

**THE SWISS MISSIONARIES' MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN  
SOUTH AFRICA (1873-1976)**

by

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**303.4 MASU**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Social research is all about identifying people's problems and systematically working towards their resolution through intense investigation. Social research thrives through interaction with other people and the environment. Isolationism does not yield research results that will go a long way towards improving the living conditions of the citizenry. The very nature of social research compels the investigator to extend his heartfelt thanks to all humanity, departed or still alive for the priceless meaning their existence on this planet gave to his own life. One's contribution can assume different forms. It could be personal contact with other humans or through written or published works. It is mainly the latter that shaped the researcher's perspective on life as documented in this historical-educational research. Admittedly, some of the sources of information were penned locally and internationally afore the novice researcher saw the light or started crawling. First and foremost, the researcher pays homage to his deceased father, Samuel Msisinyane Masumbe Chabalala (died 20th April 1979) and his surviving mother, Khubani Chabalala for all the parental education they provided to their son. The counselling words of the father afore he met his Creator are worth citing: "You may reach the apex of education even when I am no more. Correspondence is the route to the top to those who do not possess money for full-time study".

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Benneth Mhlakaza Chabalala Masumbe (04844793)

**I declare that "The Swiss missionaries" management of social transformation in South Africa (1873-1976) is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.**

.....  
**BMC Masumbe**

**2002 October 31**

## SUMMARY

This research surveys the Swiss missionaries' management of social transformation in South Africa (1873-1976). It has as its major focus the management of schools, hospitals and churches as the primary institutions of social change in society. The researcher's realisation that more often than not, the changes brought to bear on proselytes by the change forces take time to manifest themselves vividly induced him to extend the scope to include the dawn of the new political dispensation in this country in 1994. This need not surprise the readership as the triadic approach, which is synonymous with historical analyses compels researchers to avail readers of what happened in the past, present as well as what is likely to occur in future. In other words, readers will encounter the ethnic nationalism engineered by different change agents in this country and the repercussions thereof, and the schism within the Swiss Mission in South Africa/Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa that started in 1989 and became reality by 1991. Finally, the thesis also appraises readers of what should be done in periods of rapid social change.

## KEY TERMS

Social transformation, the Laubach Method (method of inculcating reading and writing skills to adults), Christian norms and values, ethnic nationalism, schism, egalitarianism, differentiated education, democracy, sectarianism, non-formal education, informal education, technical education, management, leadership, Plakkerswet/Squatter Act, Social Darwinism, Third Year.

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE STUDY

<b>SAR</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>South African Republic</b>
<b>SAR</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (Variation of the South African Republic. Also known as the Transvaal Republic or Transvaal Boer Republic)</b>
<b>SMSA</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Swiss Mission in South Africa</b>
<b>TPC</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Tsonga Presbyterian Church</b>
<b>EPCSA</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa (name of the Swiss Mission in South Africa since 1982)</b>
<b>PEMS</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, Basutoland (Church to which the early Swiss clerics were sent to serve their internship as from 1869. The Church started operating in Basutoland (Lesotho) during the reign of King Moshoeshoe in 1833)</b>
<b>TED</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Transvaal Education Department</b>
<b>NPH</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Native Primary Higher (Certificate)</b>
<b>SACC</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>South African Council of Churches</b>
<b>WARC</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>World Alliance of Reformed Churches</b>
<b>WCC</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>World Council of Churches</b>
<b>SAIRR</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg</b>
<b>UCCSA</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>United Congregational Church in South Africa</b>
<b>CCSA</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Christian Council of Southern Africa</b>
<b>CISA</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Christian Institute of Southern Africa</b>
<b>NAD</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Native Affairs Department</b>
<b>SANC</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>South African Nursing Council</b>
<b>PCSA</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Presbyterian Church in South Africa</b>
<b>BPC</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Bantu Presbyterian Church</b>
<b>SADTU</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>South African Democratic Teachers Union</b>
<b>ANC</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>African National Congress</b>
<b>SACP</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>South African Communist Party</b>
<b>BC</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Before Christ</b>
<b>LEALMA</b>	<b>:</b>	<b>Lemana Alumni Association</b>

**VERNACULAR PUBLICATIONS**

The following titles of publications have been translated into English for the convenience of the readership:

Nanga ya ba-Thonga (Nanga ya Vatsonga): The Tsonga Trumpet.

Nyeleti ya Miso (Nyeleti ya Mixo): The Morning Star

Mahlahle: The Morning Star

NB: The Valdezia Bulletin (later The Light: Ku vonakala ka Vatsonga) and Rejoice/Dzunisani (1975) unlike the publications/newspapers alluded to above did not require translation since they appeared in both English and Xitsonga.

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**ANNEXURE 1:****MAP SHOWING MISSION STATIONS AND MISSION HOSPITALS****DR GEORGES-LOUIS LIENGME FOUNDER OF ELIM HOSPITAL (1899)****CHIEF NJHAKANJHAKA, SHANGAAN TRIBE****KING MAKHADO RAMABULANA OF THE VENDA TRIBE****DR HF VERWOERD, ADDRESSING A PUBLIC MEETING PROBABLY ON THE DAY  
SOUTH AFRICA WAS PROCLAIMED A REPUBLIC INDEPENDENT FROM THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE, MAY 31 1961**

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND GROUNDING OF THE STUDY – AN INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY**

This study seeks to give a survey of the Swiss missionaries' management of social transformation in South Africa. In his previous work, the researcher concentrated on the Swiss clerics' educational endeavour as a means for social transformation (Masumbe 2000). Attention was focussed on the role played by the schools, churches and hospitals in bringing about social change in different parts of South Africa. The present study is poised to use the available research data to capture how the Swiss missionaries managed their institutions to bring about the social changes highlighted in the research literature and the author's MEd dissertation. Issues to be brought into focus include the difficulties experienced by the missionaries at the time of their arrival in this country, the policies formulated to ensure that the set goals/objectives were realised and how the Swiss missionaries reacted to the legislation passed by the colonial governments from the period 1873 to 1976. This includes important decisions such as the phasing in of grants in aid of native education in 1903 which marked the abandonment of the laissez-faire policies of the Government. Directly linked to the Government's involvement in the provision of native education was the effect of this interference had on the streamlining of education policies and the consumers of the education system. For instance, any analysis of education in South Africa has to take into consideration the impact that differentiated education, notably Bantu Education (1953), had on the indigenous populace over the years.

Social transformation has past educational practice as its point of departure. Past educational policies are pointers to what should be discarded of our educational practices and what should be retained in future. Another issue that should be probed is the question of the transfer of schools from the church administration to the secular government in 1955. For instance, was the transfer of schools considered a blessing to the natives? If not, what were the real motives of the Swiss missionaries in transferring their schools without tangible guarantees to the effect that their proselytes would receive education of a higher quality than that received prior to 1953? Were the Swiss missionaries convinced that the Christianisation that they requested the Nationalist Government to enshrine in its Education Act (1953) represented all that the Black

people needed in this country? These and similar questions require answers based on the available evidence (Elim Church's Proposed Statement and Answer 1954:1-3).

It is moved in this study that the Church of Christ should always promote social development. The Church of Christ should desist from being proxy to secular governments' repressive policies and be faithful to its role as the guarantor of social justice and the dignity of humankind vs Civil administrators in control of secular states need to feel that the Church of Christ will cry foul if the rights of any citizen are violated. Maluleke (1995:1) put it aptly when he said; "Now is the time for Africans, who are a product of western missionary work, to reflect on what mission means for the Church in Africa and what the church has done in Africa".

## **1.2 EXPLICATION OF THE CONCEPTS EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDY**

This investigation does not propose to give the reader all the meanings of the terminology used in the study. On the contrary, only the key concepts will be explained, with the rest being defined as the study unfolds, so as to avoid possible misunderstandings. The need for the explication of concepts is even greater when one considers that a variety of concepts featured in the study are discussed in different languages – vernacular, Afrikaans, French, not discounting Portuguese. Translations are also required when the researcher quotes passages in their entirety. As was the case in the previous study, namely, The Swiss missionaries' educational endeavour as a means for social transformation in South Africa (1873-1975), (Masumbe 2000) the services of Mr David Mahwayi of Hluvuka High School was indispensable when it came to French and Portuguese terminology.

The phrase "management of social transformation" as seen in the research topic should be construed as meaning "the coordination and integration of resources through planning, organising, directing and controlling in order to accomplish specific institutional goals and objectives" (Sullivan & Decker 1988:209). The same authors also draw a distinction between management and leadership so as to enlighten those who tend to regard the two terms as synonyms. Leadership in Sullivan and Decker's view (1988:210) implies "the use of one's skills to influence others to perform to the best of their ability". Leadership is in their view either formal or informal, in either case, the result remains the same, namely, to influence others to exert themselves fully to the tasks before them with a view to realising the set goals. Informal

leadership is countenanced in a situation whereby a non-designated person takes it upon himself/herself to influence colleagues to work hard to achieve organisational goals. Formal leadership on the other hand becomes an observable phenomenon when someone designated as the immediate supervisor issues commands or directives which are then carried out by subordinates with a view to achieving the set goals within an organisation or a given community (Sullivan & Decker 1988:210-211).

Dr Meshack Masasekane Khosa, Research Director at the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), (The Star 2001:9) defines management in the same way as Sullivan & Decker. To him “management ... means finding ways to make things happen, and leadership ... entail constant development and change”. He goes on to say that “leaders should be creatively innovative in their approach, forward thinking and able to adapt to change”. Sullivan & Decker’s definitions reveal all the essences highlighted by Khosa in the sense that if a manager seeks ways of making things happen and is proactive, he is looking forward to achieving the goals he has set for the organisation(s) he heads. He is, in other words, leading or controlling his workforce in a way that will ensure productivity and efficiency.

According to Makhasi (The Star 2001:9), social development depends on teamwork within organisations. But teamwork without skills and abilities might not lead to the optimal realisation of the set objectives. Good managers need to empower their subordinates with relevant skills that will enable them to perform their societal tasks with ingenuity. Organisations that achieve great success have well structured training programs that are intended to enhance the skills and abilities of their workers for the benefit of both the managers and the organisations which they serve.

Van Niekerk, Botha and Coetzer (2001:2) define the term organisations as “collectivities of people, who define policies, generate structures, manipulate resources and engage in activities to achieve their desired ends in keeping with their individual and collective values and needs. In the human organisation called a school, one of these desired ends is helping people to learn”. It is interesting to note that the Swiss missionaries used schools, churches and hospitals as the major organisations that had to coordinate their efforts to achieve multifaceted development within their mission fields. These were spread throughout the erstwhile provinces of the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape. For them management entailed constant visits to the mission centres for the spiritual upliftment of converts. Christian converts are apt to

backslide if not frequently visited by their clerics for moral support when faced with ostracisation by heathens.

### **1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY IN TERMS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENARIO**

#### **1.3.1 The old vis-a-vis the new dispensation**

The demise of apartheid in South Africa has paved the way for new challenges. At stake is the need for social transformation so that Black and White can coexist and co-operate in all areas of life. They need to bury the past and start life afresh in line with the new political dispensation. The reconciliation process must reign in the hearts and minds of the entire citizenry so that whatever knowledge each of the above possesses is used for the benefit of an undivided nation. All religious organisations need to work towards the normalisation of race relations in this country.

More than forty years ago the Rev SS Tema (1959:59) addressed this point quite eloquently when he said the following: “The church in South Africa has a unique opportunity to point the way to the rest of the world in true witness in a multiracial community. It rests with us, as Christian leaders, whether we are going to meet the challenge, or fail by leading the church to become more identified with the world”.

The clarion call made by Rev SS Tema should be heard and acted upon by every religious leader in the new South Africa. South Africa’s democratic Constitution recognises all religions. This means that religious leaders should move away from polarisation and work together to promote socio-economic and political reconstruction. The phrase “unity in diversity” is interpreted as meaning that South Africans of whatever skin pigmentation, culture, language and religion should cease to be egocentric and work towards achieving the goals that have a national tag. But the researcher should not be misconstrued as meaning that South African’s should not possess personal identities such as personal choices, preferences and property. To suggest that might mean that the Constitution is no longer governing the lives of people in the democratic spirit. What the researcher implies is that social transformation should express itself more loudly in terms of pluralism than in individualistic terms.

For instance, Prof RF Alfred Hoernle, then Head of the Department of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg (1942:121) firmly believed that the deracialisation of the education system would promote interracial harmony and cooperation that would in turn trigger national development in its varied forms.

Yet to arrive at a situation such as the one referred to remains an ideal. The institutionalisation of racism took three hundred and forty two years before the dawn of the new dispensation in South Africa in 1994. Consequently, if research and development are neglected, we risk a situation where we shall be living in a new South Africa that continues to have detours that avoid the new dispensation in the interest of maintaining the status quo. New curricula should be developed for our schools. For instance, Outcome Based Education (OBE) might prove to be the right remedy in dislodging us from our past cultural stereotypes which caused such polarisation.

Haddad (1992:6) cautions against a social transformation process that leaves missionaries out of the process. She has the following words of counsel: "... no analysis of social change in South Africa would be complete without investigating the influence of Christianity (as the majority religion) in that process. Reasons for this include the fact that: much of the country's political arena; the main churches have a history of socio-political involvement; and the churches have an infrastructure that can facilitate social reconstruction programs".

In the light of this and the fact that the primary sources bequeathed to the nation by various mission societies do not fully reveal all that occurred in the country during the colonial/missionary eras, surviving clerics should be invited to assist in driving social transformation. Alternatively they should make data accessible in languages that the majority of researchers will understand. The foregoing need not be construed as pre-empting the results of this research project but merely as an endorsement of Haddad's plea for involving missionaries who played a partisan role in the socio-economic and political development of this country in the past.

### **1.3.2 The formulation of economic and political policies**

Part of this research's thrust is to show that missionaries in many ways played a partisan role in the formulation of the socio-economic and political policies of the country during their tenure. Simple denial of this fact by the beneficiaries of the Swiss Mission education system cannot

help us to correct the situation. It should be noted that it is always the admission of flaws that should precede corrective measures. Failure to admit mistakes is in itself entitlement to continuing on the wrong footing and this becomes an exercise in futility (Valdezia Jubilee Celebration's programme 2000:8).

Social research is all about personalities or human behaviour. Therefore any description of human action that glosses over facts does not enhance historical research. Therefore statements such as those published in the above-mentioned Jubilee programme to the effect that the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa (EPCSA) (formerly Swiss Mission in South Africa [SMSA]) never involved itself in colonialism/imperialism do not help to improve the image of historical research as a science vis-a-vis other sciences. Available archival evidence lying in the Swiss Mission in South Africa's Archives at the University of the Witwatersrand's Historical Papers Department, suggests that the missionaries attached to this Church were as deeply involved as any politician in the socio-economic and political development of this country. How deeply involved they were is a question to be answered by the ensuing chapters. However, some may regard it as unfair to evaluate or analyse the Swiss enterprises in the light of the present. But we need to take stock of what our predecessors did in their time for us to be able to make amends for the present, so that the future can be faced confidently. This is the same scenario as that of a hardened criminal who suddenly abandons his heinous deeds in exchange for the Cross. Such a person starts from the past and then moves to the present and boldly anticipates a future that will be full of joy; that will only be accessible to those who accept Him as their Lord.

### **1.3.3 Social research vis-a-vis other study fields**

Bailey (1987:425) argues that there is nothing that man does that will be free of criticism. But criticism is good provided it is constructive or directed at making other people perform their societal tasks meticulously. Critics of social science claim that this discipline dwells on what everybody knows unequivocally by intuition. Bailey (1987:425) also claims that even the physical and life sciences are not above criticism. To him social science is a relatively young discipline that should be given time to grow and flourish alongside the other sciences untrammelled. In a move designed to divert attention or hostility directed at this fledgling science, Bailey says "I am much less willing to accept stereotypical charges of bias and belabouring the obvious, and I think that a critic who makes such charges is doing not only

social science but himself or herself and the general public a disservice unless he or she has evidence to support these claims”.

The foregoing holds for those within the Swiss Mission (now the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa) who criticise those who give an analysis of Swiss missionary operations based on what the clerics themselves have written. If the so-called radical researchers base their claims on the primary sources that the Swiss missionaries produced during their tenure in this country, the present clergy of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa – ex Swiss Mission in South Africa? More evidence will be yielded by the ensuing chapters as to whether or not the Swiss clerics ministered to the needs of the imperialists.

#### **1.3.4 The value of history**

Renier (1982:35) defines history as “the story of the deeds and achievements of men living in societies”. The amplified edition of Renier’s work further quotes J Huizinga as having defined history as “the story of something that has happened” (Renier 1982:35). If history is a story of something that happened, it is important that humanity know exactly what happened and how such happenings occurred in order to avoid danger in the present and future. Renier maintains that history is important for the following reasons:

- i) It provides solutions to complex problems by reflecting how our predecessors carried out projects vis-a-vis contemporary human practice. With this kind of information at our disposal, we are placed in a position where we can weigh up the available options thereby attaining our set goals (Renier 1982:19).
- ii) Past human experiences provide clues for present action and enable us to plan for the future. We can say that stories handed down from generation to generation serve as stimulants for research which leads to the broadening of human knowledge. Once people develop the habit of identifying and researching problems, chances for multifaceted development are enhanced. People cannot endure suffering when research has yielded solutions to their problems. They implement the findings so as to improve the quality of their lives. In life we never reach a point where we say we have reached the apex of development and there should be no more inventions. Technology is but an example of how people strive to improve living conditions on earth. Renier regards history as capable

of making men wise. His show indispensable history enables people to avoid mistakes by quoting the Dutch proverb: a donkey does not hurt itself twice on the same stone. This proverb shows how important human experience is in life. History could be viewed as past human experience relived to benefit contemporary expressions. Deputy Minister of Education, Mosibudi Mangena contends that history can be taught to steer children from evil. History teaching at schools can be focused on *ubuntu/vumunhu* (humaneness), but although his ministry values the teaching of history at schools, he and our Education Minister, Prof K Asmal are aggrieved by its relegation to the status of just an appendage of the human and social sciences. Our youths are bombarded and derailed by “avalanches of American music, films and other cultural expressions that have nothing except violence, decadence and conspicuous consumerism”, so bemoaned Mangena (2001:7). But Deputy Minister Mangena does not place blame on children. The entire blame rests on adults who have failed “to give our young people a sense of history by de-emphasising learning history in our schools” (Mangena 2001:7).

#### 1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Polit and Hungler (1987:535) define research design as “the overall plan for collecting and analysing data, including specifications for enhancing the internal and external validity of the study. Methodology is defined by the very authors as “the steps, procedures and strategies for gathering and analysing the data in a research investigation” (Polit & Hungler 1987:132).

This study is historical, qualitative and descriptive in nature. The investigation is mainly based on primary sources in the Swiss Mission Archives at the University of the Witwatersrand's William Cullen Library, Johannesburg, the Northern Province Regional Archives' Giyani and the HA & HP Junod Archives at the University of South Africa.

Statistics will be used to a very limited extent compared to the qualitative research method. For instance, the inflow and outflow of learners/students from schools and colleges, pass rates in the examinations, the number of Christians within mission stations and outstations and financial resources of the society can better be expressed in figures as opposed to words. Figures provide easy reference for anyone interested in trends in the development of the Swiss Mission in South Africa/Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa.

Methodology has the following aspects attached to it:

**a) Internal validity (internal criticism)**

Internal validity means looking at reality, for example, a document with a view to determining its authenticity. Perhaps the researcher may be guided by the writing style and the consistency with which the person under scrutiny signed papers. At times it is easy to guess the sender of a letter by merely looking at the handwriting of such a person.

The primary sources employed in this study were found to be authentic as many of them bore signatures of the Swiss clerics. The consistency with which signatures appeared in papers coupled with the fact that the documents are in the hands of curators hand picked by the Swiss Missionary Society testifies of their validity (Masumbe 2000:13-14).

**b) External validity (external criticism)**

External validity (external criticism) is a situation whereby a researcher determines the extent to which documents used in the investigation are genuine as they purport to be. Historical documents have to be as authentic as possible. They must of necessity be free from forgery although the mechanism for checking such veracity might be controversial and far from satisfying the expectations of some critical analysts. In this study the documents used were found to be authentic, free from forgery and representative of all the civilising work done by the Swiss clerics in their mission fields spread throughout South Africa. Photographs, signatures appearing on reports or letters and the operational areas are representative of all that is associated with the Swiss clerics. What is even more gratifying to note is that when the researcher asked the beneficiaries of mission education living in the Far North as to where one could obtain the primary sources, all pointed to some of the places eventually visited by the researcher for topical data. The validity of research data is further enhanced by the fact that most of the information pertaining to the Swiss clerics' civilising enterprises is found in some internationally renowned institutions such as the University of South Africa and the University of the Witwatersrand, Pretoria and Johannesburg respectively. All these centres of higher learning know how artefacts or historical data should be preserved in a manner that ensures that they are not defaced or missed from the files in which they have been kept. The inventory at the University of the Witwatersrand shows that curators update it whenever new information/data trickles in. The origin of research data is also acknowledged. The University of South Africa also have usable inventories that include everything that researchers might need, for example,

learners/students' essays, prepared sermons, articles showing beneficiaries' feelings about mission education and photographs of the African elite. For instance, The Valdezia Bulletin, a community newspaper edited by Messrs DC Marivate, EA Tlakula and AE Mpapele, used to publish photographs of the African elite and this enhances the validity of researchers' works (Renier 1982:162).

The foregoing makes the researcher convinced that the research data consulted have external validity because the findings contained in this report can be generalised to larger populations from which the sample studied was drawn (Seaman 1987:431).

### **c) More about the validity of historical educational research**

This historical educational research is further validated by newspapers inaugurated by both the Swiss missionaries and their proselytes. The latter showed great autonomy in their reporting albeit their newspapers were mission sponsored. For readers' easy reference to the names of all the newspapers are shown below:

- i) The Tsonga Trumpet (Nanga ya Vatsonga), started by the Rev Numa Jaques in Pretoria in January 1899. Publication ceased in 1901.
- ii) The Morning Star (Nyeleti ya Mixo) started by Rev N Jaques and The Morning Star Editorial Committee in January 1921. Its circulation ceased in 1949. It was first published by The Ebenezer Press in Dundee, Natal, before the Central Mission Press, Cleveland, Johannesburg took over in 1947. By this period the paper was under the editorship of the late Mr EA Tlakula of Payneville, Springs. He was originally from Elim Mission Station in the then Northern Transvaal. Another editor looking after the interests of the Mozambican readers was appointed. He was Rev E Julilrat of Chicumbane Mission Station. The late Mr SJ Baloyi became the editor in the 1950s replacing Mr EA Makula who complained about the workload in 1951.
- iii) The Morning Star (Mahlahle). This was Nyeleti ya Mixo in its newest format. The socio-economic and political conditions of the time weighed so hard on Nyeleti ya Mixo that the mission authorities decided to alter the image of the newspaper. The new format was essentially a coalescence of the Tshwa (Xitshwa) language, Rhonga (Xirhonga) language and the Xitsonga language spoken in South Africa. The first two languages are spoken in Mozambique. It is important to note that Mr EA Tlakula had been chosen as the editor when this newspaper started

circulating in July 1949. (Berthoud 1899:1-4; Jaques N 1921:1-2; Tlakula 1947:1; Tlakula 1949:1).

Whilst still on the methodology employed in this research project, two approaches borrowed from Mouton (2001:194) are explained. Mouton makes a distinction between what he calls the insider-perspective and the outsider-perspective. The insider-perspective refers to a situation whereby the researcher makes an effort to “understand people in terms of their own definition of their world” (Mouton 2001:194). An outsider-perspective is countenanced when the researcher presents his/her own observations/analysis with regard to the research data at his/her disposal. Both approaches are indispensable in this research project because without the latter the research will lose its objectivity. It would evolve as an extension of the subjective views of the Swiss missionaries. It should be noted that the Swiss missionaries wanted to go down in history as highly progressive liberals who had literally sacrificed themselves for the social advancement of the native population. Their utterances at public forums were crafted in such a manner that their audiences would be persuaded of their viewpoint. Evidence gleaned from their primary sources suggests that their pronouncements at public meetings were seldom matched by the positive things they mentioned about their enterprises. When missionaries found themselves in the midst of the colonial administrators, they spoke a different language from that used in the midst of their proselytes. The foregoing is vouched for by the ensuing chapters. Discerning minds within the ranks of proselytes will expose the hypocrisy of the Swiss missionaries.

By using the two perspectives, namely, the insider and the outsider perspective, the researcher hopes to answer the following pertinent questions:

- i) To what extent did the Swiss clerics prepare their proselytes to meet the demands of the new socio-economic and political conditions?
- ii) How far did the Swiss education system differ from apartheid education with regard to aims, content and organisation?

- iii) Are there any elements of the Swiss education system that may be refined and included in the Swiss education system that may be refined and included in the new curriculum that is being implemented by the current Government in South Africa, especially in the terrain of skills development?
- iv) To what extent did mission education in general pave the way for the advent of Bantu Education in 1953?
- v) To what degree did the Swiss clerics promote technical education, and what benefits were on offer for those who acquired diplomas in the capitalist economy?
- vi) Are the so-called radical critics justified in their condemnation of mission education as no better than Bantu Education?

The manner in which the above questions are answered should indicate how far South Africa will disadvantage the younger generation should it continue regarding history as an appendage of the human and social sciences in terms of the newly introduced Curriculum 2005 or Outcomes Based Education (OBE). The ideal situation would be to leave history as an autonomous discipline so that it could have some immense space in which to develop and orientate the youth in the difficult transition from racial discrimination to democracy. The youth has to be conversant with their country's history. Bob Marley (1983) addresses himself to us all regarding the dangers associated with denigration or being oblivious of our national histories when he quotes Marcus Garvey on the cover of his collection of songs entitled "Survival" (1983): "A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots".

## 1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

This research is mainly grounded on a body of data produced by the Swiss clerics and their proselytes. The information gleaned from these primary sources constitutes what Mouton (2001:194) calls the insider-perspective. But as already highlighted under research design and methodology, this perspective will be used together with the outsider-perspective so as to maintain the required objectivity in the assessment of the Swiss missionary era. The outsider-perspective comes in the form of the secondary sources used in this research/investigation. Van

der Walt (1992:221) calls on all historical educational researchers to develop “a hermeneutic with which to approach the period of missionary education in South Africa”. Van der Walt expects historical educational researchers to be scientific and objective in the sense of maintaining a proper balance between subjectivity and objectivity in the analysis of data pertaining to missionary education in this country. He expects researchers to confine themselves within the 1800-1953 historical epochs. The year 1953 marks the period during which Dr HF Verwoerd introduced the Bantu Education Act which terminated mission education in this country. The researcher has problems with this demarcation by Van der Walt as it might create the impression that the Swiss missionary educational endeavours never stretched beyond the year 1953. Readers should know that the Swiss missionaries’ educational endeavours stretched beyond the year 1953. For instance, nurses continued receiving their education at the mission hospitals’ nursing colleges while teachers were being trained at Lemana College (1906-1968). Swiss mission educators remained dedicated to their institutions well into the 1990s.

The Rev Dr Theo R Schneider was the last Superintendent to manage Lemana Training Institution between the years 1957 and 1959. The Rev HD Jeannot retired as the Principal of Lemana High School in the 1990s. Whilst the primary sources will be featured and acknowledged in the text itself, the researcher cannot fail to provide an overview of previous research on the Swiss enterprises. Their works are featured in this study.

a) CL Pienaar. 1990. Mission education in the North-Eastern Transvaal: The Swiss Mission and Lemana (1906:1948). BA Hons thesis. University of Cape Town, Cape Town.

This is a very illuminating study on the Swiss missionary activities at Lemana Training Institution. Although the researcher was mainly concerned with the educational activities of Lemana College, she also touched on the socio-economic and political conditions impacting on the people at the time. She captured the transition of Africans from traditionalism to modernism in a very informative way. Those who completed the courses at Lemana Training Institution were deployed in their own communities where they acted like seasoned missionaries. Some went beyond the borders of South Africa.

- b) DC Mabunda. 1995. A historical-educational survey and evaluation of Swiss missionary education at Lemana. MEd dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Mr Mabunda has given a comprehensive survey of Swiss Mission education at Lemana and the practising schools. He conducted interviews with the descendants of the Swiss missionaries who laboured at the college which has now been reduced by the socio-economic and political changes sweeping through the country to a shadow of its original self. Mabunda *inter alia* traces the biographies of the early clerics, students' lifestyles at the college, staffing, pass rates, career-shifting and the missionaries' management styles.

- c) ST Maluleke. 1995. A morula tree between two fields: the commentary of selected Tsonga writers on missionary Christianity. DTh thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

The Rev Dr ST Maluleke's research shows that it is possible to be forthright and critical of religious practices without losing one's religiosity. His study enables one to fathom the genesis and development of Tsonga authors as well as the things they needed to do to entice missionaries to publish their works at Sasavona Publishers & Booksellers, Braamfontein, Johannesburg. Their works had to be based on Christian norms and values. Dr Maluleke captures missionary paternalism in as much as he unfailingly articulates Africans' concerns about pensions and the clerics' lack of zest to teach their proselytes the French language which was their mother tongue. But in Chief Muhlaba Shiluvane, the French-speaking Swiss clerics had found their right match. He was the first to invite the Swiss missionaries to come and work amongst his subordinates but was not prepared to abandon traditional customs that had utility value for religious expediency. He dubbed himself the "morula tree between two fields", a figurative expression meaning that as a traditional ruler he would relate well with both Christians and heathens. He himself was a Christian to the core.

- d) M Egli and D Kraye. 1996. Mothers and daughters: the training of African nurses by the Swiss Mission in South Africa (English version) MA thesis, University of Zurich Switzerland.

This thesis is authoritative as far as the training of African nurses at the Swiss Mission hospitals is concerned. What made things easy for the two researchers was their proficiency in French which made it possible for them to conduct their research without any problems. As Swiss nationals they had the luxury of visiting the Swiss Mission Archives at Lausanne for most of the

research materials. Visits to the Swiss Mission fields in South Africa only provide supplementary information.

e) BMC Masumbe. 2000. The Swiss missionaries' educational endeavour as a means for social transformation in South Africa (1873-1975). MEd dissertation Pretoria, University of South Africa.

This research work mainly deals with the Swiss clerics' use of their major institutions, namely, the schools, churches and hospitals as centres for the spread of Christian education. The research report captures the developments in Europe that led to the scramble for the African mission fields. The secondment of the early Swiss missionaries to the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) by the Free Church of the small Canton of Vaud in the western part of Switzerland is also covered. The PEMS was based in Basutoland since 1833. The first Swiss clerics joined their French brethrens towards the end of the 1860s and at the beginning of the 1870s. The inauguration of several mission stations and annexes in South Africa, Mozambique and the lesser extent the Hlengwe territory in the erstwhile Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) were the notable achievements of the Swiss in Southern Africa.

f) CZ N'wandula. 1987. The Swiss Mission in South Africa: a critical review of its educational practices among the Tsonga people of the North-Eastern Transvaal (1899-1954). MEd dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

This is a concise yet penetrating study of the educational practices of the Swiss clerics in what today constitutes the Northern Province and Mpumalanga Province. N'wandula has successfully enunciated the philosophical bases of the Swiss education system. He also showed the similarities that existed between the Swiss education system and Bantu Education which was introduced in 1953. Upon reading N'wandula's dissertation one is left with the impression that no substantial differences existed between Bantu Education and Swiss Mission education in terms of aims, content, policies, organisation and management.

g) MI Mathebula. 1989. The relationship between some ecumenical bodies and the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa – Swiss Mission (1904-1975): A historical study. MTh dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

This is yet another concise, penetrating and objective assessment of the activities of the Swiss clerics by an ordained minister. Although Rev MI Mathebula dwelled on ecumenism. He also found space to cover the educational practices of the Swiss missionaries as well as their reaction to the apartheid regime's separate development policies. Mathebula intersperses interdenominationalism with what was happening in the country, namely, the socio-economic and political changes that occurred within the historical epoch covered by his study. In education, he depicts the Swiss clerics as strong adherents of differentiated education that would lead to the production of African leaders who would not only assume the leadership of the Tsonga Presbyterian Church (TPC) [the name by which the Swiss Mission in South Africa (SMSA) was nominally known upon the transfer of ecclesiastical power to the Black clergy in 1962] but the homeland government as well. This homeland government turned out to be the Gazankulu Bantustan. The Tsonga Presbyterian Church's relations with progressive organisations such as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the World Council of Churches (WCC) was just a marriage of convenience as the TPC was generally lukewarm in supporting the resolutions that condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity. Mathebula attributes the Black clergy's failure to support progressive policies of the SACC and the WCC to their serving in the structures created by the Nationalist Government.

h) MA Ravhudzulo. 1999. The educational endeavours of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa in historical perspective. DEd thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Ravhudzulo's work explores the Swiss missionaries' proselytising efforts in the erstwhile Transvaal. What is interesting about Ravhudzulo's work is that he covers the Swiss clerics' management of their varied enterprises from the earliest times of their settlement in this country as well as the intervention of the State in the administration of schools in 1903. As a precursor to the social changes introduced in the former Transvaal, Ravhudzulo gives the reader an overview of what was happening in the other provinces of South Africa, namely, the Cape, Natal and the Orange Free State. The intertwinement that existed between schools, hospitals and churches is also given sufficient coverage by Ravhudzulo.

## **1.6 DEMARCATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY**

The current study is entitled “The Swiss missionaries’ management of social transformation in South Africa (1873-1976)”. The study aims to cover the Swiss missionaries’ administration of schools, churches and hospitals with a view to realising their set objectives. The last of the Swiss enterprises, namely, the hospitals, was taken over by the State in October 1976. But although the Central Government had nominally transferred control of the mission hospitals to the Gazankulu Bantustan government, the Swiss medical officers remained running these institutions, for they had the necessary expertise.

## **1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH AND LAYOUT OF THE CHAPTERS**

This study consists of seven chapters. The last chapter appraises the Swiss missionaries’ enterprises as laid out in the first chapter. It is the hope of the researcher that by the time readers reach the concluding sentence of this investigation, they shall have accumulated considerable information about the Swiss clerics’ transformation efforts, and that the information gained will enable them to make informed decisions about social change. The chapters are as follows:

### **Chapter 1: Theoretical framework and grounding of the study – an introduction**

This chapter takes readers through the various stages of the research based on the Swiss clerics’ management of social transformation in this country. Some of the aspects covered by this chapter include: the aim and rationale of the study, explication of concepts employed in the study, methodology used in identifying and interpreting research data, literature review and the demarcation of the field of study. The whole range of topical/key concepts is not defined in this chapter. Other concepts/words will be expounded as the study unfolds.

### **Chapter 2: Review of literature on the management of social transformation**

A number of sources, namely, primary and secondary sources will be featured in this chapter. The two categories of sources will continue to guide the research to its logical conclusion in the researcher will ensure that the context of the research at hand, namely, the management of social change by the Swiss missionaries is never driven to the periphery. The researcher believes that management and leadership are the same in all organisations. What enables us to draw some

distinctions between management in private and public institutions is the emphasis each category puts on the goals to be achieved. Private enterprises are always bent on making profits/monetary gains, while the public institutions do not necessarily gauge their achievements in terms of monetary gains alone.

### **Chapter 3: The manifestation of organisational change within the Swiss mission fields**

Organisations do not remain static. They constantly change in line with the expansion of human knowledge. Change is always directed at the improvement of the quality of life of the citizenry. This chapter also presents definitions of concepts such as structures, institutions and organisations (Hersey & Blanchard 1993:4).

### **Chapter 4: The management of hospital services as a means to accelerating social transformation**

The Swiss missionaries believed that the evangelisation of the indigenous populace could only be speeded up if schools, churches and hospitals complemented one another. It was for this reason that wherever a mission station was founded, efforts were also made to establish schools and dispensaries or clinics to educate tribesmen on the need to abandon superstition. Tribesmen were taught the aetiology of diseases (hygiene/health education) at both schools and health facilities. With the passing of time, clinics were developed into hospitals with various departments, for example, the Department of Occupational Therapy, Ophthalmology, Adult Education, Primary school education and agriculture. The mission hospitals inculcated skills that varied from literacy, food production, prevention of blindness and rural development.

### **Chapter 5: Educational management prior to the advent of apartheid in South Africa (1873-1948)**

From the onset Swiss mission education was structured in such a way that the broad aims of the Swiss Missionary Society (1874) were realised at the three major institutions, namely, schools, churches and hospitals. This chapter surveys the missionaries' management of these three institutions. Paternalism and trusteeship held sway over all the institutions. Management planned how the institutions had to be governed, formulated rules and regulations, coordinated their enterprises with other instances, for example, business, training institutions and

government structures. The take-over of mission hospitals by the State in 1976 did not necessarily remove the powers that the Swiss doctors wielded at the former mission hospitals in what was then known as the Gazankulu Government.

## **Chapter 6: The role of the clergy in the management of their churches: the real test for socio-economic and political development**

The church was the seat of government. It was the nerve centre for control and administration of social services. Rules and regulations governing schools, churches and hospitals were formulated by the clergy who were the executive officials of the church government. The clergy formulated all mission statutes and these had to be adapted by schools and hospitals to suit their needs. The church had the devolution of ecclesiastical powers. The metropole, was located at the missionary headquarters at Lausanne, thus, Switzerland's powers held away over the periphery. The periphery was organised in such a way that there was the central government, provincial government and local government. The administrative capital of the Swiss Mission in South Africa/Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa is in Johannesburg. Each mission station has a resident minister who is supposed to visit the outstations or annexes from time to time to provide spiritual upliftment to congregants.

## **Chapter 7: Appraisal of the Swiss missionaries' management of social transformation in South Africa (1873-1976)**

This chapter ties up with the aim and rationale of the research project, namely, identifying problems associated with social transformation and making recommendations as to how those problems could be overcome. The dawn of democracy in South Africa in 1994 brought about some sweeping changes in many spheres of life. Some changes are yet to get introduced in the socio-economic and political spheres of our country's citizenry. Bantu Education (1953) which has left a legacy of intellectual impoverishment to the African masses, is still the focal point for transformation. Education remains an indispensable catalyst for social change. Dr Blade Nzimande, Secretary-General of the South African Communist Party (SACP), (2001:12) sums up the importance of education as follows:

“Education is one of the most crucial vehicles for shaping broader societal values. It is always a carrier of particular messages, both explicitly and implicitly. For these reasons education is not neutral, and it’s important to understand this truism as a basis for approaching the tasks at hand. In the South African context, like in many other post-colonial societies, it carries and imparts particular racial, gender and class messages. It is therefore important that we try to be as explicit as possible in identifying the key messages that our transforming education system is imparting, and what kind of values will we like to see being carried by our education system in general”.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

For many years until fairly recently, there seemed to be no real social transformation in this country. Life seemed to be structured in such a way that the social inequities that were introduced from the moment Jan van Riebeeck and his crew anchored at the Cape shores on 6 April 1652 were here to stay. But years of racial polarisation finally produced a miracle for South Africa in the form of a political settlement that led to the first democratic elections that were held on 27 April 1994. The installation of the Government of National Unity that year created opportunities for social transformation. Social transformation has suddenly become a force to reckon with in any sphere of social life. In this study all the changes that are taking place are incorporated within the precinct of socio-economic and political transformation. This includes education renewal and religious transformation (Masumbe 2000:75).

In the past social transformation was largely exclusive in the sense that successive governments in this country sought to empower white people at the expense of the Indians, Coloureds and other groups. Such a skewed social transformation only succeeded in giving rise to the racial polarisation that took South Africans three and a half decades to resolve. But the installation of democracy in this country does not mean the end of social transformation. Social transformation is an ongoing process. It is a process that gains strength from the entrenchment of democratic values. This implies that as the change forces bring changes to our lives, it must also be ensured that those who are still not reaping the benefits of transformation should be empowered to share the benefits with the other citizens of the country. Social transformation can only succeed if it takes cognisance of our historical past – its successes and failures.

The colonists and missionaries' characterisation of Africa as the 'Dark Continent' should spur rather than inhibit social change. Fortunately, archaeological discoveries such as that of Stilbaai (see 2.3) in the Southern Cape which were made by Prof Christopher Henshilwood prove that Africa was not worth the label given it by Western scholars. More research must be carried out to rediscover Africa's cultural heritage (Cuendet 1925:1-3; Adendorf 2002:9).

## **2.2 THE RISING FORTUNES OF THE SWISS MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

For their entire tenure in this country, the Swiss clerics tried by all means to civilise Africans in line with 'the Swiss' value system. No effort was made to try to understand what Africans were capable of doing in their daily lives save for cataloguing what were perceived to be heathenistic practices. Missionaries' prejudices determined what should be done and how it should be accomplished. There was little if any room for the indigenous populace's self-actualisation according to their traditional customs. But the Swiss missionaries acquitted themselves well in many areas of social life proving that one does not have to possess enormous resources to achieve social transformation. On the contrary, it is possible to achieve great success with minimum resources (Lobe 2001:12).

The researcher needs to point out that social transformation should be based on mutual love and respect that is deficient of pretence for proselytes to exert themselves to the hilt. The investigator sees egalitarianism as an important factor that has the capacity to motivate stakeholders intrinsically to work hard to attain the set objectives. Organisations should have managers or leaders who identify with the equitable distribution and allocation of duties to the membership so that envy is kept at bay. The researcher perceives envy and racism as the foes of social transformation. Equality as ingrained in the concept egalitarianism should be construed to mean equal treatment of members of organisations by managers of social transformation. If managers allow favouritism to creep into the organisational structure, the chances are that envy (jealousy) will proliferate resulting in less exertion to the allotted tasks. Once the team spirit dissipates, it might be well nigh impossible for workers to achieve maximum results even if there are adequate resources. The Swiss missionaries encouraged their charges to work as a team in their respective capacities. Individualism was also valued but it had to be expressed in the context of the Scriptures (Mabyalani 1949:1).

The Cross was the only unifying force in the battle against the forces of darkness and poverty. Students who were enrolled at Lemana Training Institution were encouraged to embrace the Christian spirit epitomised by their European benefactors in their daily lives. The stringent mission statutes were a constant guide to Christian living and anybody who broke the bounds was liable for dismissal from the college. The same held for life in the mission villages (Mabyalani 1949:1).

Yet it must not be construed that those who had passed school going age were not catered for by the Swiss missionaries. Adult education centres were set up to provide basic literacy and practical skills for those who missed out on formal schooling so that they also could meet the rigours of life without difficulties (Hartshorne 1985:150). This study should illuminate the coalescence between school education, non-formal/adult education and home education although the latter was frowned upon by the Swiss clerics. The ensuing chapters will show how missionaries and their African collaborators conducted itinerant visits in both the rural and urban areas which were aimed at providing varied life skills to their clientele. In interactions with proselytes, paternalism was often the norm to ensure the latter's compliance with the mission statutes that were touted as the guarantee to eternal life.

In an apparent move to illustrate the value of harmonising formal education and non-formal education with home education, De Vries (1961:121-122) has the following to say: "Illiteracy was no obstacle to a rewarding life, a high position or even a successful career. The introduction of western-type schools has become an expression of contempt for traditional society, although literacy in itself is by no means a measure of culture or a guarantee of skill. In a society where people have little opportunity to read it seems that the spread of knowledge by word of mouth is very effective and people's memories are often astonishing. Also, in these circumstances people can often learn by seeing others perform. However, the communication of knowledge, skill and wisdom is only possible in the narrow circle of personal contact in time and space. Education, preparing children for their lives as adults, is an end in itself".

It is significant to note that De Vries does not undermine training per se, but would prefer the form of training that will accord trainees the opportunity to express themselves in relation to the reality around them. Perhaps it is pertinent to talk of education for reality as something that the above scholar was urging people in rapid social change to strive for. The researcher is persuaded to make this contextualisation because De Vries (1961:122) emphatically states the following:

“Training can only be considered as part of the more general objective of educating people. If training becomes divorced from its general framework and roots, people themselves become degraded to tools in a technical or social process. The latter may go as far as ideological brainwashing”. Perhaps De Vries’ perspective of social transformation is what South Africans might identify with, namely, the preparation of children to become critical thinkers who will use their academic achievements to promote socio-economic and political development. The researcher does not view critical thinking as synonymous with dissent. On the contrary, he views constructive criticism as a radar that guides social transformation managers as to how they should improve the quality of life of the people.

### **2.3 THE INSIDER-PERSPECTIVE VERSUS THE OUTSIDER-PERSPECTIVE OF ANALYSING HISTORICAL DATA PERTAINING TO SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

The researcher will use the above perspectives to assess the relevant literature pertaining to the Swiss missionaries’ transformative efforts for the period under review. Such an approach is necessitated by the realisation that the insider-perspective as employed by the Swiss clerics and their proselytes tended to give readers a biased view of their operations in this country. It was as if the statements uttered by both the Swiss benefactors and their beneficiaries were intended to brainwash the readership or audience into believing that their enterprises represented the best that any person would aspire for on earth. But an in-depth analysis of the archival materials bequeathed to the nation by men and women from Switzerland reveals some contradictions in the execution of societal tasks vis-à-vis what one would expect from the disciples of the selfless Jesus Christ. But the beneficiaries of Swiss Mission education might be forgiven for failing to discern their mentors’ contradictory position especially when it came to race relations and the extent to which blacks had to be developed by their white mentors (Harries 1986:41).

To them the liberal utterances of Prof Dr Edgar H Brookes and the Rev Dr HA Junod represented the truth. As the supposedly embodiments of Christian values and the attendant truth, it is not difficult to understand why proselytes had no reason to question the bonafides of their benefactors. But true liberalism could be easily displayed by the selfless manner in which some liberals related to their black counterparts during the historical epoch under review. Education was another terrain where the integrity of the Swiss clerics could be critically viewed. According to Christie (1992:67-71), missionaries of different denominations were not in

agreement regarding the form of education that had to be offered to the native population although they had full consensus regarding the importance of formal education to the social advancement of their charges. The debate around a uniform system of education for blacks and white's vis-à-vis differentiated education yielded no consensus between what could be described as the true liberals and the self-assuming liberals/pseudo-liberals. This is further discussed in Chapter 5, which deals with the management of education.

The researcher defines the outsider-perspective as the critical review of research data pertaining to Swiss mission education. This critical analysis of research data will enable the researcher to present a balanced perspective of the Swiss missionaries' transformative efforts. While the insider-perspective is the description of missionary endeavours in a manner acceptable to the clerics, the outsider-perspective seeks to highlight reality in as objective a fashion as possible. Where the missionaries glossed over things the outsider-perspective seeks greater objectivity. This is something that very few if any beneficiaries were capable of doing given the paternalism of their benefactors over them (Mouton 2001:194).

Africans reacted differently to missionary entreaties. While Christian converts tended to remain silent about missionary hypocrisy, heathens were quick to voice their displeasures of missionary actions. They saw it as their duty to defend their age-old customs against the dominant and highly resourced European culture(s). For instance, Chief Mukhono Bungeni Mabunda (also known as Masungi) of Bungeni village, south of Valdezia Mission Station, was ambivalent about Christianity. He refused to allow the Swiss missionaries to build Samaria school and a church in his land. The school had to be moved to Mutsetweni village between Valdezia and Bungeni village where it was well received. Some times later, Headman Ndaheni Shitachi Shirindza gave the Swiss missionaries the right to establish a school for his subordinates probably in the late 1940s but Mukhono would not allow his subordinate to have his wish carried out (Masumbe Interview: 17 March 2002a).

A meeting was held at Mukhono's kraal where a decision was made to send arsonists to set the Shitachi School alight. So determined were the arsonists that they even chanted war songs as if they were heading for a real war. The school was first destroyed, for burning it as it stood would court misfortune. Anybody who wilfully burned a hut or building risked becoming insane according to the traditional customs upheld by most Africans. Xitsakisi, the teacher from Matsila, a village east of Shitachi, had to look with disbelief as the school he and his pupils had

laboriously built was incinerated. This was because her one-month stay at the ruined school under the tutorship of Xitsakisi had not yet rendered her literate. But Xitsakisi who hailed from a village with a school built in 1918 had done his fair share of mission work and as would normally be expected of a person of his standing (Masumbe Interview: 17 March 2002a; Masumbe 2002:150).

Swiss missionary operations during the early years of settlement in the Zoutpansberg District had other setbacks. Chief Davhana of the Venda people was one of the traditional leaders who appeared intent on stifling the development of the Swiss enterprises. Davhana (whose name is wrongly spelt as Ndhavane/Ndavane or Thabane by the Swiss clerics in their archival records) was one of the conservatives who only wanted the Swiss missionaries to further his own agendas than work for the development of their missions. The oversight around the writing of his name has unfortunately been replicated in some studies. Moreover, he has been erroneously presented as the chief of the Shangaans. For example, N'wandula (1987:13) and Ravhudzulo (1999:55) have unfortunately been led to believe that Davhane was the chief of the Shangaans by the report in: *The Tsonga Messenger* (October-December 1949:23). What further compounds issues is the fact that if the name Davhana is misspelt to read as Ndhavane or most importantly Ndavane it finds general acceptance with those who go by the same name among the Shangaan/Tsonga people. But Rademeyer (1943:18) avoids misspelling/corrupting some African chiefs' names by addressing Chief Davhana using the correct spelling as used by the Vhavenda people. But he also used what most Europeans preferred, namely, Tabana (variation of the name Davhana) in brackets. Most Europeans were given to corrupting African names to suit their articulations. For instance, Makhado would appear as Machado or Magato, Mphephu as M'pefu, Mphaphuli as Pafuri.

Davhana was a chief who entered Shangaan territory as an asylum seeker. The circumstances that led to Davhana's departure from Dzanani need to be divulged here. The death of Chief Mphephu I around 1859 led to the enthronement of Ramavhoya who was the heir chosen by the deceased to rule over the clan/tribe. But Ramabulana would have nothing to do with this as he himself aspired after the throne left vacant by his deceased father, Chief Mphephu I. But it was difficult to usurp the throne from the clutches of Ramavhoya and, Ramabulana travelled to Lydenburg, then an independent Boer republic to head a commando that had to travel to the Zoutpansberg District to dethrone Ramavhoya. The Voortrekkers had obtained consent from Ramabulana that the military assistance to be extended to him would be conditional to the

ceding of land to the Voortrekkers for residential and agricultural purposes. Not keen to let the throne slip through his hands, Ramabulana consented to the terms although inwardly he knew that he would not give the Voortrekkers the prime agricultural land they aspired for. Ramavhoya was dethroned, apprehended and strangled to death in accordance with the Venda custom, which tabooed the spilling of a prince's blood for fear of the misfortunes that would haunt the nation. The Voortrekkers expected Ramabulana to live up to his promise, but he played a hide and seek game. The Voortrekkers remained at Schoemansdal and this caused consternation to Ramabulana, who proclaimed Davhana as prince regent and fled to Tshivhase's territory. But he left the land and some of his young wives behind. His son was apparently unable to contain his lust for one of the latter, which infuriated his father to a point of declaring him ineligible for chieftainship (Gottschiling 1905:366-367, De Vaal 1953:75, Tsedu 1989:13).

When Chief Ramabulana died in 1864, Makhado, the youngest of the deceased's eleven sons was enthroned. This put pressure on Davhana who fled to Tshivhase, Mphaphuli, eventually finding sanctuary in Chief Joao Albasini's territory, the absolute ruler of the Shangaans, Native Affairs Commissioner of the Zoutpansberg District and, Vice-Consul of Portugal in South Africa. But Davhana remained insecure at Mpaphuli. Makhado, his vengeful youngest brother was bent on revenge. Davhana was attacked on 3 July 1864 by his adversaries (De Vaal 1953:75). Consequently, Davhana established himself under Chief Njhakanjhaka's sphere of influence. He had to plead for a piece of land, which was granted to him and named Mpheni (Give me!) – a testimony to the pressure he was under. Prof E Renevier (1885:218) dubbed Chief Davhana's kraal "the eagle's nest", probably due to its rudimentary outlook and strategic position. A man facing the prospect of strangulation in the same mould as Ramavhoya had to build his kraal in such a way that it was possible to see the enemies approaching from afar. Queen Modjadji's headquarters had the same appellation.

The relevance of Chief Davhana to this study lies in the fact that he was the one who forestalled Chief Njhakanjhaka by accommodating the Swiss clerics in 1873. His host chief was not keen to welcome them as he feared that they would erode his authority, grab his lands and undermine the Shangaan culture. But Davhana's acceptance of the missionaries in his sanctuary requires contextualisation. As a man on the run, he knew the kind of people who would serve as a shield

against his attackers and the missionaries appeared to be the right people. It would be remembered that missionaries were known to use Bibles for Scriptural purposes and guns for hunting and self-defence purposes. The case of King Moshoeshe of the Basotho who welcomed the Paris Missionaries into his kingdom should be cited here (Ramahadi 1987:1-8).

Chief Davhana's shaky Christian faith is made clear by Prof Renevier's continued reference of him as an "old beer drinker" (Renevier 1885:218), twelve years after his historic hosting of the Swiss missionaries. At this ceremony the first sermon ever held by the men of cloth from Switzerland in South Africa was delivered on 17 August 1873. Readers need to take note of the errors regarding the year in which the first sermon was held. In N'wandula's dissertation which stands as 17 August 1875 instead of 17 August 1873 (N'wandula 1987:13) De Vaal's description of Davhana does not depict him as a 'Christian convert' in the same mould as Renevier's evaluation (De Vaal 1953:75-76). But some strong biases characteristic of the period during which De Vaal's work was written can be noted particularly with regard to the indigenous populace and their supposedly unusual personal traits.

But how did a tiff between Davhana and the Swiss clerics develop? Was it not Davhana who portrayed himself as the better person/leader than Chief Njhakanjhaka when he unreservedly hosted the Swiss missionaries on 17 August 1873? How does such an ally suddenly become a villain? The researcher can only rely on Renevier's encapsulation of the events following Davhana's request to have Mr Elkana Ramputa (probably Rambuda) as a resident evangelist in his kraal. Renevier put it thus: "No sooner had Elkana settled there that he not only never set foot in a meeting, but also forbade his subjects from going to hear the Gospel. But we do not play with God, says the Apostle Paul. Ndhavana [Davhana] does not want to go to the services, but he is forced to bear one of his counsellors in his presence, Mathava, baptised in Natal, renegade on his return, then repentant on the arrival of Elkana. There were other conversions, some strong, others rather artificial. There is a desire to learn in this heathen population, but the chief represses them and evangelisation is done more on the trips around than services in the annexe. As at Elim, a man coming from elsewhere and calling himself Christian, seems to have taken the role of being the thorn in Elkana's side" (Renevier 1885:218-219).

It is up to readers to make an in-depth assessment of Davhana's personality on the basis of further research. The Swiss clerics assessed him on the basis of things anathema to them. The researcher should contextualise these events given the internecine struggles characteristic of the

period. Chiefs had to be seen to be ingenious for their subordinates to survive invasions by enemy forces during these difficult times. The missionaries had reasons to be concerned about the breach of trust for they were on a wider campaign to combat paganism. It was unfortunate that the two camps found themselves divided along the Christian-heathen dichotomy.

Peace apparently depended on the mutual respect of each other's culture. Chiefs saw polygamy as a means to creating a pool out of which warriors would emerge. This must have been the reason why the hitherto belligerent Chief Njhakanjhaka married two of the deceased Chief Ramabulana's daughters. But he also softened his hard-line attitude towards the Swiss missionaries at the close of the 1870s when he granted them the right to proselytise freely in his lands culminating in the founding of the Elim Mission Station in 1879. This move was the beginning of greater things to come for his subjects (Masumbe 2000:286). Chief Njhakanjhaka's acceptance of a Silver Jubilee medal and the Lord Jesus Christ at the Silver Jubilee celebrated on 17 August 1898 at Mamukeyane village accelerated the pace of social change. Social development seemed destined for greater heights as major chief stumbling blocks appeared to have given way as evidenced by the utterances of Ntaveni, the chief's *induna*/headman on this glittering occasion (Mathebula 1989:7, Masumbe 2000:145-147).

Missionaries often met with problems when interacting with the heathen folk due to their egocentrism and a tendency to denigrate the indigenous populace. Africans were generally perceived to be backward, ignorant and atheistic. Missionaries saw themselves as agents called upon by Jesus Christ to extend His Kingdom on the African continent. Eurocentricism and Afrocentricism were perceived to be mutually exclusive. Traditionalism had to give way to modernism with its Christian norms and values. Some conservatives regarded missionaries as hypocrites' intent on destroying the very foundations on which Africanism was based. These rejected the insinuation that Africans were oblivious of the existence of God the Almighty. They remembered God as having occupied a place above the lesser gods (ancestral spirits) in their socio-economic and political lives. Within the Swiss Mission fields Chief Muhlaba of the Nkuna tribe acknowledged that culture is dynamic and cannot remain static. He was keen to embrace Christianity and certain elements that had utility value in his sphere of influence. It is gratifying to note that Swiss clerics, such as the Rev Paul Fatton, acknowledged having erred for labelling Africans as atheistic and ignorant. Africans were, in his view, always in contact with God through prayers in whatever societal tasks they embarked upon compared to Europeans and Americans who still refused to accept the Lord within their continents (Fatton 1932:58). The

clergy's egos precluded them from accepting that black people were also humans made in the image of God. They also failed to acknowledge that as God's creation, black people were also endowed with the intellectual gifts that the Bible confirms are divinely inspired. Missionaries believed that there was no alternative to Charles Darwin's philosophical pronouncement regarding the evolution of man. To them the pronouncement of this English natural historian was the alpha and omega. Saayman (1991:29) suggests why European scholarship would not be comfortable with the existence of African scholarship. He maintains that Western educating/civilisation was characterised by the Enlightenment and the subject/object dichotomy. It should be noted that this perspective was passed on from generation to generation for centuries. This explains why it still wreaks havoc in our country albeit in an isolated form.

Perhaps the Egyptians' failure to extend their scientific and mathematical prowess far and wide like the white missionaries might have provided a leeway for the colonialists and missionaries to take advantage of those areas that had no literacy. These areas were effectively transformed into peripheries of the metropolis whose riches/wealth had had to be appropriated by those who possessed the necessary expertise.

According to Simphiwe Sesanti (2001:24), the Greeks who are eulogised in certain history and mathematics books as the discoverers of theorems were tutored by the Egyptians. Sesanti maintains that these facts indicate that Africa was not as unenlightened as alleged by the European scholars and imperialists. While the Rev Dr HA Junod would rule that the head of the African was not amenable to mathematics and science, Sesanti argues that there is a very strong "historical link that connects blacks to mathematics and science". As if the foregoing is not enough, Sesanti continues to state that the geometry that is attributed to the Greek Thales, was discovered in Egypt 1 300 years before the birth of Thales who was later schooled in Egypt. He stayed in Egypt for 22 years enriching himself with the intellectual gifts of the Egyptians. Hypocrates who also came from Greece also studied in Egypt. It is gratifying to note that what is regarded as the first university in Europe, namely, the University of Salamanka in Spain was modelled after the University of Sankore in Timbuktu, Mali (Sesanti 2001:24; Ditshego 2001:13).

But it will be wrong to paint all missionaries with the same brush. There were a few who were not averse to teaching Africans subjects that required high thinking skills together with white pupils. But there seems to have been no single cleric within the Swiss Mission in South Africa

who was keen to put this idea into practice. The Swiss clerics believed that blacks were basically inferior and should not receive the same education as whites. The argument of those in favour of mixed schooling was that black and white were destined to have contacts at the work place even if they were to be allocated their own residential areas, hence the need for the uniform system of education (Christie 1992:72).

The reconstruction process currently underway in this country requires that we must be very open with the new generation regarding our historical past, for, should we remain mute about it, and we risk repeating the same mistakes as we grapple with social change.

We in South Africa are fortunate in the sense that archaeological findings seem to reinforce the need for cultural revival that should serve as the basis for full-scale social transformation. The findings of Prof Christopher Henshilwood can serve as a means to demystify the origin of human knowledge. In his report about Prof Henshilwood's unearthing of a piece of engraved ochre dating back 77 000 years in the Stilbaai area, Southern Cape, Mr Lionel Adendorf (2002:9) has the following comment to make: "... modern human behaviour emerged in Africa long before it was found in Europe. Until now the oldest evidence of modern human behaviour have been cave paintings in Europe dating back some 35 000 years". This further vindicates the Senegalese scholar, Chiekh Anta Diop, whose book "Civilisation or Barbarism" seems to mock the earlier European writings about the African continent (Sesanti 2001:24). The fact that the Stilbaai discovery was made by a South African professor based at the University of Bergen, Norway and State University of New York, added to that of an associate archaeologist at the Iziko South African Museum, should add fresh impetus to the restoration of the culture of learning.

One of the stiff challenges facing the change forces in our country is racism that still thrives in those who are not amenable to social change. These continue to hold the ideologies that are disproved by the research results alluded to above. Perhaps these discoveries need to be used in our efforts to induce racists to unlearn past cultural stereotypes that are at variance with what should hold in our country to date. If South Africans continue to hold perceptions that caused polarisation in the past, then they will find it extremely difficult to work together in normalising race relations in this country.

Yet racism was not confined to South Africa. It was found in different parts of the continent. Some enlightened Africans did not fail to highlight racism as practiced by the missionaries within their spheres of influence. For instance, Josiah S Tlou (1975:189) talks of his experiences with the Dutch Reformed Church clerics in what was then known as Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). The Dutch Reformed Church missionaries practiced the racism they had transplanted from South Africa at their Morgenster Training Institution where Tlou was an exchange student. In a quest to prove how untenable apartheid was, Tlou and his friend arrived for church services very late after everybody in the black section of the church had taken seat. Their intention was to occupy the white seats in the European section to stir controversy. The test achieved its objectives as the presiding minister was apparently forced to change his sermon and addressed the congregation about those who assumed seats not designated for them in life. After the church service, the two recalcitrant students were called to the vestry to account for their misdemeanour. But the students would not retract. Their acuity had been informed by the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders at the meetings they clandestinely attended on several occasions. When interrogated why they saw fit to bring the church into disrepute by occupying the seats in the European section, Tlou's friend reiterated by asking the Honourable Chairman "which side Christ would sit on if He entered the church while the service was in progress" (Tlou 1975:195-196).

The researcher does not suggest that the Swiss missionaries' implementation of racism followed the same trends as the Dutch Reformed Church. But what one is stressing is that racism is an evil that must always be kept at bay by the entire citizenry. The Swiss clerics' writings make it extremely difficult for the researcher to classify them differently. Their writings consistently harped on affording Africans the right to develop along their own ethnic lines rather than be placed in a situation where they would compete with the "highly gifted European race". Junod put the Swiss missionaries' ideological stance succinctly when he said; "They [Blacks] will never be able to convey to the minds of the uneducated the knowledge they have acquired in such schools. What is still worse, education will tend to dissociate them from their fellow men: they will not like to remain amongst their people, but feel encouraged to go to the towns and prefer the society of white people to the intercourse of their own nation. For the future of the race, for its elevation, is it not much better if the teaching is made in the vernacular?"

It should be noted that the issue at stake was not just the medium of instruction but the prevention of blacks from mixing freely with their white counterparts. The purity of the white race had to be maintained through the prevention of social intercourse between Europeans and natives. Dr Samuel Jaques (1951:5-6) went as far as bemoaning the syllabuses that the Church had hitherto followed that tended to take it for granted that the background of European children was the same as that of African children. To correct the situation, Dr Jaques proposed that a differentiated system of education be introduced in South Africa. It is here that we find similarities between the operations of the Swiss clerics and the apartheid architects. The Bantu Education Act that was introduced in 1953 was promised on the foundation laid by the majority of missionaries. Their condemnation of the racist education system which supplanted mission education was lackadaisical to say the least.

#### **2.4 SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF THE CHANGE FORCES IN FOSTERING IT**

The researcher's considered view is that social transformation can only be realised if it is based on mutual trust, goodwill and love. If the change forces are sceptical of their proselytes' ability to make the most of education, particularly academic education, the latter cannot help but develop defeatist tendencies. The acute shortage of personnel especially in the medical, engineering, architectural, geological and related occupations can be traced to the missionary era. According to Fullan (1998:10), education is a catalyst for social transformation. He stresses that the growing concerns about educational equity and economic performance in most countries could be eased through educational renewal. The researcher regards educational renewal as a comprehensive process that should have as its ultimate goal the socio-economic and political empowerment of the entire citizenry.

According to Kendall (1989:24-25), those given to resisting social change need to be persuaded otherwise. In Christian terms this call should not surprise anybody because the Lord Himself was for the welfare of everybody who believed in him. Africans, particularly the Shangaans who were the Swiss clerics' target group believed in the benevolence and innate abilities of their mentors to create a better life for them. But their benefactors only educated them for predetermined heights. To them natives were not to be enabled to reach the same academic levels as their European counterparts for this would spoil race relations. This was separatism of the worst kind. De Vries (1961:122) believes that social transformation should be an inclusive

process. The entire citizenry should be included. In education, parents have to play an active role in supporting their children. He defines schools as mere tools in the general process of educating children. The schools are mandated by parents to educate all children entrusted to their care. This explains why regular contacts or consultations with parents should be the norm. But sound school management is not entirely based on the interaction between school managers and parents. On the contrary, other stakeholders should also be brought on board, for example, the business sector, learners, students, churches, government departments and international agencies with a vested interest in education. De Vries (1961:122) believes that for education to play its transformative role there must be equitable distribution of resources between rural areas and urban areas. This means that the state has to ensure that libraries, laboratories, classroom accommodation, furniture, water, better health care, transport and electricity are provided.

## **2.5 MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION AND THE ENTRENCHMENT OF WESTERN VALUES DURING THE COLONIAL/MISSIONARY ERA**

Missionaries of different denominations planned education in such a way that, should a crisis arise on the mission field, it could be dealt with. So proactive were they that they saw it wise to collaborate with the imperialists who had the means to quell whatever insurrection might erupt from the indigenous populace, who it was apparent would protest over the loss of land and their independence in the long run. This interaction between clerics and the colonisers impacted negatively on evangelism. For instance, Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu (in Villa-Vicencio 1988:56) commented as follows on missionary enterprises... consciously or unconsciously (they) sought to Europeanise us before they could Christianise us ... Christianity has failed to be rooted sufficiently deeply in the African soil, since (Western Christians) have tended to make us somewhat uneasy about what we could not alter even if we tried till doomsday – our Africanness”.

It is this interaction between missionaries and State functionaries that will determine as to whether clerics were the true messengers of God or imperialists (Wilson 1976:1-4). The close affinity between missionaries and colonialists/colonisers often made it difficult to determine what the difference was between the two social groups due to the striking similarities of their principles and policies. Discipline was strict and admission at Lemana Training Institution based on the thorough checking of documents to prevent a situation where the institution would be

flooded by social malcontents. Only students who had testimonials written by white clerics or patrons could gain entry into Lemana. Dismissed or suspended students had their names circulated throughout the country so that the government departments and other mission colleges would not approve of their appointments or admissions. It should be noted that colleges and the Education Ministry co-operated in this regard. The Transvaal Education Department would also circularise the names of those who had transgressed the rules on behalf of the colleges. The researcher cannot quote all the litanies produced by the mission colleges in their interactions. Suffice to cite a letter dated 17 February 1937 from the Rev HW Rist MA, Principal of the Methodist Church's Kilnerton Institute, Pretoria, to the Principal of Lemana College which read thus: "For your information I append the names of twelve boys who had been sent home from this Institution for misdemeanour (theft of school material). The first three students ... have been told that under no consideration will they be received back into the institution. In the case of the remaining nine, they have been informed that if they make application for readmission at the beginning of the next session their applications will be considered on their merits".

Moral behaviour is something that should be closely guarded in any society. The researcher has no problems with the manner in which these issues of misdemeanour were handled by the clerics. But there were issues that were controversially handled. For instance, the late Rev Dr DC Marivate (1973:II) reminds us of how paternalistic the Swiss clerics were when he states: "I had not the opportunity of mixing with outside people of my colour. We children born at mission station lived under strict supervision. We were not allowed to sing any song such as is sung outside by non-Christians. I remember in 1915 when I was a young teacher straight from college I went to witness dancing and singing performed by non-Christians at a certain kraal. When the White missionary learnt that I and another teacher had gone there to see the dancing we were punished – we were excommunicated. We were under discipline for 3 months".

It is a pity that such freedom of association was denied. The case of Marivate in particular requires a brief commentary. Marivate (as it later turned out) was motivated to attend the heathen dances by the musical talent that derived from the very God the missionaries were worshipping. How the missionaries found grounds to oppose the Almighty when he expressed Himself in the image of His creation is questionable. We can only appreciate the fact that Marivate never allowed missionaries to dampen his spirits as a highly talented musician, choir conductor, author, humorist and articulator of the spirit of *vumunhu/ubuntu/humanness*. How he

managed to develop his talents under such hostile conditions remains a mystery. But he and his colleague were not the only ones to be affected by church law. Jim James Shimungana of the Tembe Mission Station had his ministerial certificate revoked for indulging in marula beer/vukanyi and seducing Abigail whom he was forced to marry by her parents. His sin was quenching thirst with African wine and propagating his own culture – polygamy (Berthoud 1921:2).

The Swiss missionaries never believed that the native was responsible and capable of doing good things when left on his/her own, hence they planted spies and paid them unannounced visits to monitor their activities. But every national is supposed to be the master of his/her own culture, which he/she must propagate untrammelled. How another culture should drive another to extinction as was the case during the missionary era cannot be fully understood. Perhaps we need to guard against such anomalies in the present and future South Africa.

Yet, the Swiss missionaries' idea of planning social change around their three major institutions, namely, schools, churches and hospitals was a wonderful innovation. Besides ridding society of superstition, hospitals provided better health care to the indigenous populace than was perhaps possible before the advent of Christianity. Hospitals also promoted health awareness among the pupils/students which ultimately gained root among tribesman by word of mouth. Besides these sterling activities, hospitals were centres of literacy where both children who had to stay for long periods at these health facilities were taught reading and writing and other subjects. These activities complemented the school system and the role of the church. Elim Hospital had the Isolation Block School which followed the same curriculum as the conventional schools. With such an arrangement, no child could miss out on formal education (Masumbe 2000:270). Another important development next to infant education and adult education was the instruction given to mothers on sound nutrition. This ensured that children born at the hospitals enjoyed good health most of the time. It should be noted that children who receive balanced diets do not only experience healthy growth, but better still, achieve good results at school than malnourished ones. Mrs S Mabobo was one of the instructresses who taught mothers how they should care for their babies (Jaques PH 1969:9).

Dr Monica Wilson (1971:102) sums up the role of missionaries as follows: “The gospel is revolutionary, and Christianity has been a force compelling change in society for nearly two thousand years ... The function of the Church is to lead, to initiate new services, new institutions, whether for the education of children and adults, or the care of the sick, the aged, the destitute, or the fostering of skills and organising the hungry that they may feed themselves. This function was evident throughout medieval Europe: it is clear in contemporary Africa”.

Missionaries’ transformative efforts were usually frustrated by the chronic shortage of funds, government interference, scarcity of land and the shortage of qualified personnel. The latter was of the clerics’ making since mass education was not provided. Medicine was grievously affected by this problem as the Swiss missionaries believed that the heads of Africans were not meant for the curative services. But at times the Swiss missionaries were let down by a government that was biased against their enterprises. The Rev Max Buchler (1938:1-2) never ceased knocking on the door of the Additional Native Commissioner, Bushbuckridge seeking additional land released for purchase by the State in terms of the South African Native Trust and Land Act (1936). The areas he was requesting from the Union Government for his Church included Newington 261, Ireagh 265, Agincourt 264, Lilydale 278, and Oakley 262. It was important for the Swiss Mission to secure title deeds for these areas before the more popular Lutheran Mission was given monopoly over the lands. The rivalry between the Swiss Mission and the Lutheran Mission knew no bounds in the erstwhile North-Eastern Transvaal. The Rev AA Jaques was at times forced to fire a broadside at the Native Commissioners in the Bushbuckridge area for obstructing the Swiss enterprises (Jaques 1933:1-2). Ironically, the Lutheran Mission which posed as the spokesperson for Modjadji, the Rain Queen, in the scramble for the control of the Duiwelskloof-N’wamitwa areas had its first clerics lynched before being allowed to set up the mission station of Medingen in 1882 (Rinono 1956:1).

## 2.6 RELATIONS BETWEEN THE IMPERIALISTS AND THE SWISS MISSIONARIES

### 2.6.1 Introduction

According to Villa-Vicencio (1988:59), missionaries had a double agenda in the sense that they would promote the evangelisation of the indigenous populace on the one hand while remaining “unswervingly loyal to imperial economic interests” on the other. Mission societies had to maintain sound relations with the Colonial Administration as their varied enterprises could hardly flourish without government subsidies. While the costs for the evangelisation of the African people were met by the Church government, education and health had to be funded by the state. But the South African War (1899-1902) and the economic recession that followed made it difficult for the erstwhile Transvaal Colonial Administration to fund Elim Hospital as promised. The Government was also not in a position to pay for the patients it had sent for treatment by Dr Georges Liegnme. The salary was supposed to be given to the missionary doctor for his services did not materialise (Cuerod Undated: 3). As for native education, the Transvaal Colony implemented the grants-in-aid for approved mission schools as from 1903 (Ravhudzulo 1999:51).

### 2.6.2 Social development vis-à-vis the indigenous populace

The provision of education by the missionaries was a secondary function. This was forced on them by the realisation that the state was averse to educating blacks for fear that upon amassing education they would turn against their oppressors. Missionaries had to educate the indigenous populace as education was seen as an important catalyst for social development. Literacy empowered proselytes with various life skills of which knowledge of the Scriptures was seen as the central aim of missionary ventures. The grants-in-aid for mission schools which were introduced in the defunct Transvaal Colony in 1903 was welcomed with relief by the clergy. Such educational support would make it easy for missions to hire teachers and allocate bursaries to students enrolled for the teachers’ courses. Marivate (1975:I) maintains that the release of funds for native education in 1903 was a pointer to the effect that the state was abandoning its laissez-faire policy with regard to black advancement. Inspectors had to visit schools to see if the allocated funds were being spent for the purpose for which they were meant in the first instance.

Ravhudzulo (1999:51) argues that missionary societies continued to wield more power in the provision of native education given their vast experience in this field. Missionaries' services were invaluable to the state and the entire citizenry even prior the dawn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The negotiating skills of the Revs Ernest Creux, Carl Beuster and Hakamela Tlakula were indispensable during the Makhado Wars (1883) (Shimati 1954:8-9; cf Cuendet 1950:27-28). On the part of the Swiss Mission, African collaborators like Timoteo and Paulus Mandlati, Arone John Shongele, Hlaisi (probably Frank), Jacob Mbizana Mabulele and his wife, Alita persuaded their kin to accept the Swiss clerics' Christianising influence (Masumbe 2000:138, Creux 1921:1-2).

Though the French-speaking Swiss clerics were initially regarded with great suspicion by the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek, they gradually became dependable assets to the Colonial Administration albeit not to the same degree as the Lutherans whose proficiency in the volktaal (Dutch/Afrikaans language) made them favourites to the rulers. But missionaries who showed great knowledge of African cultures and languages were used to engender support for the authorities. Loyalty to the state was stressed at schools and community meetings. As dependable agents of the imperial government(s), missionaries always dissuaded their clientele from using or keeping firearms in line with the gun control laws (Marks & Atmore 1935:231-232).

But black elephant hunters were not easy to control. Those who had grown weary of the erosion of their powers to rule their people waged wars against the imperialist using their hidden armaments. This strategy of pretending as if guns were lost during the pursuit of elephants caused the downfall of the Voortrekkers in Schoemansdal in the Zoutpansberg District on the night of July 12 1867 (Tsedu 1998:13).

Missionaries were reputed to possess the powers to indoctrinate Africans into supporting government schemes. This explains why people like the Rev NJ van Warmelo were appointed as government ethnologists. The Swiss Mission's Rev HA Junod was also considered as an indispensable expert in native affairs by the state (Buchler 1938:1, Tsedu 1998:13).

The African elite also acted like missionaries. For instance, Mr TR Masethe (1945), Sunday School Superintendent, Duiwelskloof Location talked of moulding the youths so that they would lead exemplary lifestyles. His letter to the Secretary of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, dated 21 June 1945 reads thus: "The children members of Sunday

Schools are in dire need of these essential books. This deplorable state of affairs retards the progress and propaganda about God, whom humanity must know of and serve in word and deed and thus prepare to enjoy Everlasting life after the Judgment Day. But unfortunately financial resources do not correspondingly allow”.

The Swiss missionaries were always pleading for donations for their enterprises. But though they were short of funds, their prioritisation was such that people would find it difficult to believe them when they called for donations for running their civilising missions effectively. They had their own way of raising funds for their enterprises. The time is not yet ripe to discuss or enumerate their accomplishments for the period of duty in this country. But we can look at some of the strategies they employed to make social transformation possible. Mr Philippe de Montmollin who arrived in the country around 1951 was the Manager of the Swiss Mission farms within the Zoutpansberg District. Surplus timber was sold to the manufacturing industries and the money accumulated used for other vital services like education, health and evangelisation (Murcott & Terrisse 1952:1).

### **2.6.3 The Swiss Mission’s organisational structure**

According to SP Robbins (1990:5), organisational structure is the manner in which “tasks are allocated, who reports to whom, and the formal coordinating mechanisms and interaction patterns that will be followed”. Within the Swiss Mission in South Africa, clerics and proselytes interacted in line with the set organisational structures in their organisations. Missionaries planned the tasks as well as how they had to be performed. Management had to ensure that those under their supervision performed the allotted tasks in a manner that would yield good results. The Church’s organisational structure was such that all members had to set act within the framework of the Constitution as all tasks were designed to leave a deep impression on the minds of proselytes who were being led away from primitivity to modernity. Proselytes had to observe the mission statuses in their interaction with their mentors or society at large. But contacts with heathens were frowned upon as the latter could easily mislead Christian converts (Mabyalani 1949:1).

The Shangaans who were the Swiss missionaries' main target group acquired considerable knowledge since the arrival of the Swiss pioneers, namely, the Revs Paul Berthoud and Ernest Creux and their African evangelists who included Betuel Ralitsau, Yeremia Tau, Jonathan Mphahlele, Josias Molepo to name but a few. Upon the arrival of these church-workers at Valdezia, Bethuel, Ralitsau was sent to Shamatongu where he built himself a house and started the Barcelona outstation; Jonathan Mphahlele (also known as the Pedi Evangelist) was sent to Chief Njhakanjhaka's kraal where he later convinced him to allow missionaries to work amongst his subjects; Josias Molepo returned to Molepo while Yeremia Tau was sent to Shitungulu (Barota). The latter's converts included Sephumula (Shihlomulo) and Makavane. The two women were renamed Lydia and Charlotte respectively. The first male converts included Moshe Mphelo, the father of Mukriste Nathan Mphelo. Moshe Mphelo was initially known as Maphangwa (Creux 1921:2, Shimati 1954:26).

It should be mentioned that Chief Njhakanjhaka's hesitation to accept Christianity was motivated by the desire to protect his chieftaincy and ownership of the land. It could have impressed him that clerics were inclined to couple evangelism with land grabbing. He was not the only person with such doubts. According to Shillito (1923:136), quoting the Rev Francois Coillard of the Paris Mission, Queen Modjadji of the Balobedu also distributed missionaries. She held her sanctuary in a wooded gorge; no stranger was allowed to penetrate into her village. Her sanctuary could be seen from afar pitched on the mountain-side like an eagle's nest. For two days she made the missionary wait in order to heighten her dignity; her final answer was: "I have my god and I am his priestess; I do not want you or your God. Besides, your week has only seven days, mine has eight; so how could we ever come to an understanding? If I allowed you to come to me, either you would be in prison, or you would ruin my authority".

The researcher does not read much into the debate about the one day deficit in the European's week vis-à-vis Queen Modjadji's week. What he notes is that the queen had a sense of patriotism. As the absolute ruler of the Balobedu, she felt duty bound to protect her subjects and the land she held in trust for them. Chief Njhakanjhaka's earlier refusal to allow missionaries to settle in his country should also be understood in the same context. It needs to be remembered

that these were two cultures converging. The dominant culture was well resourced and owned by people who were disrespectful of the lesser culture and its proprietors. In such contacts the unlettered (illiterate) native s could easily lose their powers and the land rights. This turned out to be the case once the missionaries and colonialists had secured title deeds to the lands (Shillito 1923:136, cf Rinono 1956:1).

## **2.7 THE CHALLENGES OF MANAGING SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN A NEW AND RUGGED MISSION FIELD**

### **2.7.1 Introduction**

Social stability is perhaps the firm foundation on which social transformation should be based. The Swiss clerics were aware of this reality particularly during the period 1883 to 1899. These were the periods of great instability caused by the restless Makhado of the Vhavenda, the tax laws of the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek and the proposed eviction of black people from the so-called white farming lands. As for the war of 1883, the Rev E Creux and Hakamela Tlaku!a had succeeded in persuading Makhado to cease attacking the Boers as could be discerned from the following statement allegedly issued by the latter: “You are the only one who pacified my country ... You are my mother, you have saved the country from a deadly war between me, the Boers and the Magwamba, had it been a Boer who approached me, it would be war throughout” (Cuendet 1950:28) (My own translation from Xitsonga). The Rev E Creux not only won this ‘war’, but avoided the proposed eviction of black families, five from each white farm in terms of the Plakkerswet (1887). This victory was a credit to him and the native chiefs, namely, Njhakanjhaka, Mashamba and Sithale and their people (Jaques 1899:23). But the Swazi king, Bunu, who went to President Paul Kruger in Pretoria complaining about the seizure of his land by the Boers and the imposition of taxes was not as fortunate as the Rev Creux and his entourage. President Kruger (1899:15) simply told him the following: “Law is law, all blacks are governed by the same law” (My own translation from Xitsonga). President Kruger left his office leaving Bunu fuming with anger under the full gaze of his 40 indunas/headmen and probably the office-keepers.

### **2.7.2 The expansion of education: A boost for the socio-economic and political development of the indigenous populace**

The period following the Makhado War of 1883 was characterised by peace and tranquillity, at least within the areas inhabited by the Shangaans. This enabled the Swiss missionaries to carry on with their duties. The Great Famine (1896-1897) which was also known as *Ndlala ya Machoni/Machona* was a natural disaster that could not be classified under political instability. Missionaries assisted their proselytes by providing them with rations over this period. It would appear that Makhado's assurance to the Rev Creux in 1883 was unshakeable because the latter was able to leave the country with his family to Switzerland on furlough in 1884. The simmering tensions that accompanied Makhado's death in 1895 were confined to the Boers and the Vhavenda in 1899 and his flight into the territory north of the Limpopo River – Zimbabwe. With Mphhephu having fled the Zoutpansberg District, the Boers remained establishing the town of Louis Trichardt (1899) which replaced Schoemansdal which was destroyed by Makhado's night prowling warriors in 1867 (Van Warmelo 1940:42, Tsedu 1998:13).

The Swiss missionary enterprises flourished after 1883. By 1883 Paul Berthoud had returned to the mission field with his new wife Ruth Junod. The Swiss Mission which had by then laboured for eight years had made the following progress:

- a) Two mission stations, namely, Valdezia and Elim;
- b) Two outstations dependent on Valdezia;
- c) 99 full members and 121 catechumens (220 altogether);
- d) 300 to 400 people under the influence of the Gospel of Jesus Christ;
- e) Two evangelists – Jonathan Mphahlele and Josefa Mhalthala;
- f) Seven young men had been sent to Morija Training Institute and Bible School for training as church-workers;
- g) Four missionaries were doing duty for the Swiss Mission Church in the Zoutpansberg District;
- h) The Mission had one artisan, namely, Mr Henri Mingard, who arrived in the country with the Rev August Jaques in December 1882. This man did wonderful work for the Church (Elim. Undated: 3).

But all these gains were not sustainable. Traditional customs had some dominance over Christianity. Adultery, drunkenness, polygamy and backsliding caused missionaries grief. Mr Gideon Mpapele (1899:31) captured the developments at Elim Mission Station as follows: “Three of Chief Njhakanjhaka’s wives have recently accepted conversation, we pity the six boys who abandoned schooling and defected to the circumcision school. Oho! Pray for us”. These developments somewhat encouraged missionaries and their helpers to do more. In 1884 there were 259 Christians and by 1899 the figure had risen to 1069 Christians and catechumens (Elim. Undated: 4).

### **2.7.3 Increase in the number of Christians and the concomitant need for the training of pastors and evangelists**

The Swiss Mission desperately needed teacher-evangelists to spread the Gospel and educate children. The Paris Mission continued to train the Swiss Mission’s manpower. But there was a need for a training centre for the Swiss Mission within the borders of South Africa. In 1899 the Shiluvane Training Institution was founded at Thabina in the present day Tzaneen/Tzaneng District. It was thought that this Normal School would produce manpower who would serve in both the rural and urban areas. With the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand (1886) and the collapse of the subsistence economy many people left the rural areas for the industrial heartlands of Pretoria and Johannesburg. The Church had to send its workforce to go and minister to the needs of these urban dwellers (Junod 1899:22, cf Masumbe 2000:203-204).

## **2.8 TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE SWISS MISSION**

### **2.8.1 Introduction**

The Swiss missionaries were determined to train black people to assume leadership positions among their kith and kin. This implied that there had to be ministers, teachers, police officers and enlightened chiefs who would lead their fellowmen to modernism. The Shiluvane Training Institute had people like Mr Ezekiel Mhinga who completed his teacher-evangelist course in June 1905 (The Chiefs Clerk 1935:3). Mushoti Shilubane, the son of a chief, was studying at Lemana Training Institution in 1909 (Shilubane 1909:4).

### 2.8.2 Native administration vis-à-vis native education

The Swiss missionaries believed in the separation of races. Blacks were trained to lead their own folks in areas designated for natives. Multiracialism would only become a reality after a period of 100 years calculated from 1907 in the view of the Rev HA Junod (Pienaar 1990:24-25). Whilst preparing for the day on which their proselytes would become independent, the Swiss clerics requested the State to grant the Church more land to settle the New Africans as the elite were sometimes called. The Rev FNJ Ouwehand wrote a letter to Mr De Villiers Graaf of Lisbon Estate (12 October 1955) asking him for permission to occupy the following areas” Newington, Muhlava, Matsavane, Kildare, and Rolle in the Bushbuckridge district.

As more blacks acquired education they began to be critical of missionary actions. Perhaps this was a pointer to their intellectual and political maturity. Stringent rules and regulations were challenged by teachers and a better salary demanded. Some lobbied for the takeover of education by the State which would pay better salaries than the churches and provide for pension grants to the retired personnel. Bishop Parker, Pretoria, sympathised with the aspirations of the African teachers but felt that the State could not abruptly wrest control of native education from the Missions as anticipated by teacher organisations. It had to introduce change gradually (Parker 1935:223).

There were teachers who believed that for effective bargaining teacher associations had to deregister school inspectors who, if entrusted with the grievances of the teachers, would not be vocal enough for fear of losing their positions. Mr SS Malgas was critical of the continued retention of Mr TP Mathabathe as the President of the Transvaal African Teachers’ Association (TATA). Mr PE Maringa of Sibasa lambasted Mr SS Malgas for calling for the resignation of Mr Mathabathe. He felt that Mr Mathabathe was the right person for the job. Mr PE Maringa was a graduate of Lemana College (Maringa 1937a:10).

It is interesting to note that as the Africans developed, they modelled their lifestyles along the lines of their European benefactors. Surnames were also corrupted so that they looked like European surnames. For instance, Mukhari became McMukhari, Maringa became Marninga, Madima became MacMadima ad infinitum. Mr URJ Madima was the Director of Sports at Sibasa and Mr A Mukhari was the Secretary of the Waterberg Branch of TATA (Maringa, Mukhari & Ngwana 1937:17).

### **2.8.3 The diversification of fields of study to promote national development**

Mission education was progressively planned to meet the rising demands of life. But the curricula had to be planned in such a way that the furtherance of the Kingdom of God held sway over secular issues. With regard to secular issues, Africans had to be taught to love industrial courses which would provide them with skills to use their hands to earn a livelihood. Mission education was therefore structured in such a way that the indigenous populace fitted into the world that both the colonisers and clerics had designed for them and not what their latent potentialities would permit. In a letter dated 7 December 1944 to the Secretary of the Union Education Department, Pretoria, the Rev AA Jaques shows the form of diversification that had to be allowed: “An ever increasing number of Native Youths seek admission to the Secondary Schools and Normal Colleges. Incidentally about 1 000 could not be admitted last year in the Institutions of the Transvaal. A good number of girls prepare for the nursing profession, which is an excellent thing. But in the case of boys, there is practically no other profession open to them than the teaching profession. This is an unsound position for the country which requires an output of citizens and craftsmen proportioned to the increased needs of the Native Population”.

It should be noted that though the Rev Dr AA Jaques thought of diversifying fields of study, there was no desire on the part of the entire clergy to allow blacks to enter into scarce and advanced fields like medicine, engineering, geology and architecture to name but a few as Swiss missionary ideology ruled that blacks were no match for these academic fields. The Swiss missionaries’ philosophical views were still rooted on the differentiated education system which the Nationalists adopted at a later stage.

The past has been particularly enfeebling to black people in the sense that technical education/academic careers were deemed to be the exclusive pastures of Europeans. For instance, the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 barred blacks from becoming artisans. This meant that the so-called civilised labour had to be performed by whites while blacks were used as cheap labour in the industrial and farming areas. It is unacceptable that this occurred in the face of endless reminders by academics. Speaking at a graduation ceremony held in the James Hall, University of Cape Town on 14 December 1933, Prof AW Falconer CBE, DSOMD, MECF, had the following words for the audience: "The one hope of democracy is a trained leadership, and the foundation of every country is the education of its youth. In these days of severe competition a university (technikon or any other educational institution) has to enlarge its scope and, in addition to its purely cultural aspects and its search for truth, has to concern itself with all the practical aspects of life ... vocational training ... Poverty, unemployment, social misfits and crime appear to be a permanent part of modern civilisation and philanthropy ... Any real advance can only be made by scientific inquiry into all causes, whether personal or political" (cf Davenport 1987:531 & 533).

It is interesting to note that Prof Falconer's description of events in 1933 are still relevant today. What we deem as the provision of life skills is a broader concept that includes vocational training for our youths. In this study vocational training is defined as a course of training which seeks to empower learners with practical skills for meaningful living. Thus the doors of learning hitherto closed to natives should be unlocked so that they could also contribute to national development along their white counterparts. This is the central message of Falconer (1934:21).

An organised support system is required to enable the youth to make the most of education that will enable them to tackle socio-economic and political problems confronting them with insight and understanding. It is for this reason that Dr PA Motsoaledi (1996:5) ex-Minister of Education, Arts, Culture and Sports – Northern Province/Limpopo uttered the following words at the Unesco conference, Moscow. "To create an effective decision support system, it will be necessary to integrate data from different racial and tribal groups which were held in disparate databases in keeping with the then official policy of segregation. Not only is there the problem of technical incompatibility but also political allegiance to the old regime. Since data leads to empowering information, it is not surprising that this gave rise to gate keeping of all sorts – a clear example of how technological dependence could lead to the worst form of oppression".

## 2.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on the interpretation of sources having a bearing on the social transformation process. It is therefore not a catalogue of all research data on the problem at hand. Central to this chapter is the endeavour to illustrate how sources will be used to describe the Swiss missionaries' management of social change during their tenure in this country. Other sources accumulated for this project will be acknowledged as the study unfolds and finally be reflected in the bibliography. Available information is presented in a triadic perspective of past, present and future.

Past missionary operations enable us to understand the problems encountered by education practitioners in their historical contexts. A holistic approach is employed in the study of Swiss missionary transformative efforts. Their enterprises are analysed in the context of what other clerics in this country were doing in their spheres of influence. The relationship between missionaries and the State is also analysed vis-à-vis the reaction of communities for whom missionary enterprises were meant. As the pioneers in the provision of native education in this country, the clerics' historiography is invaluable.

Missionaries administered/managed schools, churches, hospitals and the subsidiary agencies. In our bid to improve the quality of life of our people, we need to examine how things were done in the past. Conditions have admittedly changed considerably but the *modus operandi* in the three major institutions (schools, churches and hospitals) has not changed substantially. The skills development programs introduced by missionaries in their times are similar to what we have today save for the technology that has revolutionised production and the delivery of social services. Organisations are not static. They keep on changing to remain effective and efficient in their delivery of social services. Robbins and De Cenzo (1995:4) define organisational efficiency as the capacity by organisations' operatives to do things right. Efficiency and effectiveness are two related or complementary terms that should enhance productivity in any organisation. Efficiency has to do with achieving maximum results even when the resources are few. This means that organisations could be efficient even if they do wrong things. But in life people must strive for virtue.

The foregoing explains why managers should always ensure that their subordinates do things that will maximise goal attainment, for example, completion of tasks with the least resources and within relatively short spells of time. If this becomes a reality we often say that the organisations are efficiently and effectively managed. Our promotion of organisational development (OD) should take cognisance of Raanan Weitz's counsel that enjoins anybody who has an interest in social transformation to have "an understanding of the past, present, and future of developing societies as a prerequisite to development planning" (Weitz 1986:24).

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE MANIFESTATION OF ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE SWISS MISSION FIELDS**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the preceding chapter, the researcher concluded by indicating that past historical knowledge informs present actions and present actions are indications of what the future may look like. In this investigative report, transformation managers and their operatives are seen as operating from premises bequeathed to them by their predecessors. They find in store certain ideas, some of which they retain while others have to be developed further so as to ensure the improvement of the quality of life of the people. The Swiss Mission as an organisation was not static. It was constantly undergoing a metamorphosis in line with the behavioural patterns of the people it served. In other words, the Swiss Mission's schools, hospitals and churches were living systems that continually changed to remain relevant to the needs of their clientele. In their day to day tasks these systems functioned holistically. This means that any part that was dysfunctional affected the smooth operation of the entire organisation or system. It required restoration of the normal functioning of the system to ensure the delivery of goods and services (Van Niekerk, Botha & Coetzer 2000:7).

The Swiss Mission in South Africa is viewed as a spiritual body with a distinct following represented by statistical data, lists of names, photographs and individuals who continue to exert an influence on the socio-economic and political lives of the South African citizenry. From another vantage point, the Swiss Mission in South Africa is viewed by the researcher as a Church government that in one way or the other coordinated its missionary efforts with the secular government (Colonial Administration). In other words, colonial policies held sway over a variety of missionary ventures. This explains why missionaries had to harmonise their enterprises with what the colonial administrators felt was the right way of civilising the native population. It needs to be mentioned that although missionaries had to adapt to the colonial administrators' socio-economic and political policies, their evangelistic crusades were never sacrificed. This is evidenced by the dominance of the Christian religion over other religions in our country. The researcher does not imply that the Christian religion has succeeded in uprooting traditional customs. On the contrary, the researcher is of the opinion that clerics and

their African collaborators have succeeded in spreading Christian education and its civilising influences throughout South Africa (Prozesky 1990:1-6).

### 3.2 DEVELOPMENT VIS-À-VIS EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

Social development is inextricably linked to educational change. During the genesis of the Swiss enterprises, clerics appeared to have a free hand in introducing social change according to their convictions. This explains why the education provided to Africans was Eurocentric. But the systematic abandonment of the imperialists' laissez-faire policies with regard to the provision of native education resulted in a reappraisal that culminated in the advocacy for differentiated education. As the Swiss missionaries interacted with other clerics and the colonial administrators they started calling for the provision of education that was in line with the mental capacities of the indigenous populace. In terms of this school of thought it was believed that it was educationally not right for Europeans to introduce mixed schools. It should be pointed out that the Swiss clerics were only critical of mixed schooling as practised by some other missions. They themselves preferred to send their children to Pretoria for their education. The white school in Louis Trichardt was not preferred by most missionaries in the district (Jaques 1951:3-6).

Thus what pained Dr Samuel Jaques and his colleagues were the syllabi and curricula to which people of colour (that is Africans, Coloureds and Indians) were exposed and not co-education which was statutorily not being implemented within the Swiss Mission fields. Consequently, the curricula and syllabi transplanted from Europe and implemented in South Africa without modification had to be brought in line with the intellectual capacities of the indigenous populace as 'investigated and reported on' by those who had studied the evolution of man. Swiss archival records abound with arguments pertaining to the intellectual incapacity of blacks in key areas of life vis-à-vis their white counterparts. Consequently, any analysis of the subjective views of these clerics in their management of social transformation in this country is something that is indispensable for social development. Such inventories of historical events can only facilitate rapid social transformation.

It is the considered view of the researcher that those change forces that come into office desperately need documents pertaining to past human actions as the base/work plan that makes the execution of their societal tasks enjoyable. One may even add that effective delivery of

goods and social services becomes easy when one has at one's disposal records that chronicle past transformation efforts. In such a scenario one simply has to avoid the mistakes that made it difficult for past transformation agents to realise their set objectives. It is on the basis of such historical information that people start developing the urge to invent technology that will make the execution of societal tasks easy and cost effective. Sound human relations that are so indispensable for the coexistence and social development of people from different cultural backgrounds can only be managed with a degree of efficacy when the legacy of the past have been meticulously documented (Cuendet 1950:1).

The Swiss Missionary Society had archives and museums in which they stored data pertaining to their civilising missions. This innovation enables us to make sense of the conditions under which they laboured during their tenure. Although political expediency at times precluded them from documenting their works in languages that were spoken by their proselytes, especially on issues that were considered sensitive and controversial, their use of English and Afrikaans in their interaction with the colonial administrators does throw some light on the past. Social transformation in its various manifestations was carried out in a socio-economic, cultural and political milieu. Missionaries had to respond to the different factors impacting on their lives and those of their proselytes in ways determined by their constitutional experts. The Constitution of the Swiss Mission was the guide to Christian conduct. But the Rev Dr Marie-Louise Martin (1950:14-17) regarded the Bible as the supreme Guide to Christian life. Thus any problem proselytes might encounter in life could be solved through the use of the Scriptures. The New Testament in particular was regarded as a vital source of information for those who were in transition from primitivity to modernity. It is here that Christian converts came to know industriousness as the key to social development vis-à-vis indolence which was incompatible to the Christian teachings.

The Rev Francois Alois Cuendet (1950:1) took issue with those who believed that black and white could not collaborate or coexist in the same territories and felt that separation was the right solution to potential interracial clashes. But his articulation of multiracialism failed to recognise that the Swiss Missionary Society only condoned residential integration and had yet to agree to co-education between the black and white youths.

### 3.3 ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

Organisational development in the context in which the concept is used in this study embraces whatever group efforts that are directed at the improvement of the quality of life of people without regard to sex, skin colour, culture and creed. Incidentally, Theron (1993:39) is of the opinion that development should not be construed as a process that is restricted to any particular organisation. He puts it as follows: “Development is no longer the domain of government, donor or development agencies only ... Development therefore is part of the mission of the church” (Theron 1993:39). Theron (1993:43) contends that the church as a social organisation must strive for the eradication of “poverty, starvation, political oppression, wars, murders, torture, economic exploitation, corruption, tribalism, sexism, and the destruction of the ecology”.

Thus the Swiss Mission as the Church of Christ cannot be exempted from evaluation on the basis of its performance with regard to the comprehensive list drawn up by the above scholar. This is because human development in a Christian perspective should strive for the betterment of humanity in its entirety. Separate development in the context of this study is at variance with the teachings of Jesus Christ who, throughout His life on earth, identified with egalitarianism. This striving for egalitarianism is discernible from the exhortation He gave to His disciples which sounded thus: “Go ye and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you ...” (Cuendet 1949:2).

The multidimensional approach inherent in the lord’s command does not give any latitude to the disciplines to discriminate against any nation in their teaching sessions. Theron (1993:40) seems to define the multidimensionalism that should inform missionary operations when he says that it involves “the organisation and orientation of entire economic and social systems... it typically involves radical changes in institutional, social, and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes and, in many cases, even customs and beliefs”.

If social transformation involves radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures including customs and beliefs, then the whole range of behavioural patterns of the Shangaans who were the Swiss missionaries’ main target group must have been affected during proselytisation. This means that beliefs in witchcraft and other superstitious notions had to make way for the Western way of life. Since the Swiss clerics believed that the indigenous people

were precluded from modernity by their penchant love for their traditional values, the younger generation had to be systematically indoctrinated to a point of breaking ranks with their own culture(s). The Swiss clerics used their authority to influence their African proselytes to acquire formal education which in time would enable them to develop into “well-informed, rational, sensible, balanced, reflective, and critical” individuals than they were at the time of the encounter with their benefactors (Stuart 1995:41).

Stuart (1995:41-42) defines indoctrination as implying a situation whereby someone takes “advantage of a privileged role to influence those under his/her charge in a manner which is likely to distort their ability to assess the evidence on its own merit”. It was customary of missionaries to employ religious propaganda in such a way that Africans were not only converted, but also alienated from their traditional rulers. In this research project, the Swiss change forces set themselves the task of persuading or even forcing their clientele to adopt paradigm shifts that influenced the development of negative thoughts about their traditional political systems, which had ordered human interactions in their varied forms. Thus organisational development was conceptualised as a one way process based on missionary paternalism and trusteeship.

The Swiss missionaries’ perception of organisational development was that of experts meeting with novices in a teaching-learning situation with the latter assimilating the Western cultural values through observation. For Africans to have a lasting impression of the good that stood for Christ, missionaries had to behave themselves in an exemplary fashion in their interaction with their charges at school. Teacher education at Lemana Training Institution was structured in such a way that it led to the production of educators who would epitomise the Christian value system amongst their own people. With the involvement of the colonisers in the funding and control of native education, norms and standards were revised with a view to accommodating the interests of the State. Thus instead of church-workers devoting much attention on the preparation of proselytes for the life hereafter, attention had to be focused on responsible citizenship as well. Learners had to be educated in such a way that they became law-abiding citizens who would not antagonise their colonial masters. In order to sustain government funding which was introduced in 1903 within the erstwhile Transvaal where the vast number of the Swiss enterprises were

based, the Swiss clergy ensured that whatever educational innovation they introduced within their areas of jurisdiction were agreeable with the State policies. It is here that the operations of the educational goals of both the colonisers and the Swiss clerics are viewed as similar with regard to the commercial and political motivations that the trainees had to possess (Prozesky 1990:2).

The vast experience that missionaries possessed in the management of social transformation made them indispensable in the entrenchment of the State's segregation policies. The missionaries' ethnological studies that were carried out in tandem with the evangelisation of the African masses put them in good stead to supply state functionaries with whatever data having a bearing on the natives. Within the Swiss establishment there were clerics like the Rev Dr Henri Alexandre Junod and his son, the Rev Dr Henri Philippe Junod, whose writings were useful to whoever had vested interest in native development. HA Junod's two volumed book entitled: "The Life of a South African Tribe" was authoritative on the Tsonga/Shangaan culture and also offered some synopses of the lifestyles of other indigenous tribes (Buchler 1938:1). At this juncture the concept organisation needs explication in line with its functional role in society. Van Niekerk, Botha and Coetzer (2000:2) define organisations as "essentially collectivities of people, who define policies, generate structures, manipulate resources and engage in activities to achieve their desired ends in keeping with their individual and collective values and needs. In the human service organisation called a school, one of these desired ends is helping people to learn".

The school as a human service organisation within the Swiss mission fields was indispensable in enabling Africans to learn more about the Europeans' cultural heritage with a view to gaining acceptance within the European universe with its 'civilised norms and values'. Evangelism without the formal school system was almost unthinkable. So important were schools that any mission station or outstation started had to have its own school, a church and a clinic or dispensary to minister to the educational, spiritual and health needs of the Christians respectively. The prescription of relation between Christians and the heathen folk which was rigidly enforced by the French-speaking Swiss clerics within their territories was designed to draw pagans from their strongholds to the mission stations where there was multifaceted development. This separation of Christians from their own people made modernisation accessible to a select few. This was seemingly in conflict with the teachings of Jesus Christ. According to The Christian Outlook (1935:221) "the Lord Jesus Christ ... in the days of His

flesh was the friend of all, was especially the friend of the lowest strata of human society". The distinction between the so-called Christian villages and heathen strongholds destroyed the unity that the Lord espoused to whoever cared to listen to His teachings on earth.

### **3.4 ORGANISATIONAL MANAGEMENT AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION WITHIN THE SWISS MISSION FIELDS**

According to Knipe (2000:146), management is all about planning, organising, coordinating, controlling and directing activities with the express purpose of attaining the set objectives that may be short-term or long-term. Van Niekerk, Botha & Coetzer (2000:3) regard the following as the key features of management in an organisation: "appropriate techniques, skills and processes such as decision-making, planning, policy formulation, funding and control". These features were integral parts of the Swiss missionaries' management style during the historical epoch under review.

The institutions set up by the Swiss clerics complemented one another in the difficult and complex task of leading the aboriginal races from primitivity to modernity. Kingsley (1993:41) defines an institution as "a particular and constricted form of organisation usually with an established history or newly founded on an established model". He goes on to emphasise that an institution "is in all other respects just like any other form of organisation in that it is a purposeful and dynamic coalition of people rather than just a legal artefact, fact or fiction". The institutions that were responsible for the social advancement of the African population within the Swiss mission fields included Elim Hospital (1899), Lemana Training Institution (1906), Lemana Secondary School (1933 subsequently called the Douglas Laing Smit Secondary School, 1942), Elim Hospital Nursing College (1932) and the Shiluvane Secondary School (1940s). These institutions orientated the younger generation around the norms and values upheld by the European benefactors. Although cultural stereotypes continued to hinder national development, the Swiss missionaries were tireless in the mobilisation of their clients to strive for Christian education which was regarded as the main catalyst for social change.

### **3.5 EDUCATION ACROSS THE GENDER DIVIDE: AN EFFECTIVE WAY OF FURTHERING THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

At first tribesmen were only prepared to let their male children to receive formal education so that they could remain in touch with their kith and kin once employed in the urban areas. But with the persuasive powers of missionaries, parents finally relented and allowed their daughters to attend school. Seemingly, the Swiss missionaries' prohibition of correspondence between boys and girls within the school premises assured the conservative parents that the chances for the defilement of girls and the loss of bride-price were remote. Missionaries had proved to be strict disciplinarians who did not hesitate to banish families that were lax in the enforcement of sound morals in their offspring. The missionaries' development and design of teachers training curricula at colleges such as Lemana met with the approval of parents. The upward trend in the number of girls enrolled for the teachers' training courses at Lemana from the year 1909 coupled with the number of those who pursued the nursing courses at Elim Hospital, Masana and Shiluvane was testimony to the abandonment of the self-centredness that was an affront to the process of modernisation (Egli & Krayner 1996:21-38).

Yet it must not be construed that the Swiss missionaries only preoccupied themselves with providing the younger generation with reading and writing skills (literacy) to the neglect of the adult members of communities. On the contrary, the Swiss clerics were so organised as to arrange itinerant visits to villages with the aim of spreading the Gospel on the one hand and providing utility skills to those adults who missed out on the formal school system. With men already absorbed by the capitalist economic system after the collapse of the subsistence economic system, only the womenfolk availed themselves of the missionary initiatives. The missionaries believed that a woman who had some manual skills and formal education would not become the victims of exploitation in what was perceived to be polygamous societies. The woman who was indefatigable in providing non-formal education within the Zoutpansberg District was Miss Aline Bory. This woman organised a workshop for women residing at Elim Mission Station from 1 October to 8 October 1938. Another one was held at Valdezia Mission Station in 1934 (Bory 1938:1).

It is satisfying to note that women attending such courses/workshops emerged with industrial skills that would render them employable by textile industries. They also had the capacity to create their own employment, manufacturing clothes for sale and earning income that would ensure the normal upbringing of children. Workshops conducted by Miss Aline Bory offered the following:

1. enlightening of women on their main roles within their families in the land;
2. creation of health awareness by exposing the etiology of diseases;  
and
3. child care: child nutrition, protecting infants against the elements and so forth.

At the Women's School (Xikolo xa Vamanana) held at Elim in 1939 course-participants were required to pay seven shillings for the provision of meals. They were also expected to bring along the following: Bibles, hymn books, mats, blankets, forks, knives, and spoons. The curriculum was as follows: 1) Christian Life 2) Family Life 3) Diseases 4) Dietics/Nutrition 5) Needlework and Clothing and 6) Wayfaring/Girl Scouting (Bory 1938:1).

From the foregoing, it is evident that the Swiss Mission in South Africa (SMSA) had an elaborate network of social services designed to uplift the indigenous populace. Their efforts might not have scaled the heights contemporary societies would hope for as theirs was a job carried out on behalf of a State that was generally lackadaisical when it came to native education. In providing industrial/technical education, the Swiss Clergy had to ensure that their evangelical tasks were adequately funded. Conventional schools also had to do their business of preparing learners for the rigours of life with minimal problems. It should be noted that the involvement of the State in Native Education as from 1903 still left missionaries with heavy responsibilities in a terrain that is internationally considered the nerve-centre for national development – the school. The role of lady missionaries was no less than their male counterparts. It is the considered view of the researcher that all Swiss mission fields had women responsible for providing non-formal education so as to bridge the gap between Europeans and Africans when it came to manual education. Miss Louise Ulrich was responsible for the management of the carpet and weaving workshops within the Zoutpansberg Presbytery. She was also responsible for marketing home crafts: wooden carvings, beadwork, pottery and other

articles on behalf of the men and women. Valdezia Mission Station had its own workshop that specialised in producing machine-knitted woollen garments (Rejoice 1975:34).

### **3.6 ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT VIS-À-VIS EDUCATION FOR WOMEN**

Education for women was seen as an important catalyst for national development. This explains why the Swiss missionaries embarked on curriculum design and development for women traditionally viewed as only fit for domestic chores. According to Birdsall (1993:7), investing in women's education is a wise move for countries that are on the path of development as they are more responsible than men. They are inclined to spend most of their earnings and time on raising children than men. Consequently, the Swiss missionaries' extension of formal and non-formal education to women was a wise move for such education as was provided to them would be transferred to their children who would become future leaders. Women who received formal and technical education would be apt by their offspring. The balanced diet provided to children by their mothers would ensure maximum gains in the school setting and this would promote organisational development culminating in national development in its varied forms, for instance, the care groups initiated by Dr Erika Sutter who was based at Elim Hospital played an important role in combating trachoma. But above all this, such self-help schemes induced many women to strive for self-reliance and self-sufficiency in terms of food production through small-scale farming. Deficiency diseases can only be eliminated through balanced rations (Sutter & Ballard 1983:1813-1817).

Another reason why poor and developing countries invest enormous sums of monies in education for women is that they believe education has the capacity to improve women's powers of thought. Critical reasoning is an important facet of national development. Technological development is the product of human thought hence it is desirable to have systems of education that are open and integrated so that skilled people from different cultural backgrounds can converge and proliferate for the benefit of the entire citizenry. It is therefore not to stir controversy that the demise of differentiated education of the missionary/colonial era is not bemoaned. Education for women is not just an empowerment exercise. Birdsall (1993:7) is of the opinion that there is a correlation between the amount of education received by women and the infant mortality rate of given countries. On the basis of this she regards social development as good economics. According to her, the fundamental goal of economic development is not just

economic growth but the improvement of human welfare. It is the view of this researcher that what inspired the Swiss missionaries to introduce a wide range of social programs within their mission fields was social development which had to have as its firm base, the veneration of God (Birdsall 1993:1; Bory 1938:1).

### **3.7 NON-FORMAL EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT**

According to Cornwell (2000:164) non-formal education is still indispensable in this century. It will probably remain so in the distant future. Cornwell maintains that non-formal education has the capacity to reach out-of-school youths and adults who have never received formal schooling and will never have the chance of doing so. One of the advantages of non-formal education is that it is planned for a specific target group. This means that it will convey knowledge, values and skills with a particular social, cultural and economic context in mind. It also means that it will be flexible in terms of the times that people have to attend and the duration of training programmes. In this way non-formal education will accommodate people who work full-time or who might be very busy at specific times of the year, such as farmers.

It is gratifying to note that the Swiss missionaries had these educational programs in place from the inception of their enterprises in the mid 1870s. Such non-formal education improved with the passing of time through curriculum innovation and development. Social development is dependent on sound managerial skills. Van Niekerk, Botha and Coetzer (2000:3-4) encapsulate that every manager of an organisation should do to meet organisational goals when they allude to the determination of the culture of an organisation, how workers should relate to one another, what should hold in time of joy and sorrow or what must be done in case one absents himself/herself from duty with or without permission. It is the view of the researcher that any organisational structure should be proactive as far as the above issues are concerned. Being reactive in times of crises does not constitute sound management. Ground rules should be compiled for implementation when a crisis arises. This leaves missionary organisations functioning smoothly as if nothing had happened for substitutes are found in good time to fill the gaps left by those who went on furlough (Kingsley 1993:45).

### 3.8 EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION AS A MEANS TO THE FURTHERANCE OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

The Swiss missionaries saw humility and faithful service to the Lord as the means to wooing prospective Christians from the heathen strongholds within South Africa and Mozambique where their major enterprises were situated. All church-workers were enjoined to behave in an exemplary fashion so that the pagans might prefer life in the Christian villages and declare their willingness to be evangelised and educated. The Christian way of life promised the bounty of the Western world. With the traditional economic system having been submerged by the money economy/capitalism, conservatives were beginning to realise that they had to befriend the Swiss missionaries to survive in this materialistic world. Such was the case when the people of Ngove village, Giyani, called on the Swiss clergy to give them formal education and the Scripture (Buchler 1953:20-222).

An exploration party was quickly organised. This party consisted of Christians from Elim-Valdezia. It left Elim-Valdezia on 24 April 1953 for Ngove village. This exploration party consisted of Messrs DC Marivate, Brighton Mathebula, AE Mpapele and Alfred Tlhavela. These men represented the indigenous populace. Leading the exploration party were Mrs I Jaquet, Miss Claude Donze, Mr Philippe de Montmollin, the manager of the Swiss Mission farms in the Zoutpansberg District, and the Rev Bernard Terrisse. The Church had arranged that this exploration party converge with another one that would be travelling from Shiluvane near Thabina at Ngove village for purposes of implanting the Word of God in that area. The latter group consisted of Miss J Corbaz, Messrs MH Bandi, HE Ntsanwisi and the Rev Dr Tehor R Schneider. At this point in time Bendstore had a school, post office and headquarters for agricultural extension officers and one Dip Inspector. The area also possessed four drinking spots for people and livestock. Boreholes were drilled by the State which was looking forward to developing the area for increased habitation by Africans in line with the policy of separate development. White settlement in the area was not prohibited for it was felt it was the only way blacks would be developed to a point where they would value the benevolence of the white race. Upon arriving at Ngove village, the two delegations visited Mr Johannes Maselesele, a local minister of the Bantu Presbyterian Church headquartered at Sibasa (Gouldville) for discussions (The Morning Star 1953:1; Masumbe Interview: 7 June 2002).

Mr J Maselesele who was baptised by the Rev Numa Jaques of the Swiss Mission in Pretoria was heading a school in the area. But the school which was situated about two miles from Ngove village was under-resourced and was not able to make any great impact on the villagers. This explained why the Swiss missionaries were given a free reign in the area for without the necessary supporting services from Gouldville, Mr Maselesele was fighting a losing battle. The Swiss Mission had a school at Ngove which was started by the late Mr Wilson Marule Shirilele in 1951. This school was progressing well under the principalship of Mr Shirilele who possessed the Native Teachers' Lower Certificate from Lemana Training Institution. The Zoutpansberg Presbytery was responsible for his salary (The Morning Star 1953:1).

The Bantu Presbyterian Church's incapacity to service its annexes in the Giyani district provided an opportunity for the Swiss Mission to create a network of mission stations from Elim-Valdezia through Giyani and Shiluvane up to Maputo in Mozambique. Unlike the Bantu Presbyterian Church in Sibasa, the Swiss clergy were keen to finance their stations and to deploy enough manpower to minister to the spiritual needs of gospel workers. Fortunately for them the local chiefs were not averse to evangelisation. The Swiss missionaries planned to use Ngove village as the centre from which outstations linking up the following areas would be built: Sibasa, Louis Trichardt, Duiwelskloof, Letaba, Letsitele, Mooketsie, and Pietersburg. Other areas the Swiss Mission wanted to conquer for Christ included Louis More, Tlangelani, Nkomo, Sawutini, Semendhe, Charlie Rhangani and Maswanganyi. Chief Khambani Ngove had already proved to be a valuable friend. His son, July Ngove was also an ally to the Swiss for he built a school which the clerics inaugurated on 26 April 1953. Chief Khani who had been fascinated by the teachings of the Rev Maurice Germond was also desirous of evangelism and Western education in his territory. What was making the above chief even more determined to allow missionaries to work in his area was that Chief Dzumeri had allowed missionaries from Shiluvane to evangelise his subjects in 1941 (Mpapele, Tlhavela, Schneider & Ntsan'wisi 1953:3).

### **3.9 MANAGEMENT OF ORGANISATIONAL CHANGE WITHIN THE SWISS MISSION FIELDS**

In this study organisational change and organisational development are regarded as concepts that are synonymous. Both represent substantial gains in the number of Christian converts and the consistent rise in the number of churches, schools, clinics and literate people. Change in the context of this study is a complex and dynamic process that does not have any blue print. Each situation presents itself in its unique way requiring managers' creativity to bring it to fruition. In situations where the people are hostile to cultural change, transformation agents need to have the ingenuity to persuade the masses and emphasis that they stand to gain by accepting social change. But all this requires the patience that is normally reserved for people who must deal with the trauma of abandoning their culture for a new one. Transformation cannot be accomplished overnight. This is perhaps why some commentators describe change as often painful (Van Niekerk, Botha & Coetzer 2000:7-8).

Commenting on the complexity of change, Kendall (1989:23) has the following to say: "Most people within organisational (industry, commerce, schools, colleges, etc.) do not like change. Mostly people prefer to stay the way they are, doing things in a way they are accustomed to". People who have accumulated vast experiences on the basis of their academic and professional qualifications might not be receptive to the retraining that is designed to make them productive in the new education system with its peculiar demands. These may agitate for resistance in defence of the status quo. A good example for this may be found in South Africa's transition to democracy which elicited some sporadic right-wing attacks that were aimed at maintaining the status quo.

### **3.10 ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF THE LINK BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS: THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SWISS MISSION**

#### **3.10.1 Introduction**

When the Swiss enterprises were first inaugurated in the erstwhile Northern Transvaal, it seemed as though the missionaries were destined to labour in the rural areas. The same picture presented itself in Mozambique when the new mission stations were set up there in 1882. But the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 and the decline of the fragile subsistence economic system as a result of recurring droughts changed the settlement patterns of the indigenous populace. Africans had to leave in droves to the mining areas on the Rand in search of work. The Swiss missionaries were forced to follow their Christian converts to the cities to prevent their relapse into heathenism. Missionaries not only improve their employment opportunities but also lead to the furtherance of the Kingdom of God. Migrant workers would also have the skills to conduct their bank transactions unaided, not to mention keeping in touch with their next of kin back home and the resident ministers doing duty in the rural areas. The urban workers of the Pretoria-Johannesburg industrial heartlands lived in the compounds where they were prone to being dragged into sin by members of other tribes. The compounds were seen by the missionaries as the fertile grounds for the growth of the Church (Lombard 1952:15).

#### **3.10.2 Educating and evangelising the urban proletariat**

The Swiss missionaries were desirous of improving communication between the miners and their employers through literacy and oral communication. This explains why “night schools” were inaugurated in the cities to take care of this vital service. The so-called Laubach Method<sup>1</sup> was the most popular method of instruction for adult learners. In terms of this method adults were allowed to have a full view of the words written on the chalkboard that the teacher had to first read before expecting his/her learners to pronounce them correctly. Scripture was taught through storytelling and the use of Biblical pictures. Besides lessons of a Biblical nature, learners were taught “a little general education”. This was done to show them that the missionaries cared for them. General education included: “Showing them nice books, explaining

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<sup>1</sup> Laubach Method: This was a teaching method designed by Dr Frank C Laubach. It was very popular for adult learners (Cunningham 1981:160).

how the earth revolves, how religious instruction is carried out in Switzerland or else answering such questions as what is the value of the pound sterling etc.” (Lombard 1952:15, cf Ziegler 1952:21).

### **3.10.3 The genesis of the Pretoria-Johannesburg mission stations**

The Pretoria Mission Station was started by the Rev Numa Jaques in 1897. In die middle of 1898, the Rev Jaques had 24 Christian “boys” who had arrived to seek work in the city. But this figure was outstripped by that of 40 returnees. The school the Rev Jaques started in Pretoria had an enrolment of 118 learners of whom nine had been baptised. The use of the concepts ‘boys’ or ‘girls’ during the missionary/colonial era was somewhat confusing. European benefactors would use the concept even when the persons referred to were elderly. But in all cases, context brings clarity. Usually the concepts were employed in reference to workers, particularly domestic servants (Jaques 1899:4).

Christian converts were advised not to fall prey to the immorality rampant in the urban areas. Christian fellowships were encouraged by the Rev N Jaques and his helpers. During the Christmas of 1898, all converts were invited to the festivities. On this occasion the Rev Jaques gave blessings to all the children born of December 1898 at 3 o’clock. In the evening there was feasting and singing. The congregation was mixed and various instruments were used to entertain the revellers (Jaques 1899:4). Describing the events of the day, Mr Ben Madzive, one of the Evangelists assisting the Rev Numa Jaques had the following to say: “The Shangaans have a fully-fledged mission station, a church, and a home with enough accommodation for guests. Food and clothes are aplenty. What is conspicuous by its absence is liquor which the landlord, Mr Fevrier of Swiss descent does not permit people to drink due to its destructive effects on human life” (Madzive 1899:18) (My own translation from Xitsonga).

Evangelist Ben Madzive first worked with the Rev E Endemann of the Lutheran/Berlin Mission at Makotopong (Roodewal) before taking up a post with the Rev Numa Jaques of Efrata near Elim. He also worked as a teacher at Louis Trichardt. When he went to Efrata he became a fulltime evangelist who was persuaded to relocate to Pretoria with the Rev Numa Jaques. He passed away in 1934 (Madzive 1923:2; The Valdezia Bulletin 1934:2).

### **3.10.4 Educational progress within the Pretoria-Johannesburg stations and environs including the erstwhile Orange Free State's Welkom Goldfields**

The Rev Numa Jaques and his two African evangelists, namely, Messrs Ben Madzive and AS Ndhalana, were making progress within Pretoria and the surrounding areas. They were only disturbed by the curfews imposed by the Kruger Administration which was fighting against the British forces during the South African War (1899-1902). Many converts were scared by the intensity of the war and returned home. The Rev N Jaques' reports indicate that conditions were extremely bad and he and his assistants were unable to operate freely. Attempts to open the school at 16:00 in the afternoon yielded poor results as only four to 8 learners would show up for lessons. But despite all these hardships, church services remained well attended. Every Sunday, the Rev Jaques had 40 Christians in church (Jaques 1899:68, 1899:4, cf Ndhalana 1899:4).

From the year 1896 when the Rev Jaques started the so-called Pretoria Railway Mission Station, Sunnyside, indications were that to succeed in their evangelistic ventures the Swiss clerics had to exercise patience as tensions between the Boers and the Britons were building up forcing President SJP Kruger to be always on the alert. The abortive raid on the erstwhile Transvaal Republic by Dr Leander Starr Jameson and his Uitlanders (aliens/foreigners) on the Witwatersrand accounted for the distrust of the British citizens. These tensions led to the outbreak of the South African War (1899-1902) although other factors also had an impact. Captain Adolf Schiel, successor of Joaho Albasini as the Native Affairs Commission in the Zoutpansberg District was forced to visit Pretoria just to assure President Kruger of his loyalty to the Boer State. This he had to do for it appeared as though the President and the Swiss missionaries were invigorated by the new spirit prevailing in the Republic (Jaques 1899:18).

Eventually, the Swiss Mission had the following annexes attached to the Pretoria Station: Pelindaba (1902), Mamelodi (1964), Hlanganani (Winterveld, Hammanskraal (1969), Westfort Leper Institution (1902), and Weskoppies Mental Institution (1902) to name but a few. Organisational development in the view of the Swiss missionaries essentially meant an all out campaign to evangelise, educate, cure, as well as to provide relief to the sick, the poor, the imprisoned, and the aged. Bringing welfare to masses was the hallmark of their efforts. The Swiss Mission also had some outreach programme with other churches that included the Bantu

Presbyterian Church (BPC), the Presbyterian Church in Southern Africa (PCSA) and the United Congregational Church in South Africa (UCCSA) (Rejoice 1975:32).

Educational and scriptural work in Pretoria flourished. The news that a railway, which would link Pietersburg with the industrial south, was due to be opened on 3 May 1899 was received with a sense of joy in Pretoria. This would enable missionaries and their African collaborators to open new outstations along the railway line to the north. This would be a milestone in the development of the Swiss Mission in South Africa. As it turned out, the Pietersburg/Polokwane, Potgietersrus/Mokopane and Warmbaths/Bela Bela annexes were established in the 1940s (Masumbe 2000:172, Jaques 1899:18).

The church-workers in Pretoria were inspired by the courtesy visits that were paid by clerics from the Paris Mission and the Swiss Mission's Mozambican missions. In 1899 alone, the Swiss Christians in Pretoria hosted the Rev Dr Georges Liengme, Rev Eugente Thomas (South African mission), the Rev Boegner (Paris Mission) the Revs Aristide Eberhardt and Samuel Bovet from Mozambique (Ndhalana 1899:18, Jaques 1899:18). Schools in the urban areas were far better than those in the rural areas in terms of funding. Unlike rural schools, urban schools could easily secure funds from sympathetic donors. Beside this, parents were keen to contribute monies for the construction of standard classrooms.

For instance when the Lady Selborne School was built, parents made contributions. The money they contributed was used for the construction of classrooms on a pound for pound basis. The spirit in which they gave their all led to sustainable development in their areas. Such parents were apt to convince their children to attend school regularly to ensure that their contributions were not in vain (Chapatte 1952:28). Other areas falling under the jurisdiction of the Pretoria presbytery included Watervalboven and Witbank (Emalahleni). It should be noted that it was the Swiss Mission's resolve to deliver the Gospel and education wherever the Shangaans were – mining areas, farms, squatter camps/shanty towns, townships and compounds (Chapatte 1952:28).

Buchler (1953b:9), cites a passionate plea made by patrons of the Church to join them as they paid itinerant visits to the outlying areas. It was not uncommon for one to hear: "Could we go with you, when you go to your Church next Sunday? "My", i.e. "our" Church may be in the new

Free State Goldfields near Welkom, 180 miles to the south ... Our Church can also be in one of our great urban Native townships, in municipal location or just in one of the contentious “black spots” which we hear, will be removed to “another place”. After all we read in the papers about “hotbeds of crime”, “tsotsis”, “Murderers’ schools”, “thieves’ academies” and the like ...”.

Work done in Pretoria gave birth to the Johannesburg mission stations. The Rev Numa Jaques inaugurated the first Johannesburg Mission Station in 1904. Johannesburg had become the centre of attraction since the rich gold deposits were discovered in 1886. Many Africans also went there to eke out a living upon the collapse of subsistence agriculture. The Swiss missionaries went there for they regarded this area as a fertile ground for their evangelistic activities. In 1907 the Rev Samuel became the new resident missionary. He had to minister to the needs of the Shangaans labouring in the area as well as other tribes that resided with the Shangaans in the mining compounds. This the missionaries did in obedience to him Great Commission of Christ (Cuendet 1949:2).

Enlightened Africans did not play second fiddle to the vastly experienced white missionaries. For instance, the Rev Solomon Benjamin Matjokane, son of Sekolopate, who received pastoral training at the Morija Pastoral School together with his brother, Edward Natal Matjokane was such a person. His profile deserves mentioning here. After serving as an assistant to the Revs Ernest Creux, LP Vautier, Charles Bourquin and HP Junod in Pretoria; he felt experienced enough to find his own niche. In 1923 he started a church and a school at Rooistad without the support of his church, namely, the Swiss Mission in South Africa. He drew inspiration from serving his Master, the Lord Jesus Christ. He revived several dysfunctional churches around the city of Pretoria, namely, Skietfontein, Bosfontein, Zeekoegat, Baviaanspoort, Kranspoort, Pienaarspoort, Eersterus and Riverside. He later moved to Vlakfontein with his congregation. Although the Rev SB Matjokane later accepted a post at the Wesleyan Church’s Kilnerton Training Institution, his heart remained with the Swiss Mission in South Africa. The sterling efforts of the Rev Matjokane proved beyond doubt African missionaries was also capable of great enterprise. The Rev SB Matjokane passed away in 1956. His burial took place on 2 December 1956 (The Morning Star 1957:2; The Morning Star 1956:1-2 (My own translations from Xitsonga).

It would seem that social transformation might produce the best for the oft neglected masses if transformation managers allow their participation in all the societal tasks that have to be performed. Weitz (1986:23) believes that egalitarianism (equality) is an important catalyst for social development for it triggers “popular participation in the decision-making process, and cultural pluralism in dealing with the values system of different people”. Perhaps this is what missionaries failed to note during their tenure in this country due to their strong reliance on Social Darwinism. But since history appears to be the best teacher, we can only hope that South Africans will realise the importance of taking cues from our historiography.

Organisations that do not take cognisance of the development of man in time perspective risk multiplying the errors that caused underdevelopment in the past. Weitz (1986:20) defines development as “the process of change that occurs in human society, consisting of economic growth and changes in the system of values”. This the researcher regards as implying a process of renewal and the shedding of obsolete customs. The abandonment of cultural practices that have been overtaken by time can only be facilitated by the cooperation of nations and genuine cross-pollination of ideas. What history should do in the transition to this end is to provide us all with the inventory of our past misdeeds. The process of moral regeneration which we all should yearn for cannot be accomplished if we continue to denigrate history or pretend as though its existence in our school curricula is a serious distraction in our quest for technological and scientific advancement.

The Swiss missionaries and their African collaborators appeared to value sustainable development as like Weitz (1986:20), they were convinced that development is “progressive change in a society’s status quo that takes place as a result of new and dynamic relationships between different socio-economic forces”. The foregoing suggests that man should progressively seek to inculcate society’s value system to the younger generation, so that the good of our historical past does not become obsolete. The researcher submits that history may continue to be an indispensable guide in our efforts to foster multi-faceted change within our societies. The Swiss experiences need not be dismissed as non-entities as we move forward with social change. Our forbears have shown how transformation should be plotted.

The African intelligentsia appeared to have the initiative and innovative capacity to extend God's Kingdom to areas where it was virtually unknown. The activities of Messrs Alfred Mathabela and Timoteo Mathonsi at the Robinson Compound in Randfontein, Johannesburg, were equivalent to the endeavours of the white missionaries. These men implanted Christianity out of their own volition in these mining compounds. They also conducted itinerant visits to the outlying areas on behalf of the Swiss Mission in South Africa. The revelations of Mr Edward Natal Matjokane paint a picture of men who supported themselves financially to ensure that the Lord's name was known far and wide (Matjokane 1922:5).

The Swiss missionaries were so organised that they had a youth development programme. That other branches did not have resident ministers would only be known through announcements judging from the skills that the youths of these days possessed. The Church had scholarships designed for talented youths in ministerial work. Those who had a penchant love for the ministry were persuaded to proceed to the Morija Pastoral School for ecclesiastical training. In 1934, the Swiss Mission arranged for a two years' evangelist course and a three year pastoral course at Lemana College. Organisational development was always uppermost in the minds of the Swiss missionaries. The fact that there were many areas that needed improvement could be ascribed to man's fallibility (Grant 1932:36).

But even in the late 1970s the Swiss Mission had some rudimentary training programs aimed at empowering teachers with evangelistic skills. This personnel development program was especially meant for Sunday School teachers. At a workshop held in Durban in 1978, the following Sunday School teachers were present to represent the Swiss Mission: Mr (now Dr) Willie Chabalala (Soutpansberg District), Rev Michael Nyawo and Miss Ruth Stocker (Pretoria), and Rev Mashangu Ismael Mathebula (Selati).

These development initiatives needed to be sustained. In fact it would be useful to retrace the management skills of the Swiss clerics for posterity (Halala & Rikhotso 1978:17).

Lay-preaching had been part of the Swiss Missionary Society's tradition since the inauguration of the varied enterprises in Southern Africa during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the urban areas and other parts of Southern Africa, the services of the African teacher-evangelist were indispensable. For

instance, when the Welkom goldfields became operative in the early 1950s, it was an African evangelist known to the Swiss hierarchy who evangelised the miners of Shangaan/Tsonga extraction. The Swiss Mission stepped in to find a vibrant Christian community that only lacked a school and church buildings. The congregants compared very well with those of the established Anglican, Catholic and Dutch Reformed Churches in the area. So the Swiss Mission was well represented in the defunct Orange Free State Province. The only problem was that the politics of the time made it difficult for the Anglo-American Corporation, the State and the churches that were operating there to allow the Swiss Mission and the Paris Mission to operate freely in the mining town. French represented the official language of both churches and this possibly revived bitter memories of the Free State Boers' gruelling struggle against the Basuto of the Mountain Kingdom (Lesotho) during the reign of King Moshoesho. But although the two churches were denied permission to occupy sites, there is a good reason to believe that the Gospel was carried out effectively (Cuendet 1951a:24).

As in the rural areas where adult education/non-formal education was provided to those who missed out on formal schooling the urban-dwellers were adequately catered for by the Swiss clerics and their African collaborators. The Rev Beatrice Ernst (1953:25) speaks of formal education and technical/industrial education receiving attention in the urban areas including the shanty towns. With regard to the latter, she speaks of the Bon Accord settlement in Pretoria where the wives of the enlightened African teachers and ministers were serving as 'missionaries'. These ladies were doing all they could to educate their people and to make good Christians of them. At the meetings that were frequently held, the white lady missionaries were invited to come and observe, give advice and devise means of funding educational programmes. The white lady missionaries had the necessary contacts with the corporate world hence they were indispensable in developing poor communities who lived in rickety mud houses that were smeared with fresh cow-dung for want of polish and cement floors. The Women's Association that were formed after much groundwork were energetic and observant of the Mission statutes that had to be obeyed by all Christians. Ernst had the following to say about these dedicated women: "The day a woman is accepted into the women's association is a solemn occasion. She promises to keep the laws of the Association, i.e. she promises not to drink or make beer, nor to help in its distribution; she also promises to take her part in church life and to visit the sick in the congregation. One of the leaving women dresses her in her uniform and puts on the white collar. These are the outward signs of full membership" (Ernst 1953:26).

### **3.11 THE SWISS MISSION ENDEAVOURS IN NATAL AND THE CAPE**

#### **3.11.1 Introduction**

Swiss Missionary operations are often perceived to have been concentrated within the erstwhile Transvaal Province. But an in-depth perusal of archival records reveals that this is far from the truth. The Swiss enterprises were also established in the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and the Transvaal Province. Perhaps what eludes the people with a vested interest in the history of the Church, is the intensity of Swiss missionary efforts in some provinces which admittedly might not have been as pronounced as was the case in the former Transvaal. But that does not obliterate the role played by the Swiss Mission in the entire South Africa.

#### **3.11.2 Religious expansion into Natal and Zululand**

The Swiss Mission's penetration of Natal and Zululand in 1958 was in reality the rejuvenation of old ties. Soshangane (Manukosi), the founder of the Shangaan clan came from Zululand. He only left Zululand during the Mfecane wars and eventually conquered the Tsonga people of Mozambique. Thus the double-barrelled name Shangaan-Tsonga people became a reality it is to this day. However, some dispute being called Shangaan or vice versa. But intermarriage that followed the subjugation of the Tsonga people in the years following the defeat of the Ndwandwe tribe at the hands of Shaka's army in the 1818-1819 battles, makes a mockery of any claim to purity. To revert back to the topic at hand, the Swiss Mission's penetration of Zululand came at the invitation of Christians of Zionist affiliation that was fascinated by their teaching styles. Flowing from discussions, the Mtubatuba and Vryheid annexes were inaugurated in 1958 to cater for the people of Zululand who swore allegiance to the Swiss Mission (Rejoice, 1975:33).

Moreover, the Swiss Mission was operative in Zululand and Natal even during the 1920s. The Church publication entitled *Nyeleti ya Mixo* which the researcher translates into The Morning Star for the sake of non-Tsonga speakers, was published by The Ebenezer Press, Dundee, Natal, from its inception in January 1921. Besides this, there had been a sound working relationship between the Swiss Mission and the churches based in the present Kwazulu-Natal before 1958. Zulu students would come to Lemana Training Institution for their teachers' courses in the same vein the Shangaan students found their way to that qualifications. For example, Messrs AE Mpahlele, BA, who in the 1950s was a School Inspector, received his Native Primary Higher certificate at Amanzimtoti Training Institute, and Henri Etienne Mahawane specialised in woodwork and roofing at the same institute. There are still a few men and women who went to Natal for their teaching and technical education (Mpapele 1934:2; The Morning Star 1953:3).

Furthermore, Mr Abraham Z Twala of Waterfall Industrial School, Salisbury (Harare, Zimbabwe), in what was then known as Southern Rhodesia confirmed what the Swiss Mission and its proselytes was capable of doing in the mission fields. Mr AZ Twala was originally from Zululand before he ventured up north to serve the Lord in the land of the Shona and the Ndebele people to name the dominant tribes. In an article published in The Morning Star, Twala (1923:4) wrote to thank the Swiss Mission for the warm hospitality extended to him during his fundraising campaigns in Johannesburg at the time: Messrs Charles Manyisa, George N'wanhenga, and Jones H Maswanganyi as well as the following clerics: Charles Bourquin, Samuel Bovet, and Jacobus A Machao. Mr Jones H Maswanganyi was a regular columnist in The Morning Star at the time. He specialised in reporting about Christian education and its value in society. Mr AZ Twala pointed out in his article that Mr JH Maswanganyi was educated at the Rev JL Dube's Ohlange Institute, Natal Province (Twala 1923:4).

Twala's association with the Swiss Mission in South Africa appeared to be well established for he wrote his article in impeccable Xitsonga. Besides this, he appeared to freelance for the Swiss Mission in South Africa, prodding them to come to the rescue of the Hlengwes/Chaukes who he alleged were still submerged in heathenism. It is interesting to note that even Zebedea Mbenyane who was sent to Hlengweni in 1923 stressed that the Hlengwes were yearning for evangelisation and wondered why they had been left in the lurch after they were promised the Gospel in the mid 1890s. Both men agreed that the Hlengwes were disinclined to lag behind the Shonas/Karangas as far as evangelisation and educational development was concerned. But what appeared to scare the Swiss missionaries from developing the Hlengwe territory was the

risk associated with crossing the crocodile infested Limpopo River from Makuleke or Crooks' Corner as the territory was known after the recruitment drive of miners to the Witwatersrand and illicit ivory trading, recurring droughts and malarial climate. Twala's perspective of the then Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and its people was as follows: "In my view Rhodesia is still in darkness, consequently I find it fitting that they should also be taught the Word of God and the dignity of manual work so that they could serve their nation as they should ... I implore you, don't be weary, always include me in your prayers, also the land of the Hlengwe people" (Twala 1923:4).

Space does not allow the researcher to expound the interdenominational relations that existed between the Swiss Mission and Zululand in greater detail than what he has done thus far. Suffice to round off this subsection by saying that when the pastoral students were forced to leave the Morija Theological Seminary in 1966 apparently at the instigation of the Nationalist Government which curbed contacts between states, the theological students were temporarily stationed at Alice, in the Eastern Cape. But even here the politics of the mid 1970s forced them to move on to the Pietermaritzburg Theological Seminary in the Natal Province (Davenport 1987:561; Halala & Rikhotso 1978:17).

### **3.11.3 Religious expansion into the Cape**

The Swiss Mission's use of the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice in the Eastern Cape did not last. Politics played a role in the discontinuation of this vital service. Basutoland had gained independence in 1966 as Lesotho from Great Britain and was apparently no longer considered a safe place for the training of church personnel. This came to haunt the ruling oligarchy in the Eastern Cape where the Swiss Mission's students were being trained for the ministry. The authorities soon believed that the Federal Theological Seminary at Alice had been infiltrated by the communists whose prime objective it was not to train students for the ministry, but to incite them to rise against the government of the day. Contacts between students and international lecturers who were affiliates of the World Council of Churches (WCC) caused consternation among the authorities. The authorities knew that the World Council of Churches viewed apartheid as a crime against humanity. To avoid a situation whereby students would be turned into enemies of the State, the University of Fort Hare was empowered to expropriate the Federal Theological Seminary in 1974. The closure of the seminary must have induced the Swiss

Mission in South Africa to relocate the St Columba's College to Pietermaritzburg in Natal (Kwazulu-Natal of late). The Rev Jean-Francois Bill who was the Principal of the College appeared to have moved to Natal with his charges at the same time (Rejoice 1975:34, cf Halala & Rikhotso 1978:16-17).

The researcher gives all these historical accounts so as to inform the readership about the developments that might have somewhat impacted negatively on rapid social transformation in the past. If past historical occurrences are withheld, society risks repeating the very same errors historiography should have warned it against. The Pietermaritzburg Federal Theological Seminary consisted of three colleges, namely, the Albert Luthuli College, the John Wesley College and the St Peters College. According to Halala and Rikhotso (1978:17), the Albert Luthuli College was headed by the Rev Jean-Francois Bill. In 1978 the enrolment stood at 45 students while the St Peters College and the John Wesley College shared 55 students between themselves.

Organisational development is inseparable from renewal. Organisations keep on changing to remain relevant to the changing time. Thus, in 1993 the Federal Theological Seminary at Imbali -- Pietermaritzburg closed. Students from the Swiss Mission in South Africa (Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa) who needed to join the ministry had to direct their applications for admission to the University of Fort Hare for the Bachelor of Theology degree. The admission requirement was Matric plus exemption. Additional requirements could well have been the consideration by the Clergy that one would turn out to be a good minister of religion (EPCSA 2000:17).

The Western Cape appears to have had less contacts with the Swiss missionaries than the Eastern Cape. The Eastern Cape outdid the Western Cape in terms of contacts for it had educational institutions the Swiss Missionary Society could use for upgrading the qualifications of church-workers. There was Lovedale Institute, Healdtown Institute, and Fort Cox near Flagstaff, University of Fort Hare, Alice and the Federal Theological Seminary, Alice. The Swiss pioneer, the Rt Reverend Ernest Creux stayed at the house of Rev Dr James Stewart of Lovedale Training Institute in 1872 before entering Basutoland where he became a lecturer at the Morija Pastoral College. The Free Church of Scotland was another mentor to the Swiss clerics alongside the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in Basutoland (Lesotho). Having said all this about the Eastern Cape, it should not be construed that the Western Cape did not feature

well in the Swiss missionaries' management of social transformation. The Swiss Mission appeared to cover all areas of life in its transformative tasks – religion, agriculture, education, and medicine, prison services, and care for the handicapped and inform, including the mentally-deranged, and primary health care. In all provinces the Swiss Mission's influence extended to the prison service. The Rev Dr Henri Philippe Junod's Penal Reform League of South Africa had unlimited access to all the country's prisons. As the National Organiser/Director of the Reform League, the Rev Dr HP Junod had to visit all prisons in the Cape, namely, Cape Town, Bellville, Knysna and Grahamstown to obtain first hand information which would enable him to challenge the State's continued use of capital punishment as a supposedly deterrent for heinous crimes (Junod 1950:32, Phillips 1949:16).

### **3.12 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

Organisational development represents the growth of organisations in line with the intellectual and cultural development of communities. In this study organisational development is also referred to as organisational change. When organisations expand and gain more members they undergo change in their structure and operation. The paradigm shifts that come with intellectual development maximise productivity culminating in the improvement of the quality of life of people. Social transformation affects education, religion, politics, the defence system and technology to name but a few things. For man to survive and enjoy a high standard of living, education is touted as the main catalyst for social change.

Africans in South Africa welcomed missionaries of different denominations because they were fascinated by the Christian religion and their education system which was a means to lucrative jobs in the monied economy (capitalism) which supplanted subsistence agriculture. The Swiss missionaries were heartily welcomed by the Shangaans to evangelise in their areas. The Swiss clerics formulated some rigid mission statuses to keep what they perceived to be the wayward practices of the indigenous populace in check and in line with their Christian values. Their enterprises witnessed consistent growth over the years leading to the emergence of a series of mission stations and annexes in the north-eastern parts of the erstwhile Transvaal. With the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886, many of their proselytes were forced by drought conditions and resultant famine to migrate to the Pretoria-Johannesburg industrial heartlands in search of employment. The Swiss clerics were aware of the danger this exodus of men and eventually women had in store for their Christian converts. They feared the Christians would fall

into temptation in the mining compounds and shanty towns leading to a downward slide into paganism from which they were liberated at the time of the founding of the first mission stations and annexed in the mid 1870s.

The Rev Numa Jaques was dispatched to Pretoria to establish a mission station in Pretoria in 1897 later followed by another station in Johannesburg in 1904. These two major proselytising centres gave birth to a series of annexes around them. From Johannesburg the Swiss enterprises grew in leaps and bounds to include the Orange Free State's Welkom goldfields, owned by the Anglo-American Corporation. Work was extended to the defunct provinces of Natal and the Cape as well, as more people were fascinated by the teachings of the Swiss clerics. Besides the converts these expansions provided to the Swiss enterprises, there was an added advantage, namely, interdenominationalism. The Swiss clerics were accorded the opportunity to interact with other missionaries belonging to other religious households and what was even more engaging with the State concerning the abolition of capital punishment more effectively, as they had influence over all the four erstwhile provinces of South Africa.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY IN THE MANAGEMENT OF HEALTH SERVICES WITHIN THE SWISS MISSION FIELDS**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

Devoting a chapter to the delivery of health services in a study whose main focus is the provision of education might be perceived as strange. But those who are conversant with mission education in time perspective will appreciate that the provision of health services was inseparable from the school system. Civilisation of the indigenous populace was centred around evangelisation, provision of education and the delivery of health services (Grant 1950:7).

The Swiss clerics' *modus operandi* was the same as that of other missionaries spread over the other denominations. By exposing native children to Western medicine which was based on science and rationalism, the Swiss missionaries believed that they would soon relinquish the traditional world which was considered an affront to modernity. Once children had amassed the bulk of Western education, they in time became dependable collaborators of missionaries and spread the Gospel far and wide. Their sheer numbers would effectively reduce the missionary-heathen ratio that presented an untenable situation particularly during the pioneering years. It should be noted that experts associate learners' optimal performance at schools with the delivery of quality health care and sound nutrition (Behrman 1996:23).

The Swiss Missionary Society (1874) always ensured that a harmonious working relationship existed between the health institutions, the schools and the churches. The Rev FA Cuendet (1950:9) sums up the centrality of the medical missions in the social development of the indigenous populace as follows: "From the very beginning our missionaries have done their best to take care of those who endure suffering. The Rev P Berthoud, especially, had spent nearly three years studying medicine, in preparation for his coming out to South Africa".

## 4.2 GENESIS OF THE SWISS HEALTH SERVICES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The first caretaker medical missionaries for the Swiss enterprises in South Africa were the Revs Paul Berthoud and Ernest Creux. The two clerics built a very good reputation for themselves in the Zoutpansberg District from the official commencement of the missionary enterprises in 1875. Their expertise attracted patients from as far afield as Bulawayo (Zimbabwe). The opening of a new mission field in Chief Njhakanjhaka's territory in 1879 following on the purchase of the farm Waterval (Waterfall) in 1878 near Louis Trichardt, paved the way for a series of developmental projects that included Elim Hospital (1899) and Lemana Training Institution (1906) (Masumbe 2000:143-149).

Not even the arrest of the two missionaries and their dispatch to Marabastad, near Pietersburg, to stand trial before Magistrate Sigfried Detlof Mare could stifle what was in store for the native population. Some generous English-speaking men forked out the £1 000 demanded for the release of the clerics by the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek led by the Rev Thomas Francois Burgers. President Burgers who had lost popularity in the eyes of the electorates/voters by embarrassing State finances and pursuing some resented educational policies saw the French-speaking clerics as a means to reclaiming lost ground. Had the missionaries' captors delayed the release of the clerics, they would have faced the wrath of 21 Boers who had organised to travel by ox-wagon to Marabastad to demand the release of what they called their medical doctors (Creux 1921:1-2).

The introduction of Western civilisation at what was then known as *Hlomandlwini* (emerge from the hut armed!), presently known as Elim (oasis) would have been unsuccessful had it not been for the pioneering efforts of Jonathan Mphahlele who persuaded the conservative Chief Njhakanjhaka to allow the white clerics to proselytise in his territory. The man referred to as 'the Pedi Evangelist' by the white missionaries, was deployed at the chief's kraal in 1876 and managed to induce the chief to rescind his earlier decision not to allow missionaries to evangelise his subjects. But it took about four years for missionaries to enter his lands after the founding of Valdezia (Masumbe 2000:143-149; Elim/Shirley Community Authority File 6/1/2-6).

Swiss medical services started from humble beginnings at Elim. Missionary residences initially served as dispensaries or classrooms for the educational upbringing of children (Cuendet 1950:44-45). Eventually the Old Mill served as the health centre and patients from far and wide would converge here to seek medical attention from the Rev E Creux. When Dr Georges Louis Liengme was declared *persona non grata* in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) for allegedly abetting King Nghunghunyani's forces in the war against the Portuguese colonists (1895-1897), he sought refuge in the then Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek. He first stayed at Shiluvane Mission Station, in Tzaneen in 1896 before relocating to Elim in 1897 (Rinono 1956:1, Liengme 1906:31-32). The arrival of the Miracle Doctor (pseudonym given to Dr G Liengme by his patients) relieved the Rev Creux from his medical practices. He could now concentrate on his mission work. Dr Liengme had the habit of praying before embarking on his surgical work. The influx of patients into the Old Mill Health Centre and environs encouraged Dr Liengme to embark on a fundraising campaign abroad and the generosity of the Switzerlanders led to the founding of Elim Hospital in 1899 (Cuendet 1950:44-45).

#### **4.3 THE CENTRALITY OF HOSPITALS IN THE PROSELYTISATION OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULACE**

While the duty of hospitals is to restore health to those afflicted by disease, mission hospitals had an additional function. They aimed to convert the patients to the Christian religion. Patients were warmly received and fed during their stay at the mission hospitals to encourage them to break with the traditional healers. The inception of the African hospital at Elim in 1899 was followed by the opening of the European hospital in 1900 and eventually the Indian hospital in 1949. It should be noted that the Swiss Mission in South Africa was at the service of all population groups in this country. Europeans of the Zoutpansberg District did not only receive medical attention but assisted with rehabilitation from alcohol abuse. For instance, the Rev E Creux (1924:4) relates a story of Mr John Watt who visited him complaining about drunkenness among whites. Mr Watt's request was as follows: "You have an obligation to help the Spelonken Europeans; you know that we, besides you, are very fond of liquor, we order it from Natal. When it is ultimately delivered we finish it at once. We fail to get additional supplies immediately. We have to spend several months without tasting it; but we feel we are not human beings without a constant supply of liquor" (Creux 1924:4).

The above citation illustrates the type of duties that missionaries had to perform. They endeavoured to free Africans from the clutches of heathenism and drunkenness while not losing sight of Europeans who were in need. Africans who had laboured in the Kimberley diamond mines had been detribalised to a point where they no longer preferred to indulge in African beer. They bought brandy that first arrived in the Zoutpansberg District in 1878. The Swiss missionaries were afraid of the new scourge that threatened to ruin many families. Watt's plea summed up everything that any cleric had to combat hence the Rev Creux responded readily (Creux 1924:40).

He mobilised whites to sign a petition that would be sent to the Government persuading it to stop Mr Joao Albasini from opening a canteen on his farm Goedewensch, about 4 km east of Elim Hospital. Joao Albasini was the Shangaan chief, Native Commissioner of the Zoutpansberg District, trader, Portuguese Vice Consul in this country and elephant hunter. He had immense influence in the district that the defunct Transvaal Boer Republic was intent on reducing but could not. The Rev Creux managed to secure the signatures of the following residents to try and stop Albasini from going ahead with his plans to build a canteen on his farm: E Creux, P Berthoud, A Boalch, John Watt, TJ Ash, W Watt, LM Nunez, GC Fernandez, WI Grieve, SS Moraes, E Schwellnus, N Tk Hoen, CR Kahl, C Beuster, W Fitzgerald, SJG Hofmeyr, TS Kelly and NT Oelofse (Creux 1924:4).

Joao Albasini's plans to start a liquor business appeared to have been nipped in the bud, but he remained observant and pointed out the inconsistencies in the missionaries' conduct, John Cooksley, owner of the Lovedale Park farm between Elim Hospital and the present day Vleifontein township, was on the verge of opening a canteen on his estates. Joao Albasini demanded to know what actions the clerks had taken to stop this development. The Rev Creux rose to this new challenge. He persuaded the Lutheran Church's Rev Carl Beuster to assist him in organising another petition to protest. The Government responded in a way that showed that it was in cahoots with the new canteen applicant. A reply indicated that if Cooksley, had in the opinion of the men of cloth broken the law, it was within their rights to arrest him and send him to court for trial. Mr Cooksley continued trading without any hindrance much to the resentment of the missionaries who opposed drunkenness (Creux 1924:1).

The Swiss Mission in South Africa however passed stringent regulations aimed at curbing their proselytes' conduct that seemed to stifle the growth of Christianity. The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley (1869) and gold on the Witwatersrand (1886) accelerated the 'Europeanisation' of the African people. Many of them flocked to the mining areas to seek their fortune. This exodus of Christians and potential converts was a great concern to missionaries for they knew that once natives were in the emerging towns and cities they could hardly hold their own against various social evils – drunkenness, adultery, thuggery, rape, drug addiction and all sorts of misconduct. Already the impact of urbanisation was beginning to be felt within the Valdezia and Elim Mission stations as the number of school going children was dwindling. Traditional customs also staked their claim for an impressive number of boys who attended initiation schools. Girls were also not immune for they were forced to attend initiation schools and thereafter become married women (Creux 1899:5).

The high rate of drunkenness eventually forced the Swiss missionaries doing duty in the Mozambican and South African mission fields to start the Blue Cross Associations. In Mozambique, the Blue Cross Associations were inaugurated in 1916. The Blue Cross Associations were societies that had as their declared objectives the extension of education to Christians concerning the dangers of alcohol and drug abuse. According to Mr A Roulin who visited the Lemana Blue Cross Association in 1951, the Blue Cross was inseparable from the Cross of Christ. This dualism was defined by Roulin as meaning that: drinking habits had to be fought with the help of Jesus Christ (Lemana Blue Cross Association 1951:1).

The Swiss Mission Blue Crosses had sound relations with other organisations of the same kind in Southern Africa. During conferences delegates from Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Basutoland (Lesotho), to name but a few former colonies, would converge at one centre and share ideas on how the scourge of substance abuse could be addressed. Any number of drunkards persuaded to abandon alcohol represented a major breakthrough in the evangelisation of the African masses. The Lemana Blue Cross Association held its meetings once a fortnight. On these occasions various think-tanks from the Zoutpansberg District would be invited to address the delegates attending these important meetings. During the June 1951 meeting, Rev Bernard Terrisse, Messrs Charles Marivate, Cornel Marivate, Dr Germond (Elim Hospital), Rev Berger from Johannesburg and Mr A Roulin of Mozambique were present.

Fruitful discussions were held on the topic. Cornel Marivate was particularly worried about the so-called moderate drinkers. Mr Marivate defined moderate drinkers as people who had the reputation of not showing any signs of having indulged in liquor to the onlookers or observers. These were in his view particularly dangerous on the roads for unsuspecting passengers would board their vehicles and become involved in fatal accidents caused by their defective judgement. This is what Christians need to inculcate to those who have fallen prey to liquor (Lemana Blue Cross Association 1951:1).

#### **4.4 THE EXPANSION OF THE MEDICAL AND NURSING SERVICES WITHIN THE SWISS MISSION FIELDS**

##### **4.4.1 Introduction**

The establishment of Elim Hospital in 1899 was an important milestone in the expansion of the Swiss Mission's medical services. Not only did it increase the popularity of the Mission but what was even more interesting, marked the retirement of the caretaker missionaries from the medical profession. They now had to concentrate their energies on spreading the Gospel and curbing superstition and drunkenness. The genesis of Elim Hospital paved the way for the founding of the Shiluvane and Masana (Sunbeam) hospitals respectively. Another important aspect of these developmental trends was that the wives of caretaker medical missionaries were also retired and substituted by professional nurses who came from Switzerland. Eventually, African girls were recruited into nursing (Egli & Krayner 1996:20-22).

##### **4.4.2 The arrival of the first professional nurses**

The recruitment of mission doctors and nurses was of educational value to Africans who had yet to accept European education in large numbers. The arrival of people who had specialised in medical occupations accelerated social development. More and more Africans were freed from the grip of the so-called quack-doctors. What the early missionaries like Paul Berthoud and Ernest Creux were expected to do was establish a firm scientific base from which superstition would be combated. But the traditional healers or quack-doctors as they were fervently called by the clerics, had laid the foundation for the advent of Western medicine in this country. In this regard, Jaques and Fehrsen (Undated: 1) comment: "For decades South Africans have been led to believe that the history of South Africa started with Jan van Riebeeck and the first settlement

of the Cape in 1652. But of course previous inhabitants, notably the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) had social systems and structures of their own. They had a considerable knowledge of home remedies and herbal medicines, so much so that the early settlers made extensive use of the knowledge. This could be called the earliest identifiable private medical practice in South Africa”.

Although from the outstanding work done by Dr Georges L Liengme in Switzerland, the Council of the Mission Romande considered appointing Dutch nurses to attend to Boer patients at Elim Hospital. It is not clear whether these nurses did arrive or not. What is clear though is that Miss Marie Pittet signed a contract with the Swiss Romande Mission on 5 March 1896 volunteering to serve at Elim Hospital (Pittet 1896).

#### **4.5 SHORTAGE OF NURSES AT ELIM HOSPITAL DURING THE PIONEERING YEARS**

It would appear that the appointment of Miss Pittet at Elim Hospital in 1896 was not followed up by the recruitment of many nurses to cater for increasing number of patients. Even if the Swiss Mission did recruit additional nurses to provide primary health care, they did not cope with the rising demand for Western medicine. The late Madjamu Miyen (April 1909:4) alleges that there was only one nurse side at Elim Hospital at this period. This explains why African laymen were expected to help the doctors during surgical operations. For instance, Mr Zebedea Mbenyane explains that he was one of the people drafted into the theatre to help the doctor perform surgery. At the time of Mr Zebedea Mbenyane’s tenure at Elim Mission Station and environs, there was one missionary doctor, namely, Georges Liengme. When Chief Khamanyani’s wound was operated on, Mr Mbenyane’s help was required. The occasional call for help by Dr Liengme during surgical operations accorded proselytes the opportunity to study his personality from close range. For instance, Mr Mbenyane saw Dr Liengme as a person who loved Africans. But such love was also extended to Europeans who were in need of medical care. This came to light when he received an emergency call from Kampa (probably Sibasa) to go and help Europeans who had been blown up by dynamite at a construction site and an African man who had a cancerous leg with one toe missing. In both cases he acted with the care and urgency demanded by the situation, mending the wounds and amputating the leg respectively (Mbenyane 1899:35-36).

Mbenyane's admiration of Dr Liengme's expertise knew no limits. Dr Liengme's love for medicine and patients meant great things for Africans in particular for it was they who were the Swiss clerics' main target. But serving as a substitute for nurses, had its agonies, as could be discerned from the story told by Mbenyane, of a Boer boy from Polokwane (Pietersburg), who was brought to the hospital on 12 July 1899 for the removal of a watermelon seed that had lodged in his throat for a month. The failure by the defunct Pietersburg doctors to remove the seed had positive results on the part of the Swiss Mission in South Africa in the form of publicity for their enterprises as could be discerned from Mbenyane's account: "Oho! Countrymen, I saw great miracles when he started piercing where the heart is situated and then moved to the throat whilst blood was oozing out from the wound, I was overwhelmed by fear and dizziness to a point where I nearly collapsed before asking the doctor to allow me to go and rest by my abdomen outside. After some time I realised the enormity of the problem faced by the doctor and returned to help him until the seed was removed, we all thanked God!" (Mbenyane 1899:35-36) (My translation from Xitsonga).

The foregoing story is of particular relevance to this study in the sense as a barometer for the type of transformation that was taking place in the hearts and minds of Africans. The Swiss clerics' interaction with Africans was both educative and detribalising in its impact on their social structures. The efficacy of the clerics' medical practices was appreciably matched by the number of consultations at the mission hospitals. Mr Zebedia Mbenyane's collaborative efforts were a source of pride to the Swiss missionaries hence he served at various places that included Hlengweni (part of Zimbabwe), Mhinga, Makuleke, Elim, Valdezia, Mozambique and Ebenezer to name but a few areas. The latter was the name of the printing press that was responsible for the publication of the Swiss Mission newspaper known as *Nyeleti ya Mixo*, translated The Morning Star. This newspaper was printed in Dundee, Natal (Masumbe 2000:157-158).

#### **4.6 PROFESSIONAL NURSES AND THEIR CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS**

Missionary nurses had to sign a pledge binding themselves to serve the Lord in a way commensurate with their calling. This helped to attract African patients who had not yet accepted the reality that Western medicine was better than herbal medicine dispensed by the so-called quack-doctors. Western doctors however also used plants for the manufacture of their medicine. The difference between them and the traditional doctors probably lay in the quantification of medicines to avoid calamities caused by over-indulgence. A glance at Miss

Marie Pittet's contract reveals the following regarding the conditions of service of the pioneer nurses:

1. She had to pledge herself to care for the sick at Elim Hospital and render such services as would be required of her by the Transvaal missionaries at schools.
2. To devote all her time to the Mission to whom all the products and profits of her labour would belong.
3. To understand and accept that she would only be free from her contractual obligations upon the expiry of her contract in ten years. Upon the completion of her contract she would be entitled to repatriate to her country of birth at the Mission's expense. In the event of Miss Pittet breaking her contract before the completion of three years, she had to reimburse the Mission all the expenses incurred on her behalf, that is, travelling and equipment provided for her journey to Africa. Six years of continuous service would entitle her to an exemption from all reimbursements but during the intervening years reimbursements would be proportional to the time lapsed between the third and the sixth year.
4. Reimbursements under article 3 would be the same in the event of dismissal of Miss Pittet from her post on account of her misconduct or breach of contract.
5. Miss Pittet would in terms of her contract be entitled to:
  - (a) an allocation amounting to 800 francs for her equipment.
  - (b) An annual salary of £60 (1 500 francs).
6. Whatever article/equipment would be allocated to her for the duties she would perform would remain the Mission's property.
7. In the event of an illness that would require treatment in Europe, the Mission had to bear all the costs.
8. Miss Pittet had to bind herself to conscientiously abide by the rules and decisions of the Council as well as those of the Missionaries' Conference. It is interesting to note that in the execution of her daily tasks she had to strive for the furtherance of God's Kingdom. This was what the African nurses were later expected to do as well (Pittet 1896).

It should be noted that the Swiss Mission in South Africa tried to forge unity between schools, hospitals and churches so that all church employees should complement one another in the furtherance of God's Kingdom. Miss Marie Pittet had to visit schools as part of her duties.

Children needed health education so that they could grow up knowing the etiology of diseases and not follow the footsteps of their forebears who blamed the outbreak of diseases on malevolent forces. By the same token, educators had to offer hygiene at schools and also teach Bible lessons in an effort to vanquish heathenism that was an affront to socio-economic and political development in various parts of this country. From 1903 the Transvaal missions had to cater for the needs of the State as a requirement for the granting of subsidies for their educational endeavours. But the monies released by the erstwhile Transvaal Colony was not intended to cover religious studies. Churches had to provide for this branch of their enterprises. The State also appointed inspectors of schools and education directors to ensure that government funding was used for the purpose for which it was meant (Marivate 1975:I-IV). Perhaps the Government's valuing of Christian education is better encapsulated by Dr Daniel Francois Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa during its 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary Celebrations in 1950 had the following to say: "Christian Missionary effort ... to civilise the heathen must ultimately fail unless it rests on the firm foundation of the Christian faith and morality ..." (Malan 1950:1). But this commendation of Swiss Missionary efforts by the leadership of the Nationalist Government turned out to be a euphemism for apartheid education that was soon to submerge mission education. Christian education as provided by the various churches prior 1948 was criticised as it allegedly encouraged Africans to aspire to occupations meant for the Europeans. Mission education proved popular to black people save for its funding and the paternalistic principles on which it was grounded. This notwithstanding it did not earn the resentment that was later unleashed to Bantu Education and its supportive pillars (Pienaar 1990:45-57 & 94-114).

#### **4.7 THE MODUS OPERANDI OF THE SWISS MISSIONARIES WITHIN THEIR MISSION FIELDS**

##### **4.7.1 Itinerant visits: the key to creating health awareness and inculcating love for the Gospel of Christ**

A mission that awaited the voluntary abandonment of heathen practices by villages was the poorest in terms of Christian membership, educational progress and other milestones in the development of communities. Rich was the mission that sent its change force far and wide to educate and evangelise the masses on the need to follow Jesus Christ. Once sound rapport had been established with Africans, they tended to agree to proselytisation. A means to establishing rapport with the indigenous populace was to be friendly with them and empathise with them

when they bemoaned the poor conditions under which they lived. But this empathy had to be abruptly transformed into a perspective of self-worth on the part of the Africans so that they could in time strive for self-reliance and self-sufficiency to which the church-workers were leading them. It is the considered view of the researcher that clerics were far ahead of their time in triggering intrinsic motivation which is the key to success in any societal task.

Missionaries taught their proselytes to be generous towards those who still lived under the worst conditions. Benefactors and beneficiaries fed on stories pertaining to the worthiness of itinerant visits to far off territories vis-à-vis sedentary lifestyles. People who still engaged in sin or were living in abject poverty were to be enabled to attain the self-reliance and self-sufficiency characteristic of mission education. Thus the industriousness that was stressed by the clerics rubbed off on proselytes. They, like their missionary mentors, attained the agricultural skills that led to ownership of smallholdings that were beautified by orchards and vegetable gardens that were sources of vitamins and minerals that thwarted the prevalence of deficiency diseases (Pienaar 1990:56, Ntsan'wisi 1937:1-2, Eberhardt 1924:2-3). Primary health care education illustrated that it was possible for African boys and girls to live like Europeans if they attended schools run by the Swiss Mission in South Africa (Egli & Kraye 1996:27).

#### **4.7.2 Management of health services for sustainable development**

Since the construction of Elim Hospital was started by Mr Alexis Thomas, the Swiss Mission's artisan, in March 1899, it was clear that provision of better health care for Africans would be very demanding in terms of manpower and skills. Dr Georges Louis Liengme who was still abroad on a fundraising campaign was probably aware of this stark reality. On his return to the country in June 1899 he realised that there was a great need for the training of the indigenous people to take charge of their socio-economic and political development. This was to be done within the ambit of the State laws which had developed interest in African development upon realising that its attempt to lure the 'Miracle Doctor' to the Pietersburg district (now known as Polokwane) was not yielding the desired fruits. Liengme's main idea was to have the hospital built at Elim Mission Station where the Church's proselytes would easily gain access to medicine and primary health care. The Swiss Mission Board in Switzerland ratified Liengme's plans taking cognisance of the plight of Africans and not the white people as the Kruger Administration had suggested earlier on. But the State's ruling that there be separation between the white and black wards within the hospital was taken into consideration by the Swiss clerics

as it held prospects for government funding. Missions could hardly oppose the authorities who would fund their enterprises (Liengme 1906:31-37).

Mr Madjamu Miyen, a local teacher who died on 24 February 1922, vividly described the structure of the hospital in his article in *The Lemana College Magazine* (April 1909:4): "This hospital is divided into two parts. The east is for the whites while the west is for the natives. It contains many kinds of people who have got different kinds of curious diseases. The natives are also received nicely, in beautiful rooms. They have nurses who take care of them" (Miyen 1922:2).

It is gratifying to note that progress had been made at Elim Hospital by the year 1909 as the hospital had nurses assisting the medical doctors in tending the sick. By 1899 doctors were forced to involve African collaborators with no rudimentary skills in cursing to aid them in the surgical ward. This illustrates the shortage of primary health care workers. The African elite's positive comments about medicinal practices of the Swiss missionaries at Elim Hospital was crucial for it accelerated the pace of social transformation in South Africa. It should be noted that Africans were more inclined to accept Christianity when their own people (evangelists) were proselytising. Such opportunities were not devoid of questions about the true nature of European missionaries, their principles, theories and ideological practices and traditions.

Elim Hospital's image was only tainted by the racist foundations on which it was founded. The division into white and black wards was not acceptable to the Swiss nurses who volunteered to serve at the hospital. They resented working in the white ward as they came to South Africa to contribute to the socio-economic advancement of the indigenous populace not that of the whites. Had it been for the sake of attending to white patients they would have remained in Switzerland. Missionary nurses who loathed serving in the white section of the hospital included Germain Erb and Ruth Stocker to name but a few (Egli & Kraye 1996:42-45).

But the aggregationist policies did not force the Swiss nurses to abandon their vocation. They took solace in Dr Georges Louis Liengme's educative and soothing words: "We cannot stress enough the spiritual work and its importance, because it is through it before anything else that the whole task will be able to be accomplished; but we must remember that it does not only mean saving a few individuals, or to create little centres of Christian life among the heathen. It is the empire, the Kingdom of Christ which must be established in the life of nations as in those of

the individuals. This Kingdom ... is the Gospel put into action in each part of the private as well as the social life. We must try to establish a large and solid base for the spiritual, intellectual, social, national, economic regeneration of the nation we are dealing with ... Courage! May our hearts not be troubled if the progress is slow, but may we be able to discern the time and the moment and adapt our methods to the needs of the present hour" (Liengme 1906:78).

The researcher will now focus his attention on the medical superintendents who made Elim Hospital an exemplary institution during the Swiss missionary era and the event of the democratic dispensation in this country (1899-1993).

#### 4.7.2.1 Introduction

Dr GL Liengme's expulsion from Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) was precipitated by the debilitating war between the indigenous populace and the Portuguese colonists. The Portuguese colonialists accused Dr Liengme of abetting King Nghunghunyani's forces against the settlers. It needs to be noted that Dr Liengme was based at Mandlakazi, Nghunghunyani's headquarters, hence the Portuguese's conspiracy theory. The war commenced in 1895 and only came to an end in 1897 when the Gaza Kingdom fell, giving room to absolute colonial rule over the indigenous populace. Similar accusations were levelled against the Paris missionaries during the wars between the Basutho of King Moshoeshoe and the Boers of the erstwhile Orange Free State in the mid 1850s to the 1860s. Dr Liengme could have learnt about the Portuguese insinuations in time to leave the country secretly, for in 1896 he was at Shiluvane, a mission field founded by the Swiss clerics in 1886 near Thabina in the present day Tzaneen district (Rinono 1956:1, cf Ntsan'wisi 1956:2).

It was ironical that the loss to Mozambique which was a Swiss Mission field suddenly became the gain of South Africa, also a Swiss Mission field. But even in his sphere of operation, Dr Liengme was not destined to stay for any length of time. His superiors were unhappy with him and forced him to retire from his foreign medical practice in 1905 when he was on furlough in Switzerland. He was apparently lambasted for his strong leaning towards the medical mission instead of evangelism which was seen as the principal aim for deploying clerics in African territories. Although Dr Pierre H Jaques (1998:1) argues that "there is not much information about the years 1906 to 1933 when Dr Jean Rosset and his wife Dr Odette Bedez arrived at Elim", the researcher has data that informs us of developments at Elim Hospital between 1906

and 1993 when Dr Jaques himself retired as the medical superintendent of this medical institution (Ernst & Schreurer 1977; Mirror 1999:11; Draft Swiss Mission Staffing and Establishment Undated).

#### **4.7.2.2 Dr James Borle's superintendency (1906-1911 and 1915-1918)**

Dr James Borle arrived in the country in the middle of 1905 accompanied by his wife, Lydia dubbed "Kokwana" (Grandmother) by both Africans and Europeans. He replaced the inimitable Dr Georges Louis Liengme as the Medical Superintendent of Elim Hospital. The first telephone was installed in 1911 when he was still in office, Mr Jules Liengme served as the first telephone operator. He was affectionately known as Mr "Pado" (Mirror, 17 September 1999:12).

#### **4.7.2.3 Dr MJA des Ligneris' superintendency (1912-1914 and 1919-1926)**

Readers should not be surprised by the two terms of office reflected against the names of Drs James Borle and MJA des Ligneris respectively. When medical officers went on furlough in Switzerland, caretaker superintendents were appointed in their absence. Medicine being an essential service did not allow for vacuums. On the contrary, there had to be a caretaker medical superintendent who would issue directives to ensure delivery in the different departments of the hospital. It is within this context that the tenures of Drs James Borle and MJA de Ligneris must be construed. Dr MJA des Ligneris was born in Berne, Switzerland. As an assistant to the famous Prof Theodor Kocher (1906-1911) before moving to South Africa, he gained valuable experience which helped him to become one of the illustrious medical practitioners in this country. Upon taking over from Dr James Borle, he erected several buildings at Elim Hospital. Existing buildings were extended to increase their capacity and delivery of health services. The number of Africans seeking medical help at Elim Hospital also increased tremendously. Management for its part never ceased making the patient population feel comfortable within the wards and outside. During Dr Des Ligneris' term of office the following were countenanced: a darkroom, laboratory, an X-Ray and twelve rondavels. The chapel within the hospital premises was inaugurated in 1920. The year after the hospital received its electricity in 1920. Elim Hospital forestalled the town of Louis Trichardt in getting electric power. The Union Government was thrilled by the progress registered at Elim Hospital as evidenced by the visit of the Administrator of the Transvaal and his provincial council during the same period (Mirror 1999:12).

Elim Hospital had more achievements than space permits. For instance, it obtained its first vehicle in 1914. The existence of this historical medical centre inspired the founding of two more hospitals at Mphahlele and Sekhukhuniland in 1920 and another hospital in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1931. These developments meant that patients from all these areas no longer had to cover considerable distance in search of health care, but could receive it in their neighbourhoods. Dr MJA des Ligneris was in principle not opposed to the training of Africans as medical doctors and nurses. Such a possibility would in his view hasten the pace of social transformation, for the first recruits would be considered as role models within the black communities. Being a lone progressive figure within the Swiss Missionary Society (1874), it was difficult for him to achieve this dream. He resigned from his post in 1926 to pursue a private medical practice. The following year, namely, 1927, he joined the South African Institute of Medical Research that was investigating cancer growth at that time (Mirror 1999:12; Ernst & Schreuerer 1977).

#### **4.7.2.4 Dr F Augsburger's superintendency (1928-1933)**

The resignation of Dr MJA des Ligneris as the superintendent of Elim Hospital created a vacuum for about two years. But fortunately the services of Dr F Augsburger were secured to fill the void. Dr Augsburger, was, however, not destined to stay for any length of time. There is little to say about his tenure as a result of his short stint at Elim Hospital. However, Dr MJA des Ligneris' dream to inaugurate/phase in a skills development programme for Africans was partly realised during Dr Augsburger's tenure. But medicine still did not appeal to the Swiss Clergy as a career in which Africans could make an impression. Even nursing was seen as an experiment which would be discontinued should the "heads of the Natives" not prove amenable to its scientific and mathematical demands (Egli & Krayner 1996:28).

Dr F Augsburger was described by Marivate and Tlakula (1931:2) as a kind-hearted man who was well-disposed towards Africans together with his nurse aides, Miss Marthe Arm and her colleagues. The Swiss nurses like their medical counterparts were seen as benefactors who were determined to train African girls to become indispensable assets within their communities, for example, helping women during the delivery of their babies, guiding them on child care and nutrition and how to combat littering, witchcraft and infant mortality. The first African nurses arrived at Elim Hospital in 1932. The following year saw Dr F Augsburger leaving Elim Hospital's superintendency (Egli & Krayner 1996:28).

#### 4.7.2.5 Dr Jean-Alfred Rosset's superintendency (1933-1964)

Dr JA Rosset was born of missionary parents on 21 September 1905 in the then Northern Transvaal. He was the son of the Rev Paul Rosset, who was sent to establish a mission outpost at 'Crooks Corner', Land of the Makulekes, where the boundaries of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa converge. The outpost was destined to serve as a place of refuge for the Christian converts should the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) implement the Plakkerswet (Squatter Act) intended to reduce the number of families on each white farm of five. This obnoxious law passed in 1887 was a source of concern because it threatened to undo whatever the Swiss clerics had achieved among the Shangaans since they inaugurated their enterprises in the mid 1870s. The Rev Paul Rosset left for Crooks Corner and the Hlengwe territory across the Limpopo River in the 1890s accompanied by a number of helpers. Mr Mahlekete Mbenyane followed him in 1896 (Bourcart 1973:14-15; Jaques 1998:1; Masumbe 2000:141).

Dr JA Rosset and his medical wife turned Elim Hospital from a primitive under-resourced hospital into a modern hospital with sound administrative structures, several buildings and a sophisticated ophthalmology division. Eye disease that was blamed on the works of malevolent forces among Africans was cured through medical research carried out by Dr Odette Bedez-Rosset. The reputation of Elim Hospital grew apace through the surgical exploits of the Rossets. Their vision was such that they grasped what could be accomplished and what could not. Planning, executive abilities and the respect they commanded from colleagues made Elim Hospital famous throughout the country and beyond. The nursing training programmes benefited tremendously from Dr JA Rosset's vast skills in the curative services (Egli & Krayner 1996:28; Cuendet 1950:13).

Dr JA Rosset assumed duties in June 1933 and by July the same year he was helping with the theory of nursing at the Elim Nursing College. Upon his retirement in 1964, the late HS Phillips, Esq, Chairman of the Elim Hospital Advisory Board, had the following to say: "He may not have been a missionary in the accepted sense of the word, but there is no doubt that his work has been Mission work, not only in healing, but in planning and executing a work, that benefits the native, and enhances the reputation and standing of the Swiss Mission" (Phillips 1965).

#### 4.7.2.6 Dr Pierre Jaques' superintendency (1965-1993)

Dr PH Jaques assumed the superintendency of Elim Hospital four years after South Africa had declared herself a republic. This was after Dr HF Verwoerd who was the Prime Minister at the time had withdrawn the country from the British Commonwealth so that he could pursue his racist agenda untrammelled by British interference. South Africa became an independent republic on 13 May 1961 (Bernes-Lasserre 2001:15). Dr PH Jaques (1998:1) described the post-Rosset era as "the difficult years in the hospital's history". His contextualisation of what he meant by the difficult years in the hospital's history runs as follows" The Swiss Mission (Department Missionaire) embarked on a policy of disengagement from its local church, the Tsonga Presbyterian Church. This was ostensibly to force autonomy on the daughter Church and to encourage the development of self-reliance and responsibility. However, despite strenuous denials that these were sanctions against South Africa, the effects were the same. Candidates from Switzerland wanting to work at Elim were being actively discouraged and rerouted elsewhere. This together with the bad press in Europe meant that there had previously been a waiting list of doctors, suddenly the medical staff had dwindled to two doctors. Dr Jean-Blaise Jaccard and myself, for a hospital of 600 beds and controlling many district clinics (dispensaries)" (Jaques 1998).

But closer scrutiny of the Swiss clergy's action reveals consistency with the decisions made during the pioneering years, namely, to develop Africans to a level where they could manage their own affairs. In other words, the Swiss clerics were, according to their utterances, not destined to stay in South Africa permanently. They were just here on a civilising/Christianising mission whose fruition would mean the termination of their tenure to this country. But what was a source of worry was that their skills development programmes did not include the training of Africans as medical practitioners for the better part of their stay in this country. It is this scare field which would have enabled the indigenous populace to truly manage their own affairs. How would Christianity flourish if the bulk of the African population still believed in superstition? Knowledge of medicine would have empowered the leadership of the Tsonga Presbyterian Church to reduce the superstitious notions still embedded in the minds of some Africans (Masumbe 2000:266).

But Dr JA Rosset and his successor, Dr PH Jaques should be commended for the training of a number of African nurses as well as phasing in a number of educational programs for the general workers/labourers and long-term in-patients. These acquired literacy and some industrial skills such as mat-weaving, shoemaking, glove-knitting and gardening. Empowered with these vital skills, the individuals could look forward to a life of self-reliance and self-sufficiency in terms of material needs. Thriving on hand outs particularly when one is disabled can be frustrating. Good work was also done for children who were destined to stay for long spells at the Isolation Block by running a school that was registered with the Department of Bantu Education. These children did not miss their schooling when hospitalised (Rosset 1959:8, Jaques 1967:6).

The Swiss missionaries did not grasp the opportunity of training of African doctors due to the politics of the colonial/missionary era which tended to endorse the belief that God has gifted humans differently. This belief detracted from the work of the Swiss clergy. Christianity in the days of Christ appeared to be grounded on egalitarianism. This implies that humans were regarded as equal before God. How the clergy came to believe in the unequal distribution of intellectual gifts by God at the time of creation is beyond the comprehension of the researcher (Egli & Krayner 1996:17-18).

But it would be incorrect to suggest that the Swiss missionaries never made amends regarding their earlier attitude regarding the training of Africans as medical doctors. If the Swiss clerics failed to encourage Africans to pursue medicine as a profession prior 1960, the picture had dramatically changed towards the close of the 1960s. Two years after Dr PH Jaques had assumed office as the Medical Superintendent of Elim Hospital, he followed the route suggested by Dr MJA des Ligneris during his superintendency at Elim Hospital in the 1920s to encourage Africans to pursue medical studies (Egli & Krayner 1996:19). Dr PH Jaques and some stakeholders within the Swiss Mission in South Africa came up with the idea of sponsoring students interested in medicine as a career. This was probably precipitated by the reluctance of the Department Missionaire (DM) to send expatriate medical doctors to serve at the Swiss Mission hospitals (Jaques 1998:1-3).

It should be noted that proselytes educated at some other mission schools had long ventured into medicine even before the 1950s. For instance, Mary Susan Malahlele, a Mopedi woman from the Pietersburg district successfully completed her MB ChB at the University of the

Witwatersrand in 1947. This made her the first ever African woman to achieve this feat in this country. But the Swiss missionaries continued to have serious reservations about the feasibility of Africans qualifying as medical doctors. In his response to a questionnaire distributed by the researcher during his Med studies in April 1999, Dr CD Marivate had the following to say about the Swiss clerics regarding exposure of Africans to the medical profession: **“The profession was regarded to be beyond the reach of black people”**. But by way of an addendum, Dr Marivate had the following to say: “... when by chance a medical career offered itself, I left teaching (which I liked very much) and embarked on a medical course”. Two of his younger brothers emulated him thus effectively breaking the family tradition of pursuing teaching which was, in his view, the commonest career to follow then.

As for the pioneering exploits of Dr MS Malahlele (The Star 1947), featured as article and a photo) of her on the day she took the Hippocratic Oath as a medical doctor and also divulged that she was due to graduate in August 1947. Thereafter, she was stationed at the McCord Mission Hospital, Durban as a house doctor and upon the completion of her term was based in Pretoria. Dr Malahlele, daughter of Mr and Mrs TC Malahlele of Roodepoort, was from a family that was hounded from the Pietersburg district by superstitious villagers. Her grandparents were at one stage whipped for accepting Christianity and refusing to “obey the tribal custom of putting to death ... newly born twin children” (The Star 1999:17).

Developments in other mission fields or areas had an impact on the trends within the Swiss mission fields in one way or the other. Dr CD Marivate’s shift from the teaching field to medicine in 1952 must have been precipitated by the realisation that the ‘head of the Native’ was capable of achieving the very things European were capable of (N’wandula 1987:90). What was happening elsewhere in the country could equally have led to the establishment of the Medical Sub-Committee at Elim Hospital in 1967 which was and is still chaired by Dr CD Marivate himself (Marivate 2002.).

In the notes prepared after the interview as a venture to satisfy the needs of the researcher and the Elim Hospital task team charged with the responsibility of documenting the history of Elim Hospital from its inception in 1899 to the period of the Centenary Celebrations held in 1999, Dr Marivate has the following to say about the utility value of the Medical Sub-Committee: Swiss Mission in South Africa/Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa: “The main function of the Sub-Committee was to award small bursaries to students who were studying to become

medical doctors. After qualifying, these doctors were required to serve for a few years in one of the Swiss Mission hospitals. At that time there was a great shortage of doctors in our hospitals". The bulk of the Medical-Sub-Committee's funding came from the Department Missionaire (DM), Lausanne, Switzerland as well as the Leave and Loan funds of the three Swiss Mission hospitals, namely, Elim, Shiluvane (formerly Douglas Smit) and Masana (now Mapulaneng) hospitals respectively. Marivate defines the Leave and Loan funds as "monies collected from the salaries of the staff that came from Switzerland who were working at these hospitals" (Marivate 2002).

Initially the medical Sub-Committee awarded small bursaries it could afford to students without any discrimination. But as the years passed and the Church progressively became the defunct Gazankulu bantustan's official church, bursaries were granted to those students who were members of the Swiss Mission in South Africa/Presbyterian Church in South Africa. But the students seemingly had a hand in changing the Medical Sub-Committee's administration of the funds as they were ill-prepared to honour their bursary obligations upon the completion of their medical studies. Although the Medical Sub-Committee could only sponsor students for R150 to R500, it did not deserve to be snubbed by the students as these monies were defined as strictly meant for sundry expenses.

Although Dr CD Marivate did not divulge the circumstances that led to students not honouring their contractual obligations, Dr PH Jaques the Medical Superintendent of Elim Hospital during this period, gives us a clue when he says: "The African South Africans who were beginning to graduate from university had so many avenues open to them that very few offered their services to rural hospitals ... More and more work was thrown on nurses who had to perform many tasks normally done by doctors" (Jaques 1998:2).

But the Swiss Mission in South Africa (Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa) can pride itself with having aided the medical students with small bursaries albeit belatedly. The Swiss clerics had learnt a lot from the politics of Social Darwinism which backfired on them by resulting in the chronic shortage of medical personnel in their own hospitals. Doctors who received small bursaries coming from the Medical Sub-Committee included the following: O Shimange, DV Zitha, G Maholoane, SF Ndhambi, MW Shilumane, LL Latakomo, N Shipalana, ZB Hlungawne, MS Akoo, B Govender, JM Muhlari, SM Risenga and LJ Rikhotso (Marivate Undated:1). Mr JHM Khosa who served at Elim Hospital and the ex-Gazankulu

Government's Department of Health and Welfare, Giyani, as a social worker and has upon his retirement lectured at the University of the North near Polokwane (formerly Pietersburg), recalls the names of more than thirty five of medical students who were beneficiaries of Swiss Mission funding. Space does not permit the inclusion of these details from the man who has also been a beneficiary of Swiss Mission education at Lemana and now a keen pursuer of Swiss Mission historiography. Readers should be content with the fact that the Swiss clerics made good of their early mistakes to help blacks realise their dreams of becoming medical doctors (Masumbe Interview: 28 July 2002).

The researcher contents that social transformation is dependent on sound health brought about by medical doctors and nurses who literally serve without borders. Social transformation in the context in which the concept is employed in this study is the interaction between the proselytisers and the proselytes that is directed at making the latter productive in their own right. The Swiss' proselytising efforts were aimed at producing a leadership corps who would take over the reins from them. Social transformation is inherently ingrained in man. It is a lifelong process that was there in the days of our forebears and has sustained itself to the present and will remain embedded in the minds of future generations. It manifests itself as a mixture or interplay of social forces aggregated as socio-economic and political factors. The Christian religion has not been free from the impact of the above social forces. Any claim to the contrary is but self-delusion. But Christ was for the service of all mankind and the sole means to everlasting life.

## **4.8 OTHER SWISS MISSION HOSPITALS IN AFRICA: AN EMPOWERMENT ACTIVITY TO ENSURE SELF-RELIANCE AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY**

### **4.8.1 Introduction**

It remained the desire of the Swiss doctors to bring medicine and primary health care closer to the people. This explains why any mission station had a school, church, a dispensary or clinic. Although it was not possible for the Swiss Mission to build a hospital at every mission station, proselytes were not short of medical facilities as even missionary residences had medicines for minor ailments. Swiss missionaries planned their enterprises in such a way that Africans who came their way would get the help that would ultimately encourage them to accept the Lord Jesus Christ as their saviour. Dispensaries and clinics at Masana and Shiluvane later developed

into fully-fledged hospitals in 1944 respectively (Gelfand 1984:231). The researcher will now report on these two hospitals starting with the Shiluvane Hospital.

#### **4.8.2 Shiluvane Hospital (1944)**

The development of the Shiluvane clinic into a hospital was made possible by the injection of funds into the building project in 1943 by the native Affairs Department (NAD). Dr JAE Beugger, an orderly who later became the first Superintendent of Masana Hospital used the funds for the construction of the hospital. The hospital originated from the clinical services that started with the implantation of evangelism in 1886. It promised great prospects albeit in a rudimentary form in the 1920s and 1930s. But the problem of finance delayed its emergence in the form of a sizeable building that would accommodate the patient population. The researcher divulges this because archival data describe the Nkunas and the Maakes as having been introduced to Western medicine as early as 1886. Ten years later a missionary doctor by the name of Georges Louis Liengme had arrived at Shiluvane relieving the caretaker missionaries of this specialised task (Rinono 1956:1). Shiluvane Hospital was set up to minister to the needs of both the Nkunas and the Maakes (Bakgaga) whose chiefs, Muhlaba and Speke, were inseparable friends. When Muhlaba Shiluvane welcomed the Swiss clerics in 1986, he urges Speke Maake to follow suit (Gelfand 1984:231).

Matron E Leeman first served as the caretaker Medical Officer when the clinic started developing to the status of mission hospital. That a nurse should serve as a superintendent indicates the humble beginnings of mission hospitals in time perspective. In 1949 Dr Frank Paillard became the Medical Superintendent of the institution. The need to improve primary health care in the Tzaneen district gained momentum as more and more Africans became enlightened at the mission schools.

To cater for this growing need the Shiluvane Nursing College was started in 1950. African girls were regarded as role models who had the potential to induce their people to abandon heathenism/paganism. Africans had to forego the practice of using elderly women as midwives. The high rate of infant mortalities was ascribed the non-professional status of traditional midwives although the population of Africa had grown to what it was then courtesy of their efforts. African nurses at Shiluvane Hospital were trained for the Transvaal Provincial Nursing

Diploma examinations. The school secured registration with the South African Nursing Council (SANC) in 1962 (Gelfand 1984:231).

#### **4.8.3 Medical and nursing services at Shiluvane Hospital: A mission that defied ethnic/tribal boundaries imposed by colonial administrations**

Missionary enterprises were organised according to ethnic/tribal affiliations allegedly to avoid denominational rivalries. But though the problem of denominational rivalry cannot be dismissed, clerics appeared to promote ethnic nationalism for its viability for the success of imperialist ambitions. Missions themselves frequently astounded rivalries. Indeed some conservative African perceived European missionaries as hypocrites, a charge that can hardly be denied considered that the white clerics were serving the same Lord and yet often quarrelled over proselytes.

Swiss missionaries had their own rivals in the Lutherans who were also evangelists in the same district. The latter's grievance was that the Swiss had no right to extend their influence over the Bapedi/North Sothos of which the Maakes were an integral element. But of paramount importance is the way the Swiss missionaries' proselytising efforts were regarded by the communities in the district. There is no better appraisal than that presented by Staff Nurses Violette Mawila and Charlotte Mtebule (1956:2) who had the following to say: "There are three things the Nkuna and the Bakgagas need to thank the Swiss missionaries and God for. Firstly, evangelism, secondly, education, and thirdly, the enormous work that the clerks have done for the benefit of these communities which continue to be of great value in eradicating paganism and witchcraft in this country, this task is none other than the provision of medical and primary health care" (My own translation from Xitsonga).

Mrs C Mtebule, the wife of Mr DZJ Mtebule, ex-Principal of Bankuna High School, Nkowankowa Township, near Tzaneen was the Matron of Shiluvane Hospital in the mid 1970s. She later served as one of the senior officials responsible for primary health care in the defunct Gazankulu homeland government's Health and Welfare Department. Mawila and Mtebule were not the only ones to appreciate the services of the Swiss clerics. For instance, Mrs I Maphophe (1956:2), wife of the late Jonas Maphophe, who served at Shiluvane, Maake, N'wamitwa and the Masana-Bushbuckridge area in the early days of the Swiss Mission, was also full of praise for the Swiss clerics. She commended the efforts of Dr Georges Liengme who supplied

medicines to the sick and helped in other spheres as well. Rinono (1956:1) recalled how Dr GL Liengme and the Rev Eugene Thomas travelled to Rimbelule (Olifants River) farming areas to fetch maize to save the lives of people during *Ndlala ya Machona* (Famine of Machona) which occurred within the period 1896-1897. The researcher cannot explain why this famine was given this appellation. But archival records assessable to him suggest that this famine wreaked terrible havoc in Mashonaland within the same period forcing the Rev Paul Rosset of the Swiss Mission in South Africa to retreat to Elim from Dzombyeni area in the present day Zimbabwe. The drought ravaged with the devastating effect, killing people, crops and cattle. Rosset was also struck by illness necessitating time to recuperate (Jaques 1998:1).

These difficult years (1896-1897) form an integral part of Shangaan oral history and the information pertaining to the period was communicated from one generation to another. In this context the years serve as benchmarks for the achievements of the Swiss missionaries. It should be mentioned here that famines tended to motivate heathens to become attentive to the Gospel. During famines sermons were well attended as people were assured of a meal after missionaries had finished their day's work. Such occasions were also a test of the missionaries' generosity as professed during the lobbying for the establishment of foreign missions. There is a good reason to believe that the charitable deeds of the Swiss clerics at Shiluvane attracted people to enlightenment as the monumental examples attest to this day.

#### **4.8.4 Staffing at Shiluvane Hospital**

Medical missions were plagued by a grave shortage of medical doctors and nurses. Thus the difficult years of which Dr PH Jaques spoke in relation to Elim Hospital were also to be experienced at Shiluvane Hospital. Mention has already been made of Sister Leeman's placement as the caretaker medical superintendent to underline this chronic shortage of hospital workers (Jaques 1998:2).

According to Mawila and Mtebule (1956:2) Dr F Paillard and Sister E Leemann were assisted by Sisters Van Dycken and Keller in tending the sick while Miss V Hug served as housekeeper and dietician. She was ably assisted by Miss J Corbaz in the execution of her daily tasks. Miss Corbaz also assisted her senior in managing the Wayfarers (Girl Scouts) and the Sunbeams (junior Girl Scouts). Despite the serious workload, the church-workers succeeded in their duties. The late Mr HE Ntsan'wisi, the uncle of the late Prof HWE Ntsan'wisi who later became the

Chief Minister of the defunct Gazankulu Bantustan, had the following to say about the sterling services of the Swiss missionaries at Shiluvane: “Missionaries combined their knowledge of Scriptures with medical expertise, but the arrival of Dr Liengme helped to lighten up the work because those who came for consultations were taught the gospel of Jesus Christ, the greatest healer. Prayers preceded medical treatment” (Ntans’wisi 1956:2) (My own translation from Xitsonga).

#### **4.8.5 Social activities aimed at inculcating Christian norms and values in children**

Christianity was and still is incompatible with traditional customs. Africans had to unlearn traditional customs to enter the Europeans’ traditions with their complex and peculiar value systems. Emulation of Europeans’ lifestyles, for example, the squared houses in which they lived, eating habits, religion, attire and dislike of anything that had to do with traditionalism was the norm, if not the rules, Christian converts had to epitomise (Myakayaka 1956:2). Ntsan’wisi (1956:2) encapsulates what the youths were expected to do when day breaks as follows: “Boys and girls learn hymnal songs as well as songs for games on Sunday afternoons, they only disperse when girls leave to go and prepare supper. Harmonious relations existed; but like the old adage goes: “Cattle fight each other in the kraal”.

Youths had to develop within themselves the principles of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Industriousness was compatible with Christianity while indolence was not. This point was well covered by Mr Lanyand Azael Myakayaka (Lemana College Magazine 1909:7) when he alluded to how he spent summer holidays working at the Rev Aristide Eberhardt’s house to earn money for his studies in the company of two of his college-mates. They had to paint the Rev Eberhardt’s new house earning one shilling a day to buy clothes and other necessities.

### **4.9 MASANA HOSPITAL AND ITS ROLE IN THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS**

#### **4.9.1 Introduction**

Like the other hospitals owned by the Swiss Missionary Society (1874), this medical institution started as a small clinic when the Rev Dr AA Jaques commenced the Masana parish in 1934 after exploring the Graskop area in 1933. The aim of starting missionary activities in the area was to evangelise the communities labouring in the small mining town of Pilgrims Rest.

Between September 1934 and August 1935 the clinic had developed to a point where 1 201 patients had received medical help. Five of them were inpatients. Inpatients recommended the white clinics to their own people. As would be expected, tales coming from those who visited the clinic testified of generosity and charity and this helped inflate the number of Africans flocking to the clinic for consultations. The Rev Max Buchler (1950:25) who served at Masana as a resident missionary overheard a patient saying: "I am now a Christian, because a few months ago I was brought to the Swiss Mission Hospital in a rather desperate state. I had tried all the famous witch-doctors, my cattle had gone by then' finally I asked '*Moneri*' (the White missionary) to come and fetch me. A Black man came with a car (ambulance), a Black doctor (the Staff Nurse) examined me, and then they brought me to hospital. Nobody swore at me, although I was a real bad one. I did not want the Native nurses to pray with me, so they prayed for me; I did not want to be present at prayers, so they sang a bit louder, and I could not help hearing them ... I called them in, and they spoke very gently to me, explained a lot of new things to me. It was all nice but very new, I asked for more and I got it. Now I am well again. I stay with my family quite alone down here, but I am a child of God ... through their love, they showed me that God also loved me".

#### **4.9.2 Staffing at Masana Hospital**

The foregoing excerpts should serve as a pointer to the influx that followed African's realisation that hospital workers were very kind and generous people who were accepting of all, in spite of one's filthiness. Such generosity and kind-heartedness led to the consistent rise of patients and as in the case of the two sister hospitals, Masana started experiencing a chronic shortage of medical and nursing personnel to attend to patients. At this inception of Masana parish, the Rev Dr AA Jaques was assisted by Miss Aline Bory. The clinic was a small hut founded with money donated by sympathetic farmers and probably a small grant from the Swiss Mission in South Africa. Sister J Cavin was the only professional nurse who doubled up as 'Medical Officer'. In her latter role she had to visit different parts of the Pilgrims Rest district encouraging people to embrace Christianity, abandon traditional customs and turn to Western medicine. Dr Jan Wassenaar, the district Surgeon, paid monthly visits to the clinic. This made the medical facility popular. He was subsequently replaced by Dr Peter Spaarwater who held the same rank (Gelfand 1984:231).

#### 4.9.3 Physical resources at Masana Hospital

The increase in the number of patients was all that the missionaries desired in their service to the Master. This increase necessitated the construction of more buildings at the hospital. The Native Affairs Department (NAD), friends of the Swiss Mission, Swiss Mission Board – Switzerland, Swiss firms operating in South Africa at the time, Voluntary Deferred Pay Interest Fund of the Native Recruitment Corporation, Governor-General's National War Fund, Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), Department of Public Health and church bodies based in Germany donated monies for the construction of additional buildings (Gelfand 1984:232-234).

On the spiritual side, the Rev Max Buchler replaced Rev Dr AA Jaques as the resident missionary at Masana in 1936 and remained there until 1948. The first resident missionary doctor was Dr JAE Beugger who assumed duties on 15 January 1952. Dr Beugger, supported by his wife, proved to be a very diligent man who was destined to change the fortunes of the hospital. Through his fundraising campaigns which took him overseas, for example to Germany, the hospital secured substantial donations which ensured the construction of several buildings. With such an infrastructure, Masana Hospital could only grow from strength to strength. It learnt much from the experience of the Sister institution, Elim Hospital (1899). Thus, Masana Hospital was declared a training centre for African nurses and subsequently registered with the South African Nursing Council (SANC) in 1963. The following year it was granted authority to train midwives (Gelfand 1984:232-234).

The missionaries devised plans to attract Africans to the hospital when they were indisposed by allowing them to pay consultation fees in kind. Almost anything within the food category was acceptable – fowls, pumpkins, watermelons, peanuts or whatever was indispensable for the patient population that had to be cared for by the missionary doctors and nurses (Gelfand 1984:231-232). For effective delivery of the medical and nursing services, Masana Hospital maintained special ties with Elim and Shiluvane Hospital respectively. It was not uncommon for nurses and doctors to be serving at this hospital, only to be found at the next hospital during the ensuing years. Elim Hospital remained the main centre at which expatriate nurses and doctors arrived before they could be deployed at the other two Swiss Mission hospitals within South Africa. The missionary doctors and nurses were orientated around the cultural practices and language spoken by the Shangaan/Tsonga people so that they should not experience problems in their daily duties in their respective spheres of operation (Egli & Krayner 1996:32-49).

Sisters Solagne de Meuron, Violette Rosset, Germain Erb and Claude Donze first served at Elim Hospital. Claude Donze even joined the Elim-Valdezia travel party that went to Ngove village to inaugurate a church and school there in 1953. While these nurses were still based at Elim Hospital, they were stunned by the discriminatory practices, such as, serving in the exclusively white, African and Indian wards of the hospital. A conflict development between them and their superiors over what was obviously a deviation from the norm Jesus Christ would expect of those claiming to be His disciples (Egli & Krayner 1996:32-49).

#### **4.10 HOSPITAL RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR AFRICAN NURSES IN TRAINING AT ELIM HOSPITAL**

##### **4.10.1 Introduction**

Nursing is an essential service based on ethics and ethos. It is on the same plane with medicine as in both cases the lives of people are at stake. Any mistake might lead to fatal consequences. But the rules and regulations that were applicable at Elim Nursing College during the missionary era appeared to erode whatever rights the nurse trainee ought to have enjoyed with the Christian world as represented by the mission setting. The researcher is of the opinion that the rules and regulations were so stringent because African were, in the past, regarded as intractable if paternalism was relaxed. The rules and regulations enforced at Elim Hospital might have been applied at Masana and Shiluvane Hospital respectively. But each hospital could have adjusted the rules and regulations to suit its unique conditions. Strict paternalism and the prevention of any correspondence between boys and girls were the norms to be observed by nurse probationers for the almost verbatim reproduction of the rules and regulations applicable to the nurse trainees at Elim Hospital Nursing College.

##### **a. Hospital rules**

1. The school expects every nurse to be respectful to the staff, kind to her patients, reliable, obedient and punctual.
2. Duty starts at 6 am start on weekdays and at 6.30 on Sundays.
3. No articles of jewellery, beads, wrist watches, etc. are to be worn with the uniform.

**b. Home Rules**

1. Breakfast at 7 am on weekdays: 7.30 on Sundays.
2. Nurses are to be in Chapel at 7.15 am.
3. Permission is to be asked from the Matron whenever a nurse wishes to leave the hospital premises.
4. When going off in uniform, the complete uniform with cap is to be worn.
5. English must be spoken in the wards and in the school and it is in the interest of the nurses that English be spoken at all times.
6. All nurses must be in their room at 10 pm and lights must be out at 10.30 pm.
7. Inspections will be made any time.
8. Male visitors are not allowed in the nurses' quarters at any time, or on hospital premises after 8 pm.
9. No nurse will be called to the phone, but messages will be taken.
10. The regulations will be enforced and any breach will be punished (Egli & Krayner 1996:66-67).

The rules and regulations enforced at Elim Nursing College had some similarities with those at Lemana Training Institution. Indications are that most rules and regulations were products of interdenominationalism. It needs to be mentioned that missions cooperated at local, provincial, national and international level for the glorification of He who was crucified on the mount so that all who believe in Him should be saved and enjoy everlasting life. Perhaps this is the sort of spirit that should prevail in the modern world. Missions also had administrative machineries/systems that operated like civil governments with various departments that operated in the same fashion as secular governments/administrations. For this reason the Swiss clergy at times spoke of the Church government meaning the church administration. Even in this research project, church government must be understood in context as synonymous with church administration.

#### **4.10.2 The relationship between the Swiss Mission Hospitals and the State**

All missions endeavoured to have sound relations with the State for without government funding it was onerous to battle against diseases. The State also valued the services of missions after its initial aversion to lend support to the educational initiatives of the various mission

societies that encouraged Africans to make the most of Western education. Mission education had the capacity to produce African collaborators who could blunt African resistance to white authority. The colonial administrators funded native education on these grounds. For instance Dr Daniel Francois Malan, the Premier of the Union of South Africa, had the following words to say on the occasion of the Swiss Mission Jubilee to celebrate the Church's 75 years of evangelism in this country: "It is with a sincere feeling of gratitude and admiration that I am sending you this message of congratulations on the occasion of your Jubilee ... I also do so because in my official capacity as a former Minister of Health I had the opportunity of acquainting myself with the great work done by the Swiss Mission in Northern Transvaal, especially through its hospitals and in general its care of the sick. Besides the above, as I need hardly add, there naturally exists a feeling of affinity and friendship between the Mission of the Reformed Church of Switzerland and that large section of the South African people confessing the same religious faith. They all will join with me in wishing the Swiss Mission God's blessing and all prosperity in the future" (Malan 1950:4).

Both the Afrikaners and the Swiss clerics subscribed to Calvinism. This explains why the Swiss clerics were not entirely opposed to the Bantu Education Act (1953) which was introduced by the late Dr HF Verwoerd to streamline Native education along the indigenous populace's capabilities. Readers need to avail themselves of the Swiss clerics' reactions to the WWM Eiselen Commission (1949) to understand how the Swiss missionaries felt about the differentiated system of education which they were enforcing within their mission fields prior the Nationalists' election victory and formation of a republican-minded government in 1948. The takeover of mission schools by the Apartheid regime in 1955 was also not opposed for as long as Christian education found expression in the teaching-learning situation (Swiss Mission 1949; 1954).

#### **4.10.3 The transition from the medical missions to the State - run public health systems:**

##### **4.10.3.1 Introduction**

Missionary bodies were desirous of State run medical and nursing services as that was the norm in civilised countries. Their involvement in these spheres was viewed as temporary. But the State's *laissez-fair* policies made missionaries so accustomed to their missionary roles as *medicos* that only government subsidies were most welcomed vis-à-vis the relinquishing of

medical and nursing roles. This was hardly surprising as the Lord Himself was the greatest healer during His tenure on earth. Albert Schweitzer quoted by Cuendet (1951a:1) described the roles that Europeans had to play in the civilisation of natives as: "The task of the white man is to make good and worthy people of the Natives, people able to meet as well as possible the exacting conditions in which they have lived since they have been in contact with the outer world – and even to shape these conditions".

#### **4.10.3.2 The Government's conception of mission control of mission hospitals**

The Nationalist Government's view of the medical missions in South Africa was initially supportive and encouraging. This is discernible from the late Dr DF Malan's letter forwarded to the Swiss Mission at the time of the Jubilee in 1950. But the Nationalist Government had serious misgivings about missions' continued dominance of the provision of medicine and primary health care to the indigenous populace. As was the case with formal education, the Nationalist Government felt that clerics would continue to treat natives as though they were whites thus elevating them to a position where they would aspire for the opportunities open to the Europeans. Accordingly, State control of the mission hospitals ensured that the indigenous populace was developed in line with their mental acuties so that they could fit into secular worlds divinely designed for them. Missions had divergent views about the nationalisation of hospitals and it was only to be expected that their reactions would differ. Some would hate being made the employees of the State as that would mean being proxy to be the apartheid system. Those who held this view preferred resigning as missionary doctors to avoid becoming appendages of the State and its policies. But they would continue their proselytising roles in their inalienable duty of teaching the gospel to the indigenous people. Some would prefer to serve under the State which had the necessary capital to run hospitals more efficiently and effectively than missions. The prospect of a better pay and pension might have had an impact in arriving at this decision. These medicos also were aware that their placement on the States' payroll would not impact negatively on their evangelistic roles over their proselytes. Social debate on the proposed takeover of the mission hospitals raged on but as Laurence (1975:20) correctly noted "he who pays the piper calls the tune", cf Adendorff 1975:6).

It is significant to note that the Government entered the negotiations having already made up its mind as to what would become of the mission hospitals and no amount of persuasion by the clerics would change its stance. Even the protestations made by missions regarding the

nationalisation of their schools in 1955 ended in their disfavour. Dr PH Jaques and his colleagues of the Swiss Mission appeared to favour the State takeover of the mission hospitals under the proviso that the Church was not forced to abandon the Tsonga/Shangaan people whom it had evangelised and civilised since the mid 1870s. The feeling was that mission doctors had to continue doing the work that was traditionally linked to evangelism. State intervention in the administration and funding of the hospitals would reduce the distractions that were hitherto experienced by the mission doctors in the execution of their specialised professions. The new developments would probably allow for research and development without which no real social transformation can be countenanced. If life expectancy had to be increased, and infant mortality curbed, the State had to step in and use its capital to build the infrastructure and embark on skills development programs. Dr Paul Robert, the then Superintendent of the Swiss Mission hospital of Masana, which the Central Government intended to hand over to the Lebowa bantustan was in principle not opposed to the nationalisation of the mission hospitals albeit he was very much uncomfortable with the separatist policies. His view was that there was a great need for the creation of unity between black and white so that jointly the two races could promote the socio-economic and political development of the country (Egli & Krayner 1996:101).

Dr Paul Robert wanted to see hospitals performing Christian charity and reconciliation so that the segregation that cause social deprivation in the bantustan/homelands could be finally overcome. Egli and Krayner (1996:96-97) provide a quotation by Dr Roberts which succinctly captures his views: "With the continuous expansion of the hospital and its growing influence in the district, our Christian medical Mission is faced with the challenge of either to renovate its outlook or to become irrelevant to the needs of the people it is called to assist. As Christians, we cannot stop short of taking the whole situation of our patients seriously, seeing their illness in relation to their social and economic conditions. The story of the good Samaritan is a good example of how we should act. Today it is not enough to give acute assistance to the one in distress but also necessary to make the road between Jerusalem and Jericho safe for travellers. It seems to me that the introduction of the Comprehensive Health Scheme opens new doors, offers new possibilities. It is my hope that the various churches at work in our area will join forces in front of that tremendous challenge and together become a healing force in a diseased world".

But the unity for which Dr Paul Robert was calling was scuppered by the takeover of the mission hospitals by the Central Government on 1 October 1976. This takeover of the mission hospitals and their subsequent bantustanisation soon made the homeland governments of

Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda oblivious of the pact they had signed earlier, which promised mutual existence. Nurses and doctors who found themselves working in what was deemed to be a foreign land were either harassed or reminded of the nationality they had to serve. This was a serious violation of the agreement signed on the eve of the nationalisation of the mission hospitals to the effect that hospital personnel who found themselves serving on the wrong side of their national borders would be allowed to stay on as though nothing had occurred. What was even more intriguing was that the clergy appeared to go along with these social divisions. They even went to the extent of sponsoring the renaming of the churches after the nations they were serving. Thus the Swiss Mission in South Africa transformed itself into the Tsonga Presbyterian Church (TPC). It is for this and other reasons that the fierce critics of the missionary enterprises saw them as no different from the imperialism of the colonisers and colonists/colonialists. Both the Swiss missionaries and the imperialists believed in differentiated policies although Jesus Christ Himself was anti-racist as far as the researcher's interpretation of His teaching (Guye 1976:101, Egli & Kraye 1996:93-105, cf Harries 1986:59-69).

#### **4.11 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

This chapter dealt with the importance of the hospital services in the social transformation of the indigenous populace during the colonial/missionary era. The Swiss clerics like their brethren spread over the other denominations, saw the interwovenness between schools, hospitals and churches as indispensable in the furtherance of the Kingdom of God. In their view, the preachings of the Switzerlanders who had volunteered to come and work amongst the Shangaans/Tsongas would fail if their clientele were not freed from the clutches of superstition and the quack-doctors (witch-doctors/traditional healers).

Besides this, the Swiss missionaries were aware that children could only learn optimally if they enjoyed a clean bill of health. This meant that African children had to be constantly checked by health personnel to avoid a situation where they would be plagued by preventable diseases. No teacher would be awarded a teacher's diploma without having passed hygiene and industrial courses. Knowledge of hygiene enabled teachers to combat superstition by explaining the etiology of diseases to the children. Industrial courses like agriculture enabled them to educate learners/students on how to produce food for household consumption. This ensured that Africans attained the self-reliance and self-sufficiency that reduced dependence on hand-outs. Missionaries believed that most of the diseases that were causing a poor life expectancy were

attributable to Africans' poor health systems. Education and the observance of hygiene were the keys to a better life. The State had lofty aims for the hospital services as was the case with mission schools. The nationalisation of mission hospitals in South Africa was calculated to tie up with the State's policy of Separate Development or Apartheid.

The takeover of the defunct mission hospitals by the Central Government ensured the continued bantustanisation of missionary enterprises. Ethnic nationalism that was fostered by clerics of different denominations since the nineteenth century continued to thrive in the former reserves. But this time, the policy of indirect rule which was systematically developed since the encounter between black and white along the Cape Coast in 1652 took a new turn. Archival records gleaned by the researcher reveal that 1 October 1976 was to mark the transition to black administration of the medical enterprises. But since the missions (the Swiss Mission in the context of this research) did not groom the indigenous populace for managing these essential services, the status quo still reigned within the erstwhile Swiss Mission fields. The defunct Gazankulu homeland government allowed the Swiss benefactors to remain in charge of the curative services as well as administrative clerks. But in all homelands, appointed to posts appeared to follow the following pattern: ethnic nationalism, religious affiliation and the church to which the applicant belonged (Harries 1986:59,69; Egli & Krayner 1996:95-97).

Thus, instead of churches cooperating in their management of social transformation as Dr Paul Robert had suggested, they became even more polarised than hitherto, as everybody including the chief ministers (prime ministers) of the self-governing and so-called independent states increased their political mileage by either claiming this or that piece of land or hospital. Matron Gabrielle Guye (1976:15) of Elim Hospital captured the socio-economic and political scenarios of the period reviewed strikingly when she said: "Sister Malulyck is still with us despite frequent threats by the Lebowa Government authorities to recall her. We also thank her for her untiring willingness to teach, advise, and visit our clinics, to say nothing of all the committee meetings she is asked to attend".

Mrs Jane Malulyck had been seconded to Elim Hospital by the Regional Director for the Northern Region, Pietersburg (Polokwane) to streamline Community Health Nursing at Elim and environs. The apparent tug of war between the defunct Lebowa Administration and the Elim Hospital Management of her services testifies to her capabilities in the terrain of primary health care (Guye 1976:15; Masumbe Telephonic communication: 11 October 2002). But the Swiss Mission should be commended for having enrolled some nurses on the skills development programme. Some did exert themselves to the academic tasks laid before them to become highly qualified managers of the nursing services (Masumbe 2000:266-26).

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT WITHIN THE SWISS MISSION FIELDS AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the preceding chapter the researcher described how the health system enables school systems to function effectively in bringing about multifaceted change in any developing country with particular reference to South Africa. Children can only perform optimally when they enjoy a clean bill of health. Such a state of health does not come about on its own. On the contrary, it requires human effort. This implies that experts in the field have to conduct research and discover cures for the various ailments that afflict human beings. A sound state of health is indeed a prerequisite for any societal task that must be carried out as a means to improving the living conditions of people. Society plagued by epidemics can hardly cope with the rigour of life. It depends on those who enjoy good health for sustenance.

The Swiss missionaries created an interwovenness between schools, churches and hospitals so as to bring about full scale social transformation within their mission fields. In their view, evangelism without the school and health systems was less effective in transforming the lifestyles of the indigenous populace from primitivity to modernity. Thus, all the three institutions had to complement one another until such time as the State would assume responsibility for formal education and the provision of medicine and primary health care respectively. It is significant to note that the intertwinement between schools, hospitals and churches ensured that whatever missionaries wanted to drive home to proselytes was never missed by anybody out in the field. Proselytes who attended mission schools served as role models to their own people thus alleviating the work of the clerics (Grant 1950:7).

#### **5.2 THE MISSIONARIES AS INITIATORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE**

Social transformation does not occur automatically. It requires change agents/change forces. It was incumbent on the Swiss missionaries to initiate change through careful planning and the implementation of clearly articulated policies. The clerics had to manage their enterprises with a measure of efficacy to achieve results, namely, the conversions of the indigenous populace.

Management entails exercising control over subordinates so as to achieve the set objectives. Management includes planning, formulating policies, organising personnel in relation to the duties they have to perform, showing how the work must be executed coordinating the activities of the organisation/institution with those of other instances that have vested interests in the development of society, delegating certain officials to carry out certain tasks, ensuring that communication lines are open within the organisation and allow for interaction with other instances for the smooth running of education. Some clerics saw themselves as total experts in social transformation and were less inclined to involve proselytes in decision-making. This created a dependency syndrome (Cuendet 1925:1-2).

### **5.3 SCHOOLS ADMINISTERED BY THE SWISS MISSIONARIES DURING THE HISTORICAL PERIOD (1873-1955)**

It makes no sense to talk about Swiss Mission education without divulging the names of schools they founded and administered. The first primary school was founded by Messrs Eliakim Matlanyane and Asser Segagabane, the two Basuto evangelists, who were left in charge of the Valdezia Mission Station in 1873. The return of the Revs Adolph Mabilie and Paul Berthoud to Basutoland to report on the abortive attempt to evangelise the Bapedi of Sekhukhuniland paved the way for the black evangelists to demonstrate their skills in the pulpit as well as in the classroom situation. The knowledge gained at the Morija Pastoral School under the tutelage of the Paris missionaries was effectively implemented at the new mission field from August 1873. In fact the first sermon delivered by the white clerics before their journey back to Basutoland (Lesotho) on 17 August 1873 was an important milestone in the history of the Shangaans of Chief Joao Albasini (Bill 1983:11).

The following categories of schools arose from the endeavours of the black evangelists:

<b>SWISS MISSION FARM SCHOOLS</b>	<b>PRIVATE FARM SCHOOLS</b>	<b>LOCATION/VILLAGE SCHOOLS</b>
Djunani – Waterval Elim Practising School – Waterval Farm Kurhuleni – (Ongedacht Mambedi – Klipfontein Valdezia Combined Primary & Secondary School – Sedan Farm Masana – School – Maviljan, Pilgrims Rest District Shirley School	Bordeaux – Chief Muhlaba's Farm Efrata School – Rev Numa Jaques' Farm Emmaus School – Mr JS Henning's Moddervlei Farm Mashau School – Driefontein Farm owned by Mr G Borchers Matsila School – De Hoop Farmed owned by Miss Marais Samarie School – Farm Kruisfontein owned by Company Ltd with Mr Torrance as Agent Shirley School Shirley Farm owned by HS Phillips, Esq	Chivirikani School, Shigalo Location Khujwani School, Muhlaba Location Maake School, Maake's Location Mahonisis School Knobnose Location N'wamitwa School, Chief N'wamitwa's Location Mariveni School, Muhlaba's Location Mhinga School, Mhinga Location Muhlaba School, Muhlaba Location Shirhulurhulu School Shihoko Location Tlangelani School Knobnoe Location Vongani School, Shikundu Location Runnymede School N'wamitwa Tribal Farm Runnymede

The Swiss Mission in South Africa also had the following schools situated on trust farms:

<b>NAME OF SCHOOL</b>	<b>TRUST FARM ON WHICH SITUATED</b>
Barota Primary School Mafarana Primary School Mashamba Primary School Mbokota Primary School Ngove Primary School Pfukani Primary School Riverplaats Primary School Tiyiselani Primary School Tsakani Primary School	Zoetfontein Trust Farm Keulen Trust Farm Riversdale Trust Farm Maschappe Trust Farm Unsurveyed Trustland Farm Shield Trustland Riverplaats Trustland Christalfontein Trust Farm Weltevreden Trust Farm

Source: Draft, undated and anonymous, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Schools founded by the Swiss Mission in the urban area and other farming lands are not included here. The researcher is, however, aware that there were individuals within the Swiss Mission in South Africa who took it upon themselves to establish schools that were known as Swiss Mission schools in various parts of the country. Some of these schools were non-conventional or what can be commonly described as night schools or adults' education centres. Even children confined to isolation blocks within the mission hospitals were not starved of formal education. Nor was Swiss Mission's influence missed in the native townships such as Orlando, Alexandra and Meadowlands to name but a few. Farming areas such as Pietersburg (Polokwane), Potgietersrus (Mokopane) and Warmbaths (Bela Bela) had schools catering for Africans living and working there. Social transformation was considered a failure if education was not provided to the young and old in both the towns, cities and farming areas (Masumbe 2000:177).

The Swiss missionaries were highly organised and arranged their schools into manageable clusters assigned to given mission stations. Missionaries conducted inspections to ensure that everything went according to plan. Let us take note of the following clusters of schools:

<b>VALDEZIA MISSION</b>	<b>ELIM MISSION</b>	<b>SHILUVANE MISSION</b>
Kurhulene School	Barota School	Bordeaux School
Mashau School	Djunani School	Dan Marileni School
Mahonisi School	Elim School	Dzumeri School
Mambedi School	Emmaus School	Khujwani School
Matsila School	Mashamba School	Maake School
Mhinga School	Mbokota School	Mafarana School
Pfukani School	Riverplaats School	N'wamitwa School
Samarie School	Tsakani School	Muylaba School
Tiyiselani School		
Tlangelani School		
Valdezie Combined Primary and Secondary School		

<b>MASANA MISSION SCHOOLS</b>
Magdaleni School
Magwawa School
Malamba School
MatsavanaSchool
Moxana School
Moxana School
Mpisani School
Muhlari School
Songeni School
Timbavati School

The Swiss clerics were very explicit in their definition of their role on the African continent. A glance at their enterprises consistently revealed what the Rev IE Gillet (1933:8) enunciated as follows: “Our main business is not mainly the spread of that mixture of good and bad, success and failure, which we know as civilisation. That is the government point of view but it is not ours. We have constantly in mind something of very much more value without which civilisations, one after another, have perished from the earth. Whatever other good reasons there are for our being here in Africa in our various capacities and professions there is one only chief reason, namely redemption. Civilisation and education of a sort, our people are bound to get unless the human race soon again sets itself to committing suicide – a thing it nearly accomplished in times past. Ours is the more difficult and more glorious task of helping our Master transform the instinct of humanity. Only in this is there hope”.

#### **5.4 EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT VIS-À-VIS SOCIETAL AIMS: THE CASE OF INTERTWINEMENT**

The aspirations of the family are in reality similar with those of the community in which the child will spend most of his/her productive life as an adult, exercising and shaping his/her cultural mandate. Further down the line, there is the broader community or society to which the child must relate later in his/her working life. All these social relations are bound up with educational aims. Educational aims in, the view of the researcher; inform human action in the school setting.

The Swiss missionaries did not value informal/home education. Their egocentricity dictated that the traditional norms and values had to give way to Christian norms and values. Any Christian convert had to forego cultural stereotypes characteristic of the heathen world and identify with European lifestyles. The mission statutes dictated that converts relocate en masse from the traditional world and reside in the mission villages where living conditions were concurred with the Lord's dicta. Mission villages were the ideal places for Christian converts to live as ostracism was conspicuous by its absence. (Maphophe 1921:2; 1922:2). Another cleric who disapproved of Christians flouting the church laws was the late Rev Edmund S Mabyalani. He took the trouble of tabulating the laws which were often flouted by converts resulting in severe sanctions by the clergy (Mabyalani 1949:1). But Gracie Madjamu (1922:5) seemingly did not agree with supplanting of traditional customs by elements of the European culture. She identified strongly with the harmonisation of the European culture(s) with the African culture(s). She did not emphasise that the indigenous cultures remained static. On the contrary some dynamism had to occur but not at the expense of the virtue inherent in the spirit of *ubuntu* (humanness).

The Swiss missionaries ruled that Christianity was not compatible with traditional customs hence every convert had to disown his/her own culture. The perception that Blacks were inherently lazy appeared to taint their entire personalities. All Christian converts had to acquire Western education so that they could speedily be transformed into the so-called New Africans (Pienaar 1990:19-36).

Madjamu (1922:5) states that conservative blacks also had serious qualms with formal schooling especially when it came to girls. In their view any girl who attended school was apt to become indolent and what was even more painful, become a whore. Madjamu (1922:5) presents her observations thus: "The majority of traditionalists argue that if a girl acquires school education she will no longer perform menial tasks, indolence sets in, yet laziness is an inborn trait, which will never evaporate even if one has attended school. Any girls taught to be lax in performing household chores at school? No, they must grind maize, cook, sweep's smear floors with fresh cow-dung, wash clothes and do the ironing, and do whatever household chores requiring their hands" (My own translation from Xitsonga).

The researcher is of the same mind as Madjamu that a person can not simply become indolent by mere exposure to formal schooling nor was there any truth in the insinuation that the indigenous populace were inherently indolent as claimed by clerics of different denominations.

## **5.5 SOCIAL DARWINISM AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULACE**

It has been suggested above that educational aims are in some way intrinsic motivators that trigger human action in an educational milieu. All the stakeholders consider the educational goals that must be attained and simultaneously experience a feeling that motivates them on to achieve the set objectives, which in a democratic society are co-owned by virtue of management involving everybody within the organisation (school system). During the missionary era involvement of proselytes in the decision-making process was circumscribed by Social Darwinism. Missionaries tended to regard the theory of human evolution as representing absolute truth about the mentality of the indigenous populace.

Prof Herbert W Vilakazi (2002:12) defines Social Darwinism as the nineteenth century philosophy which “decreed a new hierarchical division and classification of humankind based on skin colour, hair texture and the shape of the nose”. These genetic traits were seen as yardsticks for the accessibility of certain rights and privileges to different races. The Swiss Missionaries’ management of education was shaped by the principles enshrined in this philosophy that was first introduced by Charles Darwin (1809-82), the English natural historian (evolutionist) Pearsall (1999:364). Vilakazi (2002:12), currently the Deputy Chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission in South Africa, continues to say that in terms of Social Darwinism: “Superior status was given to Europeans, now called the “white race”, and the most inferior status was given to Africans, now called the “black race”. The definition given by Vilakazi is of particular relevance to this research project for it strikes the core of missionary thinking as revealed by their primary sources of information. This definition reveals the Victorian lifestyle characteristic of the Swiss education system. Every Swiss cleric was careful not to expose the ‘head of the native’ to curricula that would turn out to be injurious to his personality. It was ruled that the ‘head of the native’ was only amenable to menial tasks not subjects that required high order thinking skills, such as mathematics and physical science. The Swiss missionaries were exposed to this dogma as they passed through the British universities and colleges before being deployed in the British colonies or dominions. However, the French

culture was not devoid of racism. Swiss clerics like David P Lenoir and Henri A Junod were unanimous in their evaluation of the mental acuteness of the indigenous populace. To them differentiated education was the only form of education that should be made accessible to the natives (Junod 1905:1-17; cf Lenoir 1906:1-3).

The philosophical pronouncements of the missionaries were reflected by colonial officials in their formulation of educational policies. Thus when the colonial administration abandoned their *laissez-fair* policies when it came to native education, they urged missionaries to be cautious in their interactions with their charges. Care had to be exercised not to allow natives to aspire for positions unique to the white race which supposedly had the mental acuteness to cope with the hard and life sciences like engineering and medicine. This is discernible from the letter the Rev DP Lenoir, Principal of Lemana College addressed to Mr JK Adamson, Director of Education, Pretoria, on 23 April 1907, requesting approval for appointing a native teacher to assist in giving instruction to teacher trainees. In his letter dated 8 May 1907 to Rev Lenoir, Adamson had the following to say: "I have the honour to reply that no formal statement of policy seems necessary. The fact simply is that I do not think Natives are qualified to undertake the important work of training Native students for the work of teaching. It should be left to White teachers".

The State and the missionary hierarchy were generally not keen to appoint African teachers to posts at the training institutions. But when European lecturers declined to come over to the Spelonken/Zoutpansberg District on account of the hostile climate, the Lemana management and the education officials relaxed their stringent regulations and employed African teachers. But even though Lemana College had appointed African teachers during its infancy, management did not desist from uttering racist statements. For instance, a letter dated 3 September 1943 to the Inspector of Native Education, Pretoria, continued to show how deeply entrenched Social Darwinism was. The letter stated: "The students entering the Normal School from Form II are not as well prepared as before as they are partly taught by Native teachers, who do not have the experience of European teachers".

Missionaries were contradictory in their utterances. For instance, at the time Mr JK Adamson expressed his displeasure at the prospect of natives being appointed at Lemana Training Institution, the Rev DP Lenoir had arranged that Mr Abraham A Moletsane of Basutoland (Lesotho) come to the college to assume duties as a lecturer. Mr AA Moletsane had been recommended for the position by Mr RH Dyke of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society

(PEMS). Mr Moletsane was not the only African teacher at Lemana College as the Rev SM Malale was already there. Malale was accompanied by his fellow Christians, namely, Madzive Calvin Maphophe, Shikosi Jonas Maphophe, Matini Stefani Furumele, Shidyohi Gideon Mpapele and Mukoki who died young when he went for his teacher-evangelist course at the Morija pastoral School, Basutoland in 1879. Mr Dyke gave the Spelonken students moral support during the time of bereavement as well as during the war between the Cape Colony and Basutoland (Lenoir 1907:1-2; Moletsane 1906:1-3; 1907:1-2; cf Malale 1937:1-4).

It is not the intention of the research to dwell on staff matters at Lemana College in greater detail. Suffice to mention that paternalism permeated the Swiss missionaries' management style in all their institutions. Such a management style robbed proselytes of the opportunity to try out their latent potentialities in preparation for the day their mentors would vacate their managerial posts. But later the Swiss clerics did allow their charges a measure of authority in less demanding tasks such as serving as Pathfinders Masters, organising athletics, Wayfarers and exercising their authority in structures like the Blue Cross Association which fought against alcoholism and the abuse of substances like tobacco. But more of the powers assigned to blacks will be discussed in chapter 6.

## **5.6 SWISS MISSION EDUCATION VIS-A-VIZ APARTHEID EDUCATION**

There is a tendency among analysis to view mission education as better than Bantu Education that was introduced in 1953. To a certain extent this is true. But care must be taken not to generalise the clerics' education systems. The argument could be true of institutions such as the Lovedale Institute (1841) that did not discriminate on the basis of colour. Here students were trained for entry into the same society where there would be collaboration in the socio-economic and political arena. The Swiss missionaries never subscribed to the principle of co-education between blacks and whites (Christie 1992:73-74; cf N'wandula 1987:20-31). The Swiss missionaries' educational policies should be surveyed so that readers should discern their philosophical outlooks.

### **5.6.1 Medium of instruction**

According to a paper read by the Rev HA Junod at the Johannesburg Missionary Conference in his capacity as the Director of the short lived Shiluvane Training Institution (1899:1905),

Africans had to learn to speak the language that the Whites understood for them to make the most of Western civilisation (Junod 1905:2). The foregoing suggests that Africans had to receive instruction in English to be able to make sufficient gains in the teaching-learning situation. This seemed to augur well for the indigenous populace's transition from primitivity to modernity. But it would seem the Rev Dr Junod had not applied his mind well to the subject as his words did not stand the test of time.

In a correspondence to the Secretary of the Education Department, Fabian Ware, Es and the Director of education, the Rev WEC Clarke dated 1904, Junod appeared to drift away from what looked like a sensible educational policy destined to accelerate the indigenous populace' transition to the status the Swiss clerics fervently referred to as that of the New Africans – a variant for the so-called 'raw natives'. Shortly afterwards his archival records revealed a very stern warning issued to policy makers urging them to refrain from using the very methods which would make Africans more proficient in English to the neglect of their own languages. Mother tongue instruction would in his view obviate a situation whereby the indigenous populace lost proficiency in their own culture in the same mould as the Afro-Americans, who in his view had become caricatures of the European culture they sought to emulate owing to some warped educational policies. It is clear from the above that he had serious misgivings about what he later said at the Johannesburg conference regarding the promotion of proselytes' proficiency in European languages. This contradictory approach was further fuelled by the fear ingrained in the white clergy that once black people became proficient in European languages, they would discern their exploitation and rise against their colonial masters in open rebellion (Junod 1904:1-5)

### **5.6.2 Vernacular and the preservation of culture**

The researcher does not entirely condemn Junod's treatise regarding the merits of preserving indigenous cultures. This is in fact what the new South Africa should strive for as it was hypocritical of the missionaries to have sought to make African cultures extinct during their tenure as educators or educationists. Culture as defined by Pearsall (1999:348) refers to "the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively". It is therefore not good of any cultural group no matter how strong it may be to deface this cultural identity. Of course culture should not be static. It should be dynamic in the sense of getting the

best from other cultures to refurbish it. Cultural groups that remain static are out of tune with development as enunciated in this research project.

Although some Swiss educational policies were controversial and even abominable there were critical areas in which they excelled. For instance, they committed the different Tsonga dialects to writing (orthography). It is gratifying to note that though dialects are aplenty and revealing of the place of origin of the speaker, this does not compromise the unity that the orthography crafted by the Swiss clerics had brought about to the Tsonga-speaking people of this country. The Swiss clerics also found time to develop the Sepedi (North Sotho) and Venda languages as well. These languages were taught at Lemana Training Institution. This act reveals the interdenominationalism that defied the rivalry characteristic of the Swiss and Lutheran clerics in the erstwhile north-eastern Transvaal.

Perhaps contemporary churchmen need to emulate some of the deeds the white clerics identified themselves with during their tenure in this country. People calling themselves the disciples of Jesus Christ should lead exemplary lifestyles. It is the view of the researcher that the disciples of Jesus Christ should transcend religious boundaries and cooperate with any creation of God for multifaceted social change. At times socio-economic and political development is restricted because of society's tendency to concentrate on denominationalism rather than interdenominationalism. Change forces need to rise above factionalism to foster socio-economic and political change. For education to serve its role as a principal catalyst for social development educational research should be based on a balanced perspective of mission education (hermeneutics of mission education). J.L. van der Walt (1992:220-222) provides useful guidelines to researchers with a vested interest in education.

Thus, when we analyse mission education certain things should be retained in the current education in as much as there are things that must not be allowed to recur. The late Richard Victor Selope Thema (1930:170-171) said: "We blacks are not a people without gratitude and without eyes to see those things that are good, therefore, while we speak of the things that press upon us, we do not forget that which is being done to help us move forward. In fact we speak of the things that oppress us, not necessarily out of bitterness, of which we may well have a great deal, but in order that Europeans of a fair mind and good will may join hands with us in working for our common improvement".

The foregoing words ring true of our current social transformation efforts vis-à-vis the abominable past from which the country extricated itself in 1994. Full scale social change is dependent on how well we reconcile the past with the present. If we should lose sight of the past, the past will not reveal the errors committed by past transformation forces in their bid to improve their living conditions. If we remain oblivious of how things were done in the past, we are likely to repeat the very same mistakes that made the attainment of a better life by all the people of this country an elusive dream. Social transformation feeds on sound communication. Communication is built on languages spoken by people. Although critical of the continued use of English as a medium of instruction in African schools, the status was maintained by the Swiss clerics in all the areas under their jurisdiction. While church services were done in the vernacular, student teachers and nurses were compelled to communicate in English once they stepped out of the church buildings. When the Transvaal Education Department phased in the New Code of Education at the training institutions in 1925, the Swiss Clergy seized the opportunity to develop Xitsonga and Sepedi which were then regarded as the dominant languages in northern-most districts of the erstwhile Transvaal. To ensure that students were adequately prepared for the Third Year Course Examinations (Native Teachers Certificate), Messrs Christmas Ntshungu and Shadrack Mongalo were respectively appointed to teach the students. Mr Shadrack Mongalo who later transferred to Mphahlele was also responsible for teaching Standards V and VI (Grades 7 & 8) learners at the Elim Practising School at the time. The Swiss missionaries had an understanding with the Lutherans that Mr S Mongalo should divide his time between the two schools (Cuendet 1925:2).

The question of promoting African languages was not the sole responsibility of the clerics. On the contrary, the Union Government was also applying itself to it. The Native Affairs Department (NAD) had closer ties with missionaries who were regarded as experts in native affairs by virtue of their superintendency over the mission schools. The feeling of Mr JC Johns, the Inspector of Education, was that there had to be constructive engagement with the colleges if the native language were to develop. Collaboration with the clerics was made even more imperative by the multiplicity of African languages. The Rev Francois Alois Cuendet quoted Inspector JC Johns as having said "it is a difficult issue to come up with a satisfactory decision as to which vernaculars to teach at the Colleges because African languages are many. In Natal only Zulu is taught, in the Cape Colony there is the Xhosa language, in the Transvaal there is a need for isiZulu, Sesutho and Xitsonga" (Cuendet 1924:1). It should not be construed that the omission of several African languages was indicative of a serious neglect of such in the

development plan that was being broached in parliament. Archival records reveal that churchmen were working hard to develop their proselytes' languages. For instance, the Rev Nicolaas Jacobus van Warmelo was in constant dialogue with his Swiss colleagues to streamline the Venda language. Similarities and differences in the orthographies of the Venda, Sotho and Tsonga languages vis-à-vis the Nguni languages were noted not only for the development of these languages but also for streamlining native administration. The interaction between Revs NJ van Warmelo, Numa Jaques and Henri Alexander Junod led to the introduction of the Venda language at Lemana Training Institution in 1940s. According to the Lemana Training Institution Rules and Conditions of Admittance (1949), the Tshivenda language was also taught to student teachers.

The foregoing suggests that though missionaries belonging to Berlin camp would quite often clash with those of the Lausanne camp in the Modjadji and Bushbuckridge areas and environs, reason often prevailed that they were servants of the same Master and had to cooperate in the social upliftment of the indigenous populace (Jaques 1933:1).

Missionaries possessed a wealth of knowledge about indigenous cultures hence they were indispensable in the imperialists' ambition to assume full control over Africans during the colonial era. This is borne out by the obituary the Rev FA Cuendet (1949:9-10) penned in respect of the late Rev Dr AA Jaques, who was the Principal Superintendent of Lemana College: "Besides his mission work, which was always foremost in his mind, he took a great interest in anthropology and liked to study the ways and customs of the Bantu people, amongst the Tsonga (Shangaan) and other tribes; he wrote a few articles on these subjects. At Lemana, he constituted a small anthropological museum, and the sitting room and dining room of his house were decorated with about 200 head-rests, which he collected in his travels about the country. It was his interest in Native life that prompted the Mission Board to send him a ciné camera to take views of the indigenous life and people of South Africa. This task had a double object, viz. to preserve, on the film, old customs which are rapidly dying away, and to propagate the work in Europe".

But the study which was the most important for him and the Mission was that of linguistics in relation to the native languages. He was a born linguist and could hold a conversation in French, English and Afrikaans (the latter learned in later years); he also had some understanding of German. He knew several Native languages well, such as Shangaan, Sesuto, Sivenda and Zulu.

This knowledge was very useful to him at the Institution, where inter alia, he taught Shangaan, and for which course he wrote a grammar (unpublished). He prepared and co-ordinated a few of the Tsonga readers for our schools; it is unfortunate that he was not able to finish this work”.

The value of the linguistic abilities of the missionaries cannot be over-emphasised for people who must manage social transformation. It is the languages that serve as useful tools for conducting research aimed at resolving our socio-economic and political ills. Without this vital commodity social transformation cannot be countenanced. This is a factor missionaries were inclined to overlook when they decreed that Christianity is incompatible with traditional customs (Marivate 1973:I-VI).

## **5.7 SWISS MISSION EDUCATION AND THE INCULCATION OF LOVE FOR EUROPEANISM**

Swiss missionary education was planned, implemented and managed in such a manner that the heathen would be attracted to it and invariably embrace Christianity. Christianity and missionary education served as a means of accessing privileges. The missionaries and their African collaborators spoke highly of Christian education which they perceived to be the guarantor of everlasting life. The Rev ES Mabyalani (1949:1) spoke of the need for Africans to break ranks with traditionalism and relocate en masse to the mission villages where there were facilities for black advancement such as the church, clinics and schools run by the missionaries. Christian life did not mean keeping to oneself but holding fellowship with those who had agreed to bear His Cross. These were found in the mission villages. Heathen villages had to be forsaken for their evil lifestyle such as the brewing of beer, superstition, adultery, polygamy, work parties, lobola and ostracism. Life at the mission stations or annexes was in the view of the Rev Mabyalani uplifting, enriching and indeed a passport to paradise.

The New Africans were indefatigable in encouraging their people to embrace Christian education which they saw as a means to being accepted by Europeans. Missionaries and other Europeans wanted to associate themselves with people who were civilised vis-à-vis “raw natives”. The well travelled Rev Dr DC Marivate unfailingly urged his countrymen to strive for Western education which was the only licence to being accepted within the European world. In his view: “A European is not vanquished by spears or aggression but through education ... When I was in Europe I saw many Europeans who were far beneath my class in terms of

civilisation ... If we blacks want to attain the high social standard enjoyed by most Europeans, we have to be responsible for our own upliftment, acquire education and a superior culture, have clean and beautiful homes and make it difficult for Europeans to treat us with disrespect” (Marivate 1934:2). Marivate and his colleagues, Messrs EA Tlakula and AE Mpapele made use of the community newspaper they called *The Valdezia Bulletin* to persuade their people to avoid superstition.

Beautiful homes were nothing else than the squared houses that missionaries had. One had to strive for industrial courses to be able to acquire the things owned by whites. Mission education was not as high as that of Europeans. But though inferior to the education received by missionary children it was not devoid of utility skills capable of making a person self-reliant, self-sufficient and even self-employable. Many of those who attended mission schools prided themselves with skills that enabled them to eke out a living in contrast to what was happening in the heathen world. Thus Christians were urged to upgrade their academic and professional qualifications. The column of *The Valdezia Bulletin* (later known as *The Light: Ku vonakala ka Vatsonga*) were put to good use to induce Africans to further their education. The petty bourgeoisie stressed that one was never old to learn. Those who believed in the contrary were told that education is a lifelong process. Accolades were directed at the following persons who left for various colleges to further their education: John Bob, Griffiths Tinghitsi (Tsolo Agricultural College, Transkei), Mrs Mareane (Natal, for Domestic Science probably at Amanzimtoti College), George N’wanhenga (Moriya Pastoral School for the Evangelist Course), Mos J Madiba and W Barry Ngakane (Matric through correspondence). Mr MJ Madiba, from Pietersburg (Polokwane served as the Secretary for the Northern Transvaal African Teachers’ Association while Mr WB Ngakane (Pretoria) was the Chairman of the Central District Association of the Transvaal African Teachers Association (Marivate 1934).

What the enlightened Africans were doing at their homes found expression within the broader community as well. Others benefited from the advice and encouragement the *New African* used to give some conferences, students’ meetings and community forums. Thus when we speak of the Swiss missionaries’ management of social transformation in South Africa we do not lose sight of African collaborators who spread the religious propaganda that swayed the attention of pagans from their heathen practices to the Good News. A glance at Nchangana (June 1976:4) reveals some interesting facts about the late Rev Dr DC Marivate’s family. In fact the publication of the lengthy article in this publication served as a biography (or an autobiography)

that showed readers what should be done to trigger national development, namely, skills development and capacity building. It is not possible for social development to occur without the necessary resources. The resources that are a must for nation building include capital, skilled manpower, water and land. Once these are available other resources like buildings fall into place. Marivate and his wife, Bertha Manhengeni had seven children of whom one is deceased. All the children were urged to strive for education and their qualifications makes interesting reading, The first born, Charles, BA MB CHB, Cornelius, MA Russel, BA UED, MB CHB, Cecil (teacher, deceased), Martins, MB CHB, Fellow of the Royal College of Gynaecologists, Richard, Teacher and lastly, N'wamhamba Desiree, Sister Tutor.

The researcher can disclose that Prof CTD Marivate attained a doctorate in literature at the time he was attached to the University of South Africa's African Language Department. He is currently a parliamentarian.

## **5.8 THE ORIGINS OF EDUCATIONAL MANAGEMENT AS AN INTEGRAL COURSE FOR THE NATIVE TEACHERS' CERTIFICATE (NTC) WITHIN THE SWISS MISSION FIELDS**

### **5.8.1 Introduction**

By the time Lemana Training Institute started on 8 January 1906 a flurry of correspondence had been exchanged between the Principal of the college, the Rev DP Lenois and officials of the Department of Education in the erstwhile Transvaal Province. This interaction was necessitated by the abandonment of the laissez-faire policy which saw missions having absolute control over native education meant that State officials had to exercise control over schools to ensure that the monies expended by the State were used for purposes for which they were meant. According to Marivate (1975:I-II), the Government had decided to subsidise mission education in the defunct Transvaal from 1903. Inspectors and directors of education were appointed by the State's Transvaal Education Department (TED) to administer native education and provide whatever support the state could offer to school managers. The Rev WEC Clarke was appointed as the Director of Education and later Secretary of the Education Department. He was responsible for giving the Rev DP Lenoir all the advice he needed for the smooth running of teacher education at Lemana Normal School.

### 5.8.2 The requirements of the Native Teachers' Certificate/Third Year Course

The so-called Third Year Course was a dichotomy of teaching and evangelism. Missionaries structured this course with a view to making trainees versatile in their tasks and therefore serve as the necessary back up for them. This was an ineffective way of coping with number of proselytes within the villages. The students needed a Standard III (Grade 5) certificate to enrol for the teachers' course. It should be noted that unlike at the defunct Shiluvane Training Institute where students who were married before electing to pursue a teachers' course were allowed to arrive with their wives and children, Lemana College appeared not keen to extend this privileges to the students. Perhaps the clergy were not desperate for numbers as they had been in the country for a number of years then. Students had to have their application forms accompanied by a letter of commendations from a white missionary or patron. Although the Swiss Mission in South Africa had a number of enlightened Africans, they were regarded as not good enough to issue valid testimonials to the students. The Reverend WEC Clarke was so kind to furnish his missionary colleague at Lemana with copies of syllabi and regulations that were used at the Kilnerton Training Institute in 1855 in Pretoria (Clarke 1904:1-3).

The requirements for the completion of the teachers' course were stringent. Students were expected to satisfy all Christian norms and values. Failure to pass an industrial course did not entitle candidates to proceed to the next level of the teachers' course. Hygiene, penmanship (writing), Scriptures and music were some of the key subjects that a student had to be proficient in. The late Rev Samuel Maswingidzi Malale (1937:3-4) who graduated from the Morija Pastoral School stressed that School Management was one the courses students had to master. This happened to be one of his popular subjects alongside history. The materials sent to the Rev DP Lenoir by the Rev Clarke in 1904 had School Management and Class teaching as the key subjects. This implies that Lemana College had to pursue the same code in order to build the necessary capacity for students to succeed in their educative tasks. The management course had enough scope to empower student teachers with skills to plan lessons, instil discipline in learners, teach effectively, do administrative work, ensure that learners were properly seated, et cetera. Industrial courses not only ensured that the teacher builds classrooms and do carpentry work attached to this task, but ensured that the structures he built were well-ventilated. Building specifications had to be satisfied (Pienaar 1990:40, Clarke 1904:1-3). Although the Swiss clerics were averse to empowering blacks with medical skills, they wittingly made proselytes aware of the things they should do to maintain good health. Mr Zebedea Mbenyane's awareness of the

value of Western medicine acquired during the operations done by the late Georges Liengme at Elim Hospital in the late 1890s had a liberating effect upon him. He would live to tell a positive story about the medical cures of the Western doctors and this prepared the heathen folk for conversion. Clerics wanted it that way, namely, the influx of pagans into their enterprises so that they could be turned into Disciples of Christ (Mbenyane 1899:35-36).

Mission education served as a means to transforming the lives of aboriginal races. Van Dyk (1967:18) put it aptly when he said; "It is difficult to predict how the African societies would have found economic-administrative basis without the spread of Christianity ...". Indeed the three R's and Christian education in its various manifestations catapulted Africans from where they were to even better positions. But care must be taken not to regard Africans as people who were devoid of wisdom prior the arrival of Europeans on the continent. Archaeological research conducted by Europeans of international fame has yielded results that show that the demonised natives were endowed with intellectual skills that enabled them to produce wonders from Cairo to the tip of the Cape a thousand years before the emergence of Western civilisations. Posterity might yield even more striking results about the African continent considered by many as the cradle of mankind. Current developments exercise as erroneous, early scholarship/Eurocentricism that considered the 'heads of natives' as inherently weak intellectually. Objective assessment of artefacts through the use of modern technology has of late turned Eurocentrics into Afrocentrics in terms of balanced reporting. This is what is expected of scientists, particularly social scientists (cf 2.3).

Mission education enhanced the intellectual capacities that were already in operation on the African continent. It produced African collaborators like Asser Segagabane, Eliakim Matlanyane, Bethuel Ralitau, Pondo Ntsan'wisi (grandfather of the late Prof HWE Ntsan'wisi) and many others who made the Swiss Mission famous internationally. Even people who tended draught animals like the late Zakariya Mathye (died on 28 March 1934 in Valdezia) were important pillars of evangelism. They were not just porters or guides who walked in front of the Scotch-carts carrying the disciplines of Jesus Christ. These men helped advance the Christian causes when their mentors were fatigued. Zakariya Mathye and those of his ilk might have done more than is appreciated during the journey to Mozambique under the leadership of the Rev Paul Berthoud in 1885 (The Valdezia Bulletin, April 1934:2).

The missionary era was not a stage dominated by the white clerics but on the contrary illustrated an interplay of change agents that had different designations. In his inaugural lecture given at the University College of Fort Hare on 31 March 1967, Prof DF van Dyk encapsulated the effect of the shortage of skilled manpower on pioneer mission work: “No pretence was made of training teachers. As schools increased, the need for qualified teachers became more pressing, and this resulted in the employment of unqualified teachers”. It is within this context that the roles of Zakariya Mathye and those of his rank should be conceptualised. It is true that missionaries had absolute powers that saw those managing churches, natural resources on their estates, for example land, water, natural vegetation and game. But sight must not be lost of the fact that in areas with hostile climates, it was the African evangelist who remained unshakeable. The Malarial climate had the effect of driving out the white missionaries and it was here where the evangelistic skills of Africans shone (Lemana Training Institution’s Rules and Regulations: 1949: 1-2).

Evangelism like any other enterprise was dependent on funding. The collaboration between clerics and the colonial authorities relieved missions of what often undermined their sterling efforts – lack of capital. Mission work, as the late Rev Dr DC Marivate correctly indicated, was seriously handicapped by the shortage of physical resources, for example, classrooms and church buildings. At the Valdezia Mission clerics had to make do with the old church building for classrooms. In such unconventional classes the teacher had to be skilled to achieve progress for he/she had to accommodate learners of different grades and ages who needed attention. These were the conditions under which most of the children that grew to become eminent figures learned to read, write and calculate. While staying at the Rev Paul Rosset, Valdezia, Marivate learned woodwork, gardening, bookkeeping, sculpture, English and Arithmetic (Marivate 1985:I-IV; Nchangana 1976:4).

Teachers who taught at the Valdezia School were equal to their tasks. According to JC Mashila (1931:2), the following exemplary teachers taught at Valdezia School during different periods: Ernest Creux Matlanyane, Gideon Mpapele, Samuel Malale, Ozias Magadzi, Joshua Marule, Frank Hlaisi, Azael Solomon Tshongainwe, Gaius Mandlati, Setina Makhalelisa, Izaak Mavanyisi, Christopher Stofele and Cornel Marivate. Marivate (1975:I-IV) corroborated some of the names cited by Mashila with whom he worked for the social upliftment of people in the Zoutpansberg District and environs. Mr JC Mashila was also a teacher and an astute campaigner for land rights alongside Messrs DC Marivate, EA Tlakula, AE Mpapele and other enlightened

Africans. He was the General Secretary of the Rheinallt-Jones of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, for the granting of title deeds to the land to Africans residing in the district. The Rev Dr DC Marivate was the Chairman of the Farmers Association (Mashila 1939:1).

Educational management as covered by this chapter implies all the efforts made by the Swiss missionaries and their proselytes to streamline education so that the people at their service should enjoy a high standard of living. By education the researcher refers to all the socialisation engineered by adults to ensure that children were brought up in a manner that would turn them into responsible adults. The concept education is used in its broadest context to embrace informal/home education, formal/school education and non-formal/adult education with its emphasis on the inculcation of varied skills. The researcher believes that informal or home educating provided some virtue which even though not acknowledged by Christian schools was indispensable in life. Management of education also encompasses the efforts made by the missionaries to select suitable sites for schools, negotiating sponsorships with various instances and ensuring that everybody lived up to his/her societal challenges. For example, when the Lemana Management was ordered to relocate the college from the Rossbach slopes to an area that would permit growth and expansion of the various departments, they did everything in their power to enlist the help of the Swiss Mission Board in Lausanne, Switzerland. The endeavours of Messrs Edmund Bonnard (President of the Swiss Mission), Arthur Grandjean (General Secretary) and Abel de Meuron (Secretary of the Swiss Mission Board) ensured the commencement of construction work at the college's present site in 1921. But work should have commenced much earlier had it not been for the ravages of the Great War/First World War (1914-1918). Even after hostilities had ceased in terms of the Peace Treaty of Versailles (1919), there was a need for a reconstructive phase and the setting of an international body that would serve as the custodian of peace. The founding of the League of Nations in 1920 must have reduced some extraneous factors that delayed the relocation process from Rossbach to the new site (Bonnard & Grandjean 1921:1-3).

The foregoing is further accentuated by what the Rev Francois Alois Cuendet (1921a:1), Superintendent of Lemana College in the 1920s presents in the Lemana Report as follows: "The major issue is the construction of the new school. This issue was broached long ago and is coming to fruition as houses are being built at Ramaru above the mill. What remains a perennial problem is the question of funds, it is scarce. At present we shall only admit 48 boys and 20

girls, that is 68 in total. But the school building itself has a carrying capacity of 90 students. The reason for the limited admission of students now is attributable to the shortage of capital to put up the buildings required and the fact that students still have to be enlightened on the value of education. Buildings that are presently standing include the following: school, two boys' hostels, their dining hall, two girls' houses that is one hostel and one dining hall respectively. There are also four houses for Europeans; and other miniature buildings. The school for the Elim children is yet to be established.

Readers should not be surprised by the Swiss missionaries' construction of separate dining halls for male and female students. This was consistent with their paternalism that barred interaction between the two sexes. The Swiss enterprises were collaborative ventures that created a coalescence between the South African and Mozambican missions (Bonnard, Grandjean & De Meuron 1922:1).

### **5.8.3 Mhinga Mission Station and its annexure (1899)**

Mhinga Mission Station was initially an outpost of Valdezia Mission Station. It was the focal point of missionary activity although Hutweni, Makuleke, was established in 1890 followed by Dzombyeni/Sengwe on the Zimbabwean side of the border with South Africa and Mozambique. Dzombyeni/Sengwe seemed to have been explored after the establishment of the Hutweni outstation. By 1896 the greater Hlengwe territory had been explored and the local chiefs had been given promises of greater things yet to happen to the inhabitants. Incessant droughts, epidemics and famine frightened off the missionaries and the Hlengwes complained of being marginalised by the Swiss clerics who seemingly invested most of their resources in the land of the Malulekes (Mhingas). Mhinga territory had its own share of difficulties – droughts, malaria, marauding lions and backsliding impacted negatively on Christianity. The Rev Malale (1923:5) captured relapses as follows: “Etienne Solomon has been relieved of his duties due to breaking the bounds. Many teachers refuse to abandon drunkenness, they respect their *mufundhisi* (minister) when he is in their midst but when he is out of sight, take to heavy drinking” (My own translation from Xitsonga).

But eventually misfortunes were overcome. For instance, the Rev SM Malale (1923:2) had the following to say about the trauma through which Chief Piet Nkhavi Sunduza Mhinga went when he suffered third degree burns inflicted by veld fire in a lion hunting expedition: “It would seem

the fire accident helped him spiritually. We hope that he remain stuck to his Church because we grieve over the company he keeps. Heathens and headmen drag him into sinful ways. As for the Church, he attends regularly on Sundays and he allows prayer in his family". But these difficulties aside, Mhinga and annexes had dedicated evangelists: Zebedea and Mahlekete Mbenyane of the Sengwe/Dzombo, Valdezia and Mozambique fame, Brown Nkatini, Stephen Khosa, Izaak Mavanyisi (Botsoleni), Fani Ntlhamu and Daniel Phikelele (Shigalo), Enoch Chavane (Hutweni/Makuleke), John Marhanele, John Zebedea Mbenyane, Moses Muhlanga from Mpisane, Alfred Mpapele, Aaron Mavanyisi and Harry Makaukau (Shikundu) to name but a few Christians (Malale 1923:1-5) & 1926:1-5). Women were not to be outperformed by men as could be seen from the sterling efforts of Mrs Aline Malale (minister's wife), Miss Ellah Malale, Miss Marthe Grand, Miss Aline Bory and Mabel Ndeken in the archival records of people who were resident clerics at Mhinga (Malale 1916:I-III; 1926:1-5).

Social development is for people and must be managed by all the citizenry. In this research project evidence was unveiled whereby the elite did not monopolise transformation. Everybody got involved in social transformation. For example, at Mhinga you would find even the blind Joshua Magwaza, a dedicated Christian doing everything in his power to combat heathenism at Botsoleni. There were many others of his calibre (Malale 1936:3; 1935:1). In Chief Ezekiel Sunduza Mhinge, the Church had an indispensable Asset. He had received his primary education under the tutorship of Mr Mahlekete Mbenyane at Mhinga from June 1898. He then went to the Shiluvane Pastoral School in 1901 together with other lads. The Headmaster of the College was the Rev Dr HA Junod. Other teachers included Rev DP Lenoir and Mrs Lenoir, Miss Julia Thelin, Miss Jeanne Jacot (replaced Thelin in May 1905) and Mr Jules Dentan, Industrial Instructor (Marivate 1935:2). Chief ES Mhinga completed the teacher-evangelist course in June 1905 and returned home to serve as a teacher-evangelist. Mr Risenga Musheki, the Principal Headman of Mhinga, requested the Church to release him so that he could occupy the throne after the death of his grandfather Chief Sunduza Mhinga who ruled the Maluleken for several years. Chief Sunduza Mhinga died on 10 December 1934. Mr Ezekiel Mhinga was installed as the chief of the clan on 16 September 1935 at a ceremony attended by Mr AW Biddell, the Native Commissioner of the Sibasa District, his wife and their entourage. Chief Ezekiel Sunduza Mhinga bade his Church farewell on Sunday, 22 September 1935 to start his new role as the traditional leader. On the day of his coronation and decoration with symbols of power, Mr AW Biddell had thanked the Rev SM Malale and Headman Hisenga Musheki for having guided the

young chief until he came of age to assume his hereditary position. Headman R Musheki died on 13 February 1951 (Chief's Clerk 1935:3-4; cf Mabyalani 1951:1).

The year in which Chief ES Mhinga took over the throne was beset with problems. Mr Dumela Maluleke had been lynched on 24 March 1935 by people Chief ES Mhinga had hoped would help him steer the country to socio-economic and political prosperity. Nothing shocked him more than the implication of his uncle, Headman Tshukumetani Maphophe. This is discernible from Chief ES Mhinga's report (*The Valdezia Bulletin*, June 1935:2): "This case was heard in Louis Trichardt on 3 June 1935. Msasi was sentenced to 7 years, N'wamutshovi 5 years while Maphophe was sentenced to death. We are in trouble as I had hoped that he would be the one who would help me govern the country. As for Dumela's head, the necessary arrangements were made to bring it home for burial. I could not speedily report on this case, I wanted it to draw to a close first" (My translation from Xitsonga). This incident had negative consequences on education and evangelism as the number of children attending school at Tshukumetani (Maphophe) dwindled. Christians had to travel to Mhinga Mission Station for church services. This was a considerable distance (Malale 1935:2).

During the Rev ES Mabyalani's tenure as the resident missionary at Mhinga, the Church still had to contend with backslidings and conservatism. For instance, at Salem, an outstation of Mhinga, the local chief assaulted an evangelist for daring to preach the gospel and delivering post to the villagers. Mabyalani had to implore Christians to stand by the evangelist and give him all the moral support he required in the face of heathenism (Mabyalani 1946:3).

## **5.9 THE SWISS MISSION AND THE AREAS ON THE PERIPHERY OF EVANGELISM**

### **5.9.1 Introduction**

It is the view of the researcher that heathen villages are areas that confront Christianity with the greatest challenges. They yearn for religious intervention. They need the most proselytisation compared to the residents of mission stations and annexes. Instead of meeting the challenge head on, clerics sought to lure villagers from the heathen strongholds to the Christian villages. This created the Christian-heathen dichotomy, that is, the degree of polarisation between converts and non-converts. Social alienation created by missionaries translated into some

vitriolic attacks launched from either side of the religious divide. The researcher has found that there are still people who have not outgrown missionary parlance of classifying people in terms of the availability or non-availability of buildings with the Cross representing the Lord Jesus Christ. But those who graduated from Lemana Training Institution saw the need to implant the Christian religion in areas that were overlooked by the missionaries. But even the Lemana graduates were forestalled by lay-preachers whose only recourse was the modicum of education they got from the night schools in the Pretoria-Johannesburg industrial heartlands or the Bantu education that was introduced in 1953.

### **5.9.2 Bungeni Village: the challenge of working in a heathen stronghold**

Life at Bungeni has been briefly captured under Chapter 2 sub-section 2.3. Chief Mukhono was succeeded by Sifahla Mabuna (Bungeni). Under the new chief, conditions were much better because the events that led to the banishment of Samarie School to Mutsetweni village during Mukhono's reign were regretted and people bemoaned lost opportunities for enlightenment. The new chief appeared to be receptive to social change and was surrounded by good advisers. Education and Christianity were welcomed for the first time in the village (Masumbe Interview: 6 May 2001).

According to Mr & Mrs AE Mugari (Masumbe Interview: 21 April 2002), the persuasive powers of Mr Joshua Marhule and other Valdezia Christians led to the re-introduction of Christianity and education in what was known as a conservative village. During the early 1950s a Mr Jeremiah Maringa who apparently introduced Christianity and some 'night school' education in the urban areas, contributed by mobilising the community to embrace the gospel and education. He used Bungeni School as the centre for proselytisation. Later on arrived a certain Mr Mbelengwane. During his short-lived stay with the village he used a rudimentary school made of raw bricks.

Mr Hlengani Albert Nkonyani (Masumbe Interview: 26 April 2002) remembers a certain Mr Madzenga as having had a stint at Bungeni School. During this period, the school was not run professionally. To quote Mr Nkonyani (Nkuna): "The school did not progress like any other normal school though teaching was taking place. Most pupils who attended the school could read and write Xitsonga, some even attempted English and Afrikaans and could do simple calculations in Arithmetic". Mr Nkonyani's description of the school was corroborated by Mr

Gezani Silas Maluleke (Masumbe Interview: 26 April 2002) who described the pre-1957 conditions at Bungeni School as “chaotic in the sense that it was possible for a learner to be promoted to a higher grade only to be demoted to some lower grade for alleged misdemeanour”. All interviewees acknowledged that the arrival of the late EJ Mankhense as the Headmaster of Bungeni School in 1957 marked a radical change in the management of the school. For the first time, learners were classified according to grades in separate attendance registers. The question of “overstaying some grades or demotions” was brought to an end. The community was evangelised by people from Valdezia. People like Mrs I Jaquet, Revs TE Schneider, DC Marivate and H Muthambi were indefatigable in planting the Christian religion among the people of Bungeni village. Elizabeth Shitivani is cited as the woman who did a lot to change the mindsets of the villagers as a resident lay-preacher. She was initially hosted by the Shirangwana family, proprietors of the Thorndale Stores. And when they no longer could accommodate her, the royal family arranged a rondavel built for her next to their residence. She urged tribesmen not to commence tribal court deliberations before saying a prayer. At first men would not accept her exhortations but finally relented (Masumbe Interview: 21 April 2002).

The sterling efforts of Elizabeth Shitivani led to a school started in 1971 being named after her, that is *Zavetha*. But this honour was later mollified and the lower primary school was given the name Masungi in honour of Chief Mukhono who was ironically opposed to civilisation. An anonymous interviewee (17/03/2002) felt this should not have been the case as she (Mukhono) had sent some chanting villagers to incinerate a school she had the privilege of attending for only one month. That put paid to her studies. Mr AE Mugari (interviewed: 24/04/2002) for supplementary data, disclosed that he arrived at the settlement in 1958 to find that Mr EJ Mankhense had streamlined the administration of Bungeni School. He became the Principal of Mukhono Higher Primary School in 1963 at its inauguration. His learners at Bungeni School included Messrs HA Nkonyani, Wilson Chaka Mkhabele, Sam Ndaheni Shirindza, Phineas Mashanyu, Elias Maluzani Mabuna, Rigege Mabunda, Silas Mashanyu and Eric Mhlanga. Mr AE Mugari passed away on 5 May 2002 at Elim Hospital. Bungeni villages’ parish was launched in 1963 (Rejoice 1975:32).

According to the information received from Mr RW Ndzovela, Principal of Njakanjhaka Primary School (Interview: 26 April 2002), the following served as the resident ministers at this parish.

1. Rev FH Mayimele (1967-1968)
2. Rev Solomon Shokane (1970-1973)
3. Rev MD Mokoena (1976-1978)
4. Rev BLK Mandlazi (1978-1985)
5. Rev LJ Sithole (1986-1990)
6. Rev Vincent DH De Gama (1992-2001)
7. Rev KJ Kubayi (2002-)

It should be noted that most of these clerics assumed duties at this parish as evangelists. The researcher only took the liberty of using their current designations. According to Mr HA Nkonyani (Masumbe Interview: 26 April 2002), the church building was only established in 1975. To date the Bungeni community prides itself with the following schools: Bungeni Primary School, Masungi Primary School (1971), Mukhono Higher Primary School, Hluvuka High School (1970), Russel Bungeni High School and Surprise Bungeni Pre-School. Russel Bungeni was a regent upon the death of Chief Sifahla with whom he had cooperated greatly foster education. His death paved the way for the enthronement of Surprise Bungeni who had come of age for his crown.

### **5.9.3 The dawn of Christianity and education at N'waxinyamani Village**

The settlement of Dr Jules Liengme at Ribolla mountain in 1915 not only paved the way for a farming venture, but also led to the establishment of Christianity and education in the area and the outlying areas. Some were employed on his farm and were Christianised together with family members. For the N'waxinyamani people, the friendship that developed with Chief N'waxinyuamani officially known as David Makhubele, meant Christianisation, education and work for the Chief's subjects who could not travel to Johannesburg to seek employment. Dr 'Pado', as Jules Liengme was popularly known, later established the Ribolla School on his farm in 1930. Children went there for their education (Masumbe 2000:109).

According to Messrs Sikheto Solomon Ndabazabantu Makhubele and his younger brother Gezani David Makhubele, the old man David N'waxinyamani used to go up the mountain to pray with the Liemge family regularly. But when age no longer permitted him to do so, it was Dr Jules Lienge himself who took the initiative to descend the mountain to give prayers and Biblical lessons to the Makhubele family and the interested villagers. Prayers were held under the Fig tree (Nkuwa). This was in the 1930s. But when the chief died on 26 February 1950 there was nobody to collaborate with Dr Jules Liengme as the chief's sons had left for Johannesburg where they were migrant workers (Masumbe Interview: 8 December 2001). When a rudimentary school was started in 1970, many felt it was the continuation of the work stalled by the death of Chief N'waxinyamani in 1950. The school first had to do with the services of unqualified teachers in the person of the late Ms Maria Baloyi and Elias "Manthitha" Hlungwani. When Mr Wilson Adolf Shimange arrived to assume principalship, the school was managed along missionary lines. Mr WA Shimange was a qualified teacher from Lemana College who had previously served in the same position at Nthabalala where he had popularised church services. Sunday School and church services were also established at N'waxinyamani village. His principle was that education not based on Christian foundations would never lead to the production of responsible citizens. Mr Shimange (Ngobeni) was a disciplinarian in the mould of the late Rev Aristide Eberhardt, who was the Lemana Superintendent from 1912 to 1991. This man was not only a good Biblical instructor but a disciplinarian reputed for coining the following: "For only discipline can beget knowledge, and knowledge wisdom. Dedicated to uplift and educate all people, courage to face the unknown with faith and fortitude, discipline in thought, word and deed" (Martin 2000; cf Shimati 1954:50-51).

Mr WA Shimange died on 2 August 1978 and was temporarily replaced by the late Mr Makhubele Daniel Mahatlane, a qualified teacher from Tivumbeni College of Education. On 15 January 1979 Mr Etienne Ntabeni became the new principal. He was an industrious man who had obtained his teachers' course at Lemana. He had previously taught at Djumani School (1948-1968), Efrata School and eventually Tenda School (1969-1978). It was his diligence augmented by the efforts of a willing community that N'waxinyamani School obtained standard classrooms. He had a willing donor in Dr Paul Robert, ex-Superintendent of Masana Hospital (1965-1983) (Jaques 1966:5; Egli & Krayner 1996:103). According to Mr MP Mathye (8/12/2001), Dr Paul Robert enhanced his friendship with Mr E Ntabeni with generous contributions meant for the development of the school and the community. His friendship for Mr Ntabeni included Mr WD Makhubele (Masiza) after whom the local high school was named.

When this traditional leader died on 2 December 1990, Dr P Robert pledged R1 000 to help bury his second friend (Masumbe Interview: 8 December 2001).

Mr MP Mathye replaced the retired E Ntabeni in January 1989 as Principal. The sterling efforts of Dr Paul Robert and Mr E Ntabeni (died 27 May 1993) contributed greatly to the stature of the school. On 7 May 1996, N'waxinyamani School was proclaimed a presidential school with massive funding from GENCOR, courtesy of the ceaseless efforts of Dr Nelson Mandela, former President of the Republic of South Africa. The windfall announced by Mr Peter Mokaba, the former Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs, transformed the school into what it is today (Masumbe Interview: 8 December 2001).

#### **5.10 THE SWISS MISIONARIES' MANAGEMENT OF EDUCATION WITHIN THEIR MISSION FIELDS**

Swiss Mission education was grounded on the Christianisation of Africans. Every individual had to be enabled to rise over superstition and accept death as God's way of resting His creation from the pressures of the secular world. Every Christian was taught to interpret death as an act of God. Religious propaganda inspired converts to use their available opportunities on earth to work for life in the hereafter and less for life in this materialistic world. Christians regarded death as licence to be with their Lord where agony is absent.

Mr Paul E Maringa illustrated the nature of education received at Lemana Training Institution in his fitting tribute to Mr Edwin Nyeshe Shikosi Mahleza of Mambedi who died in 1937. Maringa penned the following poem in memory of his late friend:

"Brought to this world by Him;  
Taken from this world by Him;  
Young as thou art!  
Useful as thou proved;  
At the prime of thy life!  
At the world's great expectations  
Thou art gone! Gone for ever!  
Rest in peace in God's holy place!  
Where angels are Thy play-mates!  
Gone thou art! Is that all!!  
Has thou gone alone? Nay.  
We are inch by inch, day by day,  
Moving nearer to the cruel grave!

The only duty comforting us is to play  
 Our part and do our duty!  
 “Work while it is day for night

Cometh when no man worketh” (Maringa, 1937b).

### **5.11 APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS AT LEMANA INSTITUTION AND THEIR CONDITIONS OF SERVICE: THE CASE OF AA MOLETSANE**

Mission education inspired proselytes to behave in a manner similar to their benefactors. Mr Moletsane of Mafeteng, Basutoland (Lesotho), left his country of birth for the same reasons that made the French clerics to leave their country to work in Basutoland in 1833. He also liked to venture into distant countries to spread the gospel. As a member of the royal house and a qualified teacher, he had all the credentials to work in his country but elected to travel abroad. The fact that he knew the Revs Paul Berthoud and Ernest Creux who worked in his country for some time made him keen to help them in their time of need. The Rev RH Dyke, who looked after the first Swiss mission students sent to study at Morija, also spoke to him about the vacancy at Lemana College anticipating that he would be keen to assist. This is discernible from the Rev DP Lenoir, the Principal of Lemana: “Your letter of 7 December 1906 has come to hand and accept my thanks for it. As you have heard by the Lemana Institution, even now I write to reiterate what I have said to Mr Dyke to tell you, It is in my whole heart I accept the situation in Lemana Institution ...”.

Mr Moletsane had to delay his assumption of duties at Lemana because, as a chief of his village, he had to leave everything in good shape before he travelled to distant countries for a longer period. Everything concerning this delay was communicated to the Rev DP Lenoir (Moletsane 1906; 1907).

Mr Moletsane's conditions for appointment at Lemana College were as follows:

- a) He had to serve for a period of two years from the date of assumption of duty. The contract had an option of being cancelled under the proviso that three months' notice be given, failing which, a salary corresponding to the period be paid to the College.
- b) He would have 4,5 hours daily to teach all subjects according to the Native Code of Instruction for Training Institutions within the Transvaal, supervision of students during study time in the evenings, lend assistance as the circumstances of the college demanded, attend worship in the morning and at night and to have a Christian influence upon the students.
- c) Mr Moletsane would be entitled to a £50 would serve as a regular salary while £25 would serve as a special allowance based on the certificates possessed by him, experience accumulated at Morija and the fact that he was an expatriate teacher.
- d) He was entitled to free accommodation and expected to leave the dwelling house, garden and other property in good order whenever he tendered his resignation.
- e) He would be entitled to £25 relocation allowance from Morija to Lemana and vice versa. This amount covered transport for him, luggage and family, and
- f) He had the right to maintain a field, own pigs, small cattle, and so forth, provided that the animals were properly housed and grazed according to Mission instructions (Lenoir 1907).

Mr Moletsane's contract cannot be compared with any other contract signed by white teachers in 1907 as those who should have taken up posts at Lemana during the same period declined the invitation because of the excruciating heat of the district and the salary package and allowance. The only other contract signed by a white teacher found by the researcher is that of Miss Annie Gertrude Pascoe who assumed duties at Lemana on 15 February 1922 and vacated the post in July 1924 when she left for Mpfumu/Maputo, Mozambique. This contract is much later and does not allow for comparison. But from what one gathers from Frank Cruden, Esq of Stellenbosch Boys' High School who applied for a vacancy at Lemana during the same period as Moletsane, there were major differences in terms of salaries payable to white teachers at the Cape and what blacks received in the erstwhile Transvaal. The letter dated 1 August 1906 addressed to the Rev DP Lenoir outlines the differences: "Here in Stellenbosch in the boys' High School I receive £250 per annum and in addition a bonus from the Department of Education of £18.15/- and Good Service allowance of £31.5/- (less 5% for Pension Fund). The

total is within a few shillings of £300 per annum and living is comparatively cheap here, though house rent is high. Two years hence my Good Service allowance will be £41.15/- and, of course, if I leave the Colony Bonus and GSA lapse”.

The foregoing plus the good climate at the Cape might explain adequately why Frank Cruden, Esq found it difficult to leave the Cape Colony for the Transvaal. The Transvaal lagged behind the Cape in many respects as even higher teachers' qualifications were obtainable from the Cape institutes. The status of Cape Town as mother city may also have contributed to this.

## **5.12 THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES AT LEMANA TRAINING INSTITUTION**

### **5.12.1 Introduction**

Management at Lemana College was based on the top-down approach that did not give subordinates a meaningful say in educational management. In the 1940s African teachers at Lemana reached a stage where they were no longer keen to suffer in silence. They raised their concern over their status which was surpassed by that of the students they taught. (Masumbe 2000:223-232). Steyn (1995:108) appears to have an ideal management strategy that institutions/organisations should care to consider. She suggests that school managers should cease perceiving themselves as hierarchically oriented bureaucrats and strive for participative leadership in their organisations. Such an approach accords subordinates freedom of expression to raise issues affecting their work within the organisations/institutions. Following is an overview of the structures that the Swiss Mission had for managing education at college level:

#### **a) The general committee of the Swiss Mission in South Africa**

This was a committee headquartered in Lausanne, Switzerland. It was the Supreme Authority responsible for the administration of education in general. The Committee consisted of the following office-bearers on the executive by the 1920s: Mr Edmund Bonnard (Chairperson), Rev Arthur Grandjean (General Secretary and the Rev Abel de Meuron (Secretary) (Bonnard et al 1922:1).

**b) The Transvaal Missionary Conference of the Swiss Mission in South Africa**

This Conference was responsible for the administration of the three major institutions, namely, schools, hospitals and churches. This body was apparently based in Johannesburg. Its other duties included the funding of these enterprises so that they should not be handicapped in their delivery of social services and the furtherance of the Kingdom of God (Constitution of Lemana, Undated: 1-2; cf Bonnard & Grandjean 1921:1-3).

**c) The Transvaal Executive Committee of the Swiss Mission in South Africa**

It was the governing body of Lemana Training Institution. It managed the finances of the college and other affairs having a bearing on the educational advancement of the student population (Lemana Constitution Undated: 1-2).

**d) The Lemana Advisory Board/Committee**

This body advised the Lemana Management on how best to administer the college so that the set goals could be realised. The Board had the liberty to raise issues concerning discipline and the sort of punishment to be meted out to students who transgressed rules and regulations. HS Phillips, Esq was the Chairman. His leadership qualities were appreciated by management during the 1945/1946 strike by the registered students. Its Executive Committee met twice every quarter unless there were emergency issues that needed their attention. The Transvaal Executive Committee of the Swiss Mission in South Africa appointed office-bearers. Medical doctors like RD Aitken and JA Rosset served on the Board (Constitution of Lemana Undated: 1-2; Lemana Advisory Committee Minutes 1958:1-2).

**e) Other constitutional provisions of Lemana Training Institution vis-à-vis the superintendency of the College**

- i) The Superintendency:** The Superintendent was the supreme overseer of all the college affairs in the context of the Constitution. He acted in consent with other stakeholders in the management of education at the college.

### **Duties**

- ❖ coordination of the college affairs and ensuring harmonious working relations at the college;
- ❖ representation of the college before the Transvaal Education Department (TED) and other instances;
- ❖ Financial administration and other administrative tasks;
- ❖ no deal was valid without his consent and signature;
- ❖ introduced courses with consent of other stakeholders at Lemana;
- ❖ not responsible for tuition as the overseer of the college;
- ❖ to bear the consequences for unilateral actions (Constitution of Lemana Undated: 1-2).

- ii) **The Lemana Chaplaincy.** This position was held by the resident missionary. He/she was the supreme overseer of religious affairs at the college.

### **Duties**

- ❖ coordination of all religious activities on campus;
- ❖ representing the college at religious conferences;
- ❖ organising religious activities such as the Students Christian Association (SCA), Sunday Schools Bible Studies;
- ❖ consultation with the superintendency;
- ❖ writing annual reports on religious activities and activities and discipline of students on campus and outside (Constitution of Lemana Undated: 1-2; cf Martin 1952:1-3)

- iii) **General staff meetings and staff executive**

The Chaplain was not supposed to act unilaterally in religious affairs. He/she had to consult with other executive to ensure that students were transformed into responsible adults. He/she had to convene meetings at which issues would be broached and decisions hammered out. Decisions such as the appointment of prefects had to be made by all stakeholders. The Superintendent of the College

was not expected to demean the decisions made by the Staff Executive. The Matron and Boarding Master were not to be excluded in the decision making process as they were the ones who had a better view of students' activities on campus (Constitution of Lemana Undated: 1-2).

**iv) The Principals of the Lemana Normal School and the Douglas Laing Smit Secondary School**

Principals were expected to coordinate all teaching and learning activities in collaboration with their subordinates and other agencies. They had to meet and decide on examinations, time-tables, promotion of learners/students and how to maintain norms and standards at their respective institutions. All principals and superintendents had to strive for the furtherance of the Kingdom of God on earth (Cuendet 1941:1). Decisions made at the Executive Staff Meetings were binding to all parties. Any reviewal had to be made at follow up meetings (Constitution of Lemana Undated: 1-2).

**f) Lemana managerial staff and the admission of students at the College: the six commandments**

Missionary education was based on the civilised-uncivilised dichotomy stemming from Social Darwinism. This implied those who had been immersed in civilisation for many centuries had to lead the late-comers by hand up the social ladder. This paternalism and trusteeship over blacks by whites found expression in the socio-economic and political spheres. Religion was also premised on these solid foundations hence the rules and regulations enforced at Lemana College were essentially paternalistic. Readers should compare these rules and regulations with what held Elim Hospital's Nursing College as discussed in Chapter 4 (sub-section 4.10.1). All applicants admitted at Lemana College had to abide by the following rules and regulations:

- 1) They had to be 15 years of age before entering on the course of training and possess a certificate of good conduct from their Missionary or white patrons.
- 2) They had to show evidence of having passed Standard III (Grade 5) or satisfactorily passed a preliminary examination of equal worth as prescribed by the Native Education Department.

- 3) All students entering their course of training had to sign a pledge or undertaking to devote their services to native school subsidised by the Government for three years consecutively or undertakes refunding whatever sums of money might have been expended on their training by the Government.
- 4) Those undertaking to serve under the Swiss Mission in South Africa had to pay a yearly fee of £6 towards maintenance and education in advance for the first school year when entering College after which a sum corresponding to the half the yearly fee be paid in advance for each following session:
  - ❖ Learners/pupils recommended by missionaries of other societies or white patrons would pay a yearly fee of £8 under the conditions alluded to above.
  - ❖ Learners/pupils holding a testimonial from a white person, who desired to undertake a course of training other than teaching, were to be admitted upon paying a fee of £10.
- 5) Missionaries of other societies or white patrons had to obtain from their proselytes a firm undertaking that they would proceed through the entire course in accordance with Schedule "B" of the Native Education Department according to the Rev Dr Henri Alexander Junod of the defunct Shiluvane Training Institution, Thabina, on 14 November 1904, concerning Training Institutions (Article 3). Failing this, they had to refund all monies expended on them by the Government on conditions laid down by the Government from time to time. Students who failed to complete their course(s) of training for honourable/acceptable reasons would be exempted from refunding monies by the Transvaal Education Department (TED). The same did not hold for those who absconded or were dismissed from College for misdemeanours.
- 6) Learners/pupils had to come to College with their own clothing, namely two coats, two pairs of trousers, two or three shirts, one hat, and one or two blankets. Ragged clothes would not be tolerated on campus. Sunday uniforms would be lent to each learner/pupil, but remained the property of Lemana Training Institution after the completion of the course (Rules and Regulations for the Swiss Mission Training Institution Undated, p 1)

**g) School regulations: Lemana Training Institution, Spelonken**

The Normal School/College regulations can be summarised as follows:

- a) Pupils already engaged to be married prior to entering the College had to notify the Principal in advance.
- b) During studies no pupils would be allowed to become engaged but the Principal reserved the right to consider the final year pupils' entitlement to this privilege but correspondence would not be allowed for more than once per month on both sides.
- c) Correspondence with other girls than real sisters was prohibited.
- d) Principal reserved the right to inspect outgoing and incoming mail save for correspondence of missionaries or white patrons with pupils.
- e) Pupils disregarding college rules regarding correspondence with the opposite sex would be punished - insubordination in this regard would lead to immediate expulsion.
- f) Pupils expelled from another institution would not be received in any other similar institution, without special recommendation of the Principal.
- g) Pupils are not permitted to leave premises of the institution without the approval of the principal or his substitute.
- h) Pupils would not be allowed to visit their parents or relatives in the neighbourhood more than once a month, cases of sickness or special reasons approved by the principal, excepted.
- i) Visitors to pupils must first call at the principal but would not be allowed on school days, except in special cases. Pupils are not allowed to accommodate visitors for the night nor to give or receive food at school without the knowledge of the principal.
- j) The use of tobacco is prohibited.
- k) English would be spoken by the pupils while in the institution, exception being made on Sundays. (Worship however and Bible Study would be conducted in the Native Dialect that is, 'Xigwamba'/Xitsonga).

### 5.13 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Formal education was the key in the Swiss missionaries' transformative efforts. Missionaries used schools, churches and hospitals as agencies for bringing about changes in the lifestyles of the indigenous populace. The Swiss clerics like their colleagues spread over the other churches believed that any social transformation not founded on the Christian religion was bound to fail to achieve the best results (Malan 1950:4).

Lemana Management worked hand in hand with the Lemana Advisory Board/Committee consisting of medical doctors, clerics, farmers and the teaching personnel. Doctors, such as RD Aitken and Jean-Alfred Rosset, served on it. Its chairman was HS Phillips, Esq. This board was crucial in instilling discipline in the student population. HS Phillips Esq is reputed to have been the leader who dissuaded students from causing damage to college property during the 1945/46 riots (Jaques 1946:1-3). Though missionaries were decidedly paternalistic in their operations, the Rev FA Cuendet at times deviated from this norm to consult with parents. He also sent out circulars in the vernacular to encourage parents not to allow their children not to leave school before they attained higher qualifications from the college (Cuendet 1941:1).

The State subsidised black education with the exception of careers that benefited the church such as evangelists' training programs. This explains why the Rev WEC Clarke was forthright in his condemnation of teacher-evangelism in his letter dated 14 November 1904 to the Rev Junod as follows: "While admitting that the combination of evangelist and Teacher in one is in a number of cases inevitable at present, I am bound to say that I cannot contemplate the indefinite continuance of such an arrangement with favour: it by no means follows that a man who would make a good Evangelist would also make a good Teacher, and of course, as you point out, it is no easy matter to find time to give adequate Training for a man so that he may discharge both functions well".

The Swiss hierarchy did what would ensure the continued provision of subsidies to Lemana College as failure to separate the two disciplines was tantamount to refusing financial support from the Education Department. Students who abandoned their courses or were expelled were required to refund bursary monies expended on them as expected by the State officials.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **THE ROLE OF THE SWISS CLERGY IN THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

#### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

The church and its workforce was the key to socio-economic and spiritual development of the indigenous populace in this country at a time when successive colonial governments were not keen to do the same. Evangelisation was seen as the key to civilising the indigenous populace. But since Christianisation could not be entrenched without literacy, churches constructed schools to empower Africans with writing and reading skills. Missionaries also combated superstition through the provision of hospitals built in different parts of this country.

The State eventually realised that its *laissez-faire* policy when it came to educating the indigenous populace was not acceptable at a time when other countries were regarding the provision of formal education as the responsibility of the State. For this reason the four provinces of South Africa started subsidising native schools at the beginning of the twentieth century. Church officials had to conform to the rules and regulations governing subsidies. For example, evangelism had to be separated from the teachers' course if training institutions were to continue receiving subsidies from the government. Previously, churches ran teacher-evangelism courses to ensure that teachers emerging from the colleges had the skill to extend the Kingdom of God wherever they were posted. Lemana Training Institution was forced to relocate from the farm Rossbach in 1922 because the State threatened to suspend subsidies due to it, if it was not moved to a place that would be big enough to allow for the construction of a practising school and further expansion (Bonnard & Grandjean 1921:1-3).

#### **6.2 AFRICANS' INVOLVEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SWISS MISSION FIELDS**

It was customary among Europeans to regard Africa as a 'Dark Continent' inhabited by people of low intelligence. Such perspectives gradually changed with the passing of time. But there are people who still subscribe to this view, thus making it difficult for transformation forces to manage social change as they should. However, some intellectuals have grown to accept that

Africa had knowledgeable persons long before the dawn of Western civilisation. For instance, Devel et al (186:1) put Africa's case as follows: "Much more is known about the history of man since the discovery of writing in about 400 BC than before that time ... Ancient history begins with the civilisations of Egypt and Mesopotamia in about 4000 BC. After them followed other ancient civilisations, for example, of Palestine, Greece and Rome" (cf Adendorf 2002:9).

History (of education) needs to be objectively studied to serve as a useful tool for improving the quality of human life. The church laid the foundations for our modern civilisation. There is no unanimity in the assessment of the Swiss missionaries' social transformation efforts in this country. But those who were the beneficiaries of their educational efforts tend to eulogise their personalities. For instance, the late Prof HWE Ntsan'wisi, the first black moderator of the Swiss Mission Church, described them as not colour-conscious, Calvinist in outlook and faith and pragmatic in fighting for social justice. But what the researcher realises is that each view is determined by the nature of the data gathered. The researcher concedes that the Swiss clerics did much for Africans, particularly the Shangaans, who were their main targets for proselytisation. They also contributed to the social upliftment of Europeans as well. However, Calvinism as a religious philosophy, cannot serve as a sound yardstick for the Swiss missionaries' non-racial stance as it was synonymous with the denial of equal educational opportunities to blacks and whites. Both the Nationalist Party government and the Swiss clerics advocated differentiated education (Jaques 1951:3-6; Verwoerd 1954:1-24)

### **6.3 STATE INVOLVEMENT IN THE SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULACE**

It is customary to regard education as the main catalyst for social change. Perhaps the positive thing that colonial administrators did for the aboriginal races was the allocation of funds to missions to help streamline native education. Churches found it difficult to expand their education systems as the meagre capital they had was mainly directed at the Christianisation of natives' vis-à-vis education of provision. The latter was the State's inalienable duty worldwide. Clerics cooperated with the colonial governments as they could not afford to let subsidies slip through their hands. The Swiss missionaries were meticulous in their administration of bursaries and other budgetary allocations. For example, when Mr Filemon Bloom Bartimee of 58 Becker Street, New Town, and Johannesburg absconded or discontinued his studies at Lemana Training Institution, his case was treated with the urgency it deserved. The Rev Francois Alois Cuendet,

the Superintendent of Lemana Normal School in the 1920s, wrote a letter dated 21 December 1921 to Mr Bartimee (including those who have been expelled), must reimburse all monies paid in respect of their studies. The total amount paid in respect of your studies is £30.0.0 It is your debt. It is a big debt, but what can we do? You must know that you have signed an undertaking binding yourself to serve the government for three years. But you have broken the pledge/laws, you have since been expelled, thus the Department demands a refund.

Inform me as to how you will go about refunding the money.

With greetings” (My own translation from Xitsonga).

It is clear from the Rev FA Cuendet’s letter that he did not want Bartimee to tarnish the image of Lemana Training Institution. The student himself had to pay compensation for his actions. We also know that even contemporary governments expect students for whom they have aid tuition fees and other incidental expenses to reciprocate by serving them in public life. Thus what the Swiss Mission was doing was not to disadvantage the student, but to redirect the life of what appeared to be a wayward student. The researcher stresses that the Swiss clerics encouraged people who belonged to other ethnic groups to speak the Xitsonga language. Language is a means of promoting better understanding which translates to harmonious race relations and development. Mr Jones H Maswanganyi (1923:4), a regular columnist in *The Morning Star*, commended what the Swiss missionaries did for Blacks, hence he persuaded parents to ensure that their children made full use of the education provided at Lemana Training Institution, so that they should become future leaders. He condemned parents for urging their offspring to migrate to towns and cities to seek employment in order to raise money for *lobola* (bride-price). To him children belonged to the teaching-learning situation so that they could become responsible leaders with Christian norms and values. Not only did Maswanganyi urge his people to strive for Christian education, but what was more, he seemed to be ahead of his time by calling for the diversification of fields of study to include technical courses/industrial courses, law and food production (agriculture).

#### **6.4 DIFFERENTIATED EDUCATION: THE CATHOLIC PERSPECTIVE VIS-À-VIS SWISS MISSION IDEOLOGY**

It is not enough to dwell on one church’s educational practices. Mission education needs to be explored across denominational boundaries to understand past educational practices in order to improve the quality of life of our people. Comparative education affords the change forces the

opportunity to distinguish and evaluate education that was introduced in the past, so that we can embark on education renewal. Educational renewal that is not preceded by intensive and extensive research, amounts to what scholars call innovation without change. South Africa requires social change but not the type of change that is not based on research and development. As we reform our education system we cannot afford to neglect constructive criticism as was the case with past regimes.

Some pertinent questions need to be raised. For instance, must the Church of Christ pander to the needs of secular states even though they are in conflict with Christian teachings as was the case in the past? The Catholic Bishop Lamont (1963:59), seems to have answered this question adequately when he said that the Church of Christ must strive for education for reality that opens opportunities for everybody, namely, the chance to develop his/her latent potentialities without discrimination. To him the Church of Christ must not practise discrimination of any sort “let alone seem to perpetuate, a schools system which calls itself Christian and yet segregates its children solely on the basis of race” (Lamont 1963:59).

Lamont seems to have been an advocate for egalitarianism, which is essentially a social system that treats its membership as equals with regard to the provision of goods and services. The Rev Max Buchler of the Swiss Mission in South Africa, spelt out the Constitution of the church as follows: “The first and most important aim of the Mission is to preach the Gospel to the heathen, to show him that he too, can partake of the Salvation Christ offers to anyone who “believeth in Him” who gives to his or her life a new orientation, who, with the help of the Holy Spirit “turns a new leaf, and a clean one” (Buchler 1950b:8).

In theory, the Swiss Mission was no different from other church denominations. But certain work of the Swiss Mission was criticised by liberal or progressive clerics. Patrick Harries has the following to say about the Rev Dr Henri Alexandre, who was regarded as the Swiss Mission’s chief theoretician: “Junod’s work ossified Tsonga-speakers in a pristinely primitive tribal world. It was unsophisticated and “unnatural” world which needed to be protected by being segregated. Emerging from the same mould, the young segregationist Edgar Brookes supported the creation of reserves in which Africans could “develop along their own lines and under their own chiefs” (Harries 1986:41).

The Swiss individually and severally supported the above perspective with impunity. Here they differed from E Bruggmann, SMB (1963:68), another Catholic, who quoting Pope John would say: "It is not true that some human beings are by nature superior, and others inferior. All men are equal in their natural dignity, since they are bodies whose membership is made up of those same human beings. Nor must it be forgotten, in this connection, that people can be highly sensitive, and with good reason, in matters touching their dignity and honour. "Political communities may have reached different levels of culture; civilisation or economic development. Neither is that a sufficient reason for some to take unjust advantage of their superiority over others; rather should they see in it an added motive for more serious commitment to be common cause of social progress".

The foregoing seems to be the best way of ordering race relations in countries emerging from colonialism and racism. Adherence to obsolete social doctrines creates polarisation even in countries that should be enjoying peace. In such circumstances governments should use reasonable force to make those who continue to pursue racist agendas to do what is good for humanity in general.

The Swiss missionaries tended to be unaware of the shortcomings of their education system vis-à-vis other systems of education as they promoted differentiated schooling up to the nationalisation of schools by the State in 1955. They did however acknowledge that the Cape and Natal were far much ahead in terms of organisation. But they tended to draw differences on the basis of funding rather than the content or quality of education they provided to Blacks. This means that they saw nothing wrong in their educational principles (Cuenod 1933:3). If the Swiss clerics were not aware of the shortcomings of their education system, their proselytes were. Messrs EA Tlakula and Mos J Madiba wrote about the educational inequities that existed in the erstwhile Transvaal. They yearned for the conditions that existed at Healdtown Institute near Fort Beaufort as well as at Lovedale Institute. It grieved them to see Natives in the Cape, who had the opportunities to pursue university degrees and to secure teaching posts at the Colleges at a time when citizens of Transvaal were travelling long distances to acquire the Native Primary Higher certificate. Mr Shadrack Mongalo not only marvelled at the degrees that served as suffixes to the Black teachers' surnames at Healdtown but the supporting services accessible to schools (Tlakula 1934:12; cf Mongalo 1934:9; Madiba 1933:3).

It was not for lack of observation that the Swiss clerics failed to improve their education system but rather lack of zest. As for observation, they had it in abundance as could be discerned from the letter that the Rev David P Lenoir wrote on 13 August 1906 to Frank Cruden Esq who had applied for a teaching post at Lemana College, which read thus: "I must say distance, climate and quality of school would not be a recommendation. Children of our Missionaries here must either go to Pretoria or have home tuition. Distance places us in this respect in a specially difficult position".

It was hypocritical if not racist of the Swiss clerics to enable their children to play with their black counterparts only to separate them when it came to the formal education. One would have expected them to prepare all children for entry into the same world as they were creations of God destined to serve the same Master, Jesus Christ. Even when it came to secular life, the economy and co-education would have made a great difference. Contemporary societies have to act in a democratic way.

People need skills to attain a high quality of life and not the system of education that seeks to make blacks perpetual labourers. Blacks were thought to be only fit for employment "on farms and as Foremen, Gardeners and House servants" as the Honourable HS Phillips Esq, the Superintendent of Shirley Agricultural and Industrial Primary School for Natives used to stress from 1931. Blacks are as deserving as whites for positions that require high order cognitive skills and it is only fair that in contemporary times capacity be built in them to scale such heights by those sufficiently resourced to provide such assistance. The Honourable Phillips was, however, right in stressing that a fundamental aim of education must be "teaching boys and girls to be able to help themselves to provide amenities and comforts (better housing, food, furniture, etc) in their own homes" (Phillips Undated: 1-2). These aims characterise modern systems of education. Thus in criticising Swiss clerics' education, one does not imply that it was devoid of virtue in its entirety. On the contrary, there were things that even contemporary educationists can copy from them if they take time to peruse their archival records available in Gauteng and the Limpopo Provinces. The good of the missionary era needs to be retained.

For instance, Shirley School's curriculum was hailed as the best in the entire Transvaal if not the Union as a whole. This description stemmed from the fact that learners were exposed to an array of courses that included agriculture (theory and practice), bee-keeping, poultry farming, woodwork, tanning (working on animal skins and hides), leatherwork, tinwork, repair of

implements, fencing, brick making and construction of houses, plastering, gardening and animal husbandry. One can imagine what progress might have been made since the inception of this school in 1931 had there been the will on the part of the State and the missionaries to provide proselytes with and indispensable for meaningful living (Phillips: Undated: 1-2).

The Swiss missionaries' management of social transformation was open for abuse by commercial farmers. This was because the clergy discussed their school system which they regarded as capable of whetting natives' appetite for Western goods. In the view of the late Rev Dr AA Jaques, this would ensure that they remained proletariats as this was the only means of earning money that would be used to purchase Western goods. Jaques also argued that the poor white problem would become a thing of the past if the State assumed full responsibility for education or created conditions that were conducive for the streamlining of mission education (Jaques 1933:1-2).

Commercial white farmers might have interpreted missionary rhetoric as the right to exploit cheap black labour. For instance, a letter dated 25 February 1936 from the District Forest Officer, Bushbuckridge, required the Swiss clerics to provide genuine scholars with testimonials attesting that they were not truants. Those learners who failed to attend school for nine consecutive months were deemed to be truants and therefore liable for compulsory farm labour at the MAC MAC Timber plantations as punishment for their alleged misdemeanour. Elsewhere in the country the same incidences were a common sight. In the Zoutpansberg District a boy was lynched for having had the misfortune of losing one of the pigs he was tending on a farm west of Elim Hospital on 16 April 1932. This incident prompted the editors of *The Valdezia Bulletin* (1932:2) to run a story captioned: "*Hi xi kumile na mabunu ya mapurasi* (We are against odds with Boers)".

The Swiss missionaries were great proponents of respect of basic human rights. The activities of the Rev Dr Henri Philippe Junod and his South African Penal Reform League is one testimony to that effect. But unfortunately certain areas remained open for exploitation by those who were intent on enriching themselves. Many commercial farmers tried to convince the Swiss clerics that the Native would be guaranteed steady supply of food if he/she sold his/her labour to the commercial white farmer than when he/she was given prime agricultural land to till. It was argued that the native's indolence would not provide food for his/her sustenance. Phillips (1936) had the following to say about a Mr EA Rooth who was the Member of Parliament for Louis

Trichardt: "Rooth our local MP at several meetings held up here last week complained bitterly of the "negrophilism" as he called it of the towns and the town MP's which had definitely prevented any alterations of the scheduled areas. On the whole he was fairer than I expected but the bulk of his audience was most anti-native. You have done excellent work with your articles and the Race Relations pamphlets and the natives can be really grateful that the deal is fair as it is.

With kind regards".

The South African Natives and Trust Land Act (1936) was supposed to redress natives' land hunger which was beginning to make African collaborators restive. But even though the Swiss missionaries were aware of the New Africans' displeasure with the expropriation of large acres of land by whites since the Land Act (1913) was passed, they continued insulating white privileges by being lackadaisical in articulating black interests. The flurry of letters between the Rev René Cuenod, Secretary of the Zoutpansberg Joint Council for Europeans and Africans did very little to advance the indigenous people's cause.

There were, however, farmers who were doing all they could to advance the cause of black people. For instance, Dr Jules Liengme of Ribolla built a school in 1930 and was always keen to organise functions to celebrate the scholastic achievements of learners. He also would not let pupils go to athletics meetings or the Eisteddfods without encouraging them. The poor relied on his generosity as he owned fields and granaries at Chavani, a grazing camp for beef breeds at N'waxinyamani and another one at Magudani, Bokisi, for draught oxen. The dairy breeds were kept at Ribolla mountain. But he did not like pupils who played truant or parents who were not keen to encourage their children to uphold Christian norms and values as well as strive for education. Anybody who seduced a girl was liable for dismissal together with his parents. Parents knew that the moral education that children got from their educators had to be based on the foundation laid at home (Masumbe 2000:109; Makhubele Interview: 15 November 2001).

Other farmers were not keen to promote the education of Blacks at all. These farmers subscribed to what Memmi (1990:137) described as colonial racism. This form of colonialism was based on three major ideological premises, namely, the gulf that must exist between the culture of the colonialist and the colonised; the exploitation of these differences for the benefit of the colonialist and, lastly the use of these supposed differences as standards of absolute fact. It should be noted that there were missionaries and farmers who were not willing to accord blacks

the respect due to them. These would address them as 'boys' and 'girls' to denote the low caste to which they belonged even though they were seniors in terms of age. N'waxinyamani village had three white farmers who took advantage of the confusion that prevailed in the Zoutpansberg District before the passing of the South African Natives and Trust Land Act of 1936 to farm in the area between 1930 and 1935. First was Mr Tony, second was Mr Albert Mingard (alias Marhobane) and lastly a man by the pseudonym Magogogo from Daviesville. Only Mr A Mingard elected not to build a farmhouse in the village during his tenure as a farmer. He hailed from Elim and would come daily to supervise the farm-workers, or rely on the foremen deputising for him. Mr Tony had a farmhouse situated about 400 meters above the dipping tank that was built in 1946. He was farming with potatoes along the banks of N'wanancile River like his counterparts. Magogogo is remembered as a ruthless farmer who did not hesitate caning the workers if they did not perform to his satisfaction. Mr Masaka William Hon'wana who was born in 1918 knew Magogogo very well for he had a stint on his Daviesville farm before he terminated his services in protest to the cow his employer confiscated from his father as tax (Masumbe Interview: 10 December 2001).

Social transformation during the missionary/colonial era was hampered by racist dogma. So entrenched was racism in South Africa that Mr Arthur Owens of 26 Rocher Avenue, Bordeaux, Randburg, touched on it in his letter dated 16 July 1969 to the Rev Dr TR Schneider of the Swiss Mission in South Africa, Valdezia. This was after touring to Tshipise Resort, Elim, Lemana Training Institution, and Valdezia with the youths of St Mungo's. He appreciated the work the Swiss missionaries were doing to normalise race relations in the district. He hoped that the touring youths enjoyed their stay in the district which gave them the opportunity to interact with blacks in their locations, work stations and school settings. But knowing the indoctrination whites had been subjected to with regard to social intercourse with blacks, Mr Owens added the following: "I only hope that the work that the young people did was satisfactory. What is more important perhaps is the contact they made with Africans as people. I think from this point of view they responded very well. They are brought up to regard the African in a strictly master-servant relationship and very little thought is given to the African as a person" (Owens 1969:1-2).

## 6.5 THE SWISS MISSIONARIES' ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES

Social transformation is about social discourse and the harmonisation of race relations so that the organisational goals can be realised. Social transformation is also about the initiation of projects whose thrust is the improvement of the quality of life. The Swiss clerics had the following administrative structures:

### 6.5.1 The consistory

This was the local government of the Church. It was also known as the Church Council. Its office-bearers were the church elders who met once a month to discuss a variety of issues. These included policy matters, church finances, namely, income and expenditure as well as ways of solving problems that impeded social development. Christians who transgressed mission statutes had their cases heard by the Church Council. Church Council members also determined the punishment that had to be meted out to prevent the recurrence of bad behaviour (Buchler 1950:13).

### 6.5.2 Pastoral fraternity (Ntsombano)

This structure dealt with spiritual issues, matters pertaining to non-European personnel and the provision of spiritual and intellectual support that fostered organisational development. Spiritual guidance was extended to both the mission stations and annexes. For example, issues like drunkenness, adultery, lawlessness and relapses had to be properly investigated and discussed with a view to finding solutions to the problems at hand (Buchler 1950b:13). The pastoral fraternity in 1911 reviewed the mission statutes that were transplanted from the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society in Basutoland (Lesotho). One contentious issue was that the statutes prevented Christians from marrying heathen girls. The new converts were also not expected to pay *lobola* (dowry) to the heathen parents. But Christians argued that the ruling was unfair as the Swiss Mission had just started working in South Africa. The law was consequently disadvantageous to the first converts who had to remain as bachelors until such time the Church would have produced enough converts for them to choose from. The Christians' argument induced the church leadership to relax the stringent church laws and men were thenceforth allowed to marry heathen girls and pay *lobola* as demanded by their parents. The heathen brides had to be sent to church and school to receive the education that would turn them into good

wives who would uphold Christian norms and values. These incidents served to highlight the importance of adapting constitutions to suit the social conditions of the area in which people lived. (Malale & Jaques 1911: 1-2; Bourguin 1916:1-2).

### **6.5.3 The presbytery**

A presbytery is made up of a number of circuits and has several functions to perform. These include discussing reports and financial statements, working on budget and drawing up agendas for future synodal meetings. Synodal Commissions are responsible for the improvement of lives of Christians within the Church. It is therefore important for the church leadership to guide Christians as to how they should lead exemplary lifestyles and even how to respond to the pressures brought to bear on them from time to time. Christians are but humans who are fallible. It is thus very crucial to give the spiritual upliftment from time to time so that they should not succumb to ostracism. Early Christians could not be visited as regularly as necessary by their missionaries and this made it difficult for them to withstand temptation. Josefa Mhalthala, the first Shangaan/Tsonga minister breached the church bounds due to the “devil” that led him to secretly accept *lobola* from the Pato family even though he knew what the church laws demanded of him. News spread that he had accepted payment and was punished by his superiors (Masumbe 2000:287; Buchler 1950:13).

## **6.6 THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE ON SOCIETY**

Social development is human development, the product of human thought and action. Man uses formal education as the main catalyst for multifaceted change. But formal education should be harmonised with home education to obviate a situation whereby people lose the cultural elements that should be retained during acculturation. The experience of the missionary era should guide managers of social change as to how they should go about effecting changes to the living conditions of people under their auspices. Bezzina (1993:18) has the following to say regarding the management of social change: “Decisions must be made where the action takes place. Effective change starts with the educators, who work in schools”. Bezzina implies that there should be a devolution of powers to areas where social activities are being carried out. People in the community are more conversant with what sort of problem plague communities and if empowered to act, within the constitutional frameworks, they are better suited to resolve problems afflicting them. Teachers need school managers to inspire them and should be willing

to accept their views on the management of learners and the resources of the school. A top-down management style stifles teacher participation in the management of schools because they tend to regard the headmaster as a hierarchically oriented bureaucrat who does not need their assistance. Participative leadership creates interpersonal relations that lead to open communication on any topic having a bearing on every member of the school community. This kind of relationship involves everybody concerned with the progress of the school as a co-owned institution as opposed to what would be countenanced if a bureaucratic style of leadership is the norm (Steyn 1995:108).

## **6.7 SOCIAL CHANGE AND ITS EXTENSION TO OTHER AREAS**

Organisations need to expand their services to include new territories. The Swiss clerics were not content with the Zoutpansberg as their only mission field. Therefore, they dispatched Josefa Mhthalmhala to Mozambique upon learning that the majority of the Shangaan/Tsonga people they were evangelising were living in that territory. To the Swiss it was not acceptable to evangelise the minority while leaving the majority oblivious of the Lord Jesus Christ. The Swiss Missionary Society (1874) also sent the Revs Henri Berthoud and Eugene Thomas on a tour of inspection of the stations Mhthalmhala and Eliachib and inaugurated in 1882 in their country of birth, Mozambique. The two clerics set off for Mozambique in 1995 accompanied by African collaborators. During their return journey, they were approached by Chief Muhlaba who wanted his subjects to be taught the Word of God as well. By 1886 work had started at Shiluvane as neglecting the chief's request would have meant losing the opportunity to expand the Tzaneen district to include other missions. For instance, the Lutheran/Berlin Mission was already operative at Modjadji with Medingen as its headquarters (Masumbe 2000:161; Rinono 1956:1).

The creation of the Shiluvane Mission Station in 1886 created the need for more evangelists to help the missionaries with the demand for the gospel. Pondo Ntsan'wisi and Viki Shihangule migrated to Shiluvane in 1894 from Barcelona, where they were converted by Ntate Betuel Ralitau a Mosotho evangelist from Bastuoland (Lesotho). During the early days of the missions there was no distinction between evangelistic duties, teaching functions or community work/programs. Perhaps this was the reason why there was a dualism – teacher-evangelism in the teachers' courses that were later introduced at Shiluvane Training Institution (1899-1905) and at Lemana Training Institution (1906-1968). This arrangement ensured versatility that could only culminate in the spread of Christianity and national development.

Messrs Pondo Ntsan'wisi and Viki Shihangule were later joined by Messrs Dick Mtosi and Maswakhomu Shikhibana in their new place of abode. These families coalesced with other families to form a vibrant Christian community. Other families that served as pioneers included that of Messrs Silas Mankelu (Shiluvane) who also laboured at Bushbuckridge in subsequent years, Rev Jonas Maphophe, Asser Maakana, Samuel Maakana, Hermanus Marhovonyi, David Mangalana, Ephraim Rikuwen, Philip Madanci (father to Chief Muhlaba's wife, Catherine) and the white missionaries. Mr Jonas Maphophe first served as a teacher from the year 1887. With these Christians, the Shiluvane Christian community grew from strength to strength. The rickety huts were replaced with squared houses modelled along those of European missionaries. In the sphere of agriculture, there were vegetable gardens and orchards. This meant that preventable diseases had a minimal chance within the community. All industrial work was done by proselytes for it was important that they be freed from the clutches of heathenism that flowed with 'indolence'. This was how missionaries across denominational boundaries perceived Africans. A positive aspect of missionaries' educational endeavours was the strong emphasis laid on the principles of self-reliance and self-sufficiency in terms of food production and the satisfaction of other human needs (Ntsan'wisi 1956:2).

As evangelisation ingrained itself at Shiluvane there was concern that the Maakes (Bakgaga) had to be influenced as well. Chief Muhlaba Shiluvane himself persuaded his friend to embrace Christianity (Ntsan'wisi 1956:2). Chief Speke Maake's acceptance of missionary influence in his territory led to the emergence of the following Christians: Mekia Maake, Zakea Mokoni Moagi, Jakobo Chukudu, Tafula, Akilas, Thobi, Levi and Jonathan Mavusuna. During this period, Chief Speke Maake's kraal overlooked the Marobone mountain range. The Maake Mission Station was characterised by properly laid out streets, mission statutes that kept Christians on track and Christian fellowship. On Sundays church services started in the morning followed by the Sunday School and the afternoon services. In the evening, each family was responsible for family services. The resident minister was the Honourable Rev SJ Maphophe (Mrs I Maphophe 1956:3). According to a short historical account given by a WM Maake (1956:2), Chief Maake, a very close friend of the late Chief Muhlaba, died in December 1911 at Sedan but was buried at "*badimong ba Bakgaga* (probably a special burial place for the Bakgaga people). Maponye, the successor ruled the country from 1927 and was succeeded by Chief Maaka II, who was the ruler at the time the historical survey was printed in *The Morning Star* of 1956. It is not clear as to who ruled the country from 1912 to 1926. The possibility exists that a

regent might have been appointed to lead the tribe until the rightful heir came of age as is the case in most African tribes.

By making Christianity and education accessible to the Maakes, the Swiss missionaries rose above the denominational boundaries (or even ethnic boundaries) drawn by them and the Lutherans at the time of their arrival in the Zoutpansberg in the 1870s. The Maakes were the Pedis who should have been evangelised by the Lutherans who had chosen the Bapedi and later the Vendas as their main target groups for evangelisation. Not only did the Swiss clerics introduce education and evangelism but also went to a point of teaching them food in the Zoutpansberg District where the Shangaans and Vendas living in their midst were introduced to a plough which the Rev Ernest Creux bought for £12. Those humble beginnings can hardly be discounted from the agricultural practices of the black communities at Mulaba and Maake today. Mission education is still ingrained in the mental faculties of those we call the beneficiaries of Swiss mission education (Brookes 1925:15).

But these humble initiatives by the Swiss clerics did not meet with the approval of the colonial authorities who believed that missionaries were exceeding their mandate by extending technical education to natives. This was seen as raising false expectations on the part of blacks which in time would result in conflict between Africans and Europeans. The colonial administrators believed that once Africans had acquired technical education provided by the mission schools, they would clamour for the same positions as Europeans in the industrialised areas of South Africa. For instance, Mr WH van Wyk, Organiser for Arts and Crafts at the Department of Bantu Education, Pretoria sent a letter dated 25 May 1953 to the Lemana management whose contents were as follows: "... my department wishes to stress the fact that we do not train artists, carpenters, builders or plumbers etc. in our training colleges, but practical, handy teachers" (Van Wyk 1953).

It is therefore clear from the foregoing that the self-reliance and self-sufficiency that was promoted at college and primary school workshops within the mission fields had to produce handy teachers. Before this ruling the Swiss also used volunteers to offer industrial courses, for example, Miss Johannah Lehonyi from Makotopong and many others who only received board and lodging. Thus, even before 1953, it was clear how industrial courses would be affected at Lemana Training Institution. According to the Inspector of Domestic Science, Industrial Courses and Needlework's report dated 10 March 1950, no further industrial course was to be

introduced at the college and the staff establishment had to be reviewed to allow training European teachers to handle domestic science in the place of unqualified black teachers serving as volunteers as was the practice before. The Matron who used to be drafted to the teaching field had to occupy herself with hostel duties for that was what she was paid for (cf Cuenod 1935:3).

It is not clear as to whether the Union Government was bent on robbing the black volunteers of a chance to acquire professional training in their fields of interest as would indeed be the case once the Swiss Mission decided officially to employ permanent staff. It should be noted that volunteers were keen to become full-time employees of the Church if missionaries were keen to give them scholarships to further their education. Mr JM Thenga, a volunteer with the Std VI/Grade 8 certificate once made a call to the Swiss missionaries to do something about volunteers. He was of the opinion that payment for their services would not only enable them to earn a livelihood but would encourage them to further their studies until they attained professional qualifications. Unqualified teachers made a major contribution promoting literacy and Scriptural development among Africans especially in outlying areas where the missionaries were seen only after several months (Thenga 1935:2).

#### **6.8. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT VIS-À-VIS THE AFRICANS' SECULAR DESTINIES**

Swiss missionary educational policies were grounded on the production of a petty bourgeoisie who would act as middlemen during the transformation process. Missionaries delineated ethnic boundaries upon selecting the people they intended to evangelise. The proclamation of spheres of influence was important in avoiding clashes between missionaries of different churches. These social divisions spilled over to the Africans. They saw themselves as members of ethnic groups rather than the black race. Ethnic nationalism grew, encouraged by missionaries who looked forward to encouraging the State to form ethnically based governments. In each homeland the church that was responsible for the spiritual and educational development of the inhabitants would automatically become the official church. The Rev Dr HA Junod was a strong proponent of this transition which would take Africans one hundred years to complete and be considered for their entry into a multiracial parliament (Pienaar 1990:24).

Ethnic nationalism was a strong force in staking land claims during the Land Commissioner hearings that followed the passing of the Land Act of 1913. For instance, when giving evidence before the Eastern Transvaal Natives' Land Commission in 1916, Mr Takalani, who was Chief

Tshivhase's headman said: "You must take no notice of these Shangaans. They are no good. We are Bawendas here. These Shangaans came to the country ... You must remove the Shangaans. There will not be enough room (for us both) (Harries 1986:7).

What was ironical about Headman Takalani's evidence was that he conveniently ignored his own tribe's history of self-aggrandisement. According to Rev E Gottschiling (1905:365), the Vhavenda people including the Vhalemba entered South African from the country north of the Limpopo River, namely, Zimbabwe. Gottschiling (1905:365) adds: "tradition and legends as well as the language of the Bawenda (Vhavenda) prove that they have crossed the interior of Africa in coming down to their present habitation. The late Rev C Beuster, to whose researches I am indebted for most of the information I can give under this heading, and who has been living about thirty years as a missionary amongst the Bawenda, has come to the conclusion that they came originally from the Lower Congo. But as a comparison of their language with the languages of the Bantu in West and East Africa, as well as in the interior has led me to the opinion that the Bawenda originally came from the great lakes of East Central Africa".

The Shangaans faced similar problems with the Bapedi with whom they had been living for over 150 years. Running battles between the two tribes were fought in the Ritavi (Tzaneen) -Mhala (Bushbuckridge) areas. Before the advent of apartheid, these tribes seemingly lived in peace. They shared natural resources, such as the land and water without problem, and spoke each other's language with ease. The same held for the northern territories where the Shangaans shared borders with the Venda people. The late Prof HWE Ntsan'wisi, the then Chief Minister of the defunct Bazankulu Bantustan described Pretoria's delineation of boundaries as tantamount to "throwing a bone to two starving dogs" in reference to the Lebowa and Gazankulu homelands (Harries 1986:61). With regard to the Vendas obtaining what was historically Shangaan/Tsonga territories, Ntsan'wisi "threatened the possibility of bloodshed if ... central government's beloved children" were given some title deed to such lands (Harries 1986:61).

Land reforms undertaken by the Union Government were subjected to different interpretations by the illiterate masses. They interpreted the change that were in the offing as: "The Union Government has changed its mind. It is going to be more generous than ever: There will be no more European owner farms, all the white people will be expropriated save in exceptional cases only. The Government will give land free to the natives. There will be no more farm labouring,

no farm tax and no restrictions. Cattle will move freely” (The Light – Ku vonakala ka Vatsonga December 1937:1).

Inequities in the distribution of resources in their varied forms by organisations or governments is undesirable for it creates ill-feeling among people who should be living in peace. Ill-feeling destroys the spirit of mutualism that should foster national development. Instead of rapid social change, the country is saddled by lawlessness that not only leads to economic degeneration but a ruinous state and dislocation of people. As this occurs children miss out on schooling and the country is robbed of future leaders who should be striving for sustainable development. If inequities are experienced in church circles, people start to wonder whether there are two Gods, one serving the needs of Europeans and the other those of Africans. This is why the Church of Christ or governments founded on Christian principles should always strive for egalitarianism. It is an egalitarian society that will hopefully enjoy peace and security as opposed to one that treats people differently (Masumbe 2000:173).

## **6.9 THE SWISS MISSIONARIES’ FISCAL POLICY**

### **6.9.1 Introduction**

Organisational development is dependent on the availability of resources, namely, physical, financial and human resources. Resources as defined in this study refer to the things that members of organisations use to attain organisational goals. Physical resources may be exemplified by buildings and cars, human resources by employees who carry out organisational tasks while financial resources are self-explanatory. These are the monies that must be used to buy necessities, pay workers and even to pay for services like water provision and electricity. The researcher must add natural resources like the soil (land). The Swiss missionaries managed their resources well from the inception of their missions to the end of their tenure in this country. This is illustrated by the following discussion.

## **6.9.2 The different accounts kept and administered by the Swiss clerics**

### **6.9.2.1 The main account**

This account was meant for the establishment of new churches. Every three years the clergy met to release funds for the building of new churches. This was in line with the Swiss Missions' determination to extend its influence. The Rev Numa Jaques was the financial administrator according to the archival records for the 1920s. He seems to have been an excellent financial administrator who kept the books up to date. Every cent was accounted for. There is evidence to the effect that even those who succeeded him were good accounting officers. Their work is evidenced by the monumental buildings that remind us of the Swiss legacy. The Rev Max Buchler (1953b:4) put it as follows: "A late Minister for Native Affairs told us some 15 years ago what we of the Government do more or less with £3, you Swiss Missionaries do very well with £1. Where lies the secret?" And the young and not too respectful missionary to answer: "There is no secret, you just continue to give us the pounds and we shall make a triple job" (Jaques 1921:2).

Jaques described the source of the church's income as the headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland and the Christians scattered throughout South Africa. But whilst Lausanne contributed generously, the same could not be said of the church membership. Many Christians were not keen to meet their dues as they were of the opinion that the ministers were either going to spend it unwisely or enrich themselves. This problem is still experienced today. However, there may be reasons for suspicion of embezzlement as people tend to be too materialistic. (Jaques 1921a:2).

The researcher will not provide detailed figures depicting payments made by different instances over the entire period of the Swiss clerics' proselytisation of the indigenous populace. Suffice to give them this financial statement for the period 1922 to 1923:

	£		
a) Money deposited by Switzerland (Main Account)	290	0	0
b) Money deposited into Transvaal Account	249	0	0
c) Money deposited into Pastoral Account	84	0	0
d) Money deposited into Building Account	76	0	0
TOTAL amount deposited by Switzerland	699	0	0
TOTAL expenditure	727	0	0
Deficit	28	0	0
<u>Source:</u> (Jaques 1923:2)			

It should be noted that Switzerland provided the funding for major projects. The indigenous Christians were not keen to pay monies and this worried the clergy. Some New Africans tried to persuade their own folks to contribute so that the church would flourish (Sihlangu 1957:3). The paltry contributions of the local Christians are illustrated as follows. The contributions of a selection of churches are shown.

a) Valdezia	3	1	6
b) Elim	10	13	0
c) Shiluvane	3	12	2
d) Kurhuleni	-	11	0
e) N'wamitwa	1	17	0
f) Mpisane	1	5	0

Sources: (Jaques 1923:2 & 1924:2).

The above contributions exclude the urban churches. Mpisane is what is commonly known as Bushbuckridge. The inability by members to contribute towards the growth of their church was cause for concern among the clergy. The Rev Numa Jaques persuaded the Venda and Shangaan people who were neighbors in the northern-most districts of South African to undergo ministerial training. He did this because the church did not have enough evangelists to spread the gospel. Another reason for this clarion call was the Pastoral School that was due to commence at Elim in 1922 run by the staff attached to the Normal School (Lemana College).

The late Rev John Mboweni was one of the trainees who responded to the invitation (Jaques 1921a:3; Mboweni 1924:2-3).

#### **6.9.2.2 Individual churches/parishes' reluctance to meet financial needs and the repercussions thereof**

Individual parishes' failure to contribute monies hampered the growth of the Swiss Mission in South Africa. The church needed money to make serious inroads into heathen villages. As a result of the reluctance of the church membership to meet their dues, the main account was not strong enough to carry out evangelism. The Swiss Mission had allies and Swiss industries made donations but the extent of the work done by the clerics from Switzerland was so broad that whatever donations were made were depleted on receipt. It should be remembered that the Swiss clerics ran three hospitals within South Africa, farming areas, mining compounds, mental institutions such as Weskoppies and non-formal educational programs/ adult education centers.

Because of these enormous responsibilities the Church had nothing to give to those workers who were supposedly retired. This explains why the Rev Madzive Calvin Maphophe was ridiculed and even reprimanded for daring to ask for pension from the Rev Paul Berthoud with whom he had worked in Mozambique for many years. Rev Paul Berthoud bluntly told him that he thought he (Maphophe) would be prepared to serve God until he met his death. These words might have hurt Rev Maphophe, for he was thinking of building a home in which to retire as his itinerant ministry barely allowed him to settle down and lead a normal life (Maluleke 1995:75).

But Maphophe was not to be the only person to receive a reprimand from unusual quarters. Mr Eddy Solomon Moabe (1932:2) suffered the same fate when he tried to advise the clergy to provide retirement annuity for the teacher-evangelists who had done sterling work for the Swiss Mission in South Africa. Moaba was thinking of the likes of Messrs Zebedea and Mahlekete Mbenyane, Isaac Mavanyis, Samuel Matovela, Abraham Mavanyisi, and Timoteo Mandlati. The Rev Francois Alois Cuendet (1933:2) reprimanded Moaba for daring to raise that point. In his view the Swiss missionaries would gladly pay pension grants if they were the ones who were being evangelized or civilized, therefore he maintained that the Shangaans, as the people served by the men referred to above, they should contribute to the provision of pensions.

## **6.10 SCHISM WITHIN THE SWISS MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

### **6.10.1 Introduction**

Organisations function under the auspices of managers whose duty it is to supervise subordinates so that they complete the necessary tasks with the aim of attaining the set goals or objectives. There is a correlation between the success of an organization and its management structure or vice versa. Organisations that have managements that relate well with functionaries and yet ensure that nobody neglects his or her duties achieve in terms of productivity compared to organizations that are autocratic and employ a top-down approach of managing their enterprises. In these organisations, workers are driven by fear as opposed to being intrinsically motivated to perform their tasks in order to realize organizational goals. The top-down approach is a 'Do as I tell you approach' which does not give room for innovation, self-expression and individual creativity. Under these circumstances employees are deprived of the opportunity to develop their latent potentialities so that, if they are promoted, they perform with minimal problems. A sound management structure is inclined to a more horizontal structure that treats everybody within the organization as an equal partner with freedom of expression. The top-down approach is paternalistic, domineering and somewhat inflexible in its operation (Steyn 1995:108).

### **6.10.2 Origin of schism within the Tsonga Presbyterian Church (TPC)**

The departure of the Swiss missionaries as the administrators of the Swiss Mission in South Africa paved the way for a new era, namely, administration of the Church by the black clergy as from 1962. The ascendancy of the new leadership to power was accompanied by a change of the name from the Swiss Mission to Tsonga Presbyterian Church (TPC). This was a challenging period from the very onset as the Swiss clergy did not seem to have trained black ministers for leadership. Fortunately, Prof HWE Ntsan'wisi had the potential to fill the post effectively (Ntsan'wisi 1975:12-14).

The black clergy assumed leadership at a time when South Africa had declared herself a Republic on 31 May 1961 after withdrawing herself from the British Commonwealth. This transition was to affect churches in a very negative way for they drifted away from the interdenominationalism that characterized early years of evangelism in this country. Many

churches in this country were marred with tensions and appeared to encourage ethnic nationalism. The Tsonga Presbyterian Church was also involved in ethnic politics and its leadership often doubled up as politicians in the defunct Gazankulu administration (Mathebula 1989:81-97; Bernes-Lasserre 2001:15).

The Nationalist Government could only look at ethnic rivalries with a sense of jubilation as its objective was to see its 'divide and rule' policy achieving the desired effects. Many a white politician appreciated such a political scenario for it ensured that white privileges remained insulated. The political leadership appeared to be oblivious of CP Groves' words of advice that read as follows: "It is necessary to realize that the early relations between white and black, in which the white is the apex of the social, economic and political pyramid and the native is the base, cannot be permanent. They will inevitably change. Any attempt to perpetuate the relations which are appropriate when civilization and barbarism first come into contact, by legislation or otherwise, is bound not only to prove unjust to the natives, but to be fatal to the moral foundation on which alone white leadership can rest, and in the long run to end in violence, revolution, and failure. The only principle to follow is that of justice and liberty for every individual" (Groves 1958:166).

The words of Groves were important to the Tsonga Presbyterian Church/Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa during the crisis period. They remain important in the present and future operations in the view of this researcher. Factors that precipitated a split within the ranks of the TPC/EPCSA revolved around one major issue, that is, how the leadership should respond to the apartheid system. Many felt the clergy had to be robust in its challenge to the apartheid system. But the prominent officials of the Church apparently spurned this option because they were drawing salaries from what the Gazankulu Government created by apartheid policy. Meanwhile the radical group wanted to see the Clergy acting on resolutions passed by the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) to which it was affiliated. But at the same time Mr BJ Vorster, Prime Minister of South Africa (1966-1978) was threatening those church leaders that felt they could change South African politics. The statements issued by Vorster alarmed church officials (Mathebula 1989:81-97; Internet 2001:1-3).

The Mamelodi Synodal Conference of 1978 revealed the cracks that had formed within the TPC/EPCSA. The Church's General Secretary, the Honorable Rev Sidney Ngobe reported what

appeared to be the first signs of an impending split within the Church which he observed during his itinerant visits to the Church's branches before conference convened (Halala & Rikhotso (1978:1-18).

The political events of the 1970s are succinctly summed up by Harold Wolpe as follows: "This period saw the crystallisation of two contradictory sets of structures – on the one hand, the increasing centralisation and militarization of the state power; on the other hand, the increasing strength and breadth of the terrain of civil society expressed through developing organizational structure of opposition. While the process began under the conditions set out above and was propelled forward by the student struggles in the previous period, the emerging structural conditions shaped the ensuing struggles" (Wolpe 1988:9).

It is highly probable that these political currents dictated the events that were arising within the TPC. The crisis created a painful church split that saw two power blocks emerging, namely, the Standing for the Truth Movement under the Chairmanship of the Honourable Rev Jean-Francois Bill which broke away from the mother church to proclaim the truth from its vantage point. The other group remained under the jurisdiction of what had become known as Establishment. This group has been criticised by the group calling itself the Standing for the Truth Movement since the split occurred in 1991. The Establishment operated as the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa (EPCSA), the name that replaced Tsonga Presbyterian Church (PTC) in 1982 (Valdezia Jubilee Celebrations Programme 2000:16; Internet 2001:1).

It is gratifying that the painful split has since been healed through the mediation of Dr Setri Nyomi, General Secretary of the International Alliance of Reformed Churches. It is hoped that when the joint Commission charged with the task of reconciling the two factions at Kempton Park, Johannesburg, on 3 July 2001 will report to EPCSA Synod in October 2002 it will be to describe progress made with outstanding issues (Internet 2001-2).

The other issues that the Joint Commission had to tackle included: developing strategies for church renewal and formulating an action plan designed to save the church from further decline, streamlining financial administration, the church's administrative structures and departments, diaconal services and outreach programmes, pastoral training/ministerial training and Christian fellowships. Regarding finance, the treasurers, such as past officers, namely, the Rev Numa

Jaques in the 1920s and Mr Marius A Chapatte in the later years seemed clinically cut out for their roles (Jaques 1921:2; Rejoice 1975:34).

The Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa seemingly requires a paradigm shift that incorporates what the Rev Danie van Zyl, the former resident missionary at Lemana Training Institution, highlighted in 1965 when he said: "I am deeply aware of the great need in the Tsonga Presbyterian Church (read: Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa) for fulltime workers ... I also feel, however, that the Tsonga Presbyterian Church, as a new indigenous South African Church, has a ministry which extends beyond purely pastoral works. This ministry is fulfilled partly through the Church acting as a body, guiding and leading her members and advising them on decisions to be taken within political and social situations in South Africa. The other part of this ministry is carried out by individuals both ministers and laymen, who work in specialised fields with the blessing of the Church" (Van Zyl 1965:1).

## **6.11 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

Explorers' writings about the African continent elicited curiosity that triggered colonialism and the generic of missionary ventures. Missionary enterprises are deemed to have commenced in the 1800s (Van der Walt 1992:220-221). In this study the following enterprises have been explored: schools, hospitals and churches. The church gave birth to the schools and hospitals. Missions pursued common policies in their transformative efforts but the Swiss missionaries tended to break what could be deemed as new grounds, for example, the prisons service that led to the formation of the Penal Reform League of South Africa under the directorship of the Rev HP Junod.

The Swiss missionaries' management style was essentially paternalistic. Everything seemed to revolve around the clergy with proselytes coming in as supporters who upheld the administrative system of the church. The church was the major transformative agent. The Swiss clerics as the managers of social change did not take kindly to criticism. This was made clear by the responses of the Revs Paul Berthoud and Francois Alois Cuendet to Rev MC Maphophe and Mr ES Moaba's queries respectively.

The Swiss missionaries appeared to prefer those who followed orders to serve their people without critical questioning. The New Africans had to obey orders and assimilate the leaderships of their mentors in preparation for the administrative duties that would be assigned to them when time came for the Swiss clergy to return home to Switzerland. Africans also had to obey the colonial officials as they were the purveyors of information regarding how the reserves had to be developed to self-governing status. Rev Dr HA Junod had a vision of a situation whereby civil administrations would be formed in the reserves with the African elite serving as the leaderships. Black franchise would only be extended to the native population after hundred years had elapsed calculating from 1907. Once this had become a reality blacks would enter the same parliament as whites (Pienaar 1990:24-25).

Blacks were being employed in different civil roles. For instance, after Rev SM Malale had failed in his bid to be appointed as the Marriage Officer by the Department of the Interior in 1912, he re-applied in the 1920s and succeeded (Malale 1925:2). At the time he made his first application Major CL Harries was the Sub-Native Commissioner for Sibasa District. During his second attempt Major CL Harries was the Native Commissioner of the Potgietersrus District (Mokopane of late). The Native Affairs Department under its Secretary Major John Frederick Herbst was collecting data through holding British Empire exhibitions at which Blacks were expected to display their lifestyles and crafts. Anthropologists and ethnologists were expected to work hand in hand with missionaries and Native Commissioners in collating the required data (Herbst 1923; Harries 1912). Other Native Affairs Commissioners and Sub-Native Commissioners who served in the Zoutpansberg and Sibasa Districts included Joao Albasini, Captain Adolf Schiel (Rossbach farm on which Old Lemana stood bought from his family), AW Biddell and N Manning. Missionaries' contributions were enormous as when they proclaimed spheres of influence, they also collected data about the tribes they were evangelising and drew maps that became handy when the Union Government and the Nationalist Government demarcated residential areas for blacks (Manning 1910:1-2).

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **AN APPRAISAL OF THE SWISS MISSIONARIES' MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA (1873-1976)**

#### **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter is an appraisal of the Swiss missionaries' transformative efforts from the genesis of their enterprises in 1873 to the nationalisation of their enterprises in 1976. The Swiss missionaries are not viewed by the researcher as having been the sole transformation agents during this long period of proselytisation of the indigenous populace. On the contrary, archival records procured from the curators at the University of the Witwatersrand's William Cullen Library, Johannesburg, University of South Africa, Pretoria and the Limpopo Province's Regional Archives at Giyani show that African evangelists who volunteered to travel into South Africa together with the Swiss clerics from Basutoland (Lesotho) also played a prominent role in establishing the Christian religion in the Zoutpansberg District during the founding years. In fact the period stretching from 17 August 1873 to 8 July 1875 was dominated by them. While the Swiss pioneers went back to Basutoland (Lesotho) to report on their South African exploratory trip to their French managers, the African evangelists sustained missionary endeavours at Valdezia Mission Station. The Swiss clerics officially commenced with their evangelistic duties on 9 July 1875 when they arrived at Valdezia with the mandate to develop the new mission field. The return of Paul Berthoud accompanied by his missionary friend, Ernest Creux, their families and a retinue of the Basutoland (Lesotho) nationals did not signal the end of the contributions of African teacher-evangelists. These African collaborators continued with their sterling efforts.

Throughout this study the contributions of the Swiss clerics in managing social transformation is interspersed with the contributions made by Africans in the three major institutions, namely, churches, hospitals and schools. Although paternalism and trusteeship did not accord Africans the opportunity to have a meaningful say in the formulation of policies implemented within the mission stations and annexes, the role played by the latter cannot be disregarded. Any education renewal should take cognisance of what was done during the past to obviate repeating mistakes. For sustainable development to take place, transformation managers need to restructure the education system on the basis of a triadic perspective of past, present and future.

## **7.2 CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE: EUROCENTRIC VIS-À-VIS THE AFROCENTRIC PERSPECTIVE**

It was customary among Europeans in the past to regard missionaries as the sole providers of formal education and the Scriptures on which Christian education was based during the pioneering years of evangelism in this country. Missionary writings tended to portray Africans as recipients rather than the proclaimers of the Gospel and its attendant features. However, there were objective white clerics who acknowledged the Africans' initiatives during the absence of their mentors. There were those who acknowledged the work done by proselytes in the civilisation of their people. But such acknowledgement of the works of African teacher-evangelists could not be sustained to subsequent periods. This did not do justice to the contributions of Africans, who made use of the modicum of education they had acquired from the missionary mentors, to sustain educational endeavours during the founding fathers' absence. For instance, there is a tendency to deem the Swiss missionary enterprises as having started in 1875. This serves to detract from the pioneering efforts of Eliakim Matlanyane and Asser Segagabane prior 1875. History should be comprehensive or inclusive in its narration or recording so that it may serve as an effective tool for reconstruction and development by demonstrating past educational practices which should inform and enrich present operations (See Chapter 1 sub-section 1.3.2 to 1.3.4).

The African evangelists did not only stop at Valdezia. On the contrary, people like Asser Segagabane went as far as the Zimuto territory, Victoria Falls in the present day Zimbabwe as members of the Francois Coillard trek party that included Christians from the Dutch Reformed Church, Paris Mission and Swiss Mission who co-operated as members of the Calvinist tradition. Some evangelists were inspired to start schools and churches with their meagre resources where their mentors appeared disinterested in extending the Christian faith with the rapidity it deserves. Thus, the indigenous populace were empowered to improve their edit standard of living. For instance, the Rev Solomon Benjamin Matjokane, stands out as a benevolent and resourceful black cleric who established several institutions in Pretoria for the enlightenment of his people. But even after supporting his work financially himself, he still considered the work he was doing as being part of the Swiss endeavour. (See Chapter 3 sub-section 3.10.4).

Social development is related to acculturation, namely, the shedding of obsolete cultural values, substituting them with those that have utility value by being modern or technologically advanced. During this process of social transformation no culture can be deemed to be devoid of virtue. This was the case even during the first encounter between Africans and Europeans. For instance, when the European settlers became ill and Western medicinal practices failed at the time of their settlement at the Cape, they consulted the Khoikhoi medicine men that used their herbs to good effect. There is no reason why herbal remedies should not prove useful in the twenty first century. Social transformation should take cognisance of whatever skills are possessed by South Africa's diverse population if unity in diversity is to become a reality. Cultural groups need to recognise the existence of all cultures and desist from the practice of suppressing other cultures as was the case during the colonial/missionary era where only the European culture was touted worthy (cf Chapter 4 sub-section 4.4.2).

In these periods of rapid social change there is a great need for the substitution of egocentricity by the spirit of mutualism in the socio-economic and political arena. South Africans stand to benefit optimally from sharing ideas in different areas of life. The past might have brought forth some socio-economic and political benefit for some people but in the current dispensation all groups that were unfairly excluded from the three social fronts need to be included as equal partners to those who were the ruling oligarchy in the old dispensation. But for change to be meaningful, change forces should recognise the past for what it really was. This entails an inventory of the good and the bad associated with the past era which many agree should be buried.

The kind of race relations needed in the new South Africa should be constantly informed by what Bishop Chichester (1951:93) once said in the colony he inhabited: "The problem of race attitudes and the right-ordering of the race relations which derive from those attitudes looms as large and portentous as a blood-red sun upon the horizon of the twentieth-century Africa. As a portent, it gives us warning of a situation that we can only continue to ignore at our own peril. For if we are to deal at all adequately with the crisis-situation that is likely to rise out of the existing complex of race relations in this country, we shall have to modify, as a necessary first step, those race attitudes of ours which, however appropriate they may have been in their time, now belong to an age that is fast vanishing and which they can only survive as dangerous anachronisms. Some form of culture-lag may be as harmless as they are ineffective; but history

records too many instances of groups who, by their failure to make the necessary mental adaptations in time to new and changing circumstances ... have only brought about their ruin".

In the foregoing excerpts, Chichester was addressing himself to the prevailing conditions in what was then known as Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), but the researcher still finds the quote instructive, educative and informative to some of our current conditions in South Africa. It is true that we have made sufficient gains since our miracle democracy in 1994, but there are still some who by their very actions and thinking drift further back into the past. Some portent forces that emerge (even in their formative stage) call for the mental adaptation or refocusing of our attention on those who seem to fail to make a belated stride to the new political dispensation. If they need rehabilitation programmes, the political office-bearers should provide such to avoid further crises that might have a negative impact on social transformation (See Chapter 6 sub-section 6.10.2).

South Africa has had similar insurrections by conservatives in her chequered past. Attempts to hinder the transformation process are better understood when we consider that change is uncomfortable to those who stand to lose their centuries long privileges while those who had been deprived tend to have great expectations. Transformation agents need to reconcile the two competing forces in the interest of socio-economic and political development. Should policy-makers fail to manage the situation the symbols of civilisation in the urban centres and in the countryside shall be annihilated by civil strife.

### **7.3 SWISS MISSION EDUCATION AND MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AT SCHOOLS**

Missions tended to be bogged down by imaginary problems that were never an issue at the beginning. The missionaries (the Swiss inclusive) were at first bent on wiping out the indigenous cultures because they were seen as an affront to the Christian religion. Indigenous languages were the means through which cultures were transmitted from generation to generation. Missionaries in South Africa predominantly used English as a medium of instruction. The fact that the indigenous cultures were viewed as incompatible with Christianity meant that the use of English would ensure that children became disengaged from their cultural heritage bequeathed to them by community elders during the provision of home education/informal education. Indeed the strict enforcement of the English language and

Western traditions at school alienated children from their culture although some traditions remained intact or resistant to change. But a wedge had successfully been driven between children and their conservative parents. Some children elected to escape from the grip of their conservative parents and reside at the mission stations. The Maphophe brothers, Calvin and Jonas, are classical examples of people who preferred evangelism to traditionalism/heathenism.

The Swiss missionaries' criticism of the use of English as a medium of instruction stemmed from the fact that mastery of this language would enable the indigenous races to acquire the proficiency and book knowledge that would induce them to challenge the status quo in pursuit of their emancipation from colonialism. But tacticians, such as the Rev Dr HA Junod were not short of euphemistic phrases to hide this fear which reigned in the hearts and minds of many missionaries. Some clerics argued that they were not aware at the time English was made the compulsory medium of instruction from the primary school phase to the teacher training phase that the cognitive capacities of Africans were dissimilar to those of Europeans. This also included the cultural backgrounds of the two races. But a closer scrutiny of these allegations reveals that they were less candid in their assertions. In spite of the wealth of literature about Africa written by explorers and missionaries, they claimed that they did not know that the experiential backgrounds of black were not the same as those of whites. It should be recalled that many missionaries decided to come to Africa on the basis of prior knowledge about the challenges he/she had to face on the continent.

Black people did not seem to have any problem in understanding and mastering English as a medium of instruction. This was despite entering the Normal School (Teacher Training Institution/College) on the basis of the Standard III (Grade 5) Certificates and subsequently Standard VI (Grade 8) Certificates. Archival records reveal that students even excelled in Afrikaans which only received the first language speaker as a teacher in 1934 when Mr WD Malan arrived at Lemana College from Amanzimtoti in Natal. Students did not only express themselves well in Afrikaans but could write it fluently. Prof HWE Ntsan'wisi and Mr CWB Fernandez are examples of individuals who had a very good command of Afrikaans that became an official language alongside English in 1925. Ntsan'wisi's proficiency in Afrikaans was displayed during the Lemana Jubilee (1956) when he passed the vote of thanks to Mr M Prozensky, Regional Director of Education, Transvaal, and his entourage (Maphophe 1956).

But the language policy of the Lemana management was fraught with contradictions. At one stage missionaries would express their displeasure at Anglicisation while simultaneously making it an offence for any student to express himself in the vernacular on campus save for Sundays where students had the liberty to listen to the Scriptures in the mother tongue. The missionaries did not seem to have guiding principles that governed their actions regarding the proselytisation of the indigenous populace. More often than not, the Colonial Administrations' decision held sway over the missions' educational activities even though the Lord Jesus Christ would not condone what His disciples were doing were He to come and inspect their work. Lack of a firm decision on mother tongue instruction helped to further the cause of the English language on college campuses. African students showed great maturity in their use of English in either its spoken or written form. English's international scope made Africans see it as a means by which one broadens one's horizons socially, economically and politically on the international scene. The student population benefited through the compulsory use of English on campus.

The fears expressed by the Rev Dr HA Junod that Africans would be detribalised to a point where they would lose command of their own language and culture in the same way as the Afro-Americans, appeared to be unfounded as the students went on to write novels and poems in their mother tongues. Missionaries tended to be hypocritical in their interactions with the indigenous populace. The allegations that Africans would turn out to be caricatures when it came to writing or speaking English were unfounded as could be discerned from the poem written by Mr CWB Fernandez (Lemana College Magazine, December 1933) entitled "Sunset from Lemana".

Come out and look towards the west,  
How nicely sinks the sun to rest!  
It shows the time when each one sleeps,  
To rise again when out it peeps.

The last rays seem to say farewell  
As down it went as it had fell.  
Then o'er the land there comes as hade  
This makes the objects all to fade.

Then back the shepherd drives his flocks,  
Ere darkness falls the kraal he locks  
For fear the beasts may come by night  
To try their luck when there's no light.

See the rays now blind our eyes  
 Over the mountain peaks;  
 See the colour of the skies  
 Making long thin streaks.

Streaks that reach the greatest height  
 Skies of colour gay,  
 Yellow, mauve and crimson bright  
 Heavenward they stray.

Now the mountains grow so dark  
 As the colours blend;  
 Every second seems to mark  
 Day approaches end.

Finally the mountain range  
 Dwindles from our sight;  
 Stars appear and then the change  
 Day has turned to night!

The above poem by Mr CWB Fernandez who was still in his Second Year of the Native Teachers' Certificate or the Third Year as it was called by the students makes a mockery of what the missionaries were saying about the intellectual capacity of blacks which was described as inferior to that of whites. The student's description of human activities in relation to the sun confirms that the indigenous populace only needed time and a chance to prove their worth in academic work and the literary world.

The researcher cannot conclude this sub-section without quoting another piece of work by Fernandez who was also a proficient writer of Afrikaans. This is entitled "Lemana Institution" (Fernandez 1934:11):

For years and years upon the ground  
 Where now there stand some houses round,  
 The shepherds drove their herds to thrive;  
 Yet now no more have they to drive,  
 Their grazing ground is there no more.  
 There is a thing not there before,  
 That is Lemana Institute.

Instead of bushes, stones and grass,  
 There stands a house of such a class  
 That shepherds long had never seen.  
 With students who are ever keen  
 To learn to lead their fellow men,  
 To learn to use the ink and pen;  
 Here at Lemana Institute.

At special hours the loud bells ring,  
 With joyful spirits boys all spring  
 To start their work, in school or out,  
 They sing and dance and jump and shout;  
 When 'gain they hear the sounding bell,  
 It seems to say, "It's time to yell  
 And cheer Lemana Institute".

From term to term all things go well,  
 And hard it is for one to tell  
 If all the students in the class  
 In their exams are going to pass,  
 And so begin their teaching task;  
 The advice they need they have to ask  
 From their Lemana Institute.

It is very interesting to note how Fernandez's shepherd changes his roles as missionary education entrenches itself in what used to be the grazing camp despite Lemana Institute's presence on the ground. Fernandez does not explain whether the shepherd who used to graze his sheep in the neighbourhood voluntarily abandoned looking after his flock to start education or was forced to do so by the missionaries. The reader has to make an intelligent guess as to what happened. The opening lines indicate that grazing camps were no longer required as the place had become a teaching-learning situation. The new roles assumed by the shepherds are that of leading their fellow men by providing education which is the main catalyst for human development or social change. There are many other lessons that one can derive from this poem which Fernandez wrote in his final year of study at Lemana Institute.

It is gratifying to note that the Swiss missionaries did not carry out their wish to introduce mother tongue instruction during their tenure as managers of education. Even primary schools educated learners in English as could be discerned from the Bible History examination question paper for the year 1945 for which Dr RDC Marivate probably sat when he was in Standard VI (Grade 8). His younger brother, Dr Martins Marivate, appears to have written the 1949 Scripture examination paper which, though set externally was in Tsonga. Reasons for the difference in the

examinations are clear. The Nationalist Party had won the elections the previous year (1948) and was determined to realise the promises given to the electorates, namely, to streamline Native Education so as to avoid a situation where blacks would be tempted to compete with whites for jobs upon completing their studies and, secondly to let them develop along their own lines socially, economically and politically through the systematic introduction of Apartheid. The researcher is able to draw these conclusions courtesy of the Marivates who have preserved primary data at the DC Marivate Archives at the University of South Africa, Pretoria.

#### **7.4 SWISS MISSION EDUCATION AND THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-RELIANCE AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY**

Missionaries across the different denominations had a tendency to regard African cultures at face value and then proceed to denounce behavioural tendencies that were alien to their own cultures. For instance, the prevalence of work-parties among African societies was deemed a sign of indolence. Individualism was stressed to determine who was diligent and who was not. An in-depth look at traditional customs, however, reveals that it was not to cover up laziness that African people practiced communalism vis-à-vis individualism that is closely associated with capitalism. The spirit of *ubuntu* was strongest the determinant of survival against attack and within the African family. A family that did not cooperate with other were vulnerable in the face of natural or man-made disasters. Families or communities that had the closest ties could assemble their resources and face calamity. It is against this backdrop that African cultures should have been interpreted before they were criticised by the clerics of different denominations to a point of losing their utility values.

Communalism also compensated for primitive technology. It was difficult for the indigenous populace to produce enough food from their fields using wooden ploughs or digging sticks. Western technology brought relief! Thus, the Rev Ernest Creux should be commended for introducing the modern plough in the Spelonken/Zoutpansberg District. This revolutionised subsistence farming and reduced the large number of farm-workers required to work the fields that provided food for families inhabiting the territory. Industrial courses that the Swiss missionaries introduced at schools were advantageous to African scholars as they developed skills which enabled them to market themselves in the industrial heartlands of Pretoria-Johannesburg and other urban centres in white collar jobs. But the industrial courses introduced were pre-graded to ensure that blacks did not develop their skills to a point where they would

threaten the positions of whites in the money economy (capitalist economy). In hindsight we can trace the underdevelopment that is rampant in the rural areas to this period of mission education (cf 6.4 & 6.7).

Education should be structured in such a way that it provides varied skills, namely, plumbers, electricians, motor mechanics, medical doctors, engineers and architects to name but a few occupations. While critical of Swiss mission education it is not that the researcher is without appreciation of the good that they have brought to bear on society. On the contrary, they are criticised for subjects omitted from the school curricula so as to make blacks subordinate to the white people when it came to industrial production and the emoluments that flows with it. It is our expectation that in future the Church of Christ in Africa shall endeavour to develop the potential of all God's creation. This because sectarianism as practiced by clerics in the past created animosity among people who should have cooperated to promote the socio-economic and political development of not only South Africa, but the continent at large. If Africans must enter the global market, the home milieu should serve as the starting point. In other words self-introspection should be seen to be a sound start. Questions like: "Have we South Africans outgrown the inequities of the past?", "Are we keen to share educational facilities for the socio-economic and political advancement of the entire citizenry?" and "Have we reconciled our differences that previously resulted in black and white conflict?" Our success in answering these questions will determine our success in the global world. The researcher must not be construed to be advocating a gradualists' approach of tackling Africa's problems on the basis of Social Darwinism. On the contrary, the researcher asserts that it is possible to rectify past errors while at the same time building bridges that will make it possible for South Africans to build lasting relationships with other nations.

## **7.5 THE SWISS MISSIONARIES AND THE DEMOCRATISATION OF THE COUNTRY**

Swiss mission education was differentiated on the basis of colour. Whilst some semblance of democracy was noticeable at some mission stations like Valdezia, where maids and their offspring lived in the same rooms and enjoyed their meals with Europeans, this cordial relationship did not extend to the educational arena. Missionary children attended boarding schools only to be re-united with their black peers during the holidays. The researcher has highlighted the trouble the Swiss missionaries had to take sending their children to distant

schools in Pretoria to receive their education because even the white school in Louis Trichardt was considered inadequate to prepare children for their cultural mandates. Those who did not have adequate resources made do with home tuition instead of sending their children to Lemana College whose curriculum was graded to suit the mentality of natives vis-à-vis that of Europeans (cf 6.4 for the contents of a letter sent to Frank Cruden, Esq of Stellenbosch Boys' School).

Swiss mission education promoted segregation even where there were no grounds for this option. The missionaries ought to have taken the harmonious relations that existed between their children and those of their female servants as evidence that co-education between blacks and whites was not just possible but a success story as proved by the Lovedale Institute in the Eastern Cape. However, the Swiss missionaries did not regard themselves as racists as discerned from the Rev Henri Guye's words which touted Switzerland as "the oldest democracy in the world", add to that "republicans to the core" (Guye 1934:1). Republicanism is certainly no guarantee to democracy. History shows that the Nationalists were republican-minded and only British imperialism stood between them and the realisation of their republican dream. On 31 May 1961 this dream was realised but this did not extend democracy to the African population or black people save for the pseudo-democracies created for them on the basis of the Black Authorities Act of 1951 and its ramifications. The Swiss clergy saw the measure as a response to what the Honourable Rev Dr Henri Alexandre Junod (who died in 1938) had recommended, that is, the Native Franchise be deferred in 1907 and be revisited at the turn of the century. When Junod made these recommendations ostensibly to allow political maturity on the part of natives in the tribal political systems/homelands, negotiations were being held with the British Government. This culminated in the passing of the South Africa Act of 1909 on the basis of which the Union of South Africa was formed. The Union of South Africa was replaced by the proclamation of the Republic in 1961 (cf 6.10.2).

Democrats do not discriminate but seek to create unity where people are separated along racial lines. No better tool enables them to achieve unity in diversity than formal education as provided by the different school categories and education institutes. Democrats distinguish themselves from non-democrats by distributing resources equally among the citizenry and during this process, they do not regard colour as a criterion for the distribution of goods. As alluded to above, the Swiss clerics had a very fine start with the democratisation of their enterprises. But what is to be regretted is that they did not follow up on the noble ideas that governed family relations. Recalling how his mother was treated by the Grieves family where

she was a domestic servant, the late Daniel Cornel Marivate (1975:I) said: “My mother was the last born. She grew under Mr and Mrs Grieve who had resided near the Mission Station. During her wedding all preparations were made by the Grieves. She was like a daughter to them. She lived, ate and played with the Grieves’ daughters, Merian, Anna, and Kitty. She was put up in all the same rooms with them. My father took her from there”.

Marivate gives testimony to the kind of relationship that should prevail in a democratic country - sound race relations and the spirit of good neighbourliness.

## **7.6 THE MISSION MILIEU AND ITS IMPACT ON PROSELYTES’ CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT**

The Swiss missionaries based their policies on paternalism and trusteeship over the indigenous populace. As the years passed the clergy relaxed their practice of not allowing Christians to indulge in their culture(s). But there was as yet no harmony between home education and school education. The two were regarded as incompatible entities. Christians were advised to be cautious whenever they had to mix with the heathen folk lest the latter ostracised them to a point of abandoning their Christian faith. The formation of multiracial community organisations like the Zoutpansberg Joint Council for Europeans and Africans tended to normalise race relations. The joint councils did not mean that certain whites had suddenly abandoned racist cultural stereotypes. But these forums created mutual understanding between blacks and whites. HS Phillips sponsored school choirs and no choir conductor would win a competition unless his choir had rendered a vernacular piece composed by him or his associates. This showed that the Church leadership was ready to change with the times albeit in a limited way. HS Phillips Esq started sponsoring music competitions through the Zoutpansberg Joint Council from 1935. This initiative soon led to the emergence of talented composers like DC Marivate, Ephraim Nkondo, Edwin Nyeshe Shikosi Mahleza, Samuel Hexane, Samuel Magadzi, Etienne Tlakula, Dan Malungana, Kerry Mashele, Ishmael Ndlhovu, Frank Chabane, Noel Maphophe, Thomas Masuluke, Stephen Shirilele, Russel Marivate, Cornelius Marivate and SJ Khosa. These merged as reputable composers through the relaxation of the mission statuses that hitherto prevented Africans from giving expression to *ubuntu*. Unfortunately some composers who advanced the cause of African music are no longer alive but their contribution remains (Marivate Undated; cf 2.5).

Music serves as a key component of worshipping God. It serves as the medium through which one could suppress sorrow in as much as it served as a symbol of joy. The glorification of the Lord was enlivened by hymnal singing. At Lemana Training Institution, Mrs AH Thomas was a prominent music instructor and choir conductor. DC Marivate derived inspiration from her tutorship as others did from her successors. Music also served as a vehicle for articulating Africans' concerns about government policies. For instance, the late Mr Gaius Mandlati, a Shiluvane-cum-Valdezia resident, wrote the following song.

Oh Africa, land of our forebears  
 Devoured by hippopotami,  
 Land hitherto inhabited by free citizens.  
 Old things submerged by the new.

Pride gone down the drain,  
 Keep a cow it's not yours  
 Plough the field, it's not yours.

Plant trees, they're not yours  
 Landowners are but the sole proprietors.  
 Amazed by bygones!  
 Ever seen a dog paying tax?

(Freely translated from an excerpt by late DC Marivate in a Speech to the Valdezia Students' Association, 28 December 1930).

Though the Swiss missionaries did not want their students or Christians to indulge in politics, the proselytes were aware that the airing of matters that caused discomfort on their part might one day elicit some positive response from the authorities. They did not want to suffer in silence nor die without addressing social problems. Ironically what the majority of the Swiss missionaries shirked was exactly what the Rev Danie van Zyl of the very Mission felt the clergy should do as an integral part of mission work. The letter he wrote on the eve of his departure to the Christian Institute of South Africa in 1965 has important lessons for the current administrators of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa (ex-Swiss Mission in South Africa) (cf 6.10).

## 7.7 THE SWISS MISSIONARIES AND THE TRAINING OF HEALTH WORKERS

In the previous study, the Swiss missionaries' training programs were comprehensively covered and there was no evidence forthcoming that indicated that they supported the training of African doctors. There appeared to be no departure from the view that Africans could not be successfully trained to enter this profession. But CD Marivate's venture into the School of Medicine left him unscathed and he was a good role model to many Africans. When he left his teaching post at Lemana College to study medicine in 1952, many including the Swiss clerics, might have wondered at his courage entering a field hitherto closed to Africans. But Marivate was bent on encouraging the people to diversify their fields of study to include medicine. The formation of the Medical Sub-committee at Elim, of which he is the Chairperson, has done much to encourage black students to pursue medicine since 1967. The tenure of Dr Pierre H Jaques as the Medical Superintendent at Elim Hospital was an important milestone in the history of the Swiss Mission in South Africa because two years after he had taken over from Dr Jean-Alfred Rosset in 1965, the Mission developed a structure aimed at correcting the warped policies that deprived proselytes of the opportunity of training as medical doctors for a period of sixty eight years since the birth of Elim Hospital in 1899 (cf 4.7.3.6).

As a developing country, South Africa is still far from reaching a state where the authorities can say there is an adequate supply of medical doctors. Even nurses are inadequate. But since medical missions have been replaced by the State in the provision of medicine and primary health care, the Limpopo Provincial authorities should take the initiative to resuscitate the relations that existed between missions and their proselytes in the provision of the essential services.

Missions and their countries of origin might sponsor skills development. Rural areas are under-resourced when it comes to medical and nursing personnel. As social transformation/social development cannot be regarded as the sole responsibility of the State, non-governmental bodies such as churches could contribute to social upliftment. The Swiss Mission has done very well during its tenure as the provider of health services exception to manage their health needs. The researcher is referring to the principles of self-reliance and self-sufficiency which were buzz words at Swiss missions. The beneficiaries of missionary education could re-establish links with the Missions that operated in their respective former homelands to enhance nation building.

Rural areas in South Africa suffer as a result of a severe shortage of resources such as clean drinking water and schools fitted with the amenities that can optimise learners/students' performance such as computes, laboratory equipment and audio-visual aids. Some schools or villages are still without electricity. Although the past regimes were seemingly poised to develop rural areas to curb the drift to the towns and cities in search of livelihood, rural areas are still not self-sufficient in terms of the supply of basic goods and services. As formal education is regarded as the key to multifaceted development, the Government and non-governmental organisations need to harness their resources so that schools can serve their transformative roles unhampered by the shortage of physical resources like classrooms, libraries, furniture and air-conditioners. The Swiss missionaries had a well defined health system that reached out to every institution under their jurisdiction. With the HIV/Aids pandemic ongoing visits to schools by health workers to create health awareness among the youth cannot be over-emphasised (cf 2.4; 4.3, 4.6).

## **7.8 THE RISE OF THE PETTY BOURGEOISE AND THE ATTENDANT EXPECTATIONS OF THEIR MENTORS**

Formal education is a commodity that has the capacity to bring about multifaceted changes among communities that strive for it. Missionaries streamlined education ahead of the State because they had the expectations that it would lead to the eradication of superstitions among the indigenous populace, improve living conditions by arming its consumers with skills and broaden their mental faculties so that they could solve their socio-economic and political problems with relative ease and, win them collaborators who would spread Christianity. It would be naïve to think that proselytes did not also have expectations. Their expectations included acceptance into the white society with its material resources, especially after the collapse of the subsistence economy and, to learn more about the knowledge and technology that made Europeans dominant all over the world. Africans also believed that education, especially higher education with professional qualifications, would earn them the respect from whites during the colonial missionary era. DC Marivate's authority statements are important in this regard (cf 5.6).

However, the development of the indigenous population was unfortunately predetermined by the missionaries together with the imperialists. This turned the education milieu into contested terrain as proselytes and their mentors did not want to lose out in the end. The European

benefactors tended to believe that too much academic education would eventually lead to insurrection by their subordinates. The Africans who had acquired considerable education at the mission schools were keen to rise above their status as middle men to assume power. Like the enlightened chiefs, the majority of Africans emerging from the colleges believed that as they rose up the social ladder, they would be exempted from certain chores normally associated with illiterate or semi-literate persons. But paternalism did not allow any relaxation of rules and regulations which clerics deemed to be divinely inspired. Students at Lemana Institute tended to be restive in their demands for human treatment, especially in the 1940s. This was a deviation from the pre-1940 period where students sought to seek redress by constitutional means.

The militancy of the 1940s heightened the need for interdenominational consultations among the managers/superintendents of mission colleges. It is not clear as to whether students across the church divide consulted with one another. However, events at Lovedale were not unknown to students at Lemana College. Students were voracious readers and did not miss any local or international news. Consequently, the demand for fresh food, a meaningful say in the running of the college, freedom of speech and association, the right to go to shopping centres were very similar. At Lemana students demanded the right to visit the Khoja Shopping Centre, which the missionaries interpreted as meaning the right to fraternise with one another which was not condonable in terms of the stringent mission status. Students at the Lovedale and Lemana Institutes turned to violence when their requests were not granted. For instance, the Rev Dr AA Jaques' car was stoned during the 1946 riots. The students at the Lovedale College also did not exempt themselves from vandalism as a means of attaining their objectives (Jaques 1946:3-4, Hyslop 1987:3-6).

The researcher's viewpoint of history of education is that it can teach contemporary managers to avoid trivialising students' grievances. Paternalism tends to be the breeder of insurrection while social discourse with relevant stakeholders provides management with a platform to present their ideas on problems to ensure that student militancy is nullified by the rationality of the facts presented. Consultations with other managers, especially with regard to migratory learners seeking admission at new schools may curb malpractices. It also lightens the task of character moulding by providing managers with data pertaining to the profiles of individual learners/students. Moreover, it curbs the exportation of rogue elements from one institution to the next. Missionaries had the practice of admitting learners/students provisionally pending the

receipt of their testimonials from their previous schools. The same held for their working years. In this way, deceitful learners/students were easily stopped in their tracks.

The petty bourgeoisie who lived during the missionary period had the same expectations, aims and ambitions as those cherished today, for example, outcomes based education, disciplined students, leaders and industriousness. But they saw Christianity as the only means of accessing these things. Perhaps in our contemporary society we should adapt this to mean multi-religiosity as a means to goals. Especially if the coalescence of varied ideas will not only make us stronger in our quest to realise full-scale social transformation, but sustain our popular slogan 'Unity in diversity'. If we are agreed that education, (also adult education) is the main catalyst for social development, then we need to incorporate the words expressed by the late Mr AE Mpapele, BA NPH, (ex-Lemanian, Inspector of Schools, Member of the Advisory Board (Education) and co-Editor of *The Valdezia Bulletin*) who said: "We Vatsonga must learn at this time when there are many difficulties in our economic struggle to help ourselves and work our salvation. Industry is the only means to which we should turn our attentions and those who have influence and authority should feel it a national duty to encourage our people to use their hands. Industry has not only got an economic advantage but there are moral, spiritual and physical advantages as well". (Mpapele 1933:1).

These words published in *The Valdezia Bulletin* (1933:1) ring true of all nationalities and are therefore not confined to the Vasonga people only. Industrial courses or technical education are in the view of this researcher the key to self-reliance and self-sufficiency, if ridden of the political tags attached to them during the missionary/colonial eras. Missionaries stigmatised industrial courses by reducing their contents when their consumers turned out to be black and loading content when the consumers happened to be white. Such attitudes elicited an equally hostile response from blacks. For example, Dube (1985:95) described Native Education as designed by missionaries and the apartheid architects as "a road to nowhere" because "for most African children, all that was intended was that they should gain enough education to read labels and become better labourers".

A key lesson that the study of mission education yields to the nation as defined in terms of the gains made on 27 April 1994, it is regarding history in general as a guide to meaningful living. But when it comes to life in the hereafter the sole guide is the Bible or by whatever name it is called in other religions. History stands out as a force that if ignored will eventually make those

who denigrate it acknowledge its utility value by saying: 'History repeats itself.' Let us not wait for history to remind us of the things we should have done but be proactive so as to ensure a better future for all those who will inhabit this country when we are no more.

## **7.9 CHRISTIANITY AND THE WELL-BEING OF MAN IN THE MODERN WORLD**

Modern is synonymous with the present or contemporary lifestyles. An appraisal of the missionary era reveals that those who benefited from mission education regarded themselves as of similar social status to their missionary benefactors. They viewed education as the means to access the goods and services whites would not generously give to the unschooled or uncivilised natives. This explains why people like the late Rev Dr Marivate would say: "a European/White person is not vanquished by means of spears or aggression but through education ..." (cf 5.6). Such a call was always present in the minds of the Swiss missionaries themselves who apart from evangelising Africans, regarded themselves as promoting the welfare of the entire South African citizenry. It was missionaries who advised the state on the need to allocate small farm holdings to the Black elite to ensure their cooperation in native administration. Land allotments to Africans made important headlines in *The Valdezia Bulletin* (later known as *The Light -- Ku vonakala ka Vatsonga*). The community newspaper was the best contribution made by the people the Swiss clerics set out to civilise or evangelise since its inception in February 1931. The church publications were not destined to capture the feelings or experiences of blacks in the same way as *The Valdezia Bulletin*. The current leadership within the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa (ex Swiss Mission in South Africa) can gain much regarding the action the Church of Christ ought to take in the social upliftment of the black communities if they read these bulletins. Proper scrutiny of the church publications like *The Morning Star* reveals that the community newspaper surpassed the former in terms of the coverage of social issues. Church publications did not provide enough space for the airing of views regarding the contrasting features of the Christian world vis-à-vis the heathen world probably due to the editorial requirements set by the clerics.

Missionaries gave prominence to scriptural issues vis-à-vis secular issues. *The Valdezia Bulletin* and *The Good Shepherd* (the official organ of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA)), were broad in their coverage of socio-economic and political matters in contrast to the church controlled publications. Church publications did cover a variety of issues, but care was

taken not to spoil the relations between churches and colonial administrators who had become important funders of missionary enterprises. Newspapers articulating the interests of the workers or proletariats, particularly the teachers, were fiery in their approach. At times missionaries resorted to threats to force teachers to refrain from making inflammatory statements. For instance, in 1917, the Transvaal African Teachers' Association, which was formed in 1906 began agitating for the State Control of black mission schools because of the prospects of better conditions of service, namely, pensions, higher salaries and the attendant supporting services to teaching and learning. In their view, the teachers believed that State resources would be more beneficial than mission resources and would enhance the development of children's latent potentialities. Churches, individually and severally threatened educators with dismissal (cf 2.8.2).

The New Africans in the Zoutpansberg District were tireless in touting mission education as the means to accessing natural resources like land on which the other resources important for life are tenanted. Thus when Messrs AE Mageza, S Mabirimisa, R Phaswana, S Ramaiti, S Mandulani, T Mandlati, E Mahawani, B Pandeka, P Soundy, T Makapa, P Pandeka, DC Marivate, T Mayingela, M Marivate, F Ndekeni, T Makhasa, S Maphophe and the late Revs JA Machao and MC Maphophe acquired some title deeds to their small landholdings, The Valdezia Bulletin gave prominence to such land acquisitions even though they did not match those of whites (The Valdezia Bulletin 1933:2).

The indigenous populace residing at the mission stations and annexes saw formal education as a means to access Western goods. When prominent residents of the Zoutpansberg District acquired title deeds to some small landholdings, such breakthroughs were reported on The Valdezia Bulletin. Articles published in this community newspaper covered other matters as well, namely, academic and professional qualifications, vehicles, and other social issues that would serve as an inducement to the heathen folk to turn to Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind. For example, when the late Kerry Mashele became the first Shangaan to buy a lorry in the district, The Valdezia Bulletin (1935:2) featured the phrase "Mayibuye Shangaan!" This was an equivalent of "Mayibuye iAfrika!" featured after the name of Blacks who won land claims. This slogan was very popular as a rallying call during the struggle years. The Black elite also lobbied Senator JD Rheinallt-Jones who was regarded as sympathetic to the indigenous populace's socio-economic and political aspirations.

## 7.10 THE VALUE OF HISTORY IN LIFE

Social transformation that does not take cognisance of the histories of different people from the days of the first contacts between the indigenous populace and the European settlers runs the risk of failing to address factors that affected race relations between 1962 and 1993. Managers of social transformation need to appraise factors that caused polarisation between blacks and whites in the interest of nation building in its varied forms. South African history is full of biases of the imperialist era and critical minds are aware of omissions made by the historians of the different population groups. National reconstruction must go in tandem with research bent on production on inclusive history for South Africa. The new history textbooks should be systematic, objective and comprehensive in their coverage of the different population groups' histories.

Wiersma (1991:204) argues that historical research is indispensable in educational and social reform. He coincides with the researcher's views in his emphasis that history presents a better perspective to social issues. It serves as an enabling factor for policy formulation by change agents. Education renewal should take cognisance of the merits and demerits of the traditional system of education vis-à-vis the Western systems of education with a view to promoting various skills. Careful study of both systems yields solutions to socio-economic and political problems that often spoil race relations (cf 1.3.4).

The transformation process currently underway in our country should take into consideration our past histories whose formation ignited the struggles that brought us to where we are at the moment. The neglect of history as a school subject might impact negatively on our quest to improve the quality of life of South Africa's citizenry in future. This is because history has of late been turned into an appendage of the Human and Social Sciences. In other words, it has been stripped of its power to inform, mould and empower the youth with knowledge about socio-economic and political issues that shaped society in the past so that whatever errors or shortcomings our forebears made are understood in their proper contexts and rectified for posterity. Social transformation requires an inventory of how past societies governed themselves. This inventory is history. The present generation commemorates historical events like the Soweto uprisings (16 June 1976) and the Sharpeville massacre (21 March 1960) but very few of them can write a few paragraphs explaining how these events came about. This can

be ascribed to the negativism with which history as a school subject is treated. The subject has to be viewed in a very positive light because it has the capacity to mould future leaders.

The journalist, Max du Preez (2001:18) expressed it succinctly in his article entitled: “History: our key to one nation” when he says: “History when researched and written down for the purposes of knowledge and education, is a hugely liberating activity. When used for propaganda purposes or to serve sectarians interests, it can be dangerous and deeply damaging”. The latter is true of our colonial history which must be replaced by objective and inclusive history.

#### **7.11 ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRAINING OF PERSONNEL: THE ROLE OF PAST EXPERIENCE IN ADDRESSING CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS**

Organisational development cannot occur in the absence of skills development programs aimed at building the necessary capacity in individuals to perform out their tasks efficiently and effectively. Organisational growth entails expansion of enterprises to include areas that were hitherto not influenced by particular organisations, increase in the delivery of goods and services, increased membership and the improvement of the quality of life of the people. The education system serves as the main catalyst for organisational development (OD) MCM O’Riordan, SJ of the Roman Catholic Church, quoting Mr DK Chisiza of Nyasaland (now Malawi) encapsulated the role that the church of Christ must play in society as involving the following crucial tasks: unmasking social justice, training of lay leaders, selection of boys and girls who are intelligent and spirited rather than devout to pursue political subjects with a view to sustainable development and ensuring that society is led by not only qualified leaders but what is even more important, God-fearing in the executing of their religious and secular tasks (O’Riordan 1963:90-91).

The Swiss missionaries’ training programs did not seem to have produced a reserve of qualified leaders capable of taking over the reigns in 1962 when ecclesiastical powers were handed over to the autonomous Tsonga Presbyterian Church by the Swiss clergy, who had been in charge of the Shangaans’ proselytisation since the 1870s. Organisational development manifests itself by realising the things outlined above but also be realising self-reliance in terms of buildings for the execution of societal functions. Church bodies need to have own buildings for worship so that, as far as possible, the use of schools for church services is reduced. To reach this objective the

streamlining of financial administration is required. It is here where the selection of boys and girls for training in accounting or financial management should be considered. These personnel will also shoulder the responsibility of seeking donations from sympathetic donors for the continued growth and expansion of churches to include new territories. While churches are non-profit organisations, the reality is that they need capital to carry out their functions. A measure of self-reliance in funding will enable the clergy to care for retired ministers as well as those who do tasks that are on the periphery of the pulpit. The Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa (ex-Swiss Mission in South Africa) needs people in the mould of Dr JAE Beugger who almost single-handedly secured substantial donations from Switzerland, Germany and other overseas countries for the development of Masana Hospital (now Mapulaneng) (cf 4.9.3).

#### **7.12 THE SWISS MISSIONARIES' ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL SERVICES TO ALLEVIATE POVERTY**

The Swiss Mission in South Africa had an elaborate network of self-help projects that flowed from the principles of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. These projects were indispensable in providing skills like needlework and clothing, hospitality services and other industrial products. This comprised non-formal education in its varied forms but with emphasis on the hands on approach that makes organisations successful.

Besides the non-formal education programs popular to women (although men were not barred), missionaries also reached out to the destitute to ensure that they made the most of education. Many students from poverty-stricken families were enabled to attend Lemana College through the outreach programs created by the missionaries. It is gratifying to note that even those who were in the medical field would visit Lemana Institute to locate the poor they could assist in exchange for the execution of domestic chores like kitchen work and laundry in the case of the girl students and gardening and home maintenance in the case of boys. Before the Department of Bantu Education urged Lemana Management to cease providing industrial courses, student teachers emerged from Lemana with skills that made them self-reliant and self-sufficient in terms of material needs. Boys could find work in the building industry, furniture manufacturing and commercial farming or even be self-employed (cf 4.8.3).

Missionaries created linkages that ensure that parents got involved in the education of their children. Many parents today leave the education of their children entirely in the hands of teachers even though parent involvement in education is being encouraged. The result of a lack of such involvement in the education of children is the larger numbers of recalcitrant youths in schools or in the streets, who pose a danger to others.

A glance at the Lemana Hostels' Report (1957) reveals the following: "As usual, we have granted a certain amount of "Working Bursaries" (formerly called "Shakespeare Boys" or "Day Scholars") to needy students. These bursars have been mainly occupied on the roads, in the hostel gardens, and in the establishment of two new banana plantations.

What is clear from the above excerpt is the missionaries' desire to see the poor through their studies at the College. Many alumni still bemoan its degeneration to a shadow of its former self. Perhaps they are justified in calling for its resuscitation to the pre-1948 glory years. But some critical analysts might query the necessity of making the destitute work for the help extended to them in the excerpt alluded to above. Such queries are not malicious especially when we consider that during the erstwhile Transvaal Education Department (TED). Possibly the action of Filemon Bloom Bartimes of 58 Becker Street, New Town, Johannesburg halted to the allocation of free bursaries to the students in the 1920s. But if this was true one would still expect the Central Government which had assumed full control of black education in terms of the Bantu Education Act (1953) and the former mission schools in 1955 to have attended to the plight of needy students when control of native education ceased to be in the hands of the clerics. Tending hostel gardens seemed to be in line with what one would expect of the student population but road construction or maintenance appeared to fall under the jurisdiction of the Public Works Department. The researcher is aware that the students who were being made to perform these menial tasks in exchange for education could equally be exempted from establishing banana plantations or tending hostel gardens by virtue of their status as day scholars. But the skill to produce food for sustenance appears to be a mitigating factor for them in this instance.

### 7.13 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Swiss clerics' civilising missions in this country were based on the principles of paternalism and trusteeship over the indigenous populace. But their enterprises, namely schools, hospitals and churches, contributed to the social upliftment of the aboriginal racism in this country which is traceable to 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape.

Christians ought to serve as champions for the extension of basic human rights without due regard to colour, religious affiliation or any other criterion that humanity choose to employ for self-aggrandisement. The Lord Jesus Christ seemed to view humans as having been created in the image of God and therefore deserving equal treatment in what appeared to be a classless/egalitarian society under His reign. The differentiated education system pursued by the Swiss clerics was not something He would have cherished during His time on earth (cf 2:2.3).

The Swiss Mission saw its tenure as lasting until the indigenous populace gained intellectual maturity and capacity to lead the local church and by extension their homeland governments. But by 1962 when they handed over ecclesiastical powers to the black clergy no justice had been done to the skills development program for this mammoth task. Fortunately a lay-moderator was appointed in the person of the late Prof HWE Ntsan'wisi Homeland. But at the time of the transfer of ecclesiastical powers to the black clergy in 1962, the departing Swiss clerics showed the covert racism not discernible to many blacks before by forming the Field Committee which had to look after the interests of the white missionaries who would remain doing duty for the Tsonga Presbyterian Church (TPC). The Swiss missionaries were not persuaded that the black clergy were as capable as Europeans to look after the interests of the mostly expatriate white clerics. This was in itself an admission that their education system was in some ways racist and not imbued with qualitative skills. These Calvinists were therefore no different from Calvinists who introduced Bantu Education in 1953. The latter had commissioner-generals and education advisors stationed in the 'self-governing and independent homelands' where they served as ambassadors of the Central Government who looked after the interests of the seconded white officials from the white areas (Valdezia Jubilee Celebrations Programme 2000: 14; cf 6.2).

To round off this research project, the investigator would like to quote the Honourable the Rev Max Buchler (1953:4) of the Swiss Mission in South Africa which have a direct bearing on the management of social transformation as should be pursued by all South Africans: "Our country South Africa must ... change, this Province of ours must change, so must the town in which we live, our suburb must change, so must also the families which have their home there, my family must also change, so must I. Let us begin at the other end and let us begin right now with ourselves. We cannot change by our own power, and if we think that we can change ourselves, we just deceive ourselves a little more. Let God make this change in ourselves, in you, in me, and we shall be given to see great things happen in this country. Then when things will look brighter than today, when we have been witnesses of the general change which will follow our own change, then, but only then, can we have some very interesting academic discussions about race relations, mission work, anthropology, evolution ..., then can we behold and study the great changes God has made in this country, when He saw how we underwent a radical change in our own lives. For the time being, let us see how the ... people behave in these changing times, how they see "...old things pass on, and many made new".

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**ANNEXURES: THE SWISS MISSIONARIES' MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL  
TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA (1873-1976)**

**ANNEXURE 1**

**MAP SHOWING MISSION STATIONS AND MISSION HOSPITALS**

**DR GEORGES-LOUIS LIENGME FOUNDER OF ELIM HOSPITAL (1899)**

**CHIEF NJHAKANJHAKA, SHANGAAN TRIBE**

**KING MAKHADO RAMABULANA OF THE VENDA TRIBE**

**DR HF VERWOERD, ADDRESSING A PUBLIC MEETING PROBABLY ON THE DAY  
SOUTH AFRICA WAS PROCLAIMED A REPUBLIC INDEPENDENT FROM THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE, MAY 31 1961.**