

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

**FROM BISHOP PHILIP RUSSELL TO BISHOP NKOSINATHI NDWANDWE:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE CAUSES OF DECLINE IN MEMBERSHIP AT
THE CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY NATIVITY IN PIETERMARITZBURG
FROM 1976-2021**

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Candidate Declaration

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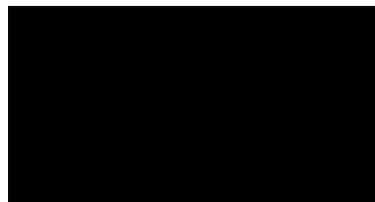
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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Dr Nokuthula Khanyile, my children Oluhle, Musomuhle, Thembelihle, and Asemahle, my mother, my mother-in-law, my father, and my siblings for all their prayers and support. Last, but most importantly, Almighty God who has been faithful to me in all things, including my calling as a priest in His Church. The love of God empowered me to register and complete this degree, and assured me that no matter how challenging the study would be, His love would carry me through.

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Abstract

There is a noticeable exodus of members globally from the mainline Protestant churches. As a result, in other parts of the world the infrastructure that belonged to the mainline Churches is being sold to the secular world. The Anglican Church in Natal is not immune from this phenomenon.

This research study uses the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg as a case study to examine the causes of membership decline in the Anglican Church in Natal from 1976 to 2021. The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is the mother Church of the Diocese of Natal. The causes of membership decline were examined through interviews that were conducted in terms of the Covid-19 protocols imposed by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Research Office, with the previous members and current (2021) leadership of the Cathedral. In addition, desk research was undertaken utilising Diocesan and Parish archives, on-line resources, journal articles, published books, and other literature made available through the University's library services and elsewhere.

The study found that the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg began as a unified Parish of white congregants in 1976, with black congregant members only beginning to join in the early 1990's, following the repeal of the Group Area Act No. 41 of 1950 on 30 June 1991. Notwithstanding, the Cathedral has suffered the decline of both white and black congregants within 45 years of its existence. Among other things, the study found that social ills, political- and secular-landscape changes, as well as the presence of untransformed imperialist doctrines, liturgy, and practices contributed in different ways to the exodus of congregant members.

This work has the potential to challenge the leaders and laity of not only the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, but mainline churches both in South Africa and globally to undertake serious introspection and self-correction, to find new ways to attract and retain its members.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACSA	Anglican Church of Southern Africa
CPSA	Church of the Province of Southern Africa
DoH	Department of Health
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
SA	South Africa
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
USA	United States of America

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

1.1. INTRODUCTION

The viability of the church depends on its members. In many parts of the world there is a marked decline in church attendance and membership. As a result of this decline, many Christian churches are closing, and consecrated church buildings are being sold to other faith groups, or the secular world. Church members bring with them diverse and unique skills, gifts, and financial means to grow the church. If members leave the church they leave with their skills, spiritual gifts, and financial means. The exodus of congregant members from a local church must not be taken lightly, for it can lead to the diminishing of the church and its mission in that geographical area. The Parish Council of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal declared in its August 2017 meeting that it too was suffering from membership decline. A resolution had therefore to be made to draw from its financial reserves to cover the day-to-day needs of the parish because this membership decline had inevitably led to financial decline.

This study examines the causes of the membership decline at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. This examination is meant to assist the Cathedral in identifying the root causes of its membership decline and address them. The study will also examine whether there is a link between an un-decolonised Anglican Church and the exodus of people from the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. This will determine whether the un-decolonised church can be added to the list of factors that contribute to membership decline.

1.2. MOTIVATION

This study was motivated by the discussion during the 2014 Annual Provincial Standing Committee of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa (ACSA) on why Anglicans were leaving the church in their numbers (Zulu, 2014). Could this be due to dissatisfaction on the part of its members with the colonialised Anglican Church that was introduced by European missionaries? Christianity was introduced to Africa during the colonial conquest as a Eurocentric philosophy and culture (Kunnie & Goduka, 2006: 73), with God wearing Western clothing (Makhathini & Mtshali, 2005). In terms of Western ecclesial culture and norms, to be a Christian, one had to accept the Western God, along with the Eurocentric culture within which

this God was presented. Could the exodus from the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity be because other Anglicans were no longer comfortable with worshipping in and through a foreign culture, or with being part of a colonised institution? The Anglican Diocese of Natal has over the years made attempts to decolonise some aspects of its Western-oriented ecclesiology. This study will investigate the effectiveness of these attempts using the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity as a case study from the time of Bishop Philip Russell in 1976 to the tenure of Bishop Nkosinathi Ndwandwe in 2021.

1.3. BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

According to the Ecumenical meeting that took place in Ladysmith on 17 September 2021 (KwaZulu-Natal Christian Council, 2021), all Christian churches represented by their leaders indicated that they were experiencing a decline in membership because of Covid-19 and associated lockdowns. The consensus was that pastors were struggling to bring congregant members back to the pews or even online to worship after the implementation of the Government-imposed lockdown regulations. However, the membership decline has been an issue in the historic Western missionary-initiated mainline Protestant churches long before Covid-19. Ferreira and Chipenyu (2021) have argued that the membership decline in the South African historic mainline churches had started to become an issue as early as the 1980s.

There are different reasons that have led to this decline, where Nel and Schoeman (2015: 98–99) have suggested that the decline of membership in the mainline churches is caused by the change of politics, education, health, economy, as well as social and cultural aspects from what it was in the past. Ferreira and Chipenyu (2021) state that according to church records, the membership declines in the historic Western missionary-initiated mainline churches since 1994 and the inauguration of the democratic dispensation in South Africa is above the global average. Hendriks (1995: 35–38) thus argues that South Africa has the highest decrease in membership within the historic Western missionary-initiated mainline Protestant churches across Continental Africa.

According to Forbes (2019) there were approximately 1000 congregants on the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity Parish roll, this being a combination of St. Peter's and St. Saviour's Parish rolls. The 2017 Cathedral Parish roll disclosed that the number of congregant members had declined to approximately 500. This membership decline has had a detrimental effect on the

finances of the Parish, causing the Parish Council to give its consent to withdraw from its cash reserves (Parish Council, 2017). The Parish Council expressed a great concern about the membership decline at the Cathedral in such a way that the council members were encouraged to think of ways to mitigate this decline (Parish Council, 2017)

1.4. LOCATION OF THE STUDY

This study was conducted at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. The Cathedral Parish is located at 68 Long Market Street in Pietermaritzburg. Darby (1981) states that the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity was inaugurated as a new Parish at a Parish Vestry meeting chaired by Bishop Philip Russell on 02 June 1976. Four days after the inauguration of the Cathedral on the 06 June 1976, Fr. John Forbes was collated as Dean and Rector of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. On 22 November 1981, Archbishop Philip Russell dedicated the newly established Cathedral.

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity resulted from the reunion of two Anglican Cathedrals that were divided during the excommunication of Bishop John William Colenso (1814–1883) in 1863 (Darby, 1981).

According to Darby (2017), St. Peter's Cathedral was opened in 1857 to be used by Bishop Colenso. Soon after 1857 there was a conflict that arose between Bishop John Colenso and Dean James Green (1821–1906), which led to the division of the congregant members. When Colenso was excommunicated, he used the courts to remove Dean Green from St. Peter's Cathedral. The courts instructed that Bishop Colenso keep St. Peter's Cathedral Church. In 1868, Dean Green was forced out of the deanery, soon after which, St. Saviour's Church was built in Commercial Road, Pietermaritzburg. In 1877, Bishop William Kenneth Macrorie (1831–1905) consecrated St. Saviour's and constituted it as his Cathedral Church. Accordingly, between 1857 and 1877, two opposing Cathedrals came into existence.

In 1893, Bishop Hamilton Barnes was appointed the Bishop of Natal, and used St. Saviour's as his Cathedral Church. In 1894, while St. Peter's Cathedral accepted him as their Bishop, he maintained St. Saviour's as his Cathedral Church, and St. Peter's Cathedral was henceforth referred to as the old Cathedral. The successors of Bishop Baines maintained the relationship between St. Peter's Cathedral and St. Saviour's Cathedral. In 1938, Bishop Leonard Fisher called for the amalgamation of St. Peter's Cathedral and St. Saviour's Cathedral and the

building of a new Cathedral Church. This is where the idea began to be initiated and finally in 1976 on Pentecost Sunday, St. Saviour's Cathedral and St. Peter's Cathedral reunited and became the Cathedral Parish of the Holy Nativity. The building was completed and dedicated in 1981.

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is the mother Church of the Diocese of Natal. As Hallows (1971: 2) has asserted, "In all ages a Cathedral is the place in which a Bishop has his chair and in which, to use a phrase found in medieval charters, 'perpetual adoration is made.'" Bishop Philip Russell was the first Bishop to seat in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity as the Diocesan Bishop during his tenure. Bishop Nkosinathi Ndwandwe is the fifth bishop to have a seat in the new Cathedral Church. This study is set from the time when the Cathedral of Holy the Nativity was consecrated during the tenure of Bishop Philip Russell in 1974, to when Bishop Nkosinathi Ndwandwe was elected as the new diocesan bishop of the Diocese of Natal, by an electoral college of bishops for the Anglican Province of Southern Africa, meeting online due to the Covid-19 pandemic, 09 July 2021.

1.5. AIM OF THE STUDY

This study is not meant to benefit the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity leadership alone, but is intended to assist all Anglican and Protestant Churches. The extant literature reveals that many Anglican and Protestant Churches around the world have suffered a severe decline in membership. Most of them do not know what they have done wrong to cause the exodus of their congregant members. This study will examine what the bishops did to mitigate the exodus of congregant members. It will investigate whether Bishop Philip Russell (1919–2013) and his successors who continued in the footsteps of Bishop Colenso in terms of recognizing the value of African indigenous knowledge systems that existed before the arrival of the Western missionaries to the Colony of Natal and the capital city of Pietermaritzburg where the Cathedral is located, continued with these mitigations.

The aim of this study is therefore to help all Anglican and Protestant Churches that are suffering membership decline to understand what is it that they are doing wrong and what can they do to attract members back into their pews. The study is also aimed at assisting liturgists, song writers, musicians, theologians, clergy, leadership, and bishops, and other historic Western missionary-initiated mainline Protestant churches, to identify and know the causes of

membership decline and address them through liturgies and programmes they can design, as well as hymns and spiritual songs, theological engagements, icon designs, and the architectural design of churches to attract new members. The study also seeks to guide decision-making bodies like parish councils, synods, bishops, and other church leaders to make informed decisions when it comes to addressing the causes of membership decline in their churches.

1.6. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Membership decline leads to the closure of churches and parishes, the retrenchment of clergy, the selling of the church properties to other religious faiths, civic groups, as well as to the commercial/business sector, migrating its members to other denominations and even questionable church groups, as well as allowing members to become unchurched and thereby increase the ungodliness in the world. The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg has not been spared from this exodus. The Cathedral Parish was established in 1976 but has already been through two types of membership decline. The departure of white congregants and the departure of black congregants. Lots of things have been done to mitigate this challenge by different leaders and organisations. This study argues that no real solutions can be identified without first identifying the true causes.

1.7. SPECIFIC RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study were as follows:

- i. To investigate the factors that has caused the decline in membership in the Anglican Church in Southern Africa.
- ii. To investigate those factors that have caused the decline in membership in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg.
- iii. To determine whether the decline of membership at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is related to the failure of the church to de-colonise ecclesiology.
- iv. To determine what can be done to stop membership decline in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg.

1.8. KEY RESEARCH QUESTION

The key research question that guided the study was as follows:

What are the causes of the decline in membership in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg?

1.8.1. Sub-questions

- i. What are the causes of the membership decline in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa?
- ii. What are the causes of the decline of membership at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity?
- iii. What role has the failure to decolonise ecclesiology in the Cathedral played in the decline of membership?
- iv. What can be done to stop the decline of membership in the Cathedral?

1.9. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The causes of membership decline are common in the historic Western missionary-initiated mainline Protestant churches in South Africa and there is a lot of extant literature that identifies them. The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is a unique congregation which is 45 years old. It is unique because it is the combination of two Cathedral Parishes that had two different spiritualities, these being St. Peter's Cathedral Church and St. Saviour's Cathedral Church. The combination of these two spiritualities to form one spirituality cannot be compared to any other Protestant Church spirituality in the world because of its unique background. No known study has been done to examine what can be the possible causes of the exodus of congregant members in this unique new Anglican Cathedral Church. The causes of the membership decline in other Protestant Churches maybe known, but the causes of membership decline in the unique context of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, Pietermaritzburg is not identified in any of the extant literature.

Although the Cathedral Parish was the combination of two Cathedral Parishes, historically, they were both Parishes comprised almost exclusively of white people. It remained the combination of two Eurocentric Parishes of white Europeans. In more recent years, most people who worship at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity are Africans, but the Cathedral remained intact with its Eurocentric philosophy. Nothing much has been done to Africanise

the Cathedral to accommodate its African congregant members. The possible solution can be to Africanise the Cathedral and seek ways to allow its gospel message to incarnate in both African and European cultures for Africans to also feel that the God who is worshipped there is also their God. By so doing, the Christian gospel message will meet people where they are culturally, they will not have to be Europeanised first for them to fit in with the Cathedral mores, customs, and conventions.

1.10. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study will apply two methods, namely, desk research and raw data from interviews. Many institutions including the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity have loaded their verifiable and reliable data onto their internet-based websites during the Government-imposed Covid-19 lockdowns to allow people access to the information through their laptops, mobile devices, and personal computers. Many people have been forced to work from home so that institutions and businesses could avoid losing revenue and keep their businesses operating during the pandemic. It was also necessary for the interviews to be conducted with Cathedral members and clergy while they were on leave. Without the benefit of any interviews, the researcher would have to speculate. Other information was obtained from people who had left the Cathedral. Due to a moratorium placed by the University of KwaZulu-Natal on face-to-face interviews due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the interviews were conducted through the medium of emails, telephone calls, and social media.

1.10.1. Journal articles and books

This study is also based on the use of secondary data comprised mainly of an analysis of archival material, published books, journal articles, research papers, sermon notes, newspaper articles, discussion documents, media reports, dissertations, online surveys, as well as reliable and verifiable information available on internet-based websites. The diocesan archives contain very valuable information from the very beginnings of the diocese over a century ago to the present day. This archival information also provided a fairly accurate picture of the decolonising efforts undertaken within the diocese.

1.10.2. The link between journal articles, published books, and raw data from the interview methodologies

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, many institutions including the Anglican Diocese of Natal have chosen to publish online, information that has heretofore been stored in physical archives. Accordingly, most of the information can now be accessed using a laptop or desktop computer or even a smartphone. Information that in the past, one had to seek permission from the archivist to access, can now be easily and cheaply retrieved online. This present study therefore made use of a laptop computer and desktop research to retrieve and organise information and combine it with information gathered from the interviews.

1.10.3. Raw data from the interviews

The interviews conducted for this study were used to examine why Anglicans in South Africa are leaving the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg. Because of Government-imposed Covid-19 health regulations and protocols issued by the Research Office of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, no physical contact was allowed between the interviewer and the interviewees. As a result, no face-to-face interviews could be held. Instead, social media such as WhatsApp Messenger, Facebook, Zoom, LinkedIn, and Emails were used to conduct the interviews. Because of the absence of the Diocesan Bishop, the Dean of the Cathedral of the Anglican Diocese of Natal was interviewed in terms of him being the Rector of the Cathedral. The contact details of the previous members of the Cathedral were found from the previous Parish roll. WhatsApp messages were sent to one hundred previous members of the Cathedral requesting an interview, only sixty (60) people responded. The interviewees resided in Pietermaritzburg where the Cathedral is situated. Twenty-eight (28) of the interviewees were aged between fifteen and thirty-five. Thirty-two (32) of the interviews were aged thirty-six years and above. Four (4) Shembe members who were previously Anglican congregant members of the Cathedral were interviewed to examine whether they left because they could not relate with the Eurocentric culture or for other reasons. Thirty (30) Pentecostal members who were previously Anglican congregants at the Cathedral were interviewed to determine whether they left because they could not relate with the ecclesiology of the Anglican Church or for any other reason. Twenty (20) lapsed Anglican congregants who were congregant members of the Cathedral were interviewed to examine whether they lost interest in Christianity or just the Anglican Church, and why.

Paradis (2016) defines interviews as a collection method used to collect data from different people, using several prearranged questions or a set of concentration areas. Such interviews are often documented and transcribed. They can be structured or unstructured. In the case of this present study, the structured interviews consisted of prearranged questions that all interviewees were requested to respond to in the same order. The Dean and Church Wardens were provided with a different set of structured interview questions from the rest of the interviewees because they were members of the Cathedral staff. Connaway and Powell (2010) argue that data analysis generally is usually clearer because researcher can match different responses given to the same questions.

The advantages of structure interviews are that it focuses on the correctness of different answers due to which particularly organised data can be collected. Interviewees have dissimilar responses to the same type of questions, where such responses were received, they can be analysed collectively. This type of interview produces results that are reliable and easily implemented. Since the structure of the interview is fixed, it often generates reliable results and is quick to execute. This type of interview also enables the researcher to ask relevant and reliable questions. There are disadvantages of this type of interview which I did not think would badly affect the outcome of this study.

Before the interviews could be undertaken, ethical clearance to conduct the research was received from the Research Office of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. No interviewee was forced or coerced to participate in this study. Each interviewee was informed that they had the right to withdraw at any time as a participant in the research. Due to Government-imposed Covid-19 health regulations and protocols issued by the Research Office of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, informed consent was sought electrically using emails, WhatsApp Messenger, Zoom and other social media platforms. The interviewees were called on their cell phones numbers to have the process explained to them and to seek their consent to participate. The prearranged questionnaires were then sent to them via WhatsApp, email, and other forms of communication because of the lockdowns that was hindering physical meetings. The interviewees were well-versed of their rights to voluntarily participate in the study and their freedom to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. Their anonymity was also guaranteed; accordingly, their names were coded to maintain confidentiality.

1.11. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In terms of a theoretical framework, this research project employed two theories:

- i. Church growth theory;
- ii. Decoloniality theory.

The aim of the application of the church growth theory in this study was to determine the characteristics of church growth. This enabled the researcher to identify what the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity was doing incorrectly to experience church growth and thereby preventing the continuing exodus of congregant members. The intention of the application of decoloniality theory was to examine how much impact the decolonised context would have in terms of attracting congregants back to the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. Decoloniality theory argues that the colonised environment causes people to leave institutions that are colonised in their search of the decolonised world. The theory goes on to argue that many people in the world yearn to be part of the decolonised world.

1.11.1. Church growth theory

Van Goethem (2017) argues that church growth takes place when new believers are added to the church by God's sovereign work through the preaching of the Christian gospel. He argues further by asserting that theologically, the church of Jesus Christ touches many theological subjects such as the Doctrine of the Church (ecclesiology), and others. Van Goethem (2017) emphasises that only God causes the church to grow through God's workers on earth. He states that if the converted are slow in preaching the Christian gospel and nurturing relationships, the church will suffer a membership decline.

As a development of Church growth theory, the "Missional church model," was coined by Michael Slaughter of Ginghamburg United Methodist Church (UMC), a multi-site church located in Tipp City, Ohio, USA (2011). In this model, missional activities are developed as a way of preaching the Christian gospel and congregant members are given a platform to participate. As they participate, they gradually become involved in the life of the church.

1.11.1.1. Suggested methods that can be applied to grow the church

The late Donald McGavran (2017), missiologist and founding Dean of the School of World Mission at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, USA, taught that to have church growth, the minister must understand the culture of the people he or she is going to preach to. In other words, the Christian gospel must be presented in a culturally relevant way. Stetzer (2012) finds agreement with McGavran that the inculturation of the Christian gospel is an important instrument to grow the church. Warren (1995) further suggests that to grow a church, activities like child day-care, sports programmes, classes, contemporary music, and worship needs to take place to attract people to the church. Slaughter (2011) suggests that people must be included in leading these programmes and be drawn to participate in the church activities. Colson (2007) suggests that to grow the church the congregation needs to have a continual reformation: the church must not be static.

1.11.1.2. The church should not be static—*Ecclesia semper reformanda est*

This theory suggests that if the church is static and unwilling to allow continual reformation it will suffer from membership decline. The call is thus: *Ecclesia semper reformanda est* translated from the Latin: “the church must always be reformed.” It also suggests that the church that fails to inculturate the Christian gospel will also experience membership decline. Likewise, a church that excludes people from participating in the programmes of the Church and in leadership will also experience membership decline. In sum, this theory suggests that maintaining a static culture that is not relevant to the culture of the majority of the members of the society of which the church is part can cause membership decline. The inability to have continual reformation is also consequential. As a result, this study also employs decoloniality theory to test what can happen to church growth if the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg can create a de-colonial world within itself.

1.11.2. Decoloniality theory

Decolonial theorists presents the decolonial world as a world of freedom for everyone, that is a healthy and conducive environment for people to live in. They argue that if this world is not created through the policies and other means of a government, religious, or private institution, then people leave. This study employs this theory to examine whether the historic Western missionary-initiated mainline Protestant churches have created this world for their members.

If not, then this can be one of the reasons people leave them to search for other decolonised worlds.

1.11.2.1. The extant culture, knowledge, and language before colonialism

Sheehi (2021: 1) argues that decoloniality “is a way for everyone to re-learn the knowledge that has been pushed aside, forgotten, buried, or discredited by the forces of modernity, settler-colonialism, and racial capitalism.” As Prof. Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (cited in Dieng, 2016) has remarked, Africans had their knowledge, language, and culture long before the arrival of the colonialists. He states that the colonialist did this in terms of “epistemicide and languacide” which refers to the deliberate destruction of the indigenous knowledge and language system. This means that decoloniality implies unlearning what has been taught by the colonialist to relearn the knowledge, culture, and language that was extant before the arrival of the colonialists. In this, as Ndlovu-Gatsheni (cited in Dieng, 2016) maintains, the decoloniality theorists uses the slogan “another world is possible” to define decoloniality.

1.11.2.2. The decolonial world is not limited to a certain gender, race, or cultural group

Decoloniality is not limited to Africans alone; indeed, everyone in the world should envision being part of this world. The decolonial world is a world of moral justice where everyone’s culture is valued. It is a world where every person is willing to learn from the culture of others. It is a world where everyone is willing to learn how to worship God through the culture of others. It is not a world where a culture that can be used to worship God is monopolised by those who have greater economic power than others. According to the Decolonising Humanities Project (College of William & Mary, 2021), decoloniality

...is not a means to reject the scientific, medical, social, and ethical “advances” of the modern era *tout court*. It is, rather, a way to explore colonisation, settler-colonialism, racial capitalism, modernity, and, most recently, neoliberalism and necro-capitalism and the ways in which they have displaced an array of modes of living, thinking and being of the natural world.

The Decolonising Humanities Project (n.d.) further argues that decoloniality exposes colonialism and modernity by revealing how it was built on the back of others and how it

racialised, erased cultures of others, and how it objectified others. Finding agreement with the Decolonising Humanities Project (n.d.), Ndlovu-Gatsheni defines decoloniality theory as:

A method that aspires to restore, elevate, renew, rediscover, and acknowledge and validate the multiplicity of lives, live-experiences, culture and knowledge of indigenous people, people of colour, and colonised people as well as to decentre hetero/cis-normativity, gender hierarchies and racial privilege (Ndlovu-Gatsheni cited Dieng, 2016).

For the Decolonising Humanities Project (n.d.), coloniality is thus defined as the logic, metaphysics, ontology, and matrix of power created by the massive processes of colonialisation and settler-colonialism, as well as its lasting effects and structures. Although the colonial era in South Africa's history has long since passed, its effects are still present, including, Shepstone's location systems, Eurocentric modernism, and other elements. Likewise, the structures that were built by colonial powers are still present, including, Eurocentric religious views, Eurocentric democracy, and other structures. Even if the country can be governed through democracy, if the colonial structures and their effects are still existing and not transformed, then its people are still colonised.

1.11.2.3. Why is necessary for a church to reflect a decolonial world?

Decolonial theory questions the core logic of European modernity that globalises European views of the world. It also critiques how European hegemonic knowledge expels other epistemologies from the East and other parts of the Southern part of the world to the barbarian limits of the social order and out of the global knowledge and sacred space. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (cited in Dieng, 2016) argues that decoloniality as a movement is aimed at the emancipation of the previously colonised societies from global coloniality. Decolonial theory suggests that people walk away from colonised structures and systems in search of their freedom. This means that to keep previously colonised people, the previously colonised institutions must totally decolonise their systems for people to continue enjoy freedom in their institutions, otherwise people will leave these institutions.

1.12. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on the exodus of congregant members in historic mainline Protestant churches has shown that there has been a swift membership decline not only in South Africa, but across the globe. The literature also found that members leave for different reasons. One of the main causes of the membership decline in the Anglican Church in Africa has been the colonial nature of the church. The literature on Christianity in Africa shows that Western missionaries brought the Christian message during the conquest of Africa, dressed in Western culture. By adopting Christianity, Africans were simultaneously accepting Western culture (Pobee, 2017; Hellie, 2020). Consequently, Africans were caught between their native cultures and the new culture brought by the Western missionaries (Hellie, 2020). Most scholars (e.g., Pobee 2020) describe colonialised Christian ecclesiology in Africa as generally neglecting the cultural uniqueness present in different parts of Africa, by taking a uniform Western form in the various regions of the continent.

This study will focus specifically on the causes of the membership decline in the Cathedral of Holy the Nativity which 45 years ago was born out of two Cathedral Churches, namely St. Peter's Cathedral Church and St. Saviour's Cathedral Church. This combination of parish churches makes it a unique parish with respect to other parishes across the globe. As a result, no literature has been developed to identify the causes of membership decline in such a parish church.

1.12.1. Eurocentric ecclesiology in Africa

Membership decline is not just an Anglican Church problem. Indeed, scholars such as Ferreira and Chipenyu (2021) have argued that membership decline in the South African historic mainline missionary-inaugurated Protestant churches became widespread as far back as the 1980's in South Africa. There are different reasons that have led to this membership decline. Nel and Schoeman (2015: 98–99) suggest that membership decline in the mainline churches is caused by the change of politics, education, health, economy, and associated social and cultural aspects from what it was in the past. Rainer (2013) also argues that congregation members have an idea of what the church should provide for them, and leave when these expectations have not been met.

Out of many positive things that the missionaries of the Anglican Church did, scholars such as Worsnip (1991: 8), Vilakazi (2002), and Ntshangase (2020) describe the Anglican missionaries as being guilty of imposing Eurocentric Anglican Church ecclesiology and white supremacy at the expense of ignoring African culture and traditions during the initial stages of colonialism. Vilakazi (2002) argues that missionaries failed to contextualise the gospel. As Rainer (2013) can argue, when people feel excluded by the church, they leave. Bathke (2020), Pobe (2017) and Hellie (2020) agree that the Anglican Church ecclesiastical culture has excluded other cultures across sub-Saharan Africa. Consequently, Africans have been caught in-between their native culture(s) and the new culture brought by the Western missionaries (Hellie, 2020). Hence, it is necessary to have a decolonised the Anglican ecclesiology in Africa. Sakupapa (2019) defines the decolonisation of European theology in Africa as an act of worshipping God as Africans without having to rely on Western culture. There is extant literature by various scholars including classical Anglican scholars such as Lee (2005) and Clarke (2008), that deliberates on the impact of different leaders, theologies, and ideas that have been aimed at addressing the different factors that has led to the exodus of congregant members from the Anglican Church of Southern Africa.

Individuals, clergy, especially bishops, and guilds have sought to decolonise the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. As Cox (1888) and Draper (cited in Khiok-khng, 2004: 59) have documented, Bishop Colenso's compilation of an isiZulu grammar and dictionary, and his translation of parts of the Bible and New Testament into isiZulu was an act of accommodating Zulu culture that signified the beginning of decolonising the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. Yet, as Guy (1985: 541) has noted, Colenso's views of decolonising the church were ignored by the leaders of the colonial Anglican Church, he being accused of being converted by the Zulus instead of converting them.

Mokoena's reflection on the life of Magera Fuze focused on the perspective of Africans about Bishop Colenso. Mokoena's investigations found out that Colenso shared ministry with them by trying to accommodate their culture and traditions within the Anglican Church instead of being converted by them (Mokoena, 2008). On the other hand, Cory (1926) reflects on the diary of Revd Francis Owen who was one of the early Anglican missionaries to come to the Colony of Natal and provides his perspective as to whether the Anglican Church was a willing accomplice to colonialism or not. It is important to get the perspectives of Magera Fuze and Revd Owen Francis during the early days of colonialism. Magera Fuze gives his view as an

African about Colenso. On the other hand, Revd Owen Francis gives his perspective about the context of Natal where Colenso worked as a missionary. Arguing against many modern scholars who present Colenso as a schizophrenic Bishop and heretic, Hinchliff (1962) declares him to be a missionary who treasured the indigenous people of Natal and their cultures.

This study will also examine whether Bishop Philip Russell (1919–2013) and his successors continued in the footsteps of Bishop Colenso in terms of recognising the value of African indigenous knowledge systems that existed before the arrival of the Western missionaries to the Colony of Natal and the capital city of Pietermaritzburg where the Cathedral is located. In his personal memoir, Bishop Michael Nuttall (2015) reflects on the decolonisation efforts in progress in the diocese during his tenure as Bishop of Natal. He also reflects on his relationship with Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu (Nuttall, 2003). Accordingly, he discusses the role the church and Tutu played in their opposition to institutionalised racism, both in terms of British colonialism and its successor, apartheid legislation under the National Party / Nasionale Party (1948–1994) and how this impacted the Province of Natal (now, KwaZulu-Natal) where the Cathedral is situated.

Made up of contributions from people who were parish members, Forbes (2019) has compiled a very useful book, documenting the history of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg. This present study will analyse this book and the contributions of other leaders using documents drawn from the Cathedral archives to determine whether they were able to form a decolonial world at the Cathedral during their tenure or not. In support of this, Goedhals (2008) discloses that the decolonial world is possible in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. Although the factors that have led to membership decline within the historic Western missionary-initiated mainline Protestant churches have been discussed, no dedicated study has investigated the root causes of the exodus of people from the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg from 1976 to 2021.

1.13. **CHAPTER OUTLINE**

The study comprises of six chapters, structured as follows:

- Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study
- Chapter 2: Decline in White and Black Membership of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

- Chapter 3: The Colonial Nature of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa.
Chapter 4: The Failure of Anglican Missionaries to Engage African Cultures.
Chapter 5: The Interviews.
Chapter 6: Solutions to Curtailing the Decline in Membership, Lessons Learned, Summary, Recommendations, and Final Conclusion.

1.14. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has focused on the scope, background and location of the study, research question, methodology, theoretical framework, and literature review. Together, they form the foundation of the study and provides projections of what to expect from the study as it goes forward.

The regulatory Covid-19 lockdowns in South Africa proved to the academic domain that it was possible to do research while seated at a table with a laptop and complete it. The interviews were conducted through emails and other social media platforms such as Facebook, WhatsApp Messenger, Zoom, and others. The publishing of the archival information by the Anglican Church of Southern Africa during the Government-imposed lockdown of 2020 proved to be a crucial move that made it possible for researchers to access information without having to physically visit the archive sites themselves. In addition, the online provision of the UKZN library services available to all registered students during the Covid-19 lockdowns made it even easier for the researcher to access books through the internet, in the security of his own study. The use of desk research and interviews methodologies through electronic media therefore proved very helpful in the collection of information and data without having to meet the people physically.

Historically, the Anglican Diocese of Natal was introduced as a colonised church which carried with it Eurocentric ideologies and culture. This research study will examine how far the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity has been decolonised and if the exodus of people from the Cathedral is not caused by the coloniality and colonial elements that still exist within it. The study uses decoloniality theory to determine whether coloniality is one of the factors among others that has caused the decline in membership at the Cathedral.

One of the most important lessons that can be learned from the literature review was that every problem has a solution. However, it is not easy to find the solution without knowing the cause of the problem. This study aims to discover the causes of the problem which is the exodus of

congregants from Western missionary-initiated mainline Protestant Churches in South Africa, using the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in the Anglican Diocese of Natal as a case study. The literature review focused on closing the gap that has been left by other scholars who have previously researched the exodus of congregant members from the historic Western missionary-initiated mainline Protestant churches. Yet, there is no extant research about the causes of membership decline experienced in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg, which is a unique parish. The parish was born out of the reunion of two rival Cathedral parishes that were the result of Bishop Colenso's schism in the nineteenth century.

The next chapter will examine the causes of membership decline at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity from 1976 to 2021, as well the relationship of the colonial nature of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa to the exodus of congregant members from the Cathedral.

Chapter 2: The Decline in White and Black Membership of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is the Parish formed in 1976 and inaugurated in 1981 because of the reconciliation between St. Saviour's and St. Peter's Cathedral churches (Forbes 2019). Within 45 years, the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity has suffered two types of membership decline:

- i. A decline in white membership, and
- ii. A decline in black membership.

According to the Minutes of a 1993 Vestry meeting found in the Diocesan archives, the Parish began as a white Parish in 1976, but by the early 1990's, the Parish had a growing number of black congregant members (Parish Council, 1993). There was a marked decline of white congregant members from the 1990's onwards in the Parish, resulting in there not being a single white congregant member in regular attendance at the 08h30 Cathedral Sunday service between 2017 and 2021 (Parish Council, 2020). This means that there was a 100% membership decline of the attendance of white congregant members in the 08h30 service of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, in a Parish that was previously known as a Parish of white congregant members. According to Thenjie Ngomane (cited in Forbes, 2019: 198), the exodus of white congregant members from the 08h30 service took place when significant numbers began to attend the 07h00 service. However, there were less than 40 white congregant members between 2017–2020 who were regular attenders at the 07h00 service, most of whom were pensioners. This was an immense drop from a total white membership of 1000 in 1976.

This chapter will provide evidence of both the decline in white and black membership and examine the factors that are considered the causes of such decline, including the colonial characteristics of the church.

2.2. WHO IS CONSIDERED A MEMBER IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA?

According to Act XXIII of 10 of the Canons of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa (ACSA, 2013), a confirmed communicant is a person who has been confirmed within the Anglican Church or in another Church in full communion with the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. It can be someone who has been formally received by the bishop or his delegate in the Anglican Church according to the liturgy to welcome new members. Act XXIII of 10 of the Canons of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa further states that for someone to continue to be considered a member of the Anglican Church they must receive Holy Communion at least three times per annum.

There are confirmed congregants who never set their foot in the church. Following their Confirmation, they never attend any church service, but remain committed givers to the church through EFT and other means. Although Act XXIII of 10 of the Canons of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa stipulates that to be considered a member of the Parish a person must receive Holy Communion at least three times a year, in the case of a person who tithes but does not receive Holy Communion as required, many Parishes turn a blind eye to Act XXIII of 10 of the Canons of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa and keep them as members on their Parish rolls.

Other than Act XXIII of 10 of the Canons of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, the Prayer Book also helps to identify someone who is considered an Anglican communicant in the Anglican Church of Southern Africa. According to the liturgy, to admit a baptised communicant into the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, a person needs to publicly confirm that:

- i. They believe in the Trinity.
- ii. They accept Christianity as their faith as contained in the Apostles' Creed.
- iii. They acknowledge the Anglican Church of Southern Africa to be a true part of the one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church.
- iv. They accept the ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons.
- v. They believe in the church's sacraments of Baptism and Holy communion to be those which Christ appointed.

- vi. They will be loyal members of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa by accepting its discipline as well as its teaching, and that they will faithfully share in its worship, work, and witness (Adapted from CPSA, 1989: 399).

Canon 27:2b of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa (ACSA, 2013) acknowledges a baptised habitual worshipper in the Church or the Chapel as a member. The Diocese of Natal Acts define a parishioner as a person not being under Church censure who is on the list of communicants as defined in Act XXIV of 6 of the Canons of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa (Phillip, 2011: 2). In many Parishes, a person ceases to be a member if they do not receive communion three times a year as required by Act XXIII of 10 of the Canons of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, or if they do not tithe, or if they are not habitual worshippers. A person can also write a letter of resignation to the executive of the Parish and resign from being a member of the Parish or a member of the Anglican Church of South Africa, or they can quietly leave if they no longer want to be associated with the Parish or the Anglican Church.

2.3. THE PARISH ROLL

All the members of a Parish are kept on a Parish Roll. This needs to be updated every year, or at any other time to remove members who have passed on, or who have not met the requirements of Act XXIII of 10 of the Canons of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, and to remove those who have resigned from the Parish or who have quietly left, or to add new members.

There is a difference between the Attendance Register and the Parish Roll. The Parish Roll is used to keep a record of all those who are considered members of the Parish. It records even those who come to the services three times a year. It also records those who give to the Parish and are considered by the Parish Council as members even though they do not attend church, but are Confirmed and tithe; hence, the Parish still considers them to be members.

On the other hand, the Attendance Register records people who attend at each service. Visitors are also recorded in the Attendance Register. This means that the Attendance Register cannot be a reliable document to identify full members of the Parish. The Parish Roll is the only reliable document that can be used to identify the true number of congregant members in a Parish. The Parish Roll also records the details of each member of the Parish: their residential

address, phone number, age, race, profession, date of baptism, date of confirmation, date of death, and so on. This means that a person can be on the Parish Roll and yet does not appear on the attendance register for the entire whole year or three times in a year to receive Holy Communion. Other people go to other countries to study or to work for many years but remain members of the Parish. Many Parishes keep them on their Parish Roll until they return.

The Parish Roll combines all the information in one register from different Parish registers like that of a Baptismal register, Confirmation register, and so on. Delsalle (2009) states that the Parish Register was introduced into the Church of England on 05 September 1538 by Thomas Cromwell who was advisor to King Henry VIII (1491–1547). Delsalle (2009) argues that at first, Parish registers were not popular in the Church of England because the congregations thought that they were one of the King's plans to increase taxes. During this time, because the keeping of registers was not a mandatory practice, many ministers did not keep them. During the reign of King Henry VIII's son, King Edward VI (1537–1553), there was an order from the King to keep these registers. There were many changes made by different Dioceses and Provinces from 1538 to date to improve Parish registers (Delsalle, 2009). The Parish Roll was born out of those developments. It is a reliable document to record members of the Parish who are still alive, those who have left the Parish, and those who have passed on. It is one of the tools that a new Rector is given by the wardens in his or her institution in the Diocese of Natal to know his or her congregation.

One of the challenges of this study is that from 1976 to 2021 there were a few years where the Parish roll was not well-updated in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. According to the minutes of the Parish Council of 30 August 1993, a suggestion was made to visit the members of the Cathedral to seek the commitment from those who wished to remain in the Parish Roll (Parish Council, 1993). This was due to a concern raised by the drop in Parish giving. There had been a visible drop in church attendance by white congregant members; while some were still giving, they were no longer attending church. By 1993, a majority of the white congregant members had not only stopped attending the services, but had stopped giving as well. The Parish Council minutes and vestry minutes of 1993 record the leadership of the Parish complaining about the outdated Parish Roll (Parish Council, 1993). In the Parish Council of 20 April 1998, it had been noted that plans were being made to analyse the Parish Roll to identify those members who have not signed enrolment forms for more than five years. In response to this, Mabel Dalby presented to the Parish Council of 15 June 1998 an analysis of

the Parish Roll that identified silent and non-worshipping members of the Cathedral. However, the list had some challenges because it excluded those who had made financial commitments. In 2017, the leadership of the Parish wrestled with the Parish Roll for the entire year trying to update it. This shows the challenge that the Cathedral had over many years when it came to an updated Parish Roll. To quantify the decline in membership of the Cathedral throughout these years, the Vestry and Parish Council minutes can show not only the level of decline, but also identify its causes. Likewise, the updates to the Parish Roll of 1976, 1993, and 2017, have proved helpful to this study to identify the membership decline during this period.

2.4. DECLINE IN MEMBERSHIP IN THE CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY NATIVITY

Membership decline is not only a problem within the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. As Ferreira and Chipenyu (2021) have shown, the decline in the membership of the historic Western missionary-initiated mainline churches from the beginning of South Africa's democratic dispensation in 1994 rises above the global average. Indeed, Hendriks argues that South Africa has the highest rate of decrease in the membership of missionary-initiated Protestant Churches in the whole of Africa (Hendriks, 1995: 35–58).

Migliore (2004: 249–250) suggests there are four reasons why modern people have lost their first love for the church:

- i. The individualism of Western human beings has affected modern people;
- ii. Religious convictions and practices are assumed not only to be an individualised norm, but are seen as a private matter.
- iii. The structure of the church is viewed as bureaucratic in nature (e.g., rules, regulations, and formal communications).
- iv. There is a tension between the expressed beliefs and actual practice of the church.

Despite the political changes in South Africa, people of all races in general have lost their love of organised religion across the entire globe.

To understand the dynamics that led to the membership decline specifically in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, one needs to examine the Cathedral separately from the rest of the African Churches because it is unique. In 1976, when the Cathedral began to exist, it was a Parish of

white people who were previously the congregant members of St. Saviour's Cathedral and St. Peter's Cathedral (Forbes 2019). St. Saviour's Cathedral came into being after the excommunication of Bishop Colenso by Archbishop Gray. There were those congregant members who supported Colenso and those who were against Colenso. Those who supported Colenso remained at St. Peter's Cathedral, and those who were against Colenso went with Dean Green to form St. Saviour's Cathedral. More than a century later, the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity was built to reconcile the two groups that were divided because of Colenso's excommunication so that they could be united again like they were when they originally arrived in Natal from Europe.

From 1976 to the early 1990's, the majority of congregant members were white. With the political changes in South Africa and the emergence of the new democratic era, from the 1990's to 2021, there were a growing number of black congregant members in the Cathedral. To examine the causes of the membership decline one needs to separate the causes of the membership decline of white congregants and the causes of the membership decline of black congregants.

2.4.1. The decline in white membership

According to Forbes (2019: 5), when he came to be the Dean of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in 1976, of the 1000 regularly worshipping parishioners on the new Parish Roll, only two were not white. He goes on to state that more than 300 members did not want to be members of the new Parish. As a result, at Christmas 1976, the new Parish had 700 members on the Parish Roll. In 1982, the Chapelry of All Saints, Athlone, became a United Church Parish and about 200 Parishioners withdrew from the Cathedral to worship there. This brought down the membership of the Cathedral in the Parish Roll to 500. According to the Vestry Minutes of 1976 to 1993, the members of the Parish Council were all white.

To understand the causes of the decline of membership in a church that is geographically placed in a busy location like Pietermaritzburg city centre, one needs to consider the following dynamics that were in existence between 1976 to 1993 when the decline of white congregant members began to be more visible.

2.4.1.1. The socio-political context of Pietermaritzburg: 1970s–1990s

To understand why the Cathedral was originally a Parish of more than 1000 whites on the Parish Roll, except for two blacks, one needs to understand the socio-political context of the time. In 1910, Pietermaritzburg and the province of Natal became part of the newly-formed Union of South Africa, which was a British dominion until 1961 when South Africa became a Republic (Laband & Haswell, 1988). From 1910, the city and province were governed by a white-dominated government which enhanced the interests of the white population. Under the terms of separated development during the Apartheid era (1948–1994), some 90% of the Indian population were moved to Northdale, while blacks were moved to neighbouring (so-called) ‘black locations’ (Laband & Haswell, 1988). The city-centre remained reserved for whites only. Indians and blacks went to the city-centre for the purposes of work only. The Cathedral is geographically located in the city-centre. The two blacks out of more than 1000 whites that were on the Parish Roll of the Cathedral were really an exception because the “Group Areas Act of 1950 placed persons in one of four groups, native, coloured, Asian, or white.”¹ Even guests at the museum were classified as either white or non-white and they could only go through the gate reserved for their racial group.² The Group Areas Act of 1950 placed racial and ethnic groups in different subdivisions during the Apartheid era, when the Cathedral was situated in what was then the Central Business District (CBD) reserved for white-owned businesses and shoppers in and to the city.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 and the location of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity caused it to be a church of whites only when it was founded in 1976. Pietermaritzburg only became part of the newly formed uMsunduzi Local Municipality which included the so-called ‘black locations’ that were previously reserved for blacks, such as Edendale, Imbali and others in the year 2000. However, in the Census results of the Regional Surveys of the World that was conducted in 1991 there was a major increase in the population of Pietermaritzburg that included races other than whites. The Gandhi memorial was unveiled on 06 June 1993, which also meant that the city gradually became friendly to Indians who were moved during the Apartheid era. Around these years, the Cathedral became actively involved in non-racial activism. It hosted meetings that promoted the fight against Apartheid. It also had an open-door policy for all races (Forbes, 2019). Consequently, the Warden’s Report of 1993 (Vestry,

¹ See: <http://apartheidmuseum.org>

² See: <http://apartheidmuseum.org>

1993) indicated that there was a marked increase in the number of blacks that found a home in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

The increase in the number of blacks at the Cathedral meant a clash in terms of cultures, upbringing, and so on. It seems like many whites were not ready to be mixed or to worship with black people in one room after more than 300 years or so of not worshipping together. Thenjie Ngomane (cited in Forbes 2019: 199), is stated as saying that she saw whites leaving the 08h30 service in their numbers which was attended mostly by black congregants. The updated Parish Roll of 1993 indicates that when the number of black congregants began increasing in the early 1990's the number of white congregant members began decreasing at a rapid rate.

2.4.1.2. The election of Bishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu as Bishop of Johannesburg

In the period 1984 to 1985, the Churchwarden's Vestry Report of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity (Vestry, 1986: 1) stated that "some parishioners have used Bishop Desmond's election as the Bishop of Johannesburg as justification for discontinuing their donation to the Parish." Gish (2004: 78) argues that Tutu angered conservative whites who supported apartheid, in that they accused him of being a communist sympathiser. Indeed, as Lee (2005: 414) states, Tutu received death threats from right wing whites as well as hate mail. Tutu went to the United States of America to convince the US president to befriend the South African white government. He also went to address the UN Special Committee against the white South African Apartheid government, at the UN Building, in New York City. On his homecoming to South Africa his travel documents were seized by the South African government. Allen (2006: 203) argues that Tutu speeches and rhetoric's against the Apartheid administration isolated many white liberals, who assumed that Apartheid could be steadily reformed away. Lee (2005: 394) acknowledges the anger that white Anglicans expressed against Tutu. He argues further that the membership of the Anglican Church was important to Tutu, he knew that he had a lot of work to convince whites who were harshly opposing him. In those years, he declined many international invitations with a standard comment, "I still have an amount of opposition especially amongst whites and I think as they get to know me better, things will change" (Lee, 2005: 394)

The election of Tutu did not only adversely impact the tithes and offerings, as described in the Cathedral's 1986 Vestry minutes, but it also affected its white membership. One of the research participants interviewed for the purposes of this study who was a white priest in the Diocese of Natal in 1986 stated that:

Many white congregants especially in Ladysmith and in Pietermaritzburg disassociated themselves with the Anglican Church and joined other Churches because they did not want to be associated with Tutu because they believed that he was a communist sympathiser.

Lee (2005: 326) agrees with the narrative of this priest who chose to remain anonymous, that the Anglican Church of Southern Africa lost large numbers of its white congregants and their resources when Tutu was elected Archbishop and during his episcopacy.

2.4.1.3. The emigration of whites from Pietermaritzburg

The emigration of whites in post-1994 onwards not only affected Pietermaritzburg, but the entire country. According to Van Rooyen (2000), the immigration of British nationals was limited by the National Party from 1948 because the Afrikaners feared that the English-speaking population would increase, and that Afrikaner nation would become a minority. Accordingly, the immigration of British nationals declined by 37 000 in the first few years of National Party rule. However, the inflow of English-speaking whites was allowed again by the ruling National Party because the British nationals supported Apartheid and its racist policies. The inflow of English-speaking whites thus increased by at least 40 000 immigrants per annum (Van Rooyen, 2000).

The relocation overseas of white South Africans reached high numbers from 1993 onwards, where a year before the democratic elections, the emigration of whites doubled. More than 30 000 whites were leaving each year. In his study, Katz (2021) has shown that the majority of white South Africans who left the country towards the end of Apartheid can be traced to Australia, the United States of America, Israel, and the United Kingdom

Pietermaritzburg was not spared from the emigration overseas of South African whites, post-1993. According to the 1993 Cathedral Minutes of the Parish Council, there were a number of farewells recorded. According to the Parish Roll, some 376 congregants including black South

Africans remained, a figure updated in 1993 from more than 1000 white congregants who were on the Parish Roll in 1976. In 2017, not one white member appeared on the attendance register for the 08h30 service.

Forbes (2019) also alluded to the effects of the emigration of white congregants from Pietermaritzburg. Indeed, the majority of the Cathedral's members who were on the Parish Roll of 1976, and who contributed to his book, indicated that they no longer lived in Pietermaritzburg or in South Africa.

2.4.1.4. Parish youth programmes

The Christian gospel message is like a relay marathon where one runs with a baton to pass it on to the next person. The elders of the Church have the responsibility to run with the tradition of the Church during their lifetime and hand it over to the next generation in the case of the Church members, its youth, and Sunday School.

According to Forbes (2019: 78–79), the youth appeared to be most active from 1976 to 1978. Jeremy Upfold (cited in Forbes 2019: 78) is recorded as stating that there were various programmes for the youth, including youth camps and so on, that were organised for youth that came from St. Saviour's, St. Peter's, Pietermaritzburg Girls' High, Alexandra High, and Maritzburg College in 1976. Jenny Torlage (cited in Forbes 2019: 79) also described some programmes like filmmaking, hiking, outdoor games, and Bible studies and so on, that she had with the youth in 1978 before she left Pietermaritzburg.

The white youth programmes that took place then did not help much in passing the Anglican tradition from the elders to the youth. Their programmes were unable to produce committed Anglican congregants who would remain committed to the Cathedral despite the changes in the political landscape. According to the information collected from the Cathedral registers for the purposes of this study, between 2017 to 2020 there were 60 white pensioners in the Parish Roll and in the attendance register of the Cathedral centre. There was not even a single white young teenager or Sunday School scholar. The children of more than 1000 white parishioners of the Cathedral in 1976 did not continue to worship at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. Although many of them emigrated with their parents to other countries, there were others who met for the purposes of this study who still live in Pietermaritzburg but are not members of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

Akin (2019) argues that young people leave the Church in numbers because they felt they were not invested in sufficiently. He cautions that if the Church does not invest in youth there will be no new generation to lead. Akin's warning is the reality of the Cathedral when it comes to the loss of white Anglican youth over the years. This reality affects the entire Diocese of Natal because the Diocese has a shortage of white priests. In 2021, the Bishop of Natal struggled many times to find a white priest to appoint in some parts of the Diocese where white priests are in demand.

2.4.1.5. The ill-preparedness of whites regarding the change in political landscape

Forbes (2019: 5) states that he was shocked upon his arrival at the Cathedral as Dean to find that many white people in Natal seemed to be out of touch with what was happening politically in South Africa. He states that other Dioceses like Cape Town where he had been, were involved in the fight against the horrors of Apartheid including the Group Areas Act in District Six (Forbes 2019: 5). The country at the time of the arrival of Dean Forbes in 1976 was going through a national crisis. It is a real surprise that there were people who did not know what was taking place. What is also a shock, was that Bishop Philip Russell, then Bishop of Natal was a known anti-apartheid activist. How come the congregants in his mother Church, the Cathedral were out of touch with what was happening in South Africa? According to Clarke (2008: 388), Bishop Russell insisted that there was conflict between the church and the Apartheid state, emphasising that disobedience to one's conscience is a sin. Clarke (2008) thus argues that Bishop Russell was very vocal against Apartheid both before and after being the Archbishop of Cape Town. Indeed, according to Clarke (2008) during the 1970's, the Anglican Archbishop Bill Burnett stood firm against the Apartheid government and was very vocal. The fact that the congregant members of the Cathedral of Holy the Nativity did not present themselves to the Dean as people who stood with their Archbishop against Apartheid shows that they were not bothered by the *status quo* and not ready to involve themselves in the fight against racism. For example, the 16–18 June 1976 Soweto uprising sparked a national crisis. Charles Parry (cited in Forbes 2019: 19) is stated as saying that the Soweto uprising took place two weeks after the new Parish Cathedral of the Holy Nativity was inaugurated. He went on to state that the unrest spread rapidly to most of the large cities in South Africa including Pietermaritzburg where the Cathedral was situated:

The clergy team was convinced that the congregation should be made aware and be prepared for the inevitable change that was happening around the Cathedral congregants and in South Africa” (Charles Parry cited in Forbes 2019: 19).

White people during that time had the privilege of having access to newspapers, television and so on. Dean Forbes was correctly shocked to learn that his new white congregation was out of touch with the political crisis that was facing the country. Even when the clergy of the Cathedral tried to teach the congregants about what was politically taking place in South Africa, “some older members were not at all pleased with what was being said in some of the sermons” (Charles Parry cited in Forbes 2019: 19).

Likewise, some of the white congregants were not ready to accept the developments that led to the release of Nelson Mandela from prison on 11 February, 1990, the unbanning of political parties, the repeal of The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 in 1991, the democratic elections on 27 April 1994, and so on. The mass emigration of whites a year before the April 1994 elections was one of the factors that affected the demise of the white membership at the Cathedral. However, the Rector of the Cathedral remained white after 1994 but the Parish gradually received black congregant members.

2.5. THE INCREASE AND DECLINE IN BLACK MEMBERSHIP

An old black member of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, Thenjie Ngomane who arrived at the Cathedral in 1988 states in her contribution (cited in Forbes, 2019: 199) that she remembers only three black families who worshiped at the Cathedral in 1988, of which there was only one black family that joined later in what was then a predominantly white Parish. Before the beginning of the great exodus of whites in 1993, there were very few black people or black families that worshiped with whites at the Cathedral. As Aubrey Mokoatsi (cited in Forbes, 2019: 198) was to state, “the demographics of the congregation were about 95% whites and 5% blacks in 1995.” Aubrey Mokoatsi further asserts that from 1994 to 2000 there was a noticeable change at the Cathedral in terms of the racial demographics. Hence, by 2017, some 100% of blacks attended the 08h30 service and no whites.

The arrival of black people to the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity can be traced back to its establishment in 1976. Dean Forbes (2019: 5) indicates that he found just two black people on

the Parish Roll out of more than 1000 whites when he arrived in 1976. The small increase of three black families that was noted by Thenjie Ngomane in 1988 (Forbes, 2019: 198) was added to the small number of black members that already belonged to the Cathedral. There has been a noted increase of black congregant members to the Cathedral especially in the 08h30 service, although it has been very difficult to keep them on the Parish Roll because most usually came to Pietermaritzburg to work and had their homes in the rural areas where their home parishes were. This challenge was discussed in the May 1999 Parish Council, that many black congregants came to the Cathedral as silent members or visitors.

2.5.1. The decline in membership in rural Parishes that affect the Cathedral

There was a noticeable increase of black congregant members in the Cathedral between 1993 and 2000, before the overall membership decline took place from 2019. According to the 2019 Parish Roll, the majority of black congregant members were not permanent residents of Pietermaritzburg. Even in 2005, Aubrey Mokoatsi (cited in Forbes 2019: 198) indicated that the majority of black people he found at the Cathedral in 1995 were mostly from Edendale and Imbali. Other black congregant members such as Aubrey Mokoatsi and Thembi Ngomane were originally from other Provinces (Forbes 2019: 198–199). Other black congregant members that worshiped in 2017 were originally members from Springvale, St. Chad's, and other parishes, but because of work in Pietermaritzburg they worshiped at the Cathedral (Parish Council, 2017). Most had dual membership, being on the Parish Roll of their home parishes and on the Parish Roll of the Cathedral. Dean Ndabezinhle Sibisi stated in a meeting that took place on the 13 December 2016 with a curate who was to become an assistant priest of the Cathedral in 2017, that during the December holidays the Cathedral was always empty because most of the black congregation members travelled back to their homes in the rural areas and other areas when their workplaces in the city closed during December and January (Clergy meeting, 2017). Parishes in the rural areas and other parishes supply the Cathedral with congregant members. If there is a decline in their parishes, the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity also suffers. Accordingly, the membership decline begins in other parishes of the Diocese of Natal and then affects the Cathedral.

According to the Parish Council of 1993 and according to Aubrey Mokoatsi's statement (cited in Forbes 2019: 198) there was a noticeable increase of black congregant members between

1993 and 2000. This increase was informed by several factors, which will be discussed in the sub-sections below.

2.5.1.1. The repeal of The Group Areas Act (Act No. 41 of 1950)

In 1800, the British colonizers conquered the Boers in the Cape. Having then travelled across the country looking for areas that were not under British rule, they landed in Pietermaritzburg, an area that was occupied by Zulus. Pietermaritzburg became the Capital of Natal which was occupied by the majority of white residents after many wars with the Zulus. The Shepstone settlements and wars contributed in removing blacks in their numbers from Pietermaritzburg. The Group Areas Act (Act No 41 of 1950) worsened the situation because it separated people according to their racial groups. Boddy-Evans (2019) states that the Act was adopted by the Apartheid Regime of South Africa. The main purpose of Apartheid rule was to support white supremacy and to uplift the marginal white government. The Group Areas Act (Act No. 41 of 1950), The Natives Land Act of 1913, The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, The Mixed Marriages Act (Act No. 55 of 1949) and The Immorality Amendment Act (Act No. 21 of 1950), were all legislative instruments created by the white Nationalist Government to separate the races and overpower non-white people. As Boddy-Evans (2019: 1) has remarked, “By 1983, more than 600 000 people had been removed from their homes and relocated.” Those who did not comply with these legislative Acts were imprisoned for up to two years or ordered to pay fines of £200. Pietermaritzburg was affected by these Acts of Parliament. Indians and blacks were removed from the city and suburbs, while the city centre and suburbs close by, remained reserved for white residents only.

These legislative Acts also affected places of worship. Churches were built in white residential areas. A different race was not allowed to walk in and out in the residential area of another race without a sound reason. As Boddy-Evens (2019) has noted:

Pass Laws were formed to compel non-Europeans to carry passbooks or ‘reference books’ (similar to passports or identity documents) to be able to be accepted in the ‘whites’ reserved parts of the country.

The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 was formally repealed on 30 June 1991 by The Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, (Act 108 of 1991). Following this, black congregant members had the right to worship in previously white parishes. According to the Parish

Council of the 13 April 1993, the number of black congregant members who joined the Cathedral Parish increased (Parish Council, 1993). The repeal of the Group Areas Act (Act No. 41 of 1950) on 30 June 1991, is the possible reason for this increase.

2.5.1.2. The increase of factories and businesses in Pietermaritzburg

Pietermaritzburg has a growing business and industrial centre. According to Tikkanen (2016), the industries in Pietermaritzburg included the manufacture of furniture, footwear, aluminium cookware, and the processing of wattle. Any industrial city attracts people from different races. Many whites left South Africa before the first democratic elections in April 1994. There was an increase in the number of vacancies that were filled by other races who were eventually allowed to work and stay in the areas that were previously reserved for whites. People came from the rural areas to work in the industries and for green pastures. Some of these were Anglicans such as Thenjie Ngomane, Aubrey Mokoatsi, and others.

Other black congregants of the Cathedral came to study and work at the University of Natal (now University of KwaZulu-Natal) in Scottville, like Nompumelelo Thabethe who joined the Cathedral in 1999 (Forbes, 2019: 208).

2.5.1.3. The immigration of African foreign nationals to Pietermaritzburg

The 08h30 Sunday Eucharist service is attended by black people. According to Dean Ndabezinhle Sibisi in the clergy meeting that took place on the 19 September 2017, while everyone who attends the 08h30 service is black, there are foreign nationals among the congregant members who do not speak isiZulu (Clergy Meeting, 2017). According to Mutambanengwe (2012: iii, 4), there has been an inflow of Zimbabwean nationals into Pietermaritzburg and from other countries since 1992. She argues that “the emigrants and asylum seekers started to intermix and form relationships with their neighbours and other people, establishments and organizations” (Mutambanengwe, 2012). One of the best places for Christians to socialise is the church. Pietermaritzburg has been the recipient of many foreign nationals because many come to study at the University of KwaZulu-Natal and other institutions of higher learning in Pietermaritzburg. They also come to seek a better life since Pietermaritzburg has a growing economy. The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity benefited in its membership through the immigration of foreign nationals to Pietermaritzburg.

The decline of black congregant members taking place at the Cathedral is however virtually untraceable through the Parish Roll. It is a challenge to get a reliable Parish Roll at the Cathedral because many members and attendees are there because of work, they are not permanent, and hence they avoid committing themselves to taking up formal membership. In the context of the Cathedral, such members are called silent members or non-committed members. The decline in membership has been especially noticeable through the financial struggle at the Cathedral that began in 2016. In 2017, the Cathedral Parish Council had to draw from its cash reserves to maintain the day-to-day affairs of the Cathedral. The following are some of the reasons for the decline in membership of black congregants.

2.5.1.4. The retirement of church members from their places of work

One of the challenges of having congregants that are in the Parish because it is in the vicinity of their workplace is that the parish loses them when they retire from work or move. It does make sense that there was a noticeable membership decline in the Cathedral from 2016. By 2016, the black members of the Parish that caused the increase in 1993 onwards, had grown old by 2016 and had begun to retire. The fact that they were in the city for work purposes having left their homes in the rural areas meant that many of them had to retire and go back to their home parishes in the rural areas and leave the Cathedral.

It seems like the black congregants who joined the Cathedral in the 1990's fell into the same mistake as the white congregants when it came to the youth. They placed less focus on youth programmes, which meant that even if they retire and reside in Pietermaritzburg their children did not take the place of their elders in the Cathedral. In other words, they did not have a plan to have the next generation continue with Anglicanism after their retirement. According to the Parish Council records of 29 March 1993, the Cathedral had a strong youth component in the early 1990's that was growing; some members were from the congregation, while others were new members of the Parish and were predominantly black. It was agreed that the worship committee was to include youth.

While the Parish Council of 1998 noted there were youth programmes in place, there was a concern voiced about the absence of elders in the youth programmes. Dean Forbes thus encouraged the youth to identify areas where skilled adult participation would be helpful (Parish Council, 1998: 8.1.). Similarly, in 2017, the Curate of the Cathedral reported to the

Dean that year that parents were making it difficult for the Cathedral to implement youth programmes. They would not allow their children to attend Friday evening youth programmes and neither would they wait for their children after the service on Sundays to participate in the youth programmes. Most of the young people relied upon their parent's transport to travel to and from the Cathedral. Even in 2017 there were youth programmes in place at the Cathedral, but parents made it difficult for the programmes to be successful. Ultimately, this will affect the future decline in membership as it did in 1990's with white congregants.

Other congregant members are students studying at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. They come to worship when they begin their degree courses, after which they leave Pietermaritzburg. Others come to work in Pietermaritzburg, but because of work-related transfers they ultimately move on to other towns and cities. Such was the case of Nompumelelo Thabethe (ne'e Thuli Shange) who joined the Cathedral in April 1999 and had to leave in December 2000 (Forbes, 2019: 208).

2.5.1.5. The rise of Pentecostal / Charismatic churches

According to Bernstein (2008: 6), non-mainstream churches are classified as Pentecostal or Charismatic churches. In 2008, more than 2.5 million South Africans were members of Pentecostal / Charismatic churches and their numbers are growing fast, while membership in the mainline churches remains static. Their growth was particularly noticeable between 1996–2001, where it stood at 55% (Bernstein, 2008).

Pietermaritzburg was not spared from the global rise of the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. There are more than twenty Charismatic Churches in the vicinity of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, including, City Harvest Church, River of Life Ministries, The Potter's House Christian Fellowship, and others. The 60% of the members of the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches who were interviewed for the purposes of this present study were previously Anglicans. They were baptised and confirmed at the Cathedral or in other Anglican Parishes. The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity has not been immune from losing its black members to Charismatic and Pentecostal churches. Other members who had disappeared from the Cathedral a while ago were met in one of the Charismatic churches in the vicinity of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

2.5.1.6. The Covid-19 pandemic

Because of the Covid-19 lockdowns and the Government-imposed health regulations and mandates, it was difficult to update the Parish Roll in the Cathedral using Act XXIII of 10 of the Canons of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, where a person is considered a Confirmed member when they receive Holy Communion at least three times a year. There has been however a noticeable drop in tithing, as well as online and physical attendance of congregant members at the services.

During the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown and related mandates, training colleges and universities, as well as factories and other businesses remained closed. All these institutions provided the Cathedral with membership according to the previous Parish Rolls. In 2020–2021, because many people were working from home, they did not need to be physically come into the city of Pietermaritzburg to work; likewise, elderly people were forced by the government to stay at home. While it has not been easy for the leadership of the Cathedral to assess the damage that has been caused by the Covid-19 pandemic to the membership of the Cathedral because the Parish Roll has not been updated, the financial instability of 2020–2021 was caused by the non-payment of tithes and offerings. The trend in the parishes before Covid-19 has been that when people stop tithing it has meant that they have stopped being members of that Parish. The Covid-19 pandemic is such a new phenomenon that no-one yet knows what it means when members stop giving; everyone is on a learning curve.

2.6. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the possible reasons why the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, which had a 99% white membership in 1976 ended up having approximately a 90% black membership in 2021. Even the 90% of black members is the remainder of the congregant members after the major decline in membership of both white and black congregants that has been occurring over the years. The ramifications of the Covid-19 lockdowns and mandates, and the closure of churches has worsened the exodus of members that was already taking place at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg. This chapter has shown that the changes in the political landscape post-1994, as well as the internal church politics over the years has detrimentally affected the Cathedral and its membership numbers. When people are hurt, they leave the church to look for a place where they can be better accommodated.

The next chapter examines whether the colonial nature of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa has played a role in the exodus of members from the Anglican churches, including the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

Chapter 3: The Colonial Nature of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Although the colonial era in South Africa has passed a long time ago, its effects are still apparent; for example, Shepstone's location systems, Eurocentric modernism, and other elements. As Suryanarayan (n.d) has argued, "as long as the previously colonised institutions are still Western then people who are part of those institutions are still not free." The structures created by the colonial church are still existing, for example Eurocentric Anglicanism, Eurocentric democracy, and others structures. As Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) (cited in Suryanarayan, n.d.) maintained, real freedom can only come when people who are colonised walk away from the colonised institutions, a course that can only take place if the institution is first decolonised. No one knows whether the membership decline in the Western missionary-inaugurated mainstream Protestant churches is a fulfilment of Gandhi's forecast or not.

The Anglican Church is one of the institutions that came to the British Colony of Natal as a colonised Eurocentric institution. The mother church of the Anglican Church in Natal is the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. Smit et al (2017) argue that "many Christian traditions that were founded in Europe were never meant for Africans." Anglicanism is one of those traditions that were founded and reformed in Europe. It was never styled for Africans, in particular Zulus. The Reformers of Anglicanism in the sixteenth-century did not have the Zulus in their minds when they were reforming Anglicanism. Indeed, at that time there is even doubt whether they even knew that there were people called Zulus. During the Protestant Reformation, there is no evidence of the presence of at least one Zulu person in the first drafting of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 by Bishop Thomas Cranmer and particularly its later revised 1662 edition, which is the foundation of Anglicanism that was used in England and later in Natal during the era of colonialism.

According to Buchanan (2006.), "Anglicanism came to be around 1534 when Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, which transferred the Pope's power over the Church of England to King Henry VIII." When King Henry VIII (1491–1547) broke with Rome and the Roman Catholic Church, Bishop Thomas Cranmer established the ecclesiology of the reformed Church

of England (Pruitt, 2018; Marshall, 2017). He established doctrines and the liturgy to produce the Book of the Common Prayer in 1549, which was later revised in 1662 (Cavendish, 1999; Church of England & Maurault, 1537). In the Reformation process of the ecclesiology, there is no evidence that Africa was in the mind of Bishop Cranmer when he established the ecclesiology of the Church of England. The Book of Common Prayer and associated Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (or the XXXIX Articles, 1571) were meant for English people not Africans, the evidence of which reflect on the Elizabethan English that was used, as well as the prayers for the King or Queen of England (Baskerville, 1662).

When the Western missionaries arrived in South African in the nineteenth century, they did not reform the Anglicanism to accommodate the native peoples of the sub-continent. The first Bishop to be placed in South Africa was Bishop Gray. He was not concerned to accommodate African culture(s) or try to involve them in the ecclesiology of the Church of England during the colonial period. This became very clear when he clashed with Bishop Colenso for trying to accommodate African views and cultures in the ecclesiology of the Diocese of Natal (De Gruchy, 1979: 17). As a result, Colenso was excommunicated by Bishop Gray (Draper, 2003), thereby providing evidence that imposing a colonised ecclesiology and the demonizing African culture and traditions was the main agenda of many Western missionaries. African converts were then subjected to worship God in a way that was foreign, both in language and culture (English) to their own Zulu culture, thereby providing evidence that it had not originally been designed for them. The Anglican Church in the Diocese of Natal was established in the context of colonial conquest and resistance.

After 150 years since the arrival of Anglican missionaries to Southern Africa, the Diocese of Natal is losing considerable numbers of Africans to Pentecostal / Charismatic churches, while other Anglican churches are closing (Ixopo Parish Council, 2019). A typical example of this is the leasing of the Chapel at Ixopo to a Charismatic church grouping. The chapel had to be leased out because no one was worshipping in it (Ixopo Parish Council, 2019). The rector tried to evangelise the Zulus in the area and they said to him, “that is the church for white people, it is not for us” (Ixopo Parish Council, 2019). White farmers who were worshipping there have migrated, others have retired, and some have died. After the white congregants, Zulus did not feel a sense of belonging, deserting the church and joining other churches they could better identify with.

This history suggests that some of the Zulus were going to these Anglican churches to please their employers and when their employers left, they too left the Church. Although many Zulus are still present in the community, they do not “set their feet” in the “white church.” Hence the chapels are now up for sale or for lease hire.

Even in the townships and towns, the Anglican Church of Southern Africa is not known for receiving new Christian converts. The majority of Anglicans are still members of the Church because they were born into Anglican families. Even there, studies show that many young Anglicans are leaving the church to join Pentecostal and Charismatic churches. As has been noted, the Decolonising Humanities Project (n.d) defines coloniality as the “logic, metaphysics, ontology, and matrix of power created by the massive processes of colonialisation and settler-colonialism, as well as its lasting effects and structures.” Although the colonial era has passed a long time ago, its effects are still present. For example, white people are no longer in charge of the Anglican Diocese of Natal, but what the European missionaries put in place is still existing.

3.2. EUROPEAN CULTURE DEPICTED AND DEPLOYED IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

The formal hymns that continue to be used in the Anglican Diocese of Natal do not have Zulu-orientated rhythm. Even the isiZulu *Amaculo esheshi* Hymn Book (CPSA, 1995) that is used in the isiZulu-speaking parishes is too Eurocentric. Although Zulu speakers were involved in the reformation of the 1995 isiZulu Hymn Book, they only played a role in translating the English language hymns into isiZulu, with very few hymns that have African rhythm and musicality. The seating arrangement in the church is also Eurocentric. Traditionally, the Zulus sat under a tree in a circle when holding a public gathering. Everyone had a right to speak and express his or her opinion. In Eurocentric churches, as with the early Christians, the congregation sit facing east (Latin: *oriens*) toward the altar with only one person preaching from the pulpit/lectern. Responding to clergy person can be viewed as disruptive and disrespectful. The gestures that are used in the Anglican Church contradict the isiZulu values of respect, for example, in the isiZulu culture when a king processes into a house with his servants, the Zulus in that house kneel to show respect to the king. In the Anglican Church in Natal, when the priest processes in with servers and lay ministers, the congregation formally stands. In the Zulu way of life, every home has an altar. The father of the house is the only

one who can burn incense and communicate with the divine being. In the Anglican Church, the priest is the only one who burns incense with the congregation standing, contrary to Zulu practice and culture, where the whole family kneels or is seated to respect the presence of the divine.

The Anglican tradition and practice that was adopted by the Zulus is of European tradition and it remains European with small changes in its ecclesiology. The 2014 Annual Provincial Standing Committee of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa (ACSA) questioned why black Anglicans were leaving the church in their numbers (Zulu, 2014). The Parish Council of St. John's, Steadville, on 17 April 2020 tried to respond to this question by looking at its own context in Ladysmith (Khanyile, 2020). The Parish was racially segregated in the past, with whites worshipping at All Saints Parish Church, while blacks worshipped at St. John's Parish Church. Already the Parish was born out of pain that was caused by European racism over natives. St. John's Steadville has lost many of its members to the local Charismatic churches and the Shembe congregation between 2000 and 2020 (Khanyile, 2020). The Parish Council tried to look at the factors that led to this migration of people and invited those congregants who had recently left the parish to understand from them why they had left the Anglican Church. One of the things that came out of the meeting was that other churches like Shembe are integrating the elements of Zulu culture in their worship such as in the dancing and Zulu poetic expression in their sermons. There are no European images of angels or paintings of a white Jesus hanging behind the altar, and their pastors do not wear European-styled vestments, also there is no Communion wine or wafers being consumed in their services. As a result, the previously baptised and confirmed Anglicans have a sense of belonging in the Shembe congregation, Pentecostal, and Charismatic churches.

Another developing factor affecting the Anglican Church in Natal, according to the Parish Council of Steadville, was the increase of young academics in the Church. Many young Zulu academics are no longer blind followers like many of their forebears. They are more enlightened and knowledgeable about the history and rigours of South Africa under colonial rule. They are critical of the doctrines of the Church and ask intelligent and searching questions about them. Most of the Anglican traditions are Eurocentric and remain unchanged and for the most part, are unchallenged. Consequently, the maintenance of Eurocentric doctrines by the Anglican Diocese of Natal results in the departure of young Zulu academics from the Anglican Church in Natal who feel that they cannot agree with the doctrines and practices of the church

of their baptism. Six academics agreed to a very long interview with the researcher. Sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.10 which follow form a summary of their reflections.

3.2.1. White Jesus depicted as hanging on the cross behind church altars

One of the deceiving things to black people that was made by European Anglican missionaries was the display of a white Jesus hanging on the cross behind many church altars. This is seen by many as the worst way to present Jesus to black people. It suggests that God is a European. This way of presenting Jesus suggests that whites are identifying with God and because of that they are a superior race. When the Africans saw whites, they were to see the identity of God in them. This was a way of making the Africans hate themselves and desire to be white so that they could identify with God who they saw hanging on the cross every Sunday. This had the effect in isolating the entire black race from the privilege of identifying with God. Other isiZulu-speaking parishes in the Diocese of Natal still have a white Jesus hanging behind the altar, either in the form of a painting, plaster image, or brass crucifix, yet all the congregants including the Rector are black.

3.2.2. White angels depicted on the stained-glass windows of churches

The stained-glass windows of many Anglican churches in the Diocese of Natal still have representations of European angels and cherubim as their featured design in parishes where everyone, including the Rector, is black. The idea of painting stain glass was developed in Europe during the Gothic period and the Renaissance from 1100 to 1500 CE (Getty, n.d.). Throughout the centuries, it inspired the lives of many European believers, portraying as they did, biblical stories and stories of the saints. One of the most famous and noticeable stained-glass windows in history is found in the medieval Roman Catholic Cathedral in Place du Cardinal Luçon, Reims, France. White angels on the stained-glass windows of churches are an Anglo-centric idea. (Getty, n.d.). It came with the Western missionaries and was imposed on Africa. When the European settlers came to Natal, they did not bother changing the images and accommodating new non-white converts. Only whites have angels representing them on the stained-glass windows of the churches they built. Decolonising ecclesiology must include the revisiting of the stained-glass images depicted on the windows of the Anglican churches in the Diocese of Natal.

3.2.3. Anglican church buildings

The buildings and architecture of the Anglican churches in the Diocese of Natal must always be approved by the bishop. They should look the same as the buildings in England. The structures of all the Anglican churches in the Diocese of Natal are not African, but Eurocentric in design. According to 1 Corinthians 16 v. 19 and Acts 17 v. 5, Jewish Christians did not have to build places of worship because they were worshipping either in their private homes, and in their Synagogues. The earliest Christian architecture dates to the third-century CE in Syria. Before then, private houses were converted into Christian church buildings. It was called the Dura-Europos church (Snyder, 2003: 128). During the medieval period, there was a new wave of church building across Western Europe (Levy, 2006)

The influence of the European Reformation on culture and traditions had an impact on church architecture. The common church buildings, although in the Baroque style that emerged in Italy in the late sixteenth-century, but were simpler in view. Church building in the Baroque architectural style began in Europe and spread to all over the world where Europeans had influence (Mertz & Blunt, 2008). Natal Anglicanism is the tradition of Europe; the buildings of the churches were obviously European. They were not Zulu-oriented or even African-oriented.

3.2.4. *Saints and Seasons*

In the Anglican Church in Natal and in the Anglican lectionary, the European saints are dominating and hailed as heroes with only one acknowledged Zulu Saint, the first South African Christian martyr, Maqhamusela Khanyile of Zululand (c 1850–1877), who lived near to the Norwegian Mission Society (NMS) station at Eshowe, Northern KwaZulu-Natal (CPSA, 1993: 52–53; Du Plessis, 1911: 382–383). It is argued that he is acknowledged because he was killed by fellow Zulus because he was following the European way of worship which most of the Zulus then were refusing to accept. There are many kings and Zulu people who were killed and jailed for fighting for their land and their culture against Europeans, but they are not acknowledged as saints. Instead, the Europeans who were killed while invading the Zulu's land and culture are hailed as heroes and saints in *Saints and Seasons* (CPSA, 1993) published as a supplement to *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*, and authorised for use in the Anglican Church services in the Diocese of Natal (CPSA, 1989). The Zulus who worship in these

parishes are expected to participate in the services where these European ‘saints’ who fought and killed their forebears are commemorated.

3.2.5. Liturgical vestments

The liturgical vestments worn and used in the church by the Anglican missionaries were foreign to the Zulu people in Natal. The Zulu kings and chiefs including commoners wore the skin of a cow. Chasubles, albs, and cassocks are European-styled and were a new thing in the eyes of the Zulus. By wearing European-styled vestments, the Anglican missionaries were already isolating themselves from the Zulu people.

Before the fourth-century CE, the church leaders and public official wore normal vestments that were proper and in line with the Greco-Roman world of their time. In the fourth-century CE, there was a change in the garments that were used by public officials, where during the European Reformation the vestments that were used in the church were influenced by Calvinism (Phillips, 1911: 1056–1052). In the Church of England, the vestments were influenced by the controversies that occurred in England including the “vestments controversies” (Guelzo, 1992). Clerical vestments came to the Colony of Natal having passed several political controversies in Europe and were imposed over the Zulu converts.

3.2.6. Communion elements

In Zulu traditional communities, divine gatherings like *umemulo* (Twenty-first traditional birthday), traditional weddings, *inhlawulo* (a fine in Zulu culture, paid by a boy to the father of a maiden he has impregnated by way of apology). Such a fine can also serve as an apology by a perpetrator to a victim, Zulus share the meat and *umqombothi* (traditional beer). When the Anglican missionaries came, they introduced wafers and wine in the community’s divine gatherings. Wafers and wine are not Zulu-oriented community food. The wafer that was used in the Anglican Church when the missionaries arrived in the Colony of Natal was the result of the Europeans evolving the communion wafer from its original form of unleavened bread that was used during the time of Jesus (Boyd, 2013).

3.2.7. Hymns and prayers

The songs that are sung in Zulu culture have a different rhythm. Zulus dance and praise with a more African rhythm. When praying, Zulus are more poetic. The Anglican rhythm that came with the European settlers to Natal is more akin to the European classical style, and thereby alien to African ears.

3.2.8. Canons and Acts

The Canons and Acts of the Diocese of Natal, as well as its parish manuals are the laws that were developed to “protect” the Anglican Church from “heresies” and “wrong teachings.” There is a gap in defining the “wrong teachings or heresy” in the context of the Diocese of Natal because Zulu culture and traditions were ignored and demonised by missionaries. This mistake has not been corrected. Zulu traditions, including those that are humanly correct and relevant to Zulus were never considered as part of the Anglican ecclesiology such as Ubuntu ethics, the importance of *umsamo* (sacred places), Zulu rituals like *imbeleko* (traditional baby shower), *inhlawulo* (traditional way to apologise). They still fall under “wrong teachings” that the parish manuals and laws are protecting the Anglican Church against. In as much as Bishop Colenso’s excommunication was withdrawn, what he had been fighting for has not been reinstated in the Anglican liturgy or doctrines of the Anglican Diocese of Natal. The Diocesan Acts protect the Anglican Church from Zulu culture and traditions that were never revisited and filtered to fit in the Anglican ecclesiology such as *ubuntu*, or the preservation of the virginity of boys and girls in Zulu culture and others.

3.2.9. The Eurocentric narrative and portraits of a black Devil

Eurocentric society has historically associated the Devil or Satan with the colour black, and Jesus with the colour white (de la Torre, 2013). In the Anglican Diocese of Natal, the liturgical colour for funerals and Good Friday, where the death of Jesus is remembered is black or purple, and the liturgical colour for weddings and the resurrection of Jesus is white. Bad luck is associated with black and good luck is associated with white. In the dictionaries, wickedness is associated with black and innocence with white. The liturgical colours that are used in the Anglican Diocese of Natal perpetuate this Eurocentric narrative. As de la Torre (2013) has argued, “By how we define black and white, the purity of whiteness and wickedness of blackness are transferred to the society at large.”

3.2.10. **Divisive European church politics**

Shamase (n.d.) rejects the Western narrative that suggests that Shaka kaSenzangakhona (1787–1828) was a heartless killer who cared little for human life. According to Shamase (n.d.), this is a negative Western narrative about Shaka. While King Shaka unified the Northern Nguni tribespeople, now called Zulus, the challenge for the European missionaries was that they came to a Colony already divided along denominational lines (Mills, n.d.). The Anglican Church was under the British monarch, the Roman Catholic Church was under the Pope, while the Lutheran Church was under Luther's followers. Other European churches had different governing structures. The Western missionaries arrived in a Colony of Natal that was divided along denominational lines with each one working to draw Zulus to their church grouping. This divided the Zulus whom King Shaka had worked hard to unite. The Anglican Church in Natal kept its English ecclesiology to distinguish itself at the expense of Zulus who were losing their identity in the process.

3.3. **THE EFFECT OF THE COLONIAL NATURE OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH ON THE CATHEDRAL**

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg is the seat of the Diocesan Bishop of Natal. It is a unique Parish that cannot be compared to any other Anglican Parish in the world. Its distinctiveness lies in it being formed out of the reunion between two rival Cathedral churches: St. Saviour's and St. Peter's. John Inglis (cited in Forbes 2019: 55) argues that those from St. Peter's Cathedral were accustomed to a Low-Church tradition without sermons, whereas those from St. Saviour's Cathedral were accustomed to a High-Church tradition and preferred an elaborative liturgy and symbolic ritual. The liturgy of St. Peter's Cathedral was informed by the teachings of Bishop Colenso who was very critical of the Eurocentric liturgy and its symbols that were informed by class superiority. He had begun the process of decolonising the colonial aspects of the Anglican Church in Natal. On the other hand, St. Saviour's Cathedral was still faithful to the liturgical practice of the Church of England.

The intention to build the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity was to unite both Parishes, where they had to meet halfway and find ways to incorporate their liturgies and teachings in one parish church. Although both parishes consisted of white congregants, their traditions were different. As John Inglis has stated (cited in Forbes, 2019: 55), the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity

Cathedral as new parish church needed to be open to the diversity of worship traditions practised across the Diocese of Natal.

It must be noted that the founders of the Cathedral were all white, even the Parishes that amalgamated were both Parishes of white people. The European culture still prevails. However, the way the Cathedral was formed and built the potential of accommodating African culture(s) since the majority of its congregants in 2021 were black South Africans.

3.3.1. Church music

Forbes (2019) states that Jack Frost was the organist for both St. Saviour's and St. Peter's Cathedral churches during the 1970's, while they were still separated and before the formation of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. Jack Frost (cited in Forbes 2019: 56) contends that although the Parishes were considered rivals, as the organist for both parish churches, he did not see any difference in their use of Church music, or in the choral accompaniment of the pipe organ. During the Diocesan events at the Cathedral, Dr Geoff Soni helped the Cathedral organists to prepare when St. Mark's Parish Imbali joined the Cathedral choir to help with the singing of Zulu hymns; yet the rhythm remained the same, only the language was different. Professor Ronald Nicholson (cited in Forbes 2019: 57) recollects that in the 1980's and 1990's, the Cathedral choir used to wear red robes and later wore blue robes. The music remained classical music with choir and pipe organ accompaniment from 1974 to 2021.

There has been a shift over the years at the Cathedral, where both the English and isiZulu hymnals are regularly used in worship. The English hymnal *Hymns Ancient and Modern* that is used at the Cathedral, and first published in 1861, was revised for the thirteenth time in 1996 by the Canterbury Press (Norwich, UK). Its hymns represent a combination of European standards. The isiZulu hymnal *Amaculo esheshi* (CPSA, 1995), was revised in 1995 and contains a mixture of hymns composed in Africa and in Europe. Most of the composers and translators were African priests and both chairpersons of the hymnal committee were African Bishops: Bishop Mandlenkosi Makhaye and Bishop Lawrence Zulu. They composed and translated hymns that reflect the multicultural Diocese of Natal. Although there are a few hymns that have isiZulu rhythm, most of them contain elements of classical European notes. Although the 1995 version of the hymn book was translated and composed by Zulu Anglican priests, it remains a Eurocentric hymn book in terms of the rhythms it employs, with some

incorporating elements African-styled rhythms. Nevertheless, the hymns were very relevant in their time, especially in 1995 when the country was preaching unity among the races following the first democratic elections on 27 April 1994. The hymns were responding to the situation of their time in a very relevant way.

The challenge with the hymns and songs from either the ecclesiastical or secular world is that they trend and after a short while, they stop trending. A good example is a song that is played by uKhozi FM every year at 12h00 midnight on Old Years Night, marking the end of the old year, and the beginning of the new year. It is usually the song that was trending that year. The following year, another song will be played which would have been a hit of that year. Most of the time, the songs that were trending the previous year are no longer as popular the following year, because there will be new songs played on the radio and available on platforms such as iTunes, Spotify, etc. An example of this was in 2018, when the trending Gospel song sung at funerals and in the Zulu Northern Natal parishes was “uNgcwele! uNgcwele!” At almost every funeral, that song was sung and when someone started it, the entire congregation usually stood up. In 2020, the trending Gospel song was “Ungumhlobo wami uJesu, uphi ongangaye na” and was sung at almost all Zulu funerals in Northern Natal. When its trending popularity expired, it went back to being a normal song like all the others.

The Anglican Church still uses its English-language hymnal that was last revised in 1995, some 28 years ago. In the precolonial Zulu community life, songs and poems were composed to respond to the situations that were occurring at a particular time. Even during the Apartheid era, Zulus composed several songs to express their pain through music. There are many things that have occurred between 1995 and 2021, including the 2008 global recession that led to many people losing their jobs and businesses and which worsened with the global pandemic of Covid-19 in 2020–2021. The country transitioned to the millennium which came with the use of technology in the public and private spaces. The Anglican Church still uses the English-language hymnal, revised in 1995, despite all the socio-economic changes that have occurred in the country. The fact that the hymn book was published in 1995 means that none of the hymns respond to the situations that have occurred after 1995. Many people who were alive in 1995 and using the hymns to respond to the situation in 1995 have passed on, or are today very old.

The Charismatic churches attract young people with music and keyboards. They sing songs that are modern and speak to the present situations of young people. They sing songs that are related to young people's situations and are going with their culture such as "Covid-19 Appeal Song + Khumbaya."³ They understand when the trending of songs ends, and they compose new songs that are written to appeal to young people and respond to their pain such as "Kogcina uJehova" ("At the end God will prevail") (Kogcina Ujehovah Fam, 2020). They know that young people prefer to worship in a place where the beat and the music resonates with their lives (Resch, 1997). The exodus of youth which has been evident at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity from as early as 2000 suggests that even traditional Anglican music is no longer appealing to new Millennials and their social habits.

It is very important for church members and attendees to have appealing music to attract their attention and keep them in a place. Before colonialism, music, dance, and songs played a very important part in the life of the Zulu nation. As Magubane (2021) has stated, "The energetic and powerful songs accompanied by dancing were sung by regiments when going to wars, [and during] ceremonies with their traditional attire." Dancing was very important in Zulu culture. Most hymns in the Anglican isiZulu hymnal *Amaculo esheshi* (CPSA, 1995) are not the type of hymns that allow one to dance in terms of their rhythm as guided by the classical notes at the beginning of each hymn. Most consist of English choral music in terms of culture, translated into the isiZulu language and yet remaining English in content.

There is a little movement that has taken place in terms of Africanising the music that is used at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. Eucharistic elements, *Saints and Seasons*, and liturgy has remained virtually intact and untouched.

3.3.2. Church buildings

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity building has no stained-glass windows with angels of any race. The cross behind the altar has no painting, or image of a white Christ hanging behind it. The building is round like that of original African round houses. It has a unique building structure that is very much accommodating of other cultures. The building committee and

³ See: www.youtube.com-desire-to-worship-God

architects who contributed in different ways to design the Cathedral were aware that the building would be home to people from all walks of life.

According to Forbes (2019: 6), the building committees were set up after a meeting held in 1948 between both the two Parishes (St. Saviour's and St. Peter's), and Father Trevor Huddleston and Canon Vernon Inman. In 1966, when the building committees came to give their report, they were sent back by the Provost of Coventry Cathedral in the United Kingdom to consider building a Cathedral centre (Forbes, 2019: 5). In 1974, the building committee was chaired by Bishop Ken Hallows and in 1976 both Parish vestries reported to the Synod that they had agreed to build the new Cathedral on the existing site of St. Peter's Cathedral Church.

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity Church building has no manipulative elements or colonial symbols on it. No one can logically suggest that they left the Cathedral because it does not resonate with their cultures. The Cathedral is just a hall, but a unique hall which is reserved for divine worship.

3.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY

Although the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is an Anglican Parish, it has a tradition that was formed in Natal, encompassing a combination of St. Peter's and St. Saviour's High and Low Church traditions. It is a unique Parish. There might be other reasons for the membership decline in other Parishes, but the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity seems to have been hit hard by the politics of South Africa. It is unusual to have a Parish begin as a predominantly white Parish, and then 45 years later find that the Parish membership is now predominantly black. Other than the post-WW2 rise of secularism in the West, the socio-political conditions present in South Africa have contributed much to the membership decline of the Cathedral. Firstly, it was the election of Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu, whose ministry entailed both the church and politics. The repealing of the Group Areas Act (Act No. 41 of 1950), the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and the unbanning of the ANC and other political parties, and the first democratic elections in April 1994 and the ushering in of a new South Africa. All these factors put together played a major role in the mass exodus of whites from South Africa which significantly affected the white membership of the Cathedral.

The membership decline of black congregants is also a result of socio-politics. The retirement of black members who moved back to rural areas because of the Group Areas Act (Act No. 41

of 1950) and related Pass Laws and Influx Control measures relegated black people to the rural areas and made it impossible for them to own homes in the cities during the Apartheid era. The decline in membership to the rural areas has greatly affected the Cathedral and is the consequence of the unsustainable approach of missionaries to evangelise indigenous peoples. Some 28 years later, the Dean and the Cathedral leadership still fight against the consequences of Apartheid and Colonialism. The Covid-19 pandemic, the Government-imposed lockdowns, regulations, and mask mandates has greatly worsened the situation. Future updates of the Parish Roll will yet reveal the detrimental effects of the lockdowns.

The next chapter will discuss the arrival of Anglican Church Western missionaries to South Africa and show how much they failed to engage African cultures and gain important knowledge about the traditions being used by Africans to perceive God. This will be achieved by engaging scholars such as Pobee and other classical Anglican scholars. Other scholars will be engaged to show how the Anglican Church was imposed over Africans and how Bishop Colenso was persecuted for trying to engage African cultures to accommodate them in the Anglican Diocese of Natal where the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is situated. It will also be examined whether Bishop Philip Russell and his successors continued from where Bishop Colenso had left off by investigating the roles different religious leaders have played in shaping the ecclesial reforms in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, from Bishop Philip Russell in 1974 to Bishop Nkosinathi Ndwandwe in 2021.

Chapter 4: The Failure of Anglican Missionaries to Engage African Cultures

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The evidence that will be presented in this chapter reveals that Eurocentric Anglicanism is presently failing to attract new members in England. Historically, the church denomination came into being due to its independence from the Roman Catholic Church during the reign of Henry VIII (1491–1547). In the nineteenth-century, its missionaries and clergy came to Southern Africa to support British settlers to the Colony of Natal, after the British government had annexed the Boer Republic of Natalia in 1843 and thereafter instigated British colonial rule.

If the Anglican Church is failing to attract converts where it was founded and where it is at home, how do Africans still hold on to Anglicanism that is no longer working where it was founded?

This chapter will show the importance of reforming Anglicanism in Southern Africa to become Afrocentric because the Eurocentric Anglicanism is no longer speaking to the present generation. The imposition of Eurocentric Anglicanism was a mistake of the Anglican missionaries and clergy during the colonial era. The present selling of Anglican churches and the empty pews in the churches in the Anglican Diocese of Natal are some of the embarrassing consequences of failing to engage Zulu culture by Anglican missionaries and clergy and the failure to let Jesus incarnate in the cultures and history of other people.

The literature will be engaged to trace the arrival of Anglican Church missionaries and clergy to South Africa and show how they failed to engage African cultures, specifically Zulu culture in Natal where the Cathedral is situated. By so doing, they failed to incorporate important knowledge and traditions that were used by Africans to perceive God. The literature will also be engaged to show how Anglicanism was imposed over Africans and how John William Colenso (1814–1883), the first Bishop of Natal, was persecuted for trying to engage African cultures to accommodate them into Anglican ecclesiology in the British colony. The causes of membership decline in the rural missionary churches will also be discussed in this chapter because the decline of members in the rural areas affects the membership of the Cathedral of

the Holy Nativity. Many members of the Cathedral are Christian converts of the rural missionary churches who came to work in the City of Pietermaritzburg.

4.2. THE MATERIALISTIC APPROACH OF EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES DURING THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY

The decline in membership within the Anglican Church in Natal and the migration of congregants to Pentecostal / Charismatic churches particularly in Natal as discussed by the St. John's Parish Council (2020) is occurring concurrently within post-Apartheid South Africa. This suggests that other black people were in the Anglican Church for some benefits during the colonial and apartheid eras. Many were not genuine converts. They might have been worshippers in the Anglican Church to gain some protection, better education, or even to be identified with white privilege. During the Apartheid era, the baptismal certificate was mandatory to register at a mission school. That meant that Zulus were compelled to attend church to obtain a baptismal certificate for their children. When applying for work during Apartheid one had to submit a testimonial from a priest, together with a curriculum vitae or letter of recommendation. This can result in people attending church not because they were genuine converts, but because they would benefit from the church and be recognised by the government. In his argument, Frescura (2015) argues that "out of 100 percent of native 'converts' who were in the missions, only 12% were genuine converts, the rest of the 'converts' were there for material benefits or physiological security." There seems to be merit in this argument because following South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994, many 'native converts' felt there was no longer any need for social and psychological security. This exposes the reason for many 'natives' converting to the Anglican Church during the colonial and Apartheid eras.

In the research conducted by Frescura (2015), it appears that the European missionaries used their material influence to do their missionary work in South Africa in the nineteenth-century. Frescura (2015) refers to a report that was given to the United Missionary Conference in 1889, upon returning from Mount Arthur in the (former) Transkei. The mission managed to build "306 square houses, 9000 acres cultivated land, 419 ploughs, 2 carts, 160 waggons; £700 taxes, 93 brick makers, 37 carpenters, 41 masons, 25 sewing mistresses" (Frescura, 2015: 69; South African History Online, n.d.a). At a time when land was seized by the white government from natives leaving them starving without arable land, the missionaries became a refuge!

The missionaries also built schools and hospitals around their mission stations. Poor indigenous communities needed healthcare and schools for them to be educated or ‘civilised’ to be able to communicate with the Europeans who were their employers. This also might be a reason for many of the ‘native converts’ at that time. Based on the writings of early missionaries and explorers such as John Campbell, John Mackenzie, Eugène Casalis, Thomas Arbousset, and François Daumas, the common concern of natives was for dwelling forms and building technologies (Frescura, 2015: 69). These material benefits obviously attracted people who had been impoverished by the colonial system that came with the same Europeans who were now acting like the Messiah through their missionaries. Europeans became both the cause and the effect of the problems experienced by indigenous communities during the nineteenth-century.

Yet, Frescura (2015) does not demonise missionaries entirely. He argues that the missionaries may have had the good intention of serving God and spreading the Christian gospel across the globe as Christ’s Great Commission charges all Christians to do (Gospel of Matthew 28: 18–20). Consequently, they may have had the good intention of bringing material and social transformation which would enhance the quality of natives’ lives (Frescura, 2015: 65). The results of their presence in Africa are visible even today. The Christian gospel they preached was the foundation of the present African Christianity that we see across the country. If the missionaries did not come and lay the foundation, we would not have known anything about Jesus Christ. The rule of law alone could not enforce humanity; there was a need for the Christian gospel of Jesus Christ to plant consciousness in the hearts of people, especially in the post-colonial / post-apartheid eras when the pre-colonial African ways of living like *ubuntu* and others were consumed by post-modernism. In as much as the Western missionaries did very well in bringing notions of Christian civilisation, “they were controlled by the spirit of moral self-righteousness which led them to pass rapid and ignorant judgments upon native’s morals, norms and values that they were less equipped to understand” (Frescura, 2015: 65–66). Another mistake of the Western missionaries was to execute an unfamiliar ethic and work philosophy to the indigenous people without realising that these overlooked the indigenous cultural doctrines (Frescura, 2015).

The missionaries were clearly not willing to understand the African context they were to preach in. Frescura (2015: 66) cited one missionary, Eugène Casalis, Director of the Paris Evangelical Mission House and pioneer missionary to Lesotho (then, Basutoland), who upon his arrival in

Basutoland in 1833, could describe the dwellings of the indigenous people as being indicative of the Basotho's being uncivilised.

This kind of thinking towards Africans appears to be common among European missionaries of the time. Their approach was the attitude of cultivating ground according to their own nineteenth-century Western ideas and habits (Frescura, 2015). How does one go to another person's country and apply his or her own ideas and habits over someone without understanding the existing ideas and habits of that country?

4.2.1. Attracting converts through material gain

The European missionaries in the Anglican Church in Natal established churches that owned land, schools, clinics, and cemeteries. It was through these schools and clinics that Zulus were drawn to the Anglican Church. They wanted their children to study in the missionary schools and benefit from the missionaries' land because generally the missionaries prioritised their converts in allocating public benefits. As Frescura (2015) has noted, the intention of the missionaries was good; they wanted to 'civilise' people as mandated by the government and caring for humanity. In so doing, they directly or indirectly ignored the African values and cultures and imposed their European values and cultures over the Zulus. A typical example of the first two Anglican missions to the Zulus in Natal are St. Andrew's Springvale Mission, Ixopo, and St. Chad's Mission, Ladysmith.

4.2.1.1. St. Andrew's Springvale Mission, Ixopo

Founded in 1860, St. Andrew's Parish is one of the oldest missions of the Anglican Church in Natal. At the mission, the church established Springvale Primary School, Springvale clinic, and Springvale convent. The mission had many hectares of land. The indigenous people who were not baptised Anglicans were not allowed to reside on church-owned land, and were not allowed to bury their loved ones in the mission's cemetery. They could reside on the missionary land only if they were Anglicans. Their children could study in the mission school if their parents were Anglican. Many Zulus of Springvale migrated to the mission land to benefit from educating their children at the mission school and to benefit from the better services that were delivered by the mission to the dwellers of the mission. The present researcher had the privilege of having first-hand experience of this when he became the Rector of Springvale Mission, Ixopo, in 2018 to 2019. In as much as the mission land had already

been sold to the government, old people of the mission were still believing that only Anglicans were supposed to be allowed to reside on the land. When a person applied to be a resident of the previously-owned mission land, the elders of the mission came to ask the Rector to baptise them first. The experience of the present researcher was that after the baptism they would build their house and then never set their foot in the church again. The understanding was that the Rector was conducting baptisms of false converts who were just looking for land on the previously Anglican-owned mission land.

The Springvale Mission, Ixopo, used to have a lot of members. Now the numbers are dwindling, people are no longer coming to church. Committed members of the church blamed the inability to revive the parish upon the Rector, without realising that the previously Anglican-owned missionary schools had been bought by the government. The clinic is now a government clinic, even the Springvale missional land was bought by the government. The things that were attracting people in the past were no longer there, people are now coming to the church voluntarily, not because they are attracted by the missionary school, land, or clinic.

4.2.1.2. St. Chad's Mission, Ladysmith

St. Chad's Mission, Ladysmith is also one of the oldest missions of the Anglican Church in Natal, being founded in 1853. The mission had many hectares of land. It also accommodated St. Chad's Primary and High schools. Only baptised Anglican Zulus could reside on the mission land until the mission land was sold by the Diocese of Natal in 2003. The Anglican baptismal certificate was mandatory for all children who wanted to register at the schools. This meant that many people applied to the Anglican Church for baptism so that their children could study at the mission schools. It also meant that many people were converting to Anglicanism so that they would be allowed to reside on the mission land and benefit from the services that were delivered by the mission for mission dwellers. The mission during this time was funded by the State and from donations from overseas. The people who stayed at the mission benefited from these donations in the form of food parcels and clothing, as well as employment.

4.2.1.3. The Anglican Mission Schools

The curriculum that was used in the mission schools played a major role in propagating colonialism. Pihama and Lee-Morgan (2019) contend that education is one of the important tools used by the colonialists to colonise the minds of their target populations. Pretorius (2019)

concur that in general the curriculum that was used in mission stations between the nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries was a mixture of two features, namely, Christian, and European cultures and values, with some indigenous cultures and social structures. The European missionaries may have had the good intention of civilising the Zulus at Springvale and Ixopo, but by imposing European cultures and values in the minds of indigenous Africans, it placed many African children in a position of confusion. It was communicating to them indirectly that the future of the Colony of Natal lay in Europe, and not in Africa. Equipping Africans with European cultures and values could only mean that their intention was to change their environment to be European. This was confirmed by the continuation of missionaries to use the Eurocentric 1662 Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* liturgy at St Andrew's, Springvale, and St. Chad's, Ixopo, which are isiZulu speaking areas. The only thing that changed in the liturgy was the language, while the English culture and content remained the same.

4.2.1.4. Springvale Anglican Mission Clinic

There is no evidence of the involvement of traditional healers (*izangoma* and *izinyanga*) in the foundation of the Springvale Mission Clinic. The Europeans found *izangoma* and *izinyanga* (traditional Zulu healers) in existence in the Colony of Natal before they introduced Christianity. Zulu people who were getting sick were consulting traditional healers (Bele, 2012: 31). The unfortunate thing that happened is that “on their arrival the missionaries demonised the traditional healers and ignored them completely” (Shange, 2013: 12). There is no evidence of any attempt to see how *izangoma* and *izinyanga* could be integrated with Christianity. Self-righteousness consumed the missionaries. The health facilities that came with the missionaries were entirely Eurocentric. The mission clinic of Springvale is a Eurocentric health facility that excluded Afro-centric traditional health systems. The *izangoma* and *izinyanga* were not allowed to live on Mission-owned land at Springvale (Mkhize, 2019). This was meant to discourage ‘Zulu converts’ from continuing with consulting traditional mediums. Also, the Zulus of Springvale were discouraged through this system and through the proclamation of the Anglican Eurocentric Christian gospel that was preached in the mission from consulting Afrocentric health systems (Mkhize, 2019). The European health system was imposed on Zulus at the Anglican Mission Clinic, Springvale, as the lot of the ‘converted’ person.

4.3. EUROCENTRIC ANGLICANISM

Anglicanism in Natal came across as European ecclesiology that was not accommodative of African cultures. The Anglican missionaries came with the attitude of doing things in their European way over the indigenous people and not willing to accept the way they found things done in Natal. On 04 June 2021, the Archdeacon of uThukela went to visit the Chapel of Elands Laagte in Ladysmith, a large and spacious building that no longer had a worshipping community. The Diocese of Natal is now looking for buyers for the property. The Anglican Diocese of Natal is suffering from the consequences of undermining the very Zulu values and cultures that its missionaries found present in the nineteenth-century. After the death and migration of white farmers in the area, the Zulus who remained in the area did not want to identify with the English culture present at the Chapel of Elands Laagte in Ladysmith.

4.3.1. The Arrival of Anglicanism in South Africa

It was typical of the European clergy and missionaries to present Anglicanism as an “English” ecclesiology in South Africa. Anglicanism entered South Africa in 1795. Other members of the Anglican Church came in 1806 as British troops, civil servants, and settlers. The first Anglican missionary came in 1821, and the first Anglican bishop in 1848 (ACSA, n.d.). There are three things that constitutes Anglicanism as ecclesiology: worship, structure, and theology.

4.3.1.1. Worship

Anglicans in Natal presently worship using the 1989 liturgy (CPSA, 1989). Although the liturgy was not new to the Church in English prior to its break with Rome, the liturgy was heavily revised following the English Reformation. The use of the liturgy in England’s churches was due to the resolution taken by the Synod of Clovesho in 747 CE, consisting of a series of synods attended by Anglo-Saxon kings, bishops, abbots, and nobles in the eighth and ninth centuries, which stated that the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church was to be used in England (Houston & Kruger, 2017: 2). Following the break with the Church of Rome instigated by King Henry VIII because of religious and political pressure, the liturgy was reformed by Bishop Thomas Cranmer in 1549 and 1552 and refined by the Windsor Commission (Houston & Kruger, 2017: 3). The Prayer Book that came to Natal with the British Anglicans and missionaries was written in Europe, because of the religious and political issues of Europe, either in Rome or England. It was born out of the religious politics that had nothing

to do with the Zulus of Natal. That is why even the saints that are commemorated in the liturgy are European saints because the Anglican liturgy was born in Europe. It speaks to European politics not African religious politics. If it was written in Natal, it would have commemorated Zulu Kings and Queens, and the heroes who died defending their land and their people.

The prayer book that came to Natal during colonialism was because of the “via media approach” introduced by Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603), after the religious uprising that took place from 1534 to 1688 (Houston & Kruger, 2017: 5). For the sake of the unity of the English people, Elizabeth I introduced a liturgy that was characterised by via media. Accordingly, Houston and Kruger (2017) state that the 1662 book of common prayer was used in Natal for worship. Even after the election of Bishop Robert Gray, and the first Bishop of Natal, John W. Colenso, the same liturgy was translated into the indigenous languages of the people (Houston & Kruger, 2017: 5).

The liturgy contained in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* was developed to unite the people of England who had been divided because of religious and political differences. Thus, it was a liturgy created in a different context to address issues facing Europeans at a particular time, and not Zulus. The Zulus may have had their wars and their differences which were not the same as the religious and political uprisings experienced in England. Using the liturgy contained in the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* in Natal and then translating it into isiZulu displayed a total disregard for the culture, values, context, and issues that were faced by Zulus during that time. There is no way that the Zulus had a similar situation that led to the establishment of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* in England.

The Europeans during colonialism failed to use this part of Anglican ecclesiology (worship) to engage or incorporate Zulu cultures and values in Natal.

4.3.1.2. Structure

The Anglican structure is made up of the threefold order of ministry, namely:

- i. Bishops.
- ii. Priests.
- iii. Deacons.

The church worldwide consists of Provinces, Dioceses, the Lambeth Conference, Synod of Bishops, Provincial synod, Diocesan synod, Parish Council, lay people, all of which are governed through its Canons.

4.3.1.2.1. *Bishops*

There was no Anglican Bishop in South African before the arrival of Bishop Robert Gray in the Cape of Good Hope and Bishop Colenso in Port Natal. Bishop Colenso came to Natal as a leader of a Colonial Church. There was no structure of leadership in the Zulu community that had a figure called a bishop. The leaders of the community were chiefs and kings. If the Anglican Church acknowledged and was well-versed in the cultures and values of the Zulu people, it would have been easy for all Zulus to understand the role of the Anglican Bishop. His role is the same as the role of the Zulu King, where the role of the king would be that of the bishop of the church to lead the people of God. St. Georges Admin (2015) refers to a bishop as the “pastor of pastors.”

Unfortunately, the way the position of the bishop was introduced by the Anglican Church in Natal was such that it did not accommodate Zulus. During the earlier periods of colonialism, the position of a bishop was reserved for whites alone. Only whites sat in the synod and the elective assembly. Zulus were not allowed to elect a bishop. In as much as there is nothing sinister about the role of the bishop in the Anglican tradition, because the bishop “has the responsibility of keeping and protecting the apostolic tradition and pass it to his successor through the laying of hands. He also has a responsibility of discerning, uniting, and teaching in his Diocese” (St. Georges Admin, 2015). But there was something sinister about the position of a Bishop of Natal, because the person elected had to be of European descent. The exclusion of natives in the election of the Bishop of the Anglican Church was also part and parcel of ignoring the existence and wisdom of Zulus and their culture.

Over and above the exclusion of African men and women in the election of a bishop, women of all races were also excluded in holding the position of bishop, which was not the cultural practice of the Zulus because Zulus had princesses and queens. In Zulu history, women were given traditional leadership positions. Good examples of women who held traditional leadership roles in Zulu society before the arrival of the colonialists to Natal would be Princess Mkabayi and Queen Monase who once led the Zulus (Ntuli, 2020). The exclusion of women

in leadership positions was not part of Zulu culture. It is something that came with the Europeans. The Episcopal structure of the Anglican Church in Natal at that time came as a politicised structure that favoured Europeans and excluded the natives.

4.3.1.2.2. *Priests and Deacons*

The priests who were missionaries to the natives were European. The first two large Anglican missions in the Diocese of Natal were St. Andrew's Springvale Mission, Ixopo, and St. Chad's Mission, Ladysmith, both of which were led by European priests. Revd. Dr Henry Callaway was the priest in charge of Springvale Mission in 1871, and later became the Bishop of St. John's Diocese (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health, 2001: 1). Dr Callaway also bought the Clydesdale farm from Mr Donald Strachan, the reformer of uMzimkhulu Village. The purpose of acquiring the farm was to settle Christian families, both Coloured and African, that would serve as a centre for the Evangelisation of the heathen (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health, 2001). Callaway was born, raised, and educated in England. He graduated in 1842 as a surgeon at the Royal College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, England. He also studied at Kings College, Aberdeen. In 1854, he moved to Natal where he was made a Deacon by Bishop Colenso, and in 1855, he was made Rector of St. Andrew's Parish Church in Pietermaritzburg. In 1858, he was granted land along the uMsunduzi River, which he named, Springvale. He thus became the founder of St. Andrew's Springvale Mission, Ixopo.

As a European man who had no Zulu traditional upbringing, and had grown up and studied in England, Natal was a very different context. It had been five short years after being made Deacon in 1854 when he moved to Springvale to do missionary work among the Zulu people. Callaway bought a piece of land for coloureds and Africans who were "to preach to the heathens" (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Health, 2001). How does one who grew up in a different country, study there, and come to another country and conclude that people of that country are heathens, without fully understanding their cultures, values, and traditions, and without understanding how they perceive God in their own cultures? Does that mean that if one does not perceive God through European culture that a person is a heathen? This is why historians can state that:

The missionaries made lot of uninformed decisions over indigenous people due to self-righteousness attitude (South African History Online, n.d.a)

The ministry that was offered at Springvale proved to be a divisive ministry over the Zulus. The Zulus who were refusing to see God through European lenses did not bother themselves with becoming part of the Springvale mission. Those who were ‘converted’ moved to the mission. Accordingly, there were Zulus who were “civilised and Christianised” and those who remained “uncivilised and un-Christianised” (Mkhize, 2019). These are the Zulus who were united in culture and tradition through *ubuntu* before the arrival of Dr Callaway to do the mission of “civilising and Christianising” in the area. The exclusion of indigenous people from holding missionary positions led to the misrepresentation of Christ to the Zulus. The priesthood was a political post. A missionary had to be a European even if he did not know anything about the Zulu culture. White privilege gave them power over the Zulus.

4.3.1.2.3. *Canons*

Canons are the laws of the church that govern all the structures of the Anglican Church: Provincial synods, Synod of Bishops, Diocesan synods, and Parish councils. The Book of Anglican Canons was approved by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1604 and 1606 which is the highest-ranking body of Canon Law that was made an Act of Parliament during the English Reformation (Cross & Livingstone, 2005). The idea that Canon Law governs all the structures of the Anglican Church is not Afro-centric. Eurocentric Canon Law thus came with colonialism. This eventually means that all the structures of Anglican Church governance are Eurocentric because they are operating under Eurocentric Canon Law.

The creation of the Canon Law at the Convocation of Canterbury in 1604 and 1606 was the response of the Church to issues that were faced by the Church of England. The Zulus were not part of the Anglican Church during that time in history. They were not even part of any issue that was occurring in Europe. The Canon Law of the Anglican Church had nothing to do with them. Having Canon Law to govern them in Natal through the Anglican Church Synods, Diocesan Synod, and Elective Assemblies, etc. was just not relevant to them, their culture, or their traditions.

a) **The ecclesiastical structure of racism**

The arrival of Archdeacon Charles McKenzie in Natal with Bishop Colenso exposed the structural racism of the Anglican Church in Natal. In a meeting that was called by Bishop Colenso in Pietermaritzburg, Archdeacon McKenzie raised the suggestion to have Zulus attend

the Synod based on their equality before Christ (Houston, 2020). His suggestion was rejected by the majority. The reasoning behind the rejection of Archdeacon McKenzie's proposal was that the leadership of the Anglican Church then believed that even though people can be equal it does not mean that they are all capable of making decisions concerning the governance of the Church (Houston, 2020). This meant that Europeans were to make decisions of the Anglican Church without involving Zulus in the Synod. It also meant that Zulu culture and values were not considered in the governance decisions of the Anglican Church in Natal. The Anglican Church was governed based on European views only. The view of a person in any matter involves his or her upbringing, culture, values, and experience. The people who were allowed in the Synod had the European upbringing, cultures, values, and experiences. They were to make governance decisions in Africa, a very different context from Europe in terms of culture and values.

b) Racial separation in places of worship

Archdeacon McKenzie was invited by Bishop Colenso to minister to the white settlers at Umhlali and conduct a mission to the Zulus in 1854. After the departure of the English settlers from Umhlali because of the rise of the government rates, the Anglican Church building was left unused because the English settlers had been worshipping separately from the Zulus. Even though they were using the same liturgy led by the same priest, they were ministered to in different venues because of race. The language was not clearly not the reason for this separation because the same priest was also ministering to the Zulus, and so he was able to communicate with them either through a translator or other means that he could have used if they were worshipping together.

The fact that after the departure of the white settlers, the Anglican Church building remained unused even though the Zulus in the mission were there, means that the ministry was meant for white settlers. The Zulus were just benefiting from ministry because they were living close to white settlers in the area. It is a trend even today to have the Anglican Church buildings remain unused after the departure of whites from an area. A recent example is that of the chapel building at Elands Laagte in Ladysmith when the white farmers left the area. The separation of people based on race was the propagation of the Shepstone narrative which suggests that whites are superior. For Zulus to share space with Europeans, they needed to be civilised first. The Church adopted this view.

Europeans worshipping separately from Zulus was common. This is evident in many parts of Natal. In Ladysmith, All Saints Parish was for white settlers, while St. Chad's Mission was reserved for blacks. At Ixopo, St. John's Parish which is to date an English-speaking parish, was reserved for English speakers, while Springvale Parish was reserved for blacks. All these parishes are close to one another. In Greytown, St. James was reserved for English speakers, while St. Peter's Parish is to date reserved for Zulu speakers.

Zulus were racially profiled on their own ancestor's land in terms of worship, and looked down upon because of the colour of their skin. The Christian gospel message that was brought to them was a contradiction. While it was declaring that people were equal before Jesus, the reality was different. How could they be equal if they could not worship together? The Zulus possessed the spirit of *ubuntu*, which means that "I am because of others." It is the spirit of unity and love, which also means that a neighbour's child is my child. A neighbour cannot sleep without food when I have food. It was the spirit of love and caring for one another even if we were different. The separation of people in worship because of their race undermines the values and cultures that were existing for generations among the Zulus.

4.3.1.3. Theology

Anglican theology is guided by the *via media* principle and bases its sources of authority on Richard Hooker's analogy (*cf.* MacDougall 2022: 49–50) of 'the three-legged stool,' namely: scripture, tradition, and reason.

The principle of *via media* led to the birth of the 1966 Prayer Book that was used in Port Natal. There is a challenge with this in relation to Zulus who accepted the Anglican faith during that time. They became the recipients of a theology that was born out of the European political clashes between the Church of Rome and Henry VIII of England. The Anglican theology did not come about because of any event that took place in the Zulu nation. The Zulus indirectly inherited the European wars that occurred long before they met the British people. *Via media* is a very good theological foundation which allows one to practice Protestantism or Roman Catholicism without having to leave the Anglican Church. However, it is not an Afro-centric theological ideology. If the Zulu culture and traditions were respected and taken into consideration by the European missionaries, they were supposed to find a way of combining Zulu and European traditions and form a theological ideology that was born in Natal and based

their worship on that ideology. They repeated the Roman Catholic mistake of imposing the Papacy on England through imposing the 1966 European-born theology over the Zulus in Natal.

The Anglicans affirm their theology through the Apostles' Creed and Baptismal Creed at the Morning and Evening services, and the Nicene Creed at the Eucharistic service. The creeds have different meanings in different contexts and in different cultures. There is still a need to integrate the creeds into the Zulu culture because the Anglican missionaries did not give the creeds a chance to speak to Zulu culture and traditions. Pobe (2017: 17) defines theology as one's story. He argues that "stories are used to explain everyday life" (Pobe, 2017: 17). He states that "facts, propositions, dogma, and doctrines all have a meaning when put in the context and form a story of Jesus" (Pobe, 2017: 17). So, a creed as the affirmation of Anglican faith and theology, is supposed to be integrated into the everyday life stories of people. Without having the creed engaging the culture and context, it remains a meaningless poem. Zulus were defeated in battle, had their cattle and land taken away from them, and were enslaved by a people they did not even know. The everyday story of the Europeans and that of the Zulus were not the same. The theology that was developed in Europe was not based on the everyday life of the Zulus. The creeds that affirm Anglicanism have meaning if they are led to engage the culture and traditions of people. They have a rich theology in them that was crafted by the different Church Councils.

4.3.2. The Clash between English and Zulu cultures

Turner (1978) speaks about the clash between European culture and African culture. His argument is more about the clash of cultures and the understanding of the usage of land. Turner argues that Africans gave the land to the European settlers without the knowledge of "private ownership" and the legal contracts involved. When it came to request their land back, the Europeans would use force to defend the land they genuinely thought they had bought from Africans, or had genuinely agreed to share with Africans (Turner, 1978). A misunderstanding therefore arose because of these cultural differences.

Turner argues that European culture during the era of colonial expansion was not the same as the European culture that we know of today. In the era of colonial expansion, Europeans were led by autocratic kings and hereditary monarchs. Other countries, like Great Britain, were ruled

by oligarchies – small groups of wealthy individuals, who were often corrupt and always ruled in terms of their own interests (Turner, 1978). The system of leadership they were representative of was not democracy. They did not grow up understanding democracy, but were brought up in an autocratic environment. In addition to autocracy, the Anglicans who were coming to Natal were raised believing that the slave trade was part of the economy and part of society. To them it was normal because it was something they grew up with, viewing it as acceptable in their home country.

Looking at the context in which colonialism took place, the British did not see themselves as evil as we judge them using today's lenses, where the slave trade has been abolished and most of the developed modern countries in Western Europe are led through democratic governments. This was not the case then. The British were coming with their culture of the privatisation of land and property and the culture of autocracy and slavery which was a legal culture in their country. The culture of Europe was also riddled with superstitions, where Europeans believed in witchcraft, and it was believed that numerous clergy were counteracting witchcraft (Turner, 1978).

The culture around the world has changed from what it was in nineteenth-century Europe, where for example:

- i. Many countries are now operating under democratic dispensations; slavery has been abolished and colonialism has been abolished;
- ii. Although monarchs still exist in European countries, they no longer have political influence like they used to have in the past because most of the European countries are now governed by democratically-elected parliaments and political leaders.

The culture of Europe has changed. The Anglican Church came to South Africa riddled with the European culture of the nineteenth-century that is no longer in existence. The Anglican Church in England has kept most of its cultural elements that were existing in the nineteenth-century. Consequently, as Jenkins (2015) has noted, a number of the most beautiful Church of England medieval buildings and places of worship today have no congregations. In its report, the Church of England could therefore state that “more than a quarter of churches have fewer than 20 worshippers on a Sunday – fewer than 10 in rural areas” (Jenkins, 2015: 1). Jenkins further argues that 85% of England's population go to church once a year because the Church

of England is now regarded as “the community’s ritual forum; its museum, its art gallery, its concert hall, its occasional retreat for peace, consolation, and meditation” (Jenkins, 2015: 1).

The form of church that the English people brought to Natal is no longer relevant in their home country. It has been affected by the change of culture in the modern world. Many people no longer see the need to go to church, or belong to a church. The Anglican culture that was brought to Natal in the nineteenth-century is no longer relevant to its custodians who brought it to Natal. The modern Zulus who go to the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Natal are no longer the same as the Zulus who were found in Natal by the settlers and colonialists of the nineteenth-century in terms of culture and generation. The British people over the years have realised that the culture they had in the nineteenth-century was inhuman and wrong:

In 2013 the British Foreign Secretary William Hague expressed remorse and formally apologised for the crimes that were committed by Europeans in Africa during colonialism. He offered Kenya 19,9 million pounds to be shared by 5228 Kenyan claimants (Engelhart, 2013: 1).

The fact that the British government which brought the Anglican Church to Natal was mixed with British culture is now admitting and apologising for the abuses of their colonial past and compensating its victims. The British government also owes the Zulus of Natal an apology for causing a cultural conflict and disaster through their colonial and imperialistic policies. Colenso had to expose their injustices and suffering that was caused by their invasion in 1873. In the final ten years of his life, “he became an infamous critic of the British colonial and imperial policies over African people in Natal and Zululand” (Guy, 1983: 3). Continuing to worship using the culture that has been declared wrong by people who brought it does not help Africans to find their true identity. In addition, continuing to worship using the culture that the people who brought it to Natal by force, but are no longer interested in attending or in membership of the established Church of England and are leaving the Church in large numbers in their own country, is guilty of pulling Africans backward. It is thus of paramount importance to decolonise the Anglican ecclesiology that was brought to the Diocese of Natal because the generations of people who brought it have realised that it was a mistake.

4.3.3. Africans were Worshipping God in Their Way

Many early missionaries did not think it important to find out whether the Zulus knew God before their arrival. They generally assumed that the Zulus were heathens and needed converting to Christianity. This assumption appears in the writings and diaries of many of the missionaries who had first contact with Zulus, and misunderstood them or made little to no effort to understand the Zulu culture and its understanding about God.

The Revd Francis Owen spent only three years at Port Natal, while enduring a rocky relationship with the Zulu people between 1837 to 1839. In 1837, when Owen arrived in Natal, he was not allowed by Dingane ka Senzangakhona Zulu (c. 1795–1840), the Zulu Monarch, to establish a mission station at the royal kraal. In 1839, Owen left Port Natal for good (Cory, 1926: 110). He argued that Zulus had no knowledge of God (Weir, 2005). Owen and Nathaniel Isaacs's writings and accuracy on the Zulu understanding about God is questioned by many historians like Wylie (2006) who believe that Isaac's writings were exaggerated to boost the sales of his books. The written narratives of the missionaries reveal they made little effort to understand Zulu culture, and thus made the unfounded claim that the Zulu people did not know God.

In a study conducted by Hege Roaldset on the encounter between the Zulu people and Norwegian missionaries in the nineteenth-century, it reveals that the missionaries learned the isiZulu language so that they could engage them. One of the Norwegian missionary's observed that the Zulu people believed in a high god who resembled the Christian God, even though their notion was questioned later as belief in an old ancestor (Roaldset, 2010). Colenso agreed with the Norwegian missionary's first-hand information about the high god who was being worshipped by the Zulu people as resembling the Christian God. He insisted that uNkulunkulu was the same as the Christian God (Weir, 2005). Colenso's view can be more reliable because he spent seven years learning the Zulu language and culture at his mission school at eKukhanyeni and he spent most of his time with the Zulu people (Guy, 1997). Magma Fuze, a native writer who worked with Colenso "used the term uNkulunkulu to suggest a divine foundation of all kingship" (Mokoena, 2008: 16). The Christian God is also referred to as a King of kings (Deut. 10:17; Psa. 136:3; Dan. 2:47; 1 Tim. 6:15; Rev. 1:5, 19:16)

The missionaries' interest was to spread Anglicanism using the European understanding of God. Ignoring the local culture and local ways of worship and imposing a European culture of

worship over the local indigenous people was another form of colonial crime that was committed by the missionaries.

Becca Whistler (2021), argues that an accurate way to construct the liturgy is to design the liturgy in such a way that reflects the everyday life experiences of the people it is intended for. Imposing liturgy over people cannot be an accurate way to present the Christian gospel to people if things were to be done in Whistler's way. To correct this mistake of the missionaries, the liturgists need to consider examining people's everyday experiences and let the liturgy speak to people's everyday experiences.

4.3.4. The Planting of the First Anglican Parishes in Natal

The first Anglican Parishes were established by the European missionaries and Army Chaplains who were anti-Zulu in Natal. A typical example of this is the establishment of the first Anglican Parish in Northern Natal at Estcourt in 1882 (Parish Council, 1882). The mission was established by Padre George Smith who is considered by many Anglican writers as the most warlike priest in the history of the Anglican communion (Parish Council, 1882). He was riding his horse with the troops during the Chief Langalibalele Rebellion against the British Government in Natal (Parish Council, 1882). When the British Government demanded the registration of firearms in 1873, Langalibalele refused to co-operate, resulting in the death of British soldiers. Revd George Smith was distributing ammunition to the troops from his hat during this war. He was also riding with the soldiers during the British invasion in Zululand, distributing ammunition to the troops. In other words, he was on the side of the British troops who were invading and attacking the Zulu people. He also accompanied Lord Chelmsford during the shutting down of Ulundi (Parish Council, 1882). How ironic is it that a man who was such a racist could be the founder of the Parish that would later have Zulu congregants? A person who was involved in the killing of Zulus and the taking their land. He had already captured the land at Estcourt because he donated two pieces of it to the Anglican Church.

The founding of the Parish of All Saints in Ladysmith is another typical example of the how the Anglican Church was involved in the colonial agenda. Before the consecration of Bishop Colenso "there were two acres of land that was preserved for the building of the Church, after the consecration of Bishop Colenso that land was handed over to the Diocese of Natal and the first Vicar was appointed in 1859 which was Revd W. Newman" (Parish Council, 1982b).

Later, “on the 16th of October 1882 the foundation of the stone was laid by Sir Henry Ernest Bulwer the Governor of Natal” (Parish Council, 1982b). How ironic is it that, the Governor who was one of the facilitators of colonialism in Natal lays a stone of the Parish Church in Ladysmith? If the Anglican Church in Natal was against the imperialist policies of the British government, was he going to participate in laying its stone? What is more interesting is that, “inside the Church there was an extension built in 1902, which forms the memorial to those who lost their lives during the siege and relief of the town” (Parish Council, 1982b). Who was it sieged by? Why would the Church erect memorials of the perpetrators of colonialism and have no programmes for the victims of colonialism? It is important for this argument to indicate that the memorials that were erected in the Parish of All Saints in Ladysmith were the memorials of the British soldiers, and not of the Zulu people who were slain. Bishop Nuttall (1982) can write that “it was therefore inevitable that the new Church became a ‘soldiers Church’ and repository of much of the memorabilia from the various campaigns in these parts of Northern Natal.” The first memorial at the Parish of All Saints, Ladysmith, that was erected was of the soldiers who died during the outbreak of the Zulu war at Isandlwana (Nuttall, 1982). Lord Chelmsford passed by the Church with his army while on his way to war, after the 21 injured soldiers were nursed by Sister Emma Durham who erected the memorial in the Church (Nuttall, 1982).

The Parish Church of All Saints Ladysmith became the European soldier’s memorial Church, where its Lych-Gate was “built in memory of the soldiers who died between 1914 to 1918” (Parish Council, 1982b). According to the reports of the time, “the All Saints Church was fully involved in the siege of the town from the Natives, many services were held at All Saints by Archdeacon Barker with Chaplains and regiments praying for them to conquer” (Parish Council, 1982b). What is more interesting is that “the Parish was harbouring the employees of the British Government and even praying for them” (Parish Council, 1982b). If the Parish was against colonialism, why would it harbour and pray for the workers of the colonial government inside the church?

The above two parishes are among many Anglican Parishes that were established during the capture of Natal, and that were involved in the capture by praying for the war chaplains and the soldiers who were capturing Natal. They even erected the memorials of the soldiers who died in the capturing of Natal and the founder who was physically involved in the war against the Zulu people who were defending their land. The liturgy that was used in the nineteenth-

century by both Parishes is found in the archives of both Parishes which is the common liturgy that was originally crafted by Bishop Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) in England (Parish Council, 1982b; Parish Council, 1882). Indeed, there is no evidence in both archives, that any liturgy was specifically designed to accommodate Zulu culture and religion. In the archives, there is also a book that has the Saints that were commemorated during that time, all of which were Europeans (Parish Council, 1982b; Parish Council, 1882). The information in both Parish archives reveals that there was no effort to accommodate Zulu ‘converts,’ their culture and traditions being ignored by the first Anglican missionaries who imposed their English culture and traditions upon the Zulu people. Hence, it was essentially a white church that served the interests of colonialism and paid no attention to the then existing Zulu culture and traditions.

The Anglican Church in Natal was a colonial church, and as such, assisted in capturing the land from the Zulu people. Indeed, there is no evidence of the church speaking out against the capturing and colonising of Zulu land, except that of Bishop Colenso. In other words, the first Anglican missionaries were willing vehicles of the colonialist project. Ballard and Feist in an important research study of the nineteenth-century missionaries in Natal, provide an example of this when they state that, “the Anglican missionary Revd Robert Robertson wrote a number of letters to the local press branding King Cetshwayo as a cruel and bloodthirsty despot and a foe of Christianity” (Ballard & Feist, 2010: 8). The missionaries felt they were exercising “civilisation over heathen black man” (Ballard & Feist, 2010: 7). There was the belief among the missionaries that, “Zulus were so embroiled and ensnared in their heathen morals and customs, in superstition and animism that they did not want to give up” (Ballard & Feist, 2010: 8). As a result, many Anglican missionaries were part of the war party during the Anglo-Zulu war (Ballard & Feist, 2010: 8). According to Ballard and Feist, the role of the missionaries was nothing other than encouraging the Colonial Government of that time to disarm Zulus, breaking up their military organisation, and appointing British-born residents to watch over them (2010: 8). They go on to state that, “one of the English missionaries encouraged Sir Bartle Frere to have war with the Zulus” (Ballard & Feist, 2010: 8). Accordingly, “the missionaries in Natal were close to those who were sharing with them common language and culture” (Ballard & Feist, 2010: 8). It is very important to note that the Zulus had their view about God, and had their way of communicating with God. It is surprising that the missionaries concluded that they were heathens because they did not view God through European lenses.

The Anglican priest and scholar John Pobee argues that “even if missionaries have denied that they were racist but they were” (Pobee, 2017). If they were not racist or not part of the colonial project as many of the missionaries claim, then why did they not speak out against colonialism and racism? Why did they even consider erecting memorials of the soldiers who were enforcers of colonialism? Why did they continue to use the Church of England liturgy that was crafted in England for the English people over the Zulus? That is why Pobee can assert, “Christian missionaries were the face of the colonialism” (Pobee, 2017). This was true, especially in Natal. He further argues that “actually the European Christian missions were the conscious agents of the imperialism and colonialism” (Pobee, 2017). He goes on to state that “missionaries came from Europe with their European cultural constructs and artefacts firmly in place” (Pobee, 2017). One of the painful things that is reckoned in Pobee’s argument is that “Christian theology in Africa was a clone of European models” (Pobee, 2017), meaning that Zulus who were preached to and taught about Christianity were taught using European models. This was the case also with their mission of Christianising the Zulus in Natal, which was conducted using the European model by the missionaries during the capture of Natal. The Europeans tasked by the British Government with Christianising Zulus were placed through the Shepstone location programme.

According to Pobee (2017), the use of European models by the Anglican missionaries during the capture of Natal is how the Anglican Church became the willing accomplices of colonialism. The Anglican Church in Natal is guilty as are all other European missionaries of using European models to accomplish their mission to the Zulus. Firstly, most of the Anglican missionaries who came to Natal in the nineteenth-century came as adults who were raised in Europe, imbibed in European culture and the European way of life. Truman (2014) argues that “it is difficult separate a man who is preaching the message from the message he preaches.” The missionaries who came to Natal obviously did not know anything about Zulu culture, they were not raised in Zulu culture; they were Europeans who arrived with the colonialists. Even if they wanted to preach using Zulu culture and traditional religion, they could not because they were not Zulus. The message of God was known in Natal by the Zulus, they knew God in their way. The missionaries acted as if they were preaching about the new God that they were bringing, yet they were preaching about the same God who was known to Zulus as *uMvelinqangi*. The difference between their message about God and the God who was already known by the Zulus is that their message was contaminated by their suspicious intentions and by their European culture and traditions.

4.3.4.1. The Arrival of Colenso in Natal

Colenso was not the first person to introduce the Anglican Church into Natal, for “Anglicans came with settlers in Natal in 1824, the first missionaries came in 1830’s and the colonial chaplains were appointed for Pietermaritzburg and Durban in 1849” (Diocese of Natal, 2012). There is no evidence of any form of transformation of liturgy that was implemented by the missionaries or army chaplains to accommodate Zulu worship when they were planting the Anglican Church in Natal. There is also no evidence of the inculturation of the Anglican ecclesiology to the Zulu culture and traditions by missionaries or army chaplains. Colenso arrived under those conditions, where the British government in Natal was in the process of ‘civilising and Christianising’ the natives through Shepstone’s racist native Location Systems (Ivey, 2008). He came at a time when the church was a willing accomplice in the colonial project. No-one cared about the Zulu cultural and religious tradition, the Colonial Government and the missionaries believing that Zulus had to be Europeanised through what they called “civilisation and Christianisation.” to stay and live alongside the European settlers in Natal.

According to Ballard and Feist:

During the time of the capturing of Natal there was a man who was very unpopular amongst the white settlers, that man was Bishop Colenso and his daughters Herriette and Frances because they were in the forefront against the maltreatment of Langalibalele, Cetshwayo and Dinizulu by the Colonial Government and White settlers (2010: 7).

Bishop Colenso became a unique white missionary Bishop by contradicting the white missionaries in Natal of that time, who according to Hetherington “supported the invasion of the Zulu Kingdom by British troops in 1879” (cited in Ballard & Feist, 2010: 7).

Colenso and his daughters became the first notable English family to take a notable step in decolonising the Anglican ecclesiology. His actions suggested that he understood that God is not only for the Europeans, but is the God of everyone who loves God’s people equally. Colenso’s actions also suggest that he understood that the way Europeans perceived God was not the same as how Zulus perceived God because of the differences in culture. His approach acknowledged that European culture and Zulu culture is not the same and that God is easily viewed through the lenses of another’s culture. Colenso further acknowledged that if a priest

or missionary is forcing and ministering to a person of a different culture using a foreign culture, they might not be able to produce a genuine convert out of their ministry.

Colenso was named by some writers as a “defender of the Zulus” (Marks, 1963; South African History Online, n.d.e). The fact that Colenso had to fight against fellow Anglican missionaries and the British Government of his time is one of the important pieces of evidence that the missionaries of that time did not have good intentions towards the Zulus. There is no way one can deny that Colenso was a Western imperialist, but his conscience and liberal educational upbringing would not allow him to impose his ‘Britishness’ over Zulus. He felt that the mission was not done correctly, hence he and his daughters decided to take the side of the Zulus who were foreign to him and defended them.

Colenso was a very educated man, he being an “English mathematician, theologian, Biblical scholar and social activist” (O’Connor & Robertson, 2008). It is important in terms of this present study to also to note that, “William Colenso’s parents were nonconformists” (O’Connor & Robertson, 2008) which meant that they were Protestants who were outside the Established Church of England. It was thus part Colenso’s upbringing to think outside of the Church of England and where a person who can think out of the box is able to easily identify the mistakes inside the box.

History writers describe Colenso as a person who was “a great mathematician” (MacTutor, n.d.), he did it at a high school level and went further with it to be tutor of maths” (MacTutor, n.d.). This also distinguished him from other missionaries of his time. Audsley (2019) argues that there are “six benefits of doing mathematics,” stating that “it makes your brain to be excellent, creative and analytical, it helps one to be able to deal with real world application, it equips one to have better problem-solving skills, it helps one in almost every career, it helps one to understand the world better and it is the universal language” (Audsley, 2019). There is no way one can guarantee that Colenso loved the Zulu people, but what one can guarantee is that he showed all the elements of being a mathematician in dealing with his ministry in Natal. He was able to analyse Zulu culture, and devise creative ways of ministering to them. In other words, he could solve a problem as a true mathematician. His actions suggest that as a mathematician he believed that ‘civilising’ or ‘Briticising’ Zulus was not a good solution. For Colenso, he felt that for the Christian gospel to be preached to the Zulus, it must meet them in

their culture. He believed that Zulus should not need to be converted to be Europeans for them to accept the Christian gospel.

4.3.4.2. Colenso's Ability to See a Better World

Colenso's approach to ministry showed that he was able to see the world in a better light, which is also one of the benefits of being a mathematician. I argue here that he was able to see the world better because he could see that 'Briticising' Zulus was not a permanent solution. One day Zulus will regain their strength and realise that they were 'Briticised' and they will want to go back to their roots. This can only be realised by someone who is able to see the world better. Of course, some 150 years after his arrival in Natal, many Zulus are educated and most Zulu academics are researching about their roots. Many African scholars and politicians are researching on how Africans can be decolonised from many things. Colenso predicted this by trying to minister to the Zulus in their culture and not try to take them out of their culture and change their identity and call that part of the process of the Christian mission. Mathematicians such as Colenso have the ability to understand the world better.

4.3.4.3. Colenso's Ability as a Problem Solver

Mathematicians are problem solvers. The fact that Colenso was able to learn isiZulu and translate the Bible from its original Semitic languages into isiZulu for Zulus to read the Bible in their own language (Draper, 2003), shows that he was a man of solutions. Colenso found himself between the Zulus and the British empire, where "he spent most of his time with the Zulus in his mission at ekuKhanyeni mission, speaking isiZulu for seven years before publishing his work" (Mokoena, 2008). At the same time, he was a British imperial officer as a Bishop in the Natal Colony. He was defending the Zulus, but in other letters he wrote praising Theophilus Shepstone 1817–1893), who severely damaged the culture and life of the Zulu peoples (Ivey, 2008). Colenso's ability to balance his defence of the Zulus and his position as a British official was a confirmation of his ability to solve problems before him.

4.3.4.4. Colenso's Intellectual Prowess

Arriving in a foreign far-off land to be a Bishop and a missionary to people who did not speak his language or share his culture must have been a very difficult journey to take in life. It seems like this experience matched Colenso's intellectual prowess, exhibited in excellency of thought,

creativity, and analytical ability. Within seven years of his arrival in Natal, Colenso was able to produce an interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans in isiZulu (Masubelele, 2009). His translations were based on the Zulu culture (Masubelele, 2009). According to Masubelele, (2009), Colenso's work was the combination of his previous educational experience and his seven years' experience with the Zulus, incorporating elements of both English and Zulu culture. It covered all the races that were residing in Natal. He was able to analyse both cultures and come up with a creative way of interpreting the Bible that would speak to all the residents of Natal.

Colenso used his mathematical skills to try and decolonise ecclesiology and defend the Zulu people from the hostility they were receiving from his fellow Europeans. It seems like Colenso knew that the indoctrination of British culture without any effort of understanding the Zulu culture was the greatest sin of colonisation. He tried to incorporate the Zulu culture into the interpretation of the Bible to make sure that Zulu culture and tradition became part of the newly-formed Christian community of Natal which was made up of Europeans and Zulus. This action was contradicting the wishes of Shepstone and other missionaries because according to them, Zulus were supposed to become civilised (or 'Briticised'). For them, it was necessary to transform Zulus in terms of culture and tradition and make them to be Europeans in Black skin in terms of culture and religion, to be able to live together with Europeans. Colenso as a creative man was willing to found a new community which acknowledges its differences in culture, and can live together. His combination of different cultures in his interpretation of the Book of Romans suggested exactly that. Yet, his actions did not go on without consequence, for "he was summoned in 1863 by his superior Archbishop Robert Gray of Cape Town for his teachings against eternal punishment for sinners and for his toleration of polygamy amongst the Zulus" (Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d.).

Other than being a mathematician, "Colenso's theological thinking was influenced by Frederick Maurice whom he met through his wife and Samuel Taylor Coleridge" (Bosman, 2013). "Maurice was the founder and the expander of Christian socialism which integrates Christianity and socialism, approves left wing politics and social economics basing its argument on the teachings of Jesus Christ" (Bosman, 2013). According to F. D. Maurice (1805–1872), Christian socialism "is the doctrine that rejects social inequality and defines it as greed that is stemming from Capitalism" (Williams, 2015). Williams argues that "Christian socialists believe that properties and resources must be owned by society instead of private

ownership” (Williams, 2015). It is a belief in “working together and sharing of everything that comes out of that work” (Williams, 2015). The work of Colenso in Natal showed many elements of Christian socialism. The colonialists and missionaries of his time in Natal contradicted almost all the elements of Christian socialism. They took away the land from the Zulu people based on their race, and grouped them through Shepstone’s policies and isolated them. They were surely not willing by any means to share resources with the Zulu people. Isolating other people in the community like this was totally against the ideals of Christian socialism.

Colenso was influenced by both mathematics and Christian socialism. This might mean that he did not necessarily have to be in love with the Zulu people, or abandon his Europeanism. Even if he were placed in any other context other than among the Zulu people, he was going to learn the culture of the people he was living amidst and stand against elements of capitalism. The principles of Christian socialism are not guided by the colour of other peoples’ skin like racism. It is guided by the character of equality.

4.3.4.5. The Persecution of Bishop Colenso

Colenso’s mathematical skills may have contributed to empower him to be a thinker that he appeared to be. Bishop Colenso was called “Sobantu” (lit: “father of the nation”) by Africans. There are many reasons Colenso was regarded as a “father of the nation.” Mokoena (2019) narrates how Colenso stood against his own to defend King Langalibalele (1814–1889) and the amaHlubi against the British government and was accused of rebellion. Colenso wrote a letter defending Langalibalele, accusing the colonial government of sanguinary despotism. Mokoena (2019) argues that Colenso’s fellow Englishmen started to see him as a defender of Africans and not as a European Bishop or someone representing the British government. Colenso’s defence of Langalibalele and the amaHlubi did not come as a surprise to the colonial masters.

It became clear that in the ministry of Colenso, the native converts were at the centre of Colenso’s ministry. Colenso did not stand with Africans because he was claiming to be black or maybe hypocritically turning against his own in a foreign land; instead, he was standing against injustice that was done by Europeans over Africans. He had spent most of his time with Zulus at his mission school at eKukhanyeni and realised that they were people like all

other people who had their culture that was different from the Europeans. They were not as bad as the European colonial masters wanted them to appear.

He claimed in this report that he did not stand with a person based on race, but that he stood against injustice. The Europeans clearly wanted to do injustice unopposed. This suggests that anyone who opposed the injustice of the African people at the hands of the colonists was to be viewed as an enemy of Europe.

4.3.4.6. The Zulu's View of Colenso's Ministry

Magama Fuze is one of the accurate sources on the African view of Bishop Colenso because he spent most of his time with Colenso as his student at the eKukhanyeni missionary school. He was also part of three Zulus who accompanied Bishop Colenso to his journey to meet King Cetshwayo: Magema Fuze, Ndiane and William Ngidi (Mokoena, 2008). Fuze's book, *Abantu abamnyama la bevela khona*, published in 1922, gives an idea of what was happening around him and his context during the time he spent with Bishop Colenso. It also suggests the type of relationship Bishop Colenso had with the Zulu people in Natal and Zululand. Mokoena engages Fuze's book in an article that he published in 2004, analysing the life and relationship of both Colenso and Fuze in their context.

Mokoena (2008) argues that Fuze's transformation and growth as a writer can be understood in its own terms as both the actualisation of a mission-centric literacy and a personal transformation and commitment that reverberated with cultural and political changes that were occurring outside the mission context. Mokoena (2008) is confirming the reliability of Fuze's writings in terms of his knowledge of the mission of eKukhanyeni and the socio-cultural context of his time. Mokoena (2008) also states that Fuze was involved and implicated in Colenso's political activities. He had an intimate idea of what was taking place in the life of Colenso. His knowledge was also informed by what was happening outside the mission. He was Zulu and was born and grew up in Natal. His perspective and lenses to view Colenso's mission was also shaped by his Zulu cultural and traditional upbringing.

Mokoena gives credits to Colenso for the ability of Fuze to engage the world outside the mission while he was working at the mission. He argues, "what was unique about Colenso's mission was that as a missionary, he did not separate the personal from the political. In other words, he did not delimit the mission from the outside world. In doing so, Colenso imparted

to his converts a dexterous ability to engage with both the spiritual and the secular worlds.” The usage of the word “converts” by Mokoena (2008) throughout the article suggests that in his view, Colenso did not view people based on their race, but based on being converts. His ability to treat people as his equals reflects on Fuze’s ability to engage Christianity and politics exactly like Colenso. Besides being his role model, Colenso allowed him to be empowered to write books that could be published at a time when many Europeans were self-centred and unwilling to even hear an African’s opinion. Through the life of Fuze, Colenso appears as someone who empowers Christian converts.

Mokoena states that Cetshwayo kaMpande (1826–1884), King of the Zulu Kingdom, called Colenso his “father.” The relationship between the King and Bishop was a familial kind of a relationship; it was not a master-servant kind of relationship, as was the case with most of the Europeans who were in Natal. The name “Sobantu,” (lit: “father of the nation”) given to Colenso by the Zulus, suggests that they too, like Cetshwayo, saw him as their father, and not as a boss, or slave master.

Cetshwayo also referred to him as a father because when he was being persecuted by the imperialists. Colenso stood against the Europeans and defended the king of the Zulus together with other African kings who were being unjustly condemned. He became the protector of the Zulus in Natal who were being unjustly persecuted. Gammage (2003) thus states that Colenso stood with the Zulu against injustice that was exacted by the British towards the Zulus. His children did likewise (Gammage, 2003). Colenso’s eldest daughter Harriette E. Colenso (b. 1847) was much involved in Zulus affairs and spent her life defending the Zulus against the injustices that were perpetrated by the imperialists. When King Dinizulu was exiled in St. Helena in 1889, Harriette took her mother and sister to England to campaign against the sentence that was given to Dinizulu (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019). Also, during the Bambatha Rebellion in 1906 when the amaZulu King was dragged into the Greytown court accused of taking part in the rebellion, Harriette was leading King Dinizulu’s supporters. She bowed to King Dinizulu, but not to the judges (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2019). She wrote several newspaper articles that exposed the cruelty of the Europeans over the Africans. Before her sister Frances passed on, she also wrote articles that were pro-Zulu, defending the Zulus and exposing the European injustices. Bishop Colenso had a caring heart for his converts.

Bishop Colenso was the first person to play a major role in decolonising Anglican ecclesiology in the Diocese of Natal. After listening to his converts' questions at eKukhanyeni concerning his teachings about the Bible, he wrote a critique of the Pentateuch in 1861 and of the Epistle to the Romans in 1862 and 1879, taking into consideration the Zulu culture and traditions (Colenso, 1883). The first step towards the decolonisation of Anglicanism was the capacity of Colenso to listen to those who were considered inferior by his fellow Europeans and take their questions seriously.

The second step towards the decolonisation of Anglicanism and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures was to teach the Zulus at eKukhanyeni, how to read and write. Colenso translated the Bible into isiZulu so that learners could read it for themselves. Colenso's support for King Cetshwayo, the AmaHlubi chief, the interpretation of the Bible was based on the questions from the Zulu people at his mission station. His translation and publication of isiZulu and English dictionaries and his opposition to the invasion of Zulus in 1878 made him very popular and thereby gained a lot of respect from the Zulus and amaHlubi (Colenso, 1883).

4.3.4.7. The European's View of Colenso's Ministry

While Colenso was becoming famous and beloved by the Zulus and Hlubis, he became very unpopular among the Europeans and the Anglican Church in Southern Africa in particular. Draper (2003) argues that Colenso's criticisms of the Pentateuch was not only aimed at the Established Church of England, but also of the British empire and colonial society in general. As a result, the bishops of the Church of England tried "to reconvert Colenso to an acceptance of the infallibility of the Holy Scriptures and to a recognition of the 'errors' he had made in his criticism of the historicity of the Pentateuch" (Draper, 2003: 167). According to his fellow bishops, he was just a disappointment to the Church of England and to the British empire. Draper argues that instead of getting reconverted as his fellow Anglican bishops wished, "Colenso took his publications that were about his criticisms of the Pentateuch and British empire to England and became a missionary to his own people" (Draper, 2003: 167).

Colenso's stand with the Zulus made him lose not only his friends, but also the colonist's trust. Draper (2003: 162) argues that "Bishop Colenso's twenty-year friendship with the Secretary for Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone, was ruined by his critique of the irregularities in the case of Langalibalele." On the other hand, he lost trust in his friendship with the Archbishop

of Cape Town because of his liberal biblical interpretations and theology. As a result, he had conflict with Bishop Robert Gray and his fellow High Church Bishops of South Africa that led to the first Lambeth Conference that was requested by the Anglican Church in Canada in 1865 (Lampallib, 2020: 1). One of the theological disputes that led Colenso to be even more unpopular was opposing the Anglican Church from enforcing the separation of native polygamists from their wives after conversion. He wrote that “the usual practice of enforcing the separation of wives from their husbands, upon their conversion to Christianity, is quite unwarrantable, and opposed to the plain teaching of our Lord” (Traill, 2017: 1). Colenso became very unpopular and was considered a very lost Bishop. In 1863, Bishop Gray announced the excommunication of Colenso. The case was overturned by the Privy Council in London on the basis that Bishop Gray had no coercive jurisdiction or authority to interfere with a fellow bishop of the Church of England (Lampallib, 2020). As a result, Colenso continued to be the Bishop of Natal. The Anglican missionaries to Natal came with the orthodox line of thinking which suggested that they were bringing the Christian gospel to unbelievers. Colenso too was like that before meeting his future wife, Sarah Frances Bunyon (m. 1846), who, through her reading, came to believe that God was always present in all people, whether they knew about Christ or not (Traill, 2017: 1). Colenso thus adopted his future wife’s line of thinking, it being Sarah who first introduced him to F. D. Maurice. He did not come to Natal with the attitude of converting the heathen, but with an attitude that the Zulus knew Jesus. “They only needed to be engaged on the basis of their cultures, traditions and history” (Draper, 2003: 167).

Although Colenso was enjoying overwhelming support from the Zulus and Hlubis, he faced a lot of opposition from the British government and the Church of England for decolonising Anglicanism through studying the culture and listening to the Zulu converts and for standing with Zulus and the Hlubis against the British empire’s colonial autocracy and cruelty.

4.3.4.8. Colenso’s Theology and Charges

Hinchliff (1963) argues that Colenso’s teachings were universalist, but that they were both wrong and dangerous. Hinchliff’s estimation was based on nine charges against Colenso that were made by Bishop Gray. However, Gray’s charges were appraised by his uninformed view about Colenso’s relationship and view about the Zulu people. They were also informed by his liberal theological background. Judging Colenso on the basis of nine charges as narrated by

Gray can also be misleading without looking at what informed Bishop Gray's character and views and the wording, he used to narrate the charges. Hinchliff agrees with many other scholars that "Robert Gray was High Church and Tractarian sympathiser" (Beckman, 2011: 87; Bremner, 2013: 208; Southey, 1998: 20). Tractarianism being "a system of High Church principles set forth in a series of tracts at Oxford (1833–1841)" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Bathke (2020) agrees with the suspicions of other scholars that Gray was a High Church cleric and Tractarian sympathiser.

According to Bathke (2020), Gray had all these characteristics. Since Tractarianism began in Europe, this can only mean that the lenses he was using to charge Colenso were Eurocentric lenses that were not informed by the relationship Colenso had with the Zulu people in Natal. As has been shown, Colenso's writings were informed by the questions and his personal engagements with the culture, history, and traditions of the Zulu people. As Mokoena (2008) confirms, "Colenso spent most of his time with Zulus at eKukhanyeni mission and had a very close relationship with the Zulu kings." That is why Pratt (2004) argues that "Colenso's re-interpretation of Paul's teaching on *sola fide* took into account the situation among the Zulu." Colenso's theological views were shaped by his everyday life and everyday relationship and understanding of the Zulu culture and perspectives. Gray, who was a complainant in the case, had no idea of how the Zulus were thinking about God, their culture, traditions, and history. He had no close encounter with them and there is no evidence in history that suggests that he made any effort to spend time with them and understand them. His narrative of charges was simply informed by a Eurocentric view and not the Afro-centric view of the Zulus in particular. The conclusions of Hinchliff about the guilt of Colenso based on charges that were laid by Gray is at best, suspicious. It can be interesting to hear the narrative of a complainant who can charge Colenso on his theological views using Afro-centric theological lenses. The other fact is that the nine charges that were laid by Bishop Gray were informed by his anger against Colenso for what he viewed as insubordination, a view that "was later dismissed by the court of England on the basis that Gray went over his limits" (Draper, 2003).

For Draper (2000), the nineteenth-century missionaries left Europe with a social universe which appeared self-evident, secure, and superior to the indigenous cultures and beliefs of the colonized peoples. This element is evident in Bishop Gray's character. As Bathke (2020) can state, "he remained a devotee of the Book of Common Prayer, requiring his clergy to sign a declaration that they would conform to the Liturgy of the United Church of England and

Ireland.” This action suggests his unwillingness to establish an Afrocentric Anglican Church that takes into consideration the culture, traditions, and history of the African people. The charges and accusations that were laid against him possess a very suspicious wording over someone who showed a willingness to establish Afro-centric theology in his mission work towards the Zulu people.

Zulus had their ways of dealing with the perpetrators of what was considered evil in the community. Mzamane (2009) argues that “pre-colonial Zulus had their way of keeping law and order in the community, through the council of elders, culture, and traditions.” He also states that, “Africans have a value system that colonialism, segregation, and apartheid could distort and suppress but never eradicate, called *ubuntu*” (Mzamane, 2009). Through all the disciplinary processes and council of elders’ perspectives of identifying the perpetrator in the community, none of the Zulu processes or even kings found Bishop Colenso guilty, or to be a perpetrator of evil in the community. Even though they were illiterate, they could identify good and evil through the Zulu nation’s wisdom of elders and members of the tribe. That is why King Dingane at some point “refused to let Revd Owen build the mission in his kraal in 1839” (Cory, 1926: 3). Through his wisdom he knew that his intentions were not good. That is why the Zulus fought many wars against the British to defend their land. They were not so ignorant that they could not see evil. If Colenso expressed evil in his eyes, they were going to be suspicious of him. Why was the evil of Bishop Colenso only seen by European forces using the European criteria and lenses? African theologians have identified missionaries’ hypocrisy in the nineteenth-century and found Colenso not guilty of the same hypocrisy. Indeed, they all found Archbishop Gray guilty of ignoring African perspectives and imposing Eurocentric ecclesiology and white supremacy (Mokoena, 2008; Draper, 2003; Vilakazi, 2002; Ntshangase, 2020). Vilakazi (2002) substantiates his argument by stating that during the term of office of Archbishop Gray, no black person was ordained to the priesthood; indeed, only white people were ordained to the priesthood in his Diocese. The successors of Colenso from 1974 to 2021 did try to continue with the project of the inculturation of the Anglicanism from where he had concluded, as the following sub-sections will show.

4.3.5. Bishop Philip Russell (1974–1981)

Philip Russell (1919–2013) was born in Natal, and educated in Durban at Clifton Preparatory School and Durban High School (Anon, 2011). He also served in the Diocese of Natal, working

in different parishes across the Diocese such as, St Peters, All Saints, St Agnes, and Pinetown Parish. He also worked as Suffragan bishop of Cape Town from 1966 to 1970 after his consecration (Anon, 1992). Hence, he had an idea of what the Diocese of Natal was politically and ecclesiastically before becoming Bishop.

His predecessor, T. G. Vernon Inman (1905–1989), who was Bishop of Natal from 1951–1974, had paved the way for Russell and made the context conducive for him to continue with the decolonisation of Anglicanism. Like his predecessor, Bishop Russell hated racism. He indicated this by expressing doubts about Apartheid and racism through his sermons (Russell, 1962). Although he served for a very short term before moving to be the Archbishop of Cape Town, “he united the Maritzburg Parishes and built the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity and came back as an Archbishop to consecrate it in 1981” (Diocese of Natal, 1982). The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity had become the symbol of unity of all races in the Diocese of Natal, it being where many priests and deacons from all races were being ordained.

4.3.6. **Bishop Michael Nuttall (1982–1999)**

Michael Nuttall (b. 1934) grew up and was educated in Natal. He studied at Maritzburg College, the University of Natal, and Rhodes University (Who’s Who, 2008). He became Bishop of Natal at a time when South Africa was engulfed in political riots that were fuelled by the 1976 Soweto Uprising against the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of learning in black schools by the Apartheid regime, and other social ills that were based on racial hatred towards blacks (UKEssays, 2018). The Apartheid regime declared a State of Emergency because of the violent resistance and escalating insurgence at its borders, including the ones inside the country (South African History Archive, n.d). It was during Nuttall’s tenure that Natal was considered the most violent province in the world. Severe political wars occurred between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and African National Congress (ANC) and much bloodshed and tears were shared between 1990 to 1994 (*The Mercury*, 2014). The country made its transition from Apartheid to democracy during his tenure. The Anglican Church had the responsibility of facilitating reconciliation in Natal.

Nuttall used his sermons to reject Apartheid. During Christmas 1993, he stated unequivocally, “White people have had the white Christmas for 340 years. We now hope to have a rainbow Christmas that is reflecting rainbow people in a land we all share” (Nuttall, 2015: 128). The

vision of a “rainbow nation” in both the church and society outside of the church is a good summary of the Bishopric of Bishop Nuttall. He was involved “in the reconciliation talks between the government, Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress in 1990 after the conflict that led to thousands of deaths in Natal which he considered as a major learning experience” (Nuttall, 2015: 104). He associated himself with the Diakonia Council of Churches in Durban, an organisation that stood for “healing, reconciliation, building and peace” (Nuttall, 2015: 105). Bishop Nuttall spoke and lived the theology of reconciliation through all his episcopal ministry. In the Bishop’s charge that he made in the Diocesan Synod of 12 May 1995, he compared acceptance of each other despite our differences as a gift of hospitality which is equivalent to the hospitable heart of Jesus (Nuttall, 2015: 128).

After a long journey of racial division in the Anglican Diocese of Natal under different bishops, the diocese needed a person of Bishop Nuttall’s calibre to reconcile whites and blacks who had not been worshipping together for more than 300 years, who found it very difficult to accept one another because of the scars they had caused one another. Reconciliation is part and parcel of the decolonisation project of Anglican ecclesiology because the Anglican Church is guilty of colonialism and racism. Reconciliation between these two groups was the beginning of the journey of forgiveness and acceptance to create a fertile ground to establish a Natal-based Anglicanism that both races contributed to developing as equal partners.

4.3.7. Bishop Rubin Phillip (1999–2015)

Although the Privy Council in London reversed the excommunication status of Colenso by finding Bishop Gray had no coercive jurisdiction or authority to interfere with a fellow bishop of the Church of England, Bishop Gray did nothing to reverse that status at the church level. Instead, in 1868 he appointed William Kenneth Macrorie (1831–1905) as bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Maritzburg in the presence of Bishop Colenso which suggested that he was still considering him excommunicated despite the court ruling. This action of Bishop Gray caused schism in the Diocese of Natal. When Bishop Rubin Phillip (b. 1948) took over as the Bishop of Natal, he reversed the excommunication status of Bishop Colenso at the diocesan level (Diocese of Natal, n.d.b). There are many implications of this action by Bishop Rubin Phillip. It suggested that all the charges that were laid by Bishop Gray be suspended in the eyes of the Anglican Church in the Diocese of Natal. Bishop Phillip was challenging the Anglican Church in Natal to continue where Bishop Colenso had left off. The reversal of

Bishop Colenso's excommunication also suggested that the Diocese of Natal was agreeing with the Privy Council in London in finding Archbishop Gray wrong in excommunicating Bishop Colenso. It was also implying that the Diocese of Natal was approving Bishop Colenso's approach to mission in the diocese.

The reversal of the excommunication of Bishop Colenso came at a time when the country was in the process of reconciliation, five years after the first democratic elections in April 1994, after more than 300 years of colonialism and Apartheid. It came at a time when black and white people were finding their way of living together and worshipping together which appeared to be the project of Bishop Colenso, the project of treating black people as equal partners before God and being part of the Anglican ecclesiastical family.

Bishop Phillip had the characteristics of Bishop Colenso. Like Colenso, he was not only a priest but was also a freedom fighter, fighting for justice as well as equality of all people and races in Natal. Before becoming Bishop, he was a very close friend of Steve Bantu Biko who had been involved in the establishment of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) together with Barney Pityana and others. He was also detained by the Apartheid Government and was placed under house arrest for fighting against Apartheid (Amato, 2020). Like Bishop Colenso before him, he fought against the colonial government and stood for justice and took the side of the oppressed.

The approach of Bishop Phillip and Bishop Colenso to mission had similar elements of ecclesia-social justice theology. He made the Anglican Church in Natal a church that was not serving the interests of Europeans alone; instead, it became a church that served the entire community, especially the poor and vulnerable. He fought for the justice of vulnerable people, notably those living in informal settlements, represented by the shack-dwellers movement, *aBahlali baseMjondolo*, who were being evacuated from their shacks by the Democratic State like the Apartheid regime before 1994. Bishop Rubin Phillip stood for poor, black vulnerable people and challenged the Democratic State through the courts from repeating the similar atrocities that were done by the colonial and Apartheid governments to black people (Amato, 2020). He wanted everybody to be treated the same as equal partners in a democratic country.

During his tenure, he sold back the missionary land of Springvale and St. Chad's to the government so that it would return the land to the people who were the original owners before the arrival of the colonialists. He gave the missionary schools and hospitals to the government

so that they would be for the public benefit (Diocese of Natal, n.d.b). These actions neutralised the church politics taking place in these institutions. The politics had not been favourable to black people in the areas where they were situated, compelling them to become Anglicans by force so that they could benefit from these institutions. A baptismal certificate was one of the requirements to study at the missionary school (Diocese of Natal, n.d.b). Giving the missionary schools over to the Democratic Government meant that people had the right to study in these schools without having to be asked to present a baptismal certificate. By the Democratic State taking the missionary land, schools, and hospital, it liberated the poor and vulnerable people who had been oppressed in one way or another by the politics of the missions. This action also gave people the opportunity to step back and create their own culture that speaks to them and their contextual situations in their way, without losing or gaining any benefits from the mission.

4.3.8. **Bishop Dino Gabriel (2015–2019)**

For the first time in history, the Diocese of Natal elected an Italian-born Bishop during the 2015 elective assembly after the retirement of Bishop Philip (Conger, 2015). Bishop Dino Gabriel was a Roman Catholic priest, who came to South Africa as a missionary in 1987. In 1992, he was ordained into the Anglican priesthood before moving to the Diocese of Zululand where he was made a Dean in 1999, and elected Bishop in 2005 (Conger, 2015). He served as Bishop of Zululand for ten years. During the 2015 elective assembly in the Diocese of Natal, he was part of Archbishop Makgoba's staff to assist the archbishop with the administration of the elective assembly processes. After a very tight elective assembly, he was nominated from the floor and was elected to become the tenth Bishop of Natal (News24, 2015).

His experience and character befitted his translation to Natal because he was fluent in isiZulu and English. He is also married to a Nguni-speaking woman, ma Dlamini (Diocese of Natal, n.d.) and has four children. The family of Bishop Gabriel was a perfect reflection of the racial diversity of the Diocese of Natal as inherited from his predecessors. He had vast experience in working with the Zulu people in the Diocese of Zululand as a Rector, and then as diocesan bishop. Bishop Gabriel completed his theological studies in England (Conger, 2015) and as a European it meant that he was well-informed about European church politics. He had an ability to lead in a diverse context.

When he became Bishop, most of the diocesan properties – mission land, Anglican hospitals, and other properties, had already been sold to the government (Diocese of Natal, n.d.a). He relied mostly on the parish assessments for the running of the diocese. Many parishes owed the diocese because of the financial challenges that were affecting the country. South Africa went through a mild recession in 2018 (StatsSA, 2017), which meant that many people were unemployed and the membership of the Anglican Church was not growing as fast as it used to do (Diocese of Natal, n.d.b). This placed the diocese in a financial strain. The process of decolonisation of Anglican ecclesiology that was begun by his predecessors was affected because he spent most of his time wrestling with the financial challenges of the diocese through the diocesan *indaba* and through other means (Diocese of Natal, n.d.a). The financial strain on the Diocese, the employment of new priests to be rectors of parishes as promised at the 2016 Diocesan Synod, and the movement of priests from old parishes to new parishes placed many financial burdens of the Diocese (Diocese of Natal, n.d.a). This in turn led to personal conflicts between the bishop and clergy, where he reported “endured relentless abuse, threats, character assassination and racist remarks which were fired at him by some fellow church leaders.” (*Sunday Tribune (SA)*, 29 September 2019). While expected to retire in 2020, this conflict led to his immediate resignation at an acrimonious session of Synod in September 2019 (Diocese of Natal, 2019; ACNS, 2019).

What Bishop Gabriel did during his tenure was a remarkable part of the process of decolonisation of Anglicanism, including the continuation of the inclusion of Black women in his chapter to be Archdeacons and Canons (Diocese of Natal, n.d.a). He had the option to choose only male priests to be Archdeacons and Canons, especially as a previous Roman Catholic priest where the ordination of women is not recognised. He supported the growth of rural parishes and had a heart for rural development. At the 2016 Synod he pledged that all parishes would have Rectors, including that of rural parishes (Gabriel, 2016).

4.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY

Bishop John William Colenso began a very important journey of listening to Africans when he came to preach to them which was not the attitude that many European missionaries had had previously. If all Europeans had had the creative and intellectual mind of Colenso – a mind set upon investigating the history of the nation, cultures, and traditions to understand the thinking of that nation before imposing their European culture and way of life over other people, the

Anglican Church would not have suffered from losing such a huge number of people in the post-modern era and remaining with empty chapels that are now up for sale. Africans would have owned Anglicanism and made it part of their culture. Schools, clinics, hospitals, and land that the missionaries used to attract converts now belongs to the Democratic State. Black Anglicans are no longer interested in the church. There is no longer any benefit from the church because it failed to enhance African identity among the Zulus and Hlubis. If the Anglican Church had listened to Colenso and integrated Anglicanism into the culture of the people, the outcomes would not have been the same. Anglicanism in Natal would have been reformed in a very novel and interesting way. It was going to be a beautiful ecclesiology that would have become a mixture of European and African cultures, in which both Africans and Europeans were going to feel welcome and at home. Instead, due to a Eurocentric Anglicanism, the missionaries received a number of so-called converts from among the indigenous Zulu people whose sole focus was on the benefits they were to enjoy at the Anglican missions. This became clear during the Democratic dispensation post-1994 when Anglican missions were no longer giving benefits.

The Eurocentric religious culture of the Anglican Church is not attractive enough even in the multi-ethnic United Kingdom of the twenty-first-century. How effective will the culture be in Africa when those who brought it to Africa are failing to attract converts in their own country? It is time Africans consider transforming this European culture and establish their own Afro-centric ecclesiology and culture that will be born in Natal and be relevant to all age groups, races, and ethnic groups, so that Jesus can speak to them through their own history, culture, and traditions.

In the next chapter the data that has been received from the interviews will be analysed and discussed. The collection of information about the decline of membership in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity and the factors that are propelling it will also be engaged. People's views on these matters will also be presented.

Chapter 5: The Interviews

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains an analysis and discussion of the data that was received from the interviews conducted with the leadership and members, past and present of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg, as well one of the old leaders of the Cathedral.

5.2. THE INTERVIEWEES AND THEIR CONCERNS

Among the leaders was a female who had been a member of the Cathedral for more than 30 years, having worshipped under the leadership of all the Deans. In addition, thirty members who had left the Cathedral to worship in congregations elsewhere, as well as those who had chosen to become non-religious were also interviewed. The names of the interviewees were coded to maintain their anonymity and confidentiality. Of the interviewees, 60% of those who had left the Cathedral resided with their parents, and were still members of the Cathedral at the time of the interview. Of these, 70% were worshipping in Pentecostal Churches, and 20% in Shembe and Zion congregations, with the remaining 10% of the interviewees having become non-religious.

The one thing that the interviewees had in common, was that the majority indicated that they would return to the Anglican Church if their concerns were addressed. A few stated that they would never return to the Anglican Church. Nevertheless, all the interviewees expressed a love for the Cathedral, even though most maintained this from a distance. None of the interviewees showed any animosity towards the Cathedral. This showed that the Cathedral should seek ways to address their concerns so that members can return. A majority of the interviewees indicated that they were not happy about leaving the Cathedral which was the church of their parents to join other congregations, but they had no choice because of the concerns they had. While some of their concerns could alienate the Cathedral completely from its identity as an Anglican Church and an integral part of the Anglican communion, others issues were concerned with tradition and culture.

5.2.1. Healing and Miracles

Some of the interviewees left the Cathedral due to being ill, seeking healing and miracles elsewhere. They said that the Pentecostal Churches had the type of healing ministry that was not offered at the Cathedral. In addition, they expressed the view that the pastors of the Pentecostal Churches had the power to deal with evil spirits that inflict them, unlike the priests of the Anglican Church. Ogunu (2019) argues that pastors of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches recognise the existence of evil spiritual powers, especially witches, who trouble people with various kinds of illnesses. They also hold that witches and evil spirits are responsible for incurable diseases, and if any epidemic or pandemic breaks out in a village or town, they attribute it to these evil forces or the ill-will of some people against others. Ogunu (2019) further articulates that the Western missionary inaugurated mainline Churches sometimes neglects this traditional understanding of the causes of illness and misfortune.

The approach of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches towards healing does however have some problems. According to Mikelberg (2011: 1) in an article published in *The New York Daily News*, (27 November 2011), six people died of HIV and AIDS after their pastor from a Pentecostal Church in the UK told them to stop taking their medication because God had healed them. In another case, Zondi (2013) reported that the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) had called for Bishop Hamilton Nala of the Rebirth Family Church in Durban to be arrested for claiming that he could heal HIV and AIDS with holy water that had not been through clinical trials with the Medicines Control Council. Bishop Nala's congregants further testified that their Bishop's holy water could heal AIDS without any reliable scientific proof. According to Government statistics, in 2013 there were 5.26 million South Africans who were HIV+ (DoH, 2013). People were desperately seeking healing.

There is no record of any clergy attached to the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in any Parish Council or Vestry meeting who claimed to heal HIV and AIDS. While Pentecostal groups like the Rebirth Family Church in Durban declared that they could heal all manner of illnesses, the Cathedral never declared or promised they could offer such miraculous healing. The liturgy in *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* (CPSA 1989: 492–522), prescribes for the priest to lay hands, anoint with oil, and give communion to those who are sick. It does not promise that the sick will be healed. The liturgy also does not put an emphasis on demons or witchcraft being the cause of sickness. It rather gives prominence to the important role Christian priests, the laity,

doctors, psychiatrists, nurses, medical research, and hospitals play on a day-to-day basis (CPSA, 1989: 494). Landman (2012) calls the Anglican healing system a diaconal healing through food packages and hospices. She argues that between 2001 and 2006, the Anglican Church of Southern Africa and the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (MCSA) lost 26,2 million of its members to Charismatic-type churches due to the type of healing that is offered by them.

5.2.2. African Culture and Traditions

One of the interviewee's stated that she had left the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity to join the African Zionist Church because she felt called to become a *Sangoma* (Traditional healer/diviner). She tried to get help from within the Cathedral, but her efforts were unsuccessful. She discovered that the Anglican Church system did not accommodate her call. It may not be a surprise that the Anglican Church does not have a system in place to accommodate those who are called to be *Sangomas*. The Anglican Church is European in origin and is presented to Africans as espousing a Eurocentric philosophy. According to Nyundu (2012: 1), one of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa's most senior bishops, Bishop Joe Seoka received much backlash in 2012 on social media when he dismissed the claim that miners in Marikana used traditional medicine provided by traditional herbalists to avoid bullets, reasoning that "they were too well-educated to believe such." That statement angered many people who believe in the claims and ability of traditional herbalists of possessing healing powers to cure ailments (Nyundu, 2012).

According to Madlala (2014), Europeans demonised the *Sangomas* and taught people that traditional healers were "witch doctors" who venerated the devil and used human body parts to make medicine for clients. For Madlala (2014), this construction was undertaken to discredit African culture and to instil fear and disgust towards traditional healers. Martin (2014) argues that Europeans did not understand the call to be a *Sangoma*. When people receive the call to be a *Sangoma* they usually become sick and cannot be healed through Western Medicine. Martin (2014) goes on to show that a person who is called to be a *Sangoma* can only be healed by another *Sangoma* by directing him or her to become an *Ukuthwasa* (apprentice).

Before the arrival of the missionaries to Southern Africa, the *Sangomas* were highly gifted and much respected healers in Zulu culture. The *Sangomas* did not simply heal people, but they

diagnosed, prescribed, and often performed traditional rituals to heal a person holistically: physically, mentally, emotionally, and spiritually (Martin 2014). Because the *Sangomas* were demonised by the missionaries and colonisers, the *Sangomas* did not feel welcome in the Anglican Church. Despite pressure by academics to decolonise the institutions of the Anglican Church, the subject of *Sangomas* does not appear in any of the Cathedral minutes, whether Vestry or Parish Council. It seems like it was a subject that the Cathedral leadership was not ready to discuss. Those who are called to be *Sangomas* in the Anglican Church, and those who were healed by *Sangomas* believe that their divine gift of healing has no place in the Cathedral, neither is there a system in place to accommodate them.

Ubungoma is one of the many Zulu cultural beliefs that were demonised by the Western missionaries. Matsepe and Madise (2005) have contended that the missionaries in their efforts to evangelise and Christianise Africans, advocated for the total abolition of African cultural traditions and religion. They argue further that the missionaries were not even willing to learn any of the African cultures or traditions (Matsepe & Madise, 2005). Instead, they maintained a negative attitude towards African cultures and religion, considering Africa to be a Continent of heathens. The Anglican Church was planted by the same missionaries in Africa who preached against African cultures and had negative attitudes towards the Zulu peoples.

Congregations like the African Zionist Church, and the *iBandla lamaNazaretha* (Nazarite Church, also known as the Nazareth Baptist Church) Shembe congregations, readily accommodate African cultural traditions. Those who are pressed by situations such as a call to be a *Sangoma*, as well as those who believe they were bewitched, or who identify with African cultural traditions, but wish to remain Christians can find a home in the African Zion Church or the Nazarite Church. As Matsepe and Madise (2005) have shown, it is a well-known fact that the Zionist churches mix Christianity and African traditional religion.

5.2.3. Drug and Alcohol Abuse

There were other interviewees who expressed love for the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. They were very proud of being baptised and confirmed members in the Anglican Church. They also insisted that, when the time came, their funeral services would take place at the Cathedral. Nevertheless, they no longer have any part in what takes place at the Cathedral. Indeed, in accordance with Act VVIII of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa, they are no longer

considered to be members of the Cathedral because it has been more than 10 years since they had last set their foot in the Cathedral building. Indeed, they are no longer worshipping in any church. They were baptised and confirmed at the Cathedral when they were still young, after which they left and never returned. Most of those who were interviewed were drug addicts and suffer from alcohol abuse. They do respect the institution or mission of the church. Yet, when they were approached to be interviewed, and saw the clerical shirt of the researcher/interviewer, many would exclaim, *mfundisi wami* (“my priest!”) This was a clear sign that they still remembered being worshippers, but drugs and alcohol had taken them away from the Cathedral. Most of these individuals were academically inclined and knew the Anglican Church liturgy and rituals very well. While the majority did not criticise the Cathedral during the interviews, most kept on referring to the Cathedral as “*isonto likamama*” or “*isonto likababa lelo*” (“my mother’s church” or “my father’s church”). These utterances suggest that they have personally separated themselves from the Cathedral, but to re-associate with it when it comes to conducting the funeral for their parents. It can also mean that they were baptised and confirmed through the instruction of parents and became members simply because their parents were members. When they began to suffer from alcohol and drug addiction, the Cathedral had no established programmes to journey and assist them towards recovery.

According to a report in *The Witness (SA)* (16 July 2018) by Nokuthula Khanyile (2018: 1), “Heroin is the drug of choice in Pietermaritzburg, while ecstasy, crack, crack cocaine and Mandrax continue growing in popularity.” This explains the growth of the distribution of low-grade heroin, which is well-known as ‘whoonga’ to many addicts who congregate the street corners of the city. Police have confirmed that the drug situation in Pietermaritzburg is getting worse by the day, with the number of addicts increasing in a seemingly uncontrollable way (Khanyile 2018: 1). In July 2018, the Police found 5000 heroin capsules near the New England Road in Pietermaritzburg (Khanyile, 2018: 1).

According to Google Maps, there are more than 21 taverns in Pietermaritzburg city centre alone. The rise in alcohol drinkers and alcoholism is a thorn in the flesh to the police of Pietermaritzburg. According to a news article by Bongani Hans (2011) published in *The Witness (SA)*, (25 January 2011), the police have confirmed that most of the contact crime in Pietermaritzburg is alcohol-related. One of the tavern owners whose tavern was closed down by the authorities stated that the neighbours were happy with his tavern because the husbands were drinking closer to home (Hans, 2011: 1). South Africa suffers from a rapidly growing

rate of alcohol-related abuse, including domestic violence, contact sexual offences, sexual assault, and common assault). The statistics from the South African Police Service (SAPS) reveal that in the decade, 2009 to 2019, there were 759 904 cases of driving under the influence (DUI) offences, either alcohol or drug-related, that were prosecuted (Cele, 2019). These crime rates affect the Cathedral membership because the majority of the people who worship at the Cathedral are not originally from the Pietermaritzburg, but are there because of their work. This means that if the members of the parishes are taken away from the church by alcohol from their home parishes, when they move to Pietermaritzburg with their families because of work they will not only worship at the Cathedral, but will find many taverns in the city and become susceptible to alcohol and substance abuse. This affects an increasing number of the members at the Cathedral.

5.2.4. Teenage Pregnancy

One of the interviewee's became pregnant while she was a high school student. She reported that she was a very committed member of the Cathedral youth programme. She regretted getting pregnant before marriage. Her concern was that there was no programme in place to accommodate young people in the Cathedral who become pregnant before marriage. Furthermore, after giving birth, there was no programme available in the Cathedral that could support and show her love, affirming and confirming that she was still a Christian. She said that after the delivery of her child, she tried to go back to the Cathedral, but felt like a sinner who did not fit in among the "holy." A further seven of the interviewees had a similar experience.

According to O'Regan (2021), more than 36 000 babies were delivered to girls aged 10–19 in the first quarter of 2021. If all the churches of South Africa do not have care and support programmes for these 36 000 new teenage mothers of 2021, they might lose them all to Christianity and the church. According to the NGO, Save the Children, there are more than 100 000 teenagers who get pregnant every year.⁴ The question thus remains, "What does the church do with these young mothers?" There is no evidence in any of the Parish minutes of any faith-based programme at the Cathedral to care for young teenage mothers between 1974 to 2021. These young mothers are usually rejected by the potential fathers of their children, in

⁴ See: <https://www.savethechildren.org.za>

a society that often has no place for them. In their families too, they are often rejected for “disappointing” the family, especially where the parents are strict Christians.

5.2.5. Dysfunctional Families

One of the interviewee’s stated that he was baptised and confirmed at the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity under the instruction of his parents. He remained a member for a few years after he was confirmed. He left the Cathedral a few years later. He reported that while his parents appeared to be perfect Christians at church, at home they lived like enemies. His father would physically abuse his mother in front of him. They would sometimes fight in the morning before going to worship, and then act like a holy couple in front of the people at the Cathedral. This was not the only member known to the researcher who had left because of domestic violence issues. There was a teenage girl who had been abused by her stepmother, who was a staunch member of the Cathedral. The teenage girl felt that she could no longer go to the same church with her stepmother because of her abusive behaviour. Five other interviewees stated that the Cathedral did not fault them, they left because of the challenges they had in their homes. Four of them were raised by single parents who were not working. They relied on a government grant. Finances caused conflicts amongst themselves and made it difficult for them to go to church together like they used to when they were still young.

The issue of dysfunctional families appears to be one of the many issues that contribute to membership decline at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. Nittle (2021) defines a dysfunctional family as a conducive environment for neglect, abuse, secrecy, addiction, or denial. Nittle (2021) further suggests that the causes of a dysfunctional family can be found in one or both parents suffering from substance abuse, personality disorder, or mood disorder. Sometimes, the adults in such families display authoritarian parenting styles, or have a toxic and abusive relationship with one another. It can either be that both parents are emotionally immature or unavailable, or are caught up in workaholism, shop-a-holism, gambling, overeating, adulterous affairs, or other pursuits. Holborn and Eddy (2011: 1) have shown that one of the main causes of dysfunctional families in South Africa is that of double-orphanhood families, headed by children who have lost both parents. In South Africa, “there were 859 000 double orphans, 2 468 000 paternal orphans, and 624 000 maternal orphans in 2008” (Holborn and Eddy, 2011: 1). Children raise children. As Holborn and Eddy (2011: 1) go on to argue, between 1990–2010 AIDS caused lot of double orphans in the Sab-Saharan Africa. During these same years,

the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity experienced a growth in black membership, which later declined. Black families came into the city of Pietermaritzburg in the early late 1980's and early 1990's when the Group Areas Act was repealed. In the late 1990's and early 2000's, many families had lost members due to the HIV and AIDS pandemic, and left a number of child-headed households to fend for themselves.

According to the 1996 Government statistics of 1996,⁵ out of 13 785 493 economically-active people (aged between 15–65) in South Africa, 4 671 647 were unemployed. Of these, 1 826 614 (39.1%), came from the Province of KwaZulu-Natal where the Cathedral is situated. One of the causes of dysfunctional families is the lack of finances, a crisis that is usually caused by unemployment. Financial crisis leads to stress, which in turn leads to drug and alcohol abuse. All these factors that lead to dysfunctional families have contributed to the membership decline at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. A child who comes from a dysfunctional family that is experiencing conflict in the home is unlikely to consider church membership, especially in a church where his or her parents are members. Such a child will grow up hating the church where his or her parent's worship, and disassociate themselves from that church. The church thus loses both children and grandchildren to the streets or to other churches.

5.2.6. Divorce

One of the interviewee's left the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity following the divorce settlement with one of the members of the Cathedral. Usually, when a woman marries, she leaves the church she belonged to as a single woman, to join the church where her husband worships. She would become a new member of that church. This was the case with one of the interviewees, who married a member of the Cathedral and subsequently became a member. Following her divorce, she left the Cathedral and went back to her previous church. A male interviewee got married to another member of the Cathedral, only to later divorce. The interviewee felt that it was toxic for him to continue to worship at the Cathedral in the presence of his ex-wife. After the divorce, he left with his children to worship in another church. Three other interviewees reported going through the same experience and leaving the Cathedral because of going through a divorce.

⁵ See: <https://apps.statssa.gov.za>

The issue of divorce is a South African social problem. It is not only a Cathedral problem. According to a Staff Writer (2021) in *Business Tech* (25 June 2021), the National Department of Home Affairs has reported a high rate of divorce between 2008–2011, followed by a consistent increase from 2012–2017. The divorce rate increased in such a way that it reached a point where there were 0.4 divorces per 1000 people across the population (Staff Writer, 2021). This social illness affects the membership of the church, where divorced people are unlikely to continue to worship together.

5.2.7. The Link between Social Ills and Membership Decline in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity does not have hostels like other missionary Churches. Congregant members reside in the city and local suburbs, which means that during the week they take part in the life of the community. That is where they encounter social ills. Some of the congregants can resist drugs, alcohol, and teenage pregnancy, while others cannot. As contributors to the volume edited by Richter (2018) have shown, substance and alcohol abuse can cause severe brain damage. The problem with drug and alcohol abuse, is that they are addictive substances. In addition, addiction has an ability to take all the focus of the human being. A person who lives with an addiction finds it difficult to make time for other things except the determination to quench his/her addiction. This is how the Cathedral lost congregant members to drug and alcohol abuse, where some of the interviewees stated that they just did not have the time to go to church. One of the challenges of the young mothers was that most were compelled to remain at home of take care of their children especially if the Church did not have crèche or Sunday School activities.

5.2.8. Decline in the Inner-City Churches

There was a common expression from 60% of the interviewees, which was that they were too busy to attend Cathedral services. Most of them were baptised and confirmed previous members of the Cathedral, but were in the city to work and did not have time to attend its services. They use Sundays as their day to rest. Others stated that they wished to attend the Cathedral services, but the challenge was that they worked on Sundays. This was a common response from those interviewees who were nurses, or working in shops. Some 10% of the interviewees stated that in the schools where their children study, sport activities usually took

place on Sundays. Their children needed their support as parents. Other interviewees stated that the nature of their work required them to travel; however, they were able to attend meetings while travelling. They paused a question of what is holding the Cathedral from putting up the services online for them to follow while travelling. The concerns of these previous Cathedral congregation members are in line with what Foster (2019) states in his thesis, where he argues that some of the factors that leads to membership decline in the inner-cities include: the preacher's moral failure, disunity among the leaders, the powerful influence of competing churches within the same proximity, poor preaching, and a failure to utilize cutting-edge technology (Foster, 2019: 34). Other interviewees stated that the Mothers' Union (MU) Guild was not as active at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity as it was in the rural areas. The reason for this is that most of the members of the Mothers' Union at the Cathedral work during the week. In the rural areas most members of the Mothers' Union do not work. They are therefore able to commit themselves to many Mothers' Union activities. The deficiency of the Mothers' Union Guild and Youth Guild activities in the metropolitan churches contributes greatly to demoralised church members. Having demoralised members can lead to their exodus.

5.3. MITIGATIONS

According to the interviewees who still worship at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, there are efforts in place to mitigate membership decline. These will be discussed in the sub-sections below.

5.3.1. Home Visits

The home visit programme existed at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity from 1976–2020 and had to be halted because of the Covid-19 pandemic. In this programme, the clergy of the Cathedral together with laity visited the Cathedral member's homes each Wednesday. Forbes (2019: 85–86) indicates that prayers were held in different homes by the clergy and lay people of the Cathedral, the host family being encouraged to invite neighbours and friends during the visit (Forbes, 2019: 86). A resolution was passed by the Pastoral Committee Meeting, held 15 June 2008 to visit the members to prune the Parish Roll (Parish Council, 1998: 3.1). The leadership of the Cathedral used this programme to gather information about what takes place in the homes of the members and to confirm whether the family are still members of the Cathedral or not. The information that is gathered was then discussed at the Parish Council.

The issues faced by the different families are unique. The Cathedral Parish Council uses unique approaches that are relevant to the situations presented to them by those who visit the families. As Sim (2010) has shown, a pastoral visit helps a priest understand his or her congregant members better, and their individual needs.

5.3.2. Hospital Visitation Programme

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity has a sick visitation programme, whereby clergy visit sick members of the congregation in the hospitals. According to those interviewees who were part of the leadership of the Cathedral, the Hospital Visitation Programme is one of the reasons the Cathedral still has members. People who were visited by a priest or Cathedral member while sick usually becomes very committed to the parish when they recover. Iler et al. (2014) have contended that there is an important relationship between the faith of a person, and their physical and mental health. Accordingly, many hospital administrators consider spiritual care a fundamental right of the patient and their families (Iler et al., 2014). The guidelines for the Joint Commission for Accreditation of Health Care Organisation (JCAHO) agrees with Iler et al. (2014) concerning the importance of this relationship. A priest's visit to a patient is very important to their recovery. The Hospital Visitation Programme might be the reason many of the Cathedral members value their priests, and why they remain committed members of the parish once they recover.

5.3.3. Multilingual Liturgy and Hymns

Initially, the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity Parish was a Parish for English-speaking South Africans, including isiZulu-speaking blacks who were fluent in the English language. Forbes (2019) however indicates that it was the Parish of white people. As Abu-Arqoub and Alserhan (2019) contend, the communication of human beings is a process of social interaction, and language is one of the main barriers of such a process. They argue further that the obstacle of language is the main cause of many challenges and problems in communication and other areas (Abu-Arqoub & Alserhan, 2019). According to Forbes (2019), the objective of the Cathedral was to have the Parish open to everyone irrespective of their race, language, or gender. The loop hole with this magnanimous gesture is that people speak different languages, so if the Cathedral is to be open to everyone, it would mean an increase in the number of languages used in its services and activities. As Abu-Arqoub and Alserhan (2019) have shown, language has

the power to separate people. To avoid the separation of people because of the language barrier, the Cathedral had to consider the introduction of a multilingual liturgy and hymnal. Many Zulu people are fluent in both isiZulu and the English language. To embrace both language groups, the Cathedral resolved to use isiZulu and English in the liturgy. This decision also mitigated against the decline in membership that the previous monolingual culture of the Cathedral had brought about.

5.3.4. Mothers' Union / Anglican Women's Fellowship

As argued in this study, one of the causes of the membership decline in the Cathedral was the matter of dysfunctional families. The Cathedral has the Mothers' Union (MU) which equips its members to manage their families and marriages to mitigate dysfunctional families. It is a very important guild of the Cathedral because it encourages married women to begin the ministry in their homes. The guild also contributes in the gradual process of the Africanisation of the Cathedral Parish Church. It has managed to attract many newly wedded women to the Cathedral. It does this because it focuses on assisting woman to manage their marriage in a Christian way. The Mothers' Union was introduced into the Diocese of Natal during the tenure of Frederick Samuel Baines, Bishop of Natal from 1901–1939. He became its first president from 1905–1928 (Makhathini & Mtshali, 2005). The Mothers' Union was founded in the Diocese of Winchester in London by a Hampshire priest's wife, Mary Sumner in 1876, it being launched as a national organisation at the 1885 National Congress. Sumner's vision was to create a network of Christian women from poor and rich backgrounds to support mothers as they brought up their children in Christian faith. The Constitution of the Mothers' Union was accepted and approved by the British Monarch, Queen Victoria in 1896. By 1909, it had become the largest voluntary women's organisation in Great Britain. In 1952, upon her ascension to the British throne, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, granted her royal patronage to the Mothers' Union. Among its many other honours, the Mothers' Union was given consultative status within the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on issues such as poverty, gender equality and HIV and AIDS (Makhathini & Mtshali, 2005).

The British crown was the mastermind behind the colonialisation of Africa and Asia. Although the British monarch was head of the Church of England, the Church came to be under royal jurisdiction because of political reasons. The British monarch was not a deacon, clergy person, or bishop. By Queen Victoria giving her royal assent to the Constitution of a Christian

Women's guild that was to go to other countries was already suggesting that the Constitution was under the jurisdiction of the British monarch. This meant that should any member in any part of the world do anything that would contradict the Constitution, it was going to be taken as if they were undermining the authority of the British monarchy. The Christ-centred objectives of Mary Sumner may originally have been good, but the involvement of the British monarchy in approving her vision of the Mothers' Union Constitution in 1896, brought suspicion upon the it, creating an institution in which English culture and politics had become inextricably mixed. The seeking of Queen Victoria's approval changed the entire Mothers' Union. The British royal-centricity of the Mothers' Union as with Anglican ecclesiology, was further assured when Queen Elizabeth II granted her royal patronage to the Mothers' Union in 1952.

The Mothers' Union spread throughout the British Empire (now the British Commonwealth) including Australia, New Zealand, Canada, India, and South Africa. It was first introduced to Natal in 1905 by Braithwaite and Phillips (Makhathini & Mtshali, 2005). As Makhathini and Mtshali (2005) have noted, during that time it was the guild for white women only because of the institutionalised racism of the Colonial Government. In 1907, there was a little transformation when new branches were opened at Mhlathuzana and St. Pauls. But the challenge was race. In the meetings, the members were grouped according to their racial orientation. There were three groups: The English branch, The Native Branch, and The Indian Branch. In 1915, the Mothers Union spread in the Northern part of the Diocese of Natal in the native parishes (Makhathini, 2005: 22).

From the arrival of the Mothers' Union in Natal in 1905, women of all races in the Diocese of Natal who were members of the Mothers' Union were under the authority of the Constitution that received the royal approval of Queen Victoria. The Constitution was only revised in 1975 (Makhathini, 2005: 39). From 1904–1975, the British Empire-orientated Constitution governed the Mothers' Union members of the Anglican Church, the majority of whom were natives.

In 1933, more than 120 Zulu members of the Mothers' Union gathered at St. Hilder's in Ladysmith (Makhathini, 2005). This was the first step towards the decolonisation of the ecclesiology of the Anglican Church by the Mothers' Union. There was a transformation of the Mothers' Union from being a whites-only guild to a guild of black women, even though

the chairperson of the meeting was still European, Mrs Fisher. In 1936, Mrs Hlangabeya raised the question of a Mothers' Union uniform which was initially discussed at the 1933 meeting without success (Makhathini, 2005). At both meetings, the discussion was initiated by African women. In 1972, it was resolved that anyone who wished to wear a uniform could wear it, but that it was not compulsory (Makhathini, 2005: 38).

The idea of a uniform is an Afro-centric idea. Before colonialism, married Zulu women wore a cow hide skirt (*isidwaba*) to respect their in-laws, a traditional special wide hat (*isicholo*) as a status symbol, and a shawl worn around the shoulders (*ibhayi*) which was the traditional version of uniform for married women (Vukuzenzele, 2007). The British women did not bring the uniform with them when they brought the Mothers' Union to South Africa. A uniform for the Mothers' Union was an idea that came from the African women members of the Diocese of Natal. They were persistent about it from 1933–1972 to the ears of the refusing British women who were in the leadership of the organisation. In the 1980s, the first black woman president of the Mothers' Union was elected, succeeding the last white President, Mrs Vida Pennington (Makhathini, 2005: 40). The guild that had been reserved for white women and led by white women from the day it landed in Natal, was now under the leadership of the black woman in Natal. That would mean that the organisation was now led by someone who knew the challenges of black women, someone who was born and bred in Natal, who knew the culture and traditions of Zulu women. Although nothing much has been done by the Mothers' Union to decolonise itself as a guild, other than being transitioned from white leadership to African leadership, it is gradually becoming Africanised.

The Anglican Women's Fellowship (AWF) is another of the guilds within the Diocese of Natal. It does not have many members in the Cathedral parish. The Anglican Women's Fellowship was established on 20 November 1973, to replace the United Anglican Guild. At its launch, the African members of the Mothers' Union were invited to attend, but the Anglican Women's Fellowship seemed to attract only white women (Makhathini, 2005: 39). Ms Brenda who was the President of the Anglican Women's Fellowship between 2015–2021, tried to involve black priests and black women in the parishes of the Diocese of Natal, including that of the Cathedral by inviting them to their Conference, taking the conferences to the black parishes and encouraging the appointment of black diocesan chaplains. She unfortunately died while still in the process of bringing Africans to the fore in 2021. Accordingly, she passed on while the guild was still in the process of becoming Africanised.

5.3.5. Men's Breakfast

The Men's Breakfast programme is also one of the programmes at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity that is meant to build-up families by empowering husbands to be able to lead their families. It also mitigates dysfunctional families. The programme also helps to encourage men to be committed in the church. Stone (2019) has shown that there is a deficit of men in the churches, arguing that the absence of men has reached a crisis stage. The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is not spared from this crisis. In the Sunday service attendance registers that were utilised for this study, male attendance seldom reached above 30%. The number of women who attend Sunday service was always more than 60%. This is not just a Cathedral problem alone, as many other parishes suffer from a similar problem. Stone (2019) argues that 61% of people in Sunday church services are women. One of the male interviewees, who is one of the members who had left the Cathedral, reported that the reason many men did not attend the Cathedral was that they were not given any responsibilities. Most of the responsibilities were given to women. He argued that if men were to be encouraged to join any institution, they must be given a responsibility. The Cathedral has a Men's Breakfast where men are given an opportunity to participate in Bible studies and conversations that garner their interest, to understand and know what they want. Most of the men who were not showing any interest of coming to Church on Sunday did attend the Men's Breakfast. The number of men who attended Sunday services grew by at least 20% according to the attendance registers of 2017.

5.3.6. Iviyo Lofakazi bakaKristu Guild

One of the causes of the membership decline argued in this study is the exclusion of African cultures in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. One of the guilds the Cathedral has is the Iviyo Lofakazi bakaKristu Guild. This guild has played a remarkable role in the process of the Africanisation of the Cathedral as a congregation. In particular, it helps to mitigate the colonialisation of the different ecclesiologies present in the Cathedral. This guild was founded in Natal by Africans in terms of Afro-centric theology which according to its founders was founded on the teachings of the Apostles and the Early Church (Ndwandwe, 2011: 4). Although it is more vibrant in the Diocese of Zululand, it is also growing in the Diocese of Natal and has had a significant impact in the history and the life of the Diocese of Natal where the Cathedral is situated. Writing of its beginnings, Ndwandwe (2011) could state:

Iviyo lofakazi was established in the Parish of St. Faith's Parish Church in Durban during the rectorship of Bishop Elpheas Zulu where he came as assistant priest in 1942.

Bishop Elpheas Zulu was a native Zulu who belonged to the dynasty of KwaZulu. He served as a priest at St. Faith's Parish Church, Durban "from 1942 throughout World War II up to the beginning of decolonisation of European countries from Africa and Asia from 1945 to 1960" (South African History Online, n.d.a). The end of political decolonisation brought with it the hope of autonomy and the end of racism in both Asia and Africa. Unfortunately, in South Africa, the end of British Colonialism was the beginning of another form of racism called Apartheid which was officially declared by Prime Minister Daniel François Malan in 1948 (Giliomme, 2003). In South Africa, European racism was continuing in a different form both outside and inside the Anglican Church. Although the Anglican Church of Southern Africa opposed Apartheid on paper, Bishop Zulu argued that racism was still at its peak both within and outside the Anglican Church.

When he was promoted as Rector of St. Faith's Parish, Zulu was a victim of racism, both inside and outside the Anglican Church. He was living in an unmarried persons' quarters because the rectory was reserved for whites only. However, St. Faith's Parish was a black mission church and Bishop Zulu was staying with his children. Revd Steel, the predecessor of Elpheas Zulu refused to let him stay in the Parish rectory because he was black. The Parish Council however insisted that Rev Steel should go despite his insistence that the rectory be reserved for whites (Kumalo & Mbaya, 2015: 9–10).

Colonialism did not manage to colonise the mind of Bishop Zulu. He possessed a liberated mind and had made efforts to fight against the oppressive and racial system under both British colonialism and the Nationalist Government elected in 1948. Kumalo and Mbaya (2015) argue that as a Bishop, one of the founders of iNkatha and speaker of the legislature Bishop Zulu played an important role in fighting against racism within the Church and beyond. He also helped establish the Afro-centric Anglican ecclesiological-orientated way of worship in the form of the Iviyo Lofakazi bakaKristu Guild. To this end, he worked with Revd P. J. Shayikhanda Mbatha in founding the guild during his Rectorship at St. Faith's (Ndwandwe, 2011: 32–33). Bishop Zulu and Revd Shayikhanda Mbatha felt that the Anglican Church was no longer living in accordance with the objectives of the Early Church that was led by the

apostles (Ndwandwe, 2011). Instead, the Anglican Church had adopted a Eurocentric cultural approach which was no longer in line with the Apostolic traditions. The Anglican Church admitted through a statement that “it is recognising the colonial past of the Anglican Communion, its ongoing Eurocentric values and the dominance of English” (Binyon, 2014). The founders of the Iviyo Lofakazi bakaKristu Guild recognised this before the admission by the Anglican Church. Hence, they founded the guild with the intention of taking the Anglican Church back to the Apostolic teaching, to incarnate the Christian gospel within the Zulu culture and traditions without the influence of the Eurocentric Anglicanism that had got in-between the Apostolic traditions and the Zulu people. Iviyo has not yet made a breakthrough in terms of attracting many new members at the Cathedral of Holy Nativity. The existing members during the writing of this dissertation were in the process of evangelising congregant members to join.

5.3.7. Bernard Mizeki Guild

The Bernard Mizeki Guild also assists to mitigate the challenge of the dysfunctional families which is one of the main causes of the membership decline in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. In 2017, the Cathedral had few followers of the Bernard Mizeki Guild. The members of the guild from St. Alphege’s Parish Church, Pietermaritzburg, used to come and teach the classes of the guild to those members Cathedral who were its followers. The assistant priest of the Cathedral in 2017 was the President of the Bernard Mizeki Guild in the Midlands Region and he encouraged men of the Cathedral to consider to become members of the guild. The guild struggles to attract new members to join at the Cathedral.

Well-established in the Anglican Diocese of Natal, the Bernard Mizeki Guild encourages men to go to church and to evangelise other African men in relation to its core principles and teachings. It is a men’s guild, but women can also join as followers. It is one of the guilds that is African-orientated with an African patron saint, Bernard Mizeki, a Catechist and African Christian Martyr. According to Kiefer (n.d.), “Bernard Mizeki was born in Mozambique in 1961. When he was 12 years old, he left his home and went to Cape Town where he worked as a labourer for 10 years” Kiefer (n.d.) further notes that Mizeki was very firm and strict and would not allow the negative influences of his surroundings to sway him from his integrity. He goes on to state that, “while people in the slums were drinking alcohol, Mizeki firmly refused to drink, and remaining largely uncorrupted by his surroundings” (Kiefer, n.d.).

Working as a labourer in Cape Town, Mizeki attended night classes at an Anglican school after his day's work. He later became a Christian and was baptised in 1886 under the influence of his teachers from the Society of St. John the Evangelist. It is from there that his Christian journey began which later led him to be killed (Kiefer, n.d.). His Christian faith was not stagnant, but it grew. After graduation, he accompanied Bishop Knight-Bruce to Mashonaland to work there as a Catechist, and in 1891 the bishop sent him to Nhowe, the village of Paramount Chief Mangwende, where he built a mission station. He was a disciplined Anglican catechist who prayed Anglican prayers for hours each day. He established friendships with the local people and eventually built a school for them (Kiefer, n.d.). Mizeki's approach to mission work was very different from that of the European missionaries. He did not ignore the local cultures of his audience. When he arrived in Mashonaland, "he developed an approach that built on people's already monotheistic faith in one God, Mwari, and on their sensitivity to spirit life, while at the same time he forthrightly proclaimed the Christ" (Kiefer, n.d.).

Unfortunately, many Africans regarded African missionaries as working for Europeans. As Kiefer (n.d.) has noted:

During the revolution of 1896, Bernard Mizeki was cautioned to escape. However, he refused, on the basis of that he regarded himself as a servant of Jesus Christ. On the 18th of June 1896 he was fatally speared. On his death his wife and helper reported that they saw a light on the hillside where he was murdered and when they went to the spot his body had disappeared.

The guild was formed after him. African men committed themselves to follow the teachings of Bernard Mizaki, it becoming one of its main objectives. As an Anglican guild, it made a milestone contribution in the Africanisation of the Anglican Diocese of Natal where the Cathedral is situated.

5.3.8. St. Agnes Guild

One of the causes of membership decline in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is that of teenage pregnancy. The St. Agnes Guild is one of the guilds that discourages teenage pregnancy and encourages young women to maintain chastity, and fall pregnant only within the marriage bond. There are congregants who are members of the St. Agnes Guild in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. The guild has struggled for years to attract new members at the Cathedral of

Holy Nativity, although the guild usually holds its Diocesan conferences at the Cathedral. The guild encourages young women to live holy lives, to evangelise, and to be committed in the Church. St. Agnes Guild is very active in the Diocese of Natal with members across many parishes. It is a guild for young baptised and unmarried Anglican women. It was founded after the European saint who was martyred for her faith in Jesus. Traditionally understood as a member of the Roman nobility, St. Agnes of Rome (291–304 CE) was a young girl who was put to death at the tender age of 12 during the tenure of the Roman Emperor, Diocletian (c. 242/245–311/312 CE). In the Christian tradition, she has been named the Patron Saint of chastity, virgins, and the victims of sexual abuse. Her commemoration takes place on 21 January (Manyoni, 2019). The objectives of the St. Agnes Guild are as follows:

- i. To assist members to believe in the truth and to repent.
- ii. To work as trustworthy members who work for the Church of God.
- iii. To pray daily the Guild's prayer.
- iv. To attend at least one service a week.
- v. To attend meetings without fail.
- vi. To make planned confession at least twice a year.
- vii. To evangelise, take part in Bible studies, and retreats (Manyoni, 2019: 1).

As with the Mothers' Union, the St. Agnes Guild adopted the Afrocentric custom of wearing a uniform, a tradition that existed long before the arrival of the Colonialists in Africa. The young women wear long strips of twisted beads called *izincu* around their ankles, elbows, and waists (Vukuzenzele, 2007). This garb visually separates them from married women.

The guild was started in Natal as a wing of the Mothers' Union of the Diocese of Natal, which was meant to separate young unmarried virgin women who were living lives of holiness from married women who were living lives of holiness in marriage (Vundla, 2021). While the guild is named after its European Patron Saint St. Agnes, and follows the precepts that bear her name, the guild was orientated in Natal. The challenge of the guild, which was meant for young virgin unmarried girls and women, was that even very old unmarried women who were not virgins and had had many children came and joined the guild. This went against the original expectations of the founders of the guild. To help resolve this, the black clergy forum proposed to change the name of the guild to be *isigaba sezintombi-St. Agnes* to accommodate unmarried women who are no longer virgins, but were interested in joining the guild (Vundla, 2021). The

proposal was accepted by the bishop and implemented in 1996 when the new guild was presented to the Diocese (Khumalo, 2021).

The St. Agnes Guild was able to maintain its Zulu culture of holiness which was preserved through the virginity testing in the past before the arrival of the colonialists (Radufeen & Mkansi, 2016). The guild was Afrocentric by nature in terms of its culture and traditions and was merged with the European young virgin saint who died young for the Christian gospel. Later, the guild was re-named with the Zulu name *isigaba sezintombi*, during the tenure of Bishop Michael Nuttall to accommodate the context of the Diocese of Natal (Radufeen & Mkansi, 2016).

5.3.9. Youth and Sunday School Programmes

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity has a very successful Sunday School programme to mitigate the challenge of child and family membership decline at the Cathedral. It has capable Sunday School teachers who are also grade school teachers by profession. Having Sunday School at the Cathedral affects the Cathedral positively because many parents come to Church to bring their children to the Sunday School classes. It is one of the activities that the Cathedral needs to hold dearly. When children grow up to be youth, they join the Cathedral youth programme which struggles to be effective because it does not get enough support from the parents (Parish Council, 2017). Abraham (2016) argues that to equip a Sunday School and Youth Group programme in the church, the leadership and programme needs to project a healthy relationship with God, to prepare them to serve God in everything they do. Correspondingly, this spiritually develops the young people and allows the church to grow. A church that does not invest in young people is likely to suffer from membership decline because old people will die and there will be no one to take their place in the pews. There is a gap between the active Sunday School and active Mothers' Union that is caused by an inactive youth programme.

5.3.10. Mid-Week Church Services

There are services every day of the week in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, including morning and evening prayer. Each day, these services mitigate the challenge of the competition from Pentecostal and Charismatic churches in the vicinity who also hold worship services each day. The Cathedral services are open to anyone who wishes to attend, including the morning service for people to attend before their work-day begins. There is Holy Eucharist at 07h30

and Evening Prayer at 16h30. There is also a Mothers' Union Holy Eucharist Service every Thursday and an AWF Holy Eucharist Service held on the first Wednesday of each month. Even the guild's services are open to anyone who wishes to attend. Forbes (2019) states that there were mid-day services as early as 1974 in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. Many congregant members who attended these services in the early days of the Cathedral confirm in Forbes (2019) that these services encouraged them in their spiritual growth. These services continue to take place, but the attendance is very low. A priest who used to conduct these services in 2017 stated in an interview that ordinarily, only two women members would attend these services each week day.

5.3.11. Online Church Services

During the hard Covid-19 Government-imposed lockdown and associated mandates, church services were closed across the country. To mitigate the challenges imposed by the lockdowns, the Cathedral introduced online services to reach out to its congregants. Accordingly, Managuelod (2021: 1) has identified twelve benefits of online services, which can:

- i. Reach parishioners from afar.
- ii. Serve the homebound.
- iii. Expand your reach.
- iv. Bypass space limitations.
- v. Connect with the youth.
- vi. Host community events.
- vii. Capture services for the archive.
- viii. Expand your online presence.
- ix. Be cost-effective.
- x. Raise Funds.
- xi. Provide new ways to engage.
- xii. Offer all device access.

Regarding online services, one of the loopholes identified at the online Diocesan meeting held in August 2021 and organised by Revd. Bruce Woolley of the Diocese of Natal, was that the online services excluded the poor and marginalised. Online services require one to have a smartphone and data which is a luxury to the poor. The challenge is that there are many more

people who are poor in South Africa than those who are rich. Staff Writer (2021: 1) can thus state:

According to the Pietermaritzburg Economic Justice & Dignity group there are approximately 30.4 million people in South Africa who live below the old upper-bound poverty line of R 1 268. The group estimates that 13.8 million people live below the food poverty line.

This means that although the online services reach many people, they also exclude many people, especially the poor and older people. On-line services can work to mitigate membership decline but it must not be the only way, as there must be other ways to reach out to the poor who do not have access to smartphones and data.

5.4. CHAPTER SUMMARY

The social illnesses have played a major role in the membership decline of the Cathedral such as Covid-19 and other diseases, unemployment, dysfunctional families, substance and alcohol abuse, bad church politics, racism, divorce, and others. The rapid growth of Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, as well as the Nazareth Baptist Church (Shembe) congregations, and the African Zionist Church have also created a serious challenge for the Cathedral which has directly led to its membership decline. Many programmes that are in place such as those of the guilds, including the Mother's Union, AWF, St Agnes Guild, Bernard Mizeki Guild, and Iviyo Lofakazi bakaKristu, are old programmes that might need to be reformed to meet the challenges of a post-Covid-19 era Cathedral Church. The other reason these programmes need to be reformed is that even before the Covid-19 era, the membership decline at the Cathedral was unmanageable, with people leaving the Anglican Church in large numbers to join Pentecostal Churches, Shembe congregations and African Zionist Churches, while others simply left the Cathedral altogether and joined the unchurched. This might mean that it is not only the guilds that might need to be reformed. Even the hymns and liturgies in *An Anglican Prayer Book (1989)* need to be reformed to speak to the new circumstances of a post-Covid-19 era, twenty-first-century democratic, multi-ethnic South Africa to replace the post-World War II 'Baby Boomer' generation who are now of pensionable age, and attract Generation Alpha, Millennials, and Generation Z (aka 'Zoomers'), and all those that come afterwards.

In the next chapter, the solutions and lessons learned to curtail the decline in membership will be discussed, as well as a comprehensive summary, recommendations, and conclusion to the research study.

Chapter 6: Solutions and Lessons Learned to Curtail the Decline in Membership: Summary, Recommendations, and Conclusion

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This study has shown that people leave the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity not because they have no love for God, but because other church groups, such as the Pentecostal and Charismatic churches, the African Zionist Church, and the Nazareth Baptist (Shembe) congregations provide that which they feel is lacking in the Anglican Church.

Geographically, the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is situated in a very busy city centre. The Parish has a lot of potential for growth. Pietermaritzburg is the Capital City of the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, with the University of KwaZulu-Natal in the vicinity, as well as a Campus of the Durban University of Technology. The provincial legislature is also located in Pietermaritzburg, as are the head offices of provincial government departments. The city has many shops and businesses for a growing urban population. Many people thus come to Pietermaritzburg either to shop, study, or work. There are still others who come to seek employment, while some come from other countries to seek greener pastures or are asylum seekers from war-torn countries to the north. The population of Pietermaritzburg is growing very fast. According to the population statistics of 1975 there were an estimated 421 000 residents of Pietermaritzburg, whereas in 2022 this number has more than doubled to 922 487 (PopulationStat, 2021).

The growth of the Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches, Nazareth Baptist (Shembe) Congregations, and the African Zionist Church in terms of numbers suggests that there are many religious people within the population of Pietermaritzburg. Many of the interviewees of this study who were once part of the Cathedral of Holy Nativity stated that while they do not hate the Cathedral, they cannot return if their concerns are not addressed. It is a challenge to note that out of an estimated 909 000 people who reside in Pietermaritzburg, the Cathedral Church which is situated in the city centre “had 414 confirmed congregants who were in the Parish roll in 2021” (Diocese of Natal, 2022: 1). This total number of 414 includes the chapels of the Cathedral, St. Georges, and St. Patrick’s. This suggests that the actual members of the Cathedral are far less than the cited 400, excluding the chapels. What follows are suggestions

that can be considered to attract members back to the Cathedral, and to evangelise new converts to the Christian faith, and to Anglicanism in particular.

While the Anglican Church can trace its origins to the period of the Roman occupation of Ancient Britain in the third century CE, as a national church separate from the Roman Catholic Church it was founded in 1534, following the failure of Henry VIII to secure a papal annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. The Anglican Church of Southern Africa is known in South Africa for playing a vital role through its leaders, laity, and ecumenical partners in bringing democracy to South Africa. The appointment of the Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu to be the chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) by the first South African Democratic President, Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela confirms the vital role the Anglican Church has played in the political life of the country in developing South Africa's new democratic dispensation. It is however an undeniable fact that the Anglican Church also played a significant role in colonising Africa. Indeed, in playing such an important role in the liberation of black South Africans from the oppression of Apartheid, it suggests that it has grown from what it was in the twentieth century. Having appointed a succession of black Archbishops from Desmond Tutu, Njongonkulu Ndungane, and Thabo Makgoba, this suggests that the Anglican Church of Southern Africa has moved from being a "whites only" church from the time of its inception when military chaplains accompanied British troops during the occupation of the Cape Colony in 1795 and 1806, after which English clergy and missionaries followed in their numbers during the nineteenth-century. The increase in the number of black priests throughout its twenty-five dioceses spread across Southern Africa suggests that the Anglican Church of Southern Africa is no longer the same as it was in the twentieth-century in terms of reserving ordination for priests of European origin apart from a few exceptional cases. This was the case from the time of its first Anglican Archbishop, Robert Gray, who did not ordain any black priests during his tenure (Vilakazi, 2002).

Other than the ideological shifting in terms of recognising Africans as capable leaders who can lead the Anglican Church in the new democratic dispensation of South Africa's history, post-1994, the Anglican Church is also involved in tackling matters of global interest like deliberating about homosexuality, global warming, and other matters through its Synods and Lambeth Conferences.

The ideological shift at the Provincial level has affected the ideological shift in the Diocese of Natal, for while the Diocese is autonomous, it shares the leadership of the same Metropolitan with other Dioceses in the Province of Southern Africa (ACSA, 2013: 27–29). This is why the membership decline or the growth in any Parish of the Diocese of Natal should not be looked at in isolation from the rest of the province. This study has shown that although the Anglican Church has shifted ideologically from what it was in the twentieth-century, it suffers from membership decline like all other South African mainline Protestant churches, including, The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa, The Methodist Church of Southern Africa, The Uniting Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa, and others. According to the findings of this study and other studies, these historic mainline missionary-inaugurated Protestant churches began to experience membership decline as far back as the 1980's, during the last decade of the Apartheid regime. This study has investigated the causes of the membership decline in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg, the Cathedral church of the Anglican Diocese of Natal, focusing from its time of inception in 1976 through to 2021.

6.2. RECONCILIATION

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity began as a Parish for white South Africans. The reality is that whites have their European culture and blacks have their African culture. When these two race groups with different cultural backgrounds began to worship under one roof at the Cathedral in the late 1980's and early 1990's there was no dialogue about what they expected from one another as far as the hymns, prayers, liturgies, and homilies were concerned, especially with respect to language and music choice. Blacks just joined in the Parish and began to worship. Thenjie Ngomane (cited in Forbes, 2019) states that over time she gradually saw white people leaving the 08h30 morning service. This took place at the same time there was an increase in black members at the Cathedral attending the 08h30 morning service.

The majority of white South Africans have worshipped solely with other whites since many of their ancestors arrived as traders and settlers to Port Natal from 1824 onwards. This they did without sharing a space for worship with black congregants. From that time, they had systems in place that were meant to exclude blacks from worshipping with whites. The white missionaries committed a serious colonial injustice over Africans by imposing European culture over them and excluding African culture when planting their churches in the Diocese of Natal. After being excluded for more than 100 years from worshipping with whites and the

exclusion of their African culture, Africans just walked into the white Anglican Parishes without any form of reconciliation or dialogue. A reconciliation between the two cultures is much needed, including the intentional research of African culture so that whites can understand them. Consequently, there must be an intentional inclusion of African culture into the Anglican Church. The European missionaries made no effort to know and understand African culture; their actions suggesting that their intention was to eradicate African culture and present Jesus solely through a European lens.

Apartheid as a political ideology did not only take place in the secular world, but also impacted occurred the church. Houston and Kruger (2017) argue that the leadership of the Diocese of Natal fought against Archdeacon Mackenzie for agreeing to have black people attend the synods. At least within the secular state of South Africa, a space for dialogue between whites and blacks was created through the public hearings conducted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996–1998), chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. The Cathedral did not have such a commission. The black congregant members just went in and worshipped. By so doing, they left several unanswered questions, including: “Why did whites not want to worship with them?” “Why did whites ignore African culture and impose their own European culture on the Church?” “Are whites now comfortable to worship with blacks after more than 100 years of not worshipping together? These and numerous other questions have gone unanswered.

Black and white church members have hurt one-another over the years as they clearly struggle to share a space of worship. There has been an exodus of white members whenever the bishop appoints a black priest as Rector of a previously white Parish. Indeed, many previously white Parishes are either empty or have very small numbers remaining, most of whom are non-white, being either coloureds or Indians. Many black priests who are appointed in these Parishes wonder what they have been doing wrong to chase white members away. Consequently, there is a need for them sit down together as fellow Christians and talk, to find a way forward and make a fresh start. In the Zulu language it is called *ukuthelelana amanzi* (lit: act of reconciliation). After people have hurt each other for such a long period of time, they need *kuthelelwana amanzi* before they can begin to move forward. Without reconciliation, the problem will continue to be unresolved.

The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity was built as a symbol of reconciliation between two white congregations. Yet, there is nothing in the records that has been done by the Cathedral as

ukuthelana amanzi between black and white congregant members, either by way of dialogue, or as a sign of remorse for the past, to seek the forgiveness from those that were excluded because of their colour.

6.3. THE COMPLETE DECOLONISATION OF THE CHURCH

The Anglican Church came to Southern Africa with the European traders and settlers in the nineteenth century. There was no Anglican Church before the colonial conquest of Southern Africa. It came in the form of Eurocentric ideology and philosophy. It has remained a European Church in Southern Africa, led and lived in accordance with European ideology. The missionaries who were the planters of Anglicanism in Southern Africa ignored African culture and imposed their European culture over that of Africans. The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity was born out of two Cathedral Parishes of white people, namely, St. Peter's Cathedral Church and St. Saviour's Cathedral Church. It began as a Parish of white people, apart from two Indian members. The culture of worship remained the culture of whites because it was the Parish of whites. The Zulu people played no role in the initial establishment of the unified Cathedral. It was simply formed as a symbol of reconciliation between two groups of white people who had a disagreement during the excommunication of Bishop Colenso in the nineteenth century. It did not symbolise the reconciliation of whites and blacks. It was about the reunion of white people. Africans only joined later, following the establishment of a new democratic state. In 2020, most Cathedral members were Africans. However, the Parish still operates as the Parish of whites despite their exodus from the Cathedral. The language that is used in the services is still English, even in the 08h30 service where there is not even a single white person present. The liturgy that is used remains the Eurocentric, *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989*. The hymns that are used are English hymns except for a few Zulu hymns that have a Eurocentric rhythm. Although the white members have left, the Parish still operates under the Eurocentric systems its settler founders put in place centuries ago.

Many interviewees left the Parish because they did not feel they belonged. The Parish excludes African culture and has no system in place to journey with those African members who prefer to relate to African culture like those who are called to be a *Sangoma*. In 2020, the Cathedral Church wardens were all Africans, and more than 95% of its members were African, but they were still worshipping under the Eurocentric systems left by the whites. When will these Africans get an opportunity to worship God using their own culture if they keep on clinging to

the Eurocentric systems left by the whites? To decolonise these Eurocentric systems is very difficult because its roots lie very deep. Yet, it must happen. Majeke (1952) acknowledges that the colonial systems had deep roots. She states that the legislative weapon for the oppression of the Africans was a strong one. That the colonial governance system was designed in such a way that black people were to become the working machinery for whites for the rest of their lives. The land system was derived from the same principle. It was a well-organised and oppressive system that has enslaved countless generations of Africans. It is not an easy task to do away with Eurocentrism. To decolonise it will not be an overnight task; indeed, it might even require the work of generations to reverse its evil results.

Majeke (1952) commends the processes of decolonisation for exposing the true meaning of missionary education. She states that education was used as an instrument of enslavement. Having drawn the African into the economic system, the European rulers had assigned the African a particular place in their society. It was necessary therefore to educate the African to accept their “proper place.” This was to be the task of the missionaries more than any other educative force (Majeke, 1952: 3). In the context of the Anglican Diocese of Natal, missionary education involved liturgies, hymns, European literature, and everything that was taught by the missionaries. The more that people are being enlightened through modern academic technologies, the more the deceitful intentions of the nineteenth-century rulers and their descendants are being exposed. It thus becomes ever more essential and necessary to decolonise their teachings in the Anglican Diocese of Natal where the Cathedral is situated.

While religion has been used as a means of justifying the oppression of black South Africans (Kumalo, 2021: 536–537), if it is properly directed, religion can also bring about the liberation of the oppressed (Kumalo, 2021: 536). Religion will not be able to liberate Africans who wish to worship through their culture if the systems of oppression that whites put in place are left undisturbed and intact. To keep church members that desire to worship through their African culture, the Cathedral needs to be decolonised to fit the generation that worships in it. Suryanarayan (n.d.) argues that people walk away from colonised structures and systems in search of freedom. This means that to keep previously colonised people, the previously colonised institutions must totally decolonise their systems for people to continue enjoying freedom in their institutions, otherwise people will leave and go elsewhere.

The process of decolonisation needs to adopt an African ideological agenda. Mkhize (cited in Kumalo 2021: 266) argues that there is a tendency to pick up global paradigms, born out of those struggles outside of Africa and use them as a means of theorising and formulating the intellectual content of the African struggle for liberation. The decolonisation of the Cathedral needs to be based on the colonial struggles faced by Africans on the African continent where the Cathedral is situated.

Africa is a diverse continent which means that the decolonial process of any institution must not separate people according to their race or the colour of their skin. There are many whites who are married to Africans. Although there has been an exodus of white people from the Cathedral, there are still those few white people who remain committed members of the Cathedral, who also do not condone racism. A decolonial theory that discriminates against people based on their race, cannot work for the Cathedral Parish. As the African decolonial theorist, Sabelo Ndlovu-Gatsheni (Omanga, 2020) can argue, decoloniality envisages seven characteristics of a decolonial world that do not discriminate against people:

- i. A world where power is not organised asymmetrically, but where relationships are organised horizontally, rather than vertically. In other words, a world where no one considers him or herself superior than another based on race or any other advantage.
- ii. A world where there is an acceptance that all human beings are born into a knowledge system and that their knowledge is valid and no singular knowledge system dominates other knowledge systems.
- iii. A world where human species and nature are in harmony, and not a world where human beings look at themselves outside of nature and consider nature as something to be exploited.
- iv. A world that is a de-patriarchalised world, where gender will not be a principle of oppression.
- v. A world where people are not ranked hierarchically in terms of their race or gender.
- vi. A world where there is no social classification of human beings in accordance with the assumed differential ideological stances.
- vii. A world where there will be diversity and plurality, but that diversity and plurality are not criteria for procuring opportunities in life.

This is the decolonial world that the Cathedral needs to envisage to keep its members and make them feel that it is their second home despite differences in their racial and cultural backgrounds. If this type of decolonial world can be introduced to schools as a subject that can be taught to all students black and white from grade R to Grade 12, the world can become a better place for the next generation.

6.4. RE-EVANGELISM

The approach to mission and evangelism the European missionaries took included several errors. First, they used material gains such as land and access to education as a means of gaining Zulu converts to Christianity. This approach did not produce genuine converts. Indeed, their exodus is one of the causes of the membership decline.

As Tutu (n.d.) has expressed, Europeans gave Africans the Bible and took the land in return. They used Christian evangelism as their tool to manipulate Africans to peacefully give the land to them and their fellow whites. Black people want the land back, and are working through the political process to achieve this aim. They now know that the mission and evangelism of the early European missionaries was used to manipulate their foreparents to giving over the land peacefully to the Europeans. At other times, the military force of the British imperialist army was used to back the hierarchy of the Anglican Church to ensure that land was secured for the European settlers. Many blacks, especially those who today support the Communist Party and those communists within the ruling party, despise the Anglican Church (and other historic missionary-initiated mainline Churches), accusing it of using the Christian message of the gospel as a tool of manipulation and oppression during the colonial conquest of Southern Africa.

In the long term, the approach to mission and evangelism the European missionaries took has proved to be a failure. It attracted only temporary followers. It failed to produce true, Anglican Christian converts. There is a need to go back to the people and evangelise them without promising them any material gains. There is a need to teach them about Jesus Christ the liberator. Once people are liberated, they will work on their own for their own material gain if they need it.

6.5. REFORMATION

6.5.1. St. Agnes Guild

In 2017, while the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity had a St. Agnes Guild, its members were not active. The guild boasts very good policies which have the potential to work in any context. Yet, policies that remain on paper and are not implemented cannot help anyone. The question therefore remains: “What can be done to have policies that are good and attractive to today’s generation?” The fact that members of the St. Agnes Guild were in the Cathedral but not active means that there was nothing that attracted them to the existing policies. The Cathedral is not the only Anglican Parish that has non-active members, but is a challenge that is faced by parishes across the entire Diocese of Natal. Many Parish priests share a similar concern in their clergy meetings. This suggests that there is a need to reform the St. Agnes Guild so it can be more relevant and attractive to the youth of today. Otherwise, it will remain an institution that has good policies on paper with little to no impact on the needs of the community and the church at large.

6.5.2. St. Bernard Mizeki Guild

In 2017, there was one member of St. Bernard Mizeki Guild, and five followers at the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. After the departure of the priest who was a member of the guild, the five followers resigned. This leaves the question of how attractive the guild is to the boys and men of today? One member who was a follower in 2017 was interviewed for the purposes of this study. He stated he had visited a regional meeting of the guild and was disappointed by the poor attendance. He felt that the guild was dying at the regional level, and expressed the view that he had little encouragement to join the guild, when its older members displayed no commitment towards it. The policies of the Bernard Mizeki Guild have the potential to reach out to many people, yet members of the guild have given up, not only in the Midlands region, but throughout the Diocese. For it to be relevant and attractive to the people of today, the guild needs to be reformed. If the youth can relate with the guild, young people can remain in the Anglican Church.

The Cathedral must work towards alleviating the decline of the youth in the Cathedral through the reviving and renewing of both these guilds.

6.5.3. Liturgy

The new liturgies developed by the Anglican Church of Southern Africa Liturgical Committee and contained within *An Anglican Prayer Book 1989* (CPSA, 1989) for use within the Diocese of Natal were last revised in 1989, with the intention of being used through to 2025. Nevertheless, the culture of the people and country has changed many times since 1989. During this time, Apartheid began to teeter in 1990, followed by a new democratic government coming to power in April 1994. With the repealing of The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 in June 1991, whites-only parishes began to be transformed into multi-racial communities of faith. Women were not permitted to be ordained into the priesthood in 1989 when the prayer book was first authorised for use. The South Africa of 2021 is thus very different from the South African context of 1989, which was still entrenched within the Apartheid era, yet the Anglican Church in Natal is still using the 1989 liturgy in 2021. In 1989, people were not exposed to the internet like they are today – commercial internet access only becoming available for business and private use in South Africa from 1992 onwards. People’s culture in 1989 and the culture of 2021 are simply not the same. Some 22 years of momentous history have passed by in the meantime. Worshipping in the same way as the people of 1989 suggests that the Anglican Church does not move with the times and it does not meet people where they are in terms of their culture and transformation that has taken place in their secular lives.

An effective liturgy is a liturgy that meets people where they are. Whitla (2021; 2020), argues that the accurate way to construct a liturgy is to design it in such a way that it reflects the everyday life experiences of the people it is intended for. Imposing liturgy upon people will not be an accurate way to present the Christian gospel message to people if things are done contrary to that of Whitla. To correct the missionaries mistake, the liturgists need to consider examining people’s everyday experiences and let the liturgy speak to people’s everyday experiences.

In the period 2020–2021 South Africa, together with the rest of the world was affected by the deadly Coronavirus (Covid-19), which claimed many lives. During the hard lockdowns, businesses were closed and many people lost their jobs. Yet, the Anglicans in Natal were still using the same liturgy in their services as they did during the last months of the Apartheid era. As Clasen (2008: 37) has noted:

The influence of social cognition on liturgy and liturgical formation in a changing world within changing contexts means that even liturgy cannot function unchanged.

South Africa also moved into the twenty-first century and a new millennium, yet Anglicanism in Natal never changed its liturgy throughout all these social changes. As Heitink (2007: 28) has argued, “in the beginning of a new millennium worship became more complex and more diverse because of a new focus on the church as a worldwide community of believers.” Despite this observation, the Anglican Church of Southern Africa continued using its 1989 revision. For the Anglican Church to respond to a new cultural era it needs to use a blended approach to liturgy that brings both the cultural context and the tradition of worship together (Moynagh & Harrold, 2012: 353). In other words, liturgy must be used as a tool to respond to the situations that are taking place in a particular time so that it can blend with the context, cultures, traditions, and situations that are occurring at the same time as when the liturgy is revised or established. This is not the case with the Anglican Diocese of Natal where the liturgy of 1989 that was used during the last years of the Apartheid era in South Africa, is still being used in the very different context of a democratic South Africa, ruled by a majority black ANC government.

An Anglican Prayer Book (CPSA, 1989) is just the continuation of British culture and tradition that goes back to the South African revision of 1954, when the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* was revised and authorised for use within the Anglican Diocese of Natal (Houston & Kruger, 2017: 9). While *An Anglican Prayer Book* (CPSA, 1989) began to reflect African voices in its liturgies, it did so in “a very limited way because of the insufficient participation” of African clergy on the Liturgical Committee (Houston & Kruger 2017: 9). Hence, the liturgy is not truly Afrocentric. Neither was it developed by Africans using their perspective of God, in terms of their history, socio-religious situation, and African context. In other words, it is still a reflection of Great Britain and the historical context of the seventeenth-century English Reformation. In other words, it bears the stamp and character of 1662 Puritan England. The white English-speaking people who were born and raised in Natal did not themselves relate to the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* and its 1954 and 1989 revisions because they were not part of what was happening in England when the liturgy was first developed by Thomas Cranmer, thereby replacing the missals and breviaries that were previously in use by the Roman Catholic Church from which it had been separated by Henry VIII. Even though the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* and the 1954 and 1989 revisions, reflects the history of the peoples of the British Isles

and that of their foreparents and monarchs, whites are still leaving the Anglican Church in their numbers. As a result, the Church is now in the hands of African priests and African congregants, where the previous 'white parishes' are now occupied by a majority of black and coloured members. Having the history of seventeenth-century Great Britain as the basis of its liturgy is no longer attracting young white youths to the Anglican Church and is entirely irrelevant to young black youths.

Even though English culture is retained through its liturgy, this is failing to keep white English-speaking people in the Anglican Diocese of Natal. How can it be expected therefore to keep African people in the Anglican Church if it cannot keep younger generations of whites who are supposed to belong to the Anglican Church to help retain and maintain their cultural and religious heritage? Maybe instead of revising it, the liturgy should be reformed entirely by basing it on African cultural perspectives and integrating a black hermeneutical reading of the teachings of Jesus Christ and his apostles.

6.6. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INCULTURATION OF THE CHRISTIAN GOSPEL

The Parish Council of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity leadership cannot address the challenges of membership decline without first reflecting on the past history of the Cathedral. Such reflections can assist in correctly identifying the mistakes of the past and learning from them. Other than learning from the mistakes of the past, the Cathedral leadership can rectify the mistakes that are still attainable. However, some of the mistakes made in its history cannot be rectified.

The lesson that can be learned from this study is that a church or mission that ignores the culture and religious traditions of the people who are the recipients of that mission, is destined to failure. Even if the mission uses its power to attract people with land or education, the day the benefits from that power are over, will be the day the people begin to leave that mission and go back to their former culture and religious traditions. The exodus of members from the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity to African Zionist Churches and to the Nazareth Baptist Shembe congregations is a clear indication that Zulu people are seeking to re-establish and/or strengthen their African identity. The missionaries that brought the Anglican Church to Natal where the Cathedral is situated were supposed to consider the involvement of African cultural traditions

in the Anglican Church, instead of ignoring them. This process is called inculturation theology. The Anglican Church in Natal needs to inculturate the culture and traditions of the Zulu people into its overall message. This change in epistemology demonstrates the distinction between a theology from below and a theology from above. Dietrich Bonhoeffer argues for a theology from below. He suggests that it is of unique worth to learn to analyse the important occasions of history from below, from the perspective of the poor, the powerless, the outcasts, the reviled and oppressed, from the perspective of their suffering (Bonhoeffer, 2010). Joey (2007) describes a theology from below as a process of identifying people's needs and making the Bible available in such a way that meets the needs of the poor and downtrodden in an appropriate way. By doing theology from below for those on the underside of history, Bonhoeffer and Joey reveal that it begins by studying and understanding the context, culture, and traditions of the people for whom it is meant. Only then will the church's message meet the needs of the people for whom it is meant. It is only after a clear understanding and analysis is made of the context and needs of the intended recipients of the mission that the church or mission can then use the Bible to respond to their needs. Doing theology from below enables the church or mission to be able to apply the inculturation of ecclesiology.

Most Western missionaries that came to the British Colony of Natal in the nineteenth-century came with an imperialist theology from above. According to Joey, this does not begin from the needs of the recipients, but from the text (Joey, 2007). They came with an already interpreted text in the form of the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer*. This prayer book was not informed by the Zulu culture and traditions, but by the socio-religious historical context of seventeenth-century Great Britain. Colenso was a different kind of missionary from the rest of the missionaries and clergymen that were sent to Natal by the Church of England. In coming to do mission to the Zulu people, he applied a theology from below approach by spending time with the Zulu people at his missionary school eKukhanyeni, to learn their language and tradition, and thereby their questions (Mokoena, 2019). His re-interpretation of the Bible was informed by his findings and knowledge about the Zulu language, culture, and tradition. Colenso's approach on mission by doing theology from below was reduced to heresy by the Archbishop Gray of Cape Town. It was only during the tenure of Bishop Rubin Phillip (1999–2015), did the Anglican Diocese of Natal officially make a reversal, and legitimise Colenso's approach to mission (Diocese of Natal, n.d.b).

The membership decline in the Anglican Diocese of Natal suggests that a theology from above approach is not a sustainable way of doing missional theology. European clergy and bishops applied it to the mission of the Anglican Church in Natal by using its power and financial benefits to attract Zulus to their mission stations and parishes, but after the fall of Apartheid and the establishment of a Democratic South Africa, the parishes were effectively stripped of the benefits they enjoyed during the colonial and Apartheid eras.

People are leaving the Anglican Church in Natal, including the Cathedral, in their numbers, leaving many Parish churches with scores of empty pews, and causing some chapel buildings to be deconsecrated, and sold to secular businesses (All Saints Parish Council, 2021). This suggests that the Zulu members who are leaving want to go back to their culture and traditions. The desire for Zulus to reclaim their roots and reassert their culture is evident in the increasing numbers who are joining the Nazareth Baptist (Shembe) Church, which has inculturated the Zulu cultural tradition into its worship. As Bishop Nkosinathi Ndwandwe (2011) has shown, Shembe congregants themselves cannot really state what it is exactly they believe, sometimes they call Shembe the Holy Spirit, sometimes they call him God. What attracts them is the recognition of the Zulu culture and traditions that were in existence before the arrival of the Western missionaries. Accordingly, as Bishop Ndwandwe (2011: 97) can assert, “Shembe congregations allow congregants to have polygamous marriage, ancestral honouring wearing of the traditional attire and the Zulu traditional dance” (Ndwandwe, 2011: 97).

Bishop Ndwandwe suggests that Shembe congregants do not care whether they understand who Shembe is or what they are following; what is important is the sense of belonging they experience, and the validation and acknowledgement of their Zulu identity. Shange (2013) agrees with Ndwandwe (2011), when she argues that Shembe congregations have used culture to unify the Zulu people (Shange, 2013). The Anglican Church of Southern Africa, including the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity has lost many of its members, while the Nazareth Baptist (Shembe) Church has received many new members who are Zulus. Despite having well-educated priests and canons, an organised episcopal structure, and well-researched and clear teachings, Zulus are leaving the Anglican Church. Others leave the Anglican Church to join Shembe congregations that are led by non-theologically educated leaders, in a church organisation that has no canons, no synods, and no elective assemblies. The only thing that makes it a unique congregation is that Shembe recognises Zulu culture and allows Zulus to exercise their culture unencumbered by Anglican Canon Law.

Shange (2013) argues that the Western missionaries came to the Colony of Natal with the attitude that their interpretation of theology and Christianity was correct and universal. Consequently, “African converts were therefore strongly encouraged to reject their ancestors, cultural ideas and rituals” (Shange, 2013: 27). This was the case with St Andrew’s Springvale Mission, Ixopo, before its land, school, and clinic was sold to the State. Those communities who were staying on mission land were not allowed to slaughter cows for their ancestors, were dissuaded to wear Zulu traditional attire, and were encouraged to reject Zulu culture and accept European culture in its stead (Mkhize, 2019). According to Shange (2013), the aim of European Christian mission was to allow the control of Europeans over its colonies, labour, and land. This resulted in Africans being manipulated to accept Western principles and beliefs and reject their viewpoints about God in return for living wage (Shange, 2013). While the Western missionaries may have received many converts through the offering of a living wage and other benefits, it has proved unsustainable. Indeed, the Anglican Church in Natal is presently struggling to even meet the needs of many impoverished communities, proving that such an approach is completely untenable in the twenty-first century.

Nason (2021) argues that the founder of the Nazareth Baptist Church, Isaiah Mloyiswa Mdlwamafa Shembe (c. 1865–1935) was a friend of John Langalibalele Dube (1871–1946), a fellow Zulu, born of royal lineage within the Qadi tribal group, but an ordained Christian minister, educated at Adams College, outside Amanzimtoti, south of Durban and at Oberlin College, Ohio, USA. Both these great South African leaders shared a common conviction about the Africanisation of religion and education. As Kumalo (2021: 3) has shown, Dube sought to undo and contradict the colonial project, especially in its attempt to enslave the African people psychologically through education so that they would remain dependent on the colonial powers. Accordingly, Dube became the founding president of the South African Native National Congress, which came into being on 08 January 1912, and which in 1923 was renamed the African National Congress. On the other hand, in 1910, Shembe founded the Afrocentric iBandla lamaNazaretha (Nazareth Baptist Church), which during his lifetime was the largest African-initiated church in Africa, to liberate Africans from the chains of Western psychological slavery.

It is an important lesson to be learned by all those who are called to be missionaries, that to have a sustainable mission, one needs to do theology from below so that it can be easy to understand people’s culture and traditions. Accordingly, the Bible must be interpreted “from

below,” by being informed by the local culture and traditions of the people it seeks to minister to. Otherwise, a missionary will not be able to attract true converts, but only those who are attracted by the material benefits that are attached to the mission, such as land and education. Once they lose interest in the benefits, or those benefits are no longer sustainable, they will leave and seek a church or community that identifies with their own culture and traditions.

6.7. THE INEVITABLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE SECULAR GOVERNMENT

From the establishment of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in 1976 to 2021, Government policies have in one way or another impacted the membership decline of the Cathedral, such as The Group Areas Act 41 of 1950, and others. This means that the Anglican Church cannot fold its hands and think that Government policies will not affect it; instead, needs to be vigilant with respect to Government legislation and policy and not to try and survive in isolation from it. Cathedral members are also the members of a local community. Others work for the government, while others are voters. Government policies affect everyone, including congregation members. Poor Government policies can cause high unemployment rates, poverty, civil war, and the racial division of church members, the latter being the result of Apartheid’s separate development, segregationalism policies, such as The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950 and The Group Areas Act No. 36 of 1966 (Boddy-Evans, 2019). These Acts enhanced the then existing Shepstone policies of separating the races (McClendon, 2004). In many Parishes, blacks were not allowed to worship with whites, resulting in white Parishes in so-called “white areas,” and black Parishes in so-called “black areas” in accordance with Government policy. Other examples abound across South Africa, including that of Ladysmith, Natal, where there was All Saint’s Parish for the white English-speaking community, and St. Chad’s Mission for the black isiZulu-speaking community. Having this practice formalised by the Government fuelled the existing separation based on race that was already occurring in churches of South Africa, including that of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa.

The British annexation of Natal took place from 1843 to 1910. Until 1856, the local administration of Natal was under the jurisdiction of the Cape Colony (Hattersley, 1936). During this period, Theophilus Shepstone introduced location policies that were meant to separate Zulus from Europeans because he did not believe that Zulus and Europeans could live alongside one another unless Zulus became “civilised” which to Shepstone and others meant

to be “Europeanised” (Hattersley, 1936). In line with what was happening in the Colonial Government, the first Bishop of Natal, Bishop John William Colenso was appointed by the Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Robert Gray in 1853. The executive administration of the Anglican Church was in Cape Town, as was the executive administration of the colony. During this time, the bishops were involved in serious decisions regarding the colony. For example, Bishop Colenso opposed the invasion of King Cetshwayo that led to the war of 1879 by the British Colonial Government in Natal (Cope, 1995). Although he was an Anglican Bishop, he had a voice in Colonial Government affairs. In 1873, Colenso denounced Shepstone’s colonial policies that were having a negative impact on the Nguni people in Natal (Cope, 1995).

There were many different church missions in Natal, where Natal became the most evangelised colony in Africa. Missions were involved in politics, but were taking the official standpoint of the Colonial Administration, except that of Bishop Colenso (Khumalo, n.d). Colenso was not afraid to oppose Shepstone’s Colonial Administration of its atrocities committed towards the Zulus and other Nguni tribes in Natal. He could not keep quiet and look at what he understood to be God’s people being ill-treated. As a result of Colenso’s engagement, the eKukhanyeni mission was known for opposing the colonial administration during his time (Khumalo, n.d.).

Bishop Philip Russell succeeded Bishop T. G. Vernon Inman as incumbent Bishop of the Anglican Diocese of Natal. His tenure began during the 1976 Soweto Uprising, when South Africa was aflame because of Apartheid’s “Bantu” education policy. Although Bishop Russell only led the Diocese for a short period of time, he nevertheless opposed the Apartheid regime and its atrocities through his sermons and writings (Diocese of Natal, 1982)

Bishop Philip Russell was succeeded by Bishop Michael Nuttall who led the Diocese of Natal towards the fall of Apartheid and through to the transition from Apartheid to democracy. He was recognised as a Senior Bishop after Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu, being colloquially called “Number two to Tutu” (Nuttall, 2003). He stood firm and unshaken against the Apartheid Government through his sermons and writings (Diocese of Natal, 2021). In 1997, he appeared at a sitting of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and apologised to African Anglicans on behalf of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa (then called, the Church of the Province of Southern Africa), for the overt racism that white English-speaking Anglicans

imposed on them. He also acknowledged how the English-speaking Parishes benefited from the Apartheid State over that of Black Parishes.

One of the prominent South African Anglican Church figures who served as a descriptive example of the impotency of the relationship between the Anglican Church and the State is Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu. Kokobili (2019) argues that Tutu often condemned apartheid in his speeches and public activism promoting equality, reconciliation, and the peaceful coexistence of all South Africans. He further argues that Tutu used the Bible to condemn Apartheid and the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church) for constructing and promoting apartheid theology (Kokobili, 2019). Tutu won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 for his determination in resolving and ending the system of Apartheid (Sánchez, n.d). Moreover, Tutu championed human rights and opposed inequality, both in South Africa and internationally (Youth for Human Rights International, 2022). In 1995, President Nelson Mandela appointed Archbishop Tutu as the Chairperson of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Kokobili, 2019).

There are many other examples of the involvement of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa as an opposing factor or displaying inert complacency regarding the evils of colonial rule and its later expression from 1948 onwards of the racist Apartheid policies of the Nationalist Government. Under Colonial rule, most of the missionaries were working together with the British Government in Westminster, to colonise Africa. In post-colonial and post-Apartheid South Africa, the Governmental State no longer financially supported the Anglican Church as it had done in the past. Bishop Nuttall admitted that even during the Apartheid era, the English-speaking Parishes were benefiting from the State. In the post-1994 democratic dispensation, the Anglican Church is no longer benefiting from the State and has remained with the stigma of working with the Colonial and Apartheid governments in colonising people, particularly in Natal.

Although Bishop Colenso was despised by fellow European Christians during his time, he is today hailed by the Diocese of Natal as a hero for standing up against Theophilus Shepstone's Colonial Administration of Natal. The lesson to learn from this is that the Anglican Church must engage the Government of the day and stand for the truth even if it means losing all its benefits from the State. The truth for which the Anglican Church stood, will be remembered for many years hence. For Colenso, he lost the trust of his superiors and another Bishop was

sent in his presence to the Diocese of Natal. His fellow European Christians treated him like an aberration for the truth he stood for against the Colonial Administration and the Anglican Church. The reversal of his excommunication by Bishop Rubin Phillip meant that the Diocese of Natal was acknowledging what Colenso had been standing for in Natal despite being despised by the Colonial Government in Natal, and the Anglican Church while he was still alive. It is a lesson to be learned that no matter what others are saying, the Church must be ready to stand alone against society, the Government, or both, for the cause of truth. According to Archbishop Tutu, the Church should use the Bible as its measure or canon to determine the truth.

The other lesson to be learned is that no matter how a missionary can decorate his malicious intentions to manipulate his or her intended recipients, sooner or later those intentions will be exposed. The malicious intention of the Church of England became exposed and Colenso was hailed as a hero. As Tutu (n.d.) has stated:

When the missionaries came to Africa, they had the Bible and we had the land. They said “Let us pray.” We closed our eyes. When we opened them, we had the Bible and they had the land.

Even if the government is on the side of the missionary like it was when the British government sent the Church of England missionaries to the Colony of Natal, they acted like everything they did was for the benefit of the recipients, the Zulu peoples. Sooner or later the recipients will realise this and will leave the mission that took years of struggle to build.

6.8. CAUSES OF THE DECLINE IN MEMBERSHIP

There were more than 1000 members in the combined Parish roll of both St. Saviour’s and St. Peters Cathedrals in Pietermaritzburg which came together in 1976 to form the new Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. All these members were white members except for 2 black congregants. By the end of 1976, there were an estimated 700 members on the Parish Roll. Following the consecration in 1983 of All Saints United Church, about 200 members of the Cathedral left to join the United Church, the Cathedral remained with 500 members on the Parish roll. By 1993, there were less than 400 members registered on the Parish roll, for a total population of 513 000 in Pietermaritzburg. In 2021, when the population of Pietermaritzburg had grown to 909 000, there were less than 400 members remaining at the Cathedral.

These figures reveal that there had been a serious decline in the membership of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity. The findings of this present study have shown that emigration has had a significant impact on the membership of the Cathedral. As Dean John Forbes has indicated in his book, *People of reconciliation: The birth and early years of a new cathedral parish*, published in 2019, many of the members of the Cathedral were no longer residing in Pietermaritzburg in 2000. Added to this, the Cathedral struggled to attract other new white members to occupy the pews of those that had emigrated.

Other findings of this study were that while the Cathedral had a multilingual and multicultural membership, it struggled to accommodate the culture of those who were not Europeans. As a result, black members left the Cathedral to worship in churches where their culture was recognised. The Cathedral also ran no programmes to journey emotionally with those female youth and young adults who became pregnant before marriage. Because of this, many chose to become non-believers after delivering their babies. The Cathedral also did not run programmes to help those who were drug addicts and alcoholics, an affliction that had affected many younger members who have left the Cathedral.

6.9. THE IMPACT OF THE FAILURE TO DE-COLONISE

This present study recommends that the Anglican Church of Southern Africa needs to be decolonised. One might ask: “Why not let the Anglican Church stay as it is?” “What harm does leaving the Anglican Church untransformed do?” Europeans came with a well-structured ecclesiology that took many centuries of hard work to establish. Indeed, the work of the Christian martyr Bishop Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556) a leader of the English Reformation and Archbishop of Canterbury, was pivotal in compiling two early versions of the prayer book (in 1549 and 1552), in what was to become a high point in Anglican liturgy with the publication in 1662 of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The 1662 Prayer Book, more than any other product of the English Reformation would not only impact the Anglican liturgical tradition, but English religious culture and language in general, both in Great Britain, but across the growing British Empire. Its role therefore in the colonisation of Natal with the arrival of European Anglicans to Port Natal in 1824 onwards cannot be understated (Houston, 2017). This leads to important questions for today: “Will the decolonisation and transformation of the Anglican Church Diocese affect its liturgical practice?” And second, “Will these changes undermine the hard work that Europeans have expended over nearly two centuries in establishing the Anglican

Church in Southern Africa?” The argument in this study has concluded that although the hard work of the Europeans needs to be acknowledged in bringing a well-organised and meaningful Episcopal tradition to Natal, it is necessary to decolonise it. This study thus advances the following reasons for the decolonisation of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa:

- i. The Anglican Communion in the United Kingdom is no longer attracting converts or experiencing growth in the land of its birth. This study has argued that many Anglican church buildings and chapels in its homeland are being deconsecrated and sold to secular property developers because of the membership decline. If then, the Anglican Church is no longer attracting the generations of its founders, how can it be effective in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg, to attract those who are the descendants of British settlers and traders who came to the Colony of Natal?
- ii. Members are leaving the Anglican Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in an alarming way to join Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches, the African Zionist Church, and the Nazareth Baptist Shembe congregations, all of which are experiencing phenomenal growth. This study has argued that a major reason for this exodus is that present-day Anglicanism is no longer attracting new members. It is also argued that the Nazareth Baptist Shembe congregations and the African Zionist Church continues to grow because it allows its members to exercise their African cultural traditions. This study therefore concludes that although many Zulus are reportedly unsure what they are following at the Nazareth Baptist Shembe congregations, they nevertheless identify with them because it acknowledges their culture and tradition.
- iii. It appears that many white members have abandoned the Christian faith in favour of secularism, and in some cases, atheism. The motivation for leaving the Cathedral was emigration, change of location, and the number of black members that were joining the Cathedral. In the intervening years, these same black members have now left, as per (ii) above. This study thus finds that there is absolutely nothing holding Africans back from decolonising Anglicanism from what it was, to have it identify with their culture and traditions, without abandoning the teachings of the Holy Apostles.
- iv. The image of Jesus conveyed by the Western missionaries was of a white male, an image that was in line with European culture and traditions. This study has argued that

the form of Christianity that came with European missionaries, priests, settlers, and traders was immersed in European culture because most of the Saints that were commemorated in the Anglican Church were of European origin. Even African Saints such as Maqhamusela Khanyile in the Anglican liturgical supplement, *Saints and Seasons* (CSPA, 1993) were killed by fellow Africans after they were accused of betraying their culture, traditions, and nation, in favour of the invading Europeans. They were regarded as Saints by the Europeans not because they defended Africanism, but for accepting a form of Christianity that was the mixed with European culture.

- v. This study questions the usage of iconography that portrays a white man hanging on a cross, that represents Jesus Christ. This image is found in crucifixes that are carried in liturgical processions and displayed behind the alters in the Anglican Churches in Natal. It also questions the presence of stained-glass windows in Anglican Churches that portray images of white angels, apostles, and Jesus in them. If Anglicanism was not colonised, why was it necessary for the Europeans to present Jesus, his Apostles, and the Angels, as white Europeans to the Zulu peoples of Natal? Were they planting the idea of white privilege in the minds of Zulus? Why was it important for Zulus to think that Europeans were equivalent to Jesus, his Apostles, and the Angels in the heavenly realm? These questions lead to the conclusion that Anglicanism came to Southern Africa as a European religion and needs to be decolonised to avert the membership decline in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, and that of Anglican Church in general across the Southern Africa region.
- vi. This study argues that the Western missionaries failed to present a universal Christian gospel, where Jesus was for everyone. Instead, they came with a European version of the gospel message, where Jesus was not black or Zulu, but a white, European Jesus. The study thus found it important to present a black Jesus Christ to African Cathedral congregant members with whom they can relate. Black South Africans know about the atrocities that were committed by Europeans under the rubric of British Imperialism to their ancestors, including slavery, the taking of their land, and all forms of cruelty that the Europeans committed under colonial rule, often in the name of British Imperialism, the Anglican Church, and their monarch, which in terms of their Church beliefs and practice were one. The oppressive history of the Apartheid era (1948–1994) is even

better well-known by South African blacks in terms of the Christian Nationalist white Apartheid Government, inspired by the racist religious ideology of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (Dutch Reformed Church). Continuing to have a European Jesus hanging on the brass or silver crucifixes behind the alters of its churches, chapels, and mission stations, especially in the rural areas and locations where there is not even a single white member who worships there is not attractive, especially to black people who know their history. It is also unfair to those who do not know it, because they might continue to be the victims of white privilege and thinking, that every white person is equivalent to Jesus who they see hanging on a crucifix every Sunday when they go to the Anglican Church, which is not true. Membership decline of the rural Parishes also affects the membership decline in the Cathedral of the Holy Cathedral because new members often come from rural Parishes to join the Cathedral when they come for work in the city of Pietermaritzburg.

6.10. WHAT CAN BE DONE?

The Cathedral Parish is diverse in terms of race, culture, and tradition, because it is situated in the multi-cultural, multi-lingual African city centre of Pietermaritzburg, the capital of KwaZulu-Natal. There are members of the Cathedral who are Indian, Xhosa, Basotho, Pedi, Zulu, British, English-speaking whites, and Afrikaans-speaking whites, and others. To worship solely in the language and culture of one race, and thereby discount the language and culture of other races is both discriminatory and imperialist. It raises the question of what makes the English language and culture superior to other languages and cultures? Does Jesus hear Zulus, Indians, Xhosas, Basotho, and other Anglican congregants who are residing in KwaZulu-Natal better if they worship through the English language and culture? Even if the Prayer Book can be written in isiZulu and other languages in Natal, but its liturgical content remains culturally British, including its hymns, is it any better? As an important liturgical source of worship, the Prayer Book must be revised, as well as its hymnal, to accommodate the diverse membership of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

Each nation or tribe possesses a history and has people who are heroes of that nation, tribe, or people. Examples abound. Indians consider Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869–1948) to be their hero, while many Xhosas consider Mr Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (1918–2013) to be their hero, and many Zulus consider Shaka kaSenzangakhona (1787–1828) to be their hero.

Why are the English Saints and the blacks who accepted the European version of Christian gospel the only ones who are commemorated as Saints? Why are they better than the religious heroes of other nations or tribes who have passed on? Why must other nations who are not white commemorate the saints of Europe and not of their own tribes or nations? Why must Europeans decide who must or must not be regarded as a Saint? What gives Europeans the monopoly power to decide who must be a Saint or a hero of the other tribes and peoples living in KwaZulu-Natal? If the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity wishes to continue with the commemoration of the Saints, it must find a way to accommodate the Saints of other races, tribes, and peoples. Alternatively, it can commemorate All Saints Day, where Christians can celebrate their own Saints, and discard the *Saints and Seasons* liturgical supplement to avoid bias and misrepresentation in the services of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

The laws that are governing the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity are Eurocentric. The Canons, Diocesan manuals, and other documents, contain European-orientated laws of governance. Although the Diocesan manual is a Diocesan document, it does not contradict the Canons, hence it cannot be called an African-oriented document. Members from different nationalities and tribes who are worshippers in the Cathedral of the Holy the Nativity have traditional laws that govern their nations and tribes. Why are the European-orientated laws the only ones that are used to govern the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, over those of the tribal and traditional laws of other nations and tribes? What make European-orientated laws better than the traditional laws of governance of other nations and tribes? If the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity is really the Church for everyone, as argued by Forbes (2019), it must consider to revise its laws of governance and find a way to accommodate the laws of others nations.

There are good traditional and tribal laws that can be user-friendly to all people. There are very few people who understand the Canons in the Anglican Church. In any meeting, once a person cites one of the Canons, very few of the congregant members engage any further in the conversation because very few know the Canons of the Anglican Church. Eurocentric laws must be treated at the same level with the African-orientated laws of governance of other nations and tribes. There are tribal and traditional laws of the nations and tribes that are in line with the Bible such as that of *ubuntu*. Accommodating tribal and traditional laws of the nations and tribes of the congregant members in the Cathedral can give nations and tribes a chance to learn from one another. Right now, all tribes and nations are learning from English-orientated

laws, they are not exposed to good traditional laws of other nations and tribes that are existing in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

Finally, something needs to be done about race relations between whites and blacks to remind them that they are all equal in the sight of God. They have hurt one another for more than two centuries, since the arrival of British troops, their Anglican chaplains, traders, and settlers to Port Natal in 1824. It is argued in this study that the ecclesiastical version of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission needs to be established to enhance the reconciliation process between the different races found in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity.

6.11. CONCLUSION

The Anglican Church of Southern Africa has lost its element of attraction. It is no longer able to attract people like it did in the past. If the Anglican Church does nothing to change, then it will continue to lose even more congregant members. The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity cannot claim that people are leaving it because they have lost their love for God. This cannot be a true claim because the Pentecostal/Charismatic Churches, African Zionist Church, and the Nazareth Baptist (Shembe) congregations have experienced a rapid growth in numbers, often at the expense of members leaving the Cathedral. The growth of these Churches and their congregations suggest that while most of the people continue to love God, they have lost their love for the Anglican Church.

This study is not calling for the complete rejection of the work of Western missionaries and their teachings. It acknowledges that the European missionaries came with helpful, but colonised teachings that enabled the British Empire to spread its empire to Natal. The Cathedral of the Holy Nativity still represents the British empire through its Anglican Church practice, yet the Cathedral is now a multi-cultural, multi-lingual Parish. In decolonising Anglicanism, the leadership of the Cathedral needs to be careful because white people are still part of the Parish. By rejecting the work of Western missionaries completely, it will exclude whites in the Parish. If it excludes whites, the Cathedral Parish will be guilty of the same mistake that the missionaries made, which was to exclude Zulus in the Anglicanism of the past.

This study thus challenges the Cathedral leadership to carefully decolonise Anglicanism, because according to the research presented in this study, in the first few decades of the twenty-first-century alone, it found many Africans leaving previously-colonised institutions if they

remained colonised. If the Cathedral is to remain colonised, Africans will continue to leave the Cathedral to join decolonised, or African cultural institutions such as Nazareth Baptist Shembe congregations or African Zionist Churches. This study thus suggests that after decolonising Anglicanism, the Cathedral Parish will need to establish a type of Anglicanism that will accommodate all cultures in the Cathedral. It must do away with that form of Anglicanism that continues to elevate the British-colonial culture above the cultures of other congregant members in the Cathedral. If it fails to dismantle this hegemonic hold that it has on the Anglican Church, then it will continue to suffer a decline in membership because people will continue to leave to go to those institutions that better accommodate their cultures and traditions.

It is the recommendation of this study that the members of the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity must not leave the Anglican Church. Instead, they must learn from the history of the Anglican Church in Natal and transform the Cathedral instead of leaving it. This study challenges the remaining Cathedral members to address their concerns if they are unhappy. The previous congregant members left the present members with a rare gift, which is a very prestigious building. Members can use vestry and synod to transform the Anglican Church to suit their understanding of God while they are still Anglicans. The greatest gift that came from Elizabethan settlements was that the Anglican Church took a neutral stand when it came to the different traditions found within the Anglican Church. This can work to the advantage of those who wish to introduce new African-Anglican traditions that can suit their cultures and traditions, instead of leaving the Cathedral Church with empty pews. They can transform it either through decolonising the entire Anglican Church and introduce an African-oriented Anglican Church, or build it from the present Anglican model. There is English saying which says: "learning something the hard way," which means to understand a situation or develop a skill by learning from one's mistakes and bad experiences (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). The presently-developing Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches are still going to make their own mistakes, some of which will be the same as those the Anglican Church in Natal made in the past and will learn from them.

Finally, it is the responsibility of the Anglican Church of Southern Africa to conduct a deep self-examination of its liturgy and ecclesial practice and make the changes that are necessary to transform it into a true expression of an African Episcopal church, fit for use in a twenty-first-century democratic South Africa. The Anglican Church has the potential to attract people

of all races and cultural backgrounds, but only if it can agree to be decolonised. It is thus hoped that the suggestions contained in this chapter will prove useful in both motivating and navigating such paradigmatic change. Only then will the exodus of members from the Cathedral and other Anglican parishes be stemmed, and numerical and spiritual growth take its place.

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Appendix A

UKZN Ethical Clearance Protocol



03 May 2022

Rev Sboniso Artwell Khanyile (220107795)
Simanga Raymond Kumalo (26071)
School Of Rel Phil & Classics
Pietermaritzburg campus

Dear Researchers,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00004052/2022

Project title: From Bishop Phillip Russell to Bishop Nkosinathi Ndwandwe: An examination of the factors that contributes to the decline in membership in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg from 1974-2021.

Degree: Masters

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 23 March 2022 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. **PLEASE NOTE:** Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid until 03 May 2023.

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,



Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000, South Africa

Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 8350/4557/3587 Email: hssrec@ukzn.ac.za Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics>

Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix B

Permission to Conduct Research: Gatekeeper's Letter I

4/25/22, 9:42 PM Gmail - Consent to use the Bishop's name in the Masters thesis

 Sboniso Khanyile <[redacted]>

Consent to use the Bishop's name in the Masters thesis
3 messages

Sboniso Khanyile <[redacted]> 7 April 2022 at 11:27
To: Bishop Ndwandwe <[redacted]>

Dear Bishop Ndwandwe

I hope that you are well.

I am writing this email to seek your consent to use your name on the topic of my Masters' thesis. Please see the topic below:

From Phillip Russel to Nkosinathi Ndwandwe. The examination of the causes of the membership decline in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg from 1974 to 2021.

Yours in the Lord
Sboniso Khanyile

Bishop Ndwandwe <[redacted]> 7 April 2022 at 14:44
To: Sboniso Khanyile <[redacted]>

Dear Sboniso

I am sure you can.

+Nkosinathi
[Quoted text hidden]

Sboniso Khanyile <[redacted]> 7 April 2022 at 14:55
To: Bishop Ndwandwe <[redacted]>

Thank you Bishop.
[Quoted text hidden]

Appendix C

Permission to Conduct Research: Gatekeeper's Letter II

4/25/22, 9:50 PM Gmail - Consent to use Bishop Phillip Russel's name in the thesis

 Sboniso Khanyile 

Consent to use Bishop Phillip Russel's name in the thesis
6 messages

Sboniso Khanyile  7 April 2022 at 12:45
To: 
Cc: 

Dear June Walters

I hope you are well.

I am Sboniso Khanyile a priest in the Diocese of Natal. I am doing Masters Degree in Theology at UKZN, PMB.

The topic of my thesis is "From Phillip Russel to Nkosinathi Ndwandwe: The causes of the membership decline in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg from 1974 to 2021"

I seek consent from you as Bishop's daughter to use his name for the purposes of this topic.

I will be happy if this email receives your attention.

Yours in humble service
Sboniso Khanyile

June Walters  7 April 2022 at 21:17
To: Sboniso Khanyile 

Dear Rev Khanyile,

You are welcome to use my father's name in your thesis topic, but please note the correct spelling:

Only ONE "L" in PHILIP
And TWO "L"s in RUSSELL
THUS: PHILIP RUSSELL

Although my father was enthroned as Bishop of Natal in 1974, the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity was not yet built.

He was tasked with:

- Uniting the two congregations of St Peter's and of St Saviour's Cathedral in Commercial Road, Pietermaritzburg. St Saviour's Cathedral was deconsecrated in 1976 and was demolished in 1981.
- Disposing of an unsuitable site acquired by Bishop Inman
- Getting the new Cathedral built.

While he was the Archbishop of Cape Town, on 22 November 1981, he visited Pietermaritzburg, to dedicate the Cathedral.

So "1974" is perhaps not an accurate starting date. Please check my facts with the Diocesan Office!

Appendix D

Permission to Conduct Research: Gatekeeper's Letter III

2/25/22, 2:08 PM Gmail - Permission to use Cathedral as case study

 Sboniso Khanyile <[redacted]>

Permission to use Cathedral as case study
12 messages

Sboniso Khanyile <[redacted]> 6 December 2021 at 11:47
To: Mandy <[redacted]>

Dear Baba Dean

Please see the attached.

Yours in the Lord
Revd Sboniso Khanyile

 **Permission to use the Cathedral of Holy Nativity as the case study.doc**
70K

Dean Sibisi <[redacted]> <[redacted]>
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

Dear Revd Sboniso

Greetings!

I acknowledge receipt of your attached letter dated 06/12/2021.

Permission is granted to you as requested.

This will be a very useful case study not only to the Cathedral Parish of the Holy Nativity but to the wider Diocese of Natal.

I am forwarding your letter to use the Diocesan Archives to Revd Lewis Gumede the Diocesan Archivist.

Wishing you well in your studies.

Yours in Christ
Dean Ndabezihle Sibisi
The Cathedral Parish of the Holy Nativity
Diocese of Natal

[Quoted text hidden]

Appendix E

Informed Consent Form

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date:

Greeting: Dear Participant

My name is Sboniso Khanyile a Masters student in the University of Kwa Zulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus. The institution's contact number is: 0332605560

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research concerning the examination of the causes of the membership decline in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity from 1976 to 2021. The aim and purpose of this research is to:

1. To investigate the factors that causes the decline in membership in the Anglican Church in Southern Africa.
2. To investigate the factors that causes the decline in membership in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg.
3. To determine whether the decline of membership at the Cathedral of Holy Nativity has got anything to do with the failure to de-colonise ecclesiology.
4. To determine what can be done to stop the membership decline in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg.

The study is expected to enroll 60 participants from different countries of the world who were members of the Cathedral before migrating to other countries. It will involve the following procedures: The participants will be interviewed through social media, email or telephone because of the existing Covid-19 regulations. The meetings will not be physical. The duration of your participation if you choose to enroll and remain in the study is expected to be four months.

The study does not involve any risks and/or discomforts. We hope that the study will create the following benefits: As the Anglican Church around the world suffers membership decline, it can learn lessons from this study and mitigate the decline. Secondly, those who are amending the liturgy and the hymns can take some lessons from the study and amend them being informed by the findings of this study.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at: khanyilesa22@gmail.com or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

The participation in this research is voluntary and the participants may withdraw participation at any point. In the event of refusal/withdrawal of participation the participants will not incur penalty or loss of treatment or other benefit to which they are normally entitled. There are absolutely no potential consequences to the participant for withdrawal from the study. There will be no costs to be incurred by participants as a result of participation in the study.

To protect confidentiality of the personal information the names of the participants' names will be coded. The information will be kept in computer disk called cloud that has got password, only a student and the supervisor will have passwords to open it.

CONSENT

I (Name) have been informed about the study entitled "the causes of membership decline in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity: from 1976 to 2021 by Sboniso Khanyile.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study, I understand that I may contact the researcher at khanyilesa22@gmail.com.

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion	NO
Video-record my interview / focus group discussion	NO
Use of my photographs for research purposes	NO

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

Appendix F

Research Instrument: Questionnaire



COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
MASTERS IN PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

Interviewer: Sboniso Khanyile

This interview will be done through social media platforms or emails to avoid exposing interviewees to Covid-19 danger:

Consent Form

Who am I

I am Sboniso Khanyile and I am a researcher who is doing Masters in Practical Theology at The University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

My research is about an examination of the factors that causes the decline in membership in the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg from 1974-2021. This research has a potential to assist liturgists, song writers, theologians, architectures, Bishops and others from the mainline Churches to address the factors that are leading to membership decline when designing liturgies, writing songs, engaging theologically, designing icons and Churches and holding episcopal offices in the future.

Consent

I agree to participate in research on the examination of the factors that causes the decline in membership in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity in Pietermaritzburg from 1974 to 2021. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop participating at any point should I not want to continue and this decision will not in any way affect me negatively. I understand that this a research

project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally in the immediate or short term. I understand that my participation will remain confidential.

.....

Signature of the Participant

Date.....

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS

A1	A2	A3	A4
What is the gender of the participant? 1. Male 2. Female	How old is the participant? (years)	What is the marital status of the participant? 1. Single 2. Married 3. 3. Seperated 4. Divorced 5. Widowed	What is the education level of the participant? 1. None 2. Primary 3. Secondary 4. Tertiary 5. Other (Specify)

SECTION B: MEMBERSHIP ASPECTS

B1	B2	B3	B4
How long was the participant a member of the Cathedral of Holy Nativity? (Years). If the participant is still a member; how long has he/she been a member of the Cathedral?	How did the participant know about the Cathedral of Holy Nativity	Did the participant hold any position or is still holding any position in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity?	Was the participant a member of any guild in the Cathedral of Holy Nativity? 1. Mothers Union 2. IViyo 3. Bernard Mizeki

--	--	--	--

Interview for the congregants who have left the Cathedral of Holy Nativity.

1. According to your understanding why are Anglicans leaving the Cathedral of Holy Nativity?

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.....
.....
.....

2. Why did you leave the Anglican Church?

.....
.....
.....

3. What do you find different in your present Church in terms of culture if you compare it with the Anglican Church?

.....
.....
.....
.....

4. Did you relate with the theology of the Anglican Church that is expressed through liturgy, hymns, Canons, Saints, icons, synods, governance structure of the Anglican Church?

.....
.....
.....

5. In your perspective, is the Anglican Church especial at the Cathedral of Holy Nativity accommodate other cultures in it the theology of its liturgy and hymns?

.....
.....
.....

6. How did that affect you? Can you say it is part of the reasons you have left the Anglican Church?

.....
.....
.....

7. According to your experience at the Cathedral of Holy Nativity are you satisfied with what the Anglican Church is doing in terms of accommodating other cultures and knowledges from other cultural groups?

.....
.....
.....

8. What can be done to stop the exodus of congregants from the Anglican Church?

.....
.....

8. Do you wish to add anything on the subject of the exodus of Anglicans from the Cathedral of Holy Nativity?

.....
.....
.....

Interview for the Dean and Churchwardens of the Cathedral of Holy Nativity

1. According to the records that were published by this Parish in 2017, there were approximately 300 people who attend services on Sundays. In the records that were published by this Parish in 1976, there were approximately 700 to 1000 people who were attending services in this Parish. Is the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity suffering from the membership decline?

.....
.....

2. If yes, in your view what is the cause? If no, then why are numbers dropping?

.....
.....

3. The Anglican Church came as a Western Church with Eurocentric culture. In the attendance registers of the Cathedral that are in public, it shows that you have multiracial congregants. What has been done by the Cathedral to accommodate the cultures and the pre-colonial knowledges of the congregants who are not European?

.....
.....

4. Are congregants relating with the commemoration of European saints and exclusion of the native heroes who have passed on defending their cultures and their land in the Anglican saints and season booklet that you are using? Do congregants relate with the white icon of Jesus that is displayed in the Cathedral Church? Do congregants relate with the white angels only in your stain glass windows? Are they relating with the Anglican theology that is expressed through the liturgy and hymns?

.....
.....

5. If they are relating with all this, then why are they leaving the Church to join other Churches?

.....
.....

6. What has this Church done to ensure the equality of people from all races and cultures from 1974 to date?

.....
.....

7. Are there efforts done by the Cathedral of Holy Nativity to stop the exodus of congregants from the church?

.....
.....

8. Do you wish to add anything on the subject of the exodus of congregants from the Cathedral of Holy Nativity?

.....
.....

Appendix G

Language Editing Certificate

We the undersigned, do solemnly declare that we have abided by the University of KwaZulu-Natal's policy on language editing. The dissertation was professionally edited for proper English language, grammar, punctuation, spelling, and overall academic style. All original electronic forms of the text have been retained should they be required.



GARY STUART DAVID LEONARD

UKZN Higher Degrees Certified Language Editor

Commissioner of Oaths V3358

31 January 2023



SBONISO ARTWELL KHANYILE

Student No. 220107795

31 January 2023