 9 J Brain, *Catholics in Natal*. Vol. II: 1886-1925 (Durban: Archdiocese of Durban, 1982), p.278.
- 10 M A Hermann, *History of the congregation of the missionaries of Mariannahill in the province of Mariannahill, South Africa* (Mariannahill: Mariannahill Press, 1984), p.45.
- 11 P Denis, 1998. The Dominican friars in Southern Africa: A social history 1577-1990 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp.151-3.
- 12 Brain, *Catholics in Natal*, p.279.
- 13 R Kneipp, CMM, “Transformation by immolation: Mariannahill and independent mission congregation”, in *Mariannahill and its apostolate. Origin and growth of the congregation of the Mariannahill Missionaries* (Reimlingen: St Joseph Mission Press, 1964), p.28.
- 14 Hermann, *History*, p.45.
- 15 Kneipp, “Transformation”, p.30. The seminary was dedicated to Pope Pius X and was officially known as Seminarium Pii Decimi.
- 16 *Southern Cross*, 21 March 1923, p.11.
- 17 Sieber, G 1995. Benedictines as Inkamana. St Ottilien: EOS, p.63 and *Southern Cross*, 21 March 1923, p.11. Following the founding of the FSF, the Dominican Sisters of Oakford opened a separate novitiate for black girls in 1923.

The following twelve indigenous diocesan religious communities were established between 1922 and 1957:

Congregation	Date established	Diocese
Daughters of St Francis of Assisi	1922 (female)	Mariannahill
Franciscan Familiars of St Joseph	1923 (male)	Mariannahill
Benedictine Sisters of Twasana	1929 (female)	Eshowe
Sacred Heart Sisters (Aliwal)	1929 (female)	Aliwal North
Benedictine Sisters (Pietersburg)	1931 (female)	Pietersburg
African Servite Sisters	1932 (female)	Manzini
Benedictine Sisters (Oshikuku)	1937 (female)	Windhoek
Montebello Dominican Sisters	1938 (female)	Durban
Daughters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary	1949 (female)	Witbank
Companions of St Angela	1954 (female)	Johannesburg
Handmaids of Christ the Priest	1956 (female)	Pretoria
Servants of Christ the Priest	1956 (male)	Pretoria

- 
- Upon their inception they established novitiates. Most of these congregations contained finally professed indigenous members, ranging in number from 7 to 200.
- 18 Hermann, *History*, p.48 (italics mine).
- 19 On the pastoral letter of Bishop Fleischer see *Southern Cross*, 21 March 1923, p.11 and Hermann, *History*, p.114.
- 20 "Im Noviziat der eingeborenen Brüder", *Vergissmeinnicht*, (1929), pp.78-82. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery.
- 21 Bishop Mansuet Biyase, interview conducted in Eshowe, 22 April 1997.
- 22 Fr. Natalis Mjoli, interview conducted in Empangeni, 22 October 1997.
- 23 Fr. David Moetapele, interview conducted in Pretoria, 24 November 1997.
- 24 St Mary's Clerical Seminary: Native Priest - Seminary erected in the Vicariate Apostolic of Mariannhill, Natal, S. Africa: Historical sketch. (A two-page letter, probably written to benefactors, found at St Mary's Minor Seminary Ixopo, in the file marked 'Benefactors', undated. Archives of St Mary's Minor Seminary.)
- 25 "Grundeinlegung des Eingeborenen - Priesterseminars in Mariathal", *Vergissmeinnicht*, (1929), pp.98-100. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery.
- 26 St Mary's Clerical Seminary: Native Priest - Seminary erected in the Vicariate Apostolic of Mariannhill, Natal, S. Africa: Historical sketch. (A two-page letter, probably written to benefactors, found at St Mary's Minor Seminary Ixopo, in the file marked 'Benefactors', undated. Archives of St Mary's Minor Seminary.)
- 27 On other ordinations, see O Heberling, "Mariannhiller missions - neueste nachrichten aus Südafrika", *Vergissmeinnicht*, (1937), p.9. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery.
- 28 "Mariannhiller eingeborene Priester", *Vergissmeinnicht* no. 63, (1945), p.218. Archives of Mariannhill Monastery. See also letter to benefactors from the Rector of St Mary's Minor Seminary, 1939. Archives of St Mary's Minor Seminary.
- 29 Fr Henry Oscar, interview conducted in Pinetown, 7 September, 1994.
- 30 Fr. Paulinus Müller, Rector, letter to friends and benefactors, 14 June 1946. Archives of St Mary's Minor Seminary.
- 31 J Skhakhane, "The beginning of indigenous clergy in the Catholic church in Lesotho", in *The Making of an indigenous clergy in Southern Africa*, edited by P Denis (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1995), p.120.
- 32 *Ibid.*, p.121.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p.122.
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of St Augustine, published by St Augustine's Major Seminary, Roma. [Pamphlet on St Augustine, issued in 1974.]
- 36 Bishop Dominic Khumalo, interview conducted in Pietermaritzburg, 25 March 1998. Brother Leo Gumede died on 29 November 1942. Provincial Administration Archives of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
- 37 Gumede, Leo (Brother) 1873-1943, Archives of St Joseph's Scholasticate, Cedara.
- 38 *Ibid.*

- 
- 39 Marian, Nicholas (1888-1968), Archives of St Joseph's Scholasticate, Cedara.
- 40 Kubone, Joseph (b.1902), Archives of St Joseph's Scholasticate, Cedara.
- 41 For a detailed discussion of the experiences of segregation, discrimination and apartheid at St Joseph's in the 1960s and 1970s see *We Give Thanks, Ukwanda Kwaliwa Umthakathi: St. Joseph's 1943-1993* (Cedara: St Joseph's Theological Institute, 1993), pp.27-32 and P Denis, "Clergy training" in *The Catholic Church in contemporary Southern Africa*, edited by J Brain and P Denis (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 1999), pp.138-45.
- 42 Fr. Jerome Johannes Jalimani Frans Mavundla, Provincial Administration Archives of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
- 43 Bishop Khumalo, Provincial Administration Archives of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
- 44 *Southern Cross*, 10 July 1946.
- 45 For a detailed discussion of his life see G Mukuka, "Black man you are on your own.' An interview with Archbishop Peter F. Butelezi" in *Grace and Truth*, Vol. 14, no. 3 (November 1997).
- 46 Fr. Reginald Shunungam, interview conducted in Pietermaritzburg, 3 August 1999. See also Fr. Leo Gabriel, Provincial Administration Archives of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
- 47 Archbishop Denis Hurley, interview conducted in Durban, 28 July 1999.
- 48 Hurley, 1999.
- 49 Shunungam, 1999.
- 50 Hurley, 1999. See also Fr. Albert Danker, Fr. Charles Langlois and Fr. Cyril Carey. Provincial Administration Archives of Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate.
- 51 Hurley, 1999.
- 52 Fr. Albert Danker, interview conducted at St. Anne's in Sydenham, Durban on 18 September 2000.
- 53 Danker, 2000. See also "Shock and anger at withdrawal" (*Daily News*, 14 November 1969) and "Pill: Go ahead Catholics told" (*The Sunday Tribune*, 24 March 1968).
- 54 Denis, *Dominican friars*, p.205.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p.206.
- 56 Denis, "Clergy training", p.128.
- 57 Up until the Second World War, white aspirants to the priesthood, religious as well as secular, were trained in Europe. Bishop Francis Demont, the prefect apostolic of the Gariiep prefecture, later apostolic of Aliwal, chose to train his priests in South Africa. The first students began their studies at Indwe (100 kilometres east of Aliwal North) in February 1929. Two years later, a more permanent seminary was established in Aliwal North, known as the Seminary of the Sacred Heart. By 1934 it had conducted its first three ordinations, of Fr. P S Meyer, SCJ, Fr. E P Cah, SCJ, and Fr. J E Cassidy. They were ordained by the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Gijlswijk. In 1946, this seminary was transferred to St John Vianney in Pretoria. By this time 22 students had been trained at the seminary, some of whom were from outside the Aliwal vicariate and were ordained as priests.

- 
- Before the Second World War, the Priests of the Sacred Heart were the only missionaries training their white candidates in South Africa. During the war, the situation changed, as the Oblate of Mary Immaculate and the Dominicans opened houses of studies in South Africa. This move was inevitable, as it became impossible to send students to France or Ireland during the war. By this time the OMI's had two novitiate houses, one at Inchanga for the Natal province, and the other at Germiston for the Transvaal province. The Oblate Scholasticate was opened at Prestbury, Pietermaritzburg in 1943, with four students, and Denis Hurley as the superior. The scholasticate was moved to Cleland in 1947, and then in 1953 to Cedara, outside Pietermaritzburg.
- 58 Denis, *Dominican friars*, p.206.  
59 *Ibid.*  
60 *Ibid.*, 209.  
61 Background to the closing of St Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal 1977. Archives of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.  
62 Background to the closing of St Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal 1977, p.1. Archives of the Southern African Bishops' Conference.  
63 Archbishop Peter Butelezi OMI, interview conducted in the Bishop's House in Bloemfontein on 8 July 1996.  
64 Denis, "Clergy training", p.129.  
65 Moetapele, 1997.  
66 For the history of St Peter's and the establishment of the seminary in Mariathal, Ixopo and Reichenau see the following: T Respondeck, "Die Erziehung zum Priestertum in der Mariannhiller Mission", *Zeitschrift für Missionwissenschaft*, (1950), p.34; D Magrath, "The English vicariate in South Africa", *Dominican Topics* VII, IV (May 1967), p.4; Hermann, *History*, pp.94-7; "Das Priesterseminar für Eingeborene", *Vergissmeinnicht*, (1932), p.43. Archives of Mariannahill Monastery; Denis, *Dominican friars*.  
67 *Ibid.*; The new place was located at "Pevensey which was at the foot of the Sani Pass in Natal", Cf. the *Sermon at the Jubilee of Fr. Joseph Sonaba* (on the 10th July 1989), by Oswin Magrath. Southern African Dominican Archives, Springs.  
68 A Hermann, *Reichenau Mission* (Mariannahill: Mission Press, 1990), pp.19-21.  
69 Denis, *Dominican friars*, pp.218-19.  
70 St Peter's pamphlet, p.21. Southern African Dominican Archives.  
71 Moetapele, 1997.  
72 Denis, *Dominican friars*, p.219.  
73 Moetapele, 1997.  
74 See Denis, "Clergy training".  
75 *Maximum illud*, pp.5-6.