

DOCTRINE AND RITUAL IN AN AFRICAN INDEPENDENT
CHURCH IN BOTSWANA: A STUDY OF THE BELIEFS,
RITUALS AND PRACTICES OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN
OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION

by

Obed Ndeya Obadiah Kealotswe

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree, that the work of which it is a record has been done by myself, and that all quotations have been distinguished by either quotation marks or indentation, and all the sources of information have been duly acknowledged.

OBED KEALOTSWE

ABSTRACT

African Christianity has attracted, and continues to attract, the attention of many theologians, anthropologists and church historians the world over. The interrelation between colonialism and the missionary movement has contributed very much to the formation of Christianity in Africa. However, missionary Christianity and colonialism have lost, and are continuing to lose, their dominance over Christianity in Africa. What have emerged, and still continue to emerge, are the African Independent Churches which are now a major aspect of Christianity in Africa.

Many people in Africa are frustrated because of the impact of Western civilization on their traditional cultures, customs and practices. Religion, which permeates all aspects of the African's life, is being challenged by modernization and scientific culture. Christianity, as a Western religion, has failed to address these problems and in many cases has identified itself with them. The African Independent Churches, however, have tried, and are still trying, to make life meaningful through retaining, adapting and transforming some traditional rituals and practices in order to give meaning to the life of the African. Bishop Toitso Smart Mthembu of the Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion, founder and one of the prominent leaders of the African Independent Churches, started a church which is trying, through its beliefs and practices, to give meaning to the lives of the Batswana, the Southern African peoples and Africa generally.

This study is a monographic account of the contribution of the Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion to the indigenization of African Christianity.

Chapter One discusses the religious and social background of the Batswana. In Chapter Two, European missions amongst the Batswana are discussed, with focus on the methods used by the missionaries to spread Christianity in Botswana. Chapter Three examines the general social transformation brought about by Christianity, leading to the emergence of the African Independent Churches. In Chapter Four, the life of Bishop Toitso Smart Mthembu is reviewed as is the general establishment of his church in Botswana. Chapters Five to Seven analyse the nature of the HMG with regard to the structure and organisation, meeting procedures and worship. Chapters Eight and Nine discuss the teaching and beliefs of the HMG with special reference to doctrines and rituals, while Chapter Ten is a theological reflection on the HMG and its impact on Botswana society and Southern Africa. General conclusions and suggestions complete the study.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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GLOSSARY

The following words are used as they are understood by the HMG members and the members of other AICs in Botswana. They are retained here as they appear throughout Chapters One to Ten.

- | | | | |
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| 1. | <i>Modimo</i> | - | God in Setswana. |
| | <i>Mwali</i> | - | God in Kalanga but referring to his form as he appears to people at selected places of the Mwali cult. |
| | <i>Ndzimu</i> | - | the Kalanga general name for God. |
| | <i>Badimo</i> | - | ancestors in Setswana. |
| | <i>Ngaka</i> | - | refers to traditional healer. |
| | <i>Moloi</i> | - | refers to a witch. |
| | <i>Baloi</i> | - | plural of <i>moloi</i> . |
| 2. | <i>Dingaka</i> | - | plural of <i>ngaka</i> . |
| | <i>Phalalo</i> | - | annual contribution to the church. |
| | <i>Moruti</i> | - | minister of religion. |
| | <i>Baruti</i> | - | plural of <i>moruti</i> . |
| 3. | <i>Ama-Zioni</i> | - | Zulu name referring to Zionists. It is also used by the AICs in Botswana. |
| | <i>Alafa</i> | - | to heal. |
| | <i>Phuthego</i> | - | refers to congregation or members of a church. |
| | <i>Mosebeletsi</i> | - | refers to a nurse or the woman who is asked by the prophets to apply the treatment to a patient. |
| | <i>Basebeletsi</i> | - | plural of <i>mosebeletsi</i> . |
| 4. | <i>Sangoma</i> | - | refers to a spirit-medium healer. The <i>sangoma</i> uses the spirit of an ancestor to heal and detect diseases whilst the prophet claims to use the Holy Spirit from Jesus Christ. |
| | <i>Mulindelo</i> | - | overnight vigil for special purposes. The term is a Zulu one but it is commonly used by AICs in Botswana. |
| | <i>Chigutlo</i> | - | refers to the dancing ground in the centre of the church or place of worship in the AICs. |
| | <i>Thibamo</i> | - | refers to tuberculosis but can also refer to disease caused by sexual intercourse with an impure person. |

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| | <i>Kereke</i> | - | refers to the church as a building and also as a community of believers. It is also used to denote different congregations or churches. |
| | <i>Moreri</i> | - | refers to a preacher generally. It is also an official position in the HMG and other AICs. |
| | <i>Go bolotsa</i> | - | This is a tradition copied from Tswana tradition and culture by many AICs. It is a practice to pray for a person who is on a journey especially to look for work somewhere. The service, which is normally a <i>mulindelo</i> , is a well-wishing one and hope for success. |
| 5. | <i>Paseka</i> | - | refers to the Passover which is always celebrated by many AICs during the Good Friday and Easter holidays. It is an important occasion for the HMG and the other AICs in Botswana. |
| | <i>Tsa Lesome</i> | - | refers to tithes. In the HMG it does not necessarily mean one tenth but any amount agreed upon to be given to the Church. |
| | <i>Komiti</i> | - | means committee. |
| | <i>Dikomiti</i> | - | plural of <i>komiti</i> . |
| | <i>Mookami</i> | - | refers to the Head of the Church. In the HMG it refers to the Head Deacon and not the Bishop. |
| | <i>Mmamoruti</i> | - | the minister of religion's wife. |
| | <i>Badumedi</i> | - | refers to believers or Christians generally. |
| | <i>Baipoledi</i> | - | refers to confessioners who seek to be received and confirmed into church membership. |
| | <i>Barati</i> | - | adherents, people who like going to church but who are not members of the church. |
| | <i>Baikwatlhai</i> | - | confessioners, those who had sinned and left the church but later on decided to return into full membership. |

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| | <i>Barapeledi</i> | - | refers to those who pray for others. In the HMG and other AICs ordinary members who hold no official positions are known as <i>Barapeledi</i> . |
| | <i>Bathandazelesi</i> | - | Ndebele name for <i>Barapeledi</i> . |
| | <i>Batembezelesi</i> | - | Kalanga name for <i>Barapeledi</i> . |
| | <i>Sewacho</i> | - | any medicine or placebo given to the patient by a prophet or <i>mosebelets</i> . |
| | <i>Gosa</i> | - | refers to a doorkeeper. This is the person who controls movements in and outside the church. It is an official position and the <i>Gosa</i> has to know about the lives of the members. |
| 6. | <i>Ukuhlambulula</i> | - | a Zulu word meaning to confess all about oneself. It is an expression meaning opening oneself up to the congregation before the actual church service starts. |
| | <i>Izikhali</i> | - | a Zulu word referring to the sticks or staffs held by the Prophets or men generally in the AICs. |
| | <i>Dikhale</i> | - | Setswana word for <i>izikhali</i> . |
| | <i>Zwikhali</i> | - | Kalanga word for <i>izikhali</i> . |
| | <i>Join</i> | - | refers to the white gown worn by all Zionists with a green cord in the waist. |
| | <i>Munasaretha</i> | - | refers to <i>join</i> . |
| 7. | <i>Mmamokhokheli</i> | - | usually refers to an elderly lady who is responsible to the young ladies and women generally. She is the teacher, advisor and caretaker of women. |
| | <i>Sepeiti</i> | - | refers to an enema. |
| | <i>Boloka</i> | - | to save, salvation. |
| 8. | <i>Mohau</i> | - | the grace of God. |
| | <i>Boitshwarelo</i> | - | the forgiveness of God. |

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| 9. | <i>Popelo</i> | - | uterus. |
| | <i>Phogwana</i> | - | fontanelle, also refers to diarrhoea. |
| | <i>Arametsa</i> | - | sauna, bath for healing. |
| | <i>Sifutho</i> | - | refers to <i>arametsa</i> in Zulu. |
| | <i>Senyama</i> | - | generally refers to any bad luck. |
| 10. | <i>Ngilozi</i> | - | Zulu or Ndebele word for angel, used by the HMG and other AICs in Botswana. |
| | <i>Moea</i> | - | refers to Holy Spirit. It also refers to any spiritual possession. |
| | <i>Motho</i> | - | means a person. It also refers to a spiritual being. |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| AICs | - | African Independent Churches |
| AME | - | American Methodist Episcopal Church |
| BNA | - | Botswana National Archives |
| BP | - | Bechuanaland Protectorate |
| DCS | - | District Commissioners Correspondences |
| DRC | - | Dutch Reformed Church |
| HMG | - | Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion |
| LMS | - | London Missionary Society |
| ZCC | - | Zion Christian Church |

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INTRODUCTION

The African Independent Churches, a South African motivated movement, found its way into Botswana (Bechuanaland), at the end of the 19th century, around 1900 (Parsons, 1971;¹ Chirenje, 1977²). This movement arose primarily because of the unrest in the political, economic and religious set-up in South Africa at that time (Sundkler, 1961),³ which was mainly caused by the negative attitude of the white people towards the blacks. This discrimination also found its way into the church, where Christian missions discriminated against their black brethren (Makhubu, 1988).⁴ The continued discrimination, which culminated with the segregation laws initiated by the Nationalist Party in 1948, led to the growth of the AICs with their own form of Christianity which appealed to parallels in African culture but were discouraged by the mission churches.

One of the factors which precipitated the growth of the movements was the general dislodgement and alienation of the blacks from the land which was their source of economic life. Industrialization displaced many family structures which missionary churches and their Christianity failed to rebuild. However, the AICs provided for this need by forming intimate church groups to replace the disappearing family structures (West, 1975).⁵

In Bechuanaland, the political, economic and social life differed significantly from that of South Africa. The social and economic organization of Bechuanaland was founded on powerful chiefdoms and family structures together with strong religious bodies which operated throughout the country. The presence of missionary bodies was also felt in the rural areas of South Africa. The rapid urbanization and the displacement of people from the rural areas by the land tenure system of South Africa did not carry the same strength of traditional leadership as found in Bechuanaland.

In spite of these differences, the AICs managed to penetrate Bechuanaland. The penetration took many forms and it took time to shape itself in a manner that was relevant to Bechuanaland, a process which continued until the early 1960s. The interaction with the traditional structures, the missionary churches and the Colonial or Protectorate Government is one of the concerns of this study since it presents an interesting picture of a period which is characterized first by religious persecution and, finally, tolerance.

The period that is most important to this study is that of the mid and late 1960s, when there were many political changes since the country was preparing itself for full independence. The major changes affected the power of the chiefs (Schapera, 1943 and 1984^{6,7}). Chiefs could be deposed or installed by Government and they lost control over the allocation of land to the newly formed Land Boards. The economic system, which had undergone a period of modification through dependence on migrant labour to South Africa (Schapera, 1947)⁸, went through a series of rapid internal changes which began to create conditions similar to those of South Africa. Such conditions revealed themselves in the emerging towns and urban areas like Francistown, Gaborone and Lobatse.

By 1966, at Independence, Botswana society began to change radically. The demand for material goods in a developing economy brought new problems, especially within the Church and the religious sphere generally. Secondly, prior to Independence, the churches in Botswana had great influence on society due to their control of education and medical care. After Independence, the Government took complete control of education, thus completing what had been initiated in 1899 by the Colonial Government. The state became more powerful economically in society than the Church, which had enjoyed that privilege over a long period. The power of the mission churches over their societies led to a desire for leadership on the part of many people who did not have access to authority in the mission churches. Such people formed

AICs primarily to exercise leadership and authority and secondarily to cater for the social needs of those who were being overtaken by the impact of rapid social change. The growth in the economy led to the impoverishment of many people because of the uneven distribution of the national wealth due to new economic systems which differed from the traditional, under which properties were held for the good of the community as opposed to individual satisfaction.

It was after 1966 that the growth of AICs of the Zionist nature began to flourish in large numbers due partly to splits and breakaways but also because the Independent Government allowed freedom of religion and freedom of worship. This growth in the number of AICs began to raise questions in the minds of the people generally and the Government particularly. These questions were regarding the sincerity of some religious bodies which appeared more as money-making bodies than religious bodies. Healing was the main concern of such movements and it was difficult to tell if they were churches or healing bodies making money for themselves. In contrast with the situation in South Africa, little was known about the teachings, organisation, beliefs and doctrines of such movements due to the absence of accurate research work on their lives and purposes. Few studies appeared during this period to try to disseminate some information about the lives of the movements. Available works were mainly unpublished dissertations, such as Mokgautsi (1971),⁹ Ramatebele (1971).¹⁰

Realizing the growth in numbers and the disruption which the AICs were introducing to the religious situation of Botswana through taking each other to court over disputes, the Government introduced the Societies Act in 1972. The Act required all social bodies, including churches, to be registered with Government. They were required to have constitutions which met the needs of Government such as organisation, management of finances, successions, procedure for settlement of disputes and details of properties in general. The aims and objects of church bodies had to be clearly stated so that, when disputes arose, the Ministry of Home Affairs would be able to

arbitrate instead of the matter going to court. In 1972, only a few churches were registered but registrations had grown to 220 by 1984. The number of religious societies increased very rapidly because of breakaways and splits within the movements and, in an attempt to halt these splits, the Ministry of Home Affairs introduced registration regulations which made it impossible for a splinter group to register. The idea was initiated by the then Acting Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Peter Mmusi, in 1981. The multiplicity of the AICs in Government thinking was equated with the need for financial gain through the healing practices of the AICs.

Many scholars who have written about the AICs in Africa, and Southern Africa particularly, have attributed the existence of the AICs and their rise to many factors. The notable Harold Turner observed the value of the Bible to the AICs as offering immediate results in times of need. One of the needs is that of healing. While the need for salvation is immediate, the AICs do not have the patience to wait for the fulfilment of all things in Jesus Christ and it is through visions and dreams people's needs find immediate solutions. The economic, political and social needs are acted upon immediately (Turner, 1965).¹¹ Fulfilling the needs of the believers contributes to the continuity and survival of the AICS. Turner (1979)¹² is of the opinion that the mission churches should help the AICs to grow in matters of faith, doctrine and ritual although he does realize that some of the AICs are a revival of traditional religious rites. The diversity in the nature of the AICs makes it difficult to differentiate between them and this would only be possible through monographic or individual studies of the various AICs.

Taylor (1969)¹³ observed several reasons that led to breakaways in the AICs: competition for leadership; misappropriation of church funds; discipline of deviant members; debates on polygamy; and the absence of confident traditional cultures to welcome back those Christians who became disillusioned by their churches. These factors call for closer scrutiny through monographic studies of the AICs.

According to Taryor (1979:11):

If Christianity in Africa is to become effective and meaningful, it must become an indigenous religion of Africa; it must be rooted in the African soil and culture and must be capable of dealing with the issues and problems of Africa. In addition, the indigenization or Africanization of Christianity must produce a Christianity which addresses itself to the issues of human liberation - liberation from centuries of poverty, humiliation, exploitation and cultural imperialism.¹⁴

The extent to which these needs have been met, and are being met, becomes visible when individual church studies are widely undertaken in Africa. One of the most eminent AIC authors in South Africa, Becken (1973),¹⁵ argues that ancestor worship, which was despised by the mission churches, led many people not to fear death. He further argues that its practice elaborates the Christian belief in the communion of saints. Moreover, Becken disputes the idea or observation put forward by Oosthuizen (1968)¹⁶ that the Zionists were bridges back to paganism. He sees them rather as bridges to African Theology.

Another prominent scholar, Barrett (1968),¹⁷ maintains that those AICs that are "witchcraft eradicating movements" have a very short lifespan of only five years. This is an underestimation of the power of witchcraft beliefs in African societies. Barrett (1968:238) observes that:

Religious movements in fact only survive at all if they are able to provide solutions which have relevance to long-term trends in society, which then function to provide the movements with a continuing source of new recruits.

To discover the provisions which the AICs make for the needs of their members can only be achieved through monographic studies of the AICs. An understanding of their doctrines and rituals determines whether they continue to be useful in society or have become obsolete.

It is appropriate to mention that the foregoing are observations on the AICs in Africa as a whole, but there are specific areas in Africa where the Church generally, and

the AICs particularly, are to be understood strictly in a particular context. In South Africa, where the AICs in Southern Africa originated, the political, social, religious and economic factors still determine the lines of theological thinking to be adopted by the churches. Many writers since 1976 view the AICs as symbols of independence and spiritual freedom from the mission church Christianity (for example, Boesak, 1988).¹⁸ This attitude developed after the 1976 massacre by the South African regime. The Church was the only voice left after all political activity was banned. The AICs then became symbols of sustained resistance to the political and economic systems of South Africa. They are seen as movements trying to stabilize and give meaning to societies where the political and economic systems perpetually destabilize family life and the general welfare of individuals. The important Easter festivals of the AICs, which are celebrated by large numbers of people, are seen as symbols of protest against a system which causes social disintegration. Although some people see the Zion Christian Church - the largest AIC in South Africa - as complying with the regime, it is in fact denying the power of the regime by creating a sense of unity and belonging amongst the African peoples.

Many writings from South Africa, as reflected in the bibliography of this thesis, provide studies of many aspects of the AICs and their effect on the societies. The role that the churches have played in the political situation of South Africa since 1976 is too great to be overlooked.

In Zimbabwe, the role of the AICs has been seen in terms of their transformation of traditional structures to Christianity. The large-scale movements that arose have been studied by Daneel (1987, 1988, 1989).^{19 20 21} These movements also provided a sense of community and belonging in a situation that had alienated the people from the land. During the liberation struggles some prophets played an important role in helping the guerrillas. This was in the tradition of the spirit mediums who helped the people during the 1896/97 rebellions in Rhodesia (Lan, 1985).²²

The role played by the AICs in neighbouring Botswana, an independent country, must not go unnoticed. The increasing number of unemployed young people who left school at an early age and formed the membership or clients of the AICs contributed to the Government's concern about the activities of the AICs. It is within this general picture that a study of this nature is called for. The current religious situation in Botswana, where there is religious dissatisfaction within a society with freedom of worship and religion, calls for more individual studies on the doctrinal and ritual lives of the AICs. The religious dissatisfaction mainly arises from the breakaway groups which are refused registration but it is also expressed by some of the registered religious bodies which cannot exercise their freedom of faith because of their respect for the Government law under which they operate. Matters of religious faith are easily mistaken for sabotage by Government and may be banned.

The absence of widely distributed literature on the doctrinal and ritual lives of the AICs, their organisations, beliefs and practices, contributes to the rather negative attitude of Government towards the AICs. A wide distribution of such monographic studies on the lives of the AICs would lead to a better understanding, and possibly to the repeal of the registration law.

The concerns that have been stated above lie behind this study, which is a contribution to the very few existing monographic studies on the AICs in Botswana. The study will do this by firstly examining the religious and social background of Botswana (Bechuanaland) prior to contact with Christianity and after. It will examine the reasons or factors that enabled the penetration of the Bechuanaland structures by the AICs. Secondly, a detailed account will be given of the life of the Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion-Botswana, which is one of the major AICs in Botswana. The study will examine how the life of the HMG addresses the above-mentioned concerns or fails to do so. The hypothesis is that proper doctrine and ritual practice are the key factors to a clear theology and the general life of the Church.

In line with the Government's concerns, as stated above, a study of the history, organisation and structure, financial management, beliefs, rituals and practices of the HMG, will solve one problem by providing a clear picture of the life of an AIC in Botswana. If breakaways are the major concerns of Government, the manner in which the HMG deals with them will illustrate the nature of the problem.

The study will end with an evaluation of the theology and the Christianity of the HMG. The evaluation will be carried out within the beliefs of the AICs in Africa generally, and Southern Africa particularly. General conclusions will be drawn on the extent of the impact of the HMG and the other AICs on Botswana society and the contribution of the HMG to Southern Africa overall will be examined. All these are attempts to confirm the thesis that doctrine and ritual are very important in the life of an AIC and that they determine its contributions and the role it plays in society and in all spheres of life, religious, political, social and economic. The HMG provides a vivid picture of the life of an AIC in Botswana and Southern Africa generally.

Endnotes to Introduction

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CHAPTER ONE
THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND
OF THE BATSWANA

1.1 THE COUNTRY

The country covered by this study is Botswana, a Southern African country with an area of 581,730 km² lying between South Africa in the South and South East, Zimbabwe in the East and North East, Zambia and Zimbabwe in the North and Namibia in the West¹ (see Fig. 1). It is mainly a desert with average annual rainfall ranging from 650 mm in the North to 250 mm in the extreme South East. The altitude of Botswana ranges from 850 to 1,300 metres above sea level. Most of the country lies within the Tropics, being bisected by the Tropic of Capricorn. It is a savannah type country with good pastures.²

Prior to 1966 Botswana was a British Protectorate and was known as Bechuanaland. It became a British Protectorate in 1885 when the Botswana Chiefs requested the British Government to protect them from the threat of the Boers from the South.³

1.2 THE PEOPLE

The people of Botswana comprise more than 15 ethnic groups,⁴ the most important of these being the Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Barolong, Balete, Bakgatla,

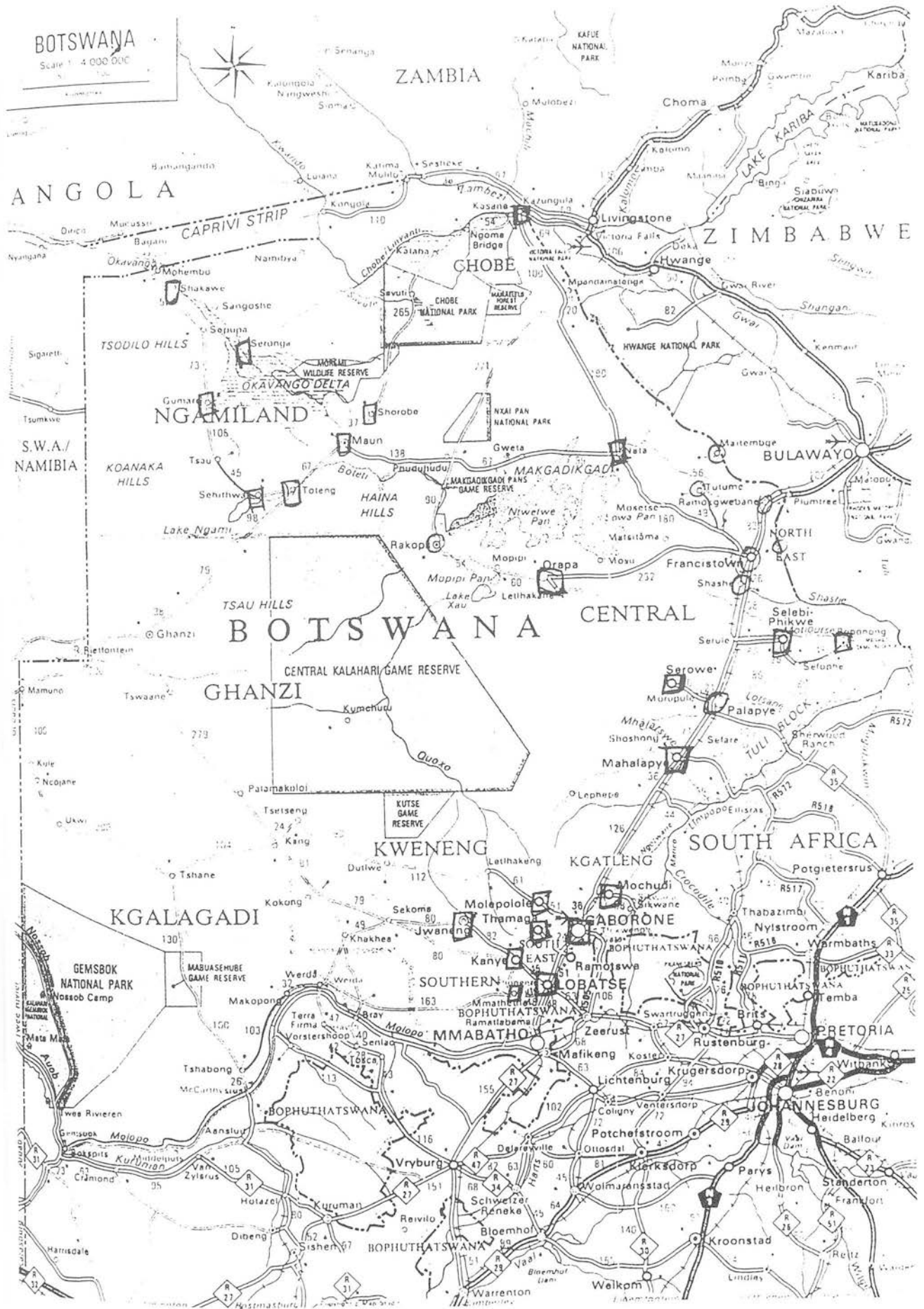


Figure 1: Map of Botswana showing the spread of the Head Mountain of God
 Key: ○ = Spread of the HMG 1940-1972; □ = Spread of the HMG 1972-1992.

Bangwato, Basarwa, Bakgalagadi, Bakalanga, Babirwa, Batwapong, Batlokwa, Batawana, Bayei, Basubia, Bambukushu and the Baherero. For the purpose of this study the major eight Setswana speaking ethnic groups will be referred to as the Tswana and the distinct beliefs and traditions of the Bakalanga (Kalanga), Bayei, Batwapong and Basarwa will be so distinguished.

The historical origins of the Tswana and the Kalanga are quite well-defined.⁵ Since these are the two major population groups in Botswana, this study will focus on the Tswana and the Kalanga. Reference to the other ethnic groups will be made only when the need arises.

The Tswana originated from the South.⁶ Archaeological works and oral evidence show that the present Botswana peoples originated from an area around the present Western Transvaal around AD 1200. During the 1800s there was a great movement of peoples in Southern Africa so that, in the 1820s, the destructive movement known as difaqane culminated in a wide distribution of peoples throughout Southern Africa. The Batswana people had spread over present day Botswana, forming major tribes like the Bakwena, Bangwato, Bangwaketse, Batawana and Bakgatla. The Bakgalagadi and other minor tribes fall within the Tswana classification.

The Kalanga are historically and culturally different from the Tswana.⁷ They are of Shona origin, and connected with the Monomotapa Empire and its succeeding empires which were destroyed by the Ndebele in the 1840s. The Monomotapa Empire extended to the fringes of the Kalahari Desert in the Nata area and down to the Motloutse River in the South. During the difaqane there was such a movement of peoples that, by 1835, the Kalanga comprised many other ethnic groups from the South who were culturally affiliated into the Kalanga culture.⁸

The social organisation of the Kalanga was very similar to that of the Tswana. However, since the 1840s, when the last dynasty of the Rozvi was defeated by the Ndebele, the Kalanga had not had a paramount chief. The division of the Shona

peoples into Kalanga (Western Shona), Karanga (Southern Shona) etc. caused the Kalanga to drift away from the other Shona peoples and to become a nation in their own right.⁹ They were ruled, however, by the Ndebele kings.

This was the situation before the arrival of the missionaries in Botswana (then Bechuanaland). When the missionaries came (see further below), they carried out explorations in the North of Botswana and strengthened the trade links between the Kalanga and the Bangwato.¹⁰ Attempts were made to Christianize the Ndebele but these were unsuccessful.¹¹ The need to spread the Gospel to the Ndebele together with the desire of traders to penetrate Ndebele country led to conflicts between the Ngwato and the Ndebele. The Kalanga, who paid tribute to the Ndebele through conquest, held a neutral position in the feuds between the Ngwato and the Ndebele.¹² With the help of the missionaries and traders who had the support of the British Government, the Ndebele state collapsed. The Ngwato controlled Western Zimbabwe and claimed tribute from the Kalanga. Thus the political system of the Kalanga had never been strong enough to resist any intrusion by war but the Kalanga always excelled diplomatically.¹³

The drawing of boundaries in 1899 then included Western Zimbabwe into Bechuanaland, cutting away a population of 120,000 Kalanga (from another 190,000), falling into the present Botswana.¹⁴ Whereas the social structures of the Kalanga had been very flexible and open to change, the social organisation of Botswana has not changed much from its early period right up to the present time. The family or household is still the basis of social organisation,¹⁵ with the headman and the chiefs forming the basis of political organisation in both the village set-up and the town.¹⁶ However the Independent Government has introduced other structures of social organisation.¹⁷

At Independence in 1966, Botswana became a Republic. A House of Parliament or National Assembly, with a Cabinet and an Executive President, formed the Central

Government. In addition, a House of Chiefs was formed, composed of the eight chiefs of the eight major tribes together with some appointed chiefs. The House of Chiefs acts as an advisory body to the National Assembly. The chiefs themselves still exercise considerable authority in their tribal areas.

At Local Government level, the District Officer acts as the local authority. He is assisted by locally elected councillors who, through Village Development Committees, see to the development of their localities. The Town Councils, as they are called, get financial support from the Central Government to run all local projects such as schools, hospitals, clinics, roads and all other needs of the people.

There is no area of confrontation between the traditional structures and the modern ones. This is due to the fact that the modern structures are based on traditional social organisation and there is much consultation between the two groups. Thus in every village and town it is possible to find freedom squares where politicians can address political issues and *kgotlas* where tribal issues are discussed by all, regardless of their political affiliation.

As stated above, the family is the basis of social organisation. In present-day Botswana, the family is continually faced with problems.¹⁸ The growth in a number of urban areas attracts many of the young people, who form the majority of the population,¹⁹ to the towns in search of work. Such movements of the people disturb the integrity of the family as far as discipline and order are concerned. Many young people between the ages of 15 and 19 years face numerous problems in the urban areas, and these problems pose a serious moral question to Botswana society. This issue will be discussed below in the section on the economy.

1.3 SOCIAL ORGANISATION

In general, the social organisation of the Tswana and the Kalanga does not differ very much, due to the fact that they are all of Bantu stock, similar to most Sub-Saharan African peoples, and thus have much in common.²⁰

The social organisation of the Tswana begins with the household (*lolwapa*). The household refers to the immediate parents and their children. The organisation is extended so that many brothers will share the same homestead with their grandparents, uncles, aunts and other relatives. This develops into a ward (*kgoro*). The *kgoro* is presided over by a headsman who is always a representative of the chief. Several *dikgoro* form a village (*motse*). The village, with its people, forms a tribe because of the close origins, cultures and traditions of the people. A tribe may be made up of several villages or one large village and this has been the common practice of the Tswana.²¹

Large villages were always surrounded by smaller ones which were mainly composed of subjected peoples or those seeking refuge from the disturbances that prevailed prior to British protection. The outlying villages were always ruled by the paramount chief's relatives. This system was created to maintain order and respect to the senior or paramount chief and prevailed predominantly in Southern Botswana.²²

In Northern Botswana, in Ngwato country, where the majority of the ethnic groups were Kalanga, the Ngwato chiefs allowed the Kalanga chiefs to rule under their supervision. In this manner, the Kalanga retained a very high degree of social and religious freedom, thus ensuring that their culture remained intact to compete very strongly with the Tswana cultures. This will be elaborated on later in the thesis in the discussion on the spread of Christianity and the current economic situation of Botswana.

Current studies on ethnic affiliation and language shift point to the economic dominance of the Kalanga over the other ethnic groups of Botswana.²³ This is due to the fact that the Kalanga can easily associate with people of other tribes and races while still retaining their own strong culture which puts them together as families and as a nation.

1.4 THE ECONOMY

The economy of Botswana shall be discussed from its history since contact with the white people in the 1820s. The basis of the economy was cattle management and subsistence farming. In years of good rains the people produced enough crops in the form of sorghum, millet, beans, maize, cucumbers and water melons to allow the surplus to be preserved to be used in times of drought. The chief was the custodian of the tribe's food needs.²⁴

The rich cattle owners loaned the poor some of their cattle under the practice known as *mafisa*. The poor would look after the cattle, use them to help with their ploughing, and have milk from them. At the end of a year or two the cattle owner would reward those who had looked after his cows with one or two cows of their own, and in this way the poor gradually built up their stock.²⁵

However, contact with the white traders, who bartered goods in exchange for ostrich feathers, hides, skins and ivory, gradually changed the economy. The demand for goods from the white traders led to a capitalist spirit.²⁶ The chiefs became more and more greedy and became rich through trade. This greed manifested itself with the arrival of the missionaries who were welcomed by the chiefs for economic reasons as shall be discussed below.

A drastic change occurred in the 1870s when diamonds were discovered at Kimberley in South Africa. The need for Western goods engendered by the missionaries and traders forced many Batswana into migrant labour in South Africa.²⁷ In the 1880s gold was discovered in Witwaterstrand and many more Batswana went to South Africa to work in the mines and developing industries.

The 1900s saw the growth of capitalism, characterized by the accumulation of wealth by the chiefs and the rich cattle owners.²⁸ The tax demands of the Protectorate Government led many people to move to the emerging towns to look for work in order to raise money to pay taxes. Migrant labour had a serious impact on the basis of an economy which consisted of cattle farming and crop farming.²⁹ The situation was not helped by the modern developments which took place after Independence in 1966. The growth in industrial development, together with the expansion in mining and beef production, has not helped in creating jobs for the growing manpower. The Government is the largest employer but the growth rate of unemployment is 44.2% whereas the employment rate is 33.7%.

The economic problem has a long history due partly to the fact that the Protectorate Government did not develop the country but used it as a corridor to the North,³⁰ and also due to fast population growth in an undeveloped country. At present 1.5 million people³¹ live in the country which, although its financial development is healthy, still cannot meet the needs of the fast growing population. There is an uneven distribution of the material wealth of the country and this contributes to the poverty problem. Few people have cattle and few have access to the better paid jobs.³² The young people are the ones who suffer most in this situation. It is they who are also responsible for the growth in population with the continued increase in the number of unmarried mothers and teenage pregnancies.³³

Botswana has too few technical schools to produce people who could be self-sufficient, and it is the school leavers who are the worst hit by the economic

problems.³⁴ The country may appear to be wealthy but it does not in actual fact make the economic life of its people better. The situation is exacerbated by the cut in the number of people working in South Africa.³⁵

1.5 TRADITIONAL BELIEFS AND RITUALS

The traditional religious beliefs of the Batswana and the Bakalanga can be divided into two basic concepts: the High God (*Modimo* or *Mwali*) and the general beliefs concerning the spiritual world. It is not an easy task to separate the two concepts. They can only be understood in terms of the ritual connection between them.

This study will give a brief description of the traditional religious beliefs and rituals of some Botswana peoples where such is available.³⁶

1.6 THE TSWANA-SPEAKING PEOPLES

The religion of the Batswana is based on the supernatural being known as *Modimo*. *Modimo* lives up in the heavens and the approach to him is through the ancestors (*badimo*). The *badimo* comprise the dead who continue to live after death and to share and control the lives of the living. There was, and still is, a great communion in life between the *badimo* and the living, maintained through the *ngaka*. The *ngaka* was, and still is, a healer, counsellor and a jack of all trades who maintains the stability of the community by acting as mediator between the living and the dead. All social matters, including those of an economic nature, are determined by the

relationship among the people, the *ngaka*, the *badimo* and *Modimo*. The good life depends on this relationship and any omission incurs punishment from *Modimo*, taking the form of natural disasters like drought, thunderstorms and disease or epidemics. Individuals and families could also face problems if they neglected their ancestors who had catered for their needs before *Modimo*. *Modimo* has always been appeased through ceremonies and offerings to the *badimo* who communicated all the honour and respect to *Modimo* on behalf of the people. All spheres of life including birth, initiation, marriage and death were controlled by *Modimo*. Proper rituals were maintained at all levels of life but the most important aspect of Tswana religion is that it was, and still is, communal. Indeed all aspects of life were communal and individualism had no room in Tswana societies.³⁷ *Modimo* was worshipped by the community and not individuals.

The missionaries, however, did not realize this rich religious background. The first missionary to the Batswana, Dr Robert Moffat, made the following observations:

As a people like the Bechuanas, who never had the slightest idea of idols, or idol service, could have no notion whatever of the object of missionaries, beyond that of secular interests; it is necessary to refer to the temporal advantages to be expected from the establishment of Christianity, and this is the critical moment which gives a character to succeeding years! While they had had intercourse with the Griquas amongst whom they had witnessed the progress and results of missionary labours they were not ignorant of the political connection in which they stood to the colony; and had been informed by some of the evil-disposed, that the missionary there was an agent of government, and a pioneer to prepare, by pacific measures, the minds of the natives for the control of a foreign power. Thus kind promises, a profusion of gifts, bodily service, fascinating as they were to such thoroughly sensual beings as were the Bechuanas, did not entirely remove their suspicions that the missionaries were only the emissaries of the colonial governor.³⁸

This statement shows how intelligent the Batswana were in relation to their under-estimation by the missionaries. The involvement in church government by the Bechuana chief, as will be described below, shows that the Bechuana were very much

aware of the political influence of the missionaries in addition to their religious activities.

Dr Moffat continued with his underestimation:

The situation of the missionary among the Bechuanas is peculiar, differing with slight exception, from any other among any nation on the face of the earth. He has no idolatry to arrest his progress, and his mind is not overwhelmed with the horrors which are to be found in countries where idols and idol temples are resorted to by millions of devotees; his ears are never stunned by their orgies; his eyes are not offended by human and other sacrifices nor is he the spectator of the unhappy widow immolated on the funeral pile of her husband; the infant screams of Moloch's victims never rend his heart. He meets with no sacred streams, nor hearts of voluntary victims to propitiate the anger of imaginary deities. He seeks in vain to find a temple, an altar, or a single emblem of heathen worship. No fragments remain of former days, as mementoes to the present generation that their ancestors ever loved, served or revered as being greater than man. A profound silence reigns on this awful subject. Satan has been too successful in leading capture at his will of a majority of the human race, by an almost endless variety of deities. As if creation were not sufficiently profuse, vanity has excited a host of inventive and degenerate minds to form images of every shape and size, exhibiting the horrid, the ludicrous, and the obscene. While Satan was obviously the author of polytheism of other nations, he has employed his agency, with fatal success, in erasing every vestige of religious impression from the minds of the Bechuanas, Hottentots and Bushmen; leaving them without a single ray to guide them from the dark and dread futurity, or a single link to unite them with the skies.

Thus the missionary could make no appeals to legends or to altars or to an unknown God, or to ideas kindred to those he wished to impart. His was not the work of turning the stream backward to its ancient course. Their religious system, like those streams in the wilderness which lose themselves in the sand, had entirely disappeared; and it devolved on the missionaries to prepare for the gracious distribution of the waters of salvation in that desert soil, sowing the seed of the word, breathing many a prayer, and shedding many a tear till the Spirit of God should cause it to vegetate and yield the fruits of righteousness.³⁹

The reason for the above lengthy quotation is that it encompasses the attitudes of the missionaries to the Batswana and also those of the colonial rulers, most of whom

attached little significance to Tswana religions. In contrast, in Zimbabwe, the role of the Mwari cult was taken seriously as of great economic and political influence.⁴⁰ The evangelical activities of the missionaries in Botswana, as will be discussed below, should be viewed in the context that they believed the Batswana either had no previous knowledge of God or it had completely disappeared. On this basis, the Bible translation used the name *Modimo* to mean the Christian God. The use of *Modimo* was not in any way motivated by the need to indigenise Christianity, rather by the belief that *Modimo* was just a thing (*selo*) which had no influence on the people except on grounds of superstition. The role of religion in the Tswana social life which Dr Moffat found among the Batlhaping was given no consideration at all. This attitude towards the Batlhaping was extended to all the Tswana tribes and to the Batswana in North Western Botswana. The missionary concept of sin included ancestor worship, circumcision or initiation generally, polygamy and traditional healing. All these beliefs and practices were not viewed from their religious perspective. The burial customs were regarded as sinful and heathen, but in Tswana religion they were done in the context of the continuing of life.⁴¹ Taboos were regarded as mere superstition instead of being understood in a religious context.

We shall see below how Christianity spread in Botswana from these impressions.

1.7 THE KALANGA-SPEAKING PEOPLES

In religion, the Bakalanga, like all the Shona-speaking peoples, believed in *Mwali*.⁴² The origins of the Mwari/*Mwali* religion are traced back to the Mbire peoples who originated from East Africa. The *Mwali* religion was highly organised and the early missionaries realised its importance. This was due to the fact that the impact of the religion was felt both in politics and economics. The building up of the Empire

of Great Zimbabwe, Khami and the Danangombe (*Dlhodlho*) was inspired by the belief in *Mwali*.

Of interest to Christianity and the general reaction to contact with the white people was that the *Mwali* religion had a well-developed rain-making belief and ceremony. Rain-making was very important to the Bakalanga peoples whose fertile lands provided not only grain for themselves but also for their conquerors and those who demanded tribute from them. The procedure for asking for rain was through the priests of *Mwali*. The priests were always accompanied by the *wosana* who were young girls dedicated to *Mwali*. *Mwali* spoke to the people through the High Priest of *Mwali* at some recognized shrines which were scattered throughout many parts of the country.⁴³ The dictates of *Mwali* governed the general life of the people.

The first LMS missionaries to work amongst the Bakalanga realised this advanced monotheism of the *Mwali* religion.⁴⁴ They also understood that the Bakalanga were more civilized and had better skills and houses than the rest of the tribes with whom they came into contact in Southern Africa.⁴⁵ The approach to evangelization was therefore not as negative as it was to the Tswana-speaking peoples. The political problems to which the Bakalanga were subjected made them more ready to accept Christianity, and after all it did not differ very much from their own religious system. God was understood as *Ndzimu*, who was the creator of the universe and above human reach. Jesus was understood as *Mwali* who could be approached at special places and who could communicate with his people. There was not much difference and the preaching of Jesus as Saviour was understood in the *Mwali-Ndzimu* concept. The missionaries had problems in trying to discourage some of the customs and beliefs of the Bakalanga. One of the customs was polygamy. The Bakalanga had maintained order in their societies through proper order in family relations. The family as the basic unit of the tribe and nation had to be properly maintained. To preserve the family meant proper marriage and control of the children. Thus marriages were

prearranged and mature girls were given to their husbands immediately they reached maturity. There were no unmarried mothers nor illegitimate children. Polygamy, therefore, was an acceptable form of marriage. As grain producers, the Bakalanga could not easily give in to monogamy which would lead to economic collapse since the women did most of the agricultural production. Due to the lack of central authority because of political conquests, the Bakalanga lost their circumcision practices much earlier than the Tswana. Thus polygamy was more of a problem than initiation. The impact of the cash economy on the Batswana was not felt so quickly by the Bakalanga people who had fertile lands and could produce a lot of food to sell and make money. The effects of migrant labour had a different impact on the Bakalanga and it took them some time to abandon polygamy. Moreover, the prohibitions made by the Tswana chiefs did not in many cases affect the Bakalanga so that the power of the missionaries in fighting polygamy did not get the strong support of the chiefs as was the case with other tribes. Those who gave up polygamy were the ones who had accepted the Christian faith and wished to practise it. Those who accepted Christianity as an addition or a further elaboration of the *Mwali* religion still practised polygamy and those who are traditionally married can still take a second wife if they so wished, in consultation with their wives, as had been the culture and custom.

The other factor which influenced the work of the missionaries was the strong belief in witchcraft. The Bakalanga, like all Africans, generally believe in witchcraft.

As a general observation, it can be said that Christianity in Botswana did not have the same impact on the different ethnic groups, especially the Bakalanga.

1.8 OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Among the other ethnic groups with clear religious beliefs were the Batswapong of Eastern Central Ngwato Reserve. These people, who are Babirwa, originated from South Africa with all the other Tswana tribes. They entered the present Botswana about the middle of the nineteenth century and settled in Ngwato land. The Ngwato chiefs had always tried to subdue them but without much success. The Batswapong had a well-developed religion based on rain-making like the *Mwali* religion of the Bakalanga. Every year the people gathered at Moremi to ask for rain from their God.⁴⁶ The Bachwapong, as they are commonly referred to, were evangelized by the Reverend Hepburn from Shoshong. Christianity faced problems, however, when trying to convince the people that there was no God at Moremi.

The Bakgalagadi believed in the God *Toye*.⁴⁷ They believed that *Toye* was the creator of all being. The important aspect of their religion was that *Toye* had made them better than the Basarwa and they used their religion to suppress the Basarwa. They had a strong religion, contrary to missionary beliefs and assessment.

The Bayei believed in their God *Ureja*.⁴⁸ *Ureja* had all the attributes of God in the Christian sense. He provided for his people, demanded worship and honour from them, and above all demanded sacrifices.

The least considered people of Botswana have always been the Basarwa.⁴⁹ In spite of the fact that much missionary work still needs to be done amongst them, the Basarwa had a well-developed religious system. They believed that there was once a time when everything could speak or talk, including animals, the plants, the wind, and the sun. But one day, all became quiet. They recognised a special relationship between people and natural things. They were very careful in the way in which they killed animals because, if they killed more than they needed to eat, they would be punished with droughts and lack of food. They believed in a creator God who had lost

interest in them. They did not believe in wrongdoing because it led to misfortune. The god of the Basarwa was worshipped through dance in which men went into trances.

In conclusion, as a general feature it can be seen that all the ethnic groups of Botswana had their own religious beliefs which in turn reacted differently to Christianity.

1.9 THE MAIN FEATURES OF BOTSWANA RELIGIONS

1.9.1 Belief in the Spirit World

Like all other Africans,⁵⁰ the Batswana believe in the existence of a spirit world where there is eternal life. The existence of a spirit world is characterized by the following beliefs:

1.9.2 The Ancestors

The Batswana believe in the world and the power of the ancestors over their living relatives. It has been shown above that the Tswana social organisation includes the departed relatives grouped as ancestors (*badimo*). This belief in ancestors pervades the rituals pertaining to birth (including disabled children and abortions), initiation and burials.⁵¹ The observation to be made here is that any religion which does not address these beliefs and practices fails to meet the spiritual as well as the economical needs of the Batswana. This argument will be developed as the study unfolds.

1.9.3 The *Ngaka*

All the traditional Botswana religions discussed above share a strong belief in the role of the *ngaka* or *nganga* as the mediator between the ancestral world and the

living. The position of the *ngaka* in Botswana society has been discussed above. What is important for this study is that any religion that does not consider the role of the *ngaka* seriously and finds alternatives cannot appeal to the Batswana. Our study of the HMG will show how this important role has been dealt with.

1.9.4 Wizardry: Witchcraft and Sorcery

The belief in wizardry permeates all aspects of Tswana life. The Batswana believe in witchcraft and sorcery. This belief has been widely discussed as it affects all Africans but it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss it.⁵² It suffices to mention that material growth and educational advancement in Botswana have not in any way alleviated the fear of witchcraft and sorcery. Instead, the unequal distribution of wealth, with the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer, has increased the belief in witchcraft and sorcery. Success in life, especially materially, is associated with charms for witchcraft provided by the *ngaka*. Failure in life is associated with witchcraft and jealousy of relatives. These beliefs are growing in present day Botswana and any religion that does not address them is irrelevant to the Batswana.

1.9.5 Other Fears and Taboos

The majority of the fears and taboos of the Batswana are associated with economic production and include the prohibitions with regard to cutting certain trees during the rainy season; taboos relating to the harvest season and the general fear of lightning. The point which this study maintains is that all rituals, fears and taboos are associated with economic production and the need for a better life. Any form of religion that fails to achieve or address this issue remains irrelevant to the Batswana.

1.10 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it suffices to state that the foregoing factors should all be considered in our study of the HMG and other AICs in Botswana.

Endnotes to Chapter 1

1. See A. Campbell, A Guide to Botswana (1980).
2. *Ibid.*
3. See A. Sillery, The Bechuanaland Protectorate, Oxford University Press (1952); T. Tlou and A. Campbell, History of Botswana, Botswana: Macmillan (1984); L.A. Picard (ed.), The Evolution of Modern Botswana, London, Rex Collins (1985).
4. I. Schapera, The Ethnic Composition of Tswana Tribes, LSE Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 11 (1952); T. Tlou and A. Campbell (1984), *op. cit.*
5. See R.R. Hitchcock and M.R. Smith Proceedings of the Symposium on Settlement in Botswana - The Historical Development of A Human Landscape, National Museum, Gaborone, Botswana, August 4th to 8th, 1980, Botswana Society (1982); T. Tlou and A. Campbell, *op. cit.* (1984).
6. T. Tlou and A. Campbell, *op. cit.* (1984).
7. Picard, *op. cit.* (1985).
8. T. Tlou and A. Campbell, *op. cit.* (1984).
9. M. Bourdillon. The Shona Peoples, Mambo Press (1976 and 1982).
10. See D. Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, London (1857) and J. Mackenzie Ten Years North of the Orange River, Edinburgh (1871).
11. N. Bhebe, Christianity and Traditional Religion in Western Zimbabwe 1859-1923. Longman (1979).
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. Picard, *op. cit.* (1985).
15. A. Molokomme, "Children of the fence". The Maintenance of Extra-marital Children under Law and Practice in Botswana, Netherlands (1991).
16. *Ibid.*
17. See UNICEF, Children, Women and Development in Botswana: A Situation Analysis, October 1989.
18. Molokomme, *op. cit.* (1991).

19. See Profile of Youth in Botswana, Intersectoral Committee on Family Life Education, Gaborone (1989).
20. See T. Tlou and A. Campbell, *op. cit.* (1984).
21. I. Schapera, Tribal Innovators: Tswana Chiefs and Social Change 1795-1940, University of London (1970).
22. *Ibid.*
23. See R. Vossen, "Language Maintenance, Language Shift and Identity in Ngamiland, Botswana: Some Hypotheses in Botswana-Education Culture and Politics", Proceedings of a Conference held in the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 15-16 December 1988.
24. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970).
25. I. Schapera, A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom, Frank Cass & Co., 2nd edition (1955); also see Kgamelo: "milk-pail", p.67; *mafisa*, p.246 ff.
26. Jack Parsons (1981) "Cattle, Class and the State in Rural Botswana", Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 7, No. 2, April.
27. I. Schapera, Migrant Labour and Tribal Life: A Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, London (1947a).
28. Jack Parson, *op. cit.* (1981).
29. The economy began to fail because many able-bodied young men began to go to the mines in South Africa and left agriculture to suffer (see Schapera, 1947).
30. Picard, *op. cit.* (1985).
31. 1991 Population Census Report.
32. C. Colclough and S. McCarthy, The Political Economy of Botswana: A Study of Growth and Distribution, Oxford University Press (1980); J. Hesselberg, The Third World in Transition: The Case of the Peasantry in Botswana, Uppsala (1985).
33. Molokomme, *op. cit.* (1991).
34. See Profile of Youth in Botswana (1989), cited at No. 19 above.
35. C. Colclough and S. McCarthy, *op. cit.* (1980).
36. Some research still needs to be done in Botswana with regard to the many ethnic groups whose religions have not been studied in depth, including the Bakgalagadi and the Basarwa.

37. G. Setiloane, The Image of God Among the Sotho-Tswana, A.A. Balkema (1976); J.T. Brown, Among the Bantu Nomads, London (1926).
38. Moffat, *op. cit.* (1842), p.236.
39. *Ibid.*, pp.243-244.
40. Daneel (1970): The God of the Matopo Hills (1969): the origins of the cult, pp.15-16; the attributes, pp.16-19; major shrines: Matonjeni or Njelele, p.25; Mangwe, p.31; monopolisation of the Mwari cult by the Rozvi dynasty, p.26. 1830s end of Rozvi dynasty by the Ndebele invasions; political influence of Mwari cult subdued by Ndebele political structures until after the death of Lobengula and the defeat of the Ndebele by Europeans, p.26. Mwari and Christianity: transformation of the Mwari cult by the Zion Christian Church of Mutendi, pp.37-40. See also Daneel: Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, Vol. 2, Mwari cult, pp.101-111; adaptation and transformation, pp.309-347. Adaptation and indigenization: "Indigenization, it seems, is a major pivot around which much of the successful recruitment of Independent Church members revolves. This is a dynamic process with numerous variations, even within the same Church. Yet basically it implies that Christianity appears in a typically African guise, that traditionally conceived needs are met with traditionally oriented answers and solutions whatever their theological validity -- and that herein lies the secret of the unique appeal of Independent Churches to Africans", p.309. Daneel further discusses the transformation of indigenized ceremonies. Sermons preached at rainmaking or prayers for rain are a means of transformation not adaptation. Instead of 'buying salvation' (and rain) at Matonjeni, one should accept the free salvation of Jesus Christ and demonstrate one's recognition of the Creator through the practice of Christian stewardship", p.314. "Instead of winning the goodwill of the tribal spirits through beer libations, by dancing on and the clearing of the graves, a spiritual renewal is required during fasting ceremonies, with far-reaching moral implications especially in domestic affairs", p.314.
41. A description of burials is given by J.T. Brown, *op. cit.* (1926) and W.C. Willoughby, The Soul of the Bantu, London, S.R.C. (1928). The burials point to the expectation of a continuous life in the next world.
42. Daneel, *op. cit.* (1970).
43. The famous ones are Dula, Njelele and Mangwe. These are in Zimbabwe but they do have great influence on the Bakalanga of Botswana.
44. Letter from Cullen Reed to W. Thompson (L.M.S. Secretary), Hope Fountain, 14th October 1895 (C.W.M. Archives, S.O.A.S., University of London, Box 1, Folder 5, Jacket B).

"I propose . . . sending you by next mail some account of the work I have been engaged in during the last two months but here have only time to say that the people there have welcomed me in a manner altogether unexpected on my part so soon as they clearly understand what I had come down there to do. As one illustration of this let me say that whereas Mr. Helm told me that I need not think of building a church as for long I should have to go out to the villages to speak

to them there if they were to be got at all. The fact has proved quite different. The first Sunday I went down to the nearest village & spoke of the principles of Christianity contrasting it with their own worship. In the first case I spoke to the Induna & his old men but the former went out and called all the people in the village as many as the hut would hold to come & listen & I had to repeat it. The following Sunday before daylight I found several natives had come up to my Camp & more kept coming in till there were about 200 gathered. I wondered what they had come for & for some time waited for them to tell me but they continued to wait & it occurred to me they had come to hear of Christ as I had told them that it was one custom to think & talk of him specially every seventh day. We accordingly had a short service: some singing Matebele hymns by the Inyati boys I had with me greatly pleasing them & I read a portion of Matthew & gave a short address with the Lord's Prayer. The address I had to have interpreted from Dutch as I cannot yet speak fluently enough for such work in Sintebele. When it was over the people all dispersed & each Sunday since a congregation of about 200 people has gathered at my village & have seemed most attentive & especially interested in the singing having already learned to join with effect in 4 or 5 hymns.

Such a congregation is in excess of any I have seen at either Inyati or Hope Fountain at so early a date in the history of the new station & gives me great hope for the future especially as it is drawn from a very large neighbouring population, there being within easy distance some 60 villages. School work will I hope come in time but at present these people have no idea of what that means."

45. *Ibid.*
46. See B. Morebodi, "The traditional religious beliefs of the Botwapong of Moremi", in A.B.T. Byaruhanga-Akiiki (Ed.), Religion in Botswana Project, Vol. Six, University of Botswana, May (1984).
47. Toye concept of God: "In the Kalahari Desert", article by Rev. I.B. Sekgwa in The Chronicle, March 1933, pp.55-56. Annual Report of the LMS, Selly Oak Colleges Library, Birmingham, UK.
48. T. Tlou, A History of Ngamiland 1750 to 1906: The Formation of an African State, Macmillan, Botswana (1985), p.18.
49. Although some studies have been made on their religion, the attitude of the Batswana towards the Basarwa is that they do not have any formal religion. For discussion on some aspects of their religion, see L. Marshall, "Kung Bushmen Religious Beliefs", Africa, 1962, 11:221-252.
50. See Willoughby, *op. cit.* (1928); E.W. Smith (Ed.), African Ideas of God, London, Edinburgh House Press (1950); J. Mbiti, Concepts of God in Africa, London SPCK (1970); E.G. Parrinder, African Traditional Religion, 4th Impression, London, Sheldon Press (1981) [first published 1954].
51. Brown, *op. cit.* (1926); Willoughby, *op. cit.* (1928) and Setiloane, *op. cit.* (1976).

52. For a general overview of witchcraft beliefs in Africa, see Africa, Vol. viii, No. 4, October (1935); see also L. Lagerwerf, "They Pray for You": Independent Churches and Women in Botswana, Leiden (1982).

CHAPTER TWO

EUROPEAN MISSIONS AMONGST THE BATSWANA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of missions in Botswana cannot be separated from the general missionary situation in Southern Africa.¹ For the purpose of this study there now follows a brief examination of the first contacts between the Batswana and the white people, leading to the coming of the missionaries.

2.2 CONTACTS BETWEEN THE BATSWANA AND THE WHITE PEOPLE AND THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

2.2.1 Traders and Explorers²

The white people, commonly referred to as the Boers, settled in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652, where they carried on trade with the Hottentots. By the 1800s, trading parties had penetrated the country to the area South of the Orange River and it was here that they first heard of the Batswana further North. The 1800s also saw Boer migrations from the Cape into the interior in search of pastures but also on occasion for political reasons. Most of these migrants were marauders and hunters who in many cases invaded the Batlhaping, a Southern section of the Bechuana people, and robbed them of their stock. Traders also came to the Batswana to trade in ivory, beads and carosses. Thus, before 1820, the Bechuanas had come into contact with white people of all sorts and had become very wary of them.

The next significant group of people with whom the Bechuana came into contact were the missionaries of the London Missionary Society (LMS). The LMS was founded in London in 1795, with the aim of spreading the Gospel and civilization throughout the world.⁴ The first LMS missionary to South Africa was Dr Van der Kemp who worked in the Eastern Cape amongst the Xhosas. He was followed by John Philip who extended the mission work as far South as the Orange River. The first missionary to the Bechuana was Dr Robert Moffat. He crossed the Orange River following a request for missionaries to settle in his tribe made by the Chief of the Batlhaping, Mothibi, to Dr Campbell. The need for missionaries was based on the notion that they provided protection for tribes in times of attack or in times of war and they also carried on trade on behalf of the Chief. The Gospel was secondary to these important needs.

Dr Moffat arrived at Kuruman in 1820 and started missionary work amongst the Batlhaping. Through this mission, a strong link between the Bechuana and the white people was fully established. Many travellers and traders came through Kuruman and soon there was a need for the expansion of missionary work to the North. Dr Moffat made a number of trips into the interior and visited the Bangwaketse who were always at war with the Batlhaping over cattle raids. There was a need for more ministers or missionaries in the North and, following requests by Dr Moffat to the LMS, in 1841 he was joined by Dr David Livingstone. Dr Livingstone found that there was a great need for mission work and education in order to bring peace in the aftermath of the barbarous wars started by the Zulus.⁵

In 1843, Dr Livingstone settled amongst the Bakwena and started the first mission station in the present Botswana. From there he made trips to the Bamangwato further North and also visited the lands of the Bakaa and of the Makalaka. He introduced Christianity to Chief Sekgoma Khama of the Bangwato at Shoshong. In

1849 he went further North to discover Lake Ngami. By that time the whole of Bechuanaland knew that there were two types of whites in their country: the traders and the missionaries. Many tribes preferred the missionaries to traders because they provided security in times of war. It is appropriate at this stage to mention that, throughout Bechuanaland, although there were no boundaries, each tribe was independent of each other and had its own chief and subchiefs and headmen of smaller villages who paid loyalty to the senior or paramount chief.

After undertaking the trips to the North, Dr Livingstone settled amongst the Bakwena and started his work. His first convert was Chief Sechele whom he taught the alphabet so that he could read and write. He introduced education through the use of local teachers he had brought with him from Kuruman. Dr Livingstone strongly believed that, for the Gospel to be spread efficiently and successfully to the heathens, it had to be done by local evangelists, ministers or preachers. During his stay amongst the Bakwena, until 1853, he had established a church which was run by local evangelists and preachers. The Chief himself was one of the preachers and he would conduct services in the absence of Dr Livingstone. By so doing, the Chief was once more enjoying some of the privileges which he had lost since becoming a Christian since Christianity condemned many traditional religious practices. To encourage the full participation of the local people, Dr Livingstone studied the languages, cultures and customs of the people with whom he lived. His spirit of adventure led him to explore Luanda and then Central Africa. During his absence, Chief Sechele invited to the Bechuana mission the Hermansburg Lutheran Missionaries, who occupied the LMS mission stations until 1864 when the LMS reoccupied the mission field.⁶

One of the most outstanding missionaries of the Bechuana mission was Dr John Mackenzie. In 1864 he settled at Shoshong amongst the Bangwato. Shoshong became the centre of Christianity in Bechuanaland. Chief Khama was baptised by the Lutheran missionaries and had accepted Christianity as his state religion by prohibiting

a number of traditional beliefs and practices and transforming others to Christianity.⁷ At his inauguration on Sunday (August 1872) he began his reign by holding a Christian service in his courtyard and announced that henceforth only such services should be held there. Khama played a great role in the expansion of the mission field in Bechuanaland by being directly responsible for the sending out of evangelists and preachers throughout Ngwatoland. He also played an important role in the indigenization of the LMS as a Bechuanaland state church.

Shoshong did not only become a centre of Christianity, but also a centre of trade. During Dr Mackenzie's stay in Shoshong, important changes took place in Bechuanaland. He influenced the British Government to colonise Bechuanaland in order to create peace for the proclamation of the Gospel message and civilization.⁸ When he was transferred to Kuruman in 1871, he pursued his idea with the Resident Commissioner at Cape Town, Sir Bartle Frere so that, by 1878, he was made the administrator of Griqualand West. In large part due to his influence, Bechuanaland was made a British Protectorate in 1885 and the borders of the current Botswana were determined in 1899.⁹ Thus contact with the whites brought Christianity and British protection to Botswana.

2.3 MISSION POLICY AND STRATEGY IN THE FIELD

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss mission policies and the strategies which missionary bodies applied. However, arising from the concern of the missionary-sending countries regarding the work of their missionaries, in 1910 an ecumenical conference was held at Edinburgh to review mission policies.¹⁰ This study will take the London Missionary Society (LMS) as the classical example of mission policy and strategy in Botswana (Bechuanaland).

The policy of the LMS as an ecumenical movement was not to spread any particular denomination but to spread the Gospel.¹¹ However, the LMS in Bechuanaland became a Congregational Church in accordance with Scottish Congregationalism.¹² The congregational polity coped quite well with the Tswana social structures, as discussed above. The LMS aimed at making corporate membership of the church based on the structure of the family. In many areas, as will be demonstrated below, the LMS missionaries wanted first of all to convert the chiefs in order that the whole tribe could identify itself with the denomination. This polity worked reasonably well, with most of the tribal areas to which the LMS spread identifying themselves with the LMS.

In view of its puritanical origins the LMS was much concerned about the moral standards of the church members. This concern for high moral standards required those who wished to join the church as members to spend up to three years doing the catechism before they could be admitted into full membership of the church. Instruction was based on the Brown Catechism, translated by Robert Moffat in 1826.¹³

The continuing demand for high moral standards allowed only a few people to become communicant members of the church, with the majority remaining only nominal Christians. This practice of the LMS was also observed by many of the other mission churches in Botswana including the Lutherans, Dutch Reformed, Roman Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists.¹⁴ Corporate membership of the church produced a Christianity based on morality rather than doctrinal teaching and the emergence of the African Independent Churches (AICs) will be viewed within this context when discussed below.

We shall now proceed to discuss the strategies or auxiliaries used by the mission churches in spreading Christianity.

2.3.1 Education

The main method used by the missionaries to spread Christianity was education. No sooner had Dr Moffat arrived at Kuruman than he found it necessary to start a school. His belief was that pagans should be brought to the light before the Gospel could be preached to them, or specifically, before they could be received into church membership. Basic teaching comprised the alphabet, reading, geography and some arithmetic. Dr Moffat was unable to make any converts for a long time because he looked down upon the intelligence of the Bechuana, especially the Batlhaping.

Livingstone was more successful than Moffat. When he settled at Kolobeng he started a school and many adults and children enrolled themselves. His main purpose was to get local, devoted people whom he could engage as evangelists and preachers. This was to fulfil his ambition for the Gospel to be spread by local people.

Amongst the Bangwato, with whom Mackenzie worked from 1864, starting schools was a priority. Schools were established around Shoshong and many children and adults attended. He trained local teachers in addition to those he brought from Kuruman. From the schools came local evangelists who were used by Dr Mackenzie to spread the Gospel. It was at Shoshong that the seminary, The Moffat Institution, was founded to train local ministers, evangelists and teachers. The first products of this school were sent to establish mission stations in the Lake Ngami area and amongst the Batawana, Bayei and other ethnic groups. The role of some of these ministers and local evangelists will be assessed below.

This use of local people had a significant impact on Botswana Christianity and contributed to its unique character, which in turn led to the rise of the AICs, as will be discussed below. Education, then, was regarded as a major component for the proclamation of the Gospel and portrayed as part of the Gospel, an attitude which led to a serious decline in missionary work when education was taken over by the government.

By the middle of the 1900s, schools were planted amongst all the main tribes of Bechuanaland. The Bible was also translated into Setswana so that it could be read by many people.¹⁵

2.3.2 Healing

Another method used by the missionaries in spreading the Gospel was healing. All LMS missionaries of the period had a wide knowledge of scientific medicine and healed people with modern medicine. They created the impression that their medicine had greater healing power than the traditional medicine practised by the *dingaka*. The missionaries did not regard healing as part of their religious beliefs whereas traditional medicine was part of the Tswana religious system. To the Bechuana, healing did not only mean curing the affected organ in the body. Since the Bechuana believed that disease was caused by witchcraft or sorcery, to cure a disease it was also necessary to cure the cause or find the cause. The Bechuana also believed in the ancestors and that an unhappy ancestor can inflict disease on the living. All these problems were addressed by traditional healers whom the missionaries despised as devilish and sought to discourage. However, the missionaries' attitude could not change the beliefs of the Bechuana with the result that while the Bechuana would pretend to be good while in the presence of the missionaries, in times of real need they would resort to the traditional methods of healing.¹⁶ The 1920s to the late 1930s saw the building of clinics and hospitals by missionaries as a means of proclaiming the Gospel. Their successes and failures will be examined below.

2.3.3 Trade

The missionaries carried on trade in ivory, hides, skins and, above all, guns for the chiefs. Mackenzie provides a clear example of this trading business with the chiefs. During his stay at Shoshong, the town became the most important trading centre

between the Cape and the rest of Africa to the North. Mackenzie gave advice to the chief and also to the traders who came through Shoshong and played a prominent role in all business transactions. He even settled trade disputes and took charge of the goods of any traders who suffered injury, or died. His trade communications were not limited only to Bechuanaland as it was he who contacted the English relatives of traders to inform them of any deaths or problems.¹⁷

Mackenzie went on to develop his trading interests which led the Bangwato to defend themselves against invasion, especially by the Ndebele with whom they had boundary disputes over the lands which had belonged to the Bakalanga who had succumbed to the Ndebele invasions. These lands provided grain and food products to both the Ndebele and the Bangwato, each of whom wanted the favour of the Bakalanga. Mackenzie influenced the British Government to declare protection for the Bechuana, as we have noted earlier. The declaration of protection and the power of the gun forced out the Ndebele, and Western Monomotapa, which stretched to the Western fringes of the Kalahari and south down to the Motloutse River, was declared Bangwato country.

Trade also brought significant changes to the Bechuana way of life so that, by the end of 1940, Bechuanaland had undergone many changes in the form of industrial development. Such development, however, did not have a drastic impact on the traditional settings of the Tswana societies. Towns grew in non-tribal areas, leaving the tribal areas intact despite the changes brought about by the Protectorate Government. Trade did have its own advantages, as will be discussed below.

2.3.4 Political Advice to the Chiefs

The missionaries also acted as political advisers to chiefs. A chief with a missionary in his tribe felt secure because the missionary could give advice on how to act in times of war and political crisis. He could also provide guns in times of war.

Roles similar to those played by Dr John Mackenzie and Mr Hepburn in Ngwato politics are not to be found in many areas. The early 1900s also saw the Reverend W.C. Willoughby leading the Protectorate Chiefs to complain to the Queen about the move to annex Bechuanaland to the Union of South Africa. Moreover, the missionaries sided with Tshekedi Khama on the issue of the threshing on MacIntosh,¹⁸ and in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the missionaries helped to solve Ngwato problems over the marriage of Seretse Khama.

In addition to political advice, the missionaries gave religious advice regarding traditions that did not infringe too far on Christianity. Prayers for rain were held instead of allowing the rainmakers to perform their traditional methods of making rain. Prayers for the first fruits were also celebrated in a Christian way. The missionaries realized the importance of the chief as a political as well as a religious leader.

2.4 THE SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF THE METHODS USED BY THE MISSIONARIES

There follows a brief attempt to assess the above methods as they affected the Batswana in the 124 years of Christianity to 1966 when Bechuanaland attained independence and became Botswana.

2.4.1 Education

There is no doubt that the educational method was very successful in many respects. The arrival of missionaries in any tribe in Bechuanaland realized the immediate introduction of educational institutions. In the schools, people were taught how to read and write. Through education, old religious beliefs and practices were

discouraged and going to circumcision schools was discouraged. The need for education was considered important because it was through education that one could find a job and earn money to buy Western goods which were replacing the traditional ones. The value of education also led the chiefs to abolish a number of traditional practices, especially initiation schools. By the end of the 19th century, education was the tool used to get access to the developing industries and mines in South Africa. Locally, the educated could join the police force or do clerical jobs in government offices. Until the end of 1899, education was the monopoly of the missionary bodies, especially the LMS. It was, thus, a tool for evangelism.

The year 1899 saw the complete demarcation of tribal boundaries and the control of education by the Protectorate Government. Church schools had to compete with the rising number of tribal schools which did not specialize in proclaiming the Gospel. People who did not want to go to church would go to the tribal schools where professing Christianity was not a requisite for admission. The growth in education produced a new era in Gospel proclamation in Bechuanaland. The LMS had established itself to a considerable extent as a localised church because of its use of local ministers and evangelists, an idea which had been endorsed by the mother body in London following its success in Madagascar.¹⁹ The need for the use of local pastors was therefore an LMS polity since it saved money and allowed any available funds to be used in areas where the Gospel message had not been heard. Education of both ministers and the laity was regarded as very important by the LMS. In spite of the growth in tribal schools, the LMS still had more schools and local teachers and was sufficiently established to face the challenge.

Education did not only challenge the LMS, but also the authority of the chiefs. The chiefs had maintained close contact with the missionaries even on educational matters. However, government control of education alienated the chief. By the early 1930s, a new class of the educated elites had arisen who worked as government clerks,

policemen, shopkeepers or in other modern jobs. The fact that the educated elites could work amicably with the government caused the chiefs to feel threatened. The chiefs of the late 1920s and 1940s were reasonably well educated and had the best interests of their tribes at heart but they faced many challenges. The educated began to migrate to the growing towns like Francistown and a new class of town dwellers emerged which had no allegiance to any chief, but rather to magistrates and district officers. These were new challenges to the chiefs who still wanted people to belong fully to their tribes, thus remaining under their control.

The 1920s also saw the influence of the LMS declining because of other missionary bodies such as the Lutherans, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglicans, who also had educational and medical institutions. Prior to 1899 no two religious bodies could work in any one tribal area. The chiefs feared that two churches would split a tribe and cause political problems. By 1899 that policy was no longer acceptable to the Protectorate Government which recognised religious pluralism. The LMS then faced strong challenges from other missionary bodies for both converts and political influence over the chiefs. Generally, the church, as an institution, began to face a common challenge, much worse than paganism or heathenism - modernization.

Modernization or development brought many problems to Christianity in Bechuanaland which are still problems in the Independent Botswana of today. Most of these problems will be mentioned as the study unfolds. In the changing situation the missionaries of the 1920s began to try to find new ways of gaining converts. One of their methods was to learn more about Tswana customs and traditions so that people would no longer be penalised for minor offences. Another method was the full engagement of local pastors and evangelists so that the missionary remained in the background as a supervisor and father of the church in the most paternalistic way. The use of local ministers and evangelists, together with the fact that the whole Bible was

available in the Setswana language, made the LMS a local church rather than a missionary church. The LMS example was emulated by many denominations, with the notable exception of the Roman Catholic Church and its strong hierarchical structures. The common use of the Setswana Bible and the engagement of ministers who had been pastorally, but not theologically, trained, set in the indigenisation of the church in Bechuanaland.²⁰ This will be discussed below.

2.4.2 Healing

The use of healing as a means of proclaiming the Gospel was not quite so successful as education. The main reason for its limited success was that scientific healing was not holistic in its approach to health and healing.²¹ There was no strong, logical and biblical connection between healing and Christianity. The LMS established clinics and hospitals, especially in the 1930s, but these did not show any connection between healing and Christianity. Medical personnel were clearly distinguished from the religious personnel so that, to the ordinary Batswana, there was no connection between the Bible and healing except that prayers were said at the opening of the clinics every day and the minister or evangelist would hold services at the clinics on some days.²²

This practice differed very much from the traditional health system where there was no distinction between healing and religion. Doctors and nurses did not have the close contact with their patients as the traditional healers did. Scientific healing did not meet the real problems and fears of the people, especially the fear of witchcraft and sorcery. Another problem was that scientific healing did not reach all the people. It was only available to those who lived in the main villages whereas the majority of the people only had access to the traditional healers. These rural people were also the ones most affected by the fear of witchcraft and sorcery, a fear which the LMS never addressed as religious but rather dismissed as mere superstition. The progressive

society, while acquiring Western goods and habits, at the same time still feared witchcraft because the more one acquired Western goods, the more relatives and friends became jealous. Therefore the fear of being bewitched still gripped Christians who were exposed to a Christian teaching that did not take their beliefs and fears seriously. The real fear of witchcraft became such a major problem to both Christians and non-Christians alike that the healing practices of the LMS could not have any strong spiritual effect on the Batswana because they failed to address their main and genuine fears. The more progressive years of the 1940s to the time of independence did not see any lessening of the fear of witchcraft.²³ Indeed the fear has grown and it is now addressed by the AICs which have gone some way to providing a solution to the problem and to some extent alleviating the fear. We shall come back to this problem when discussing healing in the HMG (Chapter Four).

2.4.3 Trade

The use of trade as a means of evangelization was the greatest failure on the part of the missionaries. By associating Christianity with trade, the missionaries created an impression that going to church was only necessary if one could benefit in some material way by so doing. Dr Robert Moffat mentioned that the Batlhaping would only go to church if they were given tobacco or were allowed to barter their cattle for some form of goods.²⁴ We have seen above that Shoshong became an important and rich trading centre. From this practice, the Batswana have understood Christianity as being a rich religion. It is a religion through which one could gather a lot of wealth, as symbolised by the large mission stations with their cattle, sheep and goats. In addition the missionaries had wagons and big houses. The mission stations became the centres of every village because of their riches and beautiful buildings. Money was collected in the church which ordinary people understood as buying salvation. The

missionary had become known as a trader for the chiefs, and giving money to the church was regarded as the business of buying salvation.

People going to church or to school had to be well dressed in Western attire. Such attire could be obtained from the missionary or the traders who in many cases were friends of the missionaries and used the missionaries to help them expand their businesses. The emphasis on good clothing and Western attire had led to the belief, which is still current, that the historical churches are for the educated and working class because when going to church one needs to wear expensive clothes. The AICs are regarded as churches of the poor and uneducated because the poorest person in rags is acceptable in these churches whereas in the historical churches such a person would be ridiculed. Up to now, many people, especially in the LMS, believe that, as long as they pay their *phalalo* (annual contribution), they are entitled to a decent burial at death or to a good wedding in church even if they never go to the church. It is this practice to which the AICs have reacted by making going to church without failure a means of salvation.

In summary, the tendency of going to church to gain material benefits still dominates the concept of Christianity amongst the Batswana at the present time. The reasons given for going to the AICs will confirm this statement as the study unfolds.

2.4.4 Political Advice to the Chiefs

This is a very controversial issue to assess and two important aspects are involved. The first is that, if missionaries like Dr John Mackenzie had not seen the cruelty of the Boers towards the Batswana and asked for British protection, there would be no Botswana today because it would be part of South Africa. This is a positive way of looking at the missionaries if they are to be put in the situation of their time. The second aspect, which had negative results, was that the missionaries tended to rule with the chiefs. The LMS was made the state church of the Bangwaketse, Bakwena,

Bangwato and the Batawana. The favouritism of the chiefs by the missionaries and the chiefs' use of the missionaries led to a number of internal political problems within the tribal areas. The church became fully involved in tribal politics so that the chiefs who survived were those with good relations with the missionaries and the Protectorate Government. A chief who was against the missionaries or the LMS also became an enemy of the Protectorate Government.²⁵ The LMS local ministers also became involved in tribal politics so that the *moruti* had great influence in the church as well as in the state. The late 1900s, however, saw a decline in this situation when the Protectorate Government began a series of legislation which continually eroded the powers and influence of the chiefs.²⁶ The reduction in chiefly power within the tribe was matched by the decline in missionary or church power. The loss of authority by the chiefs had serious consequences, especially in those areas where there were a number of non-Tswana peoples who, through the influence of the missionaries, had been forced to be members of the outstanding Tswana tribes according to the missionary concepts. The hardest hit area by this sort of affair was the Bangwato. The Bangwato country was dominated by people who had no connections whatsoever with the Tswana-speaking peoples. The majority of these incomers were the Bakalanga who were part of the Monomotapa Empire before it was destroyed by the Ndebele in the 1840s. The Bakalanga had always carried on trading with the Bangwato in the South and had been visited by many missionaries and travellers. The problems that arose between Khama of the Bangwato and Lobengula of the Ndebele led to the inclusion of the lands of the Bakalanga into the Ngwato Reserve. This met with strong resistance, but through the power of the Protectorate Government, the Bakalanga had to submit. The fall of chiefly power meant that the Bakalanga and other tribes like the Batswapong or the Babirwa could retain their strong sense of identity.

The present study will show how this attitude led to the development of the AICs in Bechuanaland. The chief did not only lose to the Protectorate Government, he also

lost some of his political powers through the challenges of the emerging elites. The elites began to challenge the unlimited powers of the chiefs. Many of them became advisers to the chiefs and helped them to realise the changes and adapt to them.²⁷ The struggle for power and authority amidst a number of challenges did not only affect the chiefs. The local ministers, who by as early as 1930 dominated the clergy of the LMS, wished to retain their power and influence on the believers and the church. The ministry became a very influential means of being in the elitist class which by now was establishing a new form of social influence over the traditionally inherited social influence. The political as well as the religious influence of the local clergy attracted more people into the ministry to act as ministers or evangelists. A Bible School²⁸ was opened to cope with the number of people wishing to become ministers or evangelists. There was no clear distinction between a teacher in a primary school and a church minister, both of them being referred to as *baruti*. As a result, a number of children of the ordained ministers became school teachers and later on joined the ministry and became *baruti*. By so doing, many families became influential in the church and it was commonly supposed that the children of ministers would also become ministers. This supposition did not last long because, by the late 1940s and early 1950s, developments elsewhere outside the church brought about a more educated and influential elite class which threatened the respect and expectations for the ministry. There was a sudden move from the sacred to the secular so that the 1950s saw a decline of the LMS which worsened in the 1960s. This decline was also due to the impact of the AICs.

The LMS policy of limiting missionary work to the towns and using ministers who were not well-trained to do evangelical work had serious repercussions on the LMS but laid a good foundation for Botswana indigenous Christianity. The inadequately trained evangelists echoed the sermons and beliefs of their paternalistic *monare*, some of which were not very far from the general beliefs of the Batswana. A good example is that of

Dr John Mackenzie's concept of death as the spirit being "called away", "redeemed", "summoned", "called home" and "taken away".²⁹ The ineffectiveness of the missionary as a teacher and religious instructor in the growing church led to the development of an indigenous church. It became indigenous in beliefs as well as administration. The minister behaved like a chief, with his evangelists as his subchiefs and headmen. The elders or deacons acted as the church council or as the minister's councillors. Foreign concepts were used but without any effect on the general beliefs of the people to which they resorted whenever things were not going well. Our discussion on the AICs will show why some people left the historical churches to join the AICs.

To conclude this discussion, it suffices to say that the missionaries of the late 1950s who formed the last batch of LMS missionaries were very much disillusioned to find that, in spite of more than a century of missionary work, the Batswana had not thrown away all their traditional political and religious systems. The beliefs still persisted to a very large extent. An indigenous church had been born but it lacked the indigenous theology which the AICS provided as our study of the HMG will demonstrate.

One of the failures of the missionaries was that they had hoped to create political and ethnic unity under the Christian umbrella. They did not realise that, by lifting some tribes above others, they were causing more harm than good to Botswana society. A good example is that of the many ethnic groups like the Bakalanga, Babirwa or Batswapong and many others who were forcibly classified as Ngwato because Khama was a good Christian chief. Amongst these people, Christianity did not put down strong roots because it was brought by people who were Ngwato missionaries and they had a certain pride of ethnic superiority. Ngwato political authority, together with the LMS as a Ngwato church, made the dissatisfied peoples accept the AICs immediately they appeared. This matter will be further discussed in the section on the emergence of the AICs (Chapter Three).

2.5 THE ROLE OF THE LOCAL EVANGELISTS AND MINISTERS IN SPREADING CHRISTIANITY IN BECHUANALAND

It is proposed to select several examples showing the role played by some local ministers and evangelists in spreading the Gospel in Bechuanaland. These agents were mainly armed with biblical passages and had some knowledge of reading and writing, enough to enable them to read the Bible and write down any reports. The LMS educational system was very poor when compared to that of Lovedale in South Africa or Morija in Lesotho. The evangelists had no theological answers to the problems that faced them in the missionary field. In Ngwato area, where there were many ethnic groups, these evangelists not only represented the LMS but also the interests of the Ngwato chiefs and tribe.

The first group of local missionaries came from Shoshong in the late 1870s. Two were sent to Lake Ngami to do missionary work amongst the Batawana. One of these early evangelists, Shomolekae Sebolai, lived at Mokgwetsi in 1895. His *monare*, the Reverend Wookey, lived at Kgwebe. Reverend Wookey described Shomolekae as ". . . sunnyfaced old son of Ham", in his report to the LMS.³⁰ He gave a description of the problems faced by Shomolekae. At Mokgwetsi, Shomolekae maintained that all the people knew nothing of God except for three. He stated that the women and the local chief Tsamona responded well to his teaching. The majority of the people were not believing because they believed in gods who lived in a shelter at the chief's place. These gods helped the people to kill game and have food. Disbelief in them would mean lack of animals and food. Examining these gods, Shomolekae maintained that the gods were two big turtle shells with medicines stuck into them. They were male and female and their names were Moyiyikuria (the male) - the one who rejoiced in eating - and Mmaphiri (the female) - the one with the habits of a hyena in greedily devouring all it finds and never being satisfied.

The story continues and claims that the preaching of Shomolekae led to the abandonment of these gods. He proceeded to Dara where Chief Nkape refused Christianity by claiming that it looked after the interests of the white people and he could not destroy the customs of his fathers. Shomolekae claimed that Nkape died because of the curse of God and the people believed in Christianity. His missionary activities took him to Ndobanno, Sedinta, Motoka and Maeinka. A brief assessment of these experiences shows that Shomolekae was just echoing the beliefs of the missionaries and thus, by believing that the people had no knowledge of God, he was repeating the mistake of Dr Robert Moffat.³¹ Shomolekae was a Motswana and should have known that approaches to God are expressed in concrete things, and hence the turtle shells which were not gods but were seen as symbols of God's presence. Due to lack of theological training, he could not transform their concept of God to the Christian one. This general failure on the part of many LMS missionaries contributed to the rise of the AICs.

Khukwi Mogodi was placed at Maun. In 1881, he became involved in the ivory trade because of the poor remuneration paid to ministers. He was transferred to Moshupa but later left the church to become fully engaged in business. During that period, the Bamangwato had established mission stations at Nswazwi in the Bukalanga area under the evangelist Motiki who was placed at Letlhakane. A conflict arose between Chief Khama and the Reverend Hepburn over the mission work amongst the Bakalanga of North Eastern Botswana in the 1880s. Khama feared that such a move would anger Lobengula of the Ndebele who also claimed the area as his. In 1895, this area fell under the Dombodema Mission and remained under the Matebeleland District Committee (MDC). In 1888, Hepburn reported to the LMS that he had started a station at Chwapong Hills.³² He also reported that the work at Ngami was not going well because Chief Moremi was fond of native beer which was a hindrance to Christianity, but that Tsapo, one of the evangelists, was very active in his work.

Amongst the Bakwena at Molepolole, in 1888, the Reverend A.J. Wookey³³ told the LMS that local teachers and evangelists were very useful in spreading the Gospel. He also mentioned that the Gospel was spreading to the desert areas through people who had heard it at Molepolole. These were people who carried a Bible and a hymn book with them wherever they went.

At Kanye, in 1888, the Reverend J. Good reported that the initiation schools had been resumed, resulting in a conflict which led to the burning of Christians' houses.³⁴

By 1900, the whole of Bechuanaland was evangelised by local evangelists and preachers. Many local people were involved in school work and other missionary activities. After 1900 there was a growing dissatisfaction with the treatment of the local evangelists by the missionaries and we shall come to this matter when we discuss the causes of the rise of the AICs. The 1900s also saw an increase in the number of students both in ministerial training and in primary education which helped to raise the standards of education of local agents so that, by 1910, the first two local ministers were ordained. The period from 1900 to the late 1940s saw a further deterioration in the poor relationship between the Protectorate Government and the chiefs so that the work of the church became the responsibility of the local clergy. In this manner, the LMS was being indirectly indigenised in its leadership despite the paternalism of the missionaries. Reports of the good work being done by the local ministers and evangelists became common. Such reports include the religious beliefs of the local peoples and how the ministers responded to them. In 1933 the Reverend I.B. Sekgwa made mention of the rise of Ethiopianism in Lehututu.³⁵ He also reported on the concept of God of the Bakgalagadi which they used to suppress the Basarwa. Dramatic defeats of these concepts of God by Christianity are listed but such reports are not theologically convincing. Also in 1933, the Reverend Raditladi gave a good progress report on the work of the LMS at Lake Ngami.³⁶

By October 1933, the situation of the LMS in Bechuanaland could be summarised thus:³⁷ head stations 8; outstations 195; missionaries 13; African agents 77 (17 ordained) church members and adherents 24,000.

When the Second World War broke out in 1939 some Batswana ministers were recruited as chaplains in the army. They went to the Middle East with Reverend Sandilands. The general progress that took place in Bechuanaland after the War led to the decline of the LMS in both clergy recruitment and membership. The years preceding the war had already shown a decline in the Bangwato church so that the Reverend Andrew Kgasa was called to do revival work.³⁸ The decline after the war was also due to the fact that the Protectorate Government had so drastically reduced the influence of the chiefs that the LMS, which had relied on chiefly support, also collapsed. The poor standard of education provided by the LMS was challenged by that of other missionary bodies whereas the chiefs were threatened by tribal break-aways made possible through the amount of freedom enjoyed by all ethnic groups under the Protectorate Government. District Officers and Magistrates became more powerful than the chiefs. Ngwato supremacy with the LMS began to disintegrate and, by the early 1950s, many indigenous churches emerged which were no longer treated with the same degree of ruthlessness, as will be seen in our discussion of the early beginnings of the AICs. The role and the involvement of the local agents in church government laid the foundation for independency. The Batswana were ready with an indigenous church which lacked the theology which the AICs provided.

2.6 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Contact with the white people and Christianity had significant impact on the Botswana societies. The first observation is that the LMS introduced the concept of

doctrine into Botswana religions. The many prohibitions on circumcision or initiation, polygamy and ancestor veneration became the themes of Christianity as presented to the Batswana. Very little emphasis was put on biblical themes of salvation and redemption which mattered very much in Botswana religions where salvation was a life experience, not an eschatological one. Typical of Congregationalism, there was very little doctrinal teaching on matters of Christology and the Trinity generally. Jesus was preached as a moral liberator who died for the sins of the people and the people had to accept him as their saviour. The sorrowful death of Christ on the cross was preached to the Batswana with great pity that they were lost in darkness and needed salvation. Those who believed were primarily moved by the death of this innocent man and the benefits they could get from Christianity such as education and access to Western goods. But many still needed a religion characterised by rituals. The moral teaching of the missionaries did not appeal to many people because morality meant an attack on traditional beliefs and practices. The major rituals, beliefs and practices of the Batswana were challenged, and challenging them became doctrinal in the LMS. The translation of the Bible to Setswana and the reading ability of the Batswana enabled the Batswana to realize many mistakes made by the missionaries. They realized that the Bible had many traditions which agreed with their own. These included polygamy, circumcision and ritual sacrifices. Thus, the Batswana began to understand Christianity in a different way to that of the missionaries. However, the time was not yet ripe for a direct rejection of missionary teaching. The next chapter will show the beginning of rejection.

Secondly, education and trade were disconnected from religion. The traders in Bechuanaland had nothing to do with the church. Schools were institutions of education which gave special consideration to religion but without showing how religion permeated all spheres of life, as it was with the Batswana religions. In the religions of the Batswana, education carried out at the initiation schools was governed and guided

by religious rituals. The absence of ritual in missionary education, trade and politics had a significant impact on the ritualistic Botswana societies.

As a word of conclusion, it suffices to say that conflict in religious beliefs had already emerged. The problem of a holistic and ritualistic religion meeting a dualistic and rational religion had started.

Endnotes to Chapter 2

1. Du Plessis, A History of Christian Missions in South Africa, London, Longmans Green Co. (1911); Chirenje, *op. cit.* (1977).
2. Chirenje, *op. cit.* (1977); Sillery, *op. cit.* (1952).
3. Du Plessis, *op. cit.* (1911).
4. LMS Constitution Article III.
5. The wars are referred to as *difaqane* started by Tshaka and they affected Bechuanaland; see L. Ngcongco in Hitchcock *et al.* (eds.) (1982) Proceedings, pp.16ff.
6. J. Sales, The Planting of the Churches in South Africa, W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. (1971).
7. Rainmaking was carried out in the form of prayer. The practice was abolished several times but it still persisted. According to Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970), pp.116-138, it was abolished thus: Bakgatla 1892, Bangwato 1872 (Kgama III; revived 1873 by Sekgoma I; abolished in 1875 by Kgama III. Bangwaketse abolished 1892 by Bathoen.

By 1938 the Bakwena still respected the rainmaking custom. There has always been fear that, if the chief does not keep his people together by playing his role, the people would migrate to other tribes. By so doing, the authority of a chief is affected. The modern Government still allows the people to apply any method they know for fear of losing the election if people are prohibited from using traditional rainmaking methods and they suffer drought. The Nzenze ceremony of the Bakalanga of North Eastern Botswana also realizes the participation of ruling authorities by invitation.

8. D.W. Mackenzie, John Mackenzie, South African Missionary and Statesman, London (1902).
9. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970).
10. World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh; see Report of Commission I, Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World - with Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report on the Conference on 15th June, 1910. Report of Commission II: The Missionary Message in relation to Non-Christian Religions - with Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report on the Conference on 18th June, 1910.
11. LMS Constitution Article III.
12. This observation is based on the fact that all the early LMS missionaries were from Scotland.

13. The Brown Catechism was translated by Robert Moffat in 1826 into Setswana. It was divided into three major parts. Part I is about God with seventeen questions and answers. Part II is about Jesus Christ with four questions and answers and Part III contains passages of Scripture referring to God and Jesus Christ. Jesus is summarized as follows:

"Jesus changed himself and made himself a servant, being made like a person. He made himself a servant and he was sent to die for the sinners. Jesus was despised by people and he was very sad or had a sad heart. Who can die in the place of another person? God showed us his love since, when we were still sinners, Christ died for our sins" (translation from Setswana).

14. Sales, *op. cit.* (1971).
15. Robert Moffat's Setswana Translation (1857).
16. Many people resorted to the *ngaka* and *badimo* and, if they were found out, they were suspended from the church.
17. The letters reflected the beliefs of the Batswana about death. "While leaving you and yours to drink the bitter cup thus suddenly presented to you, I would earnestly pray that in your darkness and sorrow, your mind may be visited by many cheering Christian thoughts - thoughts which, like balm, heal the wounded heart and stricken spirit." Shoshong, 1st March 1875, to Mrs Oates, Leeds. See Mackenzie, *op. cit.* (1902), p.162.

"Lonely the spot no doubt is in a certain sense; but in another, your brother's grave is surrounded by all the activities of the great Creator and Father of all. Flowers will bloom around it though not planted by mortal hand; birds will sing over it and never weary in repeating the sweet notes which nature has taught them. I have not been there myself but I have no doubt the naturalist would think your brother's grave a lovely spot, whilst to the Christian such a spot is the quiet resting-place to which the body sank when the spirit was called away by God the Father." Kuruman, 1st November 1875, to Charles G. Oates. See Mackenzie, *op. cit.* (1902), p.163.

18. M. Crowder, The Flogging of Phinehas McIntosh, New Haven, Yale University Press (1988).
19. See LMS Annual Report 1881, pp.10-11.
20. I refer here to evangelists who understood the Bible within a Tswana world-view because of the translation.
21. F. Staugard, Traditional Medicine in Botswana: Traditional Healers, Ipelegeng Publishers (1985).

"Obviously modern medicine, on the basis of its analytical approach, has succeeded in mastering a large part of the diseases threatening human life and welfare at the present time. But obviously it has also failed in other fields because it has not properly acknowledged that the human being should be considered an 'inseparable unity', whose diseases and illnesses should be

evaluated against the background of a multitude of various factors of a social and a cultural nature and not only as the result of a temporarily malfunctioning organ of the body.

Traditional medicine has always respected the multifactorial nature of each case of disease/illness, both when interpreting the symptoms and when prescribing the treatment. From the holistic approach and the cultural and social interpretation of the traditional healer, the modern health worker has much to learn" (pp.204-205).

22. See report of Winifred Tribe in The Chronicle of the LMS, Vol. XLVI, pp. 138ff. (1938), LMS Archives, SOAS, University of London.
23. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970).
24. Moffat, *op. cit.* (1842).
25. Sebele of the Bakwena and Molefi of the Bakgatla were deposed; see Schapera (1970).
26. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970). The main proclamations took place between 1934 and 1943.
27. Serogola of the Bamangwato is such an example.
28. Kanye Bible School was started in 1947 but closed in 1953 after training 32 evangelists composed of 24 Batswana and 8 Matebele. See Gabatshwane, S.M., Introduction to the Bechuanaland Protectorate History and Administration, Kanye (1957).
29. Letters to Mrs Oates and Mr Oates (Mackenzie, *op. cit.* 1902, as cited at No. 28 above).
30. Willoughby Papers, Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, UK (Botswana Tribes 731-740).
31. Same attitude as cited above; Moffat, *op. cit.* (1842), pp.236, 243-244.
32. Congregational Chronicle 1888, p.204
33. *Ibid.* , p.202.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Congregational Chronicle 1933 as cited above.
36. Congregational Chronicle, June 1933.

37. Congregational Chronicle, October 1933. In 1972 there were 13,000 UCCSA members; see UCCSA Directory (1972).
38. The Chronicle, 1940, "Campaign at Serowe".

CHAPTER THREE
RELIGIOUS TRANSFORMATION AND THE RISE OF THE
AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES IN BECHUANALAND
(BOTSWANA) 1842-1966

3.1 INTRODUCTION

One major question is examined by this study and that is, how did the AICs, which were born in a different context from that of Bechuanaland, manage to penetrate the traditional structures of Bechuanaland? Prior to addressing this issue it will be useful to examine the account of the rise of the AICs in South Africa as studied by Sundkler (1961).¹

Sundkler classifies the AICs as the Ethiopian-type and the Zionist-type. The first Ethiopian church was founded in Witwatersrand in 1892. Previous attempts had been made in Basutoland in 1872 due to changes in the organisation of the mission church there. Sundkler discusses the tribal church of Nehemiah Tile, a Wesleyan minister who broke away from the Wesleyan Church in 1884. Similar to the Tembu Church of Nehemiah Tile was the Native Independent Congregational Church, a break-away from the LMS at Taung in Bechuanaland in 1885. This church was supported by Chief Kgantlapane. Sundkler gives a number of such examples of break-aways in his study.

Sundkler mentions that when these movements spread to the Witwatersrand, they took on a new form and momentum. The important factor here is that, by 1885, there were more than 65 voluntary preachers, mainly from the Wesleyan Church, and who came from many parts of the country. On their arrival in the Golden City, they were unknown and, as a result, they grew restless. Some of them had held responsible



positions in the rural areas from which they came but in the city they had no position in the Church.

Mangena Mokone, one of their leaders and a Wesleyan minister, resigned from the Wesleyan Church in 1892 and formed the Ethiopian Church. The Ethiopian Church was not limited by tribal and ethnic groups but its polity was based on Psalm 68:31: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God". To Mokone, this statement meant the evangelization of Africa and the emergence of a self-governing African Church under African leaders. For the purpose of the present research, this introductory study of the rise of the AICs is the most relevant. Before proceeding to examine the implications of this historical background of the AICs to Bechuanaland, it is important to examine the distinction between the Ethiopians and the Zionists.

Sundkler makes a distinction between these two groups by saying that the Ethiopians compose the groups that broke away from the mission churches on racial grounds. Their slogan, "Africa for Africans", is a reaction to the fact that the whites took away lands from the Africans. However, Sundkler maintains that the Ethiopian churches still retained the organization and Bible interpretations of the mission churches. These, to some extent, have been modified through African emphasis on rank and ritual. This basic concept of the Ethiopian churches is referred to by other authors on AICs.²

With regard to the Zionists, Sundkler refers to the main type of independent churches which call themselves "Zion", "Apostolic", "Pentecostal" or "Faith" as Zionists. He explains that he has used the name Zionists because they call themselves *ama-Ziyoni* (Zionists). They have a historical connection with Zion City, Illinois, in the United States and also claim an ideological connection with the Mount of Zion in Jerusalem. It suffices to summarize this short historical outline in Sundkler's own words:

Theologically the Zionists are now a syncretistic Bantu movement with healing, speaking with tongues, purification rites, and taboos as the main expressions of their

faith. There are numerous denominational, local and individual variations in Zionist groups, and every Zionist prophet is anxious to point out some speciality through which his Church stands out from the rest. On careful analysis, however, Zionists show an amazing uniformity, caused no doubt by certain fundamental needs and aspirations in the broad masses of these Churches, in which needs and aspirations find their satisfaction in the behaviour patterns of the movement. (p.55)

The attitude of the Zionists towards whites, according to Sundkler, is that they are ritually unclean. With regards to traditional Zulu religion, they combat the rise of *inyanga's* medicines and fight against diviner's demons of possession.

The above observations by Sundkler have been confirmed by many studies on the AICs in Southern Africa.³

Another issue of concern to this present work is that of leadership in both the Zionist and the Ethiopian Churches. According to Sundkler, the leadership is based on the Zulu patterns of leadership which falls into two categories: prophetic and chief-type. Prophetic and charismatic leadership is a characteristic of the Zionist churches whereas chief-type leadership pertains to the Ethiopian churches. It is not the aim of this paper to discuss or make any critical analysis of the leadership patterns described above. It is sufficient to point out that in his second study,⁴ Sundkler has closely examined the leaders of the AICs and this has led him to change some of his prior conclusions.

Daneel's study (1987)⁵ in many aspects confirms a number of Sundkler's findings. The points of concern to this study arising from that of Daneel are: 1) the time factor in that Daneel's study appeared 40 years after Sundkler's first study of 1948. The fact that trends found by Sundkler are still confirmed by Daneel shows that the AICs have followed a historical tradition especially on matters of faith, organisation and leadership patterns. 2) Daneel's study shows a growth in concepts from the early beginnings. This is seen in the use of terms like "Independent" which does not refer to independence from mission churches as the original meaning implied but instead refers to independence in organisation, leadership and religious expression. He also

dismisses the concept of "sects" or "separatists", preferring to call them Christian churches which show an indigenized African Christianity. 3) Daneel has an aim in his study which is to ascertain whether the AICs are still subjects of mission or Christian churches that have to be so regarded, by mission churches. In pursuing this aim Daneel sees the issue as "quests for belonging". It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the methods and conclusions of Daneel but it suffices to say that Daneel's study and experiences have proved that the AICs in Southern Africa have a reality of their own.

In 1988, Daneel analyzed another idea which he calls the understanding of the AICs based on leadership.⁶ He gives a detailed account of leadership patterns in the Shona Independent churches, and the findings of his study confirm the fact that leadership patterns, as they relate to the major features of AICs, especially on organisational issues, are very important in the life of AICS. Of importance to this present study is the observation that there is not only uniformity in the beliefs and practices as pointed out by Sundkler (1961) but also that respect for leadership has led to a high degree of cooperation and ecumenism within the AICs. The fact that the leaders of those churches which broke away still respected the leaders of the churches from which they broke away formed the basis for ecumenism.

In 1989 Daneel confirmed his findings by publishing Fambidzano: Ecumenical Movement of Zimbabwean Independent Churches.⁷ It is not necessary to discuss this book here and it suffices to say that Daneel's studies have carried Sundkler's observations to concrete conclusions. It is also worthy of mention that Daneel is currently the most important contributor to the study of the AICs in Southern Africa today.⁸

It is within this framework that the present study of the AICs in Botswana should be viewed. The most important issues to bear in mind are those regarding how the AICs penetrated the well organised traditional structures of Bechuanaland and also how

they survive in a modern democratic country with its material and general social progress.

To help to clarify these issues, the study will take into consideration the different ethnic and tribal groups of Botswana before and after Independence. The factors that made the penetration of the AICs possible in each tribal group will be highlighted.

The rise of the AICs precipitated religious transformation in Botswana. This study does not in any way attribute religious transformation solely to the AICs, but maintains that the general introduction of Christianity in Bechuanaland ushered in a period of transformation in general, affecting not only religious aspects of life but also the social. This general transformation was primarily made by the chiefs of the different tribal groups through decrees. The chiefs worked hand in hand with the mission churches in trying to achieve the process. But the transformation was also made by the AICs. The AICs used different strategies from those of the chiefs and the mission churches, as will be demonstrated below.

This study maintains that the motive for transformation of the Tswana societies was geared to meeting the emerging economic production systems and the changing social values. Our examination of the degrees of transformation in the different tribal groups should be viewed in this general context.

By 1900 Christianity had spread throughout Bechuanaland, and by 1940 it was the state religion of every chiefdom.⁹ The recognition of Christianity as the state religion meant great transformation or abandonment of traditional Tswana religion. The purpose of this section is to briefly examine how this transformation or abandonment of Tswana traditions came about. It is also proposed to study the agents who brought the changes or transformations to see how they affected the current religious situation of Botswana. The section will also select and discuss the major religious beliefs of the Batswana which have resisted Christianity in a transformed form or in their traditional

form. Such beliefs are selected because of the role they play in the Botswana religious situation today.

3.2 THE ROLE OF THE CHIEFS

Since the introduction of Christianity in Bechuanaland in 1842, chiefs of the different tribes have played a prominent role in promoting Christianity. For the purpose of this study we shall examine certain Tswana religious beliefs and the role played by the chiefs in transforming them. Due to the diversity in the administration of the different tribes, this study will make an examination of the issues in each of the different tribes.

3.2.1 The Concept of God

In Chapter One it was briefly stated how the LMS missionaries responded to the Tswana notions of God. By 1940, Schapera maintains that the traditional Tswana concepts of God had disappeared and given way to Christian notions.¹⁰ This is a controversial issue because the current notions of God in Botswana show continued traditional concepts. Such a situation remains because of the reasons given in Chapter One that the spread of Christianity was done by people who were not theologically trained and could not convince many people about the Christian notions of God as expounded by Western theology of the period.¹¹ The fact that the Tswana chiefs made rules, laws and decrees that favoured Christianity did not in any way erase from their minds their traditional notions of God nor their beliefs and practices. Christianity's challenge of the concept of God also challenged the strong beliefs in ancestors and their veneration. The ancestors go together with the healers (*dingaka*) or the so-called

magicians. Banning ancestor worship without stopping the *dingaka* was a self-defeating policy. The missionaries allowed the chiefs to help them by making prohibitive laws for their Christian subjects. By so doing, the missionaries created room for the chiefs to exercise full control of the church as one of their religious functions which they had enjoyed in the Tswana traditional system. This posed many administrative problems in the church when some chiefs clashed with the evangelists over church matters, and this led to the birth of the African Independent Churches (AICs).

3.2.2 Tswana Religious Practices conflicting with Christianity

We shall now discuss the selected issues mentioned above.

3.2.2.1 Initiation or circumcision: This practice was discussed in Chapter One. Let us now see how it was transformed or dealt with amongst the different tribes.

The LMS prohibited circumcision, *bogwera* and *bojale*, to all believers in 1854. Among the Bangwaketse it was abolished in 1896 and never revived. In the Bakwena, *bogwera* and *bojale* were prohibited in 1901 by Sechele I. Sechele I did not wish his children to go to the circumcision schools but allowed his brother, Kgosidintsi, to organise the *bogwera* and *bojale*. In 1916 Sechele II restored *bogwera* for boys but not *bojale* for girls. In 1937, Kgari abolished *bogwera* and it came to an end. The ban was extended to all the ethnic groups within his administration.

The Bakgatla saw the abolishment of both *bogwera* and *bojale* in 1896 by the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC). The Protectorate Administration approved the ban but did not interfere with its strict application. In 1937, the Protectorate Administration ruled that children under 16 years of age should only go to the initiation schools with the consent of their parents or guardians.¹²

The Bangwato had abolished circumcision practices in 1876 but this ban did not affect the other ethnic groups within Ngwato territory who were left to practise their own

beliefs. Among the Batawana, circumcision was abolished by Moremi II in 1881; in 1886 he restored *bogwera*, but it was finally abolished by Mathiba in 1910.

Most of the religious changes in Bechuanaland took place amongst these five tribes. The actual implementation of the changes left many people unaffected because the majority of the people belonged to different ethnic groups who continued with their own practices. Another reason was that in many cases such decrees were not regarded favourably by the Protectorate Administration which made it difficult for the application of the decrees. These changes had a serious religious impact on Tswana societies in that they destroyed the normal Tswana societies where circumcision also determined age-sets and the stages at which marriages could take place. This created a sense of belonging in the religious system, tying together the two worlds of the living and the dead. The religious significance of circumcision had always been evident, but tended to become obscured under the AICs, as will be discussed below.

3.2.2.2 Witchcraft and sorcery: The most persistent Tswana belief is in witchcraft or sorcery. As stated above, by 1940 ancestor worship was believed to have disappeared but this did not lead to the disappearance of the *dingaka* or magicians who are the custodians of Tswana Traditional Religion. In 1940, professional magicians continued to flourish and many people, Christian or non-Christian, had some form of connection with their practices. They used them to protect their huts, livestock and fields. Almost everybody believed in witchcraft or sorcery. Christianity had failed to convince the people that magic was superstition. The other problem, as mentioned earlier, was that in places which were far from the main towns the only medical practitioners available were the *dingaka*. Thus it was very difficult for people to completely abandon them. The churches condemned the use of magic and prohibited its members from using the *dingaka*. The government's reaction to witchcraft was Proclamation No. 7 of 1927¹³ which made it a penal offence for people to practise sorcery or accuse others of so doing, or to practise divination for certain purposes. The Native Tribunals Proclamation

of 1934¹⁴ divested tribal courts of the power to try cases which involved sorcery. All these moves followed previous efforts on the part of the chiefs in the five main tribes to combat the belief and practice of sorcery, but they were still unsuccessful. Very little was done to control the activities of the *dingaka* themselves.

Among the Bangwaketse, Seepapitso declared in 1914 that any man who wanted to employ a doctor (*ngaka*) should ask the chief to find him one. He also made rules about the payment of doctors. In 1916 he announced again that he was the only one to select doctors entitled to practise. In addition he discouraged more training in the art because there were already many practitioners. In March 1929, Bathoen II declared that he wanted no foreign doctors (*dingaka*) in the tribe. In July he made a law that the *ngaka* should not take the meat of what had been killed for healing, but take a living goat, ox or sheep. The *ngaka* was also required to obtain a permit from the chief before going to heal. These Ngwaketse laws were promoted by the fact that many *dingaka* were involved in witchcraft activities by providing medicines to harm or bewitch other people. The importance of these rules and regulations to our study is that traditional healing was being alienated gradually from its religious context. Health and healing were being removed from the involvement of the ancestors and Modimo, who were the sources of life and the custodians of life. It was still difficult for the *ngaka* to heal without reference to the ancestors of the chief or any ancestors of the patients. This transformation still left a gap in the minds of the Batswana because it was not easy to isolate the *ngaka* from the religious system and Modimo as the source of healing. This study will show that the AICs closed the gap that was created by the chiefs.

Khama of the Bamangwato summoned a tribal meeting at Shoshong before moving to Palapye in 1889. At this meeting he announced that there was to be no more divination, doctoring of livestock and fields or use of protective charms for home and cattle kraals. This rule was not enforced nor had it become part of tribal law by 1940. There was a common practice and belief that, if a person had bewitched another, the

tomb of the dead person was doctored (*alafa*) by a *ngaka* so that the sorcerer should die. Khama allowed this practice, not because he believed in it but simply to satisfy those who thought it revengeful to do so. Sorcery was a difficult belief to eliminate even by a strong Christian like Khama.

The Bakgatla did not have any strong rules against sorcery. Instead they tried to limit the number of *dingaka* in the tribe. This was done in recognition of their religious significance as rainmakers and healers. Kgamanyane (1848-1875) selected boys for special training and would not allow any others to work in the tribe. Lentswe abandoned the policy. Isang insisted on being told of all new doctors and he allowed immigrants to stay not more than one year. Kgamanyane was, however, notorious for his treatment of witches and sorcerers. Convicted sorcerers were put to death, a practice which was eventually stopped by the Protectorate Government. As a result of the banning of the killing of witches, the *dingaka* were forced to make payment or were banished from the tribe. Sorcery became one of the causes of the migration of people from one tribe to another.¹⁵ To some considerable extent, the Bakgatla retained the religious significance of the *dingaka*.

Among the Bakwena, Sechele I was ruthless at putting to death all convicted sorcerers. After the Protectorate ban, many sorcerers who failed to undo (*dirolola*) their victims were fined or banished from the tribe. Sometimes the chief would allow the victims to *alafa* the grave of the dead in order to kill the sorcerer. Thus, the reality of witchcraft had never been undermined by the Bakwena in spite of their strong LMS membership.

The Batawana imposed the law of *go dirolola* to undo the victim. This law was made by Letsholathebe (1847-1874). The person who failed to *dirolola* was killed as a witch. In this manner, the value of the *dingaka* still remained in the Batawana religious system, thus remaining immune from the teachings of Christianity.

The problems of the ancestors, initiation and witchcraft are still very real in Botswana Christianity. The missionaries dismissed them without seriously considering their significance in Tswana societies. The fact that the Bible speaks of initiation has never been seriously considered by the congregational missionaries in order to develop an alternative which could fill the gap created by the prohibitions. The consistency of ancestors, initiation and witchcraft led to the birth of the AICs which do address them seriously as biblical issues and as having significance in the daily lives of people. Our study of the HMG will show how this indigenous church tries to address these realities from a biblical point of view. The LMS missionaries created a false impression that the Batswana were Christians by claiming great success which in many cases did not merit the self praise of some missionaries. The 1946 census¹⁶ shows that only 20% of the Ngwato and Tawana populations were Christians, 40% among the Bakwena and Bangwaketse, while the percentage was 65% among the Kgatla. These figures do not in any way justify the LMS claims of success. The current approximations are 65-70% but were not based on population statistics.¹⁷

3.3 THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

The contribution of the AICs to religious transformation in Botswana will be fully discussed below in the history of the HMG. It suffices to mention here that the AICs emerged as part of the transformation process.

Before the mid-1930s when the Zion Christian Church emerged amongst the Bakgatla, transformative preaching was that of Sencho Legong, as discussed amongst the Bangwaketse. Similar trends in teaching were shown by Sebolao amongst the Bakwena in 1935. It was, however, the impact of the Zion Christian Church in Kgatleng which not only ushered in a period of religious transformation but political

transformation as well. The reaction of the government, as shall be discussed below, forced it to adopt a clear stand towards the AICs and religion in Bechuanaland.

The ZCC contributed greatly towards a Christianity based on faith and a determination to die for the Gospel as opposed to the more traditional and nominal Christianity of the mission churches. The AICs were therefore agents of religious and social transformation.

3.4 THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES AND THE DIFFERENT TRIBES AND ETHNIC GROUPS OF BOTSWANA

3.4.1 The Bangwaketse

The Bangwaketse were the first people to be affected by Ethiopianism. This was partly due to geographical factors in that they were closer to South Africa from where Ethiopianism originated.¹⁸ The influence came from people who had been educated at Lovedale in South Africa and Morija in the then Basutoland. These institutions provided better education than the LMS in Bechuanaland. The Ethiopians in South Africa ordained these educated men without considering their character and Christian standing. The missionaries in South Africa (Transvaal) asked the Transvaal Government to suppress the Ethiopians but the Government refused and instead gave recognition to some Ethiopian churches.¹⁹

In 1898, Seile and Mareko visited Kanye from Khunwana in South Africa. They assured the Reverend James Good that they had no intention of interfering with his work. They only wanted to improve the quality of education. Chief Bathoen refused these Ethiopians, preferring LMS education. The impact of Ethiopianism in South Africa was so strong that, in 1899, the Bechuanaland District Committee at Kuruman

condemned any evangelists or members who might wish to join it,²⁰ but the measure did nothing to stop the spread of Ethiopianism.

As early as 1903, Chief Bathoen was involved in a serious church schism. The LMS evangelist, Mothowagae Motlogelwa, asserted himself to lead the church. He opened a non-fee-paying school as opposed to the fee-paying school of the Reverend Edwin Lloyd. By 1900, he claimed to be a minister of equal standing with the Reverend Lloyd. Reacting to this challenge, Reverend Lloyd transferred Mothowagae to Lehututu in the Kgalagadi desert. Mothowagae did not refuse the transfer but the health of his wife prevented him from going.²¹ Reverend Lloyd dismissed Mothowagae in July 1901 for refusing to go to Lehututu, but the dismissal was refused by the church at Kanye and this gave church members the opportunity to voice their dissatisfaction. Some of the dissatisfaction came from inquirers who had had to wait for a long time to be admitted into church membership. Some dissident headmen left the LMS and joined the Evangelist. The dissidents wanted Mothowagae to be ordained and be made the minister of the Kanye church. Amongst the royal family there were also supporters of the movement. The seriousness of the matter forced the BDC to meet at Palapye in 1902 and to call Mothowagae to attend. He was given a Latin test for his ordination which he failed since he had never been taught Latin. The LMS took this as an excuse for not ordaining Mothowagae.

Popular support for Mothowagae grew so strong in Kanye that on 12 June 1902 Bathoen wrote to the Protectorate Administration for refusing demands to authorize Mothowagae to baptize children. On 27 June, Bathoen wrote to the then Assistant Acting Commissioner, Jules Ellenberger, requesting that Mothowagae be allowed to marry and baptize members of his congregation. On that same date the Reverend Lloyd wrote to Ellenberger to say that the government should not meddle in church affairs.²² This marked the starting point of the problems of church and state in

Bechuanaland. The role of the state in church matters will feature in different areas as our study develops.

The Ngwaketse struggle continued. By 1905 the members of the Moshupa church were all converted to Ethiopianism. The people of Moshupa are originally Bakgatla and not Bangwaketse. A commission was set up in 1906 led by Reverend Willoughby and Reverend Williams to settle the dispute in Ngwaketse. Reverend Lloyd was removed from Kanye but this did not stop the movement. On 22 February 1910 Bathoen summoned a *lechulo* to discuss Ethiopianism in the presence of the Resident Commissioner Ellenberger. The Ethiopians refused to abandon their faith. In July 1910, after the death of Bathoen, Seepapitso confirmed his dislike for Ethiopianism. That same month, July 1910, he banished Mothowagae to Lekgolobotlo. When Mothowagae refused to go, the government intervened and on 11 August 1910 Mothowagae left for Lekgolobotlo. Mothowagae's story describes a different form of Ethiopianism which had many contributory factors. The most important issue is the question of church and state which the LMS never addressed theologically.

A more serious form of independency, referred to as the Zionist movement, also appeared in Kanye during this crucial period, as discussed above. In 1907, a travelling prophet, Sencho Legong, appeared in Kanye. He proclaimed himself to be an angel of God, a prophet, the Lord Jesus himself. His message was a promise of rain which would cover the hilltops, three harvests a year, absolute freedom from the white man's control, and a return to all the old heathen customs of the past. In response, many people burned their Bibles and hymn books and others offered gifts to Sencho Legong. The reaction of the chief was that all the followers of Sencho Legong were to be whipped at the *kgotla*. The white traders, who were concerned at possible boycotting of their businesses, appealed to the magistrate to prosecute Sencho. As a result, he was tried in court, declared insane, and ordered to live in the custody of his parents. The sentence of the court did not stop Sencho's movements as we shall meet him again

in other tribes. Thus, amongst the Bangwaketse, the two movements - Ethiopianism and Zionism - had set in. They remained under close scrutiny and suspicion until the late 1940s when a more forceful form of Zionism emerged. This movement grew rapidly in the early 1960s, culminating in its tolerance and ultimate recognition after Botswana came to independence in 1966.

3.4.2 The Bakwena

By the year 1888 there were no serious reports of Ethiopianism amongst the Bakwena.²³ But the Bakwena Church had many problems which no doubt gave rise to Ethiopianism. Sechele was the first Bechuanaland chief to embrace Christianity, but he refused to abandon all the traditional customs of his ancestors, especially with regard to polygamy, and Sechele never completely abandoned his wives. Another constant issue was that of circumcision. The Bakwena did not abandon their traditional practices easily and the LMS reacted negatively by suspending people from church membership instead of using good theological education to try to convince them to alter their ways. Chief Sechele also wanted to rule the church and be its head. This was a step towards indigenisation.

In 1908 Sencho Legong visited the Bakwena and preached his prophecies.²⁴ At Molepolole he was welcomed by Chief Sebele who gave him several herds of cattle. He was even given a bride. Sencho burned down the LMS church at Mokhibidu. His teachings, as previously discussed in relation to the Bangwaketse, were acceptable to the Bakwena. The reason why Sebele accepted the prophet was that he had marital problems and could not gain the sympathy of the LMS. The LMS and the Protectorate Government did not like the customary marriage of Sebele to Baultwe in 1901 and Sebele married in defiance of the church laws. His acceptance of the prophet was to humiliate the LMS and Sebele died in 1911 having opened the door to the independency of Zionism.

Another factor which contributed to the rise of the AICs was that, following the rinderpest epidemic of 1896-97, many of the able-bodied young men went to the Transvaal to look for work in the mines. Through migrant labour they came into contact with Zionism, a more radical form of independency which to some extent paid respect to some Tswana customs and practices. However, there are no reports of strong Zionism amongst the Bakwena during the period 1900 to 1930.

In 1935 Sebolao appeared with very convincing Zionist teachings.²⁵ His teachings attracted many non-Christians and dissatisfied members of the LMS. He did miraculous healing and solved many mysteries through prophecy. He claimed to drive away demons, by which he meant possession by ancestral spirits and the spirits of witchcraft. He faced some opposition from the LMS and the Protectorate Government who were both helped by the chief. Chief Kgari, who favoured the LMS, passed a law forbidding his subjects from starting or supporting separatism, a ruling motivated by the teachings of Sebolao. Sebolao and many of his followers were imprisoned but they refused to give up their faith until the Church of God in Christ was formed.

The Bakwena and the Bangwaketse practised the serf system wherein the Basarwa and the Bakgalagadi were regarded as inferior to the Bakwena. They were given some cattle to look after by some rich Bakwena in return for the milk and very little pay. The Protectorate Government did not support the serf system and recognised the freedom of every tribe in Bechuanaland. This in turn encouraged the serfs to join the emerging AICs in Kweneng because, through them, they could express themselves in equal terms with the members of the LMS which was a church of the Bakwena, who, like the Bangwato, used the church to subdue the other tribes.²⁶ In many cases the dissatisfied headmen or relatives of the chiefs would seek the support of the people who were looked down upon and they did this by supporting and joining the AICs. The fear of tribal disunity, already threatened by migration into the emerging urban centres, led the chiefs to tolerate the AICs. The emergence of Zionism showed

clear theological dissatisfaction as compared to Ethiopianism. The Zionists addressed religious issues and even introduced new liturgies and new ways of worshipping which indicated genuine religious change. The chiefs and the LMS felt threatened by the new movements particularly in view of the fact that it was difficult to separate religious issues from political ones. It suffices to say that, in spite of the political concerns of the Bakwena, the Zionist movement was a religious one and mistakenly judging it to be a political movement led the Bakwena to fail to understand religious change.

3.4.3 The Bakgatla

The rise of separatism amongst the Bakgatla provides good examples of how the Protectorate Government developed a policy towards "separatism" which was later adopted by the Independent Government.

The Bakgatla originated from the Transvaal and settled in the land of the Bakwena about 1870. They came with the Dutch Reformed Church as their tribal or national church. To this day the DRC is affiliated to the Bakgatla while the LMS is known as the church of the Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Bangwato and Batawana. The Kgatla chiefs who had accepted the Christian faith struggled with their people to make them also accept Christianity. The most challenging customs were those of rainmaking, circumcision or initiation. The issue of polygamy does not feature very strongly in Bakgatla Christianity. Like all the other chiefs of Bechuanaland, the Bakgatla did not approve of more than one denomination in their tribe for fear of tribal disunity. In 1918 the chief passed a law forbidding his people from supporting any form of "separatism". By 1927, it was not easy to suppress "separatism", and two churches were established amongst the Bakgatla. One of these was a break-away movement from the DRC, while the other started as a political faction asking for the restoration of the chieftainship of Molefi who had been suspended by the Protectorate Government. The Zion African Church (later the Zion Christian Church - ZCC) originated from South Africa.²⁷ The

Bakgatla complained to the Protectorate Government about the presence of the ZCC and its part in Kgatla politics. The Resident Commissioner passed a ruling that the Government recognized that people should worship freely as long as they did not use their movement for political activities. Many problems followed but discussion of these is beyond the scope of this paper.²⁸ However, they resulted in the ZCC being banished from the Kgatla reserve. The members of the ZCC resided at Gaborone station and, following long deliberations on the Government side, they were settled at Lentswe le Moriti in the Bangwato Reserve. This marked the breakthrough of "separatism".

The existence of the ZCC encouraged the growth of the AICs in the late 1930s, '40s and '50s, reaching a climax in the early '60s. The basic elements of the movements of the 1930s were more religious and theological than political. It was a response to the unanswered questions of circumcision or initiation, ancestors, polygamy, witchcraft and beer drinking. These problems had remained in the missionary churches without being addressed theologically. The availability of the Bible in Setswana and also in Zulu or Ndebele put the biblical message into a proper Tswana or African context which helped the AIC leaders to address the problems by the use of proper biblical verses and concepts which challenged every belief and provided a reasonably acceptable solution. It was no longer a period of prohibitions by word of mouth and coercion, as formerly carried out by the missionaries with the help of the chiefs, but a direct appeal to the biblical message to speak for itself and convince those who were prepared to listen and change their lives by accepting Jesus Christ as their Lord and Saviour.

The example of the Bakgatla provided the Bechuanaland chiefs and the Protectorate Government with a problem that led to action and the ultimate decision on "separatism".²⁹

3.4.4 The Bangwato

The Bangwato are the people most affected by the AICs. This study will give more examples from the Bangwato than any other tribe because they are the people who were more elevated by the British than all the other tribes. The LMS missionaries amongst the Bangwato were the most influential even on governmental matters. The Bangwato is the biggest reserve and carries more people of different ethnic origins than any other tribe. This is the reserve that had the Christian chief, Kgama III, who not only became the hero of the LMS but also the hero of the Protectorate Government.

The independent movement was led by Tumedli, an LMS evangelist who was influenced by Ethiopians from South Africa and Ngwato youths who lived in Rhodesia. The sons of Raditladi, who had been educated at Lovedale, also showed some elements of Ethiopianism. Problems started in 1903 when Tumedli demanded that Reverend Gould be removed from Selepeng because of his inefficiency. This request was supported by six out of eight deacons. In September 1904, when Gould went on furlough, he reported to the Protectorate Administration that Ethiopianism had set in in the Tati and asked for its suppression. The Tati Company promised to cooperate with the missionaries. In June 1904 the LMS membership fell from 50 to 15. Tumedli had attracted only 16 members from the LMS. Although Tumedli did not form a new church, his ideas dominated the LMS. In March 1905, the two deacons who had remained joined Tumedli and, in 1908, Lobang took over the leadership of the church from Tumedli. Lobang was formerly a teacher in the Transvaal and at Selepeng, with the support of Chief Rauwe Sekoko, he ran a school of 300 pupils. Chief Rauwe had been a strong supporter of Tumedli.

This movement did not last long because Chief Kgama banished Tumedli to Serowe and suppressed the movement. The mission station at Selepeng had problems and it was closed down.

It is within this context that Ethiopianism and Zionism in the Ngwato country should be viewed. Ethiopianism started in 1908 amongst the Bakhurutshe at Selepeng in the Tati District and appeared in Francistown that same year when Reverend Marcus Gabatshwane started an AME Church amongst the Rolong of Chief Moroka. The AME was not classified as an Ethiopian church but as a missionary church. It originated from America but was connected with the Ethiopian churches, as discussed by Sundkler (1961). The church failed because of persecution.

In Serowe, the centre of the Bangwato, Ethiopianism was felt as early as 1903. On 15 November 1903, a paper giving the Ngwato view of Mothowagae Motlogelwa's Ethiopianism amongst the Bangwaketse stated that Mothowagae was a "witch" and that he was not a Christian because he had claimed that he could stop the rain from falling.³⁰ He was accused of using his sect to try to usurp the Ngwaketse chieftaincy. He was declared a false prophet. The Ngwato regarded Ethiopianism as a political movement instead of religious. Ethiopians were seen as threats to the chieftaincy and the stability of the tribe. In 1908, Serowe faced Ethiopianism from Rhodesia. This came from the movement of Reverend Magatho which was causing concern to the Rhodesian authorities. Reverend Magatho belonged to the AME Church and had established a mission station and school around Bulawayo in 1906.

In Ngwato country the Ethiopians were met with repression and one of their number was put in prison for three months.

In 1907 Sencho Legong left the Bakwena and went to Serowe. At Serowe, he was not welcomed, and in fact was deprived of all that he had. The *phuthego* (congregation) sentenced him to caning and all his gifts from the Bakwena were confiscated. The bride with whom he had been presented by Sebele was sent back to her parents in the land of the Bakwena.

Sencho Legong returned to Ngwaketse where he continued with his teaching. In 1913 Chief Seepapitso had him imprisoned at Gaborone. The magistrate ordered

that he should be put under the care of his relatives because he had a mental disorder. Chirenje (1977)³¹ maintains that the impact of Ethiopianism made the LMS realize its failures and, in 1910, it ordained the first two Tswana ministers. He also claims that the Ethiopian movement calmed down in 1908 due to fear of persecution. It continued to exist but as a secret movement until the late 1930s when it once more became powerful in the Zionist movement.

Towards the end of the 19th century the Batawana did not have any serious problems with Ethiopianism. This was due to the seemingly isolated nature of Tawana country. Other tribes like the Balete and the Batlokwa also did not have any problems of significance with Ethiopianism. Amongst the Balete, however, there is mention of traditional prophetic movements which were discarded by the people.

It is within this context that the study of the Head Mountain of God (HMG) should be viewed. The study of the HMG will focus almost exclusively on Ngwato country and the LMS from which the HMG emerged.

3.5 THE PROTECTORATE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES

To discuss the Protectorate Government's attitude towards the AICs is a very complex issue. For the purpose of this study, I shall try to outline the Protectorate Government's attitude and that of the LMS towards the AICs. This will then lead to the Independent Botswana Government's attitude towards the AICs.

The British Protectorate Government had not been worried about the AICs for a long time because they were being dealt with by the chiefs as discussed above. Their constant growth ultimately called for Government intervention. The Government's intervention was precipitated by the fact that the rise in the number of AICs led many

churches to apply for recognition. Most of the applications were directed to the Ngwato reserve which led to intervention by the Government because the Ngwato Tribal Authority could not give permission without the Government's consent. The reason for this was that many AICs were regarded as political movements. Between 1956 and 1960 a lot of correspondence took place between the Ngwato Tribal Authority, the British Protectorate Government and some of the AICs which sought recognition (see Zionist Movement DCS 42/17 Botswana National Archives). Many applications were refused because there was fear that most of the leaders were people with South African connections who could have African National Congress (ANC) influence (see applications of Johannes Sekhwela and Levy Dikgale in 1957 in DCS 42/17 quoted above). The more applications were received, the more the people became concerned about the AICs. In the LMS circles, the Central Regional Council met at Kanye from 23-28 June 1959. A complaint came from Serowe about "foreign habits introduced by unchristian churches". It is difficult, however, to separate the LMS attitude from that of the British Protectorate Government. It is for this reason that the attitude of the LMS missionaries is very important as a contributory factor to the British Government's attitude to the AICs.

It suffices to mention that the establishment of the Tribal Councils³² also led the Tribal Authority in Ngwato country by 1960 to decide to allow the AICs on special conditions.³³ A commission into the activities of the AICs was set up under Serogola.³⁴ Tshekedi Khama sought all possible means to attack the British Protectorate Government with which he was on bad terms.³⁵ Thus, debates in the Tribal Council began to favour the presence of the AICs in Ngwatoland as another means of opposing white domination in all fields including religion.³⁶

This study maintains that the British Protectorate Government started taking action against the AICs seriously in 1956. In that year the Unlawful Assemblies Act was passed by Government. This Act followed a number of reports from LMS missionaries

concerning the activities of the AICs. There was a lot of correspondence between the LMS missionaries, the district commissioners, the police and the Resident Commissioner. These reports will become clear as we discuss the LMS attitude towards the AICs.

3.5.1 The London Missionary Society's Attitude towards the African Independent Churches

The LMS was facing a serious challenge from the AICs which forced it to go unwillingly into a period of religious transformation. The Chiefs of the Bangwato in particular, who were the custodians of LMS conservatism, were also facing a lot of problems because of the administrative changes that had taken place. The most important political factor was that the relationship between the African Authority and the District Commissioner was causing much concern in the Ngwato Reserve.³⁷

The LMS was one of the earliest denominations from which the AICs emerged in the early 1880s. The first LMS reaction to Ethiopianism was recorded in 1889 at Vryburg.³⁸ The Bechuanaland District Committee meeting was held at Vryburg from 2 to 8 March. The Committee passed a statement concerning Ethiopianism, the main content of which was that Ethiopianism was not recognized by the LMS and that any LMS evangelists or ministers who supported the movement would be disciplined or expelled from the LMS. This fear of Ethiopianism was genuine because the LMS missionaries were very paternalistic and dominated the African clergy. Ethiopianism challenged the myth that the Africans were not mature enough to run their own affairs. Thirteen years later, Ethiopianism had reached Bechuanaland and the 1900s saw many elements of Ethiopianism, as discussed above. In many cases, these movements were never studied. They were continually being condemned from ignorance, with no knowledge of their teachings and beliefs.

To come to our period under discussion, the first reports of Ethiopianism in Bechuanaland³⁹ came from a letter from Reverend Mashabe of Madinare to Reverend Seager in Serowe of 9 February 1953. The letter in Setswana reads thus (translation):

With reference to your question concerning the people who are followers of the one called a prophet of Matsiloje; they are found here in Madinare. I also hear that they have a representative of the Matsiloje Prophet here in Madinare. As a result on a Friday of every week, there is no work done in the lands. I, personally, am against the activities of these people. We have also cut off from the congregation one woman member who has now joined the congregation of this Prophet of Matsiloje. It is my hope that when the D.C. is informed about those who follow the so-called Prophet of Matsiloje he will do something because the Post Office Police come here every Sunday and they see these people in their gathering. I have never gone to their gatherings because I do not like them. Truly let the D.C. help us in these man-made things.

This letter confirms my above observation that the accusations concerning the AICs were based on hearsay and not on first-hand knowledge and experience. As we shall see later, when we discuss the teachings of the HMG, my informants explain their activities as innocent, which were misunderstood and misinterpreted by people who had very little knowledge of what was happening, and yet had the audacity to publish their ignorant opinions. However, this letter set the events moving which finally brought humiliation to the LMS and forced it into religious transformation. The Reverend A.E. Seager responded as follows in a letter of 9 February 1953, not to the Reverend Mashabe but to the D.C. The letter reads thus:

I have had an answer from Rev. Mashabe of Madinare regarding the followers of the Matsiloje prophet, but there is very little in it that you do not already know. He confirms that he has a large number of followers in Madinare and that he has a representative there who holds services. But Mashabe says he does not like them well enough to attend and see what they do. They are observing Friday as a holy day. I am expecting Mashabe here on 4th. March and he will be here for the rest of that week, so if there is any advantage in it I can bring him to see you.

This is the type of information on which the D.C. was expected to take action though there was no full evidence of what the representative of the Matsiloje Prophet taught at Madinare. This letter, and all the complaints that were collected from different LMS congregations all over the Bamangwato Reserve, led Reverend A.E. Seager and Reverend A.F. Lock to write to Reverend A.F. Griffiths. Let us first study the letter from Reverend Seager. It is a long letter and I wish to duplicate it as much as possible because I want it to speak for itself with only brief comments from me. The letter is dated 3 March 1959 and read:

Not for the first time, we had a long discussion in the Annual Meeting of the Ngwato district about the activities of some Separatist sects.

The Ngwato district then included the Tonota and the Tati Districts. The meeting was putting pressure on the African Authority seeking its help to deal with the separatist churches. Reverend Seager confessed that for a long time he had been against the idea of seeking help from the African Authority, but it was supported by "a good number of missionary colleagues". The idea of approaching the African Authority was agreed to but not as a yielding "to a long and forcibly expressed wish of our African fellow-members but rather as recognising the seriousness of the situation". At the Annual meeting:

. . . the beginning of the discussion was that a number of members of the Church at Selolwane, in the Bokalaka District (N.W. of Francistown) had identified themselves with Mai Chasa, a "prophetess" working in Rhodesia, originally a Methodist but now excommunicated by the Methodists. Various claims are made of her, photographs are shown of her surrounded by angels. One delegate mentioned a claim that she had died and risen again, and that she does not eat but drinks a cup of cocoa once a week (an advertisement for Cadburys????). One might be amused but for the fact that these things are accepted. Women go to her for healing; they are told to spend the night in a locked room and "angels" come to minister to them. If they do not submit to the ministrations of the "angels" they will not be healed. Since some come to be cured for childlessness, there are occasional cures, to the great joy of Mai Chasa (no

African really believes that sterility is ever the fault of the man). Lock brought the question to the Annual Meeting of whether anybody could be a member of this sect and remain a member of the L.M.S., not because he was in any doubt of the right answer, but because it might mean the practical closing of the church at Selolwane's and he did not want to do that without the Church as a whole knowing what it was all about.

This is another well documented story about what was happening at Selolwane and one might believe some of these stories because the evidence shows that many members of the LMS were also members of this sect so that they spoke from experience rather than hearsay. The membership question asked by Reverend Lock confirms what has been stated in Chapter One that the years under consideration experienced a lot of hypocrisy where the people were LMS members during the day but at night became members of the AICs. Some other examples will emerge as our study proceeds. The road to religious transformation had set in and there was no going back, especially for the LMS. Many cases were mentioned at this meeting and in many areas where the AICs operated some chiefs offered them protection. Let us go on with the contents of the letter:

They also profess miraculous cures; they do not agree to European medicine in any way at all, they do not recognize either the authority of either Government or Chief. In these sects a man may dream about a certain woman. He informs the minister of his dream and the woman is told that it is the guidance of the Holy Spirit that she must sleep with the man.

This is one of the strongest attacks on the AICs by the LMS and the Government because such dreams, according to evidences, disregarded the fact that the woman might be a married one, a matter which led to marital breakdown and disrespect for family life. As stated above, the unity of the family made the foundation of the clan and tribe or nation. One factor which led to this serious abuse of women, if there is truth in the allegations, was migrant labour. The women who could have fallen victims of the stated prophecies could have been those whose husbands were away in the mines in

South Africa. However, in the LMS concerns about these abused women, there is no sign that migrant labour ever was condemned. This could not be done because the LMS also needed money through the contributions of members who got the money from working in the mines and the growing towns. Nor could the LMS advise married women to stay with their husbands in the towns because the women had to do subsistence farming to supplement what the husband got from working in the mines and growing industries in the towns. These factors on their own contributed to the breakdown of families so the contribution of the AICs only added to what was an already growing problem. The letter continues:

A woman becomes little more than a chattel at the disposal of a minister, to allot her to anyone.

It is stated that, after a long discussion, ". . . . in which we did not ignore our duty of positive teaching and preaching", it was agreed to ask the African Authority to receive a deputation which comprised the following people: Ev. T. Shabane, Mr Nthobatsang Bokhwela, Rev. A.F. Lock, Rev. A.E. Seager, Rev. O. Moonwa and Ev. Chaba Masalila. The delegation spent an hour with Mr Rasebolai Khamane, who was the African Authority, fully aware of the danger that they could be understood to be asking for religious persecution, but they thoroughly explained that they were concerned about the "dangers to family life and morality" caused by the AICs.

The first point we wanted to make to him was that the Mai Chasa people who were sheltering under the L.M.S. membership would be deprived of that status, we were not permitting such a double membership. Then we went over the dangers to family life, morality and health arising from organised promiscuity, resulting in the breakdown of the foundation of tribal life.

There is a lot in this statement. The first thing was to seek the approval of the African Authority to close down the church at Selolwane because the LMS was also a source of power and authority for the Ngwato chiefs. They would not appreciate very much the idea of losing part of the Church to a different denomination because that was

tantamount to tribal division. In spite of the disintegrating system, all was still being done to maintain it. The second thing was an indirect report that there was a prohibited sect at Selolwane. The third, and most important, thing was that the double membership of the members of the LMS at Selolwane was an example of the type of Christianity that was setting in in Botswana which was full of hypocrisy. We shall see what happened as our study unfolds.

The African Authority, Mr Rasebolai Khamane, welcomed the delegation but explained his own problems with the Government. He said that in 1957 the Chiefs of the Protectorate had a meeting with the Resident Commissioner in Mafeking but nothing was done following the meeting. He complained that he had at times imposed fines on Headmen who had allowed immigrant preachers to settle in their villages but the Government had not supported him.⁴⁰ He further complained that he had committed some people to prison but the magistrate had released them.⁴¹ The practice was that the records from the cases tried at *kgotla* were sent to the magistrate for approval or review.

. . . . consequently he had become very loath to take action; he felt that imposing sentences which were not to be carried out was a serious danger to the *kgotla* as a court and indeed to the whole stability of the Tribal government.

This statement elaborates one of the most important changes of the period. It suffices to say that the chiefs had already lost power and influence in their tribes. The fact that a chief's judgment could be changed or reverted by an appointed person like the magistrate and not a hereditary person was the most serious challenge to traditional government. The Headmen in the extended Bamangwato Reserve could now disobey Ngwato central government with impunity. The delegation, however, asked to be allowed to see the District Commissioner to voice to him directly their complaints. Mr Rasebolai Khamane agreed because he could see that the delegation was also carrying

some of his personal complaints. The delegation also wanted to resume the right and privilege of the missionary to speak in *kgotla*. In response, the African Authority said:

. . . . the missionary had a right to speak in *kgotla*. Rasebolai said he welcomed this; a recognised missionary had the right to ask the Headman of a village to call his people and to speak to them in *kgotla* on any matter of concern.

Rasebolai expressed his great pleasure if the missionaries could do so and he offered to write to the Headman of a village where such a gathering was needed to inform him accordingly. The delegation, however, still needed the consent of the LMS Executive Committee before any action could be taken. The idea was also to make a suitable representation to Mafeking to the Resident Commissioner. However, in regretful words the letter continued:

What we have done is in some sense a departure from our practice, at least in recent years. I think it was more common in the earlier days of L.M.S. work in B.P. so we can hardly be said to have set a precedent. It may perhaps give rise to misgivings that we are entering into Tribal "politics" but we really have thought of that one ourselves and have not acted lightly or without due consideration of possible consequences. We have taken a good deal of care to make it clear that we are interested in the moral and social welfare of people who are being led astray by immoral practices under the cloak of religion. Since it is the declared policy of the British Government to maintain "Indirect Rule", it was necessary for us to proceed through the African Authority who is part of that system, whatever thoughts we may have as to the goodness or badness of the way the system works out in practice. If our representations bring to light a lack of harmony between the two organs of Government or lead to an attempt at revising the relationship in the interests of good order and government, that will be all to the good. At the very worst! we shall have refused to remain silent in the face of something that appears to us evil. I hope nobody will feel that we have compromised the L.M.S. by precipitate action if there is any such. I can only say that we had reached a situation where as a church of this country we could no longer remain silent.

This, to me, is the last great statement made by the last group of LMS missionaries in Botswana. The action taken had a few things to learn from it. Firstly, the African

Authority used the LMS as a last resort to gain back what was being lost at a very fast pace. The authority of the Ngwato Chiefs had come to an end and the myth that the Bamangwato were the most senior tribe, as portrayed in missionary history,⁴² had also come to an end. The Ngwato chiefs have never again enjoyed that privilege.

Secondly, the influence of the LMS in both the religious and political life of Botswana had come to an end as well. In addition, the last LMS missionaries had realized that they had for a long time supported a futile course by being supporters and agents of the Colonial Government because the moment the rulers realized that the church could be a hindrance to the growing area of trade, they discarded the church, together with its chiefs. Limiting the powers of the chiefs and undermining the tradition and culture was a steady process accomplished through the introduction of Acts and Proclamations. The last cry of the LMS now appears as a statement of appeal realising for the first time that there was something wrong with "indirect rule". The matters raised by Reverend A.E. Seager were also echoed by the Reverend Lock in a direct attack on Government. In his letter of 3 March 1959 to Reverend A.F. Griffiths, written from Francistown, he stated:

However, in my judgment one of the factors which does predispose people to turn to the sects for healing is the very cursory treatment the Africans often receive at the Government hospitals. There are some doctors who are as kind and careful in the treatment they give to Africans as can be expected from any mission doctor but there are rather more who are to say the least careless. One doctor I know personally is called by Africans "the man who doesn't like people". I do not know what can be done about this save to find some real Christian doctors for the Government service.

The truths about the nature of the problems that are now emerging are accounted for by the rise of the AICs which were ushering in a new era in Botswana religion. By this time, the information coming to the LMS was that, in one section of the Tonota District, the LMS had practically ceased to exist because the people had joined an AIC. At

Maunatlala Village, it was reported that the local Headman had joined an AIC and had appointed six ministers to spread the faith.

However, there was no clear-cut reaction to the AICs by Government. The Tribal Authority had some people arrested but the Government ordered their release. The only definite action which the British Protectorate Government took in this period was the resettlement of ZCC members at Lentswe le Moriti following an enquiry (see Religious also Zionism DCS 42/16 and Zionist Movement DCS 42/17 B.N.A.). The rather hesitant nature of Government to take appropriate action was influenced by several factors, the most important of which were the policy of freedom of religion of the B.P. Government and fear of serious political problems that could follow any persecution of the AICs. Since most of the events affected the Ngwato, the B.P. Government had serious problems already over the marriage of Seretse Khama to a white woman and conflicts with Tshekedi Khama who acted as regent of the Bangwato.

The LMS was also powerless as expressed in the letters of the missionaries.

3.5.2 The Attitude of the Botswana Independent Government to the African Independent Churches

Our discussion of the Botswana Government's attitude towards the AICs will be discussed in the context of the British Protectorate Government's attitude, as discussed above, and that of the LMS.

By 1960, the Bangwato had allowed the AICs and other denominations to operate in their reserve following a number of applications, as discussed above, and the debates in the Tribal Council. The B.P. Government embarked on a spying project on the AICs in order to understand them better. Some study of the HMG was done which I maintain influenced the attitude of the present Government to the AICs. The police report of 12 March 1960 claimed that the HMG was an offshoot from the Zion Christian Church of

Lekganyane. The report stated that, when Lekganyane died in 1948, he was succeeded by two sons, Edward and Joseph.

Edward was the stronger character and had a large following. He added a silver Star to the Emblem of Green/Black cloth worn by all Zionists and named himself "God Lekganyane", and his sect "Zion Christian Church". Joseph retained the Green/Black Emblem but named himself "Head Mountain of God", and his sect "Head Mountain of God Apostolic in Zion".

This is a very highly distorted history of the HMG and the ZCC. The report also shows ignorance on the part of the ruling authorities because, by 1960, Sundkler's Bantu Prophets had appeared and it carried vital information on the AICs.⁴³ This confusion also demonstrates how difficult it is to study movements under persecution because they cannot give out their secrets. The reason for allying the HMG to the ZCC was also political because of the experience which the Government had with the ZCC in the Kgatleng District. The police, therefore, were looking for reasons to justify the persecution of the AICs. The same report continued thus:

1. Firstly, the Apostolic/Zionist organisation is of a type which presents an open target for Communist penetration. It is a highly disciplined organisation and its adherents believe implicitly in the word of "God Lekganyane" and "Head Mountain of God"; thus it would be extremely easy for Communist propaganda and principles to be disseminated. It would take very little imagination to visualize the extent of damage to the economy and security of this territory if the heads of the Zionist/Apostolic organisation, or for that matter, the more senior Church leaders were to come under Communist influence.
2. Secondly, there is a very great danger that the doctrines of the African National Congress may be spread through the ranks of the adherents via the preachers, in fact it has been established that a number of the African National Congress members in the Transvaal belong to the Zionist/Apostolic organisation group and there is little doubt that in certain areas, and by virtue of what is being preached, African National Congress doctrines are indeed being disseminated in the Territory.

This is the fear that was now troubling the ruling authorities. The fear was also based on the rising number of HMG members. The report further stated that, by 1956, Daniel

Dube had a following of 365 members in Francistown, the Tati District and Bukalanga area. By 1960, the membership had risen to 460. The figures given here are not convincing for the reasons given above that there was a lot of confusion caused by grouping all the AICs together as if they were one body. In addition, the document, which I regard as the major source of information on the spread of the HMG, does not give the impression that the church could have gained such a large membership by then.

One of the things that was causing the Government to look seriously into Zionism was the beginning of the rise of the Political Parties in the early 1960s. Events were already beginning to emerge which gave rise to the Botswana People's Party (BPP) in 1960. There is no doubt that the Government's interest in the activities of the AICs was partly aroused by the suspicion that they might join the BPP whose leaders had strong connections with the ANC in South Africa. The developments that followed led to a continuous suspicion of the AICs by the Government. This suspicion did not come to an end even after Independence in 1966 as we shall see from the events that led to the introduction of the Societies Act in 1972.

Many Zionist churches charged some money for healing. This money would always be referred to as thanksgiving for the healing and was not directly called a charge because of the claim that healing was a free gift from God. The so-called thanksgiving could be fixed from three pula to sixty pula for a hot bath which is believed to give luck to people who are looking for a job or seeking promotion. The *mosebeletsi* (nurses) who applied the healings became as famous as the healers themselves and many were tempted to open and register their own churches. As a result, the number of churches grew rapidly and church leaders began to take others to court for splitting the churches. This led to the introduction of the Societies Act (1972), the aims of which, in the words of Mr B.K. Sebele, then Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, were:

With Independence, a number of associations and bodies of all kinds sprang up. The first five years of independence saw a phenomenal increase in the number of various societies. The increase was very noticeable in religious societies. There was no form of legislative control and this gave way to the mushrooming of numerous money raising clubs and organisations and most of these appeared under the cloak of religion.

He went on to state that such organisations always split into many opposing groups and the money collected would never be accounted for. The Government had its own understanding of religion. According to Mr B.K. Sebele:

. . . . I have to draw your attention to the fact that the Constitution of Botswana guarantees any person or group of persons the right to worship and freedom of religion. It follows from this that Government policy is to allow and to create an atmosphere conducive to the existence of religious societies in whatever form they may be. Government does recognize the fact that religion plays an important and vital role in moulding an individual's moral conduct and character. For Government, it is not a matter of tolerance that religious societies should exist but a matter of appreciation for the good that religious societies can do for its citizens.

Accordingly, in 1972, the Societies Act was passed requiring all societies, including religious societies, to be registered. Sebele further stated the purpose of the Act as:

. . . . to regulate and control the activities of societies and to minimize the chances of citizens being exploited by unscrupulous persons masquerading as leaders of what may be doubtful organisations and to ensure the orderly development of societies.

The Act defines a society as any club, company, partnership or association of ten or more persons, whatever its nature or objects. With the introduction of the Act, all societies had to be registered. Some societies, especially the Missionary Churches, were exempted from some of the registration conditions. These were believed to be well established and their objects and general standing well known. The Registrar of Societies is given power to register or exempt any society. The registration of societies forced some societies registered outside Botswana to change their constitutions to meet

the registration conditions in Botswana. The Act has outlined ten reasons⁴⁴ which can influence the Registrar to refuse the registration of a Society.

It is not the purpose of this study to give an analysis of the Societies Act but I have to point out several things before concluding our discussion. The first thing is that the Societies Act should be understood within the context of the general developments of the period prior to Independence. The fact that the rise of the AICs contributed directly and indirectly to the decline of the chieftaincy and the LMS also made the Independent Government of Botswana take care of the AICs, especially since Botswana, as a capitalist state, feared Communism, as pointed out by the police report cited above. The wording of the Act has used concepts which were used in both the LMS complaints about the AICs and the accusations put forward by the Protectorate Chiefs to the Resident Commissioner in 1957. This shows that the action of the Botswana Government was very much influenced by past historical events. Secondly, it appears as if the Societies Act was a relief to the many AICs which had suffered persecution but, in actual practice, it brought many problems to the AICs which have drastically affected many of their beliefs. Many AIC leaders had very little formal education, if any. To draw up Constitutions they had to rely on lawyers who, in turn, drew up legal documents which had nothing to do with the actual life of the church. The making of Constitutions demanded a lot of money and many AICs could not raise the required charges in order to register. The result was, and still is, a number of AICs which still operate secretly because they are not registered. They have also developed a bad attitude towards the Government because they feel that the Government is interfering with their freedom of worship by requiring them to register. Thirdly, the Societies Act meant in practice that the Government had control over religion because the registered societies will have to submit to the Government annually their minutes of meetings and financial reports. In this manner, the Government could monitor the activities of religious bodies and, if political issues were discussed at conferences, the

Government would know and take appropriate action. Thus, by 1984, 220 religious societies were registered but, in 1985, only 185 registered. There is a continuous decline in the number of registered churches because of the many requirements by Government. The Government has gone to the extent of proposing Constitutions for the churches, especially the AICs. There is freedom of religion in Botswana but this is on condition that the religious bodies abide by Government regulations. The freedom of the church in Botswana still appears to be as vague as ever before when the chiefs and the British Protectorate Government controlled the life of the church, especially the LMS. Our study of the HMG will reveal some of these aspects of obedience to Government.

3.6 General Observations and Conclusions

The above discussion on the different roles played by different peoples on religious transformation outlines several problems.

The first that arises is that the chiefs were caught between their people, their religion and the missionaries. The desire for the presence of a missionary in the tribe led many chiefs into difficulties in decision making. They could see the decline in the moral lives of their people due to a religion that had nothing to do with rituals. The chiefs were aware of their declining influence in their own tribes because of the Colonial Government's support for a religious system and concepts of life which were in direct contradiction to their own beliefs and practices. The chiefs realized their helplessness.

The second problem was faced by the reformers themselves, generally referred to as "separatists". As they were educated in the mission schools, they had also accepted many aspects of Western culture and could not revert to the old Tswana traditions. Their biblical understanding, which echoed that of the missionaries, could

not help them to transform any of the prohibited religious beliefs and practices of the Batswana into Christianity. Instead, their desire was to share power and authority with the missionaries and, by so doing, they failed to build an indigenous Christianity.

The third point, which is an observation, is that the emerging AICs were beginning to introduce a Christianity, the doctrines of which were derived from a transformation of Tswana beliefs, rituals and practices. This development will become clear in the next chapter when the experiences of Bishop Smart Mthembu will begin to show the emergence of an indigenous Christianity that addressed the daily needs of the people and their spiritual problems.

Endnotes to Chapter Three

1. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961).
2. The important one to be referred to here is Daneel, *op. cit.* (1987).
3. Refers specifically to Daneel, *op. cit.* (1987) and West, *op. cit.* (1975).
4. B. Sundkler, Zulu Zion and Some Swazi Zionists, Oxford University Press (1976).
5. Daneel, *op. cit.* (1987).
6. Leadership and fision dynamics form the theme of his book, Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches III (1988).
7. Fambidzano (1989) discusses the ecumenical work of the Shona Independent Churches.
8. See Anderson, Moya (1991).
9. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970).
10. Tswana concepts of God disappeared as Schapera claims but this claim cannot be justified by the fact that many still hold traditional religious beliefs.
11. The important theologians of the period such as F. Schleiermacher seem not to have been known by the LMS missionaries.
12. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970); Simon Roberts, in Tswana Family Law (1970), states that by 1917 the approval of a parent or guardian was needed for children under 16 years to attend for initiation or circumcision (see p.13).
13. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970), pp. 57 and 130.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
15. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1943), pp. 97-114.
16. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1952).
17. Council for World Mission (CWM), Report on UCCSA (United Congregational Church of Southern Africa) Synod of Botswana, April 1992.
18. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961); Chirenje, *op. cit.* (1977).
19. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961).

20. Bechuanaland District Committee (BDC), Vryburg, 14 March 1899. See Minutes of the BDC, Box 56, Jacket B, Folder 1 (LMS-SOAS). Also in Chirenje, *op. cit.* (1977), p.224.
21. Chirenje, *op. cit.* (1977).
22. *Ibid.*
23. Report of A.J. Wookey, in LMS Report 1888, pp.198ff.
24. The prophecies have been outlined above.
25. Discussions with Reverend Pheto (23 October 1987, Molepolole).
26. Discussions with Gasebotshelo Petros Sebolao, born 1904 (23 October 1987, Molepolole).
27. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1976), pp. 65-66.
28. See full report in DCS/42/16, Botswana National Archives (BNA).
29. Meeting with Resident Commissioner, DCS/42/16, BNA.
30. Chirenje, *op. cit.* (1977).
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-220.
32. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970).
33. Letter from Tribal Secretary Serowe to the Apostolic Faith Healing Church, Francistown, 16 August, 1961: ". . . it is now accepted policy of the tribe that applications for churches should be backed by a definite undertaking on the part of the applicants that they will be prepared to put up schools or clinics. The idea of just a church has ceased to be attractive" (C/3/6/6, Box No. 1, BNA).
34. DCS/42/17, BNA.
35. For problems over Seretse Khama's marriage, see M. Benson (1960).
36. Debates in Tribal Council began to question the persecution of the AICs. See Minutes of Tribal Council, DCS/42/16, BNA.
37. See correspondence, DCS/42/16, BNA.
38. BDC, Vryburg, *op. cit.*, as cited at No. 20 above.
39. The correspondence concerns Ngwato country more than other reserves. The letters have been kindly supplied to me by Reverend A.E. Seager, Buckley, U.K. (1988).
40. See DCS/42/16, BNA.

41. *Ibid.*
42. J.D. Hepburn, Twenty Years in Khama's Country and Pioneering Among the Batwana of Lake Ngami, London, Frank Cass [1895] and (1970).
43. The history and nature of the AICs is fully described by Sundkler (1961).
44. Summary of Societies Act 10 reasons:
- used to pursue unlawful purposes and prejudicial to or incompatible with peace and good order in Botswana;
 - failure to provide information requested in ninety days;
 - unsatisfactory Constitution, rules or regulations;
 - Constitution or rules repugnant to or inconsistent with any written law;
 - satisfied that the application does not comply with the Act;
 - satisfied that the society does not exist or
 - the name under which the society is to be registered or exempted:
 - is identical to that of any other existing local society;
 - resembles the name of another local society to deceive the public or members;
 - opinion of the Registrar undesirable.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION-BOTSWANA

4.1 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Most of the studies on the AICs have pointed out the importance of the role played by the founder or leader of the church. Sundkler (1961) identifies three types of leadership: 1) the Zulu type, which is a traditional form of leadership based on Zulu culture and tradition. The best model is that of the Amanazaretha of Shembe. The traditional nature of Shembe's Church has been confirmed by Vilakazi *et al.* (1986).¹ Sundkler describes this form of leadership in the following words:

In the independent Church and the relationships established there between the leaders and followers, the pattern of king and nation, or king-chief-nation, is revived again. One of the important clues to an understanding of the Independent Church is to regard it as an escape into history, into the glorious Zulu history which was brought to an abrupt end by the Whites. In the independent Church, history is reborn and redeemed by being projected into an Ethiopian Utopia.²

2) the chief-type and prophet-type leader. The chief-type leader is common in the Ethiopian churches. The leader has to be a respectable person with dignity (*isithunzi*) who can lead his people against White domination. He does not necessarily have to be a good preacher but must be well-built and able to command respect. The prophet leader, according to Sundkler, combines chiefship with the traditional practice of divination by the *sangoma* to become a prophet. This leadership pattern is associated with the Zionists. The important thing here is that these leadership patterns are viewed within Zulu culture. 3) The third pattern is the inherited leadership, which has been the

cause of many splits in the AICs. Sundkler points out that this pattern is characteristic of the AICs.

Sundkler (1976)³ realized that his classification and attitude towards the AIC leadership did not apply to many AICs. He also realized the progressive nature of the movements and their adaptation to the continually changing social and political conditions. He then made studies of individual church leaders and found that there was much more to his former conclusions. Thus, the character of the founder was given great importance in the life of an AIC.

Daneel (1971)⁴ realized that the Southern Shona Independent Churches had been influenced by the AICs in South Africa. He, however, found that the link between the churches had started to diminish and the AICs began to see themselves as indigenous to Zimbabwe. Johane Masowe of the Apostles of Masowe was a charismatic leader who claimed to have died and risen from the dead.⁵ He regarded himself as the second John the Baptist. The same concept of leadership was also exercised by Johane Maranke of the Maranke Apostles.⁶ Charismatic and prophetic leadership was more influential in these cases. Mutendi of the ZCC cut off his relations with the ZCC in South Africa and established his own Zion City. He traced the history of his church not to South Africa but within the European Church historical order.⁷ Daneel's general observation was that the spirit-type church found a direct link with the early church and the Apostles of Jesus Christ. Thus, many established their own New Jerusalems which saw the biblical communities being re-lived in an African setting.

The Ethiopian-type churches were politically inclined. Their impact first came with the AME Church of Reverend Magatho, a Sotho minister. He settled amongst the Fingo labourers around Bulawayo in 1906. He was an influential leader in the Ethiopian sense who could challenge racism. Ethiopianism spread to Southern Shona at Fort Victoria around 1930. The most prominent was the African Congregational Church of Sengwayo. Sengwayo was a powerful leader although his church faced problems

towards the end of his career. Daneel (1988)⁸ observed that many AICs in Zimbabwe had succession problems due to charismatic leadership. He vividly discusses the schism in the ZCC after the death of Mutendi, the schism in the First Ethiopian Church due to inheritance problems and the schism in the African Congregational Church (Chibarirwe). These churches had all cut off links with their South African counterparts.

In South Africa itself, the leadership pattern in the ZCC (Lukhaimane, 1991)⁹ led to a schism in the Church. Church leaders like Matitta of Lesotho (Damane, 1991; Mohono, 1991) all had their leadership characteristics which enabled their movements to survive schisms.

It suffices to say that our study of the nature and character of Bishop Mthembu should be viewed within this general context. His leadership pattern, like all other AIC leaders, has contributed to the life of his Church, as shall be discussed below.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

The HMG was founded by Toitsoi Smart Mthembu (Fig. 2) in the year 1939 in Sophiatown-Johannesburg. Mthembu was a very powerful prophet and charismatic leader who gave his church a solid foundation which made it able to resist persecution and other problems to become one of the first and major Zionist churches in Botswana.

4.3 PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH

To reconstruct the life of Mthembu is not an easy task because he did not keep any diary about his life. Also, when I visited him, he was very old, too old to remember



Figure 2: Portrait of Bishop Smart Toitso Mthembu,
founder of the Head Mountain of God

accurately all the events of his life-time. However, for this reconstruction, I will rely on the story he told me and also on what some of his colleagues said about him, his eldest son and members of his church.

When I visited Mthembu at Jackalasi No. 2 in the North-East District, some 30 km North of Francistown, in 1984, he told me that he was born in Plumtree, Rhodesia, in the year 1901. In 1920 he was baptized in the LMS in Plumtree. From 1928 to 1931 he attended primary school in Plumtree and passed Standard Two. I did not ask him anything further than this except for the story of his church which I then wanted. I shall now relate the story of his birth as narrated by his eldest son Amos.

According to Amos, Toitoi Smart Mthembu was born in Zimbabwe in 1901, at a place called Mphini, south of Plumtree. His father was Mavokoto who belonged to the Majongwani family. The Majongwani family belonged to the Tembo clan whose totem or family name was *Dube* (zebra). They had originated from Dombodema which will be discussed below. The name Mthembu is a corruption of Tembo by the Ndebele. The real name of Mthembu was then Toitoi Smart Mavokoto Tembo. Due to the influence of the Ndebele people over the Kalanga,¹⁰ the name was changed to Mthembu. Mavokoto had three wives and the mother of Toitoi Smart Mthembu was the third wife. She was previously married to a different clan whose totem was *Ncube* (monkey) and she had a son with that clan. Toitoi Smart Mthembu was her second son but he did not have any connection with his elder brother. Amos could not remember any of the relatives who could be alive in Zimbabwe. This is all that he knows about the birth and family of his father. However, there are some other things that he knows about the life of his father as we shall see below. The fact that Mthembu was born in a polygamous family shows us that he had an autocratic father because running a polygamous family needed a very strong and influential husband. There is no doubt of the fact that the nature of Mthembu's family made some contribution to his leadership qualities as will be discussed later.

4.4 CIRCUMSTANCES SURROUNDING THE BIRTH OF TOITOI SMART MTHEMBU

The absence of any close relative of Mthembu makes it very difficult to know if anything mysterious happened at his birth. There is no oral evidence either saying anything peculiar or unique about his birth. However, it suffices to consider the social conditions of the place where he was born and what was happening there which could have influenced his early growth, and contributed to his leadership and the formation of a church.

Mphini was an outstation of the LMS Mission at Dombodema. The Dombodema Mission was founded by Cullen Reed in 1895.¹¹ It was a very successful station because in the first two months of his stay there, he had already attracted a congregation of 200 people whom he taught the principles of Christianity as contrasted with Kalanga beliefs and forms of worship.¹² Plumtree, which was the nearest town to Mphini, was established by the Colonial Government to be a centre for the Administration of the Bakalanga people who had maintained their identity from absorption by the Ndebele invaders and who were also reluctant to be absorbed as slaves or farm workers by the White farmers. The Mission station, which was set in an area extending from Plumtree in the East to the Western fringes of the Kalahari, was based on three fertile farmlands donated freely to the LMS in order to create a land of refuge for the landless peoples whose lands were being occupied by the White farmers.¹³ Thus the Kalanga peoples welcomed the Missionaries and within a short period they had all settled in the farms and accepted Christianity because of the protection it gave to them from the Government. In 1901, when Mthembu was born, Christianity was a newly introduced faith amongst the Bakalanga peoples and it was an accepted faith. By 1920, when he was baptized, he was in the third generation of Christians in the Bukalanga area. In those years, the LMS had a very strong Catechetical teaching based on the Brown Catechism¹⁴ which was translated into

Setswana by Dr Robert Moffat at Kuruman in 1826, and subsequently translated into other languages as the main instruction book for the Catechumens. To be baptized, one had to pass that Catechism, which Mthembu did. Mthembu was baptized before he went to school, which practice was not common in the LMS which preferred people to go to school first, before baptism, so that they could read the Bible for themselves and even interpret it according to their understanding and life experiences.¹⁵ There was, however, a good reason why in this particular case the LMS could allow people to be baptized without any formal education. The LMS was by then fully established at Inyati and Hope Fountain and it had a good number of African Evangelists who had proved quite effective in spite of their being uneducated.¹⁶ The other reason was that the people in the Bukalanga area were a people who wanted to maintain their identity which was threatened by the invasions of the Matebele and more seriously by the white farmers who were taking all the fertile lands from the Blacks and subjecting them to a form of slavery on White farms. The missionaries were against these practices of the Colonial Government and the White population in Zimbabwe. Since the missionaries were also agents of the Colonial Government, they were also entitled to land which they in turn used for humanitarian purposes by protecting the landless people in exchange for their acceptance of Christianity. The missionaries, therefore, had a very good standing with the Africans, so that during the Ndebele uprisings of 1896-1897 the missionaries were the only Whites allowed into the reserves.¹⁷ In many respects they were the only people still trusted by the Africans. The missionaries in the Dombodema and Plumtree areas found it necessary to baptize all those who came forward and accepted Christianity. Many of them were used as evangelists to evangelize those who still remained loyal to the Mwali religion which is the religion of the Bakalanga.

Mthembu went to school eight years after his baptism. There is no doubt that during these eight years he was an active evangelist and this gave him the good preaching ability which was typical of the LMS evangelists of the period. Between 1928

and 1931 Mthembu went to school and passed Standard Two. The school syllabus of the time was biblically oriented, based on the proposals of John Mackenzie.¹⁸ The object of the syllabus was to produce people who could preach and evangelize. Reading, writing and arithmetic were some of the major subjects but handicrafts and gardening were also included. The purpose was to produce Mission stations which were self-sufficient in many of their needs. Mthembu did all these subjects and was one of the well-educated people of the period because in those days it took four years to do Standard Two because there were other grades like Sub-A and Sub-B before doing Standard One. At those two lower levels, one could read and write. Standard Two was then a qualification that could earn one a good job in a fair system of Government. However, in Zimbabwe then, where the Africans were looked down upon, there were no chances of getting a job.

The LMS was not the only denomination that had some influence on the life of Mthembu. The period of the 1920s also saw the rise of New Religious Movements in Zimbabwe, especially the AICs. The Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa had penetrated Southern Matabeleland by the mid 1920s.¹⁹ The same period saw the rise of the African Apostolic Church of John Maranke which of course came in the early 1930s. The Church of Christ of Nanani Somfula Nkomo also appeared in the mid 1920s.²⁰ The Church of Christ came to Plumtree in 1924 and there is some evidence that Mthembu had some connections with this church. It is clear, therefore, that, before Mthembu went to South Africa in 1932, he had already been exposed to the AICs.

4.5 THE EARLY LIFE OF TOITOI SMART MTHEMBU

Very little is known about the early life of Mthembu, but it can be deduced from the life and the culture of the Kalanga people of that time. All the Kalanga and Ndebele boys looked after cattle until they were of school-going age which, of course, was also a late age since education was still a new phenomenon in the Zimbabwe of that time. However, in the interview that I had with Mthembu, he stated that he had attended school in Plumtree and passed Standard Two. One of my informants, Mr. Fray Ntusa, knew Mthembu during his school days.²¹ He knew him as a very kind but cunning person who was very active and known all over the Plumtree area. Fray Ntusa summarized the character of Mthembu as *Chakwane* (a Kalanga word referring to a person who is very kind and clever and witty). Amos also claims that, when his father finished school in 1931, he opened a private school between 1932 and 1933 at Mbakwe River. The classes were held under a big tree (*nthula*) and it was not a registered school. He taught many children and also a number of elderly people how to read and write Ndebele. The reason for opening the school was that the Roman Catholic School at Empandeni was very far from Mbakwe. The LMS school in Plumtree and at Mphini were also far from Mbakwe. Above all these, Mthembu was also exercising his influence in the community and displaying his leadership qualities and concern for his people. By this time, Mthembu had built a name for himself. He was well-known as a well-dressed gentleman who entered contests in the Plumtree area and won many of the main competitions for "the best dressed man". He was very handsome and he gained the additional name "Smart" because of his general appearance.²² According to Fray Ntusa, chiefs also needed his advice before they could judge cases in tribal courts. This is possible because of the influence which he had in his community. This early life of Mthembu will be referred to as we discuss some events of his life.

4.6 THE OCCUPATION OF TOITOI SMART MTHEMBU

In the interview that I had with Mthembu mentioned above, he stated as follows: "I then left for Johannesburg to look for work. I got a job as a night watchman in a block of flats which were under construction." Mthembu did not tell me the number of years he worked in this construction company. His son Amos, however, said that his father worked as a waiter in a hotel until 1948 when he came home to Botswana. These are the only two jobs which he did before becoming a full-time worker of his church until his death in 1985.²³

4.7 THE CHRISTIAN DEVELOPMENT OF TOITOI SMART MTHEMBU

It has been stated above that Mthembu was baptized in the LMS. However, in spite of his growth as a powerful member of the LMS, when he got to Johannesburg things changed. The changes that took place and affected his life have made him the concern of this study. In the same interview mentioned above, Mthembu continued as follows:

I attended a joint congregation of the LMS and Methodist Church in Braamfontein. In 1932, I left the L.M.S./Methodist congregation to join the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion.

The departure from the LMS/Methodist congregation to the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion marked a turning point in the life of Mthembu. It also marked his leadership development through a lot of Christian experiences which ultimately helped him in founding his own church. When I asked the then Bishop Mthembu why he left the LMS, he responded as follows:

Whenever I was sitting in Church, I would see in a sort of a dream [*Se ndino wolota*] people who were suffering from all sorts of diseases and I would see myself healing them. Time and again I would feel possessed by the Holy Spirit [*meya ya ka yengemala*] and felt like prophesying but the LMS could not allow me to prophesy. So I decided to leave the LMS and joined the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion.

This statement clearly shows that Mthembu was importing some elements which were not acceptable to the LMS including the idea of visions, healing practices, special possession by the Holy Spirit and prophesying. He therefore had no alternative but to leave the LMS and join the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion where such practices were not only acceptable but also desirable, so much so that by 1936 he was made a minister (*morufi*). He had proved himself to be a sufficiently powerful prophet healer and missionary to merit ordination into the Holy ministry. However, his departure from the LMS did not cause any problems to the church due to several factors. Firstly, the LMS is a congregational church which respects individual freedom and freedom of association. In this manner, when a member leaves the church to join another, there is no need to conduct an investigation as to the reason why the member left.²⁴ In spite of the fact that Mthembu was a well-known preacher in the Plumtree area, it appears that in Johannesburg he was not that popular because I could not find his name either in the register or the minutes of the LMS in Braamfontein. Secondly, by the early 1930s, the AICs in South Africa were well established and had attained some degree of Government recognition. Many missionary churches were aware of the fact that they were losing a lot of their members to the AICs. The departure of Mthembu from the LMS led him to look for a new home for his faith in the Zionist churches.

4.8 THE FACTORS AND EXPERIENCES OF TOITOI SMART MTHEMBU PRECEDING THE FORMATION OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

In the same interview, he stated that:

In 1937 I had a vision which appeared to me like a dream [*ndaka lakidziwa se ndino wolota*] revealing the name of a new church called The Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion. In 1939, I left the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion. The vision that had appeared to me in 1937 reappeared again and I formed "The Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion". The Church was registered on the 19th day of September, 1939 and given registration No 622/214.²⁵

Mthembu went on to say that in the same year he applied to the Association of Independent Churches for membership and his request was accepted. This Association was formed in 1925 to help the AICs in the processing of any documents dealing with the Government.²⁶ At this point, let me say that this is the verbal information which I got from the old Bishop himself. However, as I have stated above, he was too old to recall all the events of his life, but there are also other versions of the story of his life as told by his son Amos, his friends, some members of church and people who knew him as personal friends.

One of my major informants, who had a series of discussions with Bishop Mthembu, is Mr Limit Manewe. According to his evidence, Mthembu was expelled from the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion in 1936. This happened soon after he had been made a minister (*moruti*). The story is that he was expelled with five other people, and the reason for expulsion was that Mthembu had gone to attend an overnight vigil (*mulindelolo*) in one of the local Zionist Churches on a Saturday. He was the key-holder for the church. On Sunday morning he came late to church to find the Bishop and the congregation waiting outside the church. In the beliefs of the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion, it was unheard of for the Bishop to be found or seen wandering outside

the church, being locked out by a junior Church officer. Mthembu was called before the Church Council and asked to confess his sin for locking out the Bishop. Mthembu refused on the ground that he had gone on church business and had had a good reason for coming late to church. The Bishop and the Church Council felt insulted and Mthembu was expelled from the church along with five other people. The refusal by Mthembu to confess to the Bishop of the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion reveals one aspect of his character. According to his son Amos, his colleagues Fray Ntusa, Bishop D.M. Tshabangu²⁷ and Mr. Pudiephatshwa, Mthembu was a very honest gentleman who stood firmly on his beliefs and his convictions on the truths of God. He refused to confess because he preferred to obey God rather than man. In addition he was so famous in Sophiatown and the local congregations that bowing down to a Bishop would be lowering his status, especially when he did not feel guilty. According to his son Amos, Mthembu was by that time working in a hotel as a waiter, a job which he did until he left in 1948 when he came to settle in Botswana.

When Mthembu was expelled from the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion, he remained for about two years without belonging to any church. This was the time when he became a "worldly" man. He lost his faith and became more interested in earthly fame such as beauty contests. He danced in big halls in Sophiatown and became very popular in the secular world.

In the same year, 1936, Mthembu went home after an absence of four years. When he got to Mphini in Zimbabwe, he found that his wife had gone to Butale Village in Botswana with little Amos. He followed them and settled at Butale in the home of his wife's sister. During this period, he attended the Church of Christ at Danangombe in Zimbabwe. Amos maintains that the Church of Christ was built on the spot where Mthembu had his school. From 1936 onwards, Mthembu began to pay regular visits home to Butale and he began to pray for people who came to him in large numbers

whenever he came home. However, he still remained the spiritual son of Nanani Somfula Nkomo, who was the minister of the Church of Christ at Danangombe.

Following the story back to Johannesburg, Amos maintains that, one Sunday morning, Mthembu was well dressed and walking to a Hall in Prospect Township. Suddenly he fell heavily and was puzzled as to the cause. He heard a voice saying to him "go to church". He stood up, still puzzled, and went into a nearby church, which was a "white" church. He sat down quietly and started weeping. He did not worry about the "colour bar" which, though not officialized, had already started.²⁸ The church incidentally was a "Boer" one. The "Boers" were surprised but they could not expel this black man from their church. For several months Toitsoi Smart Mthembu went to this church and worshipped there. One day, when he was passing by the suburbs, a "Boer" lady called to him and she and her husband asked Toitsoi Smart Mthembu to pray for them because they had no children. Mthembu prayed for them and after some months they had a child. Another "Boer" family had a lame child and they asked Mthembu to pray for their child. He did so and the child walked. Mthembu became very popular, even among the Whites. He began to gather a few people around him and he formed a small, mixed congregation in Sophiatown. Some white people, especially the "Boers", became members of this congregation and frequently asked Mthembu to pray for them for different needs. According to Amos, this was the time when Mthembu had a dream in which the name "Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion" was revealed to him and he formed his church and registered it as discussed above.

4.9 THE MARRIAGE AND FAMILY OF MR MTHEMBU

Mthembu was married in 1930 just before he finished school. Details of his marriage are not well known but the information shows that it was a traditional Kalanga marriage and not a church one. His wife, Baka-Amos, was from Mphini, but very little is known about her background. According to Amos, when his father left for Johannesburg in 1932, he took a long time coming home. He was referred to as "*khola*" (meaning a person who has deserted his home). In 1933, Baka-Amos left Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) with baby Amos and went to stay with her sister who was married and lived in Butale Village in Bechuanaland (Botswana). She could not continue to stay with the Mavokoto family without the support of her husband. The fact that Baka-Amos went to Botswana gives us the reason why Mthembu settled in Botswana and it also gives us the reason why the HMG is a Botswana church.

In 1956, Mthembu married a second wife, Khutsafalo. Mr Ntusa, my informant, maintains that this wife came from the HMG local church at Ntshe. Mthembu was invited by the father of Khutsafalo to examine his home. The father of Khutsafalo was a traditional healer and he felt that he was being bewitched by some competitors. When he heard of the fame of Mthembu as a prophet he sent for him to diagnose his home. Mthembu prophesied and exhumed many objects planted by wizards in the home of Khutsafalo's father. He was so pleased that he gave Mthembu his daughter Khutsafalo to marry. So, in 1956, Khutsafalo became the second wife of Mthembu. In 1980 the marriage of Mthembu and his wife Khutsafalo was blessed in the HMG at the Good Friday celebrations in Gaborone. Mthembu had eight children with Khutsafalo and four children with Baka-Amos. Amos maintains that he took custody of his mother until she died in 1980.

Amos states that his father spent most of his life in Johannesburg without taking proper care of the family. Whenever he did come home, however, he devoted

a lot of his time to his children. He taught them to read the Bible and to pray. He was a good singer and taught them to sing hymns. Amongst the hymns he liked most were: *Yesu He mu sindi pinde* (Pass me not Lord Jesus); *Nkosi si hlangene, sise ndlini yako* (Lord we meet in your house) and *N'dodana ka Thixo u vusa bafileyo* (The Son of God raises the dead). These hymns were taught to his children and the people who had begun to come to ask for prayers and healing from him whenever he was at home. He taught his children to be truthful and never to tell lies. He introduced his family to his new faith and all his children became members of his church, in which they are still prominent members to this day.

4.10 THE LIFE OF MTHEMBU IN BOTSWANA

The life of Mthembu in Botswana is to be viewed from two angles. The first concerns his visits to Botswana as a migrant worker in South Africa and the second, his visit to his young church and encouraging it to grow. The final aspect is his settlement in Botswana after his retirement from working in South Africa.

4.11 VISITS TO BOTSWANA

Mthembu made his first visit to Botswana in 1936 after four years of absence. Amos states that, when his father got to Rhodesia, he found that his wife had gone to Botswana as stated above. He then followed his family and settled at Butale Village. Mr Mthembu had just been appointed minister (*moruti*) in the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion. The visit also coincided with the rise of the ZCC in Kgatleng whose

story had spread all over Bechuanaland. When he came to Butale Village, he began to hold services with the immediate members of his family. He prayed for many people and did miraculous healings. He was good at detecting wizards and sorcerers and that gained him immense popularity because of the dominant fear of witchcraft. Many people invited him to their homes to detect bad medicines planted by witches. He became very popular in the Tati District and whenever he visited Butale Village many people from the area came to see him to ask for healing. During these visits Mr Mthembu was still a member of the Church of Christ at Danangombe in Rhodesia. This visit, however, proved to him that the time was ripe for him to start a church in Botswana. The ZCC had spread to Nsuswane in the Bukalanga area and many people were conscious of the strong presence of the Zionist churches in Botswana. The message of Mthembu fell on well-prepared soil for the Zionists. The presence of the Zionists meant an attack on the much feared witchcraft, which fear was being belittled by the historical churches.

After forming the HMG in 1939 in Sophiatown, Mthembu finally sent Mr Daniel Dube to start a congregation in Francistown. The remainder of the visits of Mthembu to Botswana should be seen as family visits as well as church visits. These will be discussed below when we examine the HMG in Francistown.

4.12 FINAL SETTLEMENT IN BOTSWANA

Mthembu came to settle in Botswana in 1948. This coincided with his promotion to the bishopric of his new church and his ordination in 1948 coincided with the significance growth of his church in Botswana.

When he came to Botswana, he still wished to remain in the Church of Christ of Nanani Nkomo at Danangombe. My informants stated that, when Nanani Nkomo

realized that Mr Mthembu was an ordained bishop, he became unhappy because he had regarded Mr Mthembu as his "spiritual" son. He could not understand how Mthembu could become a bishop before him. When Mthembu realized this jealousy, he cut off all ties with the Church of Christ and developed his HMG. The life of Mthembu in Botswana can now be understood in the context of the work and the spread of his church.

Bishop Toitoi Smart Mthembu died in 1985 and his death will be discussed in the section on death in the HMG.

4.13 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD IN SOUTH AFRICA

Soon after the registration of his church, Mthembu went to the Bishop of the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion and asked him to ordain him bishop. Bishop Nyauza of the Messenger Apostolic Church in Zion refused to do so. He then asked the Association of AICs to ordain him bishop and they agreed.²⁹ From then onwards Mthembu became the bishop of his young church. The church grew rapidly because of the personal fame of Bishop Mthembu. One of the things that made him so famous was that there was a dam in New Canada in which the Zionists could not baptize their converts for fear of a one-eyed snake which lived in the water.³⁰ At night, it was believed that the eye could be seen shining like a torch. One day Mthembu took members of his church for baptism in the dam. When people heard about this, they came in large numbers to witness the confrontation between Mthembu and the snake. Most of the people were members of the AICs, including bishops and ministers and ordinary people from the Township. When the members got to the dam, they started singing and Mthembu went into the water and started praying. Everybody stood there in fear and amazement. As he was praying, the huge snake emerged from the centre

of the dam and stood upright, displaying the colours of the rainbow. Many people, including the baptizands, ran away to stand at a distance and watch to see what was going to happen. They could see the big snake trying to move forward towards Bishop Mthembu but something was blocking it from charging. Mthembu continued to pray with his arms raised to heaven. After a few minutes the big snake fell into the water with a big splash and disappeared. Many people came back to the dam praising Mthembu and the converts were baptized. From then onwards, the bishops of other churches began to baptize their members and converts at the dam. This incident made Mthembu very popular and in many cases he was referred to as the Archbishop of all the Zionist churches in Sophiatown.

There is little information available about the life of the HMG in Sophiatown. Amos went to work in Johannesburg in 1958 when his father was already settled in Botswana. He maintains that the church was active but it was relatively small when compared to the church in Botswana. The HMG actually became a Botswana church because it was from there that it had experiences which contributed greatly to its growth. These included the fast changing Tswana societies, which still, however, retained many of their religious beliefs although these had been transformed by the HMG. The appeal of the HMG to the transformation of traditional Tswana religious beliefs shows that the break from the LMS was really on doctrinal issues, not merely social problems. His main reason for leaving the LMS was that it did not allow prophecy and spiritual healing. He did not complain about its administration. This was a realisation of the role which the LMS played in Rhodesia where it provided refuge for the Bakalanga people whose lands had been given to the white settlers. In South Africa, the situation was different. The AICs were well established and their healing services attracted many people who were caught up in a fast changing society which was disintegrating the general social infrastructure. It became much easier for him to leave the LMS to find a new house for his faith. Our study of the organisation of the

HMG will reflect a lot of LMS influence to prove the point that he was not dissatisfied with LMS administration but rather with matters of doctrine. The HMG differs completely from the LMS in its doctrinal formation, practices and general beliefs which have transformed many Kalanga and Tswana traditional beliefs and practices. It has also included new concepts and ideas from the Old Testament which have replaced or given value to many lost customs and traditions. The formation of the HMG from doctrinal convictions marks or distinguishes Botswana AICs from many of the AICs throughout the rest of Africa.³¹ This study maintains that the AICs in Botswana were formed from doctrinal convictions regarding many aspects of Christianity rather than mere responses to bad missionary attitudes. Botswana societies had never accepted Christianity from doctrinal convictions in the Western sense of the term. As stated above, Christianity appealed because of the material benefits it offered. The response to the Zionist movement proves this point because the moment an alternative doctrine was found which addressed the peoples' realities in life, many people supported the AICs by becoming members or supporters or by becoming secret members and patients as will be discussed below.

4.13.1 The Head Mountain of God in Botswana

The history of the HMG in Botswana should be viewed in the general context of Bechuanaland. In spite of the Protectorate Government's changes, Bechuanaland was still a country strongly divided, with clearly marked tribal boundaries and different ethnic groups.³² The cultures, customs and religious beliefs also differed in many areas. The people also lived in significantly different geographical, economic and historical circumstances. These factors will be given consideration in this study.

4.13.2 The Head Mountain of God in Francistown

Francistown lies in North Eastern Botswana. During the colonial period, it was the only town in Bechuanaland with a significant white population. By 1940, it was well industrialized, being the centre of trade between Bechuanaland and Rhodesia. North Western Botswana also carried on most of its trade with Francistown. As a designated white settlement area, the whites looked down upon the local people. Many of these local people, especially the Bakalanga, had migrated from tribal areas into town to look for jobs. Some had run away from the Tati District because they could not afford to pay their taxes. The settlement in Francistown led to the birth of a new class of people, the urban dwellers, who had no allegiance to any tribal chiefs in the region. When the Colonial Government faced problems with these people, it established a small semi-tribal settlement on the West of the Tati River and named it Tati Town. A tribal government was set up for the people so that the East of Francistown remained a white settlement area. This system was changed by the Independent Government after 1966. Such is the general background against which the study of the HMG in Francistown should be viewed.

The HMG found its way into Francistown in 1940. For the reconstruction of the history of the HMG in Francistown, I shall rely on the evidence of Bishop Mthembu, Mr Tamari Chite, Reverend Bhuka Munyamane, Mr Kgosietsile Manewe, Bishop N. Mzonda and Mr Pudiephatshwa. Reference will be made to other people from the HMG and other denominations who were contemporaries of the founders of the HMG. However, let me state clearly that there is no contradiction in the evidence given by the informants. There are only minor differences in dates and in who did certain things at certain times, but basically the evidence is the same.

According to Mr Tamari Chite, the HMG started as follows. He worked at Tati Company Stores in Francistown with a certain man known as Daniel Dube who had come from Danangombe in Zimbabwe. Dube was a member of the Church of Christ

whose headquarters were at Danangombe. In 1943, Dube prayed for Mr Kennedy who was one of the managers of the Tati Company Stores. When Mr Kennedy was healed, he allowed Dube to hold prayers freely in Francistown, in areas controlled by the Tati Company. Dube started holding prayer services at a place called Ngulube (the place of pigs) and many people attended the services and Dube was a very powerful prophet and many people came to seek healing from him. He also detected witches in his services and many people came to witness how he exposed the witches and those who practised sorcery. Those who were caught were drawn into the *chigutlo* (the Holy Place in the centre of the church) where they were beaten and vigorously shaken by the prophet to exorcise the evil spirit. Lots of people were attracted to the services to watch the activities and also to enjoy the singing and the dancing. According to Mr Pudiephatshwa, the Roman Catholic Church began to influence the District Commissioner to use the police to disturb the services so that the members of the HMG would join the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church has been refused permission to operate in the Tati District.³³

The police started to interrupt the services of the HMG at Ngulube. The congregation moved to Sodoma. At Sodoma, the number of adherents increased. The actual membership was by then 15 people but over 200 attended the services daily. Most of the people were schoolchildren who were attracted by the dancing in the HMG. Sodoma was also a notorious place. There were hooligans or gangs commonly referred to as *tsotsis* who robbed people. There was also the selling of "white beer" which was prohibited by law.³⁴ Sodoma was also near the mine compound where recruits to the mines in South Africa lived. Most of the recruits were foreigners from Malawi and Zambia who were commonly known as *Mangongongo* because the people in Francistown could not understand their language. Sodoma was also notorious for prostitution because the many able-bodied young men in Botswana worked outside the country, especially in the South African mines. Some of the young girls and newly

married wives whose husbands worked in South Africa would do prostitution with the *Mangongongo*. As most of these migrant labourers always stayed in Francistown on their return journeys from the contracts in the mines, they fell victims to the prostitutes, so much so that some of them began to stay in the country because they had no money left to take them back to their countries of origin. Town life also marked the beginning of the disintegration of the family because children began to disobey their parents. As many schoolchildren began to attend the late night services of the HMG, many parents began to complain about the presence of the HMG in Sodoma. Many schoolchildren became pregnant and left school because they began to engage in premarital sex. The Zionists were then accused of leading minors astray. This accusation was one among many levelled at Zionists by the Colonial Chiefs to the Resident Commissioner in Mafeking in 1957.³⁵

According to Tamari Chite, in 1944 Bishop Mthembu came to Francistown from Johannesburg. He was by then a member of the Church of Christ and a colleague of Daniel Dube with whom he worshipped at Danangombe. Mthembu was a powerful prophet and persuasive charismatic leader. He mentioned that the Holy Spirit had revealed a new name to him, "The Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion". He explained that the church was already registered in South Africa. Mthembu then preached about the love of God so much that Mr Chite, who had been attending the services as an observer, became a member and was baptized by Daniel Dube. He became one of the first members of the HMG in Francistown. The name of the church was then changed from the Church of Christ to the Head Mountain of God. According to Tamari Chite, from 1944 to 1948 Bishop Mthembu began to make a series of visits to Francistown from Johannesburg. During the course of these visits, a misunderstanding began to emerge between Mthembu and Daniel Dube. The problem was caused by disagreements on the issue of healing. Mthembu regarded healing as a free gift from God and therefore healing should be given freely to the people. On the other hand,

Dube wanted people to pay for the healing. The matter was taken to the District Commissioner and Dube lost the case.³⁶ He left the church and settled at Shashi, some 30 km South of Francistown, where he practised as a traditional healer. (When I went looking for him in 1990, I was told that he had gone back to his country, Zambia, where he died a few years back.) The HMG then became Bishop Mthembu's Church.

Mthembu himself, however, told me the following story. In 1940, he sent Daniel Dube to Francistown to start a branch of the HMG after its registration in 1939. So Dube came to Francistown and got a job at the Tati Company from where he started the church as discussed with, and narrated, by Tamari Chite. The evidence of Mthembu was also narrated to me by Reverend Bhuka Munyamane and Mr Kgosietsile Manewe and Mr Pudiephatshwa. Both of them testified that Dube was sent from Johannesburg to start the HMG in Francistown. According to Mrs Maria Kaoyao, an old resident of Francistown and a member of the LMS (now the UCCSA), the HMG was started by a man named Ta-Jerry Maxwell. He started the church in Francistown and then went to Johannesburg and came with a powerful prophet called Daniel Dube who was a Lozi from Zambia. The two started spreading Zionism in Francistown. They were powerful preachers and prophets who attracted many people to their healing services. They taught against the LMS and claimed that the LMS collaborated with the Colonial Government. They taught that the LMS members were like the Pharisees who connived with the ruling Roman authorities against Jesus Christ. The dislike for the LMS was expressed in a song:

Amen, Amen, Amen - Amen Alleluia! 2x
Baba zodayo Zion;
Ba za chiswa ngo mlilo. 2x

(Amen, Amen, Amen - Amen Alleluia:
Those who hate Zion will be burnt in fire.)

These passages could be sung continuously for between 15 to 20 minutes. The singing is accompanied by vigorous dancing which sends people into possession by the Holy

Spirit, or by demons which are then exorcised. According to one informant who used to go to the services with some friends, the youth were highly attracted by the dancing and many times they would shout and fall down pretending to be possessed by the Holy Spirit because failure to do so always led to one being suspected of not being a good Christian. One could even be suspected of witchcraft, the worst fear.

The fact that the HMG preached against the LMS and the Colonial Government was highlighted to me by Mr Pudiephatshwa who is a political leader in Francistown. According to him, the HMG was quite aware of the serious shortage of land in the Tati Reserves and the sufferings of the people because of the tax they paid to the T.C. in Francistown. In the main Reserves, however, the Colonial Government was paying £1,000 to the Tati Company.³⁷ Many people could not afford to pay the tax and they were arrested. All the founder members of the HMG had worked in South Africa and were familiar with the activities of the ANC. There was also a belief in a legendary figure called Ntsikana, a Zulu who had prophesied long before the arrival of the White people that:

Mu lingilile nthu nchena uno wo buda mu Liwate.
Unobe aka bata Bayibili mu liboko gwe limeshwe
gwe lidli aka bata rwaba. Uno wo pa bathu
Bayibili iye e tola shango mu bali.

(Beware of the Whiteman who is going to emerge from the sea. He will be carrying a Bible on the left hand and a whip on the right. He will give the people the Bible and take the land from them.)³⁸

This prophecy was copied from South Africa and it was preached in this version in Botswana by the politically inclined members of the HMG. This preaching led to the accusation by the Chiefs to the Resident Commissioner that the Zionists taught against legal authorities. The living conditions in Francistown had a lot of similarities to those of Sophiatown in South Africa where there was overcrowding and insufficient facilities for the Black people. The HMG services were therefore not only worship services. They were also an expression of suffering and oppression by the Colonial Government

and the Chiefs. The concern by Government about Zionism was based on the experiences of the Bakgatla with the ZCC.³⁹ The fear also came from the fact that, by 1921, the Rhodesian and South African Governments had passed laws requiring foreign missionary bodies to apply for permission from the Government before being allowed to do any missionary work.⁴⁰ The aim of the law was to try to monitor the activities of some American and German missions which wanted to promote the Black man to the level of the White man. The Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion of South Africa was one of the movements which the legislation aimed at controlling. All the Zionist churches were therefore suspected because of their political consciousness. The HMG also fell into this category because of its origins from South Africa and the presence in it of well-known political activists like Mr Pudiephatshwa. However, no direct intervention into the HMG could be made unless an offence was committed since the Colonial Constitution allowed freedom of worship.

4.13.3 The Head Mountain of God spreads to Butale Village

In 1944, the HMG opened a branch at Butale Village which lay some 50 km North East of Francistown in an area owned by the Tati Company. The Tati Company had long wished to develop the land for different purposes. The people who lived in the Tati Company lands paid tax to the Company and they were not happy with the way in which the Company treated them.

Bishop Mthembu had his home at Butale Village. Chief Butale reacted immediately to the presence of the HMG in his village. The only recognised denomination was the LMS. As stated above, the Kalanga and the Ndebele people of this area still believed in witchcraft. Mthembu was a very powerful prophet who could detect witches and sorcerers. He could even detect places in people's homes where witches had planted their bad spells and he could remove them. Whenever he was around, people would come to him and ask him to go to their homes to detect and

remove all the bad medicines planted by witches. The people also wanted him to pray for their homes so that witches could not enter them. By so doing, many people began to develop a fear of the powers of the Zionists which were even more powerful than those of the local traditional healers. The long white robes which they wore were seen as magical clothes and people feared and were scared by the general appearance of the Zionists in their robes. The most hard hit were the local traditional healers, who for a long time had enjoyed the monopoly of healing and the knowledge of detecting witches. The most influential healers of the village were Mr Tampiwa and Mr Tamafunasi,⁴¹ who were also the rainmakers of the chief in accordance with the Mwali religion. They enjoyed the same religious privileges as the chief and were his advisers. They had wielded great power and, prior to the 1930s, a traditional healer could advise the chief to eliminate those who were suspected of being enemies of the chief. They also claimed to heal all sorts of diseases, most of them at a high cost.⁴²

The HMG healed all sorts of diseases free of charge. The diseases treated included fits (*motutwana*, *zwifafa*) and tuberculosis (*thibamo*). They also healed people who were struck by lightning.⁴³ Notwithstanding the fact that all these diseases were associated with witchcraft and whoever could heal them charged a lot of money or stock, the HMG healed them free of charge. There was also a problem that, whenever witchcraft was detected in a family, a serious misunderstanding could arise, leading to a split in many families. In the Kalanga-Ndebele communities, the family is very important in its extended nature and the maintenance of good family relations was, and is still, vital to the well-being of the community. Thus, when Chief Butale realised that his authority and influence was under threat, he accused Bishop Mthembu of destroying families. The strength and power of a chief lay in the number of people who were loyal to him and under his authority. The more people migrated from one chiefdom to another, the chief from whom people migrated lost power and influence. Chief Butale was afraid that, if many people were being accused of witchcraft, they would leave his

tribe. He also knew that the Colonial Government wanted unity in all the tribes and obedience to the chiefs who were at that time regarded as assistants to the Magistrates or District Commissioners. Chief Butale was therefore very sure that, if he reported the activities of Mthembu to the police, he was going to be seen in a good light by the District Commissioner and have his activities stopped by law. He would also be sure of getting the support of the District Commissioner.

In 1946, Mthembu visited his home at Butale. Chief Butale called him to the *kgotla* (tribal court) and asked him to stop practising Zionism. Mthembu refused and Chief Butale reported the matter to the police in Tshessebe. Bishop Mthembu was arrested and taken to Tshessebe police station and detained for three days. At the end of the three days he was taken to the Magistrate Court in Francistown. The, then, District Commissioner, Atkinson, could not find that Mthembu had committed any offence because there was nothing wrong in what he had done in the worship services. Mthembu was discharged with a warning that he should not go to peoples' homes without their invitation because by so doing he would be committing an offence. When He was asked what he was intending to do after his release, and he responded thus: "To preach the word of God". The members of the HMG claim that he answered in English just before the interpreter could explain the question. The fact that he spoke in English is regarded by many HMG members as a sign of the presence of the Spirit of God which inspired him to speak English. They ignored the fact that he had passed Standard Two and could understand English. That he worked in a hotel in South Africa was seen as unlikely employment for someone to speak and understand English but the important thing was that Mthembu was inspired by God. This incident marked a breakthrough for the HMG. Chief Butale was not aware of the 1943 Tribunals Proclamation which limited many powers of the chiefs by allowing the District Commissioners to endorse or change what a chief had decided in the *kgotla*. This was a terrible defeat on the part of Butale at a period when the institution of chieftaincy was

already facing many threats from many directions. Butale continued with his antagonistic attitude towards the HMG but he had no power to ban it from his village. The HMG continued to attract people away from their belief in traditional medicine which was the centre of authority for the chief. The traditional healers, who were the custodians of culture and the chief's authority, were becoming things of the past under the challenge of the HMG.

This situation continued until 1960 when Butale Village was removed and its people were settled at Jackalasi No. 2. The Tati Concessions Company had sold the Butale area as a farm.

4.13.4 The Head Mountain of God spreads to Tonota/Mandunyane and Shashe

In 1946, a branch was opened at Tonota by Newman. At Mandunyane, near Tonota, another branch was opened by Mhlanga Nyelwa. These two people are now deceased and it has not been possible to get any further information on them. What is of interest to this study is that Tonota is in an area where the Bakhurutshe settled from Selepeng. As stated above, at Selepeng, Ethiopianism had penetrated the LMS. The movement led by Tumededi led to the closure of the LMS under Reverend Gould. Tumededi was banished to Serowe. In spite of lack of information, it suffices to say that, by 1946, the authority of the Bangwato over the Bakhurutshe was not as strong as it had been before. Above all, Tshekedi, the Ngwato Chief, had so many problems that he did not have sufficient time to check the activities of the HMG in Tonota and its nearby villages. The HMG, therefore, was able to survive.

4.13.5 Tutume

Also in 1946 a branch was opened at Tutume by Mr Gambiza. This was a religiously and politically torn area. The problems affecting Tutume had many causes. As early as 1935 the ZCC had started a branch at Tutume, at a place called

Nsuswane.⁴⁴ The local chief, Mandandume, under Ngwato influence prohibited the ZCC because its impact at Kgatleng was well known. The ZCC refused to stop preaching, arguing that the people wanted them and that it was only the chief who did not want them. My informant said that the ZCC argued that they feared God more than man and they would continue with their preaching. The chief quoted some biblical verses stating that, if the people do not want you, you must wipe out the dust of that village and go. Chief Madandume gathered all the different Zionists and put them in a cattle kraal and had them thrashed. The early 1950s saw the persecution of Zionists in the area. The most important cause of this persecution was that, in 1947, Chief Tshekedi Khama of the Bangwato quarrelled with Chief Nswazwi over the payment of tax. This became a serious political crisis which resulted in the banishment of Chief Nswazwi to Mafeking. Tshekedi started to suppress the AICs in the Bukalanga area because he regarded them as a political movement. In 1953, members of the HMG and the Donkey Church were taken to B.B.1 at Marobela and lashed for practising Zionism. These suppressions did not prevent the HMG from spreading because many people wanted to be healed and they attended the HMG services. All those who attended were not necessarily members but by their attendance they gave moral support to the HMG. Persecution finally ended after 1960 when various changes took place in Ngwato politics.⁴⁵

4.13.6 Palatswe (also known as Palapye)

Palatswe is some 160 km south of Francistown. Until about 1900 it was the centre of the Bamangwato and it is from there that many aspects of Botswana Christianity, with its attachment to the chieftaincy, was at its highest. The period of the early 1950s was very hot in Ngwato politics. This was during the reign of Chief Tshekedi Khama the regent for Seretse Khama.⁴⁶ His reign faced a lot of opposition from the Colonial Government as well as locally. His thrashing of a British citizen in

1933 caused a lot of problems for him.⁴⁷ He had many motives for promoting the life of the Bamangwato tribe, using methods which gained him opposition instead of favour. The Bamangwato District is the biggest in Botswana and it has more ethnic groups than the other Districts of Botswana. For a long time the Ngwato Chiefs had maintained the running of the district through great diplomacy. One of their methods was to allow only one missionary body in the reserve or district. This idea came to an end as discussed above. The former Ngwato Chiefs had also used the method of ruling the other ethnic groups through their traditional chiefs supervised by a Ngwato Authority. There was a great fear of anything that could disturb the set-up. However, Tshekedi Khama felt that the former methods could not work. He wanted to devote all his energy to the struggle for the Ngwato and, finally, to achieve Botswana's independence from the Colonial Government. To accomplish these, he could not afford any opposition, but his rule led to much dissatisfaction, especially amongst the Bakalanga people of Nswazwi in the North and it also collided with the rise of the AICs in Botswana which were bringing a strong transformation of the religious situation in Botswana, as discussed above. The political problems of Tshekedi Khama made the AICs a means through which those who opposed him could hide. Thus AICs became highly suspect and they were persecuted.⁴⁸ The establishment of the HMG branch at Palatswe should be viewed within this context. Its establishment at Palapye (Palatswe) was also a direct confrontation with the centre of LMS conservatism and a direct challenge to the Ngwato Chieftaincy.

The establishment of the HMG at Palatswe coincided with the formation of the Spiritual Healing Church at the same period in Palatswe. The Spiritual Healing Church was started by Mokaleng after leaving the Methodist Church. In 1953, at the same time as the HMG started at Palatswe, Mokaleng had a lot of problems with the Bamangwato ruling authorities. In the year 1958, a child belonging to the Mosinyi family had died in Shoshong. Mokaleng was asked to come to pray for the family and possibly revive

the child from death. When it was rumoured that Mokaleng was going to Shoshong, the ruling authorities protested and sent the tribal police to arrest him. He was arrested and brought to the *kgotla* where he faced several charges. His church was accused of making people drink dirty water because he baptized his converts in the dams from which people drank their water. He was accused of prohibiting people from eating the meat of cattle which died from natural causes. He was also accused of stopping people from working on Fridays. Fourthly, he was accused of forbidding people to go to hospitals for healing purpose. Instead he gave them cords to wear which were believed to heal all diseases. In reply Mr Mokaleng stood up in the *kgotla*, agreed with the first accusation and apologised for it. The second he denied stating that he had never prohibited anyone from eating the meat of animals which died from natural causes. Concerning Fridays, he claimed that it was a day shown to him by his dead grandmother and that there should be no work on Fridays. About the hospitals' issue, he claimed that he had never forbidden anyone from going to the hospitals for healing. He went on to claim that his own children were delivered in hospital and also that his mother had been admitted to hospital and she had died there. As for the healing cords that people wore, he claimed that he knew nothing about them but that he had heard they were brought from Francistown.

This story of the church of Mokaleng opens up several things which were characteristic of Zionism of the time. There were many sects with undefined beliefs and practices, and ordinary members could copy anything from anywhere as long as it was attractive. Some sects had some of the prohibitions mentioned earlier. The HMG was not one of the churches which issued such prohibitions but it had the cords for healing. The ruling authorities were ignorant as far as the AICs were concerned and the beliefs of the Zionists generally. They could not distinguish one sect from another and, as such, made generalisations about them, thus making their dealings with the Zionists very difficult.

I have dealt with Palatswe and the Spiritual Healing Church because it gives us a clear picture of the situation in which the HMG was planted.

Mr Tshola Marumo was sent by Bishop Mthembu to start a congregation at Palatswe in 1953. When I spoke to him at Rakops,⁴⁹ he told me that he had encountered numerous problems at Palatswe. He was always being arrested, questioned about his church and then released because the church was registered in South Africa. He continued to worship with his congregation but under difficult conditions. During that time he was the Secretary General of the HMG. However, due to the problems at Palapye, a prophecy came to Bishop Mthembu which revealed that, in the future, Mr Tshola Marumo was going to leave the HMG to form his own church and he should be set free to do so.

The Serowe tribal administration did not only persecute the HMG but also many other Zionist churches which had established themselves then. Many Zionists were taken to the *kgotla* and thrashed so that they should stop spreading Zionism. When I asked Mr Radiphofu Sekgoma⁵⁰ the reason why Zionists were not allowed, he simply replied that: "Kereke e ne e le ya ga Khama fela. Matlakala a a mangwe re ne re sa a batle". (The Church was only that of Khama. We did not like this other rubbish.) This reply is a summary of a long period of misunderstanding between the African Authority, the Colonial Government, the LMS and the AICs.

4.13.7 The Head Mountain of God spreads to the South

The HMG spread to the South after 1972 when Botswana had become independent. In 1972, the Societies Act was passed by Parliament, enabling all religious bodies to be registered. They could then be free to expand and evangelize like the historical churches.

In 1972, Alton Ncube, a preacher (*moreri*), opened a branch in Gaborone. Members of the HMG had spread to Gaborone as early as 1967 but they had not yet

established themselves as a church. In the same year, Thomas Dube, an Evangelist, started a branch at Lobatse and another in Mochudi. These branches were all headed by Thomas Dube.

In 1973, a branch was opened at Kanye by Mr Tshipa, a *moreri*. There are no records of any interesting events in the founding of these branches other than there was a lot of competition for members amongst the many AICs.

4.13.8 Mmathethe

The founding of the Mmathethe branch has some significance. The branch was opened by Ndebele in 1978. Evangelist Ndebele was invited by Robert Modungwa to pray for his family. Robert Modungwa had formerly gone to Lobatse to ask Evangelist Ndebele to pray for him to find a job in South Africa (*go bolotsa*). When there was an outbreak of fits (*mututwana*) in Mmathethe Village, he asked Ndebele to come to pray for his family. During the service a famous prophet called Ngubo climbed the centre post (*pinagare*) of the house and went out through the pinnacle (*chilungwani*). This incident is still vivid in the minds of those who were present at the *mulindelo*. Robert Modungwa and his father were converted and became members of the HMG. After two or three months a local church was established and Robert Modungwa was made a *moreri*. He then went to Lobatse to ask Evangelist Ndebele for a *chigutlo* (a place of worship). Thus, the Mmathethe branch was founded through an invited evangelistic campaign.

4.13.9 Jwaneng

By 1981, a branch had been started at Jwaneng and another at Thamaga by 1985. There is no record of events which took place except that the branches were founded by members who had come into touch with the HMG somewhere else and brought it back to their homes.

The HMG established itself in North Western Botswana through people who had come into contact with it in Francistown and other places. By 1985, when Bishop Mthembu died, the HMG had branches all over Botswana and it also had branches in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

4.14 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The history and development of the HMG show many areas of conflict characterising the society in which it spread.

The formation of the HMG in South Africa clearly demonstrates an area of doctrinal and ritual disagreements between the historical churches and the AICs generally. Secondly, it is clear evidence of areas of political conflict between Western-type governments and traditional African governments where the chief was a political as well as a religious leader. This disappearing culture became the appealing point of many AICs.

Thirdly, the use of the Bible brought great religious transformation to the society. When Bishop Mthembu faced the dangerous snake in the dam, in Sophiatown, there was a direct confrontation between African magic and Christianity. Facing witches, wizards and sorcerers with the Bible marked a direct transformation of African Traditional Religions. Witchcraft, according to African beliefs, could not be faced with empty hands. The Bible then proved to be a big charm, greater than all charms which the people used to protect themselves.

Fourthly, the life of Bishop Mthembu and the spread of his church, is full of ritual, finding support from the Bible and traditional Tswana culture, so that it leads to the development of indigenous doctrines which makes Christianity an African religion.

Finally, it suffices to say that the story of the HMG marks the beginning of a Botswana Christian Church, born from the interaction of Western culture and Christianity with Botswana traditional religions. The next chapter will show how this new church can stand in its organisational structure to provide an alternative society to that introduced by the missionaries and Western culture.

Endnotes to Chapter Four

1. A. Vilakazi *et al.* (eds.) Shembe: The Revitalization of African Society, Johannesburg (1986).
2. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961), p.102.
3. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1976).
4. Background and rise of the major movements, Vol. I (1971).
5. Daneel, *op. cit.* (1971).
6. B. Jules-Rossette, African Apostles. Ritual and Conversion in the Church of John Marange, Ithaca, N.Y., Cornwall University Press (1975).
7. Daneel, *op. cit.* (1971).
8. Daneel, *op. cit.* (1988).
9. In Oosthuizen *et al.* (eds.), Afro-Christian Religion at the Grassroots in Southern Africa, pp. 227-244.
10. Ndebele invasions on the Kalanga and Shona peoples of Zimbabwe, see Bhebe, *op. cit.* (1979), pp. 2ff.
11. Roy Briggs and J. Wing, The Harvest and the Hope. The Story of Congregationalism in Southern Africa, Johannesburg, UCCSA (1970).
12. Letter from Cullen Reed to W. Thompson (LMS Secretary), Hope Fountain, 14th October 1895 (C.W.M. Archives, S.O.A.S., University of London, Box 1, Folder 5, Jacket B) (cited above in Endnotes to Chapter One).
13. Cullen Reed to Thompson, 20th October 1895 (C.W.M. Archives, S.O.A.S. University of London, Box 1, File 5, Jacket B).
". . . Thus the natives are only glad to come onto land where they will not be liable to be driven about at the whim of the farmer & where they also get benefit of a European's protective influence."
14. Dr. Brown of Edinburgh (Church Missionary Society).
15. Free preaching is typical of Congregationalism without strong doctrinal statements.
16. Uneducated in terms of ministerial training.
17. Reports of Ashton to Thompson, 30th March 1896; Carnegie to Thompson, 6th April 1896; Reed to Thompson, 19th July 1896 (C.W.M. Archives, S.O.A.S., University of London, Box 1, File 5, Jacket C).

18. John Mackenzie, *op. cit.* (1902), pp. 182ff.
19. Bhebe, *op. cit.* (1979), pp. 108-109.
20. Church of Christ originated from Kimberley about 1920.
21. Fray Ntusa is a relative of Bishop Mthembu, born 1900. (Discussions at Masukwane Village, 20th and 21st January 1990).
22. His smartness is evidenced by picture cuttings of handsome men and beautiful women which were pasted to the Jackalasi No. 2 document which I acknowledged as the major written source of early HMG history.
23. Bishop Toitso Smart Mthembu died on 27th May 1895 and was buried on 1st June 1985.
24. Discussions with Rev. J.D. Jones, LMS missionary in Botswana since 1954.
25. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961) maintains that only ten Bantu churches were recognized by 1960. The HMG is not on the list on p.374.
26. A.I.C.A.: see West, *op. cit.* (1975), pp. 142-170.
27. Bishop D.M. Tshabangu of the Holy Apostolic Church in Zion at Zimnyama near Plumtree in Zimbabwe (interviewed at Francistown 21 March 1990). He belonged to the Church of Christ with Bishop Mthembu and Nanani Nkomo in South Africa.
28. The Colour Bar was officialized in 1948 when Malan came to power with the Nationalist Party.
29. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961) mentions many Associations which were not registered and one of these might be the one which ordained Bishop Mthembu.
30. Water snakes are not natural but magical snakes created by traditional healers to scare people.
31. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961); Turner, *op. cit.* (1967); Daneel, *op. cit.* (1971).
32. Tlou and Campbell, *op. cit.* (1984).
33. Letter of Chiefs Masunga and Ramokate, DC/F/2/16, BNA.
35. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970), pp. 146-152.
36. Minutes of the Protectorate Chiefs with the Resident Commissioner in Mafeking (DCS/42/16, BNA).

37. There is no evidence on this case. It is also doubtful as to how an unrecognized body could go to court. The Jackalasi No. 2 document just mentions his leaving the Church but not the case.
38. Sillery, *op. cit.* (1952).
39. The real story of Ntsikana is discussed by Dr Janet Hodgson, "The symbolic entry point", in Oosthuizen (ed.), Religion Alive (1986).
40. See ZCC case (DCS/42/16, BNA).
41. T.O. Ranger, "State and Church Southern Rhodesia 1919-1939; in Historical Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1961).
42. Discussions with Mrs K. Mthembu, Jackalasi No. 2, 1985.
43. See Staugard, Traditional Healers (1985), p.230, which gives the following list of charges as of 1st September 1983:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---------|
| Examination of patients | P1-00 |
| Examination of cases of death | P2-00 |
| To start treatment | P30-00. |
44. This refers to magical lightning created by traditional healers or doctors.
45. Discussions with Tamari Chite.
46. Tribal Council debates. See DCS/42/16, BNA.
47. Seretse Khama became the first President of Botswana in 1966 after renouncing his chieftainship.
48. Crowder, *op. cit.* (1988).
49. Discussions with Tamari Chite (cited at No. 45 above).
50. Rakops, 14th December 1988.
51. Serowe, March 1988.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

5.1 INTRODUCTION

It would be rather naive to discuss the structure and organisation of the HMG without considering what has been observed by classical writers on the AICs, especially in Southern Africa. The observations of Sundkler (1961), Martin West (1975) and Daneel (1987) have shed much light on the structure and organisation of the AICs in Southern Africa specifically and Africa generally. Sundkler (1961) has observed that the structure and organisation of the AICs depend very much on the nature or character of the leader or founder. The organisation and structure are also affected by the changing politico-social environment which is also in a state of constant change. The economic conditions of the Blacks in South Africa particularly and their educational position clamours for strong leadership. Sundkler also observed that the apartheid system, dividing Blacks and Whites, was on the increase and that this increased the need for leadership by Blacks. The situation is summarised thus:

The early close relationship and common worship between Christian members of two races has been increasingly superceded by social distance which is spreading to ever widening circles of Europeans and ever widening circles of Africans.¹

There is no disputing the fact that the churches that have their origins in South Africa share a lot of what has been observed already by these authors. West (1975) still found a lot of similarities in the organisation and leadership patterns in the churches of Soweto. A similar observation regarding Zimbabwe has been made by Daneel (1987). The different types of leadership and organisation, categorized by Sundkler (1961) as

messianic, chief-type and prophetic, reveal themselves all over Southern Africa. There are, however, variations depending on the social, political, economic and cultural conditions of the places where the AICs are found. Most of the above observations do to some extent apply to the HMG and other AICs in Botswana. However, one cannot interpret the concepts messiah or prophet or even chief-type on terms similar to those referred to in South Africa and Zimbabwe. There are several factors which contribute to these differences. Firstly, the social, economic and political organisation of Botswana societies were not, and are not, similar to those two countries. The Batswana lived in big villages and towns long before Christianity arrived.

The long contact with the traders and missionaries reached most of the people living in the Tswana settlement because of the nature of that community.

In addition to the above observations on the structure and organisation of the AICs, it is proposed to examine the influence of the structure and organisation of the LMS in Botswana to show how they affected the HMG and the AICs in general. As stated in the previous chapter, the LMS and other denominations in Botswana used local evangelists and pastors for evangelical work. By 1930, almost all the LMS congregations were led by local evangelists or ministers. The duty of the missionary was to coordinate their work. The fact that the LMS was regarded as a national or tribal² church wherever it operated enabled many people to familiarize themselves with the structure and organisation of the church. Typical of Congregationalism and English non-conformity,³ the LMS had always been democratic in its organisation. The people or the members themselves elected their elders or deacons and recommended who should go for training to be an evangelist or minister. When the AICs began to emerge in the late 1930s, they found this democratic spirit engraved in the minds of many people, so much so that, if anyone tried to exert authority in any part of the organisation, it led to misunderstandings and splits in the church. However, this does not include the type of authority found in the Roman Catholic or Anglican Church due

to the episcopal nature of these churches. This democratic spirit introduced by the LMS must be considered when the structure and organisation of the HMG are discussed.

Secondly, as mentioned above, the land tenure in Botswana was not identical to that of Zimbabwe or South Africa where the majority of the Blacks either had no land or had been dumped in the poorer areas of the respective countries. The situation in Botswana was different so that the concepts rural and urban cannot be applied to Botswana as one could apply them to Zimbabwe or South Africa. Settlement in Botswana allowed a person to have three residential places. There was a time to stay at the lands (*masimo*), at the cattle post (*moraka*) and at home (*motse*). This situation, which has expanded since the 1930s, made room for great interaction between the people so that there was no great social difference between persons who stayed at home and those who lived at the lands or cattle posts. For that reason, the AICs which started up in Botswana did not start up in similar circumstances to those of Zimbabwe or South Africa. However, the above observations do not overrule the fact that some AIC leaders did not see the differences and wanted to apply without modification what they had experienced in South Africa to Botswana. The result, in many cases, was splits and secessions, leading to the mushrooming of the AIC movements in the early 1960s. The main causes of the splits were the leaders who exerted chief-type authority, as discussed by Sundkler (1961).

The present study of the HMG will highlight the differences that are outlined above. The structure and organisation of the HMG will be discussed in two parts: the period 1948 to 1972 and 1972 to 1985.

5.2 THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD 1948-1972

It is very difficult to know how the HMG was organised prior to 1948 due to the lack of any written documents. It is essential, before making general comments, that the matters discussed at different meetings should be compared to see how they differed or connected with each other. The fact that the church grew and managed to face problems and overcome them to become one of the earliest AICs in Botswana shows that it had some form of effective organisation. The author's discussions with the Reverend Bhuka Munyamane and Mr Kgosietsile Manewe, in which they stated that they usually met to discuss the strategies of running the Church, demonstrates that there was some form of informal organisation. The manner in which the Church was run without a constitution is evidence that there was some unrevealed source which dealt with organisational issues. By 1948, however, some formal organisational structures began to reveal themselves.

5.2.1 Administrative Organisation

For the reconstruction of the administrative organisation of the HMG, we shall rely on the Jackalasi No. 2 document cited above.⁴ This document gives a report of the Executive Committee to the AGM held at Butale Village. At the Good Friday meeting of 1952, it was reported that Daniel Dube had left the Church to practise as a traditional healer at Tonota. At the same meeting it was reported that Evangelist Sitapo had also left the Church. The reasons why these people left the Church are not given in the reports, but there is no sign that their departure had any effect on the progress of the HMG. It was also reported that Seka Mishingo was made a deacon. The Committee of four members is stated to have met to discuss matters to be put right in the Church (*si lungisa izinto*). The fact that no one from the Church had died over the

past year is recorded.⁵ The Committee found it necessary that, in the future, the HMG should develop a clear policy regarding the activities of the Church during the Christmas holidays. A report was given that one girl had become pregnant.

On 4 January 1953, the Committee met at Butale Village and, at this meeting, several people were promoted to official positions in the Church at Madabe Village in Zimbabwe. The following are the names and positions:

| | | |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| F. Dube | <i>Umushumayili</i> | (Evangelist) |
| Maria Khupe | <i>Umukokeli</i> | (nurse/confessor) |
| L. Ndebele | <i>Ungosakazi</i> | (doorkeeper) |
| Petasi Ngubo | <i>Umutandazi</i> | (one who prays for people) |
| Sekani Dube | <i>Umutandazi</i> | (one who prays for people) |
| Silinge Khupe | <i>Umutandazi</i> | (one who prays for people) |

The Committee (possibly the members mentioned above) met and complained that the spirit of preaching in the Church was not in accordance with the polity of the Church.

On 24 September 1961, the Committee meeting was held at Jackalasi No. 2. There were then 13 members in this Committee. The main business was to try to reconcile two ladies who had quarrelled during a church service at Jackalasi No. 2. The matter was discussed amicably and the two ladies were reconciled. This was the only recorded business of this meeting.

On 13 September 1964, the Committee reported that some members of the Bulawayo congregation had been suspended for doing bad things. The nature of these bad things is not stated.

From the foregoing it is quite evident that, at this early stage, the HMG was trying to mould a proper organisation structure and procedures for doing or achieving certain objectives. These early examples form the foundations of the current HMG

structure and organisation. The issues relate to individual members of the church. The report about Daniel Dube's departure from the HMG was an issue of concern made known to the AGM. As stated earlier, Dube had disagreed with Bishop Mthembu on the matter of healing. Reconciliation was more fruitful than complete departure. The position to which members were promoted give us an example of the different positions in the Church which formed the basic structure and organisation. The HMG showed much concern for those members who had died and a few examples will be examined below regarding the concern of the HMG's about death to help us to see how the HMG has developed its doctrine of death and proper burial of its members.

The above reports also show the HMG's concern about morality. The fact that one girl was reported pregnant indicates that, despite the report of the Colonial Government that the AICs contributed to immorality amongst minors,⁶ premarital sex was not condoned in the HMG. Misunderstanding between the members of the Church was attended to at a high administrative level to demonstrate the Church's concern for harmony and understanding as a sign of brotherhood and of being one family in Jesus Christ.

By 1964, the HMG had developed well-defined doctrines and beliefs so that anyone who departed from the teachings of the church was easily discovered and disciplined. The members of the Bulawayo congregation who were suspended had not been preaching in accordance with the beliefs of the HMG which Bishop Mthembu had taught his Church after a long theological development.⁷ By 1948, the HMG's structure and organisation, though not formally constituted, guided the life and progress of the church. There was an Administrative Committee, chosen by the Bishop, to assist him in running the affairs of the Church. The distinctive offices mentioned in the minutes can be summarised thus: Evangelist; Deacon; Nurse or Confessor; Doorkeeper; *Umutandazi* (one who prays for people). These positions of office in the

structure and organisation of the HMG will be discussed below when they appear in the HMG Constitution in which they are clearly defined.

5.2.2 Financial Organisation

Finance is a major issue in the structure and organisation of the HMG. There are several sources of money. On 29 November 1952, it was reported by the Treasurer that 14 people had contributed money as thanksgiving for the Good Friday ceremony (*Paseka*). The total amount raised was £4.19s. The Jerusalem Brethren Choir, which was present on a fraternal basis, contributed two shillings. On 22 August 1953, a list of branches of the HMG was provided to assess the contributions made as tithes (*tsalesome*).⁸ A total sum of £7.16s. was collected. The Francistown branch contributed £2.4s., of which 10s was from membership fees. On 3 August 1963, a joining fee of five shillings was received by Bishop Mthembu from Kethumetse Mayika. All the funds that came into the church were recorded and a clear record was kept. On 4 January 1953, an amount of nine shillings was received as membership fees (*Imaliya matikiti*) by Deacon S.M. Ndebele from the Madabe congregation. On 18 March 1953 an amount of £10 was received from Mr Makula Ndlovu to buy a cow for the marriage of Zondiwe Ndebele.

The earliest record of expenditure was as follows as on 10 April 1952: 2 packets candles 2/6; 1 tin condensed milk 1s/1d; sugar 2s/6d; tea 2s; meal rice 2s. This money was spent to buy food for the Committee members who had come to prepare for the Good Friday celebrations. However, our concern here is to see the effort that was made at that early stage to keep clear records of Church money. All these reports contradict the LMS and the Colonial Government's reports which claimed that the AICs had no proper financial administration and that all the money collected ended up in the hands of the collector.⁹ These early records, as we shall see later, have given the HMG a basis for financial organisation and administration. In light of the above, it may

be concluded that the main sources of HMG funds were the following: thanksgiving for Good Friday (*Paseka*); contributions from friendly denominations; tithes (*tsa lesome*); membership fees (*Amatikiti*); donations for special occasions; *mulindelo* (overnight vigils).

As the HMG developed, we shall see what other financial sources were found. The structure and organisation of the HMG is geared towards the needs of the church members and also to financial administration. The period under consideration shows that, in spite of the many committees that ran the affairs of the HMG, Bishop Mthembu was the principal decision-maker.¹⁰ The democratic spirit planted by the LMS is visible within the structure and organisation of the HMG but this does not rule out the special influence of Bishop Mthembu. What is clear here is that he had people who could share ideas with him before he made the final decision. The hidden authority of Bishop Mthembu will become clear as our study develops and we reach the stage where he clearly complains about the challenges to his authority.

5.3 THE STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD 1972-1985

This study is limited to the period up to 1985 because little, if any, changes in structure and organisation have taken place since then and that is also the year in which Bishop Mthembu died.¹¹ The main source for this study is the Constitution of the HMG of 1972 which speaks for itself, needing little additional comment or remark.

5.3.1 Aims and Objects (Clause 2)

The aims and objects of the HMG are stated in Clause 2 of the Constitution as follows:

To teach young and old the word of God and his ways (Mark 10:13-16).

To pray for the sick (Mark 16:15-18).

To administer Holy Communion (John 13:1-16 and 1 Cor. 11:23-36).

To marry people by Christian rites (Gen. 24:33-39).

To bury the dead by Christian rites.

To help Christians who are in difficulties and to advise those who have deviated from the Lord's way (Acts 20:14).

To accept people from other churches if they are already confirmed or cleared and to baptize those who have not been baptized. If he/she is a priest, he/she will remain for some time, not exceeding two years, without his or her duties as a priest.

To explain to the people the Lord's words (2 Timothy 4:1).

To conduct confirmation classes for men, women and children.

To ordain with church uniform those who have been converted.

To ordain church officials into their respective positions in the church.

5.3.2 Church Councils

The Constitution defines three important Councils of the Church.

5.3.2.1 **The Review Committee**: Clause 4 of the Constitution defines the membership of this Committee as:

the Bishop, Deputy Ministers (not more than four), General Secretary, Treasurer and four elected members. Office bearers are elected by the General Conference. The elections are made by raising of hands. The elected members hold office for 12 months. The Review Committee is the head of the congregation as a whole and it settles appeals received from the Executive Committee and also receives reports from the Executive.

For the purpose of this study, a brief mention of all the relevant committees will be made before discussing how they actually work.

5.3.2.2 The Executive Committee: Clause 5 of the Constitution defines the functions of this Committee as follows.

To carry out programmes of the church as laid down by the General Conference.

To guide and supervise.

To enforce the rules of the Constitution and make suggestions as to what action it deems necessary to that end, and also to have judicial competence to settle inter-branch differences and disputes that may be brought before it. All such decisions made or actions taken will be reported to the Review Committee.

Membership of this Committee will be composed of two officers from the following posts: preachers, secretaries, evangelists, deacons and ministers and leaders who will be elected by the General Conference if the need arises.

5.3.2.3 Annual General Meeting and Conference

This is defined by Clause 6 of the Constitution:

The AGM is preceded by the Review Committee which should meet at least twice a year. The AGM is to be held once a year in or around October. The purpose is to dispose of any necessary business of the church including:

the election, removal or suspension of the church committee;

the consideration of the Annual Balance Sheet and the disposal of accumulated funds;

the suspension for any period of any member it sees fit, and any member of the church who does not abide by the Constitution and regulations of the church;

the use of its power to expel.

Any member can call a meeting of the AGM if the Review Committee fails to call one.

The above constitute the Church Councils of the HMG. For some time, especially in the early 1970s, these Committees worked together fairly well. However, as the membership grew, with many young people being elected by the AGM into the Review Committee and the Executive Committee, ministers in these Committees began to feel threatened by the number of lay people in the church. This resulted in several committees being formed which were not mentioned in the Constitution. The first of these was the Ministers' Committee (*Komiti ya Baruti*). All the HMG ministers came

together to assert that they were the actual leaders of the church (*beng ba Kereke*), and they could not allow matters affecting their lives to be discussed by young people (*banana*). They complained to the Bishop that matters affecting them should not be discussed in the presence of young people or children. This Committee then decided to elect a Bishop's Committee (*Komiti ya Monnamogolo*), composed of only a few senior ministers with the Bishop. These Committees would meet before the AGM. The Ministers' Committee would meet to discuss matters to be raised at the AGM and then pass them over to the Bishop's Committee for approval and ratification. After the AGM the Ministers' Committee would meet to assess the items that had been agreed upon for implementation. Any matter that did not find favour with the Ministers' Committee was referred back to the next AGM. Those which were favoured were passed over to the Review Committee or the Executive Committee for implementation. Thus, in actual practice, the interests of the ministers always outweighed all other interests. Everything was being done in a seemingly democratic atmosphere but the members of the above Committees are, with few exceptions, always the same people.

The reaction to this situation was that the Secretaries also formed their own Committee. They also held their own unconstituted meetings to discuss their problems with the ministers. Following general complaints by the general members that the ministers dominated the meetings using unconstitutional committees, some action was taken. On 28 September 1992, a meeting of the Executive Committee was held in Francistown to discuss the problem. A Committee was elected to review the Constitution so that the unconstitutional committees could be properly constituted.

Despite these irregularities, the HMG administration is generally democratic and satisfactory to most of its members. The administration is very similar to that of the Congregational Church in Botswana from which it emerged (LMS). The contents of the HMG Constitution do to some extent resemble those of the Congregational Church. This agrees fairly well with many observations made by many studies on the AICs¹²

that the Constitutions required of them by governments do not give them the freedom to express themselves as custodians of the traditional tribal structures that were destroyed by colonialism. If the HMG were allowed to write its Constitution as it wished, without any interference from government, it would probably write one that would include all workable aspects of traditionalism, with a full awareness of modern society. This would set another good example of transformation of the traditional structures into Christian structures.

5.4 THE DISTRICT COUNCILS

Clause 3 of the Rules and Regulations Governing the Church states that there will be regional branches in the following regions: North West - from Rakops to the West, including Ngamiland and Chobe Districts; North - from Tati Siding northwards to Zimbabwe/Botswana border; Central - from Tonota to Dibete to Botswana/South African border, including Kgalagadi and Central Districts. In actual fact, these districts are so widely spread that it is almost impossible to run any of them as one unit. To make things easier, the regions have subdivided themselves into smaller district units. Most of the urban areas and villages stand as districts. Many small villages are grouped together to form one district unit, with one minister being in charge. The head minister will coordinate the work of the other ministers, evangelists or preachers, depending on the nature of the ministry provided in any small village. To give an example, the minister at Moreomaoto in the Boteti area is in charge of the congregations which include Rakops, Xumaga, Motopi, Phuduhudu, Komaneng, Mokgalong, Shakawe, Maun and Kasane. He is assisted by two ministers at Rakops and Maun. The local churches elect delegates to the AGM.

5.5 THE LOCAL CHURCH/CONGREGATION

The Constitution does not define a local church. In actual practice, a local church is an autonomous body that runs all its own affairs, being answerable to the AGM through its different committees. It is always led by a minister, evangelist, preachers and deacons or elders (see Figs. 3 and 4). It elects its own Secretary and Treasurer. It forms its own local Executive Committee, which is chaired by the minister, and this committee runs all the affairs of the local church by settling disputes, planning for the church and referring any matter beyond its jurisdiction to the AGM. It elects its own people to the various church positions and these are ordained by the Bishop or his representative at the Good Friday celebrations or during the AGM. The local church elects its own clergy and recommends them to the AGM or to the relevant committees during the Good Friday celebrations. They are then ordained. The local church is self-propagating and does its mission work to achieve the aims and objects of the HMG as a whole. It decides which other churches or denominations it can work with on ecumenical grounds or with which friendly denominations it holds *mulindelo* for different purposes. To cite a few examples, the Gaborone congregation is friendly to: Christ The Word of God Church; Full Gospel Church; BCCZ; The Number One Apostolic Church and The New Jerusalem Church. Members can freely attend the services of the friendly churches without any problems.

The Rakops congregation is friendly to: The Healing Church in Botswana; The Number One Apostolic Church of Christ; Holy Bontle Apostolic Church in Zion; Nazareth Church of Botswana; Faith Morning Star Church of South Africa; Holy Apostolic Church in Zion; New Jerusalem Apostolic Church in Zion and St Peter Dwelling Mission Church. These friendly churches are invited for different celebrations such as "child-outing" services. Local churches are free to raise funds by all possible acceptable means in addition to the constitutional means in Clause 7 of the Rules and



Figure 3: Reverend Phikiso Tsheko standing in front of his church at Rakops



Figure 4: The HMG church building in Gaborone

Regulations. The Mmathethe local church in Ngwaketse District derives its funds from the following:

- *madi a dipone* (money for lights or candles)
- *madi a botsetse* (money for women with young babies)
- *madi a join* (joining fees)
- *madi a dijo* (money for buying food)
- *madi a karolo* (money for the region)
- *madi a letlole* (money for the treasury)
- *madi a paseka* (Good Friday collections)
- *madi a thekiso ya dithekete* (money from membership cards)
- *madi a party* (money raised at a party)
- *madi a kago* (money for the church building)
- *madi a Baefangele* (money for the Evangelists)
- *madi a matshediso* (money for condolences)
- *madi a moletelo* (money from overnight vigils)

The local churches struggle hard to build themselves up and maintain themselves, especially in areas where the majority of members rely on subsistence farming with the unreliable rains in Botswana.

5.6 THE MINISTRY

The HMG does not have any definition of the ministry in its Constitution. In the Rules and Regulations of the Church, it defines three aspects of the ministry. Clause 7 of the Rules and Regulations defines the duties of the priests as:

- to administer the Holy Communion;
- to bury the dead by Christian rites;

- to conduct classes for men, women and children;
- to adorn with church uniform those who have been converted;
- to ordain church officials to their respective positions in the church;
- to bless children.

The ministers (see Figs. 5 & 6) are referred to here as "priests". Yet the HMG, coming from a Protestant tradition, does not believe in the concept of "priest" in its sacrificial sense. The HMG ministers are not "priests" in the Old Testament concept of acting on behalf of the people before God. They are ministers in the Congregationalist concept of being at equal level before God with the rest of the congregation. They are not priests in the Levitical concept. The word priest is used from ignorance of the concept of the priesthood in the Old Testament and is used as an alternative to minister. One of the duties defined is that of administering the Holy Communion. The Holy Communion in the HMG is held only once a year and is conducted by the Bishop. In the absence of the Bishop, senior ministers are allowed by the Bishop to conduct Holy Communion. This happened at Tutume in 1980. Ministers do not normally ordain officials in the local churches. They are ordained by the Bishop during the Good Friday celebrations. Some of the duties mentioned in the Rules and Regulations of the Church are not normally performed by all ministers. The grouping of the duties is based on the belief of the equality of all ministers because they are all allowed to participate if so required by the Bishop.

Clause 7 further defines the role of prophets as "to guide the spirit of the Church and see to the holiness of the congregation, to find ways of healing all sorts of diseases and to explain the work of the Holy Spirit" (Acts 8:5-12); "to prophesy is not an all of a sudden thing, it comes through service of God's ways" (1 Corinthians 2:10-14). Acts 8:5-12 describes the proclamation of the Messiah by Philip, resulting in many being



HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH

HEADQUARTERS P O BOX 280 FRANCISTOWN

IN



ZION

ESTABLISHED 1939
Headquarters
BOTSWANA

FOUNDER-BISHOP
T.S. MTEMBU
Francistown Botswana

Council of Investigation: Rev T.S. MTEMBU, ARCH BISHOP

MINISTER ORDAINATION CERTIFICATE

Built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets – Jesus Christ himself being the Chief Corner Stone – Eph. 2–20.

JESUS CHRIST SAID: "All power is given unto me in Heaven and on earth I am the way and the truth. Go ye therefore unto all the world and preach the Gospel. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, and these signs shall follow them that believeth, they shall lay hands on Sick and they shall recover, and lo, I am with you always even unto the end" – John 3:1: Matt 28.18–20.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT MR MICHAEL MASHELO
of NORTH WEST District REGION

is ordained by us as at in good standing in the above Church, as long as his life corresponds with the Gospel and he submit to the rules discipline of the said assembly. Therefore, asking the Government to receive and give him what is needed according to the Church Law, the Councillors of all Locations and Hospital, also the Government Police, to let him pass day and night on God's work. – Amen.

Police Station Master, please give him a ticket. He has authority to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Rev. 22:18–20; to pray for the sick Mark 16:15–19; to bury the dead Rev. 14–13, James 2:14–26; to solemnize marriages and allowed to give Holy Communion. Gen. 24:33–67; Matt. 19:3–6; 1 Cor. 11:23–36; John 13:15–17.

Given under our hands this 1 day of April 1988

Bishop T.S. MTEMBU President

Vice President N.K. NZONDA Gen. Secretary T.E. MANYIWA

Conference held at Francistown Conference held at Francistown

Conference held on 15.12 1989 Conference held on 1989

Bishop N.K. NZONDA Bishop N.K. NZONDA

Conference at 1990 Conference at 1991

Bishop Bishop

This certificate expires after five years and must be signed by the Bishop at every yearly Conference

Figure 5: Ordination Certificate of the Reverend Michael Masheto

HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH

HEADQUARTERS P O BOX 280 FRANCISTOWN

IN



ZION

ESTABLISHED 1939
Headquarters
BOTSWANA

FOUNDER-BISHOP
T.S. MTEMBU
Francistown Botswana

Council of Investigation: Rev T.S. MTEMBU, ARCH BISHOP

MINISTER ORDAINATION CERTIFICATE

Built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets – Jesus Christ himself being the Chief Corner Stone – Eph. 2–20.

JESUS CHRIST SAID: "All power is given unto me in Heaven and on earth I am the way and the truth. Go ye therefore unto all the world and preach the Gospel. He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, and these signs shall follow them that believeth, they shall lay hands on Sick and they shall recover, and lo, I am with you always even unto the end" – John 3:1: Matt 28.18–20.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT MR MICHAEL MASHETO
of Morema District CENTRAL

is ordained by us as PRIEST at BOTETI in good standing in the above Church, as long as his life corresponds with the Gospel and he submit to the rules discipline of the said assembly. Therefore, asking the Government to receive and give him what is needed according to the Church Law, the Councillors of all Locations and Hospital, also the Government Police, to let him pass day and night on God's work. – Amen.

Police Station Master, please give him a ticket. He has authority to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Rev. 22:18–20; to pray for the sick Mark 16:15–19; to bury the dead Rev. 14–13, James 2:14–26; to solemnize marriages and allowed to give Holy Communion. Gen. 24:33–67; Matt. 19:3–6; 1 Cor. 11:23–36; John 13:15–17.

Given under our hands this day of Mo 19.9.1

Bishop T.S. MTEMBU President M. N. Ndebele

Vice President Ti. Moko Gen. Secretary

Conference held at Francistown Conference held at Francistown

Conference held on 29-3-1991 Conference held on 29-3-1991

Bishop M. N. Ndebele Bishop M. N. Ndebele

Conference at 29-3-1991 Conference at 29-3-1991

Bishop M. N. Ndebele Bishop M. N. Ndebele

This certificate expires after five years and must be signed by the Bishop at every yearly Conference

Figure 6: Renewed Ordination Certificate of the Reverend Michael Masheto

relieved of their unclean spirits. The baptism of the magician also showed the power of God's spirit. 1 Corinthians 2:10-17 gives the Prophets the power to forgive sins.

These things God has revealed to us through the Spirit; for the Spirit searches everything, even the depths of God. For what human being knows what is truly human except the human spirit that is within? So also no one comprehends what is truly God's except the Spirit of God. Now we have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit that is from God, so that we may understand the gifts bestowed on us by God. And we speak of these things not in words taught by human wisdom but taught by the Spirit, interpreting spiritual things to those who are spiritual. (10-13 NRSV)¹³

These verses give the prophets great authority and responsibility to the life of the church. The Setswana translation of the verses gives a much clearer and authoritative power to the prophets. The Setswana emphasis on the revelations of the Spirit creates a similar effect to that felt from the demands of an ancestral spirit. However, the validity of contemporary prophecy in the HMG is doubted by many people. One of my informants dismissed prophecy as immature because the prophets use the spirits of the traditional spirit-mediums (*sangoma*). As a result, they always tell lies and want their prophecies to be justified by the social conditions and beliefs of the people. This spirit forces prophets to concentrate on cases of witchcraft and sorcery and prescribe cures for diseases. Modern prophets no longer foretell future events as did the Old Testament prophets. This element has been lost in modern prophecy because many HMG prophets allow wrong spirits to guide them and not the true Spirit of God. We shall come back to this issue when we discuss healing. But, as a general observation, the HMG has a well-defined biblical concept of prophecy, based specifically on the New Testament. Many studies on the AICs have not seen prophecy beyond the charismatic leadership or claims of the founders, nor do they state any clear theology of prophecy in many of the AICs that have been studied.¹⁴ The HMG provides a theological foundation by basing its concepts of prophecy on biblical teaching rather than charismatic leadership.

The third category of the ministry is that of preacher. The preacher is defined as the one who starts the service, reports to senior ministers when they come to the service, consoles the sick and the bereaved and "has the right to visit areas and preach the word of God".

The fourth category is that of evangelist, who is defined as the "pillar" of the church, and who has to be of good behaviour in order to gain the confidence of the people. He baptizes those who are converted in accordance with Matthew 28:19-20.

19. Go then to all peoples everywhere and make them my disciples: baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit,
20. and teach them to obey everything I have commanded you. And I will be with you always to the end of the age. (TEV).¹⁵

One evangelist claimed that his visits to many local churches had been mistaken for campaigns for the office of Bishop. The evangelist has to teach the duties expected of all members of the church. He has also to heal the sick by faith in accordance with Mark 16:15-17: "... they will place their hands on sick people, who will get well" (TEV).

The concepts or approaches to healing will be discussed below when we discuss healing in the HMG. The Ministry of the HMG is constituted by the above four categories.

5.6.1 Recruitment and Call

The HMG does not actively recruit any people for the ministry as observed in other AICs. Ministers are selected by the local churches from amongst men of experience who have dedicated their life to the service of the church. Their names are put before the Executive Committee which in turn puts them forward to the AGM or at the Good Friday celebrations. The members who made the appointment give their approval by answering questions from the Bishop, who then ordains those who are chosen into the ministry. The ministers are not paid. They are people who are

employed elsewhere and they give voluntary service to the church. The HMG believes that ministers should be selected by the people themselves from honest men in the church. If any form of active recruitment is done, some people will be attracted because of either salary or prestige. This is the current belief of the HMG although it may change in the future through further developments in their concept of the ministry.

5.6.2 Training for the Ministry

There is no formal training for the ministry but many dedicated young men of the church take correspondence courses through some local institutions in Botswana, for example, the Botswana Bible Training Institute (BBTI) and Kgolagano (a theological training by extension school). These young men hope that one day the churches will elect them into the ministry and they will have a wider knowledge of the ministry. Their enthusiasm may also change the HMG's theology of the ministry and lead to the introduction of full-time ministry, entered by a call, and including a salary.

5.6.3 The Concept of the Minister

The HMG has a very high image of a minister. Many members in the local churches pay great respect to their ministers. Whenever a minister does anything wrong, the church members become very sad and fear for their salvation because they believe that the minister should be of exemplary conduct; he is the one who gives evidence of the assurance of going to heaven. If he makes mistakes, the congregation feels insecure. At the women's conference at Jackalasi No. 2, there were many complaints from the women that a number of ministers were degrading themselves by having concubines. The women complained that the status of the ministry had deteriorated. At the Good Friday celebrations at Jackalasi No. 2, the then *Mookami* (Head Deacon), now Bishop of the HMG, gave a lesson to the Church Secretaries about the importance of the ministry and why ministers should be respected.

From these concerns about the ministry, the HMG can be seen to attach great holiness to the ministry. The fact that people elect one of them to the ministry is believed to be inspired by God. Ministers are then expected to live a life worthy of their calling.

5.6.4 The Pastoral Relation

Many HMG ministers are always with their people and are on the same social level as they are. For that reason, a minister is not outside the level of his congregation. The ministers do house to house visits to make sure that all members in a local church attend all the services of the church.

5.6.5 The Organisation of the Ministry

The ministers of the HMG have organised themselves into a Ministers' Committee as discussed above. The Committee works very well because it is through it that the ministers discuss their interests and matters affecting their work. They learn from each other and share their experiences, so that many activities in the HMG are done to a uniform pattern and retain the identity of the Church. They conduct their services in the same manner and use the same passages for important services like baptisms and funerals.

5.7 THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE CHURCH

The Constitution of the HMG is silent about women. Clause 7, which defines the duties of church officials, states at point (i) that the duties of the Leaders (women) are: "to help Christians who are in difficulties and advise those who deviate from the Lord's

way. To conduct classes for children and women". According to my informants, women usually become the nurses (*basebelets*). It is in this context that they can advise young girls who fall pregnant or who have marital problems. They also hold classes for women to teach them about the rules of purity and taboos affecting women.

5.7.1 Women's Disadvantages

Women up till very recently were still generally regarded as housewives, despite the declining marriage situation in Botswana.¹⁶ They are expected to take care of their families and, as such, are unable to devote a considerable amount of time to the work of the church. Many women are unmarried mothers and may find it difficult to find time for church work. One of the main complaints launched by Mrs Kgari when she resigned from the HMG with her husband was that women were not given any consideration in the HMG.¹⁷ The complaint arose from the fact that in many AICs women play a prominent part and many more were founder members of the AICs. The status of women in the HMG is still very low.

5.7.2 The Place of Women in Society

The place of women in Botswana society generally has undergone many changes. In most Tswana societies the maintenance of the family depended on women. The missionary Dr Robert Moffat was amazed by the way in which women could labour on the land, fetch water, gather firewood, look after children and carry out other household duties while the men were sitting down and drinking beer.¹⁸ In many Tswana groups, when education started there were more girls in the schools than boys because many boys spent their lives at the cattle posts. Although many girls were sent to school, they left at lower standards than the boys. However, the schools made society realise that women could also perform duties that were normally regarded as duties for men. They showed that they were equally intelligent and equally as

responsible. The fact that some families without sons could also enjoy the benefits of having their daughters working for them and supporting them changed the attitude of society generally to women.

Women are now fully and equally involved in all spheres of life in Botswana with the exception of the Army where their involvement is a relatively recent phenomenon.

Women are conscious of their rights and demand them from society. The old belief that the place of the woman is in the kitchen has changed in Botswana. Amongst the AICs, one of the first people to apply to register a church was Mrs Koboto.¹⁹ The HMG will in the near future be forced by circumstances to change its attitude towards women.

5.7.3 Women in the Ministry

The HMG does not as yet have any women ministers. This is due to the general attitude towards women. Women are allowed to preach but none has been promoted to the ministry. Some women are prophets because prophecy is a gift from God. Since the ancestral spirits (*sangoma*) generally possess women, many women prophets were exorcised of the "demonic spirit" as it is called in the HMG.

5.7.4 The Minister's Wife

The minister's wife (*Mmamoruti*) is highly respected in the local churches. She is the leader of the Women's Organisation (*Mokgatlo wa Bomme*). She enjoys the same privileges as those enjoyed by the minister. When the marriage of Bishop Mthembu was consecrated in 1980, his wife was immediately given authority over the HMG Women's Organisation (see Appendix A/3). Although the Women's Organisation is not constituted in the HMG, the minister who conducted the service gave advice to the women to respect and listen to the advice of the Bishop's wife as their leader. Thus the ministers' wives have similar authority in the local churches.

5.8 CHURCH FINANCE

The HMG has well-organised financial systems, despite the government's accusations that money collected in the AICs ends up in the collectors' pockets. This also contradicts the notion that AICs are "money-making organisations disguised under the cloak of religion". The financial management of the HMG also shows that it is a mature church that has achieved its financial independence without any reliance on foreign donors. It serves as a classical example of how an African church can run itself theologically and financially without any foreign assistance.

5.8.1 Sources and Methods

Clause 7 of the Rules and Regulations lists nine ways or sources from which the money comes as subscriptions.

Tithing by all members of one pula from men and 60 thebe from women.

20 thebe for catering at church meetings.

50 thebe by each person for Good Friday food.

P2-50 five year certificates²⁰ for Bishop, minister and deacons.

40 thebe for baptism and blessing certificates.

20 thebe per member per month which goes into the coffers of the local branch.

Contributions of 10 thebe every Sunday for paraffin or lights.

Yearly subscriptions of P1-00 by men and 50 thebe by women to the Central Bank.

25 thebe for one year certificates for evangelists, preachers, secretaries, doorkeepers and women.

The above are the constituted sources of funds in the HMG. As shown above, local churches use other means to generate funds. Church financial statements and

auditors' reports also indicate how funds came into the church. The discussion on worship will also demonstrate how the collection of funds is considered to be part of the service.

5.8.2 Distribution and Control

Article (j) of the Constitution defines the office of Treasurer as responsible for all funds of the church. The duties include being the head of all sub-committees for raising funds, making sure that a financial statement is prepared and presented to the AGM annually and having the records audited by qualified auditors.

Article (k) states that funds are to be in the hands of the Treasurer immediately after collection. The operation of the funds shall be done by the Secretary of the Financial Committee and the Treasurer at the direction of the AGM. Money received and paid out shall be entered in proper books supplied by the AGM.

Article (l) states that there shall be a Financial Committee composed of the following: Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary, Vice Secretary and Treasurer.

Article (m) states the duties as heading all activities aimed at raising funds for the church.

Article (n) defines its powers as taking disciplinary action against misuse of church funds in the following way: suspension of such a member from worshipping until the funds are refunded or ordering the member to refund the money. Failure to refund the money leads to legal action.

Article (o) defines the banking of church funds in three countries. Three signatories are needed. Money received is to be deposited in the bank without delay with joint control on usage of funds in three countries.

The implementation of these procedures has not been an easy task for the HMG. On 14 February 1981 the Treasurer of the Central Finance Committee called a

committee meeting to be held in Francistown. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the church properties and to examine the financial books from 1972 to 1980. The Treasurer reported to the meeting that he had the following items: Receipt Books; Cash Books; Financial Statement; Bank Statement and Payment Vouchers. The meeting asked the Treasurer to explain the different uses of the books, which he did. The Treasurer complained that, in 1972, he had asked the church to buy him stationery but the church had failed to do so. Over all the years he had been using books which he had bought with his own money. The Treasurer explained to the meeting that he had been paying the Bishop from funds collected as tithes.

When examining the books, it was found that the Cash Book and the Bank Statement did not reflect the same amount of money. The Treasurer explained that they were not the same because the Bank charged some commission. The Treasurer also explained that auditors consider the figures which they are given but they did not check if the money was available in the Bank account. The meeting felt that this loophole might lead to some cheating in the use of church funds. Several questions were addressed to the Treasurer. One questioner wanted to know if the church had used only one cheque book since 1972. The Treasurer explained that he had signed only a few cheques. The few cheques from the Bank were available but there were a number of cheques missing from the cheque book and the Treasurer explained that he had cancelled the cheques and destroyed them. There was a lot of dissatisfaction with this explanation. The Treasurer was asked whether all the receipts were available. He explained that receipts from 1979 and 1980 were available but those from 1972 to 1978 were not easy to find. The money, however, was said to be available.

The Treasurer went on to say that it was the duty of the church members to know how their money was being spent. He also wanted the committee to explain how money normally referred to as "Profit Funds", derived from the sale of certificates (*phalalo*) and church uniforms, was being spent and for what purposes it was collected.

He wanted a full explanation of the use of money entitled "Bank Money", "Good Friday" money and "General Conference" money. All these monies were not clearly explained as to their use. He also complained that the money collected for buying food during the Good Friday celebration was too little and needed to be increased. The Treasurer went on to say that a policy should be formulated on the manner in which donations contributed to help other people in church building funds should be used.

The Bishop suggested that a committee be elected to examine church books and deal with all the financial matters of the church.

A problem arose concerning cheques which were written as "cash" cheques without the name of the payee. The Treasurer explained that cheques written in the names of the payees gave them a lot of problems since the Bank would require some identification of the person drawing the money. It was agreed that the newly appointed committee should ask the Bank to supply them with copies of statements back-dated to 1972 to 1978.²¹

The Treasurer complained that the manner in which the Constitution was written on financial administration did not reflect the actual use of funds in the church. He also stated that the Constitution did not say what was to be done to people who failed to contribute the tithes. He also argued that the tithes had to be increased. There was general agreement that the Constitution needed to be amended. The Treasurer moved that the financial statement should be read at the AGM. He also emphasised the need for local churches to have treasurers who understood financial matters and worked in close consultation with the Treasurer over the whole church. The meeting also agreed that ministers should not become treasurers nor keep any church money. It was agreed that at the Good Friday celebrations the local churches should be informed about the use of all church funds. It was noted that all the local church treasurers should have two financial record books and the Secretary of the Finance Committee should be a signatory at the Bank.

It was also noted that a meeting of that nature was the first ever held in the HMG since 1972 and that it was possibly the last because it was hoped that all was going to go well. Finance Committees were encouraged to do their best not to repeat old mistakes.

My findings are that the HMG has professionally audited financial reports every year. The local churches keep clear records of all funds that are contributed to the church for different purposes. At the main church celebrations all the money collected is listed very carefully, including the names of those who made the contributions. At the end, the people are informed of how much was raised, what was spent, and what was left, if any.

Financial problems are treated according to need, and the necessary action taken for any misappropriation of church funds.²² In short, the financial organisation of the HMG is as good, if not better, than that of some of the historic churches.

5.8.3 Problems of Maintaining the Ministry

The HMG has no salaried ministry to support. The only person who is paid is the Bishop and he is paid from money collected as tithes which, in many cases, is very little. The former Bishop depended very much on subsistence farming.

5.9 THE MEMBERS OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

Membership in the churches in Botswana generally has six categories: communicant members (*badumedi*); catechumens (*baipoledi*); adherents (*barati*) - general supporters and enquirers; confessioners (*baikwatlhai*) - those who have fallen off and come back to repent; youth (*banana*) and Sunday School (*Sekole sa Tshipi*)

In the HMG members belong to five categories: communicant members (*badumedi*); youth (*banana*); children (*bana*); adherents (*barati*) and patients (*balwetse*).

The communicant members are the recognized full members of the church who are required to carry out all that is necessary for the mission of the church. It is from the *badumedi* that various gifts²³ are found, leading the church to fulfil its mission. As opposed to the historic churches and particularly the Congregationalists, members are not regarded as ordinary *badumedi* who have no duties to do. They are regarded as *Bathandazelesi* (Zulu) or *Batembezelesi* (Kalanga) or *Barapeledi* (Setswana). These names mean those who pray for others. The HMG believes that every church member is given the gift of praying for the healing of patients. In the Congregational Church, the general belief is that the minister is the only one who can pray for patients.

The youth is constituted by those who have reached an age where they can confess their sins and be baptized into full church membership (see Fig. 7). These are children who have reached the age of 12 years.

Children before the age of 12 years have no concept of sin or sins. They are blessed at birth and initiated at the appropriate time of 33 days or 66 days for boys and girls respectively. From then onwards, they are believed to be holy until they reach the age of 12 years when they are required to confess their sins and be baptized. Not all children of HMG members go to church. Some go to different churches and others do not go at all. The HMG does not have any Sunday School. The children participate fully in the main church service.

Adherents are those who support the church but are not ready to join. They attend church services regularly but without giving themselves to membership.

Patients are those who come to ask for prayers and seek healing. They comprise barren women, people seeking jobs and those who come to ask for prayers and *sewacho* to protect their homes and properties from witchcraft and sorcerers.

Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion

Founder Bishop T.S. Mtembu

Gopola wa bolesome

MEMBERSHIP CARD

SEGOPOTSO SA BOLESOME

Leina MR. M. Masheto Tulo MOREOMATO

Malaki 38 10, Timotheo 5 17 18

| Jan. | Feb. | March | April | May | June |
|------|------|-------|-------|------|------|
| 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct. | Nov. | Dec. |
| 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |

Wa bolesome 1991 TOTAL P1.00

Modisa MR. N. NDEBELE Tulo MOREOMATO

Moruti MR. M. Masheto Date 07-04-91

Secretary Ms. M. BATSILE

Figure 7: HMG membership card format

There are no confessioners (*baikwatlhai*) in the HMG. Those who have fallen away or stayed off from the church for a long time come back to report that they have returned. The prophets will then prophesy to find out what ought to be done to such people. The Spirit of God will guide the prophets as to the appropriate action to be carried out. In many cases cleansing with a *sewacho* is prescribed. Sometimes the causes of absence from church may have been due to witchcraft. In that way, the member is cured of disease. Cords may be prescribed as protection against the *tokoloshe* (ghost man) that may be preventing someone from going to church. Washing in baptismal water is also one of the prescriptions of the Spirit. The most important aspect here is that the fallen members never undergo any long period of confession as is, or was, the Congregational/LMS practice. The HMG thus became an attraction to many members of the LMS who were required to undergo up to three years of confession before they could be received back into the church. One of my informants argued that there was no need to waste time on those people who confessed their sins since Jesus said that all those who confessed their sins were forgiven. Therefore all the people who come back to the church and confess ought to be received back on the spot. HMG services are thus attended by many people who are not necessarily full members but enquirers and patients. It is for this reason that in many villages one may find that the registered membership is very small but, when one goes to church, one finds it full of people. This is also how many HMG congregations survive without more than ten full members; the attendances will be 30-50 people, most of whom are not members.

5.9.1 Constitutional Definition of Membership

Clause 3 of the HMG Constitution states:

The membership of this church is open to every person interested, converted to the word of God and complies with the Rules and Regulations of this Church.

If a member of this church violates repeatedly the Rules and Regulations of this church and if all measures taken against him/her have failed, his membership with this church shall be terminated.

These are the two articles on membership. In actual practice the HMG has other procedures concerning membership as agreed at several conferences and meetings. Confession merits the immediate baptism of the member with no time wasted. Members from other churches or denominations are received into HMG membership provided they hold adequate testimonials. People who held official positions in the churches from which they came have to stay for two years before they are allowed to have any official position in the HMG. The reason for this, according to my informants, is that they wanted to make sure that the member had not left the other church because of a thirst for power. People from the AICs who have been baptized by immersion are not re-baptized, but those from historic churches which practise baptism by sprinkling are re-baptized.²⁴

The HMG is very strict about retaining its members as well as avoiding "sheep stealing". Thus, whenever some members raise problems for the church, a long process of counselling and disciplining is carried out before anyone can be expelled from the church or be allowed to leave the church. Such a case of discipline and persuasion occurred in Orapa in 1985. A senior member of the church and his wife wanted to resign from the HMG. The minister at Orapa had failed to follow the procedures of the church in electing some officers. The senior member and his wife had to resign and the proper procedures for leaving the church were followed. The minister and his self chosen officers were fined or disciplined by the church but retained their membership (see Appendix A).

The procedures for the termination of membership are defined in Clause 9 of the Constitution:

When any member of the church decides to terminate his/her membership he/she can do so by communicating

with the branch secretary of the church, leaving all church properties including money, books, join-belts, position certificates and pins because all these were obtained through the HMG.

The HMG made these tough conditions for leaving the church because, in the early 1960s, it was difficult to make distinctions between the members of the different AICs. The reason was that there could be all sorts of uniforms worn in one church because people who had left various churches continued to parade in the uniforms of their former churches. My informants also told me that their HMG church uniform was sacred and they did not want to see it being misused in some other church.

Members of the HMG are also expected to attend Bible classes as per Clause 6 of the Constitution. They are also required to make contributions to the various financial requirements of the church. These contributions will be discussed under Finance.

5.9.2 The Biblical Definition of Membership

The HMG has a very strong biblical teaching on membership which is based on the following passages:

Deuteronomy 23:15: "If a slave runs away from his owner and comes to you for protection, do not send him back." (TEV)

Luke 15:7: "In the same way I tell you, there will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine respectable who do not need to repent." (TEV)

John 10:16: "There are other sheep which belong to me that are not in this sheepfold. I must bring them, too; they will listen to my voice, and they will become one flock with one shepherd." (TEV)

Romans 10:10: "For it is by our faith that we are put right with God; it is by our confession that we are saved." (TEV)

Hebrews 12:22: "Instead you have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, with its thousands of angels." (TEV)

Ephesians 2:19: "So then, you Gentiles are not foreigners or strangers any longer; you are now fellow citizens with God's people and members of the family of God." (TEV)

The above verses are believed to have been selected by Bishop Mthembu to be used in the reception of new members. The reception of new members is always preceded by a *mulindelo* (overnight vigil). During the *mulindelo* many sermons are preached, highlighting the major themes of the selected verses. Combining the verses produces the following themes. Deuteronomy shows that there is no discrimination in joining the HMG. The new member is seen as a slave who has run away from his/her master, the devil, and has to be accepted into church membership. The concept "slave" is used to depict equality in membership as well as running away from sin. The passage from Luke confirms that the numbers are not important. What is important is repentance; those who join the church should be truly repentant people. John compares the new members to lost sheep which have returned to the sheepfold. The members must go out to find other lost sheep and bring them to the sheepfold. This belief makes the HMG an evangelistic church.²⁵ Romans confirms that, by our faith and by constantly calling on the name of the Lord, one is sure of salvation. Testimonies are therefore very important in the HMG and these will be discussed under the doctrine of salvation in the HMG. Hebrews emphasises the importance of being a member of the HMG because it is the highest amongst all the Zionist churches. This belief is based on the story discussed above that Bishop Mthembu was the most respected Zionist leader in Sophiatown. Ephesians is an assurance to the new member that, once one becomes a member of the church, one becomes part of a wide family of God's people.

The biblical basis for membership in the HMG is thus well defined and a considerable knowledge of the Bible is evident. The fact that the HMG has a

Constitutional definition of membership does not in any way refute the biblical definition but is because the Constitutions have to fulfil the requirements of Government.

5.9.2.1 Plural belonging: The problem of plural belonging has been pointed out by H.W. Turner. This is not a peculiar situation to West Africa as it occurs in varying degrees in many parts of Africa. In strict terms, the HMG does not have room for plural belonging. The conditions and requisites for membership in the HMG have been discussed above and point to the difficulties of plural membership. Members who might be considered as having plural membership are the adherents or patients. The adherents include people who belong to the historic churches but are seeking healing in the HMG. Some may just be enquirers who move from one church to another in search of the truth.

5.9.2.2 Fluidity of membership: The general social development in Botswana makes church membership very fluid not only in the HMG but in practically all denominations. There is always a movement of people from the villages into the urban areas and vice-versa. There is also seasonal movement from the lands, cattle posts and the villages. The churches which suffer from this experience are those within a radius of 50-100 km from the urban centres where there is a lot of weekly movement. People in the towns wish to visit their homes fairly frequently. When they visit their homes and go to church, they inflate the membership of their home church while decreasing the weekly attendances in the urban congregations from which they came. The same happens when members from nearby villages go to the urban centres and attend services thereby creating the impression of well-attended services. Thus, many churches experience fluid membership.

The areas which do not feel this problem are the fast developing industrial areas which attract people from afar who cannot always go to their homes over the weekends. Many people whose home areas are between 500-700 km from their place of work cannot afford to go home weekly. To cite a few examples, Francistown HMG boasts

an average attendance of 200 people every week. This is possible, in spite of the fact that many villages around Francistown are within the 50-100 km radius. The reason for this is that there are many people from as far North as Maun and as far South as Ramatlabama who cannot go to their homes weekly. The same applies to Gaborone where, incidentally, many members of the HMG come from the North in the Bukalanga area. Although people from within the 50-100 km radius go home over the weekends, the Gaborone church attendances remain at an average of 200 per week. On the other hand, congregations at Selibe-Pikwe, Palapye and some semi-urban villages like Serowe do suffer from fluid membership due to the easier movement of people. However, rural congregations do not have the problems faced by urban and semi-urban congregations. This is due to the fact that the rural people are subsistence farmers and they do not move very often from their own areas. The membership in rural areas therefore is more stable and to some extent reliable. The Shakawe church has 85 members; Rakops 72; Phuduhudu 22; Khumaga 105 and Moreomaoto 85. The respective population is Shakawe 2,243 and of Rakops 3,125. The smaller rural villages have average populations of between 1,000 and 2,000 people. Their church memberships compare quite reasonably with those of Gaborone with about 300 members from a population of 133,791 and Francistown with about 300 from a population of 65,026.

In conclusion, it is appropriate to say that the fluidity of membership is an issue in many HMG congregations.

5.9.2.3 The size of the membership: It is very difficult to find an accurate figure for the size of the HMG membership. One basis on which the membership could be calculated is the lists of names of people who are recorded as making contributions towards certain church funds. Such figures are accurate only as far as members have made the contributions. Another way of estimating the membership is by assessment of attendance when the members all come together during the Good Friday celebrations to receive Holy Communion. Of late, however, not everyone has been able to attend

and, as a result, several follow-up services have been held. The conclusion at which I have arrived by combining the above methods is that the general membership of the HMG is between 2,500 and 3,000 members. These figures have been arrived at from financial reports, list of contributors to certain causes, registered members in church records, accounts of Good Friday celebrations and from my own counting of people present at the services that I attended at different places. In the rural areas and the semi-urban villages the church secretaries and treasurers still fail to keep good records. In addition there is the problem of seasonal movements between the lands, cattle posts and villages as mentioned above. My informants have also argued that the membership is no longer growing in the rural and semi-urban villages because of the general social developments which attract people away from the church. One of the greatest problems is associated with beer-drinking which the HMG prohibits but has become a strong attraction to many people. Some members have lapsed, while leaving their names in the church books. In Maun village, where the problem appears to be acute, the number of liquor outlets registered with the Town Council was: Maun 8 (population 26,569); Toteng 2; Sehitwa 1 (population 1,603); Kgakge 1; Gomare 1 (population 3,592); Nokaneng 1 (population 1,269) and Shakawe 1 (population 2,243). In addition to the registered outlets, there are also the unregistered *shebeens* which do not even have controlled times of opening and closing. The beer-drinking problem must be viewed from the context of the general history of Botswana where during the colonial period beer-drinking was already considered to be a serious problem to the general social life of the country.²⁶

5.9.2.4 Ethnicity and membership: The majority of the members of the HMG are non-Tswana-speaking peoples. The HMG was first founded amongst the Kalanga-speaking peoples in the North-eastern part of Botswana, dominated by Francistown and the Tati District. Many people in this area accepted the HMG because it addressed their serious concerns, especially the fear of witchcraft and sorcery. Witchcraft and sorcery were

being deliberately suppressed by the LMS, the chiefs and the Colonial Government. The Kalanga people regarded the LMS as a Ngwato Church which was promoting the fallacy of the Ngwato being the super tribe of Botswana. The Ngwato were regarded as part and parcel of the Protectorate Government which had cut off the Bakalanga from the rest of their Shona-speaking groups and annexed their land to that of the Ngwato. Ngwato chiefs were then given positions of authority over the Kalanga chiefs by creating a historic myth that the Bakalanga were refugees from Monomotapa who sought refuge from the Bangwato. As suggested above, the Bakalanga had never accepted the LMS from conviction of faith so much as to gain educational advantages. Their aim of getting education in order to dominate the Ngwato academically and economically has succeeded to a considerable extent.²⁷ The coming of the HMG provided an area of protest against the LMS, the chiefs and the Colonial Government, as has been seen above in the struggles of Bishop Mthembu which give examples of the state of affairs during that period. The growth of the HMG has been significant in those areas where the people were not satisfied with Ngwato domination and the LMS.

Another reason for the Kalanga or non-Tswana-speaking predominance of HMG membership is religious. As stated above, the HMG addressed one of the greatest fears of the people, i.e. witchcraft and sorcery. As also stated above, in many tribal areas, except those of the Bakwena, the chiefs have always made laws and regulations which affected only their immediate subjects. For fear of rebellion, they had always left the so-called subject peoples to practise their beliefs and customs which differed from those of the Tswana-speaking peoples.²⁸ Thus, amongst the Bakalanga and the Batswapong, who had very highly developed concepts of God and rain-making beliefs, the coming of the HMG and other AICs was a fulfilment and an indirect continuation of their beliefs which were undergoing some degree of transformation. The cultures were also changing, demonstrating their dynamic nature and willingness to adapt to change. Thus the HMG had a religious appeal to the Kalanga people.

The Bukalanga area became an area of growth for the ZCC in 1935. This was followed by the other AICs so that, by 1947, Tshekedi Khama intervened by forcing the people of Nswazwi to settle in Serowe.²⁹ A Government proclamation in 1956 prohibited unlawful assemblies.³⁰ AICs were persecuted in the Ngwato area. This persecution drew some degree of solidarity amongst the people so that even those who were not members of AICs became sympathetic, especially since the people who were being persecuted were their relatives. Persecution then led many sympathizers to join the AICs, and the HMG in particular.

Another element in relation to ethnicity and membership is that of culture. The HMG regards the Zulu language as the language of the church and, although the people may be predominantly Kalanga-speaking, Zulu is used more often than Kalanga. The service is regarded as ideal if Zulu has been used somewhere in the process. The religious beliefs of the Zulu concerning witchcraft and sorcery, the power of the ancestors, rituals pertaining to many aspects of life and taboos are very similar to those of the Kalanga. There are areas where Zulu culture and customs are closer to the Kalanga peoples than to the Tswana-speaking peoples.³¹ Concepts pertaining to a number of practices and beliefs are, however, more acceptable to the Kalanga than to the Tswana. Thus religious names in Zulu sound ritualistic to the believers more than in Setswana or Kalanga. *Moruti* sounds sacred when used in Zulu *Mfundisi* and *Modimo* sounds more divine as *Unkulukulu* and *moloi* (sorcerer) sounds religious as *Umthakathi*. The Zulu language carries more weight as a religious language than Kalanga or Setswana. One of the reasons underlying this phenomenon is that migrant labour brought the spirit medium *sangoma* healer which was not in the Kalanga or Tswana cultures. The fact that the possessed *sangoma* spoke in Zulu or a foreign language, and could heal by discovering witches and sorcerers, has also contributed to the growing respect for the Zulu language. Prophets normally say their prophecies in Zulu and speaking in Zulu has been regarded as a manifestation of possession by the

Holy Spirit. The Apostolic churches, on the other hand, regard Sesutho as a holy language.³²

A visit to the HMG church in Gaborone in 1991 revealed Kalanga (20 men, 29 women) and only 6 Tswana (4 men, 2 women). A visit to the HMG church in rural Rakops in 1992 showed 6 Kalanga (3 men, 3 women); 14 Subia (3 men, 11 women) and 6 Bayei (1 man, 5 women). There were no Tswana or Herero present. These two places were selected because of their nature. Gaborone is the only city in Botswana which has attracted people from all over Botswana. Rakops is a semi-urban village which is growing very fast and many people from the surrounding areas are migrating there. Both these places have well mixed populations of many ethnic groups.

5.9.2.5 Other aspects of social structure: There are other aspects of social structure that affect the membership of the HMG. The general observation that the AICs appeal to the uneducated and the ignorant does not apply to the HMG any longer. The AICs in Botswana appeal to people from all social groups including civil servants, bank clerks, teachers, nurses, police and university graduates of many fields. Technicians and businessmen are also found as members of the HMG. It should be borne in mind that the AICs are now more than 60 years old in Botswana. Many adults and children who were born in the HMG have never been exposed to any other historic churches. The AICs came at a time when education was no longer controlled by the LMS but by the Colonial Government which made it open to everybody regardless of religious inclinations. Many members of the HMG were also free to go to the available schools and also regarded education as a tool to be used as discussed above. Moreover they were affected by the poor quality of education which was offered so that their successes and failures in education were, and still are, not peculiar to them but affect everybody. The general educational standard of the HMG membership is not in any way inferior nor peculiar to the Botswana situation.

My findings were very much centred on the main factors which are education and employment. Thus, the status of the people who attended services on the days of my research showed the following results:

HMG Gaborone, 27 October 1991

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Educational qualifications:</u> | Standard 1 to 7: | women 17, men 4. |
| | Standard 7 to Junior Certificate: | women 1, men 6. |
| | Junior Certificate to Cambridge | |
| | 'O' Levels: | women 0, men 2. |
| | Technical training: | women 1, men 0. |
| | University education: | women 0, men 2. |
| | No education | women 15, men 5. |
| <u>Employment figures:</u> | Employed: | women 34, men 19. |
| | Unemployed: | women 2, men 1. |
| | Self-employed: | women 1, men 0. |
| <u>Age groups:</u> | Aged 1-11 years: | 11 |
| | Aged 12-20 years: | women 10, men 2. |
| | Aged 20-40 years: | women 28, men 17. |
| | Aged 40-80 years: | women 1, men 3. |
| <u>Marital status:</u> | Married: | women 4, men 1. |

In Botswana, Standard 7 is still the highest grade achievable to many people due to the shortage of places and the general shortage of schools offering Junior Certificates. The general educational standards of the people at this HMG service gives a picture of a well-balanced and educated congregation by Botswana standards. Some historic churches in Botswana do not even have university graduates.³³

Most of the people who attended the service were aged between 20 and 40 years. This is regarded as the youth age in Botswana. So most of the members are young. The employment figures are appropriate for a city congregation where many people are migrant workers from their rural villages. There is a very low number of married people. This is not surprising because the rate of marriage has fallen drastically in Botswana.³⁴

Let us now compare this situation to a rural one.

HMG Rakops, 12 January 1992

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| <u>Educational qualifications:</u> | Standard 1 to 7: | women 11, men 3. |
| | Standard 7 to Junior Certificate: | women 1, men 1. |
| | Junior Certificate to Cambridge | |
| | 'O' Levels: | women 0, men 0. |
| | Technical training: | women 0, men 0. |
| | University education: | women 0, men 0. |
| | No education: | women 3, men 0. |
| <u>Employment figures:</u> | Employed: | women 2, men 0. |
| | Unemployed: | women 3, men 0. |
| | Self-employed: | women 4, men 1. |
| | Farmers: | women 9, men 4. |
| <u>Age groups:</u> | Aged 1-11 years: | girls 15, boys 16. |
| | Aged 12-20 years: | women 8, men 0. |
| | Aged 20-40 years: | women 9, men 4. |
| | Aged 40-80 years: | women 1, men 1. |
| <u>Marital status:</u> | Married: | women 12, men 5. |

These figures still confirm Standard 7 as the general educational achievement. The absence of people with higher education does not mean that the people in the area are not educated, because the educated migrate to the cities. The low number of men aged from 20 to 40 years should also be understood in the context that they are the ones who migrate to the urban areas looking for jobs. The fact that there are no unemployed women should be understood in the context that many women in the rural areas are housewives and are engaged in subsistence farming. The marital situation in the rural areas is not as bad as it is in the urban. Rural women still value and respect marriage more than their urban counterparts.

The membership situation of the HMG compares very well with that of many historic churches in the rural areas. The Pentecostals and charismatics generally attract the more educated people because the Pentecostals tend to be American and testimonies are given in English.

5.9.2.6 Transfer of membership: The HMG has a very highly developed teaching on the transfer of members from one local church to another. The teaching is biblical and is based on the following passages:

Exodus 23:20: "I will send an angel ahead of you to protect you as you travel and to bring you to a place which I have prepared." (TEV)

Nehemiah 2:2-4: ". . . So I asked why are you looking so sad? You aren't ill so it must be that you are unhappy." (TEV)

Acts 21:4: "There we found some believers and stayed with them a week. By the power of the Spirit they told Paul not to go to Jerusalem." (TEV)

Romans 16:1: "I recommend to you our sister Phoebe, who serves the church at Centhreae." (TEV)

The transferring of a member of the HMG from one local church to another is given a special ceremony and special respect. Exodus assures the member that he/she is guarded by an angel of the Lord God on the way to the new congregation. Nehemiah states the reasons for the transfer, which might be due to sad circumstances or just a normal movement. In most cases the people who transfer are working members who have transferred by their jobs to different places. It might be people leaving the villages to go to look for work in the towns. Acts also shows that the member might have been in the place temporarily on a visit. Romans suggests that the member should be given letters of recommendation to the new congregation. If the member is an officer of the church, the official position is recommended. A special farewell service is organised and, after the service, the member is accompanied by the congregation for a short distance from the church. The transfer of members in the HMG is, then, given high respect and has a religious significance. This is not common in historic churches where a member may just be given a transfer certificate by the minister or church secretary. The degree of ritual attached to the transfer service of the HMG is not found in the historic churches, especially the Congregational.

5.10 THE CHRISTIAN LIFE: PRAYER

Prayer is central to the lives of the members of the HMG. Individuals are encouraged to say private prayers in their homes when they wake up in the mornings and again before they go to sleep in the evenings. The churches hold prayers throughout the week on Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, followed by the Sunday services. Week-day prayers are held in the evenings and all members are required to attend. These prayers play a vital part in the salvation process as we shall see.

There is very little difference in style between the week-day services and the Sunday service. The week-day services are slightly shorter.

The HMG does not have specially selected Psalms for prayer as have many other churches.³⁵ The popularly used psalm as an introduction to prayer is Psalm 23:1 ff.

The Lord is my shepherd I have everything I need. 2. He lets me rest in the fields of green grasses and leads me to quiet pools of fresh water. 3. He gives me new strength. He guides me in the right paths, as he has promised. (TEV)

The Setswana and Zulu translations of the Bible give a very vivid picture of God as a shepherd, especially since the Batswana are pastoral people and Botswana is naturally a desert. The appearance of green grass after the rains and the abundance of water makes the message of this Psalm sink into many people's hearts. The Psalm is used as an introduction to prayer because it gives confidence that God will answer prayers and provide for the people's needs. Unanswered prayer in the HMG has two interpretations. If the member is an irregular attender at the weekly church services, such a member is regarded as having little faith and his/her prayers may not be answered. On the other hand, if the member is a regular attender, a cause must be found, and the prophets are engaged to prophesy and find the reason. The findings might be ordinary bad luck which can be cleansed with a *sewacho*. It might be

witchcraft which needs protection of the member with cords to expel the witches. Many members bring a lot of things to be prayed for at church. Students bring textbooks to be blessed so that they might pass the examinations; job-seekers bring their certificates for blessing; business people bring their goods to be blessed before selling. Most of my informants claimed that all their requests were answered.

The HMG does not believe in unanswered prayers because being with God is a reality, since God has replaced all the Kalanga or Tswana traditional beliefs. The reality of the experience of God through the ancestors has been replaced by the ever present angels who take care of individuals and examine their problems and general life situation through the prophets. The only serious problem leading to unanswered prayer is sin. If a person does not sincerely confess his or her sins, then nothing good will ever come from God. To the HMG member, the reality of God is existential as opposed to the seemingly eschatological concept of the historic churches.³⁶

5.10.1 Other Injunctions and Prohibitions

As in all Zionist churches and the Apostolics, the HMG has many rules governing the Christian life. Many of these are not in the Constitution but members are taught them in the different classes which they are required to attend.

5.10.2 Fasting

Fasting is based on Matthew 6:16-18: "And when you fast, do not put on a sad face as the hypocrites do" (TEV). Fasting is practised mainly during the Good Friday celebrations. The day preceding Holy Communion is declared a day of fasting. All members are requested to abstain from eating anything, but may drink water. They participate in the whole day service which culminates with the Communion in the evening. Fasting is also declared when the people are praying for a specific problem in the church. Fasting is a recommended practice for the Communion.

5.10.3 Almsgiving, Love and Bible Readings

Almsgiving and acts of love are commonly practised in the HMG. These normally take the form of *mulindelo* for specific purposes. Most of the *mulindelo* is geared towards fundraising for certain projects such as money for repairs to church buildings. Such *mulindelo* is extended to members of the friendly churches. Bible readings are commonly encouraged in the weekly classes. Acts of love take many forms in the HMG.

5.10.4 Prohibitions

The HMG has very few stipulated prohibitions in its Constitution on the Rules and Regulations.

(3) Leaders to be married to one wife (1 Timothy 3:1). This has been discussed above.

(6) Healers are not allowed to charge any payment (Isaiah 55:1):

The Lord says, "Come, everyone who is thirsty -
here is water!
Come, you that have no money -
buy corn and eat!
Come! Buy wine and milk -
it will cost you nothing!"

(9) Ancestor worshipping, smoking and drinking liquor are strictly forbidden. The biblical basis on worship is Exodus 20:1 ff.:

5. Do not bow to any idol or worship it, because I am the Lord your God and I tolerate no rivals. I bring punishment on those who hate me and on their descendants down to the third and fourth generation.

This warning is repeated in Exodus 34:2-4. Ancestors are dismissed as man-made according to Deut. 4:28: "There you will serve gods made by human hands, gods of wood and stone, gods that cannot see or hear or smell." In Deut. 5:9 the Ten Commandments are repeated and also in Exodus 20:5. These passages, together with

many others, are used against ancestor worship. Ancestor worship has been transformed as discussed above. The prophetic message of Revelation 14:9 ff. is also used to discourage ancestor worship:

Whoever worships the beast and its image and receives the mark on his forehead or his hand will himself drink God's wine, the wine of his fury, which he has poured at full strength into the cup of his anger!

The above passages are used to denounce ancestor worship.

Prohibitions regarding smoking and the drinking of liquor are based more on social etiquette than on biblical prohibitions.³⁷ Drinking liquor sometimes calls for biblical appeals such as: "Drinking too much makes you loud and foolish. It's stupid to get drunk" (Proverbs 20:1). "Indulging in luxuries, wine, and rich food will never make you wealthy" (Proverbs 21:17). In Proverbs 23:31-32 it is pointed out that wine looks beautiful but its effects are bad. Luke 1:15: "He will be a great man in the Lord's sight. He must not drink any wine or strong drink." Romans 14:21 encourages abstinence from anything that can lead others into sin, including the drinking of wine. Ephesians 5:18 says: "Do not get drunk with wine, which will only ruin you; instead be filled with the Spirit." 1 Timothy 3:1-7 prescribes rules governing church leaders and drinking wine is prohibited to them. 1 Timothy 3:8-13 also makes rules for helpers in the church. They ". . . must not drink too much wine." Titus 1:7 defines the duties of church leaders and prohibits wine to them. Titus 2:3 also advises older women to abstain from wine and be good leaders. These passages are referred to in many sermons when the preachers are encouraging the members to refrain from beer-drinking.

Like a number of other AICs the HMG has many prohibitions regarding women during the time of menstruation and after childbirth. They also have taboos pertaining to widows. The appeals are biblical and include: purification of women after childbirth (Leviticus 12:1ff.); rules governing sexual intercourse and the menstruation of women

(Leviticus 15:18-32). The HMG has a well-developed theology on the purification of widows which has evolved from transformed traditional beliefs. There are also prohibitions regarding the eating of certain animals as in Deut. 14:3-21. These purifications are discussed under rituals in the HMG. It suffices to mention here that most of the prohibitions are fulfilled because of the closeness of the church members who meet regularly at prayer meetings and encourage each other on matters of faith.

5.11 THE CHRISTIAN LIFE: MISSION

The HMG, like other AICs and historic churches, feels that it has a mission to perform in the world. This mission is stated in its Aims and Objects in the Constitution: (1) To teach young and old about the word of God and his ways (St Mark 10:13-16). Many members of the HMG are very good at welcoming visitors to their church. They do not hesitate to ask if a visitor goes to church and realises the dangers of living without the guidance of God. The mission of the church is understood and carried out by many members.

5.11.1 Contacts and *Kerygma*

The HMG contacts people through the evangelical *mulindelo*. These are organised through members or friends in places where the church has no congregation. Some friendly churches are invited to participate in the evangelical campaign. At these services, new members are found and a congregation is formed. This is the most common means by which contacts are made with people and the *kerygma*.

5.11.2 Relationship to Other Faiths

Botswana is a democracy which believes very strongly in freedom of worship. As such, the HMG, like all the other denominations, has no right to attack members of other churches. People of other faiths like the Bahai, Islam, and Hinduism are also free to propagate their belief and they also have no right to attack other faiths. The HMG associates itself with other denominations through the Botswana Christian Council.³⁸ As stated in Clause 10 of the Rules and Regulations of the HMG the Head Mountain shall become a member of the "Botswana Christian Council" by means of affiliation.

5.11.3 The Church and Politics

Like many other churches in Botswana, the HMG does not ally itself with any political party. Individual church members may support a political party but the Church as a denomination does not. The state also does not like the church to meddle in politics.³⁹

5.11.4 Economics and Education

The HMG participates fully in the economic and educational life of the Batswana. Although it does not as yet have its own schools, it participates at ecumenical level in all projects geared towards the improvement of the above through Ministers Fraternal and the Botswana Christian Council. The HMG has been allocated land at Jackalasi No. 2 where it wants to build its headquarters and a commercial school. This will be its greatest contribution to the educational needs of the Batswana.

5.12 THE CHRISTIAN LIFE: DISCIPLINE

Discipline poses one of the greatest problems in the churches in Botswana today. The reasons for this problem can only be understood by looking back briefly at the history of Christianity in Botswana.

Prior to the missionary period, discipline in Tswana societies was maintained by the *kgotla* or traditional court. When a person had committed an offence, he/she would be taken to the *kgotla* and all present were free to give their views on what should be done with the accused. The chief would then consult with his councillors and a decision would be arrived at. Punishment normally took the form of a small fine and a few lashes. Judgement depended very much on the nature of the case. The most common cases were those of stock theft or fighting. Cases of witchcraft were also common and these commanded stiffer sentences, even death. In family matters, the head of the family was the one responsible for family discipline and children and those under his custody were expected to respect him.

The missionary era brought a lot of changes. The missionaries in many tribal areas, as discussed above, formed the ruling class with the chiefs. Church laws were accepted as state laws in many tribal areas. Church laws did not only address crimes as understood by the Batswana, they also challenged many traditional practices and beliefs as sinful. Circumcision, ancestor veneration, polygamy and witchcraft were prohibited by many missionaries and the Colonial Administration. The difference between church and state was not easy to define. What were traditional areas of domain became areas of church domain. Since many people were not Christians, despite the fact that many chiefs had accepted Christianity, the implementation of disciplinary measures became very difficult and complicated. Church laws, the traditional wishes of the chief and the Colonial Government laws were always in conflict. The people were caught up in these contradictions. The 1940s to 1950s saw

considerable conflicts between the wishes of the church, the state and the chiefs.⁴⁰ This situation was further aggravated by the growth of towns which were not under the direct control of the chief or the missionaries but the Colonial Government, which gave a wider degree of freedom to its subjects.

This state of affairs continued to develop until the attainment of Botswana's independence in 1966. The independence Constitution wished to restore some powers of the chiefs in their tribal areas, thereby giving the town dwellers under the District Officers and magistrates more freedom and at the same time introducing tribal structures into the towns.⁴¹ The tribal police and government police decide to take cases either to a traditional court or to the magistrate's court. This has made discipline more complicated and is affecting the churches. What was regarded as sinful by the church during the colonial period is not necessarily regarded as sinful in modern government. The control which the church, through the help of the chiefs and the Colonial Government, had over the people has gone. To attract people, the churches needs to be persuasive and rational. The social life has changed too. What was regarded as sin, punishable by suspension or expulsion, no longer applies. Suspending whole families because a daughter has become pregnant outside marriage no longer applies. The historic churches are the hardest hit by the present state of affairs since they had always been supported by the chiefs.

The HMG has tried to create order out of this chaos by formulating clear disciplinary procedures.

5.12.1 The Constitutional Definition

Clause 6 of the HMG Constitution under the general heading AGM and Conference states at (d). 1:

The general body [AGM] has the power to suspend for any period it finds fit, any member of this church who

does not abide within the constitution and regulations of this church.

2. It also has the power to expel from this church any member who does not comply with the Constitution and regulations of this church provided that action at clause 6(d) (1) above has failed to reform such a member.

This is the constitutional basis on which discipline is maintained in the HMG.

5.12.2 Offences

Offences that demand discipline in the HMG are not listed anywhere in the rules and regulations of the HMG. What could be classified as offences are rules regarding members and their classes:

1 (b). The Church shall fine anyone who does not attend classes for two (2) consecutive weeks and shall be guilty of an offence.

Other offences which are implied in the rules and regulations include ancestor worshipping, smoking, drinking of liquor and these are strictly forbidden.

The recorded cases that I found in the records concerning offences were the misappropriation of church funds at Maun and Mochudi.⁴² Many times there had been warnings to prophets who charged money for healing but there was no record of any cases. In Rakops, there was a local case concerning a man who had promoted himself to the post of doorkeeper (*gosa*). This was taken as an offence. A much more serious case occurred at Letlhakane when the church leader failed to follow the procedures of the church in ordaining people to official positions.⁴³

5.12.3 Sexual Irregularities in the Ministry

This is a very complex issue and, to understand it, one has to look back a little into the customs of the Batswana generally regarding sex. The Batswana had a great respect for sexual relationships.⁴⁴ The fidelity of the wife to her husband was very important. A husband had a wide degree of freedom with regard to other women, and

in many cases he married a second, third or fourth wife. The economic system prior to the missionary period allowed this set-up because of the need for manpower to work in the lands and also take care of the livestock. Arranged marriages were made for both boys and girls as soon as they were mature. After initiation, they were immediately married, either to polygamous families or as first wives. There were few cases of premarital sex since the boys were kept at the cattle posts and the girls were strictly taken care of by their parents.⁴⁵ To avoid premarital sex taking place, the girls were married off as soon as they matured.

The coming of the missionaries and the impact of Western culture changed the situation. The first change was that boys no longer stayed at the cattle posts but went to school with the girls. There was a wide mixing of boys and girls. The initiation schools were abolished. In many areas, boys and girls were together while many parents spent most of their time working on the lands and at the cattle posts. Boys and girls began to be exposed to premarital sex. The church could not control the situation and the result was the appearance of illegitimate children and unmarried mothers. The growth in the number of unmarried mothers became a common feature and has led to the decline of marriages in Botswana. Currently, Botswana has one of the fastest growing populations in the world. Many children are born of unmarried mothers.

The schools were not the only cause of the decline in morality in Botswana. The changing economic situation also had a great impact on the moral lives of the people. Traditionally, the chiefs had some degree of access to many women, including married women. When men went to the cattle posts or went to Rhodesia or South Africa as migrant workers, the chiefs remained in charge of the families. In this manner they would go to the extent of having sexual relationships with these women. Oral evidence points out that, in cases where the chief would feel more attached to someone's wife, he would make sure that that man was always out on errands for the chief.

The growth in migrant labour in the early 1920s made the situation worse. Women care was no longer limited to the chief. The LMS ministers and evangelists were also entrusted with the care of women. When men went to the mines, they would report to the minister that he should take care of the family. Statistically, there were more women going to church than men. Logically the minister was regarded as a pastor and was entrusted with the problems faced by women whose husbands were away. The morally wicked ministers abused this trust and went to the extent of committing adultery with many women. The most available women to the ministers were the growing numbers of unmarried mothers. This situation became worse with the emergence of the Zionist churches. Many of these churches appealed to the unmarried mothers and girls in general. These became victims of the unscrupulous ministers of the AICs who proclaimed through false prophecies that they had been asked to pray for certain women in privacy.⁴⁶ The most unfortunate were the supposedly barren women. The so-called barren woman could have been suffering from venereal diseases spread by husbands or boyfriends who got these in urban centres, especially in South Africa, due to migrant labour. The AICs claimed to heal all diseases. The healing included sex with the prophet which would result in pregnancy. This was always associated with success in healing and such a prophet would become very popular. Generally in Botswana societies, when a woman had had an illegitimate child during the husband's absence, divorce was not allowed. The husband would regard the child as his. Thus, the more people moved to urban areas in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the more moral rules became relaxed. The LMS could not even maintain some of its strong rules regarding chastity. The image of the ministry changed. Ministers were ridiculed as caring people who even fulfilled the sexual needs of the unmarried women or unmarried mothers. The ministers became more and more attached to women so that, even today, when there are big ceremonies like marriages or funerals, at the end it is always announced that the men will assemble at the *kgotla* while the ministers

(*baruti*) and the women will go the homestead.⁴⁷ The close association of women with the ministers is not only pastoral, but is also regarded in a sexual context.

This is the general picture within which sexual irregularities should be viewed in the HMG. The HMG has a very low moral life as far as sexual irregularities are concerned in the ministry. One senior informant said that many men join the HMG when they are very faithful to their wives and families. After a few years they become the most promiscuous men. This remark was followed by an invitation to me to attend a wedding ceremony for two divorcees. The idea was that I should come to speak to the church about the importance of marriage. He also informed me that the Executive Committee was meeting prior to the wedding to discuss the marriage situation of the Church. He went on to say that all the senior ministers of the HMG were not living with their first wives. They all lived with second or third or even fourth wives. There is a complete absence of teaching on marriage in the HMG but the Constitution states that:

(3) Any others who shall have positions of responsibility in the church shall only be considered on production of a marriage certificate. The same applies to women, because the Lord's way or law says a leader should be a person with one wife. (1 Timothy 3:1 ff)

This part of the Rules and Regulations is very rarely mentioned in sermons. The women complained about the state of marriage in the church at Jackalasi No. 2. They also complained about the unmarried women who held high offices in the Church, while the rules of the Church were against that. The only reason that they held the positions was simply that they were mistresses (*dinyatsi*) of the ministers. Some informants said that the use of staves is no longer liked in the HMG because some young men hit each other in the church under the pretext of prophecy when they were actually fighting over some woman in the church. I followed this up by trying to find out about the marital state of the church and discovered that there were more unmarried women than married. This has been discussed above. In spite of the widespread nature of this state of affairs in Botswana Christianity, the HMG members associate it with the growing rate of sexual

irregularities in the Church. The ministry of the HMG is therefore under serious criticism for sexual irregularities.

5.12.4 Penalties

Penalties normally range from paying fines when absent from meetings to refunding misused funds or suspension over failure to abide by the Constitution. Penalties leading to expulsion are very rare.

5.12.5 Authorities and Procedures

There is great respect for authority and procedures in the HMG. Many members are very conscious of their rights and are not afraid to speak out whenever things are not properly done. The leaders are aware of the democratic spirit of the church and they always want proper procedures to be followed. Minutes of meetings and conferences of the HMG reveal this situation.

The respect for authority is biblical and based on the following passages:

Then Samuel took a jar of olive oil and poured it on Saul's head, kissed him and said, "The Lord anoints you ruler of his people Israel. You will rule his people and protect them from all their enemies (1 Samuel 10:1)

... choose seven men among you who are known to be full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom, and we will put them in charge of this matter (Acts 5: 1 ff. 3)

It was he who "gave gifts to mankind", he appointed some to be apostles, others to be prophets, others to be evangelists, others to be pastors and teachers (Ephesians 4:11)

When members are ordained to different positions in the church, these passages are read and sermons are based on them. This usually happens during a *mulindelo* so that many preachers emphasise the holiness of positions in the church and their sacred nature. From the example of 1 Samuel, the chosen person is anointed. The chosen

one is to be a ruler of the people or congregation and has to be kind and merciful to the congregation. The good attitude of church leaders naturally leads to a good congregation. As in Acts 6:1 ff., the persons selected could be chosen to perform certain duties for the church, such as taking care of the distribution of church finances. The number seven points to the existence of a committee. The important aspect of this passage is that the chosen have to be laid hands upon as ordination. This attaches great religious significance to the office or position for which the person is chosen. Ephesians 4 shows the different positions to which members are called. The appeal to the Bible gives further authority and respect to those who are chosen.

The combination of all these passages in a sermon creates a basis for the respect for authority which should lead to the unity of the Church. It is through these sacred official positions that the HMG has been able, and still continues to transform many Tswana traditional beliefs and practices to Christianity. It is on this basis that discipline is maintained in the HMG.

5.13 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The structure and organisation of the HMG have maintained the ritual that pervades life in general in traditional Botswana societies. As stated above, religious ritual penetrates the political, social and economic life of Botswana traditional societies. The HMG has used the same Bible that led to the destruction of Botswana communities to build them up through an indigenous approach and interpretation of the Bible. This indigenous approach to the Bible has contributed to religious ecumenism (as shall be discussed below) which is the root of national unity in Botswana since traditional societies are united by their religions.

Endnotes to Chapter 5

1. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961), p.169.
2. The LMS amongst the Bakwena, Bamangwato and the Bangwaketse was regarded as a national or tribal church.
3. Dale, History of Congregationalism, London, Hodder and Stoughton (1907).
4. The Jackalasi No. 2 document refers to the only written source of information salvaged from all the HMG documents which were destroyed by white ants due to lack of documentary care for the family of Bishop Mthembu. It contains valuable information regarding the early life of the HMG.
5. The HMG has great respect for its dead and this is characterised by the Church arranging the funeral service and spending its money to bury the dead.
6. "They indulged in sexual orgies, and contributed to the moral delinquency of minors." (Zionism DCS/42/16, BNA).
7. Bishop Mthembu had long experience, from 1932 to 1948, with the different AICs in South Africa.
8. Tithing in the HMG is one of the major sources of church income. However it does not refer to one-tenth of a person's income but rather to an amount agreed upon by the church.
9. "Collections were frequently taken for the cause. . . . Most money collected was thought to go to the Collectors." (DCS/42/16, BNA).
10. Before 1972 there were debates in the HMG but the Bishop was always the last authority.
11. Bishop Mthembu died on 17th May 1985. The General Secretary of the HMG sent a letter to all the HMG local churches to inform them of the death and the day of burial.
12. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961) observed the constitution problems. West, *op. cit.* (1975) also observed the same problems.
13. The version of the Bible translation quoted is the one nearest to the Setswana version.
14. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961); Jules-Rossette, *op. cit.* (1975); Dillon-Malone, *op. cit.* (1978).
15. The Setswana translation says the same thing as the TEV version.
16. Molokomme, *op. cit.* (1991).

17. See Minutes of the Committee chosen to investigate the problem (Appendix A/12).
18. Observations made earlier by Dr Robert Moffat, Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa, London (1843).
19. See Church applications for recognition (DCS/42/16, BNA).
20. See Figures 5 and 6, pp. 146 and 147.
21. See Appendix C/14.
22. See Appendix C/17.
23. The gifts are understood as stated in 1 Corinthians 12:1-11.
24. The HMG interprets baptism by sprinkling as the sign of those who are of the devil or the beast (Revelations 14:9-10).
25. Evangelistic in the sense of going out to preach the Gospel and find new converts.
26. Many local tribal chiefs opposed the introduction of white beer which they considered more dangerous than the local traditional beer. See Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970), pp.146-150.
27. C. Kerven, "Rural-urban interdependence and agricultural development", in Hitchcock *et al.* (Eds.), Proceedings (1982).
28. This practice was common amongst the Bangwato who had the highest number of non-Tswana peoples.
29. Fred Morton and Jeff Ramsay (Eds.) The Birth of Botswana (1984).
30. See Unlawful Assemblies Act of 1956 (BNA).
31. This is visible in taboos relating to the origins of man and childbirth. See Willoughby Papers, Selly Oak Colleges Library, Birmingham, UK.
32. This practice is not unique to the AICs because even mission churches respect the use of foreign languages, e.g. the Roman Catholic Church used Latin until Vatican II.
33. One of the graduates had a Masters Degree in Economics.
34. Molokomme, *op. cit.* (1991).
35. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961), pp. 184ff. describes the use of formulas and, at times, Psalms.

36. HMG members experience the presence of God in their daily lives whilst members of the historic churches think of God only when they have problems or when they think of their future life.
37. The drinking of liquor in Botswana is a major concern for many people because it causes accidents, loss of life and family break downs.
38. The Botswana Christian Council Constitution is shown in Appendix E/ 1.
39. Whereas the State tolerates the Church, it does not want the Church to interfere in politics. This was evident in 1986 when the State banned some Church Radio Council Programmes from being broadcast by Radio Botswana. These programmes had challenged salary increases by the Government and the introduction of the Polygamy Bill by Parliament.
40. See section on complaints of LMS missionaries concerning the rise of the AICs in Chapter 3.
41. Molokomme, *op. cit.* (1991).
42. In both cases proper action was taken with regard to those responsible but at the same time retaining them in the Church and safeguarding the integrity of the Church.
43. Information gathered from reading local Church Minutes at Rakops (21-23 September 1991) and the report on problems at Letlhakane (see Appendix A/ 12).
44. I. Schapera, Married Life in An African Tribe, London (1940a).
45. I. Schapera, Handbook of Tswana Law and Customs, London [1938a] (1955).
46. Discussions with Bishop Mzonda, Francistown, September 1990.
47. This is a common practice amongst the Bakwena of Molepolole. The announcement is always made by the Master of Ceremonies.

CHAPTER SIX

CHURCH ORGANISATION AND MEETING PROCEDURES IN

THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

6.1 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE AFRICAN INDEPENDENT CHURCHES' MEETING PROCEDURES

The many studies that have been done on the AICs in Southern Africa have not given any consideration to the actual running of meetings with regards to their organisation.¹ Whatever was said, was said in passing, not after a thorough examination. Sundkler (1961) has shown that the existence and survival of an AIC depended on two basic forms of leadership: the "chief-type" leader of the Ethiopian-type AICs and the "prophetic or charismatic" leader of the Zionist-type AICs.² The impression portrayed by this classification creates a leader who has a very high degree of authority over the church and one who dominates church meetings. Considering the fact that the AICs were in their early stages of development and needed central authority, there is enough reason to say that the leaders controlled the meetings and decision-making. A later study by Daneel (1988) showed that the leadership patterns were based on the Shona traditional structures.³ The Shona traditional structures allowed the chief to have a wide number of advisers who included his relatives and other prominent men of the tribe. On this basis there existed a high degree of consultation and consensus agreement on many issues. A number of AICs of the Southern Shona adopted this system and this led to closer cooperation among the AICs in Zimbabwe so that, according to Daneel's (1989) study, an ecumenical movement was achieved.⁴ The ecumenical spirit was born from the fact that the churches that broke away still regarded the ones they broke from as their mother churches and they still had respect for their Bishops.

Studies on the Zion Christian Church of Lekganyane by Lukhaimane (1991) show a similar pattern of leadership where traditional structures prevail but leave the leader with great authority.⁵ The Church of Shembe (Vilakazi *et al.*, 1986) gives a clear picture of the revitalization of Zulu culture. No examples are given of meeting procedures but it is clear from the Zulu traditional structures that the leader has great influence on the church meetings.

It is within this general context that our examination of organisation and meeting procedures should be viewed in the HMG.

6.2 THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD MEETING PROCEDURES

6.2.1 Traditional Tswana Society

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss meeting procedures in the Tswana traditional societies since many studies have been done on these.⁶ The present study only highlights the major aspects of the procedures which had some impact on the HMG. Meetings in traditional Tswana society take place at the *kgotla*. Before calling the meeting, the chief consults with his advisers and discusses the matter and arrives at a certain conclusion. He then calls a public meeting where everybody gives his or her views on the issue in question. When all those who so wish have aired their views, the chief then summarizes the matter with the decisions arrived at by his advisers. Normally all the people agree with the chief and a consensus is reached on the matter but this does not exclude the fact that some matters need to be debated over several days or even weeks before a decision is reached.

The observations of this study are that the HMG has borrowed a lot from this tradition.

6.2.2 The London Missionary Society

The LMS introduced an election system in the Botswana societies. Traditionally the advisers to the chief were people who were close relatives of the chief together with some prominent members of the tribe. These men had to advise the chief in accordance with custom. The LMS, coming from a Western tradition with an election system, introduced a similar system in the church. The LMS elected some people to the deacon's court whose duties were to run the affairs of the church. The deacons were elected from people of high faith and included both men and women. The inclusion of women at high levels of decision-making was a great achievement in Tswana societies.⁷ This is the system which prevailed when the AICs and the HMG specifically came to Botswana. The elected form of church government was foreign to many AICs, especially the prophetic and charismatic movements where the leader had great authority. In the LMS system there was a great degree of freedom of speech and expression within the congregation meetings. The minister had the duty to guide the discussions in a proper perspective. In this manner, the congregation and not the minister had authority.

The HMG copied some of the meeting procedures of the LMS. This is not an issue because originally Bishop Mthembu was a member of the LMS and he had no serious problems with the running of the church but differed with the LMS on doctrinal issues (see Chapter Four).

6.2.3 The Leader

As stated above, Bishop Mthembu was a very intelligent leader who used his experiences within the AICs in South Africa to help his church to avoid splits. This was

due to his leadership qualities. He respected biblical authority. When it came to meetings, the Bible was the sole authority which was referred to at all times whenever a problem arose in the church. By using the Bible and appealing indirectly to the traditional Tswana meeting procedures, Mthembu held good meetings with his church members at both local and national levels.⁸ The meetings allowed freedom of speech and expression amongst the members. However, as indicated in some church minutes, he was always the last speaker and his words and conclusions were accepted as final. He reached decisions in the same manner that a chief would after assessing the feelings and the ideas of his people. An LMS minister would also act in the same manner after discussions with the deacons.

There are several minutes of meetings shown in Appendix A where different Committees of the church held meetings without the Bishop. They all went well because of the spirit of love and appeal to the Bible as Bishop Mthembu had taught his members. The leader, Bishop Mthembu, made a significant contribution to the success of the meeting procedures of the HMG.

6.3 MEETING PROCEDURES IN THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

The meeting procedures in the HMG can be divided into two periods: the period prior to 1972 and the period from 1972 to the present.

6.3.1 Period Prior to 1972

The period prior to 1972 shows that the Bishop had a considerably high degree of authority in meetings of the church. This authority is visible in the meeting minutes, as can be seen in the Jackalasi No. 2 document discussed above. The minutes show

a wide range of discussions in the meetings but the discussions are more in the form of reports to the Bishop as opposed to individual members giving their own independent feelings and opinions. When people were selected or promoted to certain positions in the church, there is no sign of any debates or queries. It is also clear that the Bishop and some of his old and close colleagues just selected people from the congregation whom they found fit for office and promoted them without any serious consultation with the congregations. Although the Bishop had a Committee, he was always the final authority, in a similar fashion to a chief. The need for a Committee was very much on the lines of that of a chief and his councillors. As discussed previously, the LMS had instilled a spirit of democratic rule in its congregations and that also influenced Bishop Mthembu, as a former member of the LMS. The existence of a Committee in Bishop Mthembu's church was due to fear of absolute authority which would lead to the splitting of the Church. However, overall, he still exercised great power and influence on the Church.

6.3.2 The Period from 1972 to the Present

As discussed above, in 1972 the Societies Act was passed by the Botswana Government, requiring the registration of all societies including religious bodies. The HMG produced a Constitution which carried in it meeting procedures. Clause 7, article (J) of the HMG Constitution (Appendix D) defines the meeting procedures. The main points are that the Review Committee should issue written notices through the General Secretary to all branches 30 days before the meeting. Members of the Review Committee should be given notice of a meeting 14 days before the date of the meeting. The local churches should make announcements at the daily prayer meetings. The rule states that all matters to be discussed at the General Conference should have passed through the General Secretary.

The Constitution raised a few problems: (1) it defines the procedures of a General Conference but makes no mention of the local churches and how they should conduct their meetings; 2) the definition does not include church committees which hold meetings leading to the Annual General Meeting; 3) limitations are placed on the traditional nature of AIC meetings through the introduction of agendas instead of free meetings similar to those held in the *kgotla* in traditional society.

A summary of the major issues discussed at some selected meetings after 1972 show the advantages and disadvantages brought about by the Constitution. The full texts of the summarized meeting minutes are given in Appendix A.

6.4 SUMMARY OF MAJOR ISSUES DISCUSSED AT SELECTED HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD MEETINGS

The major issue that appears in the meetings of the HMG is the distribution of authority and the continuous usurpation of power from the Bishop by the different church committees. When the HMG Constitution was drawn up, it did not state clearly the role of the Bishop within the different administrative bodies. He becomes part of a team of church administrators. The 1978 Good Friday celebrations (Appendix A) show that the Bishop still had some influence on his Church. However, the influence was not based on his own authority but on the power and influence of the Holy Spirit. The nomination of Norman Mzonda as Bishop Mthembu's successor was based on spiritual revelation and not on his own authority. It is evident that the Bishop was not happy with the idea of sharing power since this makes leadership very difficult due to the lack of one central authority. The need for general agreement in many cases, arrived at through debate and vote, was not, and is not, in accordance with the nature

of the HMG and many other AICs.⁹ The election of Norman Mzonda was immediately followed by the allocation of some duties to him.

The 1979 General Conference was conducted by one of the Vice Presidents of the Church, Mr Kgari. The Bishop had to allow the Conference to continue without him. In the past, such a conference could not have gone on in his absence because that would mean loss of power and authority. The new Constitution, with the different administrative bodies, allows the Conference to continue without the Bishop. This was, and is, a great change in the meeting procedures of the HMG and other AICs in Botswana. The Societies Act also forced the AICs to transform their beliefs in order to meet the demands of the Act. The Francistown Conference raised a number of issues which affected the life of the HMG and the most important of these was the feeling expressed by some elderly people that the young people should not be allowed to participate in the decision-making of the Church but should listen and accept what the elders had agreed upon. A lively debate ensued but the matter was dropped without a conclusion being reached. To exclude the young people from decision-making would cause serious problems for the Church because they could take the Church to court since they were constitutionally recognized members of the Church. Participation by youth in the decision-making posed a challenge to the HMG and many AICs because their administration always embraces some elements of African culture where only the elderly people can sit at the *kgotla*¹⁰ and make decisions binding on every member of the tribe.

The sharing of authority is now becoming evident in all the meetings, conferences and celebrations of the HMG, with the result that a number of mistakes are beginning to appear, partly due to the increasing numbers of church membership and partly to irresponsible leaders. It is also noticeable that matters discussed at church meetings, conferences, and even at celebrations, are very similar. The activities are also similar so that it becomes very difficult to make a distinction among the three. At

all of these, there is a great deal of power sharing which had never existed before. The Holy Communion, which originally could only be celebrated at one place where the Good Friday celebrations were held, that is, Jackalasi No. 2, could now be held or celebrated at any place as long as there was a need. The Holy Communion could only be served by the Bishop, but now he is assisted by other ministers (*baruti*).

The impact of the different administrative bodies on the running of the HMG could be felt on the outcome of the Secretaries' Meeting held in Francistown on 28 June 1980. This meeting moved for the amendment of the Constitution. The motion was agreed and the HMG Constitution was amended at a special Conference held at Palapye. This was the Conference at which the Bishop saw the complete decline of his authority and respect for him when some people left before the Conference was officially closed. He cried because he then saw that the past had gone and the Church was taking a new direction.

The women's meeting of 12 July 1980 at Jackalasi No. 2 also brought a serious administrative problem for the Church when the women complained about men's disrespect for marriage. There was a great feeling that many men did not love their wives because they had mistresses in the Church. The HMG had not defined its stand as far as marriage was concerned. It does not recognize polygamy but many of its ministers until 1980, including the first Bishop, had more than one wife. The marriages were traditional so that, when the husband did not like his wife any longer, he would just take another one. One of the reasons given by Mr Kgari for leaving the Church was that there was no discipline in marital affairs.¹¹ He said that many HMG ministers and senior officers are not living with their first wives. The current Bishop is also not living with his first wife. However, the most important thing here is the shift in power from the Bishop to the congregation. Most people and committees were free to voice their dissatisfactions, which had never before been possible. There had been a significant change in the meeting procedures of the HMG within the period.

6.5 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The minutes of meetings (as in Appendix A) show that many people participated in the meetings. The minutes express some individual opinions and how they were combined to lead to definite conclusions. From 1972 onwards, it is evident that the authority of the Bishop was accepted due to his old age, experience and wisdom which had put the church together. There is no sign of fear of the Bishop amongst the members. This is very different from what one would expect in an AIC, especially following the images of church leaders as portrayed by many studies.¹² The Amanazaretha of Shembe or the ZCC, as mentioned above, may not present this atmosphere in their meetings where the leader is understood in terms of being a mediator between God and the people. The ZCC of Mutendi, as studied by Daneel (1988), reveals the powerful leader who is respected with fear.¹³ It is clear from the evidence given about the lives of these church leaders that they exercise great authority which instils fear in the members, a feature absent from the HMG.

Another observation is that the HMG has adopted and transformed the traditional Tswana structures of running meetings. These include the fear of the chief which the people had because of his hereditary authority and the respect for the ancestors of the chief which were superior to those of the members of the tribe. In the HMG the superiority of the Bishop as a religious leader does not prevail because Bishop Mthembu had taught his people to respect God and not himself. He did not play the role of standing at the gate of heaven to introduce his members to Christ as some AICs believe.

As discussed above, Mthembu cannot be classified in the category of ancestors because of the concept of death which he taught his congregation or his Church. The basic understanding of rituals and doctrines determines the degree to which the people can be free in the meetings and in the Church generally. A church doctrine and ritual

that tends to give the leader a distinct place, leads to lack of freedom of expression in the meetings.

As stated above, the LMS has a significant impact on the running of the meetings of the HMG. The absence of doctrine and ritual that put the LMS minister above the congregation has also helped the HMG to adopt a procedure that gives freedom and equality and this is extended by having no educated or specially called ministers. We have seen above that the ministers are at the same level of social standing as their church members. The freedom of expression with respect, as shown in the HMG meetings, can make a contribution to many of the AICs that invest their leader with great authority and also help to narrow the gap between the clergy in the LMS (now UCCSA) and other mission churches in Botswana. Although this gap is not serious as discussed above, it has an important influence on the congregation because of the special training which the ministers undergo. This training puts them a class above the congregation.

Endnotes to Chapter Six

1. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961); Jules-Rossette, *op. cit.* (1975); West, *op. cit.* (1975); C.M. Dillon-Malone, The Korsten Basketmakers. A Study of the Masowe Apostles, an Indigenous African Religious Movement, Manchester University Press (1978); Daneel, *op. cit.* (1987).
2. See Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961), pp. 100ff.
3. See Daneel, *op. cit.* (1988), pp. 40-45.
4. See Daneel, *op. cit.* (1989).
5. Lukhaimane, E.K., "The St Engenas Zion Christian Church", in Oosthuizen, G.C. et al., Afro-Christian Religion at the Grassroots in Southern Africa, Edwin Mellen Press (1991), pp.227-243.
6. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970), pp. 22-23.
7. The impact of the Colonial Government's legislation in the 1900s showed great concern for women. See Schapera, op. cit. (1970), pp. 144-145.
8. Local refers to local church meetings and national refers to meetings of the whole church such as at the Good Friday Celebrations and the Annual General Conference.
9. Monographic studies on AICs, such as Jules-Rossette, *op. cit.* (1975); Dillon-Malone, *op. cit.* (1978) and Vilakazi et al., *op. cit.* (1986), show that the leader has absolute authority in matters of decision-making.
10. Schapera, *op. cit.* (1970), pp. 22-23.
11. See Minutes in Appendix A/12. Mr Kgari also voiced his feelings to me in a discussion with him at Letlhakane on 20th September 1991.
12. See Daneel, *op. cit.* (1988), pp. 268-298.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WORSHIP IN THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

7.1 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Worship in the HMG should be viewed within the general observations on the AICs that have been made by many scholars.¹ This study maintains that Sundkler's (1961) observations on AICs worship are classical and form the basis of all AIC worship.² Worship in the AICs, especially the Zionist type, is blended with many elements of nativistic or traditional practices and it is ritualistic. He summarizes the whole practice of worship as "worship in Bethesda". When Sundkler made his study, the AICs were 56 years old, if we date them to 1892, or they were 76 years old if we date them to 1872 when a split occurred in the Paris Evangelical Mission Society in Lesotho. Sundkler has not seriously considered the fact that the AICs had originated from the historic churches from which they inherited a culture and a tradition which they modified, changed or transformed with the passage of time and the general social change and progress. The fact of having a historic connection with the historic churches gave the AICs a format of liturgy from which they developed their own. This fact should have been considered in order to put AICs worship in its proper context. This is visible in one of the liturgies observed by Sundkler which is taken by the present author to be the classical format of AICs worship, especially the Zionists. The observation was made in the Zion Sabbath Apostolic Church as follows:

- Door of house painted with a green and white cross.
- Door closed during prayers.

- Picture of a car on the wall and the name of the leader painted on one side of the wall.
 - Preacher and congregation all sit on the floor.
 - Men, women and children are all in church.
 - The majority wear white robes, with sashes of green or blue material or sackcloth round the waist.
 - The leader wears a long blue coat over his white shirt and carries a brass staff in his right hand.
 - A hymn is led by the leader and all move to the rhythm of the drum;
 - women are possessed by the spirit and fall down.
 - Enoch stands and says "Peace to the Church".
 - *Ukuhlambulula* - to purify - confession (the Minister starts his confession, and is followed by a woman).
 - All kneel in prayer.
 - Our Father is intoned by the drummer.
 - Present arms! (*Mayihlome izikhali*)! (All walk round the man in the centre who gives them the *izikhali*, singing the song for the staves - the leader does not join in because he has a staff of his own class).
 - Sermon with Bible reading; preaching which no reference to the text;
 - singing interrupts the sermon.
 - Leader announces the hymn.
- Healing session
- The sick are called forward.
 - They are prayed for by the leader and passed over to the drummer and another woman who feel all parts of the body.

This description of a service, which includes the liturgy, place of prayer, vestments, staves, spirit possession and healing, forms the general character or nature of an AIC service. It is on this basis that monographic studies, like the present one, can point out the differences and developments or changes that have occurred over time. Sundkler observed that Zionist sermons are preceded by testimonies leading to the importance attached to confession which is not popular in the historic churches. The confessions include the confession of sin or general distress. He argues that testimonies have been substituted for biblical teaching. Confessions and testimonies have become liturgical formulae because they are uttered in a half-singing and half-speaking tone. According to Sundkler, prayer is free and preaching is spiritual. It is turned into supplication formulae: "Thou God of Meshack, Shadrack and Abednego", etc. He has also observed that the passion hymns and those about heavenly Jerusalem are commonly sung. There is an absence of the composition of hymns. Biblical verses are sung to traditional tunes. On confession and purification, Sundkler has associated all with Zulu tradition. The ingredients used for healing and purification are called *isiwasho* and include castor oil, blue soap and blue stone for enema, and epsom salts. These are replacements for the *ubulawo* used by *the sangoma*.

The sacred dress is dictated by dreams and visions. The white colour has a Zulu interpretation as well as being biblical. White is a pure colour and attracts angels to protect a person. Green clothes are dresses of the spirit. The holy staves (*izikhali*) are prescribed by the Prophet and are used for several purposes including conducting lightning and driving out demons from the sick, while a staff with a cross embodies the spiritual power of the Zionist Christian. The staves are also used to identify sin and they thus guard one against immoral behaviour.

The above are the main elements observed by Sundkler and it is against these that the present study will examine any changes made by the HMG. The Ethiopian type AICs usually follow the pattern of the historic churches in their worship. They are,

however, attracted by the taboos and rituals of the AICs of the Zionist types and gradually change towards them. Other Ethiopians are attracted by Roman Catholic rituals symbolised by vestments and utensils used for various purposes in worship.

Pauw (1964)³ has identified a number of similarities and continuities in the AIC's liturgies when compared to the historic churches. He found that the LMS Church at Taung had daily church activities similar to those of the Holy Church of Christ. He outlined the liturgy of the Bechuana Methodist Church as follows:

- People go in and start signing.
- A Deacon, Evangelist and two preachers come in.
- The Deacon prays spontaneously, then says the Lord's prayer, and the congregation says the prayer after him.
- Psalm 122 is read with the congregation.
- Tswana hymns are sung.
- Announcements follow.
- The Deacon starts a hymn.
- The Evangelist rises, announces a hymn and reads Matt. 7:13-14.
- Hymn.
- Preaching by Evangelist (5 minutes).
- The Evangelist announces a hymn and changes place with the Deacon.
- The Deacon starts another hymn.
- Preacher.
- Hymn.
- The Preacher leads in prayer.
- The Blessing is given and then a procession to the homestead is led by the women.

A comparative examination of these two liturgies highlights some of the foregoing observations. Sundkler (1961) sees changes in terms of adaption to Zulu tradition, thus disconnecting the AICs worship from that of the historic churches. Pauw (1964) shows continuity in the changes and modifications whereas Sundkler's model fits well with the case of the Amanazaretha of Shembe who, according to Vilakazi *et al.* (1986), are a Zulu traditional church and use the Bible to give Zulu religion "new power". In this regard, all their beliefs and practices are geared towards the modernisation of Zulu religion through the use of beliefs and practices borrowed from the Bible. Daneel (1987)⁴ introduces a new concept in worship which he refers to as "spontaneity" in worship. If spontaneity to Daneel simply means worshipping according to the dictates of the prevailing conditions, the model lacks a deeper insight. Members of the AICs are good Bible readers who compete with each other on Bible knowledge. In this good biblical learning, which Daneel acknowledges leaves no room for spontaneity, there must be an order within which this knowledge is clearly put forward. The observation by Daneel that there are many sermons in the service is evidence that a proper order and guided manner of presentation exist. Spontaneity in worship does not give a clear picture of worship in the AICs. It is also a common practice in many LMS churches that many sermons are preached in one service without emphasis on the passage read. Instead the emphasis is placed on addressing the needs of the people at that particular time. Daneel sees the sermon as central, overlooking activities such as testimonies, collections for different activities of the church, notices or announcements and healing, which are all part of worship and liturgy in the AICs.

A contribution to monographic studies on the AICs by Dillon-Malone (1978) on the Masowe Apostles shows many similarities in the liturgy, following the pattern of historic churches. The order is as follows:

- Greeting "Hosanna mukuru".
- Prayer by the leader.

- Collective prayer.
- Hymn singing.
- "Our Father".
- Prophets or preachers speak.
- More prayer and then the leader concludes the service.

These general observations would be incomplete if H.W. Turner's study (1967) of the Aladura in West Africa were not cited. This study, although in a different context from that of Southern Africa, shows that the AICs have inherited forms of worship from the historic churches which they have modified or transformed to suit their needs and their understanding of the Scriptures and approaches to God.

As stated above, the foregoing is intended to provide a framework or context for the present study of HMG worship by furnishing a brief description of some the changes, modifications or transformations or even complete adaptations of certain other models of worship.

7.2 WORSHIP IN THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

Worship is central to the life of the HMG. It is defined by the Constitution Clause (2) of the Rules and Regulations.

Procedure: When the service commences, all the people stand up, and it begins with the women making their confessions, from the young ones to the elders, and they are then followed by the men. After this, the people lift their worshipping Rods and the congregation then start singing from their hymn books. A prayer is said by an Elder of the Church or the Priest while all are kneeling down. The congregation then sings or says the Lord's Prayer, Luke 11:2. When the service ends, the women kneel down

while the men remain standing. The service is then closed with prayer by an Elder of the Church or the Priest.

The above is a description of the liturgy or the general procedure of the service.

The sitting position in Church is defined by Clause (5) and is as follows:

Men

The Bishop
The President
Minister
Secretary-General
Deacon
Assistant Secretary-General
Head Evangelist
Evangelist
Preacher
Secretary
And then down to the women.

Women

Mma-Bishop
Mma-President
Mma-Minister
Mma-Secretary-General
Mma-Deacon
Mma-Assistant Secretary-General
Mma-Head Evangelist
Mma-Evangelist
Mma-Preacher
Mma-Secretary

The above is the Constitutional definition of how the service should be run and how the people should sit in church in accordance with seniority and position.

7.3 SACRED PLACES

The HMG does not have sacred places of worship similar to those of the Ekuphakameni of the Amanazaretha. The only sacred place is the church building itself, or any other place designated for worship. Each congregation is believed to have an angel who takes care of the members. The angel is represented by a cross covered with green sashes, as prescribed by the prophets on the day of the dedication of the new church. On that day, a *mulindelo* is arranged and friendly churches are invited. The main purpose of the *mulindelo* is to dedicate the church and also protect it against all evil forces. An angel is then revealed to the prophets and the colour and instrument of his choice are also revealed. Thus the instrument signifying the angel's ever-

presence is dedicated and put in the church to guard it. The church then becomes a very holy place and people remove their shoes before entering it.

7.4 THE HOLY CITY

Though the HMG does not have the concept of a Holy City like Moriah of the ZCC or Ekuphakemeni, Jackalasi No.2 is regarded as a historic centre of the HMG. It is also being developed to become the Headquarters of the HMG, not because of religious attachment but for the simple reason that it has a lot of space for future development as compared to other places in towns like Francistown or Gaborone. My informants also said that the Church had agreed to make it the Headquarters as a mark of respect for the founder of the HMG. It was the wish of the late Bishop Mthembu that all major church activities were held at Jackalasi No.2 but general developments within the Church had rendered this impossible. The late Bishop had also asked the local Chief to continue to welcome the members of the HMG to Jackalasi No.2 for the Good-Friday celebrations which, as seen from the Minutes (Appendix A/5), are no longer limited to Jackalasi No.2 . Thus, the concept of a Holy City has never been strong in the HMG.

7.5 THE HOLY TEMPLE AND ITS SANCTUARY

The HMG does not believe in sacrifices like those observed in some AICs. The HMG churches do not have altars or sanctuaries. While they resemble the Congregational churches, they do not have a font. The concept of a temple does not

feature strongly in the HMG, the word being used merely as an alternative to church and having no ritual significance.

7.6 THE MERCY GROUND

The HMG does not have the concept of the mercy ground as observed in other AICs. The centre of the church is referred to as *isigutlo*, and this is the place where the sick kneel when they are being prayed for. It is from that point that the angels are able to communicate with the prophets. However, the *isigutlo* is not limited to the church building. When the members of the HMG go to an evangelical mission, the place where they hold the service is first of all dedicated for that special occasion and the centre becomes the *isigutlo* or *chigutlo* where the sick are prayed for. The belief is that the angel of that particular church is also guarding the members in their mission. Thus the mercy ground is not limited to any one special place but is to be found where the church is at all times.

7.7 SACRED OBJECTS

7.7.1 Staves of Office

The HMG does not believe in special staves of office. In 1980, Bishop Mthembu was given a silver staff by the South African HMG congregations. He took it but never used it in any official capacity because he had always wanted to remain at the same social level as the rest of his Ministers. My informants liked this unique character of Bishop Mthembu which was so different from that of other Zionist leaders. The staves

used by the prophets are referred to as *zwickhali* and they are derived from the Zulu tradition, as observed by Sundkler (1961).⁵ They were then transformed to resemble the stick which Moses carried when God called him. In this manner, they lost their Zulu origin and many HMG prophets understand them as the stick carried by Moses. Currently, these sticks are the subject of much debate in the HMG. Many young men, even those who are not prophets, carry the sticks and wear a uniform of green jackets. They have organised themselves into a clique which comes to church late. One old informant remarked that the sticks were "*makombo aka bulaya Jesu*" ("the sticks that killed Jesus"). This growing dislike for the sticks is due to several factors. The older members of the HMG know that the sticks were used at times to detect witches and people who had committed sin. There was also some misuse of the sticks because some young men, who were all interested in one woman in the church, would pretend to be prophesying and hit each other with the sticks claiming that they had sinned. As this practice continued, it became clear that some prophecies were false and were used as an excuse for jealousy. Many people began to lose faith in the accuracy of using the sticks for prophetic purposes. Moreover, many young men claimed to have been shown in dreams and visions that they should hold certain sticks. These were shown with all sorts of decorations and flags. Finally, as the sticks were no longer for Prophets only, as had been the tradition, many people lost confidence in them. For these reasons the HMG is now considering the value and the use of the staves. In any event, they are no longer regarded as holy. What is interesting about them is that they have drifted from being traditional Zulu sticks to being regarded as the stick of Moses. This confirms Daneel's (1988) observation that, as far as the Shona churches are concerned, links with South Africa have been cut off.

7.7.2 Vestments

The main vestment of the HMG is a white gown, worn with a green sash around the waist, and is called *join* or *munasaretha*. This is a direct development from the dress of the Amanazaretha of Shembe. However, to the HMG members, the connection with the Shembe Amanazaretha is not known. Instead they believe that it is the dress which was worn by the first Christians in Nazareth where Jesus was born. In this manner, the dress is attached to the New Testament instead of the Zulu tradition from which it originated. From the evidence of my informants, there is no sign that even Bishop Mthembu ever associated the dress with the Amanazaretha of Shembe. The Ministers wear a blue coat with long crosses on the sides and at the back and white trousers. The women wear blue dresses on top of the *join*, with white hats and caps. The unmarried wear doeks instead of the hats and across their shoulders they wear a white belt trimmed in blue with the name of their church written on it.

7.7.3 Candles

The HMG uses seven candles when performing special rituals in the church. This practice is very rare and, as such, there is little significance attached to candles. The normal church service never uses candles except for lighting.

7.7.4 Water

The HMG does not regularly use water in its normal worship services. It is used for healing if so required by the prophets and also plays an important role in baptism.

7.8 SACRED ACTIONS

7.8.1 Posture in Prayer

The recommended posture in prayer is that of men standing facing East while the women kneel behind them. This is done when the service begins. The belief is that facing East is facing Jerusalem. At the end of the service, they all kneel facing East and the Minister closes with a prayer. Any prayers during the service are made while people are sitting down. When women preach in the church, they do so in a kneeling position.

7.8.2 Dancing

Dancing is very important in the HMG worship service. During the preaching and other activities prior to the healing session, the members usually dance standing in one place, or just shake their bodies to the rhythm of the music. During the healing session, the dance becomes more formal and takes a proper format. The people perform what they call the "dress". This is a special dance in which the dancers move very fast in a circle, dancing around the patients. The movement is so fast that it takes time for new members to be trained to do the dance. What is important in this dance is that it is done for the purpose of healing. Going with the rhythm is very important. The steps depend very much on the performance of the dancer. Many young men use the dancing and the singing to attract the ladies and even adapt some modern disco styles in order to impress them. Often there is talk about certain people who can dance very well. In this manner, one can say that the dance is sacred but it does not carry the degree of sacredness as seen in the Amanazaretha of Shembe. The dancing is very vigorous and it is during the dance that the prophets become possessed by the Holy Spirit and begin to prophesy.

7.8.3 Drumming and Clapping

Drumming and clapping was at one time very popular in the HMG but this is no longer the case with drumming, for the simple reason that the noise of the drums causes disturbance to neighbouring people. Instead, many congregations resort to the clapping of hands.

7.8.4 Hymns and Shouts

Hymns are sung very well in the HMG. There is a lot of loud singing and shouting. The shouting is not intended to be disorderly. It is intended to make the song more enjoyable and are really shouts of joy in worship fulfilling many purposes.

7.9 PATTERNS OF WORSHIP

The HMG has several patterns of worship services for special occasions. To the observer, differences in the services are slight, but to the HMG, the differences are significant.

7.9.1 The Sunday Service

There is a general order of a Sunday service which is observed everywhere with only slight differences. The order is as follows:

PART A:

General confession, starting with the doorkeeper (*gosa*) to the Minister's wife and from the least important man to the Minister, each telling the congregation how he/she feels and how the week had been spent, including general health, problems, successes, complaints and all that is necessary to be told to the congregation.

Prayers of confession by everyone simultaneously, shouting in such a manner that no-one hears the confession of another person. The prophets, and those who hold staves, kneel on their staves and, at times, point up with them in prayer.

A hymn is sung. This is from the Zulu, Sesutho or the Kalanga hymn book.

A prayer is led by the Minister or an elder which is followed by the Lord's Prayer said by all.

Another hymn is sung to prepare the people for the reading of the Word of God.

The Bible reading follows.

The reading is followed by preaching. Women are not allowed to preach. Several preachers stand up to preach short sermons and comments and questions are raised freely, allowing great participation by the congregation.

The preaching is followed by a prayer by an elder or the preacher, and the prayer often puts emphasis on the message that has been preached.

A hymn is sung.

The hymn is followed by reports from the secretary, and the doorkeeper (*gosa*). The reports include correspondence with other friendly churches, messages from the Head Office, people with problems, or those who are ill are asked to come forward to be prayed for.

Collections and contributions for certain objectives are taken.

A hymn is then sung which leads to Part B of the service.

PART B:

This is, primarily, the healing service.

A song is sung and many people come into the centre, starting with the children, then the women and the men, and they are prayed for. After this general prayer, people with different diseases and problems come into the *chigutlo* (sacred centre of the

church) as the dancing continues. The dancing becomes more and more vigorous as more and more people participate.

The prophets stop the dancing to tell what the Spirit has revealed about the patient. If the patient's problems are not severe, they are explained to the congregation but, if it is something serious and confidential, the prophet asks the congregation to continue with the singing while he kneels down to whisper to the patient the nature of the problem. When the prophet is telling what has been revealed, the patient shouts Amen! if he/she agrees with what is being said. However, if he/she does not agree, he/she simply keeps quiet and the prophet will continue until agreement with the patient is reached. In many cases, if a problem is diagnosed, the prophet also prescribes the treatment which is always done in the church. If it cannot be done in the church, the *mosebeleletsi* is asked to perform the prescribed treatment.

When the healing service is over, a hymn is sung and the congregation faces to the East, with the women kneeling down, and a closing prayer and benediction is said by the Minister. The women leave first and kneel on the ground after shaking hands. The men follow behind, shaking the hands of the women, and everyone shakes hands.

Below are examples of services which I attended and recorded the whole procedure of the services.

7.9.1.1 Order of Sunday Service, Lobatse, 1 July 1984: The service started at 12.30 p.m. due to the fact that some members had gone to *mulindelo* at other places. A candle was lit and placed on the table.

1. The Minister starts a song and the members come into the church.
2. He welcomes the congregation with a few words of encouragement and general remarks about the importance of attending church services.
3. A song is sung which is followed by an opening prayer, with the congregation kneeling facing to the East.

4. This is followed by a song, and one member holding *zwickhali* (staves) comes forward into the centre of the church. A short dance with a song follows. The Minister prays for the *zwickhali* as the dance continues. He then takes them one by one and taps them onto the floor to get the attention of the owner. Each time one picks a *zwickhali*, the dancers turn round and dance anti-clockwise etc.
5. When this is over, a song is sung, followed by the reading of the Word which was from Acts 5:12-20. The Minister preached briefly, emphasizing the importance of Apostleship and the unity of Christians. Two other preachers spoke emphasising the same thing. I was asked to explain myself to the congregation, which I did, after which I preached for a few minutes, also emphasising the same topic. The Minister then summarised the preaching. This was followed by a song after which some announcements were made.
6. The first announcer was the *gosa* who explained that two people were absent from the service. This was followed by the male *gosa* pointing out that members should fulfil their obligations. This was then followed by the Secretary and Treasurer's reports that people should make contributions for renovating and extending the church at P5.00 per member and that people should pay 40t for the post-box and 10t for candles or paraffin. During this time people freely discussed other matters in warm fellowship. An interesting report, showing concern about health, was that of a man whose foot was injured when start-pushing a vehicle which became trapped on their trip to Kanye for *mulindelo*. The Minister then expressed words of sympathy with jokes that the young man was attempting "staff" which is a common phrase used for trying to ride a vehicle in motion. The talk was full of jokes and the other members laughed in sympathy.
7. A song was sung, followed by the removing of benches from the centre of the church to make space for the healing service.

8. A song began and the *Barapeledi* started dancing, together with the Ministers. First the ladies entered the square or "holy ground" and prayers were said for them. They were followed by children and hands were also laid upon them and they were prayed for. This was followed by individual patients suffering from various diseases.

9. A lady came in with two children to be prayed for and diagnosed. This lady was to visit her home in the North but she was warned that her children would become ill at home due to ill-feeling from some people there. Water was prescribed for her and her children, with soil from that part of the country to carry with her. She was asked to pray very hard. Other things were said in privacy when a song was being sung and it was not easy to hear.

A pregnant woman came in and she was blessed by a *Ma-Mokhokheli* placing her hands on the woman's stomach.

An old lady came in and she was told about her problems in privacy amidst the singing. Another two ladies were called in and also told their problems in privacy. One was warned that she should pray hard because she was not strong in faith.

This was followed by an interesting case in which the Minister called a young man and warned him that he had a girlfriend who wanted him to leave the church because she felt that he was neglecting her. The boy started by denying this but ultimately agreed that it was true. This was very amusing and people laughed and made remarks as these things were being said. The dancing then continued and, after some time (about 19 minutes), the service was closed with a benediction, with the congregation facing East, at 4.30 p.m.. There were in all: 16 women, 15 men and 7 children, making a total of 38 people present.

The procedure for leaving the church is that women and children leave first and kneel down in a circle. This is followed by the men in order of rank, with the

Minister last, and there is a shaking of hands accompanied by a song. The men stand in the circle and, when the Minister has finished shaking hands, he announces the departure.

7.9.1.2 Order of Sunday Service, Francistown, 24 June 1984

1. Ministers enter the church and start a hymn.
2. The congregation comes in and joins the singing.
3. At the end of the song the Minister asks the congregation "*Ku hlambunuka*", which means feel free to greet and explain your health to the congregation. At the beginning there were 11 people in the church. They began to explain their main problems:
 4. (1) One woman did not sleep well due to dreams. Her children cry at night and have stomach problems. She needed prayers from the congregation.
 - (2) Another person had just arrived from Zimbabwe and is in need of a job. Asks for prayers. Also a Secretary (then brought forward to the Secretaries desk).
 - (3) Another woman was troubled by a dream in which she saw a black flag placed before the face of the Minister. She did not understand the meaning of the dream and was worried by it as the Minister was not in good health.
 - (4) Someone else dreamt they were driving with one of the Ministers and the car suddenly went off the road. Suddenly the other Minister looked too old. The meaning of the dream was not understood.
 - (5) Another feels quite healthy and good and encourages people to have absolute faith in God in order to have life and have good health.
5. A song was sung.
6. I was asked to say a prayer. All knelt down facing the East. The prayer ended with the Lord's Prayer which was said by all.

7. The Minister announced the beginning of the service with words of welcome and encouragement to the congregation.
8. A song followed.
9. I was asked to preach and read from Matthew 28:16-20 and 1 Corinthians 12:1ff.
10. The sermon lasted 20 minutes, with emphasis on Christian unity and the recognition of each other's gifts of the spirit. Emphasis was also put on the commission to preach the Gospel to all nations and people.
11. The Minister also preached for another 15 minutes, emphasizing similar themes. This time anyone could interrupt with a song to further emphasize what the Minister said. Many members started arriving and the house became full, with 66 women, 16 men and 17 children, making a total of 99 people in all. During this time some senior members were arriving and they were welcomed by everyone standing and singing. They were given time to say a few words to the congregation.
12. After two and a half hours of preaching and singing, the second part of the service followed. This was mainly notices and reports.
13. A song was sung and then the *gosa*" start to read reports, such as:
 - (1) The child of *gosa* was ill and he came late to the service.
 - (2) Apologies were made for people who were absent.
 - (3) Those who were ill gave their names and asked for prayers.
 - (4) One person had a bottle of holy water to be prayed for.
 - (5) Two people had brought things wrapped in plastic paper to be prophesied to diagnose the illness of the owners.
 - (6) One person had brought a sample of things she sold at the market to be prayed for since many of her goods were not selling.

- (7) Another person had brought a certificate to be prayed for in order to get a job. Many other things were said and prayers asked for.
14. The Secretaries then follow with their reports, including:
- (1) Reading of invitation letters to *mulindelo* by other churches.
 - (2) Asking people to make 10t contributions to buy candles and paraffin for the church and also collections for erecting the church building.
 - (3) Those whose Baptism Certificates were with the Secretary were to collect them.
 - (4) General words of welcome and encouragement to the congregation. Reminders about punctuality at the service etc.
 - (5) A song is sung and benches are removed from the centre of the church to make room for the Holy Dance which takes up the third part of the service and is basically the healing service.
15. A dance song invoking the Holy Spirit is sung and the Minister and other *Barapeledi*, those who pray for the sick, and the prophets begin the dance.
- (1) All kneel down together to pray as a blessing of the Holy Ground.
 - (2) Children come into the ground and sit down as the dance continues with a song.
 - (3) They are followed by the women, the men and, lastly, the Ministers themselves as the dance goes on.
 - (4) Individual patients with particular diseases and problems come into the ground.
 - (5) A lady comes in with two children. They are diagnosed. The boy, who was about eight years old, is being troubled by something bad that appears to him when he goes to school and frightens him. The prescription was a green jacket,

with four white crosses at the chest and hips, to expel the bad creature. The mother is encouraged to pray earnestly.

(6) One lady enters and the diagnosis shows that she has a bad thing which eats children in her stomach when she becomes pregnant. It keeps on growing and might kill her. She grew up in the care of her aunt and there is jealousy between her aunt and her parents which has led to this bewitching. She feels very weak and she thinks too much, so much so that, if she did not pray hard, she might discontinue her membership of the church. She sometimes feels as if she is drunk. The prescription she was given was for "*sepeiti*" with white vinegar in salt and water. The *Bakhokheli* should attend to her and rub her with the prescription and she should be all right. Above all, she needs prayers. Water is poured on her from a bottle.

(7) A lady comes to be diagnosed. It was learned that she sometimes felt dizzy and her eyes become dark and she cannot see. She was asked to explain her relationship with a man who is a driver. She explained that one is her brother and the other her husband. The prophet asked her to confirm that they were not the same person. She confirmed this and then the prophet knelt down. People began to sing and dance in order to avoid hearing the private things being said to the lady. I could not hear the details either.

Many other prophecies and prescriptions were made. What is interesting is that all diseases identified carried prescriptions. One case which was not concluded concerned the piece of property wrapped in plastic which was mentioned above. This was postponed because the owner had to be there to listen, not a representative.

After the prophecies and healings, as discussed above, there was an extra service of removing "black" clothes from people who had relatives who passed away a month previously. The order of this service was as follows:

General Remarks: The belief about death is that it is normal and comes as a prelude to another existence with Christ in Heaven. Traditionally in Tswana belief, when a person is dead, the members of the family wear black clothes, especially the widow if the dead person is a husband. The rest of the members may wear a black cord around their necks, especially women, or a black cloth is sewn onto their clothes, especially a jacket, for a man. This is a symbol of mourning for the bereaved. The period of wearing this cloth varies from one month to six months when the people are formally "undressed" from this cloth. The Head Mountain recognizes this tradition and a formal service is held to remove the black clothes. The service I witnessed was as follows:

- (1) Pure water was put in a small bath.
- (2) A broom was placed next to the bath.
- (3) Seven candles were bought and placed near the bath and the broom.
- (4) The members of the church all stood in a circle.
- (5) Twelve members of the family, including three children, were all seated in the centre of the circle.
- (6) A song was sung, followed by an opening prayer.
- (7) One of the members was asked by the Minister to read relevant passages and every passage was followed by words of encouragement and explanation by the Minister.
- (8) Before this short preaching, the Minister lit the seven candles and gave them to members randomly to hold before the members of the family.
- (9) The Minister then took the broom, put it in the water in the bath and sprinkled it five times on the members of the family. They were then asked to remove the "dirty clothes" and those with church uniform were asked to bring it. It was blessed and then sprinkled twice with the same water from the bath and the broom.

(10) The ceremony ended with a song, a prayer and the benediction. The water was spilt outside the main gate. The service ended with an invitation to tea, and after 20 minutes everyone departed.

Other Observations: During the period of mourning, members are free to come to church but are not allowed to do any Holy duties in the church since they are still "unclean" due to the traditions observed at death.

7.9.2 Week-day Services of the Head Mountain of God

As stated above, the HMG holds week-day prayer services on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. The services normally last from two to three hours. They start at 7 p.m. and normally end at 10 p.m. The order follows that of the Sunday service order with some slight differences:

Song and dance.

Prayer by all facing East.

Song and dance.

Reading of the Word of God.

Preaching interrupted by choruses.

Prayers for the sick in the congregation.

Prayers and dance for people with specific problems.

Song followed by the benediction.

There is more dancing and less formality in the week-day services.

7.9.3 *Mulindelo*

The *mulindelo* or overnight vigil, as discussed above, is always a service for special purposes. The *mulindelo* is held every Saturday, sometimes in the HMG church and sometimes in churches of other friendly denominations. It could be organised for

fund-raising and, in this case, the members of the church agree in advance as to the amount of money to be collected and which is to be made as a contribution to the *mulindelo*. There is no clear formal order of service for the *mulindelo*. The Ministers come together and decide who should be the leader of the service. There is more singing and dancing than preaching at the *mulindelo*, and indeed they tend to be more music competitions than worship services with the invited friendly churches trying to outdo each other in the singing. The preaching that is done is very varied because the preachers from the different congregations always want to show their general knowledge of the Bible. Many passages are read and many verses quoted from the Bible to show those who have mastered the Bible. People look forward to the *mulindelo* because there they feel very free and complete with each other through love and praising God. There is no "sheep stealing" amongst the friendly churches because any member can attend the services of the friendly churches whenever they wished without any problem.

7.9.4 Worship at the Good Friday Celebrations and Conferences

The Good Friday worship is always a sorrowful service. The people fast as a mourning for the sorrowful death of Jesus Christ. The singing is not accompanied by dancing but hymns are sung, with people sitting down in a state of sorrow. Minister after Minister and preacher after preacher stand and preach, encouraging the people to be strong in the faith and never to give in to the Devil, just like Jesus who resisted the Devil to his death. The people are asked to confess all their sins so that, if they receive the Holy Communion, it should give them a new life in Jesus Christ. The Prophets are possessed by the Spirit which reveals to them the numerous sins of the people which must be confessed. However, the Prophets do not force people to confess all their sins in the manner of the Masowe and the Maranke Apostles, Dillon-Malone (1978) and Jules-Rossette (1975).⁶ The worship culminates with the Holy Communion service.

7.9.5 Funeral services –

Funeral services are very important in the HMG. To understand their importance, one has to study the traditional concepts and beliefs regarding death and burials.

Death in traditional Tswana society is believed to be a transitional state from the world of the living to that of the "living dead" or ancestors. When death occurs, it causes great social disturbance and concern. The concern is over the proper rituals to be observed and proper burial so that the dead should be well accepted in the ancestral world. J. Tom Brown⁷ observed that the Batswana used to bury their dead quickly after death. Sometimes the grave was prepared even before the person died if death was imminent. The corpse was bound in a sitting or crouching position. It was lowered into the grave bound by an ox skin and all the people present would throw soil into the grave until it was full. If the person was prominent or a chief, a long stalk of grass was fixed from the ear to the earth above. There was a second method of burial whereby the grave was dug and, at the bottom, a niche was dug along the side of the hole to hold the stretched corpse. The corpse, which was bound in skin or a blanket, was put in the niche with the head pointing to the West. The niche was closed with stones so that the grave remained empty and it was filled up with soil. The purpose of burying the corpse in the niche was to deceive the *baloi* witches who were believed to dig up the graves to take away the corpses. The term used for burial is *boloka* - to keep or preserve. The phrase used for after burial is *Re mmolokile* (We have preserved or kept him). The concept of *boloka* is based on the belief that the person continues to live in the next world and the spirit of the person continues to exist with the people. The dead are addressed in the belief that he/she hears what is being said by the living. J.T. Brown (1926) maintains that, after the burial, the relatives immediately disguise themselves by shaving their heads, decorating their faces and wearing black clothes so that the dead should not recognize them and avenge

themselves for whatever wrong things were done to them during his/her lifetime. Sacrifices were made at the graves of the dead to appease them. However, in modern Tswana society, shaving the head has just become a rite to show mourning.

It suffices to mention that these beliefs and practices were all condemned by the missionaries and their practice labelled as paganism. Christian burials were introduced and the concept of eternal life at the resurrection was introduced. The dead were buried in wooden coffins and the direction and position of burial were disregarded. The Christians were discouraged from shaving their heads and from wearing black clothes. The fear of the dead, together with the fear of witchcraft, was labelled as superstition, but, in spite of the teaching of the LMS and other mission churches, the Batswana could not abandon their beliefs and burial rites. To reach a compromise, the coffins were used but the skin of a slaughtered animal would be put on top of the coffin and buried as well. The relatives of the dead continued to disguise themselves by wearing black clothes and shaving their heads. This is the general context within which the HMG concept of death and burial should be viewed.

The concept of death in the HMG is discussed in the next chapter. Here, we shall discuss only burial and the rituals performed. The HMG believes that burial is saving because the spirit goes directly to Heaven whilst the body remains awaiting the day of the resurrection. The manner in which the corpse is buried does not matter because the body will just be waiting for the day of resurrection. The traditional way of burial, as discussed above, is not acceptable to the HMG. The use of the coffin is recognized as the proper way of preserving the dead because the body is stored in the coffin which is always referred to as the "new house". The relatives of the dead are declared unclean and, before they can participate in church life again, they have to undergo cleansing.

The HMG always informs all the members of the local congregations if one of the members dies. The purpose is that all the members present at the *mulindelo* should

testify as to the good works of the departed. Messages are read out at funerals and are often accompanied by flowers which are put on the grave. Most of the messages request the departed to prepare places for the living and some hymns are chosen to be sung by the departed on the way to Heaven. These hymns are the ones which the dead liked and he/she will be recognized by the singing of the favourite hymns at Heaven's door. All of these rituals and practices do, to a large extent, fulfil some of the traditional funeral rites but they also transform most of the beliefs and practices of traditional religions. To protect the corpse from the witches, the corpse is always buried with the uniform and all the protective clothes which the member had during his/her lifetime. These are to secure the corpse from the witches because the real spiritual person is already in Heaven.

The service itself normally follows the following basic order with some modifications:

1. Short biography of the deceased, including the date of birth and the date of death.
2. Master of Ceremonies.
3. Minister conducting the funeral.
4. 12.30 p.m. - Viewing of the corpse.
5. 1.00 p.m. - The coffin is taken out of the house.
6. Those who carry the coffin (6 names).
7. The speakers at the homestead (3 names).
8. 1.30 p.m. - The Ministers hold the service.
9. 1.45 p.m. - Procession to the church.
10. The coffin is carried by the members of the church (6 people selected).
11. 2.40 p.m. - Procession to the cemetery.
12. 4.00 p.m. - The service is over.

13. The speakers who thank the people.

The uncles of the deceased.

The family members

The Councillor.

14. The Blessing (traditional blessing by the chief).

There are many variations to this service depending on the wishes of the family in consultation with the church. The funeral service generally follows the LMS Kobamelo (pp. 136-152).⁸

7.10 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Worship, especially the Sunday service, is central to the life of the HMG. Many Ministers complain about people coming late to the Sunday services. To check these complaints I did a short statistical survey on the issue and found the following. The official time for the services to start is 11 a.m. The people arrived between the stipulated times:

HMG Gaborone - 10th November 1991

| <u>Time</u> | <u>Men</u> | <u>Women</u> | <u>Children</u> |
|------------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 11 a.m.-12 noon | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 12 noon - 1 p.m. | 5 | 9 | 5 |
| 1-2 p.m. | 9 | 16 | 13 |
| 2-3 p.m. | 7 | 6 | 5 |

That day's survey shows that many people came between 1 and 2 p.m. The service ended at 4 p.m.

HMG Francistown - 17th November 1991

| <u>Time</u> | <u>Men</u> | <u>Women</u> | <u>Children</u> |
|-------------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 11 a.m. - 12 noon | 6 | 21 | 10 |
| 12 noon - 1 p.m. | 11 | 22 | 39 |
| 1-2 p.m. | 6 | 13 | 16 |

That day's survey shows that many people came between 12 noon and 1 p.m.

This survey confirms the Ministers' complaints that people come to church late. The survey did not include the rural congregations because they are not normally concerned about the time factor. They do not mind spending long hours at the service because it is also a meeting place after people have spent the week away at the cattle posts or on the lands. They come late to church because they travel long distances to attend the services. Their presence is more appreciated and coming late is not a serious issue.

The importance of one's presence at the Sunday service dominates the life of the HMG.

Notes to Chapter Seven

1. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961); Daneel, *op. cit.* (1987).
2. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961), pp. 180ff.
3. Pauw, B.A., Religion in a Tswana Chieftdom, Oxford University Press (1964), pp. 126ff.
4. See Daneel, *op. cit.* (1987), pp. 223ff.
5. The hymn books are the Sesutho Hymn Book Lifela tsa Sione of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society or Amagama Okuhlabelele, the LMS Hymn Book translated into Zulu.
6. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961) pp. 206ff.
7. T.J. Brown, Among Bantu Nomads, London (1926).
8. The HMG has not yet established its own service of burial.

CHAPTER EIGHT
THE MAJOR TEACHINGS AND BELIEFS OF THE
HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of the HMG cannot be isolated from what the major authors on the AICs have already pointed out. Two important studies have outlined a number of basic facts relating to the teachings and beliefs of the AICs in Southern Africa which I believe form the basis for any study and research on the AICs. I refer here to Sundkler (1961)¹ and Daneel (1987)². Sundkler's study looks at the teachings and beliefs of the AICs in relation to the missionary churches and also in relation to the social, economic and political environment in South Africa, an approach which failed to see the AICs as New Religious Movements bringing in a new era and a new approach to the Bible, theology and scriptural interpretation and exegesis. This new approach has been brought about by the translation of the Bible into vernacular so that God could be understood in an African context. Sundkler saw the AICs in their relation to African culture, traditions and religious beliefs which include the relationship to ancestors, taboos, rituals, circumcision, purifications, divination and healing. These had been seen as finding some justification from the Old Testament and, in Oosthuizen's words, being "bridges to paganism".³

The work of Daneel (1987)⁴ which appeared almost 40 years later has gone deeper into the concepts brought forward by Sundkler. Through a thorough research and familiarity with the culture, traditions and beliefs of the people, Daneel's study has opened up a new approach to the study of the AICs, an approach which has revealed the transformatory nature of the AICs with regards to African culture and traditions, beliefs and practices. Transformation here refers to comprehensive change as opposed

to adaptation. It is not necessary to go into the complicated definitions of terms here but a few examples will illustrate what is meant by adaptation and transformation. Daneel gives examples from the ZCC of Mutendi that the Mwari rainmaking beliefs were completely transformed and Mutendi acted as the medium himself when the people went to Zion City to pray for rain. The chiefs became members of the ZCC and Mutendi went up the mountain to pray for rain instead of praying in the traditional way. This was derived from a strong faith and following the examples of popular religious leaders of the Old Testament period. On the other hand, adaptation means a recognition of things or concepts, beliefs and practices which were once prohibited and this is done by giving such a Christian interpretation. A good example is that of the adaptation of the ancestors as saints which is a common practice in the Roman Catholic Church. These two examples suffice to explain the use of the two terms. Transformation has become possible because of the translations of the Bible into the local languages. The use of the common concepts and names of God in the local languages helps to make the Bible and Christianity an African religion. It breaks the tendency to regard Christianity as a foreign religion which has to be accepted in the context of western culture.

I have selected Sundkler and Daneel because I regard them as the classical writers of the AICs in Southern Africa. However, some monographic studies of the AICs may not fit within their framework and observations. A good example is that of the Amanazaretha of Shembe (Vilakazi *et al.*, 1986)⁵ whose complicated interpretation of the Scriptures carries all the aspects of traditionalising Christianity adaptation as well as transformation. Our study of the HMG should be viewed in this context as stated above. The teachings, beliefs and practices of the HMG will show whether it has made an adaptation or transformation of Tswana traditional beliefs and practices in order to produce a form of Christianity which accommodates African beliefs and world views.

8.2 THE TEACHINGS OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

To discuss the teachings of the HMG, first of all the sources must be identified.

8.2.1 The Bible

The primary source for the HMG teaching is the Bible. The earliest translation of the Bible was in Setswana in 1826 by Dr Robert Moffat. The HMG prefers to use the Zulu or Ndebele translations of the Bible and the Setswana, Sesutho and Kalanga versions are only used in the absence of the Zulu or Ndebele Bible. There are a number of reasons why the Zulu Bible is preferred: the first reason is historical in that the South African AICs from which the HMG emerged used the Zulu language; secondly, Zulu is regarded as a holy language and also a prestigious language amongst the Bakalanga peoples where the HMG emerged. The Bakalanga were subjected by the Ndebele and, under pressure, were forced to speak Ndebele. On the other hand, the Bakalanga disliked the Bangwato even more than the Ndebele. The Kalanga Bible only contained the New Testament translation and did not have the Old Testament which was important to the HMG. Finally, people who worked in South Africa generally held some prestige amongst the rural people and would show this by speaking Zulu or Sesutho. This created the impression that Zulu was a holy language. It thus became a strong belief that, when one became a Christian, one had to speak Zulu. This is explained as the gift of the Holy Spirit of speaking in tongues as in Acts. Tongues is interpreted to mean many languages and this belief has developed in the HMG but it was not part of the founder's experience although he spoke fluent Zulu.

8.2.2 The Hymn Book

The hymn book is another of the HMG sources for its teachings. The Zulu hymn book (*Amagama Okuhlabelela*) is the one mainly used. In its absence, the Sesutho hymn book (*Lifela Tsa Sione*) and the Kalanga or Setswana are also used. The use of the Zulu hymn book carries the same explanation as stated above for the use of the Zulu Bible. Sundkler (1961)⁶ also observed the use of the Zulu hymn book in the churches which he visited and that the most commonly used hymns were those on the Passion of Jesus Christ and the hymns pointing to the heavenly Jerusalem. There is an absence of hymn composition except for biblical passages being sung to traditional tunes.

From Bishop Mthembu's personal copy of the Zulu hymn book, I found a selection of 45 hymns under the following themes: On Jesus Christ 6; Holy Spirit and the Congregation 8; On Christian living 31. According to the Bishop's selection, the above are the most common hymns carrying the major themes of the HMG teachings. This selection does not in any way deny the fact that other themes like Gospel proclamation, death and Holy Communion are not considered. Rather it shows the general emphasis of the church in its beliefs. Our examination of the major teachings and beliefs will show the value of the above-mentioned hymns. Paul Makhubu (1988)⁷ states that hymns 143, 315 and 332 were the classical hymns of the AICs. The first words of these hymns are:

143 (Zulu): *Nkosi Sihlangene, (Lord we meet in your house)
Sisendhlini yakho;*

This is a worship song used to approach God.

315 (Sesutho): *Ha ke le tjee, ke le mobe,
Ke le ea khesegang
Na h'ara baetsalibe
Na ke bonoe joang?*

(Here I am, a sinner, one who is lost, in the middle of sinners, How have I been found?)

This song is an appreciation for the great love of God which leads sinners to salvation.

332 (Zulu): *Khaya Elihle, Khaya Lami.*

(The beautiful home, my home).

This is a song expressing the end of life when one goes to rest in the happy home called Heaven. It is a song of the assurance of salvation.

Above all, these hymns emphasize the importance of worship and the unity of people in worship. They are, thus, classic of the expression of faith by the AICs. Hymns are also believed to be the testimonies of the departed Christians and God's angels. Their messages are taken seriously as messages from God. The hymn book is thus a source of teaching in the HMG.

8.2.3 The Founder

The founder of the HMG is also a key figure in the teachings and beliefs of the HMG. We have seen above how his words were quoted in the Minutes of Church Conferences and celebrations. Some of his advice has been taken as part of Church belief, such as his emphasis on Church unity, biblical authority and the power of the Holy Spirit. His teaching on love has become part of Church policy. The most important contribution of the founder to the Church's teaching is the selection of biblical passages for the many occasions and celebrations and ritual activities of the Church. Below is a selection of such passages but it must be made clear that these passages are not necessarily the only ones which are used. They were selected in the early development of the HMG and, as we shall see below, as the Church developed theologically, some Ministers may have used different passages which they found to be relevant. The selected passages and their uses are as follows:

Group 1: *Tsa Molao* (The Law)

Exodus 20:1 ff. (The Ten Commandments).

Leviticus 19:26: "Do not eat any meat with blood still in it. Do not practise any kind of magic".

Numbers 8:1 ff. (Placing the lamps. The purification and dedication of the Levites.).

Deuteronomy 14:1 ff. (A forbidden Mourning Practice. Clean and Unclean Animals. The Law of the Tithe.).

Exodus 23:22: "But if you obey him and do everything I command, I will fight against all your enemies.").

The manner in which biblical passages are cited in the HMG is from verse one and all other relevant verses are also read. Thus, a whole passage or chapter is simply referred to as verse one and the reader will be stopped from reading when all the relevant passages are read. I have outlined the themes of passages and verses forming the Law of the HMG and all aspects of HMG life are covered by these verses and passages. References shall be made to these as the study expounds.

Group 2: *Tsa diaporo* (For Church Uniform).

Exodus 39:1-7.

Exodus 39:22.

Numbers 6:1.

Revelation 7:13.

Ephesians 6:11.

Zecharia 3:3.

Acts 19:11.

1 Corinthians 11:5.

1 Corinthians 2:2.

2 Timothy 2:2.

The above explanation that verses are referred to as from 1ff. means that the verses on church uniform do not make sense if they are read individually but they say a lot about the uniform when they are combined in a sermon during the service. To summarize the basic theme running through the service, the story is thus:

The passages from Exodus describe the materials and the colours to be used in making the uniform. Numbers describes how priests should behave when they are in uniform and what they should refrain from doing. The passage from Zachariah is used to show that all other clothes are dirty before God and God has to be approached in a well defined uniform; Ephesians and 2 Timothy are used to confirm that the believers are soldiers of God and they have to be seen in uniform; Acts conveys the healing power of uniform; 1 Corinthians 11:5 explains how and why women should wear veils during prayer; 1 Corinthians 2:10 shows the spiritual nature of uniform which cannot be understood by people who do not have faith; and, finally, Revelation points out that the people in white uniform are the ones who are going to appear before the Lord in their white robes. To the HMG and other AICs in Botswana, uniform is not only used to identify the members of one denomination from another but is vital for the salvation of the believers.

Group 3: Tsa Kolobetso (Baptism)

Ezekiel 47:2.

2 Kings 5:10.

Matthew 3:1.

Matthew 28:19.

Acts 8:36.

Acts 19:18.

The above passages are also classified in groups to give full meaning to what Baptism is to the HMG and they will be referred to when we discuss Baptism below. It is clear, however, that the Pauline concept of Baptism does not appeal to the HMG.

Group 4: *Tsa Ditilo* (Positions in Church)

1 Samuel 10:1.

Acts 6:1.

Ephesians 4:11.

The above passages are read at the installation of members to official positions in the Church. They are discussed in Chapter Five under authorities and procedures.

In addition to these selected passages and verses, I also had the opportunity to hear Bishop Mthembu preaching a classical sermon in the sense that the themes which he raised can also be found in his speeches and sayings at most of the HMG conferences, meetings and celebrations. When I visited Bishop Mthembu at Jackalasi No. 2, I found him to be a simple old man. He was very humble and his home was just a modest one without any signs of wealth natural for a leader of his calibre and popularity. After my interview with him, he invited me to the church service. He went into his house to prepare himself for the service and, when he came out, he wore a white robe with a green sash around the waist which is referred to as "join". Over this he wore a blue robe which was open at the front and which had long white stripes running down it. This dress is very simple when compared to some AIC leaders who normally wear very expensive robes decorated with gold lettering. We walked to the church which was about 50 metres from the homestead and, as we entered the church, the 60 members of the congregation stood up and remained so until we were seated. After all the formalities and the Liturgy, the Bishop introduced me to the congregation in his usual appealing voice:

My children, I have always told you that you must love one another so that God must love and do good things

for you. Today, God has sent us a blessing by sending this young man to us.

He introduced me to the congregation and explained my mission, then he continued:

Today we shall hear the loving word of God which he has for us through this young and energetic messenger whom God has sent us. Listen, therefore, to God's message and let it strengthen your faith in God.

At that point he sat down and handed over the service to me. Since I was doing research on healing, I immediately thought of reading from 1 Corinthians 12:1-12 concerning the different gifts of the Spirit. I preached for a short time, putting emphasis on the fact that the Church is one body with many parts and that, as Christians, we are all one body in spite of the different denominations to which we belong. My sermon was interrupted with shouts of Amen!!.

After my sermon, the Bishop stood up to summarize what I had said but with greater emphasis on love and faith. I noted five themes that revealed the character and nature of Bishop Mthembu. These were his reference to the congregation as "my children"; love for one another; God's love; good works and gifts and, finally, the Word of God. Similar examples are recorded in the Minutes of the HMG meetings, conferences and celebrations. From my previous discussions with him before the service, I could detect two levels of meaning in that address. The first of these was that, at 83 years, he was an old man (*monnamogolo* or *mdala*) and everyone in the Church was his child in Kalanga/Ndebele culture. There was an element of age and life experience in his speech. Secondly, he had loved his Church as a young man and he had undergone a lot of suffering but, through faith, he managed to help his Church survive persecution and to become one of the first AICs in Botswana. Through faith God had done wonderful things through him such as prophecy and healing. He had a lot of experience in the life of faith so that he saw the congregation as children in faith who needed constant encouragement.

In this manner, therefore, he had developed this closeness to the church members whom he loved and regarded as his children. The way in which he said the words did not show any element of human pride but revealed great faith and love for his church. From this conception, Bishop Mthembu regarded the church members as children of God who were chosen and separated from the rest of the world to live a holy life and be presentable to God. The theme "love for one another", stands out in Bishop Mthembu's teachings. It finds inspiration, not only from the Bible, but also from Kalanga/Ndebele culture where a family stays together in love. Where there is misunderstanding in a family, there is always room for witchcraft to take place. Witchcraft is highly feared in Kalanga/Ndebele society and, to avoid it, there needs to be order in the family which is created by the respect which each has for the other, with every member of the family or society fulfilling his or her obligations within the hierarchy of the family. Bishop Mthembu has made the theme of love the guiding principle of his church. This is very important to the life of the HMG because it is a family, not through blood relationships, but through the sharing of faith and salvation in Christ. It is only through loving one another that the word of God finds fulfilment in the HMG. The theme of love which Bishop Mthembu preached to his church has made the HMG united in thought and deed and this has helped it to avoid splits (a phenomenon which is very common with many AICs in Botswana). Whenever there is a spirit of dissatisfaction in the HMG, the responsible committees are called to meet and discuss the matter in order to find an amicable solution to the problem. In this manner, the HMG has grown to become a church of love and freedom of expression which is not common in many AICs in Botswana.

On the theme of God's love, Bishop Mthembu maintained that the love of God was conditional and that God only loves those who love one another. If the members of the congregation do not exercise love amongst themselves, God cannot love them. If God does not love them, then he withdraws his good gifts to the congregation. Such

gifts include the gifts of prophecy and healing and, if these gifts are withdrawn from the congregation, the believers are faced with serious problems because the life of the believer is based completely on the church. It is the church that gives health through its healing practices. It also helps members when they need jobs or promotion and takes care of all aspects of the lives of the members. To lose God's love is, therefore, a serious matter in the life of the HMG. In the HMG, the role of God is understood according to Old Testament concepts where God is a rewarding God when the people obey Him, and a jealous and punishing God when the people disobey Him. The concept is also in line with the Kalanga concept of God in the Mwali cult.

The theme of "good works" is very much related to the theme of gifts. Bishop Mthembu taught that good works come from God's love. Prophecy is the greatest gift to the HMG because it is from prophecy that the gifts of healing emanate. A good relationship with God is proven by good health, spiritual satisfaction and general wellbeing. All of these gifts only come if the members love each other and work together in harmony.

Bishop Mthembu regarded the word of God as the ultimate source of authority in the church. He relied very strongly on the word of God and, in many cases, he has always wanted the word of God to speak for itself without unnecessary interpretations. He would read the word of God and then in his sermon repeat the message by selecting the most important verses and speaking on them word by word so that everybody should understand that it is the word of God which is speaking to the people and he is only a means of conveying it. The reason why Bishop Mthembu relied on the Bible or the word of God as the source of authority was that he had undergone a lot of experiences in the Zionist Churches to which he was associated and had seen many churches where there had been splits due to the authority of the Bishop in the church instead of appeals to the Bible and the word of God. Such Bishops would make rules and regulations that governed the church without any consultation with the biblical

message at all. The Bishop would, in many cases, have absolute authority in the church and, in this manner, the members became his subjects, having to listen and obey him rather than God. In this setup, when some members become conscious of the power of the love of God and the Gospel of God, they turn against absolute authority and break away to form their own churches. This the HMG has avoided by letting the word of God speak for itself. It is within these sources that the major teachings of the HMG should be viewed.

8.3 DOCTRINES IN THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

8.3.1 General Observations about Doctrines in the African Independent Churches

There is no way in which one could discuss doctrines in the HMG without reference to the general observations on doctrinal developments in the AICs. Sundkler (1961)⁸ has observed that biblical passages were used by many AICs to justify Zulu culture and traditions. This idea was accepted and confirmed by Oosthuizen (1968)⁹ when he asserted that the AICs provided "bridges back to paganism". The concepts of the "Black Messiahs" and "Black Christs" propounded by Oosthuizen and Marie-Louise Martin (1964)¹⁰ were based on the belief that the AICs were merely using the Bible to maintain aspects of African culture and customs. This could be true with some Zulu churches like the Amanazaretha of Shembe (Vilakazi *et al.*, 1986)¹¹ but it does not hold any more with many AICs. The ZCC of Lekganyane, which was regarded as such, has drifted very far from that stand (Lukhaimane, 1991).¹² Matitta's church in Lesotho has never actually been of that nature (Damane, 1991;¹³ Mohono 1991¹⁴).

The most interesting aspect of doctrinal development in the AICs is that recorded by Daneel (1987, 1971 and 1988)¹⁵ in his studies on the Southern Shona AICs. In many cases the leader or founder had been the source of the doctrines and most of these

were no longer based on African culture and customs. Instead, the Bible was used to strengthen the position of the leader by making the leader a John the Baptist (Masowe and the Maranke Apostles). Doctrinal formation was made by appealing to the early church and by identifying the AICs with the early church so that doctrinal formation drifted away from the support of traditional culture and customs to a transformation of those cultures to Christianity. This was clearly demonstrated by the ZCC of Mutendi which actually converted the chiefs from the Mwari cult and Mutendi's Zion City became the centre for praying for rain.

The role played by the founder of the church and how he understands the Bible plays a great role in doctrinal formation.

When discussing doctrines in the HMG, there are several issues to be considered. The first one is that the HMG came to Botswana when Christianity was the recognised religion of the country and practically every person had some form of contact with Christianity. The Bible was a widely read book because it was translated into Setswana. The LMS teaching both in schools and the church had laid a strong foundation for the general knowledge of the content of the Bible and the people were very familiar with the biblical stories, particularly those of the Old Testament. The Botswana traditions and customs were suppressed by the church, tribal law and the Colonial Laws and many people drifted away from the old practices or practised them privately. Some had been adapted to Christianity, such as praying for rain instead of performing rain-making rites. Child outing ceremonies replaced the initiation or circumcision schools and the move from barter economy to money economy had great effects on the religious beliefs of the people. The negative aspect to all of this was that many people began to disregard the values of traditional Tswana religions as well as Christianity. From the positive aspect, many people believed more in traditional Tswana religions and, thus, the Tswana religions became dynamic and more relevant to the needs of the people. When a traditional healer could maintain the balance of life

between the living, the living dead and *Modimo*, he became more active in taking care of the daily needs of the people in a fast-changing society and economy. He had to provide medicines and charms for securing jobs in order to get money to maintain the family and to pay taxes. On the other hand, prayer to many Christians was no longer geared to eternal life but to the daily needs of the people.

It is within this context that the HMG doctrines have developed. Our study will highlight the role played by the Bible, both the Old and the New Testament, in doctrinal formation. There was no emphasis on tradition and culture for the reasons given above and there was also no emphasis on the justification for central leadership because of the democratic and autonomous spirit of the church planted by the LMS from its congregational principles. These principles, to a certain degree, agreed with the traditional Tswana society where the *kgotla* was the centre of authority even if the chief was the final decision-maker. HMG doctrines were formulated within these structures and beliefs.

8.3.2 Doctrines in the Head Mountain of God

The HMG has clearly developed doctrines of the Trinity, Baptism and Holy Communion. The three are so closely connected and it is very difficult to understand them as they are in Western Christian thought.

8.3.1.1 The Trinity: As stated above, the terms *Modimo*, *Mwali* or *Ndzimu* have been used in the translation of the Bible to Setswana and to Kalanga. The use of these same names for the Christian God did not bring any conceptual difference of God to the Batswana. The teaching was just an adaptation of the traditional concepts and it is for this reason that many members of the missionary churches find it difficult to cope with the problems of ancestors and traditional practices and beliefs. Many Christians resort to the traditional way whenever things go wrong in everyday life and, many people still

believe in the power of witchcraft because their form of Christianity does not, and has not, seriously addressed the issue.

The HMG has gone far in transforming some of the major traditional beliefs which are a hindrance to Christianity. The concept of the Supreme Being has been highly transformed in that the HMG believes that God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit are one being. The concept of Father (*Rara* or *Tate*) basically carries the traditional concept of father but with a clear understanding that God is a higher type of father from the human fathers. The concept of father recognizes God as the maker and controller of the universe. The belief is that God existed without an end or a beginning but, at creation, he revealed his word with which he had long existed. This word which, in the beginning, was with God (John 1:1) became man (John 1:14) in the name of Jesus Christ. According to Bishop Mzonda, "*Ndzimu wa ka bona kuti awuli woga uno thayela bathu abato wu hwisisa, ndizo ukabe u tumila Jesu Kristu*" ("God realised that when He is alone, people do not understand him and so he sent Jesus Christ").

Jesus Christ, as the manifestation of God, then fulfils the basic Tswana Kalanga concept of God where God has to be experienced in the daily life of the believer. This experience has always been mediated through the ancestors who were believed to be nearer to God and could act for the living. To the HMG, Jesus Christ is God in human form and is beyond the ancestors. This must not be confused with the argument of C. Nyamiti¹⁶ that Jesus is to be interpreted in terms of an African ancestor. The HMG does not believe this as, because Jesus is God, he cannot play the role of an ancestor and his mediatorship before God is higher than that of an ancestor because he, himself, is the one who gives salvation and eternal life.

In HMG teaching, God used the Holy Spirit, which is also part of God, to form Jesus by putting the Holy Spirit in the womb of Mary the Virgin so that he should be born like all other human beings for his teaching to be acceptable (*kuti ti dumile mu*

wuli). The fact that Jesus is composed of all the three elements of God, i.e. Jesus "contains" Father-Spirit, makes him central in the Trinity and this centrality has also been announced by God the Father when he gave him all authority over Heaven and earth in Matthew 28:18-20. Jesus is also one with the Father, as he claims in John 4:6-7. These passages are clearly understood by the HMG at three levels: at the natural level, the Tswana or Kalanga concept makes a son the equal to his father in authority as long as the father has given him the authority. In some African cultures a son even inherits the youngest wife of his father. Jesus has been given such authority by the Father. On a supernatural level, Jesus is also understood as the Son of God, in that God, as the Supreme Being, cannot be understood. He is only understood as Jesus Christ, his only son. This leads us to the Holy Spirit: to the HMG the Holy Spirit was sent by Jesus to be the comforter. Jesus had died a sorrowful death on the cross and death has never been a friend in African societies as it is an enemy which destroys and disrupts the normal flow of life. At a time of death, the bereaved take a long time mourning the dead, all economic activities are suspended and anyone who violates such practices is regarded as a witch and, therefore, suspected to be the cause of death. There is no hope of resurrection, although there is a hope for the continued life in the world of the ancestors. The concept of the Holy Spirit as the comforter therefore should be viewed within this context. Before his resurrection, Jesus stated that he was going to prepare a place in Heaven so that those who believe in him could go to live there when they die and where they will stay in the happiness of God. The HMG takes the teaching of the historical Jesus seriously. The Holy Spirit is then the Comforter, in that in Jesus there is eternal life and, therefore, at death, people mourn, but pray to Jesus to bring the Comforter. When the Holy Spirit descends upon the mourners, they become comforted because it reminds them that the dead person is happy in Heaven with Jesus Christ. This understanding of the Holy Spirit challenges the traditional concepts of death as a disruptive force. Death, even in old age, was not acceptable amongst the Kalanga

people as there was always the feeling that someone bewitched the old person so that he or she would die. Death in old age meant proximity to the ancestors but it could not be accepted as normal. The HMG has made death a normal thing in life in that God shows no discrimination. God needs men, women and children, the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, because life in Heaven is just like life on earth with the normal variety in experience. At times, when good Christian people die young, the belief is that God wanted them to escape from the coming corruption of the world which might have destroyed their faith so that they lost Heaven. The emphasis on the fact that the resurrection materialises immediately after death brings a lot of comfort to the believers. Jesus sends the angels to carry off the spiritual body of the dead person. Sermons emphasize that the dead person is already in Heaven and such sermons directly challenge the whole belief in the ancestors as we shall see below. The HMG's Trinitarianism has made a great impact on the immediate concept of God in Botswana Christianity today. The strong preaching on the spiritual resurrection of the spiritual body has been accepted by Botswana Christianity as portrayed at funerals and burials.

8.3.2.2 Baptism: The doctrine of Baptism in the HMG gives a good example of theological thinking and the ability to think doctrinally. Prior to 1972, the HMG used the LMS Kobamelo (worship) for its baptismal formula and beliefs, based on Matthew 28:19-20. In 1972, a Ministerial Committee meeting was held in Francistown to consider the baptismal formula. At this meeting, an outstanding HMG theologian, Rev. Bhuka Munyamane, challenged the use of the baptismal formula based on Matthew 28:19-20. He argued that the formula divided the unity of the Trinity. Baptism in the three names gives an impression of three Gods to the believer. He advocated Baptism once in the name of Jesus, based on Acts 10:48 and Acts 19:5. His argument was that Jesus allowed the disciples to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit because he was a Jew and followed the Jewish tradition (the nature of this tradition is not clearly defined). The disciples later realised that Jesus was the central figure in the

Trinity and the trine immersion then had to give way to the one immersion. The argument of Reverend Munyamane was seconded by Bishop Mthembu and Mr Norman Mzonda. Bishop Mthembu gave an analogy arguing that baptism symbolizes rebirth and if, therefore, a child were to be born and then return into the mother's womb to be born again and repeat the act three times, could the mother live? The mother would definitely die and, with this argument, the meeting agreed that the baptismal formula and practice should be changed. It should be done by immersion once in the name of Jesus with the words "He died and rose from the dead" (*Ka fa ka muka*). The doctrine and practice has changed from that of the mission churches.

The new baptismal formula is based on the following verses selected by Bishop Mthembu: Ezekiel 47:2; 2 Kings 5:10; Matthew 3:1, Matthew 28:19; Acts 8:36 and Acts 19:18. Putting together the themes of these verses gives the doctrine of Baptism in the HMG, which is a combination of Old and New Testament concepts.

Ezekiel 47:1-12: In this passage, Ezekiel tells how he was taken to the Temple and out to the stream. He tells of the levels of water in which he was placed and, where the water was so deep that he could not wade through it, constitutes the level of baptismal water. The HMG believes that baptismal water should be living water, meaning that it should be flowing water at a level too deep to wade through as prescribed by Ezekiel. Secondly, baptismal water should be living water that also gives life to fish and fishermen. It should be cleansing water that turns salt water to fresh water. Trees should grow along the banks of the river and provide leaves of healing. Thus baptism in the HMG is the symbol of a full life. The water is believed to be from the Temple because it is not underground water but rain water from Heaven. In some areas of Botswana, such as the Boteti and North Western Botswana, the symbolism of water used by Ezekiel is a real life experience. The country is dry and is watered seasonally by the Boteti River which flows from the Okavango swamps which get their water from Angola. When the Boteti River becomes flooded, it brings life to the region because

the people plant their crops along the flooded shores, trees blossom with life and the river provides fish to the people. The salty soils of the Kgalagadi become clean and provide life for the people and, in this region, the people feel that Baptism really gives them a new and full life. However, in areas where there is no flowing water, people are baptised in dams and pools in the belief that water in dams and pools is fresh from Heaven.

2 Kings 5:1-27: This is the story of Naaman, the Commander of the army of the King of Syria. Naaman was a leper who was directed to the Prophet Elisha of Israel. Elisha instructed Naaman to go and wash himself seven times in the River Jordan and, although Naaman doubted, he did as he was told and became clean. He wanted to pay for his healing but Elisha refused but the servant of Elisha, Gehazi, followed Naaman, cheated him and was paid. When Elisha heard this, he cursed Gehazi so that he contracted Naaman's disease.

From the story of Naaman, the HMG regards baptism as a form of cleansing and healing. The same baptismal water is used quite often for washing people seven times as a cleansing for whatever sins the believers may have committed after baptism. It is also a form of healing and this continuous cleansing from sins gives an assurance of going to Heaven after death. It also gives a very high degree of dependence on God, so much so that many traditional beliefs and practices no longer attract members to them. The church is perceived as a guarantee of eternal life as well as a good life on earth.

The story of Gehazi, who contracted Naaman's disease, is a lesson to the prophets of the HMG that they should not charge people for their healing because the gift of healing is from God and it must be given freely. Being paid for healing is committing a sin. (Many AICs who are aware of this story call paying "thanksgiving". They do not admit that they charge people for healing but the people thank them with money and other gifts.)

Matthew 3:1-2: The story of John the Baptist plays a major role in the doctrine of baptism in the HMG. The confession of sins precedes baptism and the HMG believes that, if a person does not confess all of his sins before baptism, it becomes ineffective. The person remains like a heathen and there is a common saying amongst HMG members whereby, if a person commits sins frequently, it is said that, "*A azo koloba*" (the person has not been wetted). In some AICs the prophets make sure that the believers have confessed all of their sins. In the HMG it is done by the prophet constantly asking the confessor to state all their sins. In the Maranke Apostles, the prophets actually smell out the sinners. This is done primarily before baptism or Holy Communion. Baptism in the HMG is applied, not only to people coming from outside the church fold, but also to people from the mission churches who are baptized. The HMG does not believe in baptism by sprinkling (a practice common with the mission churches is Botswana). In the early days of the HMG in Francistown, the LMS members were regarded as Pharisees who should confess their sins and be baptised. This was in accordance with Matthew 3:7. Baptism also carries condemnation as those who are not baptized are already condemned. The symbolism of the axe and the chaff is used by the HMG to show the final judgement on those who are not baptized.

Matthew 28:19-20: As stated above, the baptismal formula based on this passage has been challenged and changed and the importance of this passage is that people who are baptized become automatically disciples of Jesus Christ. It is on this basis that all the members of the HMG have to preach the Gospel and convert people. It is also on this basis that the priesthood of all believers is founded.

Acts 8:36-39: The baptism of the Ethiopian official confirms that water in dams and pools can also be used for baptism as long as it is to the required measure. Some people are taken by the Spirit after baptism and these are the ones who become prophets in the HMG. It is for this reason that some people in the HMG argue that,

since the baptismal formula was changed, there have been no more prophets in the church. The present prophets were all baptized prior to 1972.

Acts 19:18-19: This passage shows that the believers confessed all of their sins and bad deeds and those who practised magic brought their books and burnt them. The HMG challenges traditional healers to burn all of their divination bones when they accept Jesus Christ. Thus the HMG doctrine of baptism is very solid with bases from both the Old and the New Testament.

The actual baptism is performed in the morning at daybreak, to symbolise rebirth into a new life with the rising sun. The service is preceded by an overnight service (*mulindelo*) during which all the passages and verses relating to Baptism are read and preacher after preacher stands to encourage the baptizands to be strong in the faith. Baptizing people in dams and flowing rivers can be dangerous. People believe in water snakes; they also believe that traditional healers who are losing their popularity to the Zionists plant bad medicines in the pools, dams and rivers to cause injury or death to the baptizands in order to discredit the AICs. These fears make baptism a very serious ceremony which requires hard praying for its success. In the early morning hours, the baptizands are led to the river or dam to be baptized in the level of water as defined by Ezekiel. The success of the ceremony brings happiness to the new members and the congregation as a whole. Baptisms are carried out all the time, whenever new converts are found.

The HMG doctrine of Baptism has made a significant departure from many AICs which still follow the missionary pattern. Its combination of Old and New Testament concepts goes beyond any traditional Tswana or Kalanga practices and appears to be the result of a completely independent theological process. Such dynamism in doctrinal formation, as displayed in the HMG, is not found even in the Shona Independent Churches as described by Daneel.¹⁷

8.3.2.3 Holy Communion: The HMG regards Holy Communion as a new covenant with Christ and developed from the Jewish Passover which was a celebration of the salvation of the Jews from slavery in the land of Egypt. At the Passover, Jesus told his disciples that he was going to enter into a new covenant with them which they should always hold in remembrance of him. The Holy Communion has never been a serious issue in the HMG because it had been clearly stipulated as to how it should be done. Ideally, the Holy Communion should be celebrated once a year at the Good Friday celebrations at Jackalasi No. 2, the idea being that the Bishop should have time to see all the members of his church gathered in one place. There was also a tendency to make Jackalasi No. 2 the centre of the HMG. This ideal was not suited to the growing church and the complexities involved within a growing church. The first failure occurred in 1981 when the members of the South African congregations did not turn up at the service. The Zimbabwe church sent an apology and the Bishop was very much annoyed at this failure of the whole church to come together. It was, however, realised that the HMG was growing and the membership comprised people of all degrees, some of whom had jobs that could not allow them to travel freely. The Holy Communion celebrations then had to be decentralized and people who could not attend at Jackalasi No. 2 had to arrange for convenient days in their regions so that the service could be celebrated there.

Holy Communion is not just a time to celebrate the Lord's Supper, it is also a time for serious church business as many members are ordained to different official positions in the church during the Communion celebrations which normally take two days, with meetings and other activities held both day and night. Any urgent church matters are discussed during the Communion celebrations.

The actual Communion service has also developed over the years. My informants said that, in the early days of the HMG, the LMS Kobamelo was used for the order of the service. Later, Bishop Mthembu, sensing some deficiency in the Kobamelo, selected some relevant biblical passages to form his own Liturgy. The

passages are read by the Secretary General when the Bishop performs the service, step by step, in accordance with the verses being read. The passages are not announced to the congregation in order to stress their sacred character and those who know the passages are not permitted to read them for themselves. The first passage to be read is John 13:1-5. This passage speaks of the washing of the disciples' feet (in Kobamelo the washing of the disciples' feet is not included) but the verses containing Peter's argument are omitted from the reading to avoid argument in the congregation. Verse 12 is read to allow the Bishop to go to his seat and the rest of John's account of the Lord's Supper is left out because it includes Judas Iscariot. There could be no Judas in the Communion because all of the members are pure people who have confessed their sins throughout the *mulindelo* in order to receive Communion. As the passages are read, the Bishop, with the help of some Ministers, washes the disciples' feet. Everyone's feet are washed, starting from the highest Minister to the lowliest man in the church and from the Bishop's wife to the lowliest woman in the church. After the washing of the disciples' feet, the service continues in this order: The service follows the reading of Matthew 26:16-29 and every time a passage is read, the Bishop performs what is stated. The story of the Lord's Supper as recorded by Luke is not followed (where the cup is first in order) the argument being that, after a day's work, Luke was tired and could not observe all the things that Jesus performed. He did not realise that Jesus had blessed the bread before the cup and, therefore, Luke's account is inaccurate. After the Communion, which is received in order of seniority from the Bishop to the ordinary man and from the Bishop's wife to the ordinary woman, the Bishop blesses the congregation and reads Matthew 26:30: "When they had sung a hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives" (NRSV) and the service closes with a hymn. Throughout the service, a hymn is sung reflecting the activities of the Bishop and the words of the hymn are as follows:

1. *Geza nini izinyawo*: Wash your feet.

2. *Thabathani lesi sinkwa idlanini:* Take this bread and eat.
3. *Thabathani lesi sija puzanini lizi li nkumbule:* Take this cup and drink and remember me.

The Holy Communion in the HMG also marks the beginning of the Christian year. It resembles Botswana traditional society in that the beginning of the new year was marked by the eating of the first fruits. During these celebrations, all the fruits that have ripened earlier, such as cucumbers, water melons and beans, were carried to the Chief's *kgotla* to be ritually declared edible. The Chief would eat first and then pass it over to his eldest son who would pass on the fruit to his brothers and sisters. All the members of the royal family would eat in accordance with the seniority of the families, with each father eating and passing to his eldest son and the rest of the family. All of the people gathered were then asked to go and do the same in their own families. From then onwards, the people were free to eat the new fruits and, in this manner, the new year began with the proper ritual and, throughout the year, the people looked forward to this remarkable moment. A good beginning of the year meant a good life of prosperity.

It is within this context that all the activities of the HMG during the course of the year point to this important service of the Holy Communion. It is a time when all the members of the church gather in one place to mourn the death of Jesus Christ. The death of Christ is a reality in many AICs because overnight vigils were held similar to those now held when a person has died. The idea is to plant in the minds of the believers that Jesus died a sorrowful death to redeem people from their sins and from condemnation to Hell fire. Eating bread and drinking wine is symbolic of eating the flesh and the body of Jesus Christ and is a further guarantee of salvation. There is a mystical and religious attachment to the eating of the body of Jesus Christ. The religious belief also turns into a magical belief in that the body of Christ immediately gives eternal life and, in this manner, the Holy Communion becomes a ritual which also

offers healing in that the guarantee of eternal life is also a guarantee of a healthy life. In the HMG, the Communion service carries many purposes and is also a ritual to be performed yearly to mark the continuous salvation of the congregation.

For some AICs, especially the prophetic movements, the Easter celebrations are regarded differently. In many cases it is the time when the members go to the New Jerusalem and the Moriahs to see their leader to receive his blessing. This view of the Easter celebrations has closed many researchers' eyes to the more meaningful and significant Communion celebrations of lesser known AICs.

8.3.2.4 Salvation: It is difficult to discuss the doctrine of salvation in the HMG without referring to the rest of the HMG doctrines. There are two words in Setswana which are used in connection with the idea of salvation. One is *boloka* (to save), and *bolokilwe* (saved). The common usage in the HMG (and also other AICs) is "*Modimo oa boloka, or Modimo o re bolokile*" (God saves or God has saved us). The second word is *pholosa* (to save) and *pholositswe* (saved). This usage is more common with the Pentecostals and the charismatics. "*Modimo oa pholosa or Modimo ore pholositse*" (God saves or God has saved us). These two words do not have any religious significance in traditional Tswana religions because the concept of salvation is completely different from the Christian concept. The two words have a Christian origin and they are understood in the Christian context. The word *boloka* (save) has a religious meaning in that it carries a belief of the activity of God to save his people. It is the belief in the word of God and the performance of certain rituals and practices that leads to salvation. The HMG uses this word because it implies belief in Jesus Christ which is also substituted for by a number of rituals and activities as discussed in the major rituals of the HMG. The general history of the HMG leads to salvation. When a member of the HMG claims that *Modimo o re bolokile* (God has saved us), many activities and beliefs are taken into consideration, all pointing to salvation. On the other hand, *pholosa* gives an impression of something which happens in a moment

when a person becomes a new creation. This concept is not only religious but carries with it some degree of magic and those who believe in it claim that God changes one's life very suddenly and a person's character is also changed very suddenly. This type of conversion is entirely done by God and the individual has no role in it. There are no demands from God on the individual but once the individual person has become a new creation, their whole life is changed. He or she becomes a saved person: "*Ke Mopholoswa*" ("He/She is a saved person"). Such people talk and give testimonies that they are saved by God and they no longer belong to the sinful world but to Heaven above and that some magic has occurred and changed their lives. The HMG finds *boloka* as giving the right interpretation of the relationship between Jesus and humanity. God saves at baptism when a person confesses sin and accepts Jesus Christ as the only Saviour. Salvation is experienced in the attendance in the worship services of the church, and it is experienced at Holy Communion and many other activities of the church. Failure to participate in church activities is regarded as loss of salvation.

The doctrine of salvation is also linked to the doctrine of grace. The word translating grace is *mohau*. The usage is: "*Re bolokilwe ka mohau wa Modimo*" ("We are saved by the grace of God"). Grace is not understood in terms of a sudden act of God as it is often interpreted by Botswana Pentecostalism. It is understood in terms of a long relationship with God, by hearing and knowing his word and then joining the church, which distinguishes the Christian life from other lives. Being saved in the HMG does not cut one off from the traditional family, one remains in the family and shares one's Christian life with the family. In many cases, the whole family ends up joining the church because it provides rituals which go beyond the traditional rituals and have meaning for non-believers as well. Many members of the HMG persuade their relatives who believe in traditional healers to abandon them and invite the HMG to come and look for witchcraft objects which have been put in their homes and destroy them. This activity is carried out freely as a gift from God. When people see these great deeds,

they join the HMG but people who do not belong to the HMG are also free to request them to come and examine their patients or their homes. After healing, some join the church and the HMG attracts most of its members from traditionalists in this manner as it does not rely only on evangelistic preaching. The HMG and other AICs in Botswana do not isolate themselves from the traditional communities like the Pentecostals or charismatics who rely on getting members from members of other denominations, nor do they, like many members of the mission churches, pretend to be cut off from traditional societies yet, in times of need, resort to traditional practices. Salvation in the HMG is something to be shared with other people so that they must also believe and be saved.

8.3.2.5 Forgiveness and confession: The Setswana word for forgiveness is *Boitshwarelo*. The HMG believes very much in forgiveness and reconciliation. That Jesus forgives sins is one of the major beliefs of the HMG and confession is, therefore, very important. Before the church service, everyone has to confess their sins or simply restate his/her faith and share any problems encountered in life so that prayers can be said for him/her. The word used is a Zulu word: *hlambulula* (to release all that is in the mind). The most common problems concern bad health, bad dreams, temptations and even friends who have not been able to come to the service. These confessions are followed by loud praying in which everyone mentions specific sins which are being confessed. The loud praying is meant to create a noisy atmosphere so that the private sins of some individuals are not heard by other people. The HMG believes that, if this part of the service is not performed well, the people cannot worship freely because they are not reconciled with God. God cannot also listen to their pleas if they have not sincerely confessed their sins. There is a Setswana hymn: "*Boitshwarelo jwa Modimo jona kea bo batla*" ("The forgiveness of God is what I need") and this song is sung after the confessions, and before the Minister says a general prayer of the assurance of forgiveness. Sometimes people react to preaching with hymns and choruses expressing

sorrow before God, since most of the sermons challenge the believers to live a life worthy of God's people without sin. Presence at the Sunday service and other services of the church is believed to convey forgiveness and reconciliation as being at the service is being nearer to God. Worship is very important as a vehicle for forgiveness.

8.3.2.6 The Resurrection: In the HMG the resurrection of Christ is an assurance of the resurrection of the believers and there are no doubts about its historicity. The Good Friday celebrations, as stated above, are, therefore, very important. During the *mulindelo* at the Good Friday celebrations, some elderly women are sent to the nearby cemetery as a testimony to the resurrection. They report back to the anxiously waiting congregation that they found out that Jesus had truly risen from the dead. The congregation then proceeds with the service in great happiness and with singing of the resurrection hymns. Going to the cemetery shows a very clear understanding that the universality of Christianity cuts across racial or national boundaries. The members of the HMG know very well that Jesus died in Palestine and, because some of them were in the World War, they know that Palestine is a country, but through faith, they also know that the Palestine tomb is also present wherever Christians are gathered. The people then march through the village or the town in the morning, singing and testifying to the resurrection of Christ. Since the resurrection service comes after the Communion service, all of those who have received the Holy Communion believe that, as long as they are in the church, they will rise from the dead. The resurrection is both present and eschatological. When a believer dies, he/she is directly taken to Heaven, as discussed above. At the end of time, Jesus will first appear with those who have gone before and then the saved on earth will meet them in the clouds whilst the condemned will languish in Hell (1 Thes. 4:13-18). Thus, the strong belief in the resurrection has caused the idea of ancestor veneration to fade completely with many members of the HMG.

8.3.2.7 Death: The HMG understands death at two levels: physical and spiritual. Spiritual death is when a person is separated from Christ in this world. Any person who does not believe in Jesus Christ is dead both physically and spiritually; when physical death comes, that person will go to Hell. At the funerals of members, all the HMG members in the vicinity are expected to attend the daily prayers before burial and they are also expected to attend the *mulindelo* which precedes the funeral. The body is taken from the mortuary in the evening so that it can be presented for viewing in the morning before burial. Throughout the night, testimonies are given about the life of the departed member. All testimonies point out without doubt that the member has entered Heaven. The people are encouraged not to cry like heathens who do not understand that death is the doorway to Heaven (1 Thes. 4:13 ff.). John 11:25-26 is also read as an assurance of a happy life in Heaven. When the procession to the cemetery takes place, passages are read from the Kobamelo (pp. 148-152) which talk about death and also comfort the bereaved. Funerals are also used for evangelistic purposes. When testimonies are given about the life of the dead, those who do not believe may feel threatened and also wish to join the church. Many AIC ministers do not conduct funerals of non-believers except in cases where the non-believer is a relative of a church member and there is a possibility of winning the whole family to the church. Although many nominal Christians fail to go to church, the mission churches find it difficult to refuse to bury any person. There was a case in Gaborone in which an AIC minister upset people by saying that he did not know which passages to read for the burial of a non-believer. The practice at many funerals is for many people to testify to the verses and hymns which the dead loved. If one has no hymns to bury him/her, then there is great sadness and more mourning for the dead because there is no assurance of salvation for the person. On the other hand, if a member of a prominent Christian family dies, all the testimonies point to the fact that he/she was also a Christian even if that person did not go to church.

The HMG has, therefore, reduced the fear of death amongst its members because of the assurance of salvation which it offers. Death is not acceptable but, when it comes, it is faced with celebration instead of great sorrow and fear.

8.3.2.8 The Word of God: The Bible is believed to be the word of God in the HMG and, to many members, the Bible was actually dictated by God to whoever wrote any book of the Bible. The word of God as it is understood in the HMG carries more authority than anything else and it is referred to in all decision-making procedures of the church. This great reliance on the Bible as the word of God makes a basic departure from the prophetic movements where, in many cases, the word of the leader is more important than the word of God. The HMG puts great emphasis on Bible study amongst its members; they should always make reference to the word of God whenever crucial matters are discussed. Botswana is an oral society where people depend very much on the oral rather than the written word. Many AICs take advantage of this situation and many leaders can cite biblical passages which do not exist or paraphrase some passages wrongly. The HMG avoids this by its emphasis on Bible reading. In the HMG Constitution, the duties of officers are supported by biblical passages. The Bible, as the word of God, is believed to have transforming power and it is read constantly. It transforms traditional beliefs and it also transforms peoples' lives. The word of God is the starting and the ending point of HMG theology.

8.3.2.9 The Church: The HMG believes that the church is the chosen community of God's people and being in the church is a sign of salvation. Wherever a group of people are gathered in the name of Jesus, the HMG understands that is a local church which experiences the presence of God. The HMG does not claim to be the only true church and it gives respect to all churches and accepts members from other denominations. Such members from the mission churches are re-baptized but those from other AICs or any church which practises baptism by immersion are accepted without re-baptism.

The membership of the HMG includes all classes of people and does not only appeal to the poor and the oppressed. As discussed above, the majority of the members come from the Kalanga ethnic groups and there is a good balance between the numbers of men, women and children. Many mission churches have more women than men.

8.4 THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD AND AFRICAN TRADITIONAL RELIGIONS

The HMG reaction to traditional religions is one of transformation. The HMG recognizes the influence of primal religions in Botswana Christianity. Unlike the mission churches, the HMG has not made an adaptation of traditional practices. Instead, it has done everything possible to transform all of the major traditional beliefs and practices which pose problems for the life and faith of Christians. The following are a few examples:

8.4.1 God and Ancestors

The HMG does not dismiss the existence of the ancestors but it does not believe in their being objects of worship and veneration. According to Bishop Mzonda, ancestors are the dead parents, most of whom were not Christians because they died before the Gospel arrived. Some never became Christians because they were not convinced by the Gospel message. Many of them were good people and they are still loved by their descendants but it is useless to worship them now because God has revealed himself in Jesus Christ who has more authority and influence in God than the ancestors. A person like the late Bishop Mthembu cannot be called upon to mediate for the believers, nor can he be put in the category of ancestor because, at his death,

he went straight to Heaven in accordance with the beliefs of the HMG and he cannot plead for the salvation of the believers because salvation is achieved on earth. In this manner, any person who believes that the ancestors or any dead church leader can open the gates of Heaven to the believers or his followers is wrong. The HMG does not believe that anyone else can open the gates of Heaven for any other person except Jesus Christ. Jesus is believed and accepted by each individual on earth and, when one dies, one is sure of his/her salvation. Mr Budani maintains that people who believe in ancestors are exposed to great danger because the ancestral spirits are the demons mentioned in the Bible. If a person entertains them, that person may end up dying because these demons can suffocate a person to death in possession. The HMG recognizes such people and, if they come to church, they are saved by the exorcism of the demon or ancestral spirit. Ancestor worship or veneration is prohibited in the HMG and, with ancestor worship, go traditional healers. The traditional healer is the manifestation of the demon in that he/she is the product of the ancestral spirit. Thus, in general terms, the HMG does not blindly dismiss the ancestors but it has developed a teaching which transforms this basic aspect of traditional religion.

8.4.2 Witchcraft (*boloi, buloyi*)

As stated above, witchcraft accusation was banned in 1927. The practice of witchcraft is condemned by Botswana Law and it is regarded as superstition. In the general beliefs of the Batswana, educated or uneducated, Christians and non-Christians, witchcraft and sorcery are real things which threaten many people. Many people still engage the traditional healers in many aspects of their lives. They get them to protect their homesteads, cattle posts and even their cars. They consult them in order to get healing and in order to be promoted in their jobs and other activities. Members of the mission churches pretend that they do not believe in witchcraft but many go in secret to visit traditional healers or, alternatively, the "spiritual healers". In present day

Botswana, with its fast growing economy and the general rapid enlightenment of people, one would think that the beliefs in witchcraft and sorcery would be things of the past. In reality, that is not the situation as the problems of the capitalist economy, which continues to accumulate wealth in the hands of the few, lead many people to believe more in witchcraft and sorcery, especially when they are not economically successful. People who die in accidents involving drunken driving are never regarded as having been careless, instead it is often alleged that one jealous relative caused the death by witchcraft. The HMG and other AICs in Botswana have included healing in their form of Christianity as the HMG also believes in witchcraft. However, the Bible states that witches and sorcerers will not enter the Kingdom of God and it is on this basis that the HMG has developed its strong teaching on witchcraft. Witchcraft is a sin and if a person is detected as a witch, that person should admit the fact and be prayed for to exorcise the demon which causes witchcraft. The discovering and the exorcising of witches is one of the greatest activities of the HMG and other AICs in Botswana.

I witnessed a witch detection incident at Rakops which occurred during the child initiation service of the HMG. A young lady had been absent from the church for a long period but, on that day, she came to the church and brought her uniform to be blessed or ritually cleansed. When the prophets started dancing to examine the uniform, one prophet suddenly stopped the dancing and asked the young lady what she had been doing with one of her relatives and her mother. She answered that she was just staying at home without coming to church. The prophet was annoyed and raised his staff to beat the girl when another prophet grabbed it and told the young lady that she had been involved in witchcraft. The young lady was very embarrassed and the prophet then said that he was going to help her. He prescribed a big bath full of water, a mug full of river sand to be put in the water, and that the lady and her uniform should be dipped into the water.

The presence of *baloi* is recognized and believed in by the HMG and it sees it as part of its duty to bring such people to the light of Jesus Christ to be saved. The belief that the *baloi* ride hyenas and antbears at night and travel long distances to bewitch other people is shared by the HMG, as is the belief that they can turn themselves into baboons and owls. All of these people can only be changed by prayer and exorcism and conversion to Jesus Christ. The HMG then goes to the extent of prescribing cords and special coats with certain colours to protect its members from witches. The homesteads of the believers are sprinkled with holy water to protect them from witches. In this manner, the HMG attracts both Christians and non-believers. The belief in witchcraft and transforming it into a biblical issue has stabilized the faith of many HMG members as opposed to members of the mission churches. In this manner the HMG has tried, and is still trying, to make Christianity an indigenous religion which covers all aspects of the people's lives.

8.5 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The HMG has achieved, to a considerable extent, to make a form of Christianity which appeals to the needs of its members. The general development of doctrines as shown above shows a degree of transformation of traditional beliefs which has solved many problems of the HMG members. There is also a high degree of the acculturation of the Gospel and future studies on the general doctrinal developments in the HMG could make a great theological contribution to indigenous African Christianity.

Notes to Chapter Eight

1. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961).
2. Daneel, *op. cit.* (1987).
3. Oosthuizen, *op. cit.* (1968).
4. Daneel, *op. cit.* (1987).
5. Vilakazi *et al.*, *op. cit.* (1986).
6. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961).
7. Paul Makhuber, *op. cit.* (1988).
8. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961).
9. Oosthuizen, *op. cit.* (1968).
10. Marie-Louise Martin, The Biblical Concept of Messianism and Messianism in Southern Africa, Monija (1964).
11. Vilakazi *et al.*, *op. cit.* (1986).
12. Lukhaimane, *op. cit.* (1991).
13. Damane, *op. cit.* (1991).
14. Mohono, *op. cit.* (1991).
15. Daneel, *op. cit.*, Quest for Belonging (1987).
----- *op. cit.*, Background and Rise (1971).
----- *op. cit.*, Old and New (1988).
16. C. Nyamiti, Christ as Our Ancestor. Christology from an African Perspective, Mambo Press (1984).
17. Daneel, *op. cit.* Old and New (1988).

CHAPTER NINE
THE MAJOR RITUALS AND PRACTICES OF THE
HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

9.1 INTRODUCTION

To discuss rituals in the HMG is not an easy task for several reasons. Firstly, the HMG and many AICs do not make any clear distinction between doctrines, sacraments and rituals as there is a strong link between the three concepts and it is very difficult to distinguish between them. Secondly, it is difficult to see any ritual of the HMG as being unique to the HMG as the rituals are of popular Christian practice, modified depending on the beliefs and practices of a particular church, and, thirdly, it is not easy to distinguish the HMG practices from the traditional Tswana practices. With these problems to consider, this study will try to discuss all the important aspects of ritual which are of HMG origin as distinctly as possible. What is understood as HMG practice is that which the HMG has transformed or adapted in such a way that it becomes identified by members as peculiar HMG practice, as opposed to that of the other AICs and mission churches.

This study also takes into consideration that the importance of ritual in the AICs generally has been discussed by Sundkler (1961).¹ His observation is that the need for rituals contributed to the rise of the AICs in South Africa, but there are no other studies which have put emphasis on ritual as being one of the causative factors for the rise of the AICs. Healing has been highlighted by many authors as the major contributory factor to their rise. The present author's studies of the AICs in Botswana have shown that the major differences between the AICs and the mission churches lie

in the emphasis put on rituals. The AICs are very careful when it comes to ritual observances which are mainly dominated by taboos and prohibitions, whereas the mission churches do not put much emphasis on taboos and prohibitions as part of ritual performance or observance. As stated above, there is no distinction between doctrine, sacrament and ritual in the HMG and other AICs and, to understand this concept, I shall appeal to Pauw (1964) and his study on the role of magic in ritual.

According to Pauw, rituals are performed as a confirmation of belief or faith in God and, to cite an example, people are baptized because they believe that, through baptism, God will forgive them their sins and they will go to Heaven when they die. In this manner, baptism is taken on faith, on the promises of the word of God. On the other hand, baptism could be magical, the magic nature coming when the baptizand expects some sudden change in his or her life. This new life experience gives a feeling that something mystical has changed one's life and, in this way, baptism is no longer only a sacrament but also becomes a ritual which makes quick and mysterious changes in a person's life. This forms a basic difference between HMG baptism and that of the mission churches. Baptism also becomes a doctrine in that it is believed to generate change in a person's life and the members then believe that baptism is a ritual and a doctrine. The magical nature attached to baptism also brings HMG Christianity close to many African traditional religions as, in traditional religions, God is approached through rituals which are governed by taboos in order to obtain His favour. Observance of rituals and laws becomes part of the HMG understanding of the Christian faith. In this manner, HMG Christianity becomes biblical in that it appeals to no other tradition except that of the Bible. HMG Christianity does not ask the Bible any critical questions but accepts it as the direct word of God. This is where it departs from western or mission Christianity as all that is stated in the Bible has to be obeyed and practised. It is within this understanding of ritual and magic that our study of rituals in the HMG should be viewed.

This study cannot claim to discuss all HMG rituals and it is only the major rituals which include Baptism, Holy Communion, Birth, Initiation and Death which will be given full attention. There are two reasons why the above have been selected and called rituals, the first being that they constitute the general life of a person and they all have a healing effect on the individual and, secondly, as Willoughby (1928)² observed, a religion that does not cover all aspects of the African's life cannot appeal to Africans. The above rituals cover all aspects of life and their performance challenges the major fear of the Batswana, fear of witchcraft. By alleviating the fear of witchcraft, they achieve a great religious purpose and fulfil many needs.

9.2 BAPTISM

The nature of baptism as a ritual is not unique to the HMG. The mission churches and AICs observe baptism as a ritual that every person who intends to be a follower of Jesus Christ should undergo. The actual practice of baptism carries some formulae and the baptizands are required to do something special for the occasion. People buy new clothes for their baptism and they are given certificates as a sign of baptism. In the HMG, baptism does not end at the baptismal pool, it is a ritual performed once to accept a person into the church and thereafter it takes other forms as a ritual with some healing effects. In this manner, baptism becomes magic, in that once a person is washed seven times in the baptismal pool, the person has to be healed of any disease. Besides healing, such a washing also magically gives an assurance of salvation if, for some reason, the person had fallen away from the active membership of the church. The prescription of baptismal washing by the prophet guarantees

salvation to the repentant and, in this manner, baptism becomes both a doctrine and a ritual.

9.3 HOLY COMMUNION

Holy Communion is one of the highly respected doctrines and rituals of the HMG. As discussed above, as a doctrine, Holy Communion does not pose any problem to the HMG because it is clearly stated in the Bible and its performance is well tabulated. The interesting aspect of Holy Communion is when it becomes a ritual. As previously mentioned, the performance of the Holy Communion resembles the eating of the first fruits in Tswana traditional religions, as eating the first fruits marks the beginning of a new year and a new life. The importance of this ritual has been replaced by nothing which resembles it since it was discouraged by the mission churches. By making Holy Communion a ritual which marks the beginning of a new year and an entry into a new life, the HMG has provided its members with a ritual to guide their lives throughout the year. The high expectation of the coming of the Holy Communion every year has replaced the first fruits ceremony to many HMG members. When people used to be afraid to eat the first fruits before the official ritual was performed for fear of misfortune, the HMG members have found a meal which is higher than all the traditional ritualistic meals. This is found in the Holy Communion.

The HMG has a distinct attitude towards the Holy Communion when compared to other AICs and the mission churches. Although the Holy Communion is believed to have some healing effects, the remnants of the bread are not taken away to be given to those who were unable to attend or the sick. There is great secrecy attached to the Holy Communion, as discussed above. In addition, the HMG believes that healing has

to be prescribed by a prophet, as also discussed above. Thus the Communion has a magical nature, in that eating and drinking the bread and the wine is not only symbolic of eating the body and blood of Jesus Christ, but also a magical nature of eating the real body and blood of Jesus Christ. Many HMG members believe very strongly that, after taking Holy Communion, they live for a very long time without becoming ill and that, if they died afterwards, they would immediately go to Heaven without any need for the testimonies of their colleagues to accompany them to the gates of Heaven. The Holy Communion ritual, therefore, transforms many traditional concepts regarding life and death. Once an HMG member begins to receive Communion, there is no fear of the ancestor or the *ngaka* because they are powerless before the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

Biblical-based rituals, therefore, have helped many HMG members to deal fearlessly with traditional beliefs and fears. The strongest of these fears is that of witchcraft but, through the body and blood of Jesus Christ, the witches and sorcerers are defeated and become powerless.

9.4 RITUALS PERTAINING TO HEALING

Our discussion on rituals pertaining to birth, initiation and death should generally be classified as healing rituals. Rituals pertaining to birth, initiation and death are very important in the lives of the Batswana today. The Tswana world view is that life is constituted by proper rituals at birth, proper initiation and proper death and burial and, if any of these rituals is improperly performed, the whole life of a person faces great problems. At birth, a child has to be protected from witchcraft, bad luck and all sorts of misfortune by the use of varied medicines generally referred to as *mekomiso*. The

mother has to observe certain taboos which are important for her personal life as well as that of the baby and such rituals have been discussed by Brown (1926), Willoughby (1928), Pauw (1964) and Setiloane (1976). The general rules regarding family life have been discussed by Schapera (1970).

The Tswana world view as regards birth has continued to exist in spite of the impact of Christianity. The mission churches have despised such rituals and called them superstition. Proper initiation rituals were observed in order to stabilize the society and regulate the general social behaviour. Brown maintains that girls were initiated at a much earlier age than boys. They were taught their responsibilities as mothers and how they should behave generally towards their husbands and, after initiation, they were free to marry and enjoy sex. Boys underwent two stages of initiation, the first being when they reached puberty at which they were disciplined in preparation for the circumcision ceremony. At circumcision they were moulded into responsible men and husbands who would be responsible for the welfare of their families and the nation at large through the age groups (*mephato*). They were free to have sexual intercourse only after circumcision. The traditional Tswana life was, therefore, a life full of expectations to be fulfilled at certain stages in life through proper ritual. This differs vastly from modern life where young men and women get involved in sexual life before proper rituals are performed and they usually have nothing exciting to look forward to in the future.

Proper death was also very important and by this is meant death in old age when one was already nearer the ancestors. Death occurring at an early age was always associated with witchcraft and sorcery and was believed to be caused by failure to perform certain healing rituals. As discussed above, cleansing was done to avert further misfortunes at death.

The importance of proper burial has also been previously discussed. All of these rituals had a healing effect on society and proper rituals at birth, initiation and death prevented many physical diseases such as *thibamo*. Germs and viruses were not interpreted nor understood in scientific concepts but were understood as being charms planted by witches and sorcerers or sometimes as having been caused by dissatisfied ancestors.

The Western world view and Christianity could not understand these views looked at healing in a holistic manner. Disease was associated with outside forces called germs and viruses which had nothing to do with religious beliefs. The LMS and other mission bodies introduced clinics and hospitals to combat disease. These were only successful in so far as they were able to heal physical diseases and stop epidemics such as smallpox and tuberculosis. In so far as capturing the confidence of the Batswana, both physically and spiritually, modern scientific medicine has not yet succeeded. In a country like Botswana which is developing fast and has medical facilities for its 1.5 million people, the majority are still not convinced that modern scientific healing could solve their health problems. It may help by easing pain in the body but does not address the inner needs of the patient.

The most comprehensive works on healing in Botswana have been made by Staugard (1985, 1988). Throughout his work, he has demonstrated the persistence of traditional health care and forms of healing and has discussed and proposed the importance of an integrated approach to healing in Botswana. I (1987, 1991) have also pointed to the need for integrated healing and the role played by traditional medicine in healing in Botswana. The persistence of the traditional world view in modern Botswana and the manner in which the HMG has tried, and is trying, to build new concepts and approaches to life is the subject of this study.

As a point of departure, it is important to state that the traditional Tswana rituals were performed by traditional healers (*ngaka*). In the HMG, the ritual practices are prescribed and at times performed by the prophet. The call of the traditional healer and parallels with the prophet have been discussed by Sundkler (1961, 1976). Two examples of prophetic calls will be presented here to show the nature of the person who prescribes and performs the rituals as opposed to the traditional healer. These will be presented within the general concept of healers in the HMG.

9.4.1 The Healers in the Head Mountain of God

The healers in the HMG are the prophets and Chapter Four has discussed the life of the founder of the HMG as a great prophet whose prophetic gifts and healing attracted many people to his church because of his challenges to the established traditional healing practices. From a witch-finder at Butale Village and the Tati District generally, Bishop Mthembu developed the theology of his church till it emerged as an indigenous church which has overgrown the category of being a mere prophetic movement to that of a well-established indigenous church. Mthembu's healing and prophecy changed the notion of prophecy as observed by Sundkler, Daneel and other writers on the AICs. As a prophet, Mthembu did not centralize his influence by creating a city of God such as a Moriah of the ZCC or any form of New Jerusalem as had been the tendency with the AICs. In spite of his popularity, he introduced a completely different pattern of AIC leadership. His church started in South Africa and he knew very well how the AICs were run in that country, but it was not as popular like the other AICs that emerged at the same period. The reason for this hidden influence of the HMG is accounted for by the fact that Mthembu did not make himself the centre of the HMG as many other AIC leaders had done. For that same reason, in Botswana the HMG is not as popular as the ZCC, the Spiritual Healing Church or the St. John Apostolic Faith

Mission. On the other hand, the survival of the HMG, without splits for over 50 years now, is accounted for by its democratic structures. When the Societies Act was introduced in 1972, the HMG did not face administrative problems like many AICs where the leader was the centre and where the setup was such that the churches would be inherited within the family. The democratic nature of the HMG made transition relatively easy to accommodate.

Healing and prophecy in the HMG are gifts from God and many HMG prophets have become so through dreams and visions which then led to well developed prophecy. The gift does not come because one has to find solutions to certain problems nor does it arise because it is precipitated by dissatisfaction and social conflict.³ As a healer, the HMG prophet does his/her healing in the church. The prophet is not visited at his home for any form of consultation.⁴ The HMG Prophet detects a disease and makes a prescription on the spot. If it is possible, the treatment is carried out in the church or the *mosebelelesi* is asked to go to perform the treatment. The *mosebelelesi* cannot treat a patient whose prescription had not been made by the prophet. In this manner, through strong biblical teaching, the HMG has avoided the practice of some *basebelelesi* who, through their experiences in treating patients referred to them by prophets, would later claim to be healers and break away from that church to form their own.

The fact that healing is free in the HMG has made HMG prophets reliable and trusted by many people because they do not cheat anyone in order to get money. The HMG's strong teaching on free healing is based on the Old Testament. The story of the Prophet Elisha, who instructed Naaman to go to wash himself seven times in the River Jordan, forms the basis of the teaching. When Naaman was healed, he wanted to pay Elisha but Elisha refused payment. However, Elisha's servant, Gehazi, was tempted by the Devil and followed Naaman and asked to be paid. When Elisha heard that his servant had demanded payment from Naaman, he cursed him and Naaman's disease

descended upon Gehazi. From this story, and also on the basis of the fact that Jesus healed freely, the HMG has very strict discipline for any prophet who demands payment of any form from any person who has been healed, the only reward being that many people who come to the HMG for healing usually end up joining the church. There are many members of friendly denominations who often come to the HMG for healing purposes but many of these do not leave their churches to join the HMG because the HMG also has strong regulations regarding the acceptance of members from other denominations.⁵ Many HMG congregations throughout Botswana are frequently full of people who are not necessarily members of the HMG. They may be members of friendly churches or they do not belong to any church but are seeking healing. This practice of the HMG has protected it from splits and, as long as the same practice is maintained, the HMG will continue to give a good example of an indigenous church and how such can survive through self-propagation. Prophets of the HMG are just humble people who are not rich like prophets of other AICs who become so through fees charged for healing.⁶

Many HMG local churches have their prophets and, where there are no prophets, they normally invite prophets from other HMG local churches to come and look at the problems of the congregation and its membership. The absence of a centralized prophetic office makes HMG prophets feel very free wherever they are. The Bishop had always regarded himself as a colleague of all the Ministers of the HMG and had never regarded himself as a better prophet than the rest of the HMG prophets. The current Bishop is not even a prophet but a good preacher. The prophetic life of the church is controlled by other Ministers who are also prophets or by ordinary junior officers of the church who also have the prophetic gift. This does not in any way belittle the position of the Bishop nor threaten his authority because the life of the HMG is not based on prophecy but on sound overall biblical teaching.

In light of the foregoing observations, prophecy in the HMG does not lead it to be classified as a prophetic or messianic movement because its practices do not fall in those categories. It suffices to call it an ordinary indigenous church and its early development in Botswana shows how an indigenous church has emerged under certain conditions and managed to overcome them and still continues to make itself relevant to the modern social problems of Botswana. It is not just a movement which arose to address a specific problem and, once that particular problem was overcome, lacked a sense of direction. The HMG prophets are healers who address the problems of witchcraft and all social problems facing the Batswana through a long historical experience with the developments and changes brought about by other developments. The following two examples give us a clear picture of how prophets develop in the HMG and their functions:-

9.4.1.1 Petros Magodi: Petros Magodi was born in Mapoka Village in 1949. He is currently one of the HMG Prophets in Jwaneng, having joined the HMG in 1969 in Themashanga Village where he was baptized. Before joining the HMG, he used to visit the Bethlehem and the HMG churches as an enquirer. He asked searching questions in order to learn more about the Bible, God and the Christian religion and also asked the Ministers to explain the rules and procedures of their churches. The HMG having convinced him, he joined them.

In 1971 he was promoted to the post of *Gosa* at Themashanga. That same year he left Themashanga to look for work in South Africa and obtained employment at Magaliesburg where, in 1972, he was promoted to the post of Secretary. His prophecy developed from dreams and visions which all materialized. His first dream was about a person who was sent from Mapoka to report the death of a relative. After a few days, one of his relatives in Mapoka died and someone was sent to Themashanga to report the death. Another time he dreamt of being attacked by dogs and, after a few days, the police from Francistown came to his home looking for one of his relatives who had

committed a crime there. He claims that he had many other dreams, some of which he could not accurately recall. At times in church he would feel like sleeping and dreaming and then he would hear a voice telling him about something that was going to happen. At Themashanga, when he was sitting in church, this type of dream and vision came to him and a voice told him that a local traditional healer was coming to the church to ask for prayers and that the church should pray for him. This healer had a case with another traditional healer arising from a dispute over a piece of land and the two were threatening each other with witchcraft. When the voice stopped talking to him, he stood up and told the congregation what had been revealed to him. The congregation was startled by the news because of the serious disagreements between the HMG Prophets and traditional healers. However, they agreed to wait and, after several minutes, the healer arrived. When he got to the door, Mr Magodi stood up and welcomed him, saying that he had been told of his coming by the Spirit. The healer was also startled by his reception welcome since he knew of the bad relationship between the prophets and traditional healers. The congregation prayed for the healer and he thanked them and left the church. It was later reported that, after some years, he joined the HMG and abandoned his traditional practices.

Mr Magodi also maintains that, when the prophetic Spirit comes to him, the people in the church look very small, like grass, when he looks at them. On one occasion, when he was in Vryburg in South Africa, one of the local friendly churches organized a *mulindelo* to pray for a man who was to be elected Bishop of the church. When the congregation was praying, he felt as if he was dreaming and he saw a piece of land burning. A voice called him and told him that the man they were praying for was going to die and the death would occur in the winter when the trees began to shed their leaves. His understanding of the dream was that God was saying that the man should not be made Bishop. This dream occurred in 1974 and, in July 1976, the man died and the vision and dream were fulfilled. Mr Magodi maintains that he never falls

into a trance of any sort when he prophesies. He said that, of late, the dreams have disappeared and it is only the voice which tells him what to say to the congregation. At one stage, a woman from Mabudzane, in the North, came to the Jwaneng church and she was very ill when she arrived. The voice told him that she should be prayed for, given pure water only to drink and rubbed with something. When she was still under this treatment, a message of prophecy revealed that her daughter was going to kill herself and, on her return home after being healed, the woman learned that her 16 year old son had attempted to commit suicide by hanging himself but some people found him before he died.

Mr Magodi's prophecies are different from all that has been written about prophecy. They are not prophecies showing the power of the leader and how God works through him, instead they are a type of prophecy closer to the original AIC prophecy, as argued by Bishop Tshabangu,⁷ which cover the lives of the people and any particular problems they might encounter in the future. It is a foresight of coming events and his prophecies do not require any singing to induce the Spirit or to make the body fresh as some prophets claim.⁸ Mr Magodi's prophecy is not messianic but shows a departure from what has been believed to be classical AIC prophecy. It is a prophecy with a future because it addresses the real concerns of individual members.

9.4.1.2 Robert Modungwa: Robert Modungwa is a 55 year old HMG prophet in Mmathethe Village, South-west of Lobatse. He joined the HMG in 1971, his reason being that he went to Lobatse to ask for prayers (*go bolotsa*) from Reverend Ndebele so that he could find a job in South Africa. He got a job and, in return, joined the HMG. In 1973 he came home and went to Lobatse to be baptized, after which he arranged a *mulindelo* at Mmathethe where all the members of his family joined the HMG and a branch was started there. Mr Modungwa believes that no person can train to be a prophet because it is a gift from God. Prophecy comes through God's inspiration, even when a person is unaware of it or even if he/she does not want to be one. To some

people, it begins with visions in the form of light, stars and unidentifiable objects. Sometimes the appearance of objects like light do heal a person from a certain disease. Before becoming a prophet, some people suffer cramps, deafness and other unforeseen disabilities which disappear when the person matures as a prophet. Some people become possessed by spirits which make them fall down and others have dreams and visions (*diponatshegelo*). His own prophecy started in dreams and he claims that the Tswana-speaking people usually experience dreams and cramps termed *getshi ya mowa* (electric shocks of the spirit). The ancestors (*badimo*) only appear to the Tswana through dreams. The Bakalanga prophets are usually possessed by *badzimu* before they become prophets. In Kalanga tradition, the *badzimu* exist at all times and they are the living dead, whereas, with the Tswana,⁹ they only appear when they are dissatisfied with something concerning the living. The sources of prophecy are then cramps, dreams and visions, demonic possession and the *badimo*.

Mr Modungwa further maintains that, like all the other gifts of the Spirit, the gifts of prophecy are also not equally given. Some prophets are given more vision power than others and God can communicate with them to diagnose the problems of a congregation of more than 50 people in just one hour, whereas some prophets will take more than three hours to diagnose the same number of people. The reason for these differences, it is believed, lies in the fact that some prophets do not have enough faith to believe and admit what God reveals to them, no matter how bad it is. Therefore God will always abandon them for some minutes without telling them what to say to the people. This is why many Prophets want the people to sing and dance when the prophecy is going on so that, if they have nothing to say, they can participate in the dance and, when they have been repeatedly shown or told the same thing, they can then stop the dancing and speak out. The more faithful prophets communicate with God easily and they finish their prophecies quickly. Many times when people preach, they ask the prophets not to hesitate to say what God tells them nor doubt like

Jeremiah. The doubt as to whether it is God who is really speaking leads many prophets to fail to tell the people the truth. Some refuse to say what the Spirit has revealed for fear of being hated by the people and want to say the good things. The prophets hold sticks (*dikhali*). These sticks are prescribed by God's Spirit and are all different. The more faithful prophets hold better sticks than those who still doubt their ability to communicate with the Spirit of God.

It is quite clear from these two examples that prophecy is a highly developed concept in the HMG. Mr Modungwa shows that he has been exposed to all sorts of prophetic claims and the fact that prophecy cannot be learned or taught to someone is a direct contradiction to the practices of other AICs that the prophetic office can be inherited. It also contradicts the centralisation of prophetic powers. The concept of prophecy in the HMG has been theologically developed and it has a long life. It does not exist because it is supported financially by people but because it is appointed by God. Prophets, it is believed, are in the HMG through God's Will and, if God decides to stop the practice, it will stop and the HMG will be inspired to find other theologies in order that the church will continue to exist.

9.5 DISEASES HEALED

The HMG claims to heal many diseases through prayer and the practice of inducing faith by the use of placebos (*sewacho*). The most commonly healed disease is *popelo* which is more of a psychological than a physical disease. Many women in Botswana still hold the traditional belief that a woman should have children once she reaches a mature age but, nowadays, the education of women and their involvement in social activities and work, delays them from having children. Many use contraceptives

in order to avoid unwanted pregnancies when at school or working. Some wait for a long time to get married before having children. Owing to their involvement in premarital sex, some women catch venereal diseases (*malwetse*) and, as a result of this, they are afraid that their wombs will be affected and they will not be able to have children. The HMG and many AICs in Botswana claim to heal *popelo*. It is understood in terms of the general African concept of disease that, for every disease, there is a witch or a sorcerer who becomes responsible for the cause of that disease. For healing to occur, one has to have faith in Jesus Christ and, with the help of the *sewacho* as prescribed by the prophet, many patients claim to have been healed. Although many women go to the hospitals when they are ill, they often resort to the prophets to find out whether the disease was caused naturally or if someone was responsible for causing it.

The second common disease is *phogwana* (fontanelle) which is also related to sorcery. The belief is that when a sick baby, doctored according to tradition, meets another who has stronger charms, that baby becomes seriously ill. The baby becomes frightened and, in that fright, gets diarrhoea and the *phogwana*, becomes dehydrated and fails to breathe. To heal the baby, a traditional healer has to be engaged who will, first of all identify the kind of medicine used by the other baby and then the sick baby will be smeared with protective herbs. In modern scientific medicine, *phogwana* is understood as diarrhoea and, to heal it, a child is given more water by being put on a drip. In many cases, parents send their children to the hospitals when they have given up with traditional medicine and usually the baby is sent when it is about to die. When treatment fails because of the delay, the ordinary people believe that *phogwana* is an African disease which cannot be healed by Western medicine. There is, therefore, a great conceptual difference between the traditional world view and the Western or scientific view regarding *phogwana*. The HMG accepts the traditional world view and, when a baby is brought in with *phogwana*, the treatment is commonly the use of *sepeiti* (enema). The belief is that the baby's stomach is full of bad things which gives the

baby a high temperature and the dirt can only be removed by *sepeiti*. The baby is then given *sepeiti* through the prescription of the Prophet as to what should be mixed with the water. In many cases, the water is mixed with salt. Cords are also prescribed to protect the baby from further attacks by *phogwana*. Babies who are born in the HMG are well initiated against such diseases, as we shall see below.

The third common disease which the HMG claims to heal is *thibamo* (tuberculosis). Traditionally, *thibamo* is caused by a man sleeping with a woman who had not been properly healed or given proper ritual after the birth of a baby. If a man has sex with such a woman, he gets *thibamo* and, to heal this disease, soil from an anthill is used. The nature of *thibamo* is that blood clots in the lungs and the patient fails to breathe. The patient coughs and sometimes spits or vomits blood if the *thibamo* has not been treated for a long period. The anthill has holes which resemble those of the lungs. A big piece of anthill soil is cut off and burnt on a fire and, when it is very hot, it is put in a big bath and hot water is poured in, creating steam. The patient is then covered by blankets and forced to breathe the hot steam from the water, the belief being that the vessels will open up when they come into contact with the steam and allow free breathing. This practice is called *go arametsa* or *sifutho*. The patient vomits white foam as a sign of having been healed and, after a few days of such practice, the patient is healed. However, in scientific medicine, *thibamo* is tuberculosis. Many people go to the HMG and other AICs to be healed of *thibamo* but, if the HMG fails, they go to the hospital where they are treated for tuberculosis. The other cause of *thibamo* is believed to be *sejeso* (food poisoning). The treatment in the HMG is the same but, if the prophecy identifies *sejeso* as the cause, the patient might be given *sepeiti* as well. The HMG concept of *thibamo* and its treatment has transformed the traditional way of healing the disease. Traditional healers would give the patient bitter herbs to kill the poison in the chest but such practices are no longer common and many traditional healers tend to use methods similar to those of the Prophets.¹⁰

The HMG believes that disease can also be caused by sin or the failure to obey God's warnings. Disease is also understood as punishment from God, especially incurable diseases such as AIDS.

9.6 PATIENTS HEALED¹¹

There is great similarity in the treatment of patients in the HMG and many of the common diseases seem to have the same treatment. The HMG does not, however, take it for granted that people with the same disease can necessarily be healed by the same treatment. The prophet has to be consulted at all times before any treatment is given and, to make this practice effective, no patient is treated outside the church except with the permission of the prophets. This practice has led to a problem with the nurses (*basebelets*) who become used to treating patients and then claim to be healers, resulting in the split of AICs. The most common things used are salt, vinegar and ashes from various herbs, and the use of these substances has become so common that it is not easy to trust the prescriptions of a prophet as being genuine because they have become traditionalised in the AICs. The HMG states that the use of similar materials is only revealed to the prophet by the Spirit. If a prophet takes a chance and gives patients materials that have not been prescribed to him by the Spirit, he commits a very serious error.

Some HMG prophets have been accused of charging people money for healing and this practice is done by those prophets who think that the commonly prescribed materials could be used without further prescription. However, the truth of the matter is that two patients can come to a prophet, both complaining of stomach ache, and to one patient the Spirit might prescribe water with vinegar and to the other, a green cord

to be tied around the waist. This example confirms the belief of the HMG prophets that no healing can be performed without the guidance of the Spirit.

The fact that a number of objects used by the AICs are similar to those used by the traditional healers has led many people to believe that the AICs have a list of medicines to be used for treating certain diseases and ailments.¹² This appears to be true considering the fact that things like salt and water have developed into the classical objects used by the AICs. A traditional healer depends on tradition for his healing and prescription of medicines. The prophet may get used to certain medicines but he/she cannot use them without the guidance of the Spirit.¹³ It is only the false prophets who will give patients things that have not been prescribed by the Spirit. Many patients that I have come across confirmed that the prophets consulted with the Spirit before prescribing treatments for them. Many have also claimed that they were completely healed after the treatments and patients healed in the HMG have claimed that it is a good healing church which does not charge any money for healing.

9.7 CLEANSING

Cleansing in the HMG is also a healing process. It is not easy to make a clear distinction between cleansing and healing but the most important aspect of our study is to show how the HMG has transformed the beliefs and methods of healing or cleansing from the Tswana traditional concepts to Christian concepts.

9.7.1 Cleansing of Sin

The HMG believes that sins are cleansed at baptism and also by confession after baptism. Baptism in the HMG is a form of regeneration.¹⁴ Through baptism, a

person's sins are cleansed and the person becomes pure before God. Since sin is a common feature in a person's life, the HMG has regular washing of sins services where the members are dipped seven times in the baptismal pool as cleansing of sins. The effect of this regular washing of sins is a continued assurance of salvation and the concept of sin, forgiveness and salvation has completely been transformed by the HMG. The assurance of salvation by the HMG through the continuous cleansing of sins has made its members drift away from the traditional practices of ritual cleansing and the veneration of the ancestral spirits.

9.7.2 Taboos

Taboos refer here to certain objects which are not supposed to be used at certain times and animals which have not to be eaten, and the HMG has adopted many taboos of the Old Testament. The HMG regards all carnivorous animals as taboo and regards all animals without hooves and those which do not suckle their young as taboo. In the Boteti and the Ngamiland areas, the bubble fish is regarded as taboo because it resembles a snake. The eating of pork is also taboo. If anyone touches any of these, they have to be cleansed before joining the others in worship. The cleansing ranges from ordinary sprinkling with blessed water to the use of *sewacho*. None of the above taboos is found in traditional Kalanga or Tswana society.

9.7.3 Death

Death is regarded as the only passage to eternal life in Heaven. Tswana traditions regard death as misfortune and, when death occurs, the family members have to be cleansed. The cleansing may follow the traditional Tswana way¹⁵ or may be done in accordance with Old Testament practice.¹⁶ In spite of the fact that death is a gateway to Heaven, the HMG also recognizes its bad impact on society and, to restore

order after death, the HMG performs a cleansing ceremony based on Old Testament practices. This cleansing fulfils the traditional beliefs but is being performed as a Christian ceremony.

9.7.4 Misfortunes

Misfortunes in the HMG refer to bad luck (*senyama*). *Senyama* refers to anything a person does without any success, e.g. if one cannot find a job, it is *senyama*. *Senyama* is associated with jealousy and witchcraft and, if one has bad luck, it is always related to a cause and, in many cases, the causes are relatives or friends. The traditional healers demand a lot of money for healing *senyama*. The HMG only demands faith and prayers to Jesus Christ. In some cases, a hot bath (*go arametsa*) is needed for the treatment of a *senyama* patient. If the *senyama* is caused by an object planted in the body, *sepeiti* is needed. Many people claim to have been healed of *senyama* in the HMG and have obtained employment or were promoted in their jobs.

9.8 THE INITIATION OF CHILDREN

The HMG has a very highly developed system of initiating children. The system, based on the Bible, has completely transformed the traditional Tswana initiation of children. In traditional Tswana society, a baby is initiated at birth when it is protected from witchcraft by the use of charms prescribed by a traditional healer. Between the ages of twelve (or even eight) and twenty years, the second initiation is that into adulthood, which is characterised by circumcision. The HMG has three basic types of initiation. The first ceremony takes place eight days after birth, in accordance with the Old Testament (Leviticus 12:1-12). At this ceremony, prayers are held for the baby and

the prophets prescribe cords and sashes to be used by the baby as protection against witchcraft. Blessed water is put in a basin and kept in the baby's house so that when visitors come they are sprinkled with the water before they enter the house to see the baby. The same water is sprinkled all over the homestead to protect the baby from any witchcraft activities. This protection is effective and it is done without charge, as opposed to that of a traditional healer which costs a lot of money or even an ox or a cow. The second initiation is done 33 days after birth for a boy, and 66 days after birth for a girl (see Figs. 8 and 9).

The third, and last, initiation is that of baptism at adulthood. For this study, I shall describe an initiation ceremony for a baby boy which I attended at Rakops on the 11 and 12 January 1992.

9.8.1 The Overnight Service (*Mulindelo*)

The ceremony began with a *mulindelo* on Saturday, 11 January 1992. Several congregations of other denominations were invited, and the service began at 11 p.m. Most of the service was singing and short sermons based on the birth of Jesus (Matthew 2:1-15), the emphasis of the sermons being that, when Jesus was born, Herod wanted to kill him because he was mistaken into thinking that Jesus was going to be an earthly king. The interpretation of this story is that people who live in sin are the ones who are continually killing Jesus because they do not want him to be born in their hearts. The other theme was that, when Herod died, an angel of the Lord asked Joseph to go out of the land of Egypt and this was interpreted to mean that the name Egypt refers to a place of sin and those who become Christians have gone out of Egypt into the Kingdom of God. The historical and geographical Egypt exists but its spiritual and religious significance is more important than the geographical or historical.



Figure 8: A mother in church uniform after the initiation ceremony of her baby at Rakops



Figure 9: Mother with baby showing cords in his hip, neck, ankles and knuckles after the initiation service

During the *mulindelo*, the mother of the baby had not yet been called to bring the child until early in the morning, at 5 a.m. As the service went on, some people were going out of the church and making a noise and time and again the Minister would call out for people to come into the service. A passage was read from Revelation 12:1-6 and this was about the vision of a woman who was in delivery with the dragon watching her, ready to eat her baby. When the passage was read, the Minister asked the reader to stop and he preached a short sermon:

Did you hear what is said by Revelation? When the woman was delivering the baby, the dragon was waiting to destroy the baby. This is what some of you are doing now. We have come here tonight to celebrate the birth of a child. Some of you have not come here to be happy and rejoice with us. Like the dragon, they have come to bewitch the child. Those of you who are outside the church and refuse to come in are just waiting for the baby so that, when he comes, they use their evil medicines to bewitch him.

After this short sermon, those people who were outside the church came in and joined the service. There is a great fear of witchcraft in this area and no-one wants to be identified as a witch. On the morning of Sunday, 12 January 1992, at 5 a.m. the baby was brought into the church.

9.8.2 The Blessing of the Baby

When the parents arrived with the baby, a hymn was sung as they went to stand before the Minister. Luke 2:21-39 was read and the Minister, acting as Simeon, took the baby and laid his hands on him with a short prayer. The words said by Simeon were read to the parents. An elderly woman in the church was called to act as Anna, to praise the baby and tell of the good things that he was going to do, such as taking care of his parents. The congregation then sang a song of praise to God.

9.8.3 The Naming of the Baby

When the time for the naming of the baby came, Luke 1:57-79 was read. All of the things or activities mentioned in the passage were acted upon by different people. The father of the baby was given a piece of paper and pen to write down the name of the baby. He pretended to be dumb and wrote down the name of the baby as Shingani (to work). The Secretary took the paper and read out the name to the congregation and all shouted Alleluia. The father was asked to praise God and he said a short prayer and everyone was glad that he could talk at last. The Minister asked the Secretary to read from Ruth 4:13-22 and, when the passages were being read, the Minister repeated them in the form of preaching. The grandmother of the baby was asked to take the baby in her arms as a sign that she was going to take care of him and she was asked to name the child Obed. The child then had three names given to him. The first name was Zechariah which was to be given by the woman who went to circumcise the child and the other name was Shingani which was given by the father. The three names were put to the vote by the congregation and the results were as follows: Obed 21; Shingani 1; Zechariah 4. The baby, therefore, was named Obed. The Minister then called all of the Ministers present to come forward and all laid their hands on the baby and prayed for him. The service ended with a chorus and dancing:

Lebitso la ngwana ke mang?
Emmanuel, Emmanuel, Emmanuel,
Mong wa rona.

(What is the name of the child?
Emmanuel, Emmanuel, Emmanuel,
Our Master).

The singing continued until morning and people with various problems were coming forward to be prayed for. The mother of the baby was asked to go to rest with the baby and the baby was examined by the prophets who they found him well and fine.

This initiation of children by the HMG has completely transformed the traditional way and some non-believers bring their children to be blessed in the HMG and many end up being members of the church.

9.9 RITUALS PERTAINING TO GENEROSITY AND THE GENERAL CARE OF MEMBERS AND OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH

Some rituals are not meant for cleansing and healing only. Gifts and all acts of politeness also form part of the rituals in the HMG and the outstanding ones are those connected with special gifts to leaders and officers of the church.

At the Good Friday celebrations in 1980, held at Gaborone, the Kurumane congregation donated a Silver Stick to Bishop Mthembu. This stick was a symbol of authority as used by many AICs in South Africa and Botswana but Bishop Mthembu has never used the stick because of his belief in equality amongst Ministers. On the same occasion he was given a teapot worth P8-08 and money in cash worth P13-80. The Minutes state that there were many other gifts from various people to the Bishop.

When the celebrations were continued at Maun, Bishop Mzonda (then Mookami) was given P10-15. This money was collected by the congregation within a short time when he had announced that he had to go away earlier to Francistown as he was going to work on Monday. These are the only two occasions where such gifts were minuted but, throughout the life of Bishop Mthembu, he had always survived on such ritual gifts together with subsistence farming. As stated above, Bishop Mthembu did not earn any salary from the church nor did he enrich himself through his prophetic gift so that he died an ordinary, poor old man as compared to many AIC leaders who leave behind them a rich family church which causes squabbles. Rituals are thus regarded as

courtesy by the HMG and other AICs. It is also a general Botswana practice to make ritualistic gifts.

As a general conclusion to the Chapter, it suffices to say that rituals are very important in the life of the HMG and other AICs in Botswana, and Botswana society in general.

Endnotes to Chapter Nine

1. Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1961), p.181.
2. W.C. Willoughby, Soul of the Bantu, London, S.C.M., p.1.
3. Sundkler (1961) creates an impression that prophets always emerged to address some problems in society.
4. Healing by consultation at home is discussed at length by Martin West, *op. cit.* (1975), pp. 104ff.
5. Clause 2(6) of the HMG Constitution (see Appendix D1/1).
6. Some AICs charge money for healing, ranging from P3-00 (three Pula) for a simple *sewacho* to P60-00 (sixty Pula) for a sauna bath which purifies one of *senyama* (bad luck).
7. Bishop Tshabangu of the Morian Church in Zimbabwe argued that, in the early days of the AICs, prophets usually sat at the four corners of the church building. One would stand by the minister in front of the church. When a prophetic message was revealed to one prophet, all the other prophets would also hear it and the one standing next to the minister or preacher would ask him to stop preaching or talking and tell the congregation what had been revealed. The Bishop felt that modern prophecy was haphazard and that the prophets behaved like *sangomas* (Francistown, 21st March 1990).
8. Some prophets claim that they have to sing and dance to allow fresh air into their bodies so that the Holy Spirit should enter them (discussions with Mr L. Manewe, Gaborone, 17th June 1989).
9. Mr Madungwa's understanding of the *badimo/badzimu* (*ancestors*) is that in Kalanga culture and belief, the ancestors are ever present, departed relatives who communicate with, and share in the lives of the living. In Tswana culture and belief, they only appear when they are dissatisfied with something and need to be appeased (discussions at Mmathethe, September 1989).
10. See Staugard, *op. cit.* (1985).
11. Most of this information was collected in 1984-1986 and some of it appears in my M.A. Dissertation with the University of Botswana, 1985.
12. The similarities and objects used are discussed by me in "Spiritual Healing and Traditional Medicine in Botswana", in G.C. Oosthuizen *et al.* (eds.), Afro-Christian Religion at the Grassroots in Southern Africa, Edwin Mellen Press (1991), pp.184-191.
13. The tendency to use treatments that had not been prescribed by the prophets has led to splits in many AICs because the *Basebeleti* (nurses) tend to heal patients from their experience and charge patients for their services.

14. The HMG understands baptism as a sacrament or ritual that completely purifies a person and restores him to the original sinless nature of man after creation.
15. Traditional Tswana cleansing is well described by Willoughby. See Willoughby Papers at Selly Oak Colleges Library, Birmingham, UK (771-780 Rituals).
16. The Old Testament practice does not agree with the traditional practices, such as the shaving of hair (Deuteronomy 14:1-2 (TEV)).

CHAPTER TEN
THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION

10.1 INTRODUCTION

It is a rather difficult task to try an evaluation of the HMG. This survey is based on two major evaluations of the African Independent Churches made by Turner on the Aladura and Daneel on the Southern Shona Independent Churches. My study regards these two as classical evaluations.

Turner makes his evaluation based on the available documents of the Aladura which were produced by the founder Oshitelu. He was an educated leader who knew what he was doing.¹ The documents are based on the highly developed Liturgies and Confessions of the Anglican tradition. This type of literature and documents is absent in the HMG, which was born out of an LMS tradition with no tradition of doctrinal formulas and strict liturgies like the Anglican Church. As stated above, the LMS was mainly spread by untrained evangelists who interpreted the Scriptures freely, using whatever liturgies were available. A literature-based evaluation of the HMG is not therefore possible. Turner has noted how the original Anglican documents were transformed to meet the needs of the Africans. The HMG has also transformed any available documents of the LMS to suit its needs. An example has been given above of the concept and practice of Baptism.

Daneel's evaluation is for the purpose of missiology. His argument is to find out whether the AICs are still objects of mission or are Christian Churches. He goes into debate with Beyerhaus² that the AICs are not objects of missiology but Christian Churches.

In line with these two evaluations is the argument by Walls (1979) that the AICs are the "Anabaptists of Africa", in recognition of the fact that the AICs, as Christian Churches, have a place in general Church History.

My analysis will take the above into consideration in examining the following aspects of HMG teaching and beliefs: the Trinity, Eschatology, Ecclesiology and the approach to Traditional Religion.

10.2 CHRISTIAN CHURCH

As discussed previously, the AICs have been recognized as Christian Churches. The HMG is a Christian Church, which like many AICs expresses its Christianity in African concepts. Sundkler (1961) stated that the AICs show how the African understands Christianity if left alone. This is what the HMG has demonstrated.

As also mentioned above, the HMG originated from the London Missionary Society which is a Congregational Church. From the LMS the HMG copied the reliance on the Bible as the authoritative word of God. It has been shown above in the discussion on the history, organisation, doctrines and rituals of the HMG that the Bible plays a great role. The HMG is a Christian Church because it bases all its beliefs and practices on both the Old and the New Testaments. There is no dispute to the fact that some beliefs of the HMG stem from traditional beliefs and that the HMG has used the Bible to transform such beliefs to become aspects of their Christian tradition.

10.3 THE TRINITY

The HMG believes in the Trinity. The position of Jesus Christ is central in the Trinity. The position given to Jesus Christ in the Trinity has helped the HMG to transform the major concerns of the Batswana or African peoples generally. These are issues of life and the after life. Jesus has replaced the role of ancestors as mediators between the living and God.

Head Mountain of God Trinitarianism is biblical. The HMG does not use any philosophical concepts for its understanding of the person of Jesus Christ. Its Trinitarianism follows that of the early Church, especially the Church Fathers.³ It is not based on the second century Trinitarianism which has understood Jesus in philosophical concepts. Although the philosophically based Trinitarianism forms the basis of Western Christianity Trinitarianism, the HMG has never understood it from that angle.⁴ It is not the purpose of this paper to go back to the Trinitarian controversy but it suffices to say that the LMS missionaries were also not educated to the extent of understanding the Trinitarian problem. Their training also left them at the biblical level of understanding the Trinity.⁵

The biblically based Trinitarianism then makes the HMG a Christian Church.

10.4 ESCHATOLOGY

The HMG has a very strong teaching on the after life, as demonstrated above but its eschatology differs from that of Western theology. Whereas Western theology puts emphasis on the eschatological event in futuristic concepts,⁶ the HMG sees it as an event that takes place immediately after death. We have seen above the biblical

passages used to describe death and the dead person, the hymns that are sung for the dead and the testimonies given about the dead. All point to an imminent eschatology. This teaching on eschatology fulfils the Tswana beliefs about death where the dead continue to live and communicate with the living in the form of ancestors. Burials are done to assure the living that the dead person continued to live in the next world.⁷ In this manner, an eschatology that puts emphasis on the second coming of Jesus on the day of resurrection does not appeal to the HMG. To the HMG, death and resurrection alternate. The person dies in this world and resurrects on the other in Heaven and continues to live with Jesus Christ. At the end of the earth, the dead come with Christ. The belief that the dead live with Christ has solved the problem of making offerings to the dead by HMG members. The fear of ancestors has vanished in many members of the HMG and this has been achieved by an appeal to biblical passages from both the Old and New Testaments.

It is also important to note that HMG eschatological belief is not contained in the Constitution as one of the beliefs of the church. It is a daily preached doctrine which is heard and understood by HMG members. All HMG beliefs are taught to the members. They are not intellectual beliefs for the few who can read the Constitution and set of beliefs and practices.

10.5 ECCLESIOLOGY

HMG ecclesiology has been discussed under its organisation. We have seen that the concept "church" is biblical and that all the activities relating to the church are based on the Bible. The ministry, prophecy, Baptism, Holy Communion, election of church officials and rituals are all seen as part of ecclesiology. In all these spheres, the

Bible is central. There is no question as to the ecclesiological base of the HMG. It is entirely biblical and reveals all aspects of Christianity.

The HMG teaching on the church resembles that of the Church Fathers, especially that of Clement of Rome. The emphasis on unity and fear of divisions in the church, which forms the basic teaching of Clement of Rome, is reflected in the HMG. The need for ecclesial unity is emphasized by citing examples from both the Old and the New Testaments. In this manner, HMG ecclesiology finds some resemblances in the Early Church, especially the Patristic period.

10.6 THE APPROACH TO TRADITIONAL RELIGION

The HMG has shown that it accepts the reality of the existence and the power of traditional religion. But it has used the Bible to transform most of the beliefs to Christianity. In many cases, what had been originally an aspect of the traditional religion has become Christian to the extent that, in the 50 years of the existence of the HMG, many members still do not know that some of their beliefs and practices were at one time traditional religious beliefs and practices. Examples are found in child initiation ceremonies and prophecy. Many members never associate the spirit of the prophet with that of the *sangoma*. The church uniform is derived from the Zulu tradition and has parallels with the *sangoma* dress. This historical connection does not exist in the HMG. The white dress (*join*) is traced to the early church, to the clothes worn by the Apostles of Jesus and also adopted by the congregationalist "liturgical" wing. It has also been stated that the herd boys used sticks (*izikhali*) and these have been adopted by the HMG. However, to the HMG, the sticks represent the stick which Moses had in his hand when God called him.⁸ These traditions have all been transformed by the use of the Bible.

This approach to traditional religion finds parallels in Paul (Acts 17:22 ff.). In Athens,

Paul stood up in front of the city council and said, "I see that in every way you Athenians are very religious. 23. For as I walked through your city and looked at places where you worship, I found an altar on which is written, 'To an unknown God'. That which you worship then, even though you do not know it, is what I now proclaim to you. (TEV)

The positive approach to traditional religion, as compared to the LMS negative approach, has enabled the HMG to transform many traditional beliefs and practices.

10.7 THE IMPACT OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD ON BOTSWANA SOCIETY

The HMG has managed to a considerable extent to address the problems of its members and the Batswana generally. It is also to be noted that the AICs have existed in freedom for only 25 years in Botswana. During this period they were engaged in organising their churches to exist in a free society, out of hiding. Some are still in hiding even today, for reasons discussed above concerning the tension engendered by the Societies Act. The doctrines and beliefs of the AICs, and the HMG in particular, have made a great impact on the Botswana societies. It is quite clear from their impact that, in the next 25 years, when they are fully integrated in the Botswana societies, their doctrines will not only appeal to Christians, but also to the Batswana generally. Through their transformation of Botswana societies, in spite of modernity, the HMG and other AICs have a great hope for the future of Christianity in Botswana. An examination of their current impact on Botswana society will confirm this observation.

My study of the HMG shows several levels at which its impact on Botswana Christianity is felt. These are the doctrinal and ritual levels, and the relevant theology for Botswana. The doctrinal dimension is visible in what I will refer to as religious

fanaticism and religious ecumenism. The ritual dimension is visible in worship and pastoral care. The relevant theology for Botswana is visible in Bible interpretations, liturgies geared towards the existential situations of the Batswana and their concepts of God. The general contextualization of Christianity is felt through the work of the HMG and other AICs. The impact of the HMG on Botswana society is discussed or viewed within the general impact of the AICs on Botswana society. Examples of such impact will include other AICs.

10.7.1 Religious Commitment

The AICs brought a new understanding of God to Batswana society. This is clearly demonstrated by the emergence of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) amongst the Bakgatla. The ZCC was founded by Lekganyane in South Africa in 1925⁹ and became one of the biggest AICs in South Africa. Some Bakgatla invited the ZCC to Kgatleng in opposition to the British Protectorate Government over the issue of the suspension of Chief Molefi by the Government.¹⁰ The ZCC did not only become a religious movement but also became political. They were persecuted by the Kgatla Chief and the BP Government but they resisted persecution. The ZCC members were so convinced by their faith that they were prepared to resist persecution instead of giving up their beliefs and practices. They faced persecution which led them to be banished from their own tribe.¹¹ Faith began to take on a new form from that of the formal and traditional concept of the church introduced by the missionaries who regarded the church as one of the social institutions. The ZCC brought in a concept of faith as something that one can die for rather than what can be referred to as the sympathy for Jesus Christ who died on the cross for people's sins. The continual growth of the AICs and their conflicts with the chiefs and the missionary churches led the Colonial Government to consider its stand towards the AICs. In 1957, the Colonial

Administration in Mafeking called a meeting with the Protectorate Chiefs to consider the whole problem of Zionism.¹²

Many rumours had spread all over Botswana accusing the Zionists of preaching loyalty to God alone and not recognizing any temporal authority; dislocating family life because women of the faith refused to obey their husbands; refusing medical attention and disobeying instructions at times of inoculation campaigns; indulging in sexual orgies and contributing to the moral delinquency of minors. These accusations and many others were labelled on the AICs. However, the accusations show a great deal of ignorance on the part of Government regarding the nature and diversity of the AICs. Many AICs had prohibitions to their members but they did not in any way directly challenge the ruling authorities. It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the teachings of all the AICs that were in Botswana during this period but it suffices to say that in many respects the Vapostori of Johane Maranke, originating from Zimbabwe, were the main ones who refused medical attention.

Some 32 years before 1960, the LMS missionary Willoughby had observed that the Bantu:

. . . . will never be content without a religion that is not able to touch every phase of life and to interpret the divine in terms of humanity.¹³

Willoughby went on to point out that, to the Bantu, religion covers all spheres of life, family, clan, tribe, politics, ethics, law, war, status, social amenities and festivals. He states that there is no way in which the two could be separated, i.e. religion and life. Willoughby also sees ritual as inseparable from religion. Rituals also cover all spheres of life, such as politeness, worship, affection, respect, authority, hospitality, medicine, war and social organization. Willoughby states:

. . . all of which like art try to express what words are too small to utter - not the trifles of the soul, but its immensities. Speech has been called broken light upon the depth of the unspoken; and ritual even more than speech, is liable to veil what it tries to reveal.¹⁴

The truths of the statements and observations of Willoughby began to reveal themselves in the rise of the ZCC and other AICs. The traditional religious experiences of the Batswana still existed but were oppressed by the prevailing religious system. The religious commitment of the AICs was a move to make the Batswana regain what they had lost in their religious life. The period to say farewell to sympathetic Christianity¹⁵ had set in and there was no going back. Christianity began to be an experiential religion instead of being one aspect of Western culture which one should abide by in order to lead a better social and material life. This impact was made by the ZCC and other AICs in Botswana. Religion or Christianity produced fanatics who would stand up for their faith under all circumstances.

10.7.2 Religious Ecumenism

By the end of the 1960s, when the AICs were beginning to be tolerated in the Bangwato Reserve, there emerged a high degree of ecumenism in religious outlook. This was due to an element of religious uniformity visible in the general beliefs and practices of the Batswana. The strength of the extended family makes it possible and acceptable for the members of one family to belong to different denominations. Belonging to different denominations has not in many cases divided the families in Botswana. Instead there developed an area of sharing in religious beliefs, faith and practices. In this manner church denominational traditions are shared and adopted by others. Historically the traditional Tswana Religions had always been unifying factors in society. To many Batswana, Christianity is also understood as a unifying religion. There are a number of examples through which unity in beliefs, faith and practices are shared. To give one example, members of the LMS (UCCSA) are known for their

biblical knowledge and preaching accompanied by long flamboyant prayers. On the other hand, Roman Catholics could not, until recently, read the Bible on their own nor pray without using the Prayer Book. However, contact through the extended family structure and meetings at funerals and weddings have also helped the Catholics to get used to reading the Bible on their own and be able to pray without the Prayer Book.

The coming of the AICs influenced this situation further. AICs are popular for their contextual preaching and flamboyant singing and dancing. They normally like to sing from the LMS hymn book translation into Zulu or from the Sesutho hymn book. Most of the songs are sung to traditional tunes, a number of which are used by the ancestral spirit mediums (*sangoma*) and sometimes they make their own choruses. The use of local tunes makes the music contextual and transforms the original meaning of the songs. The singing is also copied by the missionary churches because the singing gives spiritual satisfaction. It is different from the formalized singing in the missionary churches where one cannot freely express the inner feeling and emotion in worship.

The concept of *Modimo* was developed into the God of Jesus Christ. The missionaries interpreted the Bible using the concept *Modimo* to refer to the Christian God. To the missionary churches, Jesus Christ was then the only saviour and the only way to God. This concept could not give meaning to many Batswana except for being just a statement of faith which could not be expressed in practical reality. In actual daily life the mediatorship of Jesus Christ could not be experienced by many people. This failure of experience was due to the basic concept of humanity in Tswana culture or cosmology. In Tswana cosmology the human being is composed of three aspects.¹⁶ There is the material body and the spiritual. The spiritual is in two aspects while the material body is the physical one of flesh and bones. In that body there is the "shadow" (*seriti*). The *seriti* makes the personality. Character is measured in terms of the *seriti*. Beyond the *seriti* is the person (*motho*). *Motho* is immortal. The flesh is destroyed at death but the *seriti* still remains after death. It is through the

seriti that the living can determine the kind of ancestor one is going to be. The person (*motho*) lives for ever in the next world and this is the reason why in Tswana culture there is no death. Ancestors may not be worshipped actively but their existence remains because they are still people (*batho*, plural of *motho*) living in the other world. The belief in, and veneration of, ancestors gave meaning and it was a well understood approach to God (*Modimo*). The ancestors were well-known departed relatives who knew the problems of the living and could plead with *Modimo* to fulfil the needs of the living. They were not as remote as Jesus Christ. The missionaries condemned ancestor worship. However, they did not develop a sound theological instruction which would convince the Batswana that Jesus Christ could offer them a better life apart from the sympathetic acceptance as discussed above. The Roman Catholic teaching, however, provided an element of satisfaction to its members through its well-developed angelology. Each believer in the Catholic Church has an angel who caters for the immediate needs of that member and communicates them to Jesus Christ without delay. The AICs used the same concept of angels to substitute for the ancestor. The name used for angel is *ngilozi* (a Ndebele or Zulu word derived from *idlozi* meaning ancestral spirit¹⁷). The AICs' *ngilozi* is believed to be from God and Jesus Christ. The *ngilozi* is superior and has more power and influence on God and Jesus Christ than the ancestral spirit. The AICs believe that each member in the Church has his or her *ngilozi*, responsible for all the needs of the member. In cases of diagnosing of disease or any misfortune, the *ngilozi* of the member reveals the problems of the patient to the *ngilozi* of the prophet who in turn tells the prophet the problem. The prophet then reveals the matter to the patient.¹⁸ The two *ngilozi* (angels) take all their messages directly from Jesus Christ or from an angel of God. There is constant mention of the angel Gabriel as the one who brings messages from Jesus Christ. In this manner, the AICs have closed the gap that existed between the individual member and Jesus Christ in the missionary churches. The concept *ngilozi* permeated the missionary churches,

becomes a second mediator between the people and Jesus Christ. There is more intimacy between the *ngilozi* and the believer which leads to intimacy between the member and Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ then finds meaning and relevance through this long process of religious transformation. When the AICs despise ancestor-worship, they do it forcefully, with conviction, because they have successfully transformed the concept. This concept has been elaborated when we studied the practices and beliefs of the HMG. The *ngilozi* concept dominates Botswana Christianity today and has replaced ancestor veneration to many Batswana Christians.

Some people argue that the AICs have revived many aspects of African culture.¹⁹ My own studies reveal that the AICs have made an adaptation of some cultures and went beyond adaptation to transformation. The transformation process has been more of a challenge to African culture than revival. In the situation of Botswana, the AICs have seriously challenged not only the traditional healers but also the authority of the chiefs who were custodians of Tswana Traditional Religion. At the present time, Traditional Healers Associations do not see eye to eye with the prophets of the AICs. This is a good illustration of the rather uncompromising attitude of the AICs towards Tswana Traditional Religion. Most of the Tswana traditional religious practices have been transformed by the use of the Old Testament practices, especially from the Books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy. Some practices from Leviticus are foreign to Tswana culture, but many of them have fulfilled some of the practices of the traditional healers so that many traditional healers have lost clients to the AICs. This situation has been referred to when we discussed the practices of the HMG.

Real ecumenism started in the late 1960s when many religious bodies in the form of Pentecostalism appeared in the religious scene of Botswana.²⁰ They coincided with the fast growth of the AICs.

Theological institutions were started in the mid-1970s, the purposes of which were to emphasize the doctrinal beliefs of certain denominations.²¹ Proper rituals

and doctrinal traditions were promoted by these institutions. These institutions were also ecumenical in that they accepted students from all other denominations. By so doing, the emphasis on doctrinal differences did not divide the people but brought a better understanding of one another's beliefs. The strong beliefs by chiefs that many denominations would cause disunity were proved wrong. After Botswana had become independent in 1966, many Associations emerged which put the Christians together in spite of denominational differences. The most outstanding of these are the Botswana Christian Council,²² the Jesus Generation Movement and Ministers' Fraternals which have been established in the major villages and urban areas. These bring together Christians of different denominations and they work together as one body sharing one common faith. This cooperation has created a high degree of ecumenism in Botswana Christianity.

10.7.3 The Ritual Dimension

The ritual dimension is very much linked to the doctrinal. The HMG and other AICs have put much emphasis on ritual practice. The most important of these is the healing practice of the HMG and other AICs. Their impact on the society has made the mission churches begin to preach on healing as an integral part of the Christian *kerygma*. Many mission churches now hold prayers for the sick as part of the liturgy. In the UCCSA, a chorus is sung and prayers of intercession are made which put great emphasis on the sick.

At "child-outing" parties, which are held after Baptism, many mission churches now allow the parents and the family of the baby to practise their traditional charming of the baby and rituals without any prohibitions. It is not unusual now to see a baby of a member of the UCCSA wearing beads or traditional charms on the neck. As long as the child has been blessed and baptized in the church, the rest of the rituals no longer worry the UCCSA Church.

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At funerals, the mission churches allow the family to bury the person in the manner they wish. If they want to wrap the coffin with the skin of a slaughtered ox, they are free to do so without any prohibition. This is due to the influence of the HMG and many other AICs. The AICs in actual fact bless and encourage some of the traditions and customs by transforming them using biblical concepts. After funerals, all the people, including church ministers, wash their hands from the big dishes which are placed at the entrance to the homestead. Nowadays two dishes are used, one containing water mixed with traditional herbs and one containing pure water. The supposition is that the Christians use water without herbs while the non-Christians use the one with herbs. The point here is that all is done openly, without any fear, because of the impact of the AICs. Prior to the Independence of Botswana, Christians were not permitted to participate in any of these rituals. Thus the HMG and other AICs brought a relevant Christianity to the Batswana.

10.8 THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

This study will have failed if it cannot look at the impact of the HMG in terms of the Southern African region. Since this is a wide topic which needs a study on its own, I shall here outline the current theological and religious problems in Southern Africa. It is also proper to make general observations of this nature because almost all the AICs

in Southern Africa have a common origin, mainly from South Africa. In this manner their doctrinal and ritual practices are considerably similar.

The religious problems facing Southern Africa are the need for Relevant Theologies. Relevant Theology here is used to define a theology which appeals to the needs of people in a manner that is not foreign to their beliefs, practices, culture and customs generally. Such a theology will not sound foreign to the people it addresses. Thus one can talk of a relevant theology for Botswana, South Africa, Zimbabwe and other Southern African countries. This relevant theology is determined by the needs of the people politically, socially, religiously and economically. Despite the common origins of the AICs from South Africa, their theologies should also address the important needs of the people in a manner that is not foreign to them.

There is need for Contextual Theology. The definition of Contextual Theology here refers to a theology that addresses the people in a certain setting in a physical sense. If I qualify my definition with examples from Botswana, Contextual Theology must address people in the urban as well as rural areas who do not necessarily share the same life experiences. The urban dweller has religious problems and social problems that need to be addressed in a manner that takes into consideration the life-experience of the hearer. The HMG and other AICs in Botswana, as well as Southern Africa, should be in a position to address people from various contexts. The AICs no longer only appeal to the uneducated as had been the belief. They now appeal to people of all classes and theology should take their contexts into consideration.

There is a great need for an Indigenous Theology in the Southern African region. Indigenous Theology is here defined as spontaneous theology that emanates from the ordinary people. It is theology at grassroots levels without any foreign input. Indigenous Theology is possible when people read the Bible in their own languages and understand, apply and perform it within their traditions, culture and customs. This study has made an observation above that indigenous theology is able to transform

many African traditional beliefs and practices without any arguments by a direct application of the Word of God as found in the Bible. Indigenous Theology should not be seen as a "bridge back to paganism" or a yearning for the past. It must be understood as the result of the Gospel message when it is applied to people within their own world-view. Regarding the practices of the AICs as ways of recapturing what had been lost is an idea which denies Indigenous Theology. It denies the power of the Gospel message. A theological approach from that angle is one that believes that there is only one way of living the Gospel message. In many cases, such notions are meant to justify Western Theology and its culture. The AICs have in many respects shown the invalidity of such theological thinking through their positive impact on societies which are meant to believe that type of theological approach.

The need for African Theology²³ is one major issue of religious concern in Southern Africa. Amongst other definitions of African Theology, this study defines African Theology as an attempt at systematizing the African beliefs about God and the Universe from an Indigenous Theological approach. African Theology is not an attempt to justify the African religious beliefs by finding parallels within Western Theology. It is an attempt to make the West understand the African as he is and accept African Christianity in terms of the African's World View. In many respects the HMG and other AICs in Southern Africa have made a great contribution to this need. It only requires more research and monographic studies of selected AICs to show the applicability of their theologies in all sorts of African contexts.

In the area of Liberation Theology, the HMG and other AICs in Southern Africa have wiped out the myth that Africans cannot run their own affairs without the assistance of white people. The AICs are really symbols of liberation because they are self-independent in both theological and financial aspects. Many are even independent materially by building their own schools and other necessities. Their theology is, therefore, by its nature Liberation Theology. In South Africa, although they cannot

detach themselves from the economic and social systems and political independence, their existence has set the line for what an Independent life could be for all South Africans. In politically independent countries, like Botswana, they continue to enjoy their economic independence by having no foreign supporters and donors who can affect their religious and theological independence. They have set in a way of life which affects the Botswana communities to see the importance of both political and economic independence.

In the area of Black Theology, the AICs have proudly asserted the value of the Black colour as opposed to White. The belief in the superiority of the white colour also carried with the superiority of the white man's religion, his political and economic systems and his habits. The HMG and other AICs in Southern Africa have alleviated from the minds of many people that the white colour is the best and also that God is white. The contribution of the AICs to Black Theology is, therefore, very important.

10.9 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

It is my observation that monographic studies give a better understanding of the life, beliefs, and practices of an AIC. The dissemination of such information enables people to understand and learn more about religious bodies, and also helps governments and those with legislative authority to make better rules and regulations for religious bodies. It assists people to distinguish biblically based doctrines, rituals, beliefs and practices from man-made ambitions. This study suggests that more of such studies should be carried out in Botswana and Southern Africa generally.

This study has observed that the HMG is a highly developed AIC which throughout the ages has been stable and has devised means of solving its problems amicably and avoiding unnecessary splits. There is within the HMG a well-balanced

view of the Bible which permeates all spheres of the life of the HMG and, by so doing, creating an indigenous church for Botswana. The life of the HMG answers most of the problems addressed by this study and the dissemination of this information could lead to a better understanding of the AICs in Botswana. An adaptation of many aspects of HMG life by many AICs in Botswana could lead to a realization of a meaningful religious life in Botswana. A closer examination of the issues discussed in the various chapters of this study leading to the actual life of the HMG justifies this conclusion.

The concerns of this study and its findings show some similarities with some earlier studies cited throughout the thesis. The similarities point to the significant role which religion plays in all societies and how it could be an instrument of stability in a situation of social and cultural disintegration. The indigenous Christianity of the AICs can provide a new society and culture strong enough to resist social disintegration as demonstrated by the social ethic of the HMG.

Endnotes to Chapter Ten

1. Oshitelu was a trained minister of the Anglican Church and he developed his theology and doctrines from a very clear background.
2. See Daneel, *op. cit.* (1987), pp.245-250.
3. Much emphasis here is put on the biblical theology of Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch.
4. Reference is made to the works of the Greek Apologists with special reference to Justin Martyr.
5. There is no indication that Dr Robert Moffat or Dr David Livingstone ever read any history of Christian thought from the manner in which they interpreted the Bible and how they presented it to the Batswana.
6. Although emphasis has been put on eschatology in modern Western theology since Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965) (See John Macquarrie, 20th Century Religious Thought, SCM Press (1988 edition) pp. 144-147, the ordinary Christians still see eschatology in futuristic concepts, as an event to come in the last days.
7. J.T. Brown, *op. cit.* (1926).
8. The holding of the stick has been transformed from the hand of the herd-boy to that of Moses because of some similarities with Jewish culture where herd-boys also carried sticks.
9. See Sundkler, *op. cit.* (1976).
10. See Schapera, *op. cit.* (1971).
11. See DCS/42/16, BNA.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Willoughby, *op. cit.* (1928), p.1.
14. *Ibid.*, p.xxvi.
15. The LMS missionaries had always portrayed Jesus as a sorrowful man who had died for the sins of the people. The people had to sympathize with this man by believing in him.
16. J.T. Brown, *op. cit.* (1926); N. Bhebe, *op. cit.* (1979).
17. N. Bhebe, *op. cit.* (1979).

18. If the patient agrees with the prophet, he shouts 'Alleluia'; if not, he/she remains silent.
19. This could be true of Shembe. See Vilakazi *et al.*, *op. cit.* (1986).
20. The major group was the Assemblies of God which appeared in 1968.
21. See Constitutions in Appendix E/2-5.
22. See Constitution, Appendix E/1.
23. This line of thought is strongly pursued by G.M. Setiloane, African Theology: An Introduction, Johannesburg (1986).

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VOLUME TWO

APPENDICES

- Appendix A: Minutes of various Head Mountain of God meetings.
- Appendix B: Profiles of major informants
- Appendix C: Details of contributions by congregations to the Head Mountain of God
- Appendix D: Constitution of the Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion
- Appendix E: Constitutions of theological institutions in Botswana and the Botswana Christian Council

APPENDIX A

MINUTES OF VARIOUS HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD MEETINGS

- Appendix A.1: Minutes of the Good Friday Meeting of 24-26 April 1978 at Jackalasi No. 2.
- Appendix A.2: General Conference held at Francistown on 12 December 1979 and conducted by Vice President Kgari and Secretary-General T.E. Manyiwa.
- Appendix A.3: Report on the 1980 Good Friday Celebrations
- Appendix A.4: Report on the Continuation of the Good Friday Service at Maun on an unspecified date.
- Appendix A.5: Report on Continuation of the Communion Service at Tutume on 16 August 1980.
- Appendix A.6: Report of Meeting of Secretaries held at Francistown on 28 June 1980.
- Appendix A.7: Report of Meeting of the Women's Wing (*Bomme*) held at Jackalasi No. 2 on 12 July 1980.
- Appendix A.8: Minutes of the Secretaries' Committee held in Francistown on 15 August 1981.
- Appendix A.9: Report of the Good Friday Celebrations 1982.
- Appendix A.10: Minutes of General Conference, Palapye, 10-12 July 1982.
- Appendix A.11: Programme of the 1984 Good Friday Celebrations.
- Appendix A.12: Report of the Special Committee which was elected at Good Friday 1985 held a Meeting at Letlhakane on 27 April 1985 at 12.30 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE GOOD FRIDAY MEETING OF 24-26 APRIL 1978
AT JACKALASI NO. 2

The service started at 11 o'clock at night and it was officially opened by Archbishop T.S. Mthembu. In his opening speech, he encouraged the people to attend the Good Friday services in large numbers (*ka makata namane*). Bishop Mthembu placed (*a baya*) Mr Norman Mzonda to be the head (*Mookamî*) of the Head Mountain Church in Botswana. When he placed him, he praised him for his good work in leading the Church as the Head Deacon. He pointed out that Mr Mzonda was a person who did his work without any complaints and encouraged him to do more in the new post. When he ended his speech, he encouraged the Francistown congregation to seek another deacon ("*lona batho ba Francistown jaanong go mo go lona gore lo batle moteyakone*"). He pleaded with the Francistown congregation that the election of a new deacon should be done immediately because it is not good that the Headquarters of the church should remain without a deacon. Bishop Mthembu conducted the Holy Communion service on that very night. On the 25 April, the Committee met, in which the Treasurer complained about his work. He complained to the committee that his sitting position interferes with the secretaries because they are always working whilst he has his eyes on them as if they were not doing anything. He asked the Bishop to find him another place where he can sit instead of sitting next to the secretaries and distracting them from their work. The Bishop explained that the newly installed Head of the Church, Mr Mzonda, will attend to the matter because he had already asked him to explain to the meeting the work of the Treasurer and where he should sit in the same meeting.

In the same committee meeting it was realised that the membership cards (*dithikiti tsa phalalo*) were running short. The Bishop asked the Francistown congregation to make an overnight vigil (*mulindelo*) to raise some money for the printing of more tickets. There was also a matter from the General Secretary concerning a request from the Government to know whether the HMG has a marriage officer. If the HMG had a marriage officer, his name should be sent to the Ministry of Home Affairs and, if not so, an explanation should be made. The Committee agreed that the matter would be discussed at the General Conference. It was agreed that the General Secretary should write to the Ministry informing them about the decision.

On the evening of that same day two congregations, the Semitwe and the Letlhakane, were formally received. The Bishop advised them that, since they are received, they should register properly with the Government and that they should start working with all their energy (*ba simolole go dira ka natla*) in the work of God.

Mr Thomas Mpofo was promoted to the post of evangelist since he was the leader of the Semitwe congregation.

GENERAL CONFERENCE HELD AT FRANCISTOWN ON 12 DECEMBER 1979 AND
CONDUCTED BY VICE PRESIDENT KGARI AND SECRETARY GENERAL
T.E. MANYIWA

There were 67 people present, and they were as follows:

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Mrs G.T.S. Mthembu | the Bishop's wife | (Mmabishop) |
| Mr Kealetetse Monyamane | | |
| Mrs Semine Modungo | <i>Mogogi</i> | (Leader) |
| Mrs O. Manyiwa | Wife of General Secretary | |
| Miss Maria Kuti | <i>Mogogi</i> | (Leader) |
| Mrs Didimalang Montshiwa | <i>Mogogi</i> | (Leader) |
| Miss Lebang Baliki | <i>Mogogi</i> | (Leader) |
| Mrs Manewe | Secretary | |
| Miss M. Mokhutlhani | <i>Mogogi</i> | (Leader) |
| Miss Betty Makhubalo | Secretary | |
| Miss Ikanyeng Mabuli | <i>Morapeledi</i> | |
| Miss Evelyn Rakgati | <i>H/Morapeledi</i> | |
| Mrs B. Gopolang | <i>H/Morapeledi</i> | |
| Mrs Morapedi | Assistant General Secretary | |
| Miss Tduetso Keagakwe | Secretary | |
| Miss Masiabe Solomon | Secretary | |
| Miss Lizzy Dima | <i>Ghosa</i> | |
| Miss Makgabanyane Rapelan | <i>Morapeledi</i> | |
| Miss Mmamonyana Motsomi | Secretary | |
| Miss Tjikadzi Monyani | Secretary | |
| Miss Baganedi Johane | <i>Mogogi</i> | (Leader) |
| Miss Tshoganetso Kholia | <i>H/Morapeledi</i> | |
| Miss Joyce Sibanda | <i>Morapeledi</i> | |
| Miss Mathilda Kekgaletswe | <i>Morapeledi</i> | |
| Miss Reginah Makabu | <i>Morapeledi</i> | |
| Mrs Lucy Mangole | <i>Ghosa</i> | |
| Miss Chipi Thebe | <i>Ghoza</i> | |
| Mrs Esther Maoto | <i>Ghoza</i> | |
| Miss Dorcus Moeko | | |
| Miss Kemang Moilwa | <i>Ghoza</i> | |
| Norman Mzonda | <i>Mookami</i> | (Head of the HMG) |
| D. Kgari | <i>Mookami</i> | (Second Head of the HMG) |
| Mr Sola | <i>Moruti</i> | (Minister) |
| Mr Masingwane | <i>Motiakone</i> | (Deacon) |
| Mr Alton Ncube | <i>Motiakone</i> | (Deacon) |
| Mr T. Manyiwa | General Secretary | |
| Mr Monyamane | <i>Moefangedi</i> | (Evangelist) |
| Mr Ngundu Ndebele | <i>Moefangedi</i> | (Evangelist) |
| Mr Chaba Ofisi | <i>Moefangedi</i> | (Evangelist) |
| Mr John Mphela | Deacon | |
| Mr P.G. Motsumi | <i>Moefangedi</i> | (Evangelist) |
| Mr Mphosa | <i>Moefangedi</i> | (Evangelist) |
| Mr G.G. Phirinyane | <i>Mokwaledi</i> | (Secretary) |
| Mr Ketlhaotswe Moesi | <i>Moreri</i> | (Preacher) |
| Mr Philip Butale | <i>Morapeledi</i> | |

The Committee met at 1.30 a.m. on 2 December 1979. The prayer was made by the Vice President Mr Kgari. The Vice President, Mr Mzonda, explained that the Chairman of the Conference, Bishop T.S. Mthembu, was not present due to illness. He explained that the Executive Committee of the Ministers Committee (*Khuduthamaga ya Baruti*) had elected Vice President Mr Kgari to chair the Conference. The announcement was accepted.

Then the Chairman requested that the people should talk with understanding of one another (*bue ka go utlwana*) since we are all Christians. When he finished speaking, he handed over to the General Secretary (*Mokwaledi Mgolo*) to read the minutes of the Bishop's Committee (*Khuduthamaga ya ga Bishop*) of 3 November 1979. The Secretary General requested the Assistant Secretary General, Mr Morapedi, to read the minutes and he ^{did} so.

After the minutes were read, the Chairman moved that the minutes be accepted or approved. There followed some discussion as to whether the minutes should be approved or not. It was realised that the minutes were not properly written and they were not approved. There were still further discussion on the minutes and they were totally not approved.

The Chairman then moved that matters from the congregations or local churches should be brought forward and discussed.

Gaborone: The Gaborone congregation asked to be allowed to print all the tickets or membership cards of the HMG in order to help even those who could not manage. Mr Manewe, the Gaborone church secretary, explained that the cards will be for all the local branches of the HMG and the money raised through the sale of the cards will go to the Headquarters in Francistown. Many people spoke in favour of the request. Others doubted if it was going to be manageable. Mr B. Morapedi said that, if the cards could be done in Gaborone, that would be helpful because it would be in accordance with the Constitution of the HMG. The Conference agreed that the cards should be made in Gaborone.

It was moved that the typewriter of the HMG should be moved from Francistown to Gaborone to the General Secretary. All the members agreed that the machine should be sent to Gaborone. It was moved that the HMG should buy pots to be used for cooking at the Good Friday celebrations. Many people refused and the matter was put to the vote, with 25 against and 20 for the motion.

It was moved that every branch should be allowed to build a house at Jackalasi No. 2 to be their shelter at the Good Friday celebrations. The Secretary, S. Monyatsi, said that the building of houses could help during the rainy season. After some debate, the matter was put to the vote, with 30 against and 7 for the motion.

It was moved that the financial statement should be read at every General Conference. Everybody who spoke agreed with the suggestion. The Vice President, Mr Mzonda, agreed with the suggestion and added that even local churches should present their reports. The Conference agreed.

Concerning the uniform of the women and how it should be designed was left to the Women's Conference.

Questions needing explanation:

Why do the Zimbabwe and South African Churches no longer hold joint meetings with the Botswana HMG?

The Head (*Mookami*) Mr Kgari explained that the fault lay with the Botswana Ministers who do not attend the meetings. It was moved that a general meeting of all the Ministers (*Baruti*) from Zimbabwe, South Africa and Botswana should take place in Gaborone every year.

It was asked whether the Zimbabwe and South African Churches had been informed about the new plot acquired by the HMG. The Secretary was asked to write and inform them accordingly.

R.S.A.: The South African congregations requested that the next Good Friday celebrations of 1980 should be held at Gaborone or Lobatse. There was some debate but it was finally agreed that the next Good Friday celebrations should be held in Gaborone in 1980.

Selibe Phikwe: The Selibe-Phikwe request to sew the uniform of the women was referred to the Women's Conference.

Why do young people attend the Committees?

The explanation to this question was that there were matters which did not need to be discussed in the presence of children. Even if they had positions in the church, children should learn from their fathers (*a bana ba utlwe ka bo rraabo*). It was moved that matters which affected elderly people should not be discussed in the presence of children even if they held office. There was much discussion after which it was agreed that the matter should be dropped.

A request was made that Evangelist Monyamane Bhuka should be promoted to the ministry (*moruti*). The Committee agreed that it was said that, if anyone's name is proposed for the ministry, it should be submitted to that Committee.

It was moved that the General Secretary should be removed from the Secretaries' Committee. Mr Morapedi explained that, since the General Secretary is the Secretary to the Bishop's Committee, he cannot read the minutes of that Committee to the Secretaries' Committee. The matter was referred to the Ministers' Committee.

The Marobela congregation complained that the General Secretary does not go to church when he is at home. Evangelist Munyamane said that the matter did not belong to Francistown and asked that the Francistown congregation should first discuss the matter with the Secretary. Secretary S. Monyatsi said that, since the Marobela people are dissatisfied, he should be cut off from the Church. Many people complained about the failure of the General Secretary to go to church and there was high dissatisfaction. It was agreed that the General Secretary should temporarily be suspended from his duties until the report of a chosen committee was heard. It was felt that the Zimbabwe and RSA churches should be informed that the General Secretary was to be temporarily suspended.

The Gobajango deacon was pointed out as being very good and very active and the Evangelist Badiyi said that he was indeed a really good person.

Mr John Mphila of Gobajango was honoured by being made a deacon and asked to do his work freely.

General Reports:

James Phirinyane complained about the Conference that met late December when people were preparing to go to the lands to plough. He asked why the Conference did not meet earlier. It was explained that the Conference normally met in October but it had been delayed by the Ministers' Committee (*Baruti*) which met late.

At 9.15 a.m. the Chairman stood up and thanked the Committee for the good manner in which the meeting had been conducted and he said that he was pleased that the children of the HMG were really useful young people (*ke banna*). Vice President Norman Mzonda said that we was really grateful for the overnight discussions which had been held in peace without bad arguments. But he said that we should not agree on things that will not be implemented. We must see each other's mistakes and help one another.

The Committee remained as elected before.

The meeting closed at 9.45 a.m. and the closure was performed by Vice President L. Kgari.

REPORT ON THE 1980 GOOD FRIDAY CELEBRATIONS

The service was held at Gaborone at the spot where the current HMG church has been built. A tent was pitched there from 4-6 April 1980. People began to arrive at Theresanyo Primary School where their accommodation was arranged. Archbishop Mthembu and the Head (*Mookami*) (Mzonda) and members of the Committee had already spent the night there on 3 April.

The Leaders and all the members of the congregations from South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana were there. The total attendance was 458 people.

The service started at 11.30 p.m. and was conducted by *Mookami* Norman K. Mzonda. He introduced all the senior Officers of the Church as follows:

Mr and Mrs "Arch Bishop" T.S. Mthembu
 Mr and Mrs "Bishop" S.M. Mokowe from Mafeking
Mookami F.M. Ncube from Zimbabwe
 Mr and Mrs "*Mookami*" D.L. Kgari from Kurumane
 Mr and Mrs "Moruti" Gabanagaka from Kurumane
 Moruti B.M. Mphuchane from Francistown
 Moruti M. Sola from Selibe Pikwe
 Deacons Masingwane and G.D. Marumo
 D.S. Marumo
 A. Ncube
 Kerapetse
 M. Moruti and Mrs Bosantse
 Mrs Sekhumba

He apologised for having failed to introduce all the deacons. Archbishop T.S. Mthembu talked very briefly, thanking God for having made it possible for members of the congregations in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Botswana to meet. He said that it could possibly be the last time for them to be surrounding him in that manner. He led the congregation in singing hymn no. 143 from the Zulu Hymnbook, which is the chosen hymn for opening the meetings of the HMG. Bishop S.M. Mokowe opened the service with a prayer. After the prayer, Archbishop Mthembu explained that, due to the large number of people, there were not going to be any of the usual sermons before the Communion. He said that, if time allowed, people could be allowed to preach the following day.

The announcement was followed by the dedication of the church uniform (*joini*) to 19 people from different branches of the HMG. For the first time at the Good Friday in Botswana, 43 members of the Church were pinned with the church badges (*ba kopelwa dikopelo*).

The Communion service started at 3.30 a.m. on 5 April 1980. The service started with the "washing of the disciples' feet" which was done by the Archbishop, the Bishop (S.M. Mokowe), *Baokami* (Heads) and the *Baruti* (Ministers). The washing was finished by 5.50 a.m. The people who received the Holy Communion numbered 410. After the Communion, the Archbishop offered the service to those who could pray for the people with different problems. The whole day was dedicated to the prayers. The Archbishop

rested whilst the prayer service went on and the afternoon was followed by a meeting of the Archbishop and his Committee.

A major business session started again on 6 April 1980 at 1.50 a.m. Mr Alton Ncube received the deacons on behalf of the congregation. The service was then handed over to *Mookami* N. Mzonda who thanked the people for holding the service throughout the day even although some people had not any time to rest over the last two to three days.

The opening prayer was made by Bishop S.M. Mokowe. After the prayer, Bishop Mokowe explained that some of the business would be cut short because time did not permit. He asked for the letter from Kurumane church to be read. The letter, thanking Mr Kgari and stating that he was moving from Kurumane to Botswana, was read out.

The Kurumane congregation produced a silver stick which was a gift to Archbishop T.S. Mthembu. Mrs E.K. Selobela presented *Mookami* D.L. Kgari with a belt (*lebante la joini*). The presents were blessed by Bishop Mokowe and handed over to the recipients.

The marriage of Archbishop Mthembu to his second wife was blessed since his first wife had passed away. The blessing was performed by Bishop Mokowe, assisted by the two Heads (*Baokami*). After the blessing, Bishop Mokowe introduced Mrs Mthembu with the words, "Since we had been orphans for a long time, we now have a mother" ("*jaaka re ne ra sala re le masiela ka lobaka, jaanong re na le Mmaarona ke ena yo*"). He Continued by saying that we now had a helper, especially the ladies, and he advised the women to work with her amicably.

Mrs Kgari and Mrs Mokowe spoke and said that they had a mother and we are all witnesses to the fact that we have not had anyone to help us for a long time. Mrs Mokowe went on to say that the women should not despise her just because they had known her for a long time as their colleague. *Mookami* Kgari stood up and said that all the women should respect her because she had been introduced to them. *Mookami* N. Ncube stated that he had also witnessed the introduction and that he was going to inform the Zimbabwe branch of the HMG.

Bishop Mokowe then handed over the service to Archbishop Mthembu, who expressed his gratitude over the work that had been done with such great skill (*ka manontlhotlho*). "This is a sign that I have helpers who are very good" ("*Se se supa gore ke na le bathusi ba ba nonofileng*"). He continued by saying that he had started the Church alone and was helped by a Swati man called Mzongo ("*Ke simolotse kereke e, ke le nosi ka tla go e thusiwa ke monna wa Moswazi yo go tweng Mxongo mme gompieno e aname le thata*"), but now it had spread.

Archbishop Mthembu then gave Communion to the people who had not been at the Holy Communion and they were 38 in number. After the Communion, 12 more people were pinned with church badges.

The following were promoted to church positions:

| <u>Names</u> | <u>Position</u> | <u>Branch</u> |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Mr & Mrs S.C. Masingwane | Evangelists | Mathangwane |
| Mr T. Sebekwa (wife absent) | Preacher | Mathangwane |
| Mrs T. Ketshabile | Preacher | Mathangwane |
| Mr P.C. Masingwane (unmarried) | Secretary | Mathangwane |
| Mr Joel Mbakile (unmarried) | Secretary | Orapa |
| Mrs Tebelelo Keeditse | Mogogi (Leader) | Diname |

On the morning of 6 April, from 6-7.35 a.m., the whole congregation began to spread the news of the resurrection to all the people in Old Naledi Village, led by Archbishop T.S. Mthembu. The people who went into the village were 448 in all, composed of 240 men and 208 women.

The following gifts were made. The Serowe local church gave Archbishop Mthembu a kettle worth P8.08 and cash of P13.80. Some other gifts were donated to the Archbishop but they did not bear the names of the donors. The church choirs of Kurumane, Serowe and Francistown were called in one by one to sing for the gathering as the work was going on.

REPORT ON THE CONTINUATION OF THE GOOD FRIDAY SERVICE AT MAUN
ON AN UNSPECIFIED DATE

The service was held at the HMG church in Maun. A large shelter was erected to accommodate the congregation. Many members of the different congregations began to arrive on Friday night and they were received by Evangelist Elias Mopalo, assisted by Evangelist Michael Masheto. Late in the night, Bishop T.S. Mthembu and his wife, accompanied by his Assistant *Mookami* N. Mzonda, and the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr S.B. Morapedi, arrived. They did not remain with the congregation very long because they were tired. The service was held by the Evangelists according to their seniority until the following morning.

On Saturday the church service started at 11.55 a.m. Mr Masheto opened the service by telling the Bishop all the problems of the Region before handing over the service to him. *Mookami* Mzonda thanked and greeted the congregation in the love of God. He asked the Bishop to stand up to greet his congregation. The Bishop did so and asked that the service be opened constitutionally by singing hymn no. 143 (*sefela sa difela*: hymn of hymns) from the Zulu Hymnbook. He then explained that there is only one hymn which talks about the work of the church and that is hymn 143, which is the one to be used for opening church meetings or conferences. This hymn is used in all the HMG congregations in Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa. He emphasized that there was only one law and procedure for opening the services of the HMG and that there should be no differences.

He went on to say that *Mookami* or Vice President Norman Mzonda was his right-hand person (*ke ene letsogo la gagwe*). If God takes him by death, Mr N. Mzonda would be the one to lead his church, the HMG. He pointed out that there were three Bishops in the HMG but Mzonda had been appointed by the Holy Spirit to be the Bishop after the death of Bishop Mthembu ("*A supa gore di-Bishopo di tharo mme Mzonda e ne o tlhophilwe ke moya oo boitshepo go nna Bishop morago ga me, gore a belege phuthego ya HMG e ke e belegileng*"). He said that the Holy Spirit had revealed this to him in Francistown and at many other places a long time back, and Mr Morapedi wrote down what the Spirit had revealed. Mr Morapedi also agreed that this had happened and that he would reveal what had been said on the last day (*ka motlha wa bohelo*). After that he knelt down and prayed, the angel of God descended on the congregation and many people cried because their hearts were touched.

After the prayer, there was a request to pray for the Minister (*moruti*) of the Eleven Apostolic Church in Zion. The church choir was continually singing. Simon Molamo, who had been prayed for, thanked the congregation with a gift of P2.00 (two *pula*) to buy some candles, to light the work of God (*go bonesa tiro ya Modimo*). The Vice President stood up and thanked him for the gift by a word of prayer and blessing. The Bishop also gave thanks and asked that the reading of the word should start ("*A kopa gore go tsenwe mo dikwalong*"). He opened with the letter of Philippians 1 1:30 and asked the people to start preaching. At last he stood up himself and preached for a very long time, explaining the good words to the congregation ("*. . . senolela phuthego ka mahoko a a molemo a Modimo*"). The service ended with prayers for one another.

In the afternoon the service continued. At 12.30 the Vice President (*Mookami*) asked all the new members to meet the Bishop. The Bishop started by saying that he was

moved by meeting them. He then went on to give the report from the Moreomaoto congregation which were asking that Evangelist Masheto be made a Deacon. He asked the members of the Moreomaoto church to explain what they had seen in the work of Mr Masheto that made him worthy of promotion to the diaconate. The Moreomaoto church, led by Mr Nawa (Evangelist) and church leader Mr Gabaratwe, explained that they had chosen Mr Masheto because of his good work in the service of God. They said that he is a nice person and is very patient in the work of God. The Bishop asked what they would do if he changed and turned against them after being promoted to the diaconate. The reply was that they would sit down with him and call some senior church members to talk to him and advise him. The Bishop and his Assistant agreed to accept the request of the Moreomaoto church to promote Evangelist Masheto and his wife to the diaconate.

Another request came from Naome and Legathwane to promote Mr Tomo to the diaconate since his wife was already a deacon. The procedure done for the Moreomaoto congregation followed and it was agreed that he should be made a deacon. The Bishop then announced that the service for the promotion and induction of a number of church officers would be carried out the following morning.

He asked the Vice Bishop to lead in an opening prayer to the Holy Communion service. A procession of the new members started to the church for the service. The Communion service started by singing hymn 143 and a prayer led by the Vice-Bishop. The church choir continued with the singing of hymns. The Bishop read the passages for Holy Communion, followed by a short sermon. At 1.45 a.m. the Bishop started the service of the washing of the disciples' feet, helped by the Vice Bishop. The service went on well to the end. The people who took the communion were 58 in number.

On Sunday morning the Bishop started the service of the induction of officers. Mr and Mrs Masheto were made deacons as were Mr and Mrs Tomo. The Bishop explained that he was making those people deacons because both couples were married and had families. He explained that the rule of HMG law should be strengthened by allowing no unmarried people to be made officers. The service ended after the inductions. Vice Bishop Mzonda bade farewell to the congregation and left for Francistown. He was given a donation of P10.15. Prayers for each other were said at the end.

The celebrations continued during the day. The Bishop read from Hebrews 11.1 and he preached fully from that letter. Members of the Eleven Apostles and the Free Church came to greet the Bishop, which pleased him greatly. He said that the members of the Eleven Apostles were polite like their father Bishop Monyatsi. He went on to say that, if he should die when Bishop Monyatsi was still alive, the members of the HMG would not even get the opportunity to bury him because Bishop Monyatsi would be the first person to take him to the mortuary. Then he would buy a coffin, use his car to take the body, and bury it without the participation of the HMG until the HMG met him on the last day or Day of Judgment. The Bishop said that he was saying all these things because of the good works that Bishop Monyatsi did for him. The Eleven Apostles were highly praised and they sang a hymn.

The Bishop closed the service by praying for the people and many presents were given. The money raised amounted to P58.12.

The celebrations ended on Sunday.

**REPORT ON CONTINUATION OF THE COMMUNION SERVICE AT TUTUME
ON 16 AUGUST 1980**

The service was conducted by *Mookami (Nkotamili)* N. Mzonda on behalf of Bishop T.S. Mthembu. He was helped by Reverend Bhuka Munyamane. At 12.20 a.m. the Ministers started the service with a procession led by the confirmed members (*be join*), in the tradition of the HMG. Mr Philip Pheleta, who was leading the service, then handed it over to the Ministers. Reverend Bhukla Munyamane stood up and thanked the big gathering at Tutume by claiming that the people were more in number than the people who normally met at the Good Friday celebrations. Then he announced to the congregation that Bishop Mthembu was ill. *Mookami* Mzonda stood up on behalf of the Bishop and thanked the gathering and told them about the illness of the Bishop. Mr Philip Pheleta then stood up to introduce the people who had come on behalf of the Bishop. He introduced the Reverend Bhuka Munyamane, Reverend Fumbani, *Mookami* N. Mzonda, the Treasurer Mr Elliot Kulube and the Secretary Mr S.D. Senyane. After the introductions Mr Fumbani asked the people to create space for those who had to come forward to be inducted to positions in the Church.

The following were inducted:

| Name | Position | Church |
|----------------|------------------------|----------|
| Rosinah Moyo | <i>Gosa</i> | Ntondola |
| N. Shakwe | <i>Nkokele</i> (nurse) | Tutume |
| Thokile Kola | <i>Mmamoreri</i> | Tutume |
| Titose Buzwani | Church choir leader | Tutume |
| Baeti Chinda | <i>Nkokeli</i> | Tutume |
| David Philimon | <i>Moreri</i> | Tutume |

After the inductions Mr Fumbani spoke a few words of advice to the new officers. This was followed by a short sermon by *Mookami* Mzonda, with exhortations from the passages that were read for the service of induction.

The induction service was followed by a service in which nine new members were formally adorned with church uniform in accordance with HMG procedure. There was a short welcome address by the local Chief, Mr I. Shubo.

The Communion Service started at 12.55 a.m. with the singing of hymn no. 143 in the Zulu Hymnbook (*Nkosi si Hlangeni*). *Mookami* Mzonda led the prayer that ended with the Lord's Prayer said by all. All the people were asked to go into the house but it was too small to accommodate everybody. After the preaching, Communion was served at 3.30 a.m. by *Mookami* Mzonda. The people who partook in the Communion were 167 and the service ended at 5.15 a.m. The Head (*Mookami*) then spoke briefly about the Holy Communion, saying that all those who received the Communion have eaten the body of Jesus Christ and drank his blood and that those people were not going to die. These few words were followed by a brief speech by the Chief's representative who said that he thanked God for the overnight service which went well without any problems. He thanked the HMG for the good service which he had witnessed.

The people who attended were 600 in number.

At 6.15 a.m. some people went to pray for the father of the Secretary, Mr Private Moseki. At 8.55 a.m. the church choir of Evangelist Philip Peleta was asked to sing for the Ministers (*Badiyi* or *Baruti*). *Mookami* Mzonda asked that the choirs should continue singing. The service was officially closed at 12 noon marking the end of the Good Friday celebrations in one centre.

MEETING OF SECRETARIES HELD AT FRANCISTOWN 28 JUNE 1980

The Committee was opened at 11.45 p.m. by the Secretary-General Mr T.E. Manyiwa with a word of prayer. The Chairman asked for the minutes of the last meeting of 1979. The Minute Secretary, Mr Senyane, said that the minutes were not available because they had been refused by the Ministers' Committee and some secretaries on that Committee because they had not been good. The Chairman asked for the Agenda of the meeting.

The power (*nonofo*) of the Secretary of the Secretaries, Mr S.D. Senyane.

Mr Phindela complained about the weakness of Mr Senyane when writing Committee Minutes. Mr Manewe added that he does not write what people say. Mr Phindela moved that a minute secretary be elected to help Mr Senyane. The Committee agreed and the name of Mr Maloiso was chosen and seconded by Mr Manewe. John suggested the name of Mr Manewe and Mr Senyane seconded him. A vote was made and Mr Maloiso was elected to be the minute secretary.

Stationery for the Secretary of Secretaries and of all Committees:

A discussion followed on the question of stationery. Mr Phindela suggested that the congregation in which the Secretary is a member should buy the stationery. Mr Morapedi argued that the Committee itself must buy the stationery for the Secretary. Mr Manewe suggested that the Central Finance Bank should be the one to buy the stationery to be used by the different church Committees. Mr Phindela seconded him. Mr Morapedi brought the attention of the house to the fact that the Secretaries' Committee was not in the Constitution of the HMG and therefore it could not be funded by the Central Bank because its work seems to be in doubt. The members of the Committee should buy their own stationery. Mr Phindela suggested that the money that is collected to buy food during the meetings could be used to purchase stationery. Mr Manewe explained that the money collected for food could bring problems and suggested that the Committee should make contributions itself. Mr Senyane added that there could be problems because the members from Francistown had not contributed towards the purchasing of food. The Chairman, Mr Manyiwa, said that it would be possible for the Central Bank to buy stationery for all the Committees such as that of the Ministers (*Baruti*), women (*Bomme*), Evangelists, and the General Conference. The Committee agreed that there should be a circular to all congregations asking them to request money from the Central Bank to buy stationery for the different secretaries of Committees.

The difference between the General Secretary and the Administrative Secretary:

Mr Manewe explained that the Administrative Secretary had always carried out his duties outside Botswana. At the moment it was not clear what his duties were. The General Secretary's duties also were not clear and it was not clear how their duties differed. Mr Phindela agreed with the observation. Mr Morapedi argued that the duties of the General Secretary are visible in the Constitution even if they might not be clear. The work of the Administrative Secretary was the one which needed to be defined. Mr Phindela argued that the General Secretary should know the duties of the Administrative Secretary, and Mr K. Manewe said that they should help each other in the work of the Church. Mr Manewe found it difficult to know the duties of the Administrative Secretary, especially because he was not there to explain his duties to the Committee.

The General Secretary Mr Manyiwa asked that the Constitution be read. The Article on the Secretary General was read and there was no mention of the Administrative Secretary. Mr Senyane said that it was clear that the Administrative Secretary had no duties since they were not stated in the Constitution. The better thing would be to amend the Constitution in order to include the duties of the Administrative Secretary. Mr Manyiwa added that it would be better to amend the Constitution because there were many other things which were not clear. Mr Morapedi requested that the Elders (*bagolo*) be informed of the need for amendment of the Constitution. A strong Committee could be elected to look into the amendment because if one read the Constitution with care, one would find that it had a lot of loopholes. The Committee agreed on the motion to amend the Constitution of the HMG.

The work of the Secretaries (their strength):

Mr Senyane pointed out that the writing of minutes by the church secretaries of the HMG should be similar on matters like financial statements, tithes (*phalalo*), etc, and should be shown in well-ruled lines with clear and visible writing. Mr Phindela seconded him and suggested that the elderly secretaries should be allowed to help the new ones for a period of one month. If the new secretary failed to do well, a new one should be elected. Mr Manewe added that it had become customary to elect a secretary simply because he or she could read the Bible, but that sometimes he or she did not understand the work of a secretary, even just writing down the money collected for paraffin or writing an invitation letter for an overnight vigil (*mulindelo*). He went on to say that secretaries should be capable people who understand the work of the church, and that the leaders (*dithogo*) in the HMG congregations should make sure that the secretaries do their work similarly in the local churches. He went on to say that the more experienced secretaries should help to find means by which the minutes and records could be well kept. They should make an example to be sent to the secretaries to show how minutes should be written. Mrs Manewe said that the secretaries who cannot master the harder aspects of their work could be left to do the easier ones instead of being taken out, so that there should not be an ill feeling that the work of a secretary could only be done by those who understand the running of the church. The Chairman, Mr Manyiwa, emphasised that all secretaries should be assisted to the end of their term of office. Those who replaced them should be put on probation for one month, and if they failed they could be released. That should be emphasised. In this manner the work of the secretaries could improve, especially if they were helped by the ministers or church leaders. Church records could also be improved if there were similarity in the writing and keeping of records. The Committee agreed that the suggestion be implemented. It was further suggested that the regions as divided in the Constitution should have a Secretary who would visit the secretaries of the different churches to attend to their books and also help them. The Committee agreed that the ministers should see to the implementation of these ideas and there would be progress in the church.

Church funds:

Mr Manewe explained that the HMG was registered in accordance with Government law and that all things should be done properly. He said that the church financial records should be audited. It was important that all the money should go through the Bank before it was used. He explained that local churches should send money to the Central Bank so that an account should be given on the use of the money in the HMG. This would also assist the Auditor to know how much was raised and how it was spent. He pointed out that the HMG was a big church with many regions. It was clear that the

HMG could make a lot of money if the secretaries of the many branches did their work well and sent money to the Central Bank. Mr Morapedi added that some branches make more money than the Central Bank and that this money is never audited. He suggested that it would be better if there were a fixed amount which the local churches should send to the Central Bank for auditing. Mr Phindela argued that the money should be used but that there should be clear statements and reports on how the money had been used. He gave an example by citing the statement made at the Good Friday celebrations on how the money had been used. The Committee agreed on the idea of making statements on how money had been used and also agreed that the Ministers' Committee should meet and suggest a fixed amount for the local churches or branches to send to the Central Bank.

Relationship of the secretaries to the ministers (*Baruti*):

Mr Senyane complained that the ministers (*Baruti*) do not treat the secretaries properly and he suggested that the secretaries should dissolve their committee. Mr Manewe added that the ministers undermine the secretaries because they know that the secretaries have a committee, and they took the chairman of the Secretaries' Committee for a long period because they think that the Secretaries' Committee is a committee for children. He pointed out that the Secretaries' Committee should stand firm until the ministers explain their position. John said that it was proper that the secretaries stand firm because they are being oppressed by the ministers (*Baruti*). Mr Manyiwa added that the committee should stand firm because it has been meeting for a long time, and yet the Administrative Secretary and the Treasurer do not attend the committee although the administration of the Church and its finances are discussed. He emphasised that the committee could fade away because it is regarded as useless by the ministers, and that was the reason he, the Chairman of the committee, was taken away by the Ministers' Committee for such a long time. The secretaries agreed that they would suspend their meetings until the ministers found it necessary and asked them to reconvene as a committee. Besides, the secretaries would only be seen at the General Conference.

The local churches in the Maun Region:

Mr Morapedi complained about the local churches in Maun concerning the promotion of members to the office of Evangelist. He said that most of the men were Evangelists. Mr Manewe seconded this by saying that in Shakawe all the officials were Evangelists. The cause of the problem originated in Namibia where the Bishops have promoted the officials to Evangelists. Mr Manyiwa cautioned that such people should not be allowed to perform the duties of an Evangelist until it was proven that they had been promoted according to the procedures of the HMG. The Committee agreed that the matter should be referred to the ministers who should make a decision, but in the meantime such people should not be allowed to perform the duties of Evangelists.

Positions (*ditilo*):

The Committee wanted to know from the ministers who was senior: Preacher (*Moreri*) or the Secretary (*Mokwaledi*).

The Committee meeting was closed at 5.30.am.

The Committee proposed and agreed on a motion of no confidence on the Administrative Secretary and the Treasurer which read as follows:

We the Committee of the Secretaries complain about the Administrative Secretary and the Treasurer who do not attend our meetings and we want to be told the reasons why they do not do so. What do the ministers (*Baruti*) say about them? They attend the meetings of the Ministers' Committee which has delayed our Secretary, Mr Manyiwa. We want to know the reasons they have failed to come to our Committee meeting, to which they belong, when we regard them as the senior members at the headquarters where preparations are going on for the raising of funds for the construction of the church. They are the ones to explain how the work is going on. We also wish to meet with them to talk about the administrative problems of the Church. It has come to our attention that it is a long time now since the Administrative Secretary has met with us at the Good Friday celebrations. We find this very strange, as he is the one in charge of administration and we expect him to attend our meetings.

The Committee has realised that the Administrative Secretary and the Secretary of the Treasurer look down upon the Secretaries' Committee and in many cases have indicated that the Secretaries' Committee is composed of children and they have no respect for them. The Secretaries' Committee fines them ten pula (P.10.00) each and gives them a month to pay the fine. If they do not pay, this Committee suspends them from doing any church work until they do pay, or until the Ministers call this Committee to explain why the two Secretaries do not attend.

The Secretaries' Committee further resolved that they were no longer going to do any church work and called for a "Tools down" strike. They resolved that the two members shall do everything on their own such as church returns and general duties. At the Good Friday service they would run the service alone with the Bishop. They would stand for all the Church problems, even those of the General Secretary, because he is also on strike. They complained that everything was oppression of the secretaries. This Committee also decided to adjourn until the Ministers reconvened it to explain its position. The Constitution does not say anything about secretaries, but instead we use the Certificates of Preacher (*Moreri*) for recognition. If things are to be put straight, the Constitution must also be amended.

**MEETING OF THE WOMEN'S WING (BOMME) HELD AT JACKALASI NO. 2
ON 12 JULY 1980**

The Committee started at 10:14pm. Bishop T. S. Mthembu stood up to say a word of prayer. He then asked his assistant, Bishop Mokowe of Mafeking, to open the Women's Committee with prayer. The opening hymn, number 143, "*Nkosi Si Hlangene*", was sung. Bishop Mokowe led with prayer. Bishop T. S. Mthembu opened with two letters, Tshenolo (Rev.) 3.20 and Johane (John) 15:7-9. The Secretary Maloiso read the passages. Bishop Mthembu gave thanks by explaining (*senola*) the letters in a short sermon. He spoke at length about the Women's Committee and how it must be strong and build up the Church.

The Chairlady, Mrs T. S. Mthembu, explained that there was nothing on the agenda and requested that the minutes of the meeting held at Vryburg in 1979 be read. The Committee agreed, and the Secretary, Mrs Selobelwe, read them. Then the Secretary Mrs Maloiso asked that all minutes including those of the meeting in Botswana in 1979 should also be read. The minutes had not been approved but they would give the South African people an idea of how the Botswana side responded to their minutes of 1979. Bishop Mthembu and Bishop Mokowe seconded the idea and the Committee agreed. Mrs Maloiso read the Botswana minutes. Mrs Bishop Mokowe pointed out that the South African wing had not approved the Botswana minutes. The Chairlady asked Mrs Rev. Sekhumba to explain, and Mrs Sekhumba emphasised that the minutes of South Africa and those of Botswana were not different. The Chairlady asked for the approval of the minutes and the Committee agreed that they be approved, because they were all stating the same thing.

Mrs Manyiwa then asked if the men knew, since some of the matters discussed affected them. Mrs Maloiso responded that the men knew that during elections in the meeting of the women, they ought to be there. Mrs Manyiwa asked how the church would know, for example, if husbands and wives kissed each other at their homes. Mrs Mthembu replied that the church cannot know what the people do in their homes, but the church can teach Christian love. Mrs Sekhumba explained that the kissing of husband and wife is not a private family affair, for the love of a Christian family is to kiss one another in the presence of other Christians so that they may see your love is from God. It is not good for a woman to speak loudly to her husband in the presence of other people, especially showing anger, and it is also not good that men should shout at their wives. Doing so shows that your family is not stable. Mrs Mokowe stated that family matters and love are not things to be discussed. The word says "Love your wife as you love yourself." This is only visible in works. But the law must be tough on those who are married; women must kiss their husbands. Elizabeth said that kissing is all right but the people of South Africa are more used to it. In Botswana, though kissing is accepted in the towns, in the villages - especially in the Bukalanga area - it is not proper for people to be seen kissing in front of children. It could be a serious insult even to the Church.

Mrs P. Gaseyo said that it might be better to find out what action should be taken against women who fall in love with married men, because if the married women are not patient, families will break down and kissing cannot be there. Mrs Munyamane added that kissing cannot be practised because husbands kiss children or unmarried mothers when they have left their wives behind. Mr Julius said that it might be more fruitful if the discussion focused on the reasons the minutes were not approved, instead of discussing kissing, which is a common thing in South Africa and yet in Botswana is still a taboo. Mrs Mthembu said that the Committee did not know why the minutes were not

approved because even the Ministers had not pointed out any weakness in them. The Committee agreed that everything possible must be done to build happy Christian families based on Christian ethics such as kissing and respecting each other. There must be peace in the family, and those who destroyed other people's families should be disciplined by law.

The uniform presented to Mrs Gabanangata in the church competitions was discussed. Bishop Mokowe explained that the present was a church uniform belt which was red in colour. He asked that it be permitted that the belt be worn in the Committee at Mafeking. Mrs Maloiso explained that it had been agreed at the Committee of 1979 in Mafeking that Mrs Gabanangata should use the belt but she should not use it when wearing church uniform (*join*). The Committee agreed that she should use it as a sign of dedication in the work of the church.

Mrs Manyiwa asked about the pattern of the church uniform (*join*). Mrs Rev. Bosantsi explained that the uniform of married women is blue. The blouse is open in front with small pleats. There is a long skirt and white belt with the name of the church written in blue letters: "Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion", with blue borders. On the head is worn a white hat made in the Botswana pattern designed by Mrs Bishop Mthembu, who has now passed away. Mrs Mthembu added to what was said. The Committee agreed on the pattern. Mrs Sekhumba described the design of the uniform of young ladies and unmarried mothers as a long blue skirt, a white blouse with pleats and a green cord. On the head is worn a white hat similar to the married uniform, with a blue collar lined with white linen also similar to that of the married women. She went on to explain that the South African congregations do not use the green cord like other churches but the youth use a blue belt. It was asked whether it was permissible that they should wear things which were different from other congregations of the HMG. Mrs Maloiso responded that it was not proper because the Constitution of the HMG does not recommend a blue belt for unmarried women. They were permitted a blue belt in church when doing the dance but not as part of the uniform (*join*). The Committee then agreed on the pattern of the youth uniform. Mrs Sekhumba proceeded to explain that the uniform of young girls was a long white dress, a blue collar decorated with white lace and a green cord. On the head they wore a white beret. Mrs Deacon Vuma asked when the berets were introduced in the HMG and Bishop Mokowe explained that they had been agreed in a ministers' Committee in Gaborone some years back. Elizabeth said that the children's uniform was all right but the problem was that in Botswana it was not going to be easy to find berets and it might be better if the children could use white doeks. Mrs Selobelwe said that a simple white cloth is bought and used for making the berets as they did in Kurumane. The Committee agreed that they would do so but in the meantime the children would use doeks.

Mrs Gabanangata brought up the issue of women who are elected to church offices and wore the uniform of married women without being married. She said this was done in South Africa and also in Botswana. Mrs Sekhumba added that it was surprising that such a thing happened in Botswana where the law was made, and yet not respected. Mrs Mokowe said that the law was made in Botswana in 1963 that an unmarried person should not be elected to any office. Mrs Ndebele said that the law is not respected by those who made it. Mrs Munyamane said that the reason kissing between husband and wife does not exist there is that unmarried women wear the same uniform as married women, and in addition they have been elected to church offices and behave like married women, since they are the ones who are kissed instead of the married women. She went on to say that she would rather put away the uniform. Mrs Sekhumba added to this idea. Elizabeth asked whether, if they are denied the uniform, they are going to

be removed from the official positions they have held for a long time? Mrs Munyamane said that it would be better if the uniform were worn by old ladies instead of young married women and unmarried women. Mrs Manewe said that those in official positions should be left but no one else should be allowed a uniform or any official position. Mrs Maloiso said that those unmarried women who have been promoted to church offices and adorned with the married women's uniform did not do it themselves, but the Church did it, so this mistake is not their fault. The mistake lies with the elderly and the married because they are the ones who created this situation. She said that to demote them would cause problems for the Church. She pointed out that the Constitution stated clearly that no unmarried person, man or woman, should be elected to an official position. A mistake had happened and it was now up to the ministers to look into the Constitution and decide whether to enforce it or to change it. She pointed out that in the Francistown church, the Bishop once said that there were some elderly people who were not married but would be allowed to wear the uniform of the married women. Many people, however, were wearing the uniform because they had been promoted to official posts. If they were denied the uniform it meant that even the official posts were demoted. Mrs Kgari suggested that if the uniforms of such people get old and need renewal, they should not be officially adorned again. Mrs Munyamane seconded the idea. Mrs Gaseyo cautioned that if such a thing were done, the Church would split. The Committee agreed that the matter should be referred to the Ministers' Committee.

Mrs Sekhumba said that they had suggested that every Region of the Church should have its own flag with the name of the Church written on it in white. The Committee agreed. The South Africa region pointed out that they had their own flag which was blue velvet with the name of the Church written in white.

Mrs Sekhumba advised that the Committee should consider establishing a bank account for the Women's Wing. Mrs Selobelwe explained that in South Africa they had agreed that every local branch should contribute P5.00 (five Pula). The Chairlady asked what had been agreed in Botswana. The Committee agreed on P4.00 (four Pula) for every local church in Botswana. The contribution was made yearly. The financial report should be given at all the meetings of the Women's Wing. In Botswana, the money should be sent to Mrs Maloiso who would pass it to the Treasurer, Mrs Ndebele, who would send the money to the bank.

The Committee agreed that the next meeting would be held in Mafeking in 1981, in the month of October. The Committee was attended by 48 women and 6 men, and the delegates came from South Africa, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

The meeting closed at 5.30am.

**MINUTES OF THE SECRETARIES' COMMITTEE HELD IN FRANCISTOWN
15 AUGUST 1981**

The Committee started at 9:30pm. The opening hymn was *Nkosi si Hlangene* (143 Zulu), and the prayers were led by the General Secretary T. Manyiwa.

The Chairman, General Secretary Mr Manyiwa, asked the Assistant General Secretary, Mr S. B. Morapedi, to explain the reasons for the meeting. Mr Morapedi explained that the Ministers' Committee had asked that the Secretaries' Committee elect some people to help the Ministers in the amendment of the HMG Constitution. He went on to say that the need to amend the Constitution was mentioned by the Secretaries in their meeting of 1980 and they found it necessary to involve the Secretaries in the amendment. Administrative Secretary Mr Manewe asked the number needed. General Secretary Mr Manyiwa said that there was no limit on the number. What was necessary was that the Committee choose powerful Secretaries to meet with the Ministers to amend the Constitution. Secretary K. Dima seconded the idea and went on to ask the Assistant General Secretary, Mr Morapedi, to explain further why the Ministers wanted the assistance of the Secretaries in this work. Mr Morapedi said that the Ministers felt that the Secretaries were the ones who realised, as stated in their minutes of 1980, that there were loopholes in the Constitution, and so the Ministers needed them to help them see the loopholes. He went on to explain that it was important that those to be elected should be given copies of the Constitution so they could familiarise themselves with it and know which parts needed amendment.

General Secretary Mr Manyiwa suggested that all those who had attended the meeting should meet with the Ministers and that the three who were away, Secretary M. Phindela, Secretary S. Monyatsi and Secretary L. Manewe should be included in the delegation. Secretary S. D. Senyane seconded this idea. Admin. Secretary Mr K. Manewe asked that the Committee elect active people who understood the procedures of the Church, and not just Secretaries who would ask unreasonable questions and confuse the Ministers (... *batho baba nonfileng eseng baba tla opisang baruti ditlhogo ka dipotso tse di sa etsaganeng, moo e tla bo e se tlotla mo baruting*), by giving them headaches. Secretary S. B. Morapedi suggested that the Secretaries should first meet on their own to decide the matters that should be put before the Ministers. Secretary S. D. Senyane seconded the idea. The Committee agreed. The Committee then sought for a date on which they could meet before going to meet the Ministers, and agreed on 19 September 1981. The meeting was to be held in Gaborone.

Secretary S. B. Morapedi suggested that the Committee should elect a speaker who would present the matter before the Ministers so the rest could simply add what was said by the representative. Secretary Dima seconded the idea. The Committee agreed and chose the Admin. Secretary, Mr K. Manewe, to be the one to present the matter before the Ministers. The Committee further asked that those who had been elected should not fail to meet in Gaborone on 19 September 1981.

The meeting ended at 10:42am with a hymn and a prayer.

REPORT OF THE GOOD FRIDAY CELEBRATIONS 1982

The celebrations were held at Jackalasi, No.2, starting on 9 April 1982 at 22:45pm and continuing to 10:00am on 11 April, when the people dispersed.

When the service started, Archbishop Mthembu announced that he had a report from the General Secretary, Mr T. E. Manyiwa, saying that he would not be able to attend the celebrations because of work commitments. There was also a report from Mookami F. Ncube saying that the Zimbabwe congregations would not be present because of the problems in the country. He asked if there was any report from the South African congregations as to why they were not present, but no report had been received.

He spoke very strongly (*a menne phatla*) about the absence of the South African churches and said that the Executive Committee was going to deal with them because it was agreed that this year's celebrations should be held here.

The service was opened with prayer, and after that Mookami Kgari served the Holy Communion to 199 people. Then there was preaching from 3:00am to 6:00am on the 10 April, when people rested for a short period whilst other church activities continued.

At 13:30pm there was a meeting of all the Chairpersons who were there to give reports on certain necessary issues.

First Notice

Mookami Mzonda explained to the meeting the procedures for electing the Financial Committee, and its duties.

Second Notice

He explained the position of the leader (*moeteledipele*) in the church. He is the Shepherd who should use the Bible and the Constitution of the Church to ensure the proper running of the work of God (*tiro ya Modimo*). He despised what he referred to as the leadership of the lonely one (*kenosi*), and he explained that if one congregation is led by an Evangelist and nearer is one led by a Deacon, then the Deacon should perform all the necessary duties for that congregation.

Third Notice

He pointed out how the members should behave before their Shepherd, and he said that the important thing is to respect, honour and love, and to listen to his advice. He explained that if the leader does not behave properly and is impolite to the congregation during the service, the congregation should sit down with him and tell him his/her mistakes. Then if there is no agreement they should call an elder to come and reconcile them.

Fourth Notice

He repeated the words once said by the General Secretary in 1981 during the Good Friday celebrations about the lack of development of their Church, and especially of its buildings. He despised the unbalanced development and said that if the people were united, the developments would have passed the point where they are now. He explained that every church should keep a Register of all its members.

Fifth Notice

He mentioned that in many conferences, people agree on certain procedures and things to do but later on, the agreements are not fulfilled. In the next meeting, some agreements are entered into again without finding out whether the first were carried out. He said that the failure to follow up on things agreed upon retards progress in the church. He gave an example of the failure to attend classes, while this is clearly stated in the Constitution. He said that if the classes must be effected, there must be a person chosen by the congregation to do them since the church leader cannot afford to do all the work himself. He even suggested that if the people did not know what to teach in the classes, he would volunteer to call a meeting at which he would explain to the different teachers what to teach.

The people were given time to ask questions or make suggestions. Many people spoke thanking him for his explanation of things they did not know. Archbishop Mthembu stood up to emphasise (*go iteela kobo moroko*) the talk given by Mookami Mzonda. He said that it would have been better if the meeting had asked the reason why things done in the past were failing now. Mookami Mzonda should have given the reason, or if he did not know, "he should have asked me to explain." He went on to say that the problem lies with leadership. When they promoted people to leadership positions, they were expecting those people to follow their example of leadership. In addition, the membership of the HMG had increased and was still increasing. As a result of the growth, the main leaders of the Church (*rona ba re eteletseng pele*) no longer saw what was happening in the whole church before things led to indiscipline and carelessness by some leaders of local churches. This had also led to some churches giving problems to the leaders so that it became very difficult to find the root cause or to determine how these problems could be brought to an end. He went on to say that at the moment the Church had prophets and healers who made people pay for healing, and that was a thing which the HMG did not allow. He asked all the Ministers (*Baruti*) to stand firm and fight bad practices in the local churches. He said they should read Ephesians 1 verse 1. He said that he was happy he was still alive to give advice where people were going wrong. He pointed out that a village without an old man is dead (*Motse o o senang Monnamogolo o sule*). The meeting ended and the people went to rest.

On 11 April the service started at 1:30am. Mookami Kgari opened with prayer and some members were adorned with church uniform. They were from the following branches: Francistown (3), Tsienyane (1), Gaborone (2), Moreomaoto (1).

This service was followed by one for those to be pinned with church badges. They were from the following branches:

Orapa (4), Tsienyane (4), Maun (7), Kumaga (3), Moremaoto (5), Mosetse (5), Mochudi (3).

After this service there followed a Holy Communion service for those who were absent, and 42 people participated. The Communion service was followed by an evangelical campaign in the village in which 112 people participated.

The Ministerial Committee (*Komiti ya Baruti*) met to consider the names of people brought forward for promotion to the Evangelist post and above. After some deliberation, Mr Phetogo Kgomo and Mrs Agnes Letang from the Diphapho Church were received as ordinary church members. They had claimed that they were Ministers in the Diphapho Church but there was no satisfactory report on their Ministerial posts. The following people were promoted to church offices:

| <u>Name</u> | <u>Church</u> | <u>Position</u> |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| Ratang Tekanyetso | Tsienyane | Mogogi (Leader) |
| Balatlhi Mbakile | Ntondola | Mogogi (Leader) |
| T. K. Manewe | Francistown | Moruti (Minister) |
| Josiah Ndlovu | Francistown | Moefangedi (Evangelist) |
| Elson Ndebele | Lobatse | Motiakoni (Deacon) |
| Shanganani Ntule | Mosetse | Ghosa (Doorkeeper) |
| N. Nshakazhogwe | Tshesebe | Moefangedi (Evangelist) |
| Jabulani S. Dibe | Tshesebe | Moreri (Preacher) |
| Mrs J. Ntoagae | Palapye | Mogogi (Leader) |
| Mrs Oboile | Palapye | Mogogi (Leader) |
| Mrs G. O. Gubusamang | Palapye | Mogogi (Leader) |

The total number of people who had attended the Good Friday celebrations were 583.

The interesting matters from this meeting shall be discussed later in the general context of all the reports that are to be given below.

We shall now proceed to examine the minutes of the HMG General Conference held at Palapye on 3 June 1982. According to the General Secretary's letter of invitation to the local churches, the purpose of the meeting was to discuss the amendment of the HMG Constitution. The letter read thus:

3 June 1982

To: The HMG Congregations

General Conference:

It is brought to your attention that the General Conference (*Phuthego ya botlhe*) of this year shall be held at Palapye from the 10 July to the 12 July 1982.

All the congregations are asked to be there. The Palapye congregation is asked to prepare for this meeting. The main purpose (*kgang kgolo*) of this meeting is the amendment of the Constitution (*paakanyo ya Motheo*).

Yours in the Lord,

T. E. Manyiwa (Sec. General)

MINUTES OF GENERAL CONFERENCE, PALAPYE, 10-12 JULY 1982

The Conference was chaired by Vice Bishop L.F. Ncube of Zimbabwe and the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr S.B. Morapedi.

Before the Conference was officially opened, the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr Morapedi, and Secretary L.M. Manewe guided the people to their sitting positions according to seniority. After that, Mr Morapedi explained that people were put in that order because some of them were not Ministers (*Baruti*). He said that these people were chosen to review the Constitution. Their names were as follows:

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Bishop S. Mokowe | South Africa |
| Vice Bishop L.F. Ncube | Brunapeg, Zimbabwe |
| Vice Bishop N.K. Mzonda | Francistown, Botswana |
| Vice Bishop D.L. Kgari | Tonota, Botswana |
| Reverend J.B. Gabanatla | Kurumane, South Africa |
| Reverend John Moyo | Mtshebezi, Zimbabwe |
| Reverend T.K. Manewe | Francistown, Botswana |
| Secretary T.E. Manyiwa | Gaborone, Botswana |
| Secretary S.B. Morapedi | Francistown, Botswana |
| Secretary S.D. Senyane | Pikwe, Botswana |
| Secretary S. Monyatsi | Gaborone, Botswana |
| Secretary M. Phindela | Gaborone, Botswana |
| Mr K. Dima | Nshakazhewe, Botswana |

He explained that, when these people had finished their work, they found it proper to call the Ministers (*Baruti*) to a meeting in Gaborone. The following attended the meeting:

| | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Archbishop T.S. Mthembu | Jackalasi No. 2 | Botswana |
| Vice Bishop B. Kgotlaentsho | Lethakane | Botswana |
| Mrs T.S. Mthembu | Jackalasi No. 2 | Botswana |
| Preacher B. Sethako | Gaborone | Botswana |
| P.B. Phambuka | Welkom | O.F.S. |
| Nelson Ndebele | Lobatse | Botswana |
| Alton Phia | Tati Siding | Botswana |
| Mrs T.E. Manyiwa | Gaborone | Botswana |
| Mrs J.B. Gabanamgatla | Kurumane | Bophuthatswana |

After the formal introductions, the meeting was officially opened according to the tradition of the HMG at 2 a.m. Hymn No. 143 in the Zulu Hymnbook (*Nkosi si Hlangene*) was sung and the prayer was led by Bishop S. Mokowe. After the prayer, Archbishop Mthembu read from Philippians 1.1 and preached a sermon emphasizing unity in the church. He said that the words of that letter should be followed by all the members because they are words of everybody's salvation including his own. After the sermon, a chairman was chosen and Mr L.F. Ncube was elected.

The Constitution was read for the people in English by Mr M. Phindela whilst Mr Manewe translated to Setswana. After the reading of the Constitution, the people were asked to go and rest.

The meeting resumed at 10.25 on the morning of 11 July, and started by a reading from Proverbs 2:2-5. On the Article on the Secretary that the Secretary should be a Minister and that the Assistant Secretary should be a Deacon, some discussion started. Some people felt that the Article or Clause should remain as it was whilst others needed more explanation. Lengthy explanations were made, after which Archbishop Mthembu stood up to speak. He explained that the Constitution was right on that item and it should remain so. He further explained that things are right as they are because of this Constitution. The people agreed that the item be left as it was. Concerning the whole Constitution, many items were left unchanged except for the following:

Ladies' hats to be changed to doeks.

Money for the Central Bank should be 60 thebe for women instead of 1 Pula as the Committee had suggested.

Money for paraffin should be 3 thebe and not 10 thebe as had been suggested by the Committee.

On the issue of the Secretary and the Evangelist, it was agreed that one could become an Evangelist from the post of Secretary.

After the discussions on the Constitution, the people were allowed to go to eat and rest at 11.30 p.m.

The meeting resumed at 10.45 a.m. on 12 July. The first item was the election of the Executive Committee as follows:

| | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|----------|
| Preacher Type Pateletso | Gaborone | Botswana |
| Preacher M. Letsweletse | Serowe | Botswana |
| Evangelist E. Mothibi | Gaborone | Botswana |
| Evangelist Sopo Mpapho | Francistown | Botswana |
| Secretary Duma Badumedi | Maun | Botswana |
| Mogogi Mrs J. Ntwayagae | Palapye | Botswana |
| Mogogi Doris Mothibi | Gaborone | Botswana |
| Deacon L. Masingwane | Mathangwane | Botswana |
| Deacon W. Otukile | Serowe | Botswana |
| Secretary James Phirinyane | Orapa | Botswana |
| Reverend T.K. Manewe | Francistown | Botswana |
| Reverend J.M. Buka | Pikwe | Botswana |

After the elections Reverend T.K. Manewe and Mr Mpapho stood up to complain that many Ministers had left before the meeting was over and without reporting to the meeting. Next time they would be complaining about the elections. The Vice Bishop L.F. Ncube said that everybody knew the time when the meeting was to end and that business should continue without any worry about what those who had left would say in the future. Bishop Mokowe agreed with the idea and said that they would also elect such a committee in South Africa and Zimbabwe. The responsibilities and activities of such committees will be given in their reports to the General Secretary in Gaborone.

This was followed by the election of the Review Committee, which is the head of the Church (*tlhogo ya Phuthego*)/

The Clause of the Constitution states that the Archbishop, the Secretary-General and the Treasurer do not stand for election because they are members by virtue of their positions. The following were then elected:

| | | |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| Vice Bishop N.K. Mzonda | Francistown | Botswana |
| Vice Bishop D.L. Kgari | Tonota | Botswana |
| Deacon A. Phia | Tati Siding | Botswana |
| Bishop S. Mokowe | Mafeking | South Africa |
| Reverend J.B. Gabanangatla | Kurumane | South Africa |
| Reverend P.B. Phambuka | Welkom | South Africa |
| Vice Bishop L.F. Ncube | Brunapeg | Zimbabwe |
| Reverend John Moyo | Mtshabezi | Zimbabwe |

After the election there was an enquiry concerning the position of the then Treasurer because it was agreed that a Treasurer should be in the position of Evangelist and above. After a short discussion on the issue, Bishop Mokowe asked the Chairman that it should be agreed that the present Treasurer should continue in office until the matter is put right. The Committee agreed. Mr Limit Manewe said that, since the Constitution has been amended and approved by the Church, any member of the HMG who shall be caught making people pay for healing services shall be liable to hard disciplinary action by the Church Committee or even legal action could be taken.

The meeting ended at 9.35 a.m. on 12 July 1982. The official closing was performed by Bishop Mokowe because Archbishop Mthembu was away.

The total number of people who had attended the Conference at the beginning was 118 but, at the end of the Conference, only 95 remained.

When large numbers of people had left, Mrs Julia Ntwaagae was sent to collect the Archbishop, using vehicle registered B.A.8586. She missed him because he was coming in Mr Mathambo's car. When he arrived, he found the house almost empty and he was surprised and asked what had happened to the men and women who had filled the house the day before. He said that many people no longer follow the procedures that he had taught them (*tsela e ke lo rutileng yone*) and there is no respect in church meetings. This has now happened in two Conferences, with people leaving before the end of the Conference. This congregation does not respect me as its leader ("*Gape Phuthego ye gaesa tlhole e nkitse gore ke moetapele wa yone*"). In his talk he was very sad and, after a short time, he fell on the hands of Bishop Mokowe and some officers put him down on a chair where he cried for a long time (*lebaka le le leelenyana*)! When all the people had come into the house, Bishop Mokowe asked the congregation to pray. After the prayer Bishop Mokowe asked the congregation to disperse and some Ministers remained to explain to Archbishop Mthembu all that had been done in his absence.

PROGRAMME OF THE 1984 GOOD FRIDAY CELEBRATIONS

Place: Jackalasi No. 2

20 April 1984

- 7 p.m. Preaching by all; adorning new members with church uniform by Archbishop Mthembu.
- 9 p.m. Holy Communion service conducted by Archbishop Mthembu. The Communion will be followed by preaching by all and the prayers for the sick.

21 April 1984

- 8 a.m. Breakfast.
- 11 a.m. Quiz (the questions were set at the last General Conference).
- 1 p.m. Lunch.
- 3 p.m. Prayers for the sick.
The Archbishop's Committee will also meet at this time to consider the names of those who will be promoted to church official positions.
- 6 p.m. Supper.
- 10 p.m. Communion service for those who were absent.
- 11 p.m. The service of installations to church official positions. Prayers for the sick.

22 April 1984

- 4.30 a.m. Women visit the graves.
- 4.45 a.m. Women report what they have seen at the graves.
- 5 a.m. Procession to witness the resurrection of the Lord Jesus.
- 8 a.m. Word of thanksgiving by the Archbishop T.S. Mthembu.
- 9 a.m. Dispersal and the end of the 1984 Good Friday Celebrations.

AMEN (L.M. Manewe for Secretary-General)

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE WHICH WAS ELECTED AT GOOD FRIDAY
1985 HELD A MEETING AT LETLHAKANE ON 27 APRIL 1985 AT 12.30 P.M.

Present: Mr Norman Mzonda (*Mookami*)
Mr Munyamani Bhuka Sibanda (*Moruti*)
Mr Alton Phia (Deacon)
Mr Baraedi Morapedi (Deacon)
Mr Limit Manewe (Secretary)
Mrs K. Mthembu (Mma Archbishop)
Mrs Doris Mothibe (*Mma Moefangedi*)

Absent: Mr Kerapetse Lekgale (Deacon)

The meeting was chaired by Mr Norman Mzonda, Secretary being Mr Manewe.

After the opening song, an opening prayer was led by Mr Bhuka.

AGENDA

The resignation of Mr L. Kgari (*Mookami*) and his wife from the Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion.

The Committee found that this was a follow-up of yet another meeting held on the same subject on 2 June 1984 at Francistown which stopped with a view to having another meeting on the same issue during the presence of Mrs Kgari who is also to give her own views on their resignation.

Mr and Mrs Kgari were present.

After the opening of the meeting by a prayer, the Chairman tabled the issue before the committee and, as a resolution of the 2 June 1984 meeting, Mrs Kgari was asked to give her views. She stated as follows: We discussed this resignation with my husband and we decided to resign. After my husband had taken this matter to the 2 June 1984 meeting, he came and informed me of the decision of the Church that we should not leave. But, despite all these, I am of the decision to resign.

At the Committee's request to have the real grounds of the resignation, Mrs Kgari stated that: In our Church women are left behind in all services of Church activities. There is great disrespect in our Church towards its Seniors by the congregation.

Mr Kgari was requested to give his real grounds for resignation and he referred the committee to his grounds noted in the minutes of the 2 June 1984 Committee which were read and confirmed by him. These grounds were as follows. While in South Africa, he had a lot of misunderstandings with Bishop Mokowe over church monies which were not, and are not, properly looked after or banked. (Botswana). That our Constitutions and Regulations are made in General Conferences where others of no responsibilities meet us.

There is no respect for the Ministers by the congregation. The Church does not cater for its Ministers (*dikota tsa Baruti*). In our Church we do not control the spirit but the Spirit controls us.

There is no marriage in our Church since anyone can marry in any way he likes.

The Committee was doubtful of these grounds and it wanted to hear more grounds from Mr and Mrs Kgari.

Mr Kgari said that: While in South Africa, I fought very much and I didn't leave the Church. Now here after all this event, I noticed that should I insist to remain in this Church, at the end I shall divorce my wife for I shall be going to Church alone. Although I shall be leaving the Church I am not going to any other Church, but I am going to sit and pray in my house. Mrs Kgari was emphatic in that she is of no wish to reconcile with the congregation. She is determined to resign and if Mr Kgari wishes to remain in this church, he may remain.

Mrs Kgari elaborated her grounds about women as follows: In our church it appears that our leaders do not have wives who do the Lord's work with them, but nobody is worried about that. This alone is an indication to her that women are being disregarded.

At this point the Committee decided to give Mr and Mrs Kgari a bit of time to go out to talk to each other and give a reply. On the other hand, the Committee should remain looking at or reviewing the whole issue and see which line to take. The Committee adjourned until 15.30

The Committee resumed its business and all were present as before. The Chairman, after a short prayer by Mr Buka, reminded the Committee that it is to start where it had stopped and then requested Mr and Mrs Kgari to give the Committee the outcome of their talk when they were given time to think the matter over. Mr Kgari reported that he had discussed the matter with his wife and the conclusion is that they are resigning from Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion. After full consideration of the issue, on behalf of the Church the Committee accepted the resignation of Mr and Mrs Kgari from Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion. The Committee then requested Mr and Mrs Kgari to comply with the requirement of our Constitution to surrender all which they have which belongs to this Church. Mr Kgari then mentioned having the following which he would surrender: a batch of assorted Ministers', Evangelists' and Preachers' certificates; baptism certificates; *karolo*, but was uncertain where they are since *Badiyi* was using them; women certificates, but also was uncertain of their whereabouts since they too were being used; P20-00 for ten church badges; two church badges (one for himself and one for his wife); two church belts (one for himself and one for his wife); position certificates; two *join* (his own and that of his wife); and membership cards, which would need to be looked for.

The Committee then requested Mr Kgari to give the Committee the day or date he thinks he will be in a position to surrender the above items. He suggested the last week-end of July 1985 (27 July 1985), at Francistown, at 09.30 at the church site. The Committee accepted this as its members are all able to attend and on that date the remove for Mr and Mrs Kgari will be given to Mr Kgari if he complied with all requirements.

After a song the Committee was closed with a prayer by Secretary Mr L. Manewe at 16.05.

The Committee reconvened at 22.00. Bpth Letlhakane and Orapa branches were there and the people who were present were:

Mr L. Kgari (*Mookami*)
Mr Kgotlaetsho (*Mookami*)

The Committee was chaired by Mr Norman Mzonda, Secretary being Mr Limit Manewe. The Committee was opened by a prayer by Mr Munyamani Bhuka.

Agenda

To review all the complaints and matter(s) which are unconstitutionally done by the Orapa branch of this Church and to take any action appropriate.

Unconstitutional installation of members into positions.

It was clearly put to the Committee by Orapa branch that most of the people in the church were astonished one day to see the following people put before the church by deacon John Samuel of Holly Church on the request by *Mookami* Kgotlaetsho and some verses being read for them:

Molly Nganunu to be Deacon
Balisi Khagule to be Deacon
Chanake to be Evangelist
Postol Joel Mbakile to be Evangelist/Assistant Secretary-General

When these people were confronted by this issue, Nganunu stated that he did not know about the installation of their posts but had only heard from rumours that they had been elected by the church to those posts. The two others agreed that, after they were elected, they were only put before the church in preparation for their posts. During the process it became clear that Mbakile was most insubordinate in his behaviour towards the Committee and a strongly worded warning to behave well was given to him by the Committee. *Mookami* Kgotlaetsho was asked to clarify all the stories.

He gave his story saying, I know that during 1984 we had a committee at Orapa to elect people to be put on the following posts: Deacon; *Moruti*; *Moefangedi*. In the Committee we elected the following people to the following posts:

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Molly Nganunu | Deacon |
| Balisi Khagule | Deacon because he was prophesied to that post |
| Otsweletse Chanake | Evangelist |
| Joel Mbakile | Evangelist/Assistant General Secretary |

At a later date, in church, I did put all of them before the church and some verses were read to them, but they were on probation, and I told them that they were not installed but that they would be installed at the Good Friday celebrations of 1984.

It was found again by the Committee that there was a letter written by Mr Mbakile putting himself forward as Evangelist/Assistant Secretary General, under M. Nganunu who was put forward as Deacon, and this letter appeared to have been countersigned by *Mookami* Kgotlaetsho. Mbakile agreed that he had written it and put himself forward as such because he knew he was supposed to be installed as such. Mr Nganunu stated that he had only signed the letter but had not read it and Mr Kgotlaetsho said he did likewise.

There was also a matter concerning someone else who was installed as a *ghosa* by John Samuel of Holly, at the request of *Mookami* Kgotlaetsho. When Kgotlaetsho was asked if this was according to our church, he said that it was not. On a follow-up on how these people were elected and who elected them, the whole group of members of the Orapa branch stated that they did not know of this committee. They stated that, whenever a committee is called, only heads (leaders) attend and not all the people with positions in the church.

Secretary Mbakile brought a minute book of the Committee and the minute of the meeting of 25 March 1984 showed that the following people were present: J. Mbakile, M. Nganunu, D. Kgotlaetsho, Mrs Mories, Mrs E. Phillip and Masithipe. All the names that appeared were not a recognized committee because Mr Kgotlaetsho mentioned the names of those he wished without any election, except for Mrs Mories who even denied being at the meeting.

The Committee found that this issue was wrong in all respects and, before a final decision was made, the next issue on the agenda should be discussed to see if there were any links between the two.

The second issue was the putting forward as Vice Bishop of Mr Kgotlaetsho and the putting of wrong district/villages of people.

It was discovered that Mbakile did put all his thoughts on the certificate without authority and the Committee found that it was wrong to do so. The final decision will be made after all the issues had been discussed.

The third issue was the complaint of the Orapa branch regarding the suspension of *Mookami* Kgotlaetsho.

The Committee found that the following persons came to Archbishop Mthembu complaining about the suspension of *Mookami* Kgotlaetsho: Balisi Khagule, Joel Mbakile, Molly Nganunu and Joseph Ndebele. All those mentioned dissociated themselves from the complaint and all said that they did not really complain. The Committee resolved that, since they could neither make head nor tail of it, the case should be left in abeyance.

The fourth issue concerned the reason why the Orapa branch address their letters to the Archbishop.

It was found that the Orapa branch wrote two letters to the Archbishop without passing them to either the General Secretary or his Vice. It was found that the undated letter addressed to the Archbishop, which was found to be offensive, was written by Secretary Mbakile alone, without the consultation of his elders/leaders. After some deliberations, the Committee put the following fines on the leaders who were found to be in the wrong:

Mbakile suspended from official position for five months.

Nganunu and Khagule suspended for one and a half months.

Kgotlhaetsho was reverted to the position of an ordinary member (*mthandazeli*) for two years under observation.

Ndbele was given a warning.

The meeting ended with song and prayer.

APPENDIX B
PROFILES OF MAJOR INFORMANTS

- Appendix B.1: Ta-Mari Chite (Ta-Miriam).
- Appendix B.2: Mr David Budani.
- Appendix B.3: Bishop D.M. Tshabangu.
- Appendix B.4: Michael Masheto.
- Appendix B.5: Reverend Nyame.
- Appendix B.6: Bishop Ndlowu.
- Appendix B.7: Ngundu Mawala Ndebele.
- Appendix B.8: Information from Meetings at Palapye, 1988.

TA-MARI CHITE (TA-MIRIAM) BORN 1921

Interview held at Maitengwe on 16 December 1988

The HMG church was started in 1943 at Sodoma in Francistown by Daniel Dube who came from Danangombe where he was a member of the Church of Christ with Bishop Toitso Mthembu. Daniel prayed for Mr Kennedy who was working at the Tati Company but not in the tribal reserve part and therefore Dube was allowed to his work and pray freely. He then held his prayers at Ngulube (*ko dikolobeng*). Then Mthembu came and explained that he had permission to hold services. Mthembu had a vision and came up with the name Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion in 1944. He left the Church of Christ. The HMG then moved to Sodoma until the time when the churches were burnt down in the early 1950s. A man burnt the HMG church and the Roman Catholic Church which were grass thatched. A disagreement arose between Dube and Mthembu over the issue of making payments for healing. The matter was taken to the District Commissioner and the two thereafter went their separate ways. Dube left the church and started working without a church, staying at Shashe with his wife Keitumetse.

Ta-Miriam worked at Haskins from 1943 to 1981. He stated work as a houseboy and later became a salesman. He was baptized by Daniel Dube in 1943 into the HMG. There was always preaching and anyone who accepted the preaching was baptized according to John the Baptist. The person was immersed three times in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. The significance of baptism was the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and whoever was baptized would also die and rise from the dead. Certain verses were read, assessing the water to be used, followed by baptism. Baptism in the name of Jesus only is also acceptable but elderly people cannot understand what is happening in the church now.

After baptism Ta-Miriam became a *gosa* (doorkeeper). Some time afterwards he was promoted to evangelist, a position he held for three years. He became a deacon for many years and was made a minister in 1971.

In the late 1950s, when he was still working at Haskins, many members of the HMG were arrested, including people like Maduke, and they were taken to BB 1 at Marobela where they were thrashed. Ta-Miriam refused to go, with the support of Mr Dupree at Haskins, Maitengwe, and he paid £5.00. The LMS was administered by Haskins which did not like the activities of the Zionist churches. At that time, there was also the Donkey Church of Makhothe. The HMG was followed by the Donkey Church which, however, did not last. The relations between the HMG and the LMS were not clearly comprehensible because the HMG was operating with the Tati Company and not in the British Protectorate or tribal reserves where the LMS operated. The Tati Company was managed by M. Palmer, Kennedy and Smith and allowed the HMG to work freely, whereas in the British Protectorate or tribal reserves it was not allowed. The Serowe case happened when he was at Maitengwe. He started at Maitengwe in 1951 where he opened a branch which is still very active today. From 1945 he had been visiting Maitengwe but had had no intentions of establishing a church there at that time.

Branches:

These were started at Mathangwane by Tamaraba; at Mafungo by Mosinyi Marobela and at Mafeking by Oakile. When Ta-Miriam started a branch at Maitengwe there was no other church there.

Prophecy:

Ta-Miriam is not a prophet and there are no prophets in his branch at the time. When the HMG started, the prophets used a cross and not sticks as they do now. The prophets did not believe in hitting people, nor did they use drums because they are now used to attract young people. The dancing was not the same then as it is now. Ta-Miriam had attended the services of the HMG since 1941 but only accepted baptism in 1943 after listening to the preaching of Mthembu.

Discussion with Bishop Mzonda in Francistown about the Origins of the Head Mountain of God

Nanani Nkomo (Somfula) came as a member of the Church of Christ from Kimberley in South Africa. He was a deacon of that Church which was started by some white people from America. On their return to America, Nanani remained with people like Nkonyane and Sonji. From Kimberley, with his Zulu wife, he started the Church of Christ at Danangombe at the same time that Mthembu came with his church, which as yet did not have a name.

Mthembu was expelled from the Messengers Apostolic Church in Zion after he had attended an overnight vigil at Alexander Township (from Sophiatown). He had gone to the service with the *gosa* (doorkeeper) who had the church keys with him. So the Bishop and the congregation spent the whole day until afternoon without starting the service. When Smart arrived, the Bishop was very angry and committees met to discuss the matter. Bishop Nyauza insisted that Smart should be expelled and the congregation that used to meet at his house in Sophiatown was dispersed forthwith. However, Mthembu continued to worship with a few friends and, as many people began to join him, he soon had a congregation. He approached Bishop Nyauza for recognition but was refused. So he continued to worship in an unregistered, nameless church. Some ZCC prophets approached him and told him that they had heard a prophecy that he was going to have a very big church because they saw him in a very high building, higher than the mountains. After some time, Smart had a dream in which the name "Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion" was revealed to him (*Ibadla la Badala*: The group of men/the old). So the congregation was then named Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion. Mthembu was advised to be ordained Bishop in order to have the church properly recognized. He was ordained Bishop. On his return to Danangombe, where Nanani Nkomo (Somfula) had been running the congregation, Nanani queried the ordination of his "child" without his consent. A squabble arose and Smart started his church at Butale Village and stopped going to Danangombe. At one time Nanani had been approached by the original members of the Church of Christ from Kimberly (USA) who complained that he had turned the church to Zionism.

Nanani argued by quoting verses to support his understanding of the work of the spirit.

Previously, in Johannesburg, Mthembu had attended the Wesleyan Church because he had not then discovered the LMS and he was a member of the "*Madodana A se Wesele*", which was the Wesleyan Church that he left to join the Messengers Apostolic Church in Zion.

Trinity

God the Father; many do not explain about the nature of God except very briefly. God is the Creator of all things. But God felt that being alone was not enough and people did not understand him. So, he sent Jesus Christ the Son of God to separate people so that there are God's people and the lost. People did not understand God. However, when Jesus died, the curtain of the temple in Jerusalem was torn apart. This was a sign that the doors of Heaven were now opened to everybody who believed in Jesus Christ.

Jesus Christ sent the Holy Spirit to comfort people when he ascended to Heaven. The Holy Spirit also possesses people (prophets) and helps them to diagnose diseases and social problems.

Relationship between the Holy Spirit and Ancestral Spirits (*badzimu*)

Ordinary people cannot make a distinction between the Holy Spirit and the ancestral spirit. It is only people with the spirit of God who recognize the differences. The spirit of the ancestors (*sangoma*) does things which are visible to the eye. When a patient is brought to a *sangoma* and a prophet, they may both find the same disease in their diagnosis. The prophet does not end with the disease but goes further to find the cause of the disease which is sin. The *sangoma* will refer the cause to the *badzimu*. The *sangoma* explains things from a human perspective, whereas the prophet always finds the place of God in human relationships. The *sangoma* will prescribe medicines but the prophet will recommend prayer and forgiveness from God. In the HMG, ashes (*sewacho*) from various sources are used for healing and placebos are also used. The *sangoma* dispenses all sorts of herbs and makes false concoctions which are believed to heal the sick. The *sangoma* charge for their medicines whereas the prophet does all his healing in praise of God.

Salvation (*Ku Chidziwa*)

When we talk of a person who is saved, we refer to a person who has believed in Jesus Christ, been baptized and who is able to select good over bad activities by the knowledge of God. A saved person is one who has turned away from sin because Jesus Christ assures us that, if we believe in Him, we are saved. Modern faith is

different from the old faith. People formerly believed in the ancestors (*badimo*) but, of late, the Bible has revealed Jesus Christ as the only saviour. Jesus Christ was hanged on a tree in a similar manner to Moses who hung a snake on a tree in order that people would be saved.

The strength of a local church lies in the gifts of the leader. For people to believe and be saved, the leader must be guided by God's spirit and possess good gifts. Leaders are given different gifts to use for the life of the church. Navani Nkomo was gifted in healing. He knows many cases of healing in the Bible and uses the gift for the salvation of the congregation. In the Francistown congregation, there are a few people who teach about salvation. The Reverend Joseph Ndebele is a preacher who preaches on nothing else but salvation. The church teaches that people should develop their gifts of the spirit as stated in Paul's Letter to the Corinthians. A Bishop should have a general knowledge of all the various gifts of people in the church. Even if he does not have the gift of prophecy, he must have a knowledge of what the prophets do in the church. In Francistown, Mr K. Manewe is gifted in giving instructions and regulations to the congregation. Mr Ta-Mishingo is gifted in singing and prayer. All these gifts are used in the church for the salvation of the members.

Ancestors (*badzimu*)

We do not have many people teaching about the ancestors. When we teach, we do not hit hard on the ancestors. We do not speak ill of the ancestors because some of them were believers in God. If my father was not a believer, I could not speak ill of him because he lived before Christianity. There is a need for me to love my dead father because he worked for me and helped me to grow up. But I cannot make any offerings to my father through the god of the ancestors (*ndzimu we matala*). Jesus Christ is the God of all Gods and there is no need for another God.

Sin and Evil (*Kuchinya*)

When we ask people to refrain from sin, we refer to individual sins. If we say that a person has sinned, we mean when a person has failed to abide by good behaviour. Such a person could have committed sin by stealing, adultery etc. For instance, if I am a Bishop and start asking people to honour me, it is sin. In some churches, people bow for the Bishop and thus fail to see God because they see the Bishop as God. In the case of the man who charges people money for healing, the impression such a person creates is that he is the one who heals and not God. If God's gifts are given to a person without faith, he/she uses them for evil purposes. So, one should be continually born of the water and spirit.

Constitution

Many people do not know the Constitution. It is also written in English. Many people do not know its purpose and only see it as a Government document needed for registration.

Accusations

There were three accusations in Francistown against the HMG, St Paul yas Ta-Johane and Morian Church which taught in the rural areas. The accusations concerned failure of the churches to recognize chiefs. This had arisen because of provocation on the part of the chiefs who claimed to be people of God.

If it were not for healing and prayers for the people, the AIC would not have survived. Whenever they went to a village, it was mysterious that a relative of the chief's family became ill and had to be privately taken to the Zionists to be cured.

Name: Mr David Budani

Birth: 1947, Mapoka

Occupation: Builder

Education: Std. 7 and Building Course

Denomination: HMG since 1975; previously at UCCSA, Jackalasi No. 1. Had started in UCCSA in 1956. Baptized in 1967 at Jackalasi by Mr Mguni. Left UCCSA because it did not exist at Jackalasi No. 1 and thereafter joined the HMG.

Trinity: Points to the truth that Jesus died and rose from the dead. Baptism is done in the three names. God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is one thing. Classes fail because people are lazy and at times fail to attend. Started and was taught about the Bible. Verses are taught explaining how the disciples of Jesus came about and what they did.

Holy Spirit and Ancestors: Since I believe in the Bible, I no longer consult the ancestors. Old and New Testament believed in ancestors but the New Testament has stopped sacrifices through the blood of Jesus. A person has hands laid on and is healed. Had feet problems and pains which were prayed for and rubbed and were healed.

Salvation: A person who prays to God and is healed or gets problems solved is the saved one.

Sin and Evil: What you think of another person, such as killing, or anything else in your mind. God sees what is in people's minds before they act. In that manner, one has already sinned.

Prophetic Spirit and Ancestors: Prophets get the spirit after baptism and yet that of the ancestors just comes out of nothing. They are able to distinguish between the prophet with evil/ancestral spirit from the Holy Spirit. Some people come to church with all sorts of spirits and even charge money for healing. Yet some prophets with the Holy Spirit will just mention something that they see with no fuss.

General Comments: In the past the prophets believed in God and spoke the truth. Nowadays they tend to say that they do not want to reveal people's secrets.

Rituals: Holy Communion: The Holy Communion refers to eating the body and drinking the blood of Jesus Christ. Communion comes once at Easter. The Communion can still be changed to any day, and it is not necessary to hold it at Easter. It could even be every Sunday. No rituals are performed, only Bible readings, at all ritualistic occasions. Do not follow the Books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy.

Name: Bishop D.M. Tshabangu (1932 started, but 1952 baptized).

Birth: 20 December 1916. Zionist baptized 1956.

HMG Toitoi before in Church of Christ - 1926 of Nanani who converted him. Nanani baptized 1924 in Church of Christ. Mazibuko Phlaya Nyden. Hadebe Elijah (Church of God from Nanani).

- Nanani came with Church of Christ from Johannesburg but had studied at Kimberley. Came to Zimbabwe; when left Kimberley was building a church, 1920-21-24; then came to Zimbabwe at Plumtree.
- Led by the spirit to see his ill brother in Johannesburg.
- That is where they attended their services.
- Koape a Sotho was one of the members but of the Morian Church.

The Holy Apostolic Church in Zion.

Moses Nkori, a Zulu stayed at No. 5 in Johannesburg.

Bishop D.M. Tshabangu, Zimnyama, Plumtree, Zimbabwe.

- Worked closely with Mthembu. Stayed with him at Bisoli. He is now very worried because all has become corrupt. You find children being bishops without any knowledge.
- 1947 worked as a kitchen boy with Mr Mackan.
- Maube was arrested for preaching. We stopped eating and prayed until the jail opened. The police were scared in the morning when they found the gate opened. They thought the prisoners had escaped but they had not, and then they released them to preach the gospel. The HMG in Plumtree did not tell him about the arrest of Mthembu or he would have come. Church of Christ from Johannesburg.
- "*Makhiwa ase hlulikile*" in 1990.
- 1908 brother born.
- When the evangelism started the Whites came with the Bible and said people should not fight to express their feelings. The missionaries made people lose all their cultures and traditions and started schools for people to learn.
- "*Amakhiwa se ba bone kuti abantu be mnyama, ibadla la moya*" banga like to have them in 1940. Father and mother were LMS.
- He was an LMS but not baptized. He went because it was a church. *Ngi lelela* the preaching.

- 1932 Nanani came and asked from where the prophecy comes. He opened the Bible and showed him passages on prophecy. Went to Bulawayo and attended the church in 1943. Met Joseph Khoza of the Holy. Stayed with him until now but he is late. *"Ndio Amadoda, a azio Evangelie". "Le ku hlompha a ba sa hlomphe."*

"Holy Spirit did not make noise in the church as it is now." Prophets used to sit in the four corners of the church observing what was happening in the church. One prophet would sit next to the ministers. One would stand in a corner to interpret what the spirit was saying to the other prophet. There was one interpreter of the messages of the prophets. He would stand and tell people what the prophets had said because they spoke in tongues. The prophet was a person who had previously had an ancestral spirit. Minister stands for Christ and he understands everybody in church. Bishop prays and gives power to all the churches to have power.

Name: Michael Masheto

Date of birth: 1936

Education: Attended school at Xumaga and passed Std. 3; then went to Francistown and did Std. 4. He attended school from 1952-1958.

Occupation: He worked with G.S. drilling boreholes for 8 years from 1962-1970. He then worked as a driver in the Ministry of Agriculture from 1971-1981. From January 1982 to the present, he is the local Chief of Moreomaoto Village.

He started attending the HMG in 1960. From early schooldays he attended the LMS for schooling purposes. He then joined the HMG in Francistown. At Moreomaoto, the HMG started in 1965. He started the branch. In 1985 the ZCC also started at Moreomaoto. The church attendance is very good in both the HMG and the ZCC. In Moreomaoto, going to church is still fashionable. The population is composed of the Kalanga, Nandzwa and Bayei. There is not good cooperation between the HMG and the ZCC. Mr Masheto is in charge of several congregations at Xumaga, Rakops, Motopi and Phuduhudu. He is also the Head Minister in the District and is in charge of Maun and Kasane circuits. In his village there is one school with Std. 7, 1 clinic, 4 grocery shops (*semausu*) and 1 licensed restaurant. People who go to church are mainly elderly.

Concerning Bishop Mthembu, Mr Masheto knew him in 1960. He knew him as "*nlume uno lizana ne mwe ne mwe*" (a man who is equal to all other people). One could not pick him out from the congregation as the Bishop. He did not exalt himself. He was "long hearted" (meaning patient) and could build up any congregation. He gave advice to many churches. When the Eleven Apostles Church was in trouble, he rebuilt it.

He liked to sing and his favourite songs were "*Ke na le molisa*" and "*Ka mali a Jesu kea pholoswa*", both from the Sesutho hymn book.

Bishop Mthembu had important memorable sayings. In 1985 when he placed Mr Masheto as Evangelist, he said that he himself had put Mr Masheto at Jackalasi No. 2 in 1985 when he said he wanted to do something. "*Ndo shaka kuti Badiyi bose ba nginisiwe mu thanga kuti ndi bone kuti a Badiyi banga khona nshingo a nda yenda.*" (I want all the ministers to come forward into the "holy ground" so that I may see whether they will be able to do the work when I am gone.) At that time Mr Masheto was still a deacon but he was put with the ministers in the holy ground. The prophets chose three people to do God's work. These were Mr Mzonda, Mr B. Munyamane and M. Masheto. Bishop Mthembu then asked Mr Maingwaneng to bring an ox to be slaughtered at his funeral, and asked Mr L. Manewe to buy him a coffin. He pleaded with the congregation that the Good Friday celebrations should not leave Jackalasi No. 2. "If you go somewhere else, where shall I be?"

Concerning the election of the present Bishop, Mr Masheto maintains that Bishop Mthembu asked the congregation to find a successor and Mr Mzonda was found to be the most capable successor. This was possible through prophecies and prayers. Some people requested that Tshola Marumo be recalled but the idea was dismissed.

Mr Mzonda was chosen as Bishop from the position of deacon because of his good behaviour.

Concerning the administration of the church, Mr Masheto said that a Committee was elected on 28 September 1991 to discuss the administrative structures of the HMG, and possibly to review the Constitution.

Mr Masheto is married with seven children: five boys and two girls.

Discussion: On 21 November 1991, at Moreomaoto.

Name: Reverend Nyame

Position of the church: The position of the church in Maun is difficult to determine because people go to church but some not on a regular basis. In places like Komano it is difficult to find church members who attend church regularly. They go to the cattle posts (*meraka*) and only return to go to church when there is a special occasion. At Mokhelo the situation is similar. People are attracted by visitors to the church and not the word of God. The problems are attributed to the fact that many people do not know the church regulations. People use their ideas without proper knowledge of the Rules and Regulations. Ministers also fail to teach the people the rules.

The membership in Maun is about 60 people. Some people come and go and it becomes difficult to know the exact membership.

Concerning Bishop Mthembu: Mr Nyame remembered that Bishop Mthembu clearly stated that, when he died, Mr Norman Mzonda should be the Bishop. He also said that drums should be stopped in the church but that those who still wished to use them should be free to do so. The Gobajano congregation once came to the Good Friday celebrations with a drum. The hymns which Bishop Mthembu liked were : *Ke nale modisa* (Sesutho) and *Sefapano ke boka* (Sesutho). He was a person of great love. He respected everybody and regarded all people equally. He did not like the idea of being regarded as a Bishop. Some people sang a song that he raised people from death and he opposed the song and had it stopped. He taught that some church leaders were worried about walking but he had no problem with it.

He emphasized that church problems should be solved in a Christian way instead of going to court. My Nyame stated that there are ethnic problems in the HMG. This is visible in the promotion of members which is not based on work but on the ethnic group of that person. Many people in high positions are Kalanga because the church was founded by a Kalanga. Some people say that they do not go to a Ndebele church.

Referring to prophecy, Mr Nyame said that prophecy in Setswana is not as influential as in Ndebele or Zulu. Many Tswana-speaking peoples used to despise the AICs for speaking Ndebele or Zulu but now they join them.

The friendly churches to the HMG in Maun are: New Jerusalem, Bonthe, Peace Ever, Healing Church, God is Love, Holy Full Gospel, Faith Gospel, St David Church, St Patmos Church, Eleven Apostles Healing Church, St John Apostolic Faith Mission, Revelation Blessed Peace Church, General Apostolic Church, St Joshua Church, St Jacob Church, Twelve Apostles, ZCC, UCCSA, SDA, RCC, Lutheran Church, Assemblies of God, Roman Catholic and the NAP.

Many people go to church in Maun, although the membership may not be high. Many people do not eat foods prohibited by the church, even if they are not Christians.

The Ministers' Fraternal is well attended on special occasions such as Independence Celebrations. The Ministers' Fraternal has a choir which sings at funerals and on other occasions. Every church sends two members to the choir. The Abortion Act was opposed by the Ministers' Fraternal.

The HMG has problems regarding its general life in Maun. These are administrative problems due to inequality in the collections for condolences (*matsheoisa*). Some people are treated better than others. People come to church late and some fail to attend week-day prayers. There are financial problems and people fail to contribute generously to the church.

Some people do not come to church because of beer-drinking problems.

Mr Nyame has been a Councillor of the Botswana Independence Party since 1989. He does not see any contradiction between his position as a church minister and as a politician. The church welcomes his position.

Name: Bishop Ndlowu

Denomination: Christ the Word of God Church

Birth: Born in Zimbabwe at Matopo in 1910, at Fort Watcher Mission.

In 1937 he moved to Plumtree. He only attended school for six months and did not obtain any qualification. His brother was a member of the Church of Christ. He himself stayed in Plumtree as a guitarist. According to Bishop Ndlowu the Church of Christ was founded by Nanani Maepu Nkomo in 1939. Mrs Ndlowu told Bishop Ndlowu about the Church of Christ to which she belonged. He did not like the Church but she persuaded him to attend. She brought the Reverend Mazibuko and together they persuaded him to join the Church of Christ. It was regarded as fashionable at that time to belong to a Church and so he joined.

Some time later some ministers came to Plumtree with Nanani Nkomo. One of these ministers was Toitoi Mthembo who they nicknamed "*ngudla masaidi*" (the one who preaches so perfectly that everyone believes him). "When he preached, he touched people and they believed", said Bishop Ndlowu. Toitoi Mthembu had come from Johannesburg. His preaching took place at Zimnyama in the Plumtree area. The chief of the village was Makhuela. When people were gathered at Zimnyama Mthembu asked for permission to come to settle in Bechuanaland (Botswana). They agreed with Nanani Nkomo that Mthembu should come to Bechuanaland and build a church there. He built a house at Butale Village and called his church Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion. After forming the church, he informed Nanani that he had done so and Nanani was happy that his "son" had started a church. In 1947 the Church of Christ opened a branch at Ramokgwebane. The branch was started by Moilwa Dube (Ta-Christopher). The first minister at Ramokgwebane was Mukwesu Sola from Zimbabwe. Daniel Dube was baptized at Ramokgwebane. He was a very nice person who loved the Gospel.

Bishop Ndlowu's favourite hymn is "*Jerusalem muzi o khanyayo*" (Jerusalem the village that shines). In 1977 he moved from Ramokgwebane to Shashe Mooke and started his church, Christ the Word of God. He succeeded Nanani Nkomo as the Bishop.

According to Bishop Ndlowu, the Church of Christ originated from the Cape Colony. It was a mixed church with Whites and Blacks. Some white people came to Bulawayo and preached at Headfield. Nanani went to Zimnyama to preach there. He then went to Bulawayo to pray with the Whites. He found that they wore shoes in church and had a bath for baptisms. Nanani took six people to the river and baptized them. He also found that the Whites at Madlambudzi ate pork. One white man called Shortie played an accordion. He left them and returned to Zimnyama.

At Zimnyama the people were filled with the spirit and prophesied. When some Whites visited the congregation at Ramokgwebane there was some misunderstanding and Nanani became the leader of the Church of Christ.

Name: Ngundu Mawala Ndebele
Denomination: Belonged to Church of Christ at Danangombe.
Birth: 1914 at Mphini in Zimbabwe.

In 1947 he moved to Zimnyama and in early 1948 formed the Head of Mountain of God with Toitoi Mthembu.

Mr Ndebele was not a real member of the Church of Christ but simply attended the services. The mother of Toitoi Mthembu was born at Zimnyama and belonged to the family of Ngwambi at Tegwani. According to Ndebele, Toitoi Mthembu joined the Head Mountain of God in Johannesburg and then brought it to Butale Village in 1948.

The administration of the HMG has not changed very much since the death of Mthembu.

OTHER MAJOR INFORMANTS:

| | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Mr B. Morapedi | Francistown | 17 October 1991 |
| Colin Sibanda | Gaborone | 27 October 1991 |
| Stephen Phillas | Gaborone | 27 October 1991 |
| Matumba Sebinyane | Gaborone | 27 October 1991 |
| Shadrack Tamari | Gaborone | 27 October 1991 |
| Maria Kakanje | Gaborone | 27 October 1991 |
| Sony Toitoi Mthembu | Gaborone | 27 October 1991 |
| Mrs K. Mthembu | Jackalasi No. 2 | 3 November 1991 |
| Mr Fray Ntusa | Matenge | 6 November 1991 |
| Robert Modungwa | Mmathethe | 9 November 1991 |
| J. Masalila | Gaborone | 11 November 1991 |
| Amos Toitoi | Shashe Mooke | 15 December 1991 |
| B. Tekanyetso | Rakops | 12 January 1992 |
| Reverend P. Tsheko | Rakops | 12 January 1992 |

INFORMATION FROM MEETINGS AT PALAPYE, 1988

Palapye, 18 September 1988

Kelebogile Mahoko - born 1903.

- Originates from Topisi.
- Started going to church at an early age in 1915 at Kgagodi where she was born.
- The evangelist was Moganane Ramokgomo at Kgagodi.
- Reverend Louise was at Serowe in 1927.
- Her contemporaries were Tumediso Maruapula, Kalayakgosi Ramotswiri Serema and Molefane Taukobong.
- *Moruti* Serema taught the Baipoledi. The subject was Matthews Gospel about the birth and crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection. God is one person called by different names, and hence Morena Jehova, Mothatiyotlhe, referring to one person.
- Reverend Sandilands came to Serowe after Louise. Reverend Burns came and worked with Tebape.
- *Catesaye* (Catechism) was taught by Mme Tenitu. She was taught to read for the old people, hence the reading of Biblical verses and passages. She attended school up to Std. B because the belief was that girls should only know how to read and write. There was no need for further education because girls could not work. They were to get married. She came into contact with the Independent Churches in 1953 at Serowe.
- 1956: Mokaleng joined by Matlho Kapaletswe to work together. Kapaletswe was also a member of the spiritual church at Matsiloje and it was a very strong church. Matlho was given a church at Kgagodi.
- 1958: Mosinyi's child died at Shoshong and the Mokaleng church planned to go to Shoshong. Kgosi Rasebolai Kgamane called the people and said that he had heard about the trip to Shoshong and he warned the people against the idea. The problem was that the church made people eat dirt by baptizing them in dams. People did not like prohibitions such as "Do not eat meat of animals that died of natural causes" or "People must not work on Fridays". The Reverend Mokaleng stood up in the *kgotla* and said that he had never advised anybody against eating meat but Friday had been given to him by his grandmother.
- Cords bought at Francistown from Matsiloje who said that the claim that they were bought from him was not true.
- He argued that his own children were delivered at the hospital and even his mother died in the hospital.

Tumelo

- People believe differently because they had different ministers to teach them. There was fear of the deacons and people did the good jobs assigned to them.
- 1927: Believed in the LMS and she was baptized by Monare Louise in 1930.

Mafoko

When the Baipoledi went for baptism there were questions asked in secrecy. "*Thuto e ne ele bokete le dikgosi di ne di tsena dikereke*". Nowadays they do not go, and even the rich do not go to church. Selalelo was very secretive and people who were not confirmed were not allowed in as they are at the present time. Today the Baipoledi are baptized too soon ("*Boigang Modimo tlotlang kgosi*").

Kowetse Molebale: born Lerala 1906

Kereke

Started in 1929 at Lerala with Moruti Monyake at Maunatlala. Baptized with his wife in Ratholo by Reverend Alan Seager and got married. He started learning for the "Bogogi" evangelist with Baoleki in 1972 with Reverend Seager (student from 18 September 1972).

Lerala church was built before he was born. In 1818 the village moved from Shoshong to Palapye.

Contemporaries: Raditshupo (first preacher); Mogami; Lebogang Selato and Selo Mahoko.

Independent Churches:

Started before or just after 1937. In 1916 Zense Selato brought one church to Lerala. He was arrested and sent to Serowe where he was forbidden to preach. He then joined the LMS and died as a member. The present churches started in 1950 in good numbers. The LMS relied on the government and just watched the development of the AICs without doing anything.

Trinity: he does not remember well.

Stephen Seduke Maifala: born at Seleka in 1924.

- His parents were Christians and he was born in a Christian family.
- He is a teacher by profession and graduated at B.T.T.P. in 1983.
- He has worked as a deacon in Lerala since 1973. He had worked at Maunatlala UCCSA before that. At Maunatlala he worked with *Moruti* Lesophe and Reverend Toteng. At the time he was working with evangelist Segaise who was at Ratholo.
- He started with B.T.T.P. in 1979 doing 'O' course till he graduated on 11 December 1983.

General help from B.T.T.P.: Improved way of dealing with people in time of difficulties like death, poverty and general counselling. To deal with those in Sunday School and general interest in development, he trained as a school teacher at Kanye in 1952 and got (P.L.). Tried J.C. for one year and flopped.

Independent Churches: Problems with them but they are interested in working together. The local minister had no interest in the AICs. The AICs attract because the young folk like dancing and they give the word of God to everyone. The UCCSA does not give a chance to youth.

Cultural Problems: People pray for rain at *moremi* during the rainy season. They do this through *Badimo* and Christians also participate in the prayers. People go to traditional healers as it is "customary" to do so, and even Christians go to traditional healers. He himself does not see any way by which traditional healing could be used to proclaim the gospel message.

Maifala

Trinity: Important because it, "gives people light to see where we are going and why we are bound to that line". He preaches on the Trinity but he had no specific sermon on that. "One thing, one body, which means a person is a Temple of God".

Areas of Emphasis in Preaching: No common emphasis because everyone builds his sermon in his own way. The touch we all feel in giving a sermon.

Lerala church: membership £65.
P.O. Box 11, Lerala (Box 5, School address)

Seminar at Palapye UCCSA, 18 September 1988

This seminar was attended by 63 people after the church service which I had conducted. The problem was to try to locate the differences and similarities between Independent Churches and mainline churches on issues of doctrine, practices and beliefs in general. The following people aired their views on the above-mentioned issues.

Mrs Mbaakany born 1918

There are many differences between the AICs and the mainline churches. There are differences in prayer and preaching. During preaching and praying one might be possessed and start behaving in an unacceptable manner (*jaaka maloba ko kgotleng*).

Mbaakanyi

The UCCSA does not believe in clapping hands and dancing during the service as the AICs do. The uniforms of the AICs are not as plain as those of the UCCSA. They are decorated with all sorts of things, such as cords and strings, which cause a lot of confusion to the observer. When they worship, the AICs may start their service at eleven o'clock in the morning and end up at nine o'clock in the evening. During Good Friday and Christmas, the AIC members do not sleep, but pray day and night. When they baptize people, they immerse them in water.

Reverend Kadimo Serema

The main difference between the AICs and the UCCSA is on the *seaparo* uniform. The UCCSA has only one uniform in all its regions. The UCCSA has one constitution even if one congregation is in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe and another in Botswana. The procedures in all church activities are the same and *kobamelo* Liturgy Book is used in all UCCSA churches unlike in the AICs where one does what one thinks fit in that particular place. In the AICs everybody is a *moruti*, whilst in the UCCSA there are different positions and different ministries. The UCCSA does not have Bishops or a Pope. The ministers in the UCCSA are trained to know that they are not chiefs but servants of the people who are shepherds of the church.

Mr O. Mpe

The main difference causing the gap between the AICs and the mainline UCCSA churches is that Independent Churches attract people through *kebongaka kana kalafi e bonwang ka matlho eseng ka thapelo fela*, healing which is visible and not only through prayer. In the UCCSA one is asked to pray for a patient but people believe in medicines and thus they prefer bottles with water and other things which the AICs give. People are not only treated for bodily diseases but are also put in hot baths in order to find jobs. Sometimes the AICs tell people that, if they are not baptized, they may not be healed, so that after baptism in the UCCSA, some people still go to the AICs to be re-baptized. Spiritual churches are very active in making money for the growth of their churches. They make money for trips and other church projects. The UCCSA fails at giving and making new projects. The fact that the AICs do give shows that they have a working faith.

K. Mareko born 1935

The difference between the AICs and the UCCSA concerns baptism. The UCCSA sprinkles water on the face whilst the AICs immerse their people in water. The UCCSA baptism is therefore referred to as Letshwao whilst that of the AICs is that of John the Baptist. The AICs do healing using all sorts of medicines. Hot water and hot baths are used to loosen up the blood. The uniforms are of all colours: red, blue and many others, except black. When AIC members are possessed, they jump about and up and down.

Tsholofelo Morake born 1928 (female)

In the UCCSA there is no prophecy whereas in the AICs the minister is also a prophet and is able to tell people about disaster and other things. *Bongaka* healing is done by the prophet who is able to detect diseases. Many people, including UCCSA members, go to these churches because they solve problems such as marriage disturbances, seeking jobs and others. These AICs give people medicines alongside prayer so that they must be healed. Many people leave mainline churches (UCCSA) because they are attracted by "*Mekete*" festivals or services. The AICs frequently have conferences and people are always busy travelling. On the Trinity, the Bible states that there are three names referring to one: *Rara, Morwa, Moea oo Boitshepo* (Father, Son and Holy Spirit). All these names point to one God.

George Kedikilwe born 1948 (male)

Differences between mainline churches and the AICs have been brought about by chiefs. Some chiefs had more faith in the LMS, so much so that they did not allow anything else besides the LMS. Now many chiefs do not have faith and they cannot expel the AICs.

There is no cooperation between the AICs and the mainline churches. People in the LMS also have the spirit but we do not see or prophesy like the Independent Church leaders. He also has had visions so that if he were in the AICs, he would be a prophet.

Solomon Raphapa, born 1943 (male)

People leave the LMS to join the AICs because the LMS has a constitution and a law that governs the church. As people, where there is law and order, we fear and want to go where there is freedom. Riches are one main concern of the people which drive them to the AICs. People also look for positions, which are easier to get in the AICs than in mainline churches. One becomes a *morapeledi*, an evangelist or a Bishop in a short period of time. There are many splits in the AICs because of the concern for worldly wealth and riches and not too much concern about the work of God. Differences in status and position are even visible in the different uniforms that the members wear. When one looks for wealth or asks for land from the chief, he or she wears cords which take the place of charms to get the favour of the chief.

APPENDIX C

DETAILS OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY CONGREGATIONS TO THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

- Appendix C.1: Charts showing money collected from HMG congregations from "child-outing" certificates, baptism certificates, position certificates, membership certificates, Central Bank contributions, regional contributions, collections for buying food at the Good Friday Celebrations, contributions from friendly churches and donations.
- Appendix C.2: List of Head Mountain of God congregations in Botswana as listed in collection book.
- Appendix C.3: Good Friday 1982 contributions.
- Appendix C.4: Good Friday 1984 contributions.
- Appendix C.5: Good Friday 1985 contributions.
- Appendix C.6: Good Friday 1986 contributions.
- Appendix C.7: Good Friday 1987 contributions.
- Appendix C.8: Good Friday 1988 contributions.
- Appendix C.9: List of names of people and money collected as tithes and baptism cards and certificates at Mashoko branch via Shakawe.
- Appendix C.10: List of names of people and money collected as tithes, baptism cards and certificates and Hamokwe branch via Shakawe.
- Appendix C.11: List of names of people and money collected as tithes, baptism cards and certificates at Ova branch, Namibia.
- Appendix C.12: Financial Report of the Maun branch, 1978.
- Appendix C.13: Financial Report from the Good Friday Celebrations held at Maun, 30-31 August 1980, as a follow-up to the Good Friday Celebrations held in Gaborone, April 1980.
- Appendix C.14: HMG Financial Year Statement 1972-1980 as reported by a selected Committee.
- Appendix C.15: Balance sheets of the HMG, 1979, 1980 and 1982.
- Appendix C.16: Audited Financial Reports by professional Auditors.
- Appendix C.17: Report of a Committee chosen to investigate misuse of church funds.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS COLLECTED AT 1981 GOOD FRIDAY CELEBRATIONS

| List of Churches | Tshego Kolobe Pos. | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|---------|
| | fatsø | tso | Cert. | Join | Bank | Karslo | Dijo | Dipetsa |
| | | | 50 | | 9.50 | 16.80 | | |
| Francistown | | | | | 9.50 | 25.80 | 20.05 | |
| Seleka | 80 | | 75 | | | 1.20 | | |
| Gobojangu | | | | | | 6.00 | 7.00 | |
| Orapa | | | 50 | 2.75 | 20.50 | 21.80 | 9.00 | 25 |
| Shashe | | | | | | | 5.00 | 2.00 |
| Nshakazhogwe | | | 2.25 | 1.00 | | 14.40 | | 5.00 |
| Tutume | 40 | | | | 3.00 | 5.80 | 5.50 | 3.00 |
| Tutume (Magapintona) | | | | | | | 5.50 | 2.50 |
| Tshesebe | | | | 1.00 | | 10.20 | 6.00 | 75 |
| Nkange | | | | | | | 3.00 | |
| Madebe | | | | | | | 3.00 | |
| Brunaberg | | | | | | 16.80 | 3.00 | |
| Jackalasi No. 2 | | | | | | 3.80 | 8.60 | |
| Marabela | 40 | 1.25 | 1.50 | 5.00 | 5.50 | 7.00 | 7.00 | 2.00 |
| Bulawayo | | | | | | | 6.00 | |
| Kanye 1979-80 | | | | 7.00 | 21.50 | 22.60 | | |
| Serowe | 25 | | | 4.25 | 13.50 | 15.80 | 4.50 | |
| Mtshabezi | | | | | | 4.70 | | |
| Nshwazwi | 1.00 | 1.25 | 50 | 3.00 | 5.80 | 9.00 | | |
| Butale | | | | 1.00 | 4.50 | 9.40 | 5.50 | |
| Ushewazwi | 75 | 80 | | | | 1.20 | | |
| Simitwe | | 60 | | | 6.00 | 6.40 | 4.50 | 2.50 |
| Moremeoto 1980-81 | | 60 | 1.50 | 1.00 | 18.00 | 19.00 | 5.00 | 2.25 |
| Maun | | 20 | 2.25 | 1.75 | 16.00 | 18.80 | 10.05 | 3.00 |
| Gaborone | 25 | 2.20 | 4.50 | 5.00 | 21.00 | 24.20 | 15.00 | |
| Nakgalo | 50 | | 1.00 | | 3.50 | 1.80 | | |
| Tati Siding | | | | | 6.00 | 4.40 | | |
| Lobatse 1978-81 | | | 2.25 | 6.25 | 5.50 | 15.36 | 19.00 | 6.45 |
| Mathangwane | 1.00 | 40 | 75 | 50 | 3.50 | 4.80 | 4.00 | 75 |
| Mapoka | | | | | | | 3.00 | |
| Matobo | | | | | | | 4.50 | |
| Tsamaya | | | | 50 | 1.50 | | 4.75 | |
| Mosetse | | | | | | | 8.00 | |
| Palapye | | 1.00 | | 2.50 | 6.00 | 5.00 | 5.00 | 3.50 |
| Komana | | | | | | 4.00 | | |
| Mochud | | | | | | | 10.00 | |
| | 2.50 | 8.65 | 18.75 | 36.50 | 177.00 | 296.36 | 200.45 | 33.95 |

Expenses drawn from Food Funds above:

| | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| Food | 84.26 | Food Funds Balance | 200.45 |
| Wood | 15.00 | | -169.26 |
| Ox | <u>70.00</u> | Balance | <u>31.19</u> |
| | 169.26 | | |

LIST OF HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD CONGREGATIONS IN BOTSWANA
AS LISTED IN COLLECTION BOOK

1. Jwangeng Branch, P.O. Box 565, Jwaneng
 Secretary: Mrs Mariam Mathumo
 Treasurer: Connie Mmokwe
 Member: Mr Akabano Ramokhutshwane
 Membership: 26
2. Kanye Branch, P.O. Box 43, Kanye
 Chairman: Mr Gabathae Maswabe
 Secretary: Mrs Keaoitsi Mashe
 Treasurer: Mrs Boitumelo Sebokane
 Membership: 50
3. Mmathethe Branch
 Membership: 30
4. Lobatse Branch
 Membership: 35 men and 45 women
5. Gaborone Branch
 Membership: 55 men and 98 women
6. Mochudi Branch
 Mogomotsi Paledi
 Kabelo Boikanyo
 Pelotelele Motshidisi
 Membership: 48
7. Moreomaoto Branch
 Membership: 4 men and 29 women
8. Orapa Branch
 Chairperson: Mr Joel Mbakile
 Secretary: Miss Melter Mosojane
 Treasurer: Miss Tendani Nthata
 Membership: 34
9. Letlhakane Branch
 Chairman: Family Ongadile
 Secretary: Chipo Kenosi
 Treasurer: Moiseraele Ntshelo
 Membership: 17 men and 31 women
10. Serowe Branch, P.O. Box 1120, Serowe.
 Treasurer: Miss Watala Segotso
 Secretary: Mr Marage Marage
 Chairman: Modisakgosi Letsweletse
 Membership: 104

11. Gubojangu Branch, Gubojango Postal Agency, P.O. Bobonong
 Jacob J. Mphela
 Bontle Mphhee
 Tephira Mphela
Membership: 20
12. Selibe-Phikwe Branch, Box 10092, Botshabelo, Selibe-Phikwe
 Chairman: Mika Socks
 Secretary: Jane Lekha
 Treasurer: Micklas Senyane
Membership 131
13. Shashe Branch, P.O.B.
 Chairman: Mr Asia Gaseitsiew
 Secretary: Moses Letlhoenya
 Treasurer: Semojetse April
Membership: 19
14. Lecheng Branch
 Chairperson: Mrs Onalenna Akofang
 Treasurer: Mr Montsho Saakane
 Secretary: Miss Maitsetsane Tsio
Membership: 40
15. Tati Siding
 Chairperson: Mantho Jarabani
 Treasurer: Kesehele Gulubane
 Secretary: Omphile Jeremiah
Membership: 5
16. Francistown Branch, Box 280, Francistown
 Chairperson: Winter Morwalo Ngwenya
 Secretary: David Budani
 Treasurer:
Membership: 54 men and 123 women
17. Jackalasi No. 2 Branch, Private Bag 007, Francistown
 Chairlady: Georinah Sarc Mthembu
 Secretary: Mary Sephethi
 Treasurer: Cister Caiphas
Membership: 60
18. Tshesebe Branch
Membership: 10
19. Butale Branch, P.O. Ramokgwebana
 Treasurer: Eff Capson
 Secretary: Annah Bigboy Phillimon
 Member: Mathuthura Bachobeli
Membership: 18

20. Khumaga Branch
 Chairman: Mr Tshimologo Radijo
 Secretary: Mr Tommy Motsami
 Treasurer: Legae Gaboitsiwe
Membership: 54
21. Letsholathebe Branch
Membership: 9
22. Dinane Branch
Membership: 29
23. Themashanga Branch
24. Mathangwane Branch
Membership: 19 (contact Chilume Kebareng)
25. Marobela Branch
 Secretary: Mazebe Beula
 Treasurer: Mrs Baraedi Muzila
 Member: Mrs Mpho Machongo
Membership: 23
26. Sebina Branch, Box 18, Sebina
 Chairman: Johane Kgomo
 Treasurer: Angelinah Makhogonke
 Member: Charles Bathoeng
Membership: 24
27. Nsazwi Branch
 Chairlady: Simanga Ntini
 Secretary: Phazha Habona
 Treasurer: Funani Gosi
Membership: 20
28. Magapatona Branch
Membership: 20
29. Matobo Branch
Membership: 33
30. Thini Branch
Membership: 13 men and 29 women
31. Palapye Branch
 Secretary: Ofentse Gaotlhobogwe
 Treasurer: Julia Ntwaagae
 Mokganedi Rindo
Membership: 70

32. Matombomasha Branch, Box 43, Tutume
 Secretary: Mrs Eunice Morake
 Treasurer: Mrs Tanyala Makanda
 Member: Mrs Katini Bagwasi
Membership: 55
33. Nkange Branch
 Samuel Munyaka
 Bambana Mudongo
 Bamilidzi Vumbani
Membership: 75
34. Maitengwe Branch, Box 31, Maitengwe
 Mrs Maburu Michael
 Mr Balashiki Lemogang
 Mrs Atholang Bango
Membership: 7
35. Rakops Branch, Box 127, Rakops
 Chairman: Mr Gasebotshelo Mmotlana
 Secretary: Mr Gaopaelwe Lebogang
 Treasurer: Miss Kgaogano Kesebelwang
Membership: 19
36. Mosetse Branch
Membership: 11 men and 21 women
37. Nata Branch
38. Maun Branch, P.O. Box 285, Maun
 Chairman: Mr Gaenakgosi Sengarenga
 Secretary: Mr D.B. Duma
 Treasurer: Miss Mareelelo Molaodi
Membership: 39
39. Kumaneng Branch, Box 188, Komaneng
 Chairlady: Mrs Boikaego G. Letswai
 Secretary: Miss Opelang Molamu
 Treasurer: Miss Kebatshabile Mokgwathi
Membership: 94
40. Thamage Branch
 Chairman: Mokganedi Dibotlhale
 Secretary: Betty Dibotlhale
 Treasurer: Sewagodimo
Membership: 36
41. Mabutsane Branch, P.O. Box 51, Lobatse
 Secretary: Gaboutlwelwe Batshomi
 Treasurer: Kethotswe Batshomi
 Member: Akanyesang Matsatsala
Membership: 14

42. Tsamaya Branch
 Chairlady: Miss Fufu Toitoi
 Secretary: Miss Chinyikilo Fati
 Treasurer: M.T. Mudongo
Membership: 19
43. Bobonong Branch, Box
Membership: 2
44. Kgari Branch, Box 105, Ramokgwebana
 Chairman: Viola Budani
 Treasurer: Batsalelwang Tsheko
 Secretary: Portia Chaba
Membership: 35
45. Makota Branch
Membership: 8
46. Makgalong Branch
Membership: 8
47. Nshakashogwe Branch, Box 13, Sebina
 Bapaphi Moloto
 Fumani Mothakaja
 Keiteretse Duma
Membership: 19
48. Shakawe Branch
49. Simitwe Branch
50. Tonota Branch
 Chairman: Goitsemodimo Marape
 Treasurer: Pono Chawelane
 Shime Sehudi
Membership: 33
51. Dukwe Branch
Membership: 18
52. Kasane Branch
Membership: 5
53. Changate Branch
Membership: 1 (active)

Approximate total: 1,998 Members

1982 GOODFRIDAY RETURNS - FINANCIAL

REPORT

| NAME OF BRANCH | POTS | BUILDING | COFFERS | CERTI- FICATE | JOIN- ING | FOOD | BANK | TITHES | GFT. |
|-----------------|------|----------|---------|------------------|--------------|--------|--------|--------|------|
| Gaborone | - | - | - | 9.30 | 10.50 | 21.00 | 28.50 | 37.20 | |
| Nshakazhogwe | - | - | - | 1.30 | - | 2.00 | - | 5.00 | |
| Francistown | - | - | - | 20 | - | 20.00 | 11.00 | 22.60 | |
| Mathangwane | - | - | - | 50 | 25 | 4.50 | 2.00 | 2.20 | |
| Gobajango | - | - | - | 40 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 9.00 | 13.80 | |
| Tonota | - | - | - | 25 | - | 4.50 | 1.00 | 7.00 | |
| Selibe Pikwe | - | - | - | - | 4.25 | 9.70 | 6.50 | 20.40 | |
| Shashe | 50 | - | - | 25 | - | 8.00 | 3.00 | 5.80 | |
| Tati Siding | - | - | - | - | - | 2.00 | 2.50 | 2.80 | |
| Maun | 75 | - | - | 3.05 | 3.25 | 1.75 | 24.10 | 38.40 | |
| Serowe | - | - | - | 10.00 | 7.25 | 4.00 | 26.00 | 36.00 | |
| Orapa | - | 17.00 | - | 1.15 | 3.00 | 14.50 | 19.00 | 24.40 | |
| Lobatse | - | - | - | 4.05 | 4.50 | 14.00 | 13.50 | 15.80 | |
| Tshesebe | - | - | - | - | 1.75 | 3.00 | - | 11.40 | |
| Dinane | - | - | 4.00 | - | - | 3.00 | 2.00 | 2.80 | |
| Butale | 1.00 | - | - | - | 25 | 2.90 | 50 | 7.60 | |
| Mathethe | - | - | - | 2.30 | 1.25 | 10.50 | - | 4.20 | |
| Jwaneng | - | - | - | 1.00 | 75 | 3.10 | 2.00 | 4.00 | |
| Itondola | - | - | - | 2.90 | 2.25 | 6.00 | - | 3.60 | |
| Matombomashaba | - | - | - | - | - | 10.75 | - | 13.20 | |
| Marobela | - | - | - | 1.40 | 1.25 | 1.25 | 3.50 | 7.60 | |
| Kanye | - | - | - | 6.95 | 3.00 | 3.00 | 18.00 | 19.00 | |
| Tsienyane | 2.25 | - | - | 4.20 | 11.25 | 6.00 | 5.40 | 7.00 | |
| Mochudi | - | - | - | 85 | - | 18.00 | 23.50 | 24.40 | |
| Letlhakane | - | - | - | 3.00 | 25 | 4.50 | - | 7.40 | |
| Jakalasi No.2 | - | - | - | - | 25 | 7.50 | - | 11.40 | |
| Moremaoto | 2.75 | - | - | 40 | 1.25 | 5.50 | 9.60 | 8.50 | |
| Palapye | - | - | - | 4.90 | 1.50 | 9.50 | 10.00 | 11.60 | |
| Komaga | - | 1.00 | - | 4.25 | 1.75 | 2.00 | 5.00 | 10.40 | |
| Tutume | - | - | - | - | - | 9.50 | - | - | |
| Mosetse | - | - | - | - | - | 8.39 | - | - | |
| Komaga | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3.78 |
| Orapa | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2.44 |
| Tutume(Thini) | - | - | - | 2.60 | - | - | - | 10.00 | |
| E/forward-80/81 | 7.25 | 18.00 | 4.00 | 65.20 | 61.50 | 225.59 | 225.60 | 391.50 | 6.42 |
| | | | | | | 74.31 | | | |
| | | | | | | 299.90 | | | |

SUMMARY

| | |
|--------------|----------------|
| Pots | 7.75 |
| Building | 18.00 |
| Coffers | 4.00 |
| Certificates | 65.20 |
| Joining Fees | 61.50 |
| Food | 299.90 |
| Bank | 225.60 |
| Tithes | 391.50 |
| Gifts | 6.42 |
| Total Funds | 1079.37 |
| Passover | 15.35 |
| Edges | 75.60 |
| | <u>1170.32</u> |

Food Balance c/f P58.84

Analysis Prepared by:

PAYMENTS

| | | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| Cash | 1 Load firewood | 10.00 |
| | 2 x 50 M/Meal & 2 x 12,5 kg sugar | 25.00 |
| | Transport for preparation | 20.00 |
| | Groceries | 54.06 |
| | 1 Drum Water | 1.25 |
| | | <u>110.81</u> |
| <u>Bank!</u> | | |
| Cheq. 015277 | - Ox | 118.00 |
| Cheq. 015278 | - Tithes | 392.10 |
| | - Gifts | 6.42 |
| | - Joining Fees | 61.50 |
| Cheq. 015279 | - Passover | 15.35 |
| Cheq. 015280 | - 9 Drums of Water | 11.25 |
| | | <u>715.43</u> |
| Total | | |

Mr. E. KULUBE - General Treasurer

HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION

WORK WHICH HAVE BEEN DONE DURING GOOD FRIDAY

FROM 19 UPTO 22/4/84

| BRANCH | TENTH | B/CARD | CERT | JOIN | BANK | BL/CARD | POTS | GIFTS | GOOD FRIDAY | TOTAL |
|----------------|--------|--------|-------|-------|--------|---------|------|-------|-------------|----------|
| Palapye | 16.00 | 2.20 | 3.00 | - | 16.00 | .50 | - | 22.00 | 15.40 | 75.10 4 |
| Ramakwebana | 7.80 | .40 | - | .50 | 8.00 | 2.25 | - | - | 3.00 | 21.75 |
| Botlhakana | 10.80 | .20 | 2.00 | 2.50 | 9.00 | - | - | - | 6.50 | 34.00 |
| Rakope | 7.60 | 1.80 | 2.00 | 1.50 | 5.50 | - | 2.50 | - | 5.00 | 25.90 |
| Mosetse | 2.00 | - | .75 | - | 2.00 | - | - | - | 11.05 | 15.80 |
| Nshakazhogwe | 23.60 | 1.40 | 2.25 | .75 | 12.50 | - | - | - | 13.00 | 53.50 5 |
| Tutume | 11.80 | 4.40 | .50 | 1.25 | 5.30 | - | 2.75 | - | 4.00 | 30.00 |
| Tshui | 1.00 | - | .25 | .25 | 1.00 | - | - | - | - | 2.50 |
| Liomaoto | 11.60 | 1.80 | .25 | 1.50 | 6.50 | - | - | - | 3.00 | 24.65 |
| Matobo | 12.60 | 3.80 | 2.50 | - | - | .75 | - | - | 15.00 | 34.65 |
| Francistown | 39.00 | 5.80 | 8.50 | 7.00 | 34.00 | - | - | - | 27.00 | 21.30 |
| Jackalas No. 2 | 7.40 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5.50 | 12.90 |
| Orapa | 14.60 | - | 1.25 | 2.75 | 12.60 | .75 | - | 4.50 | 5.00 | 41.45 |
| Ntondola | 8.60 | 1.00 | .25 | .25 | - | - | - | - | 12.60 | 22.70 |
| Tsheshebe | 10.20 | - | 1.75 | 2.00 | - | - | - | - | 3.00 | 16.95 |
| Maitengwe | 8.60 | 1.60 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5.00 | 15.20 |
| Letsholathebe | 4.60 | .60 | 1.00 | .25 | - | - | - | - | 6.00 | 12.45 |
| Matombomashaba | 9.00 | 2.80 | 2.50 | 3.75 | 4.00 | - | - | - | 5.50 | 27.55 |
| Gaborone | 40.60 | 2.00 | 6.75 | 9.50 | 33.50 | - | - | - | 24.80 | 117.15 6 |
| Komaneng | 9.50 | 1.00 | .50 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 11.00 |
| Marobela | 7.60 | .40 | 1.75 | 1.25 | 6.00 | - | - | - | 4.50 | 21.50 |
| Tonota | 10.80 | - | .25 | - | 10.00 | .50 | - | - | 7.50 | 29.05 |
| Butale | 3.40 | 3.30 | 1.25 | .75 | 2.50 | - | - | - | 6.50 | 18.20 |
| Jwaneng | 14.20 | - | 2.60 | 3.00 | 17.00 | .25 | - | - | 11.00 | 48.05 10 |
| Kanye | 17.40 | 2.80 | .25 | 1.75 | - | - | - | - | 3.50 | 25.70 |
| Lobatse | 14.40 | 2.20 | 6.25 | - | 14.50 | 1.00 | - | 18.00 | 12.50 | 73.85 5 |
| Mothethe | 6.00 | 1.00 | - | 2.00 | .50 | .25 | - | - | 5.00 | 14.75 |
| Phikwe | 26.40 | .80 | 1.25 | 7.50 | - | 1.50 | - | - | 12.50 | 49.85 9 |
| Bobonong | 34.80 | 5.20 | 4.25 | 6.25 | 11.50 | 5.00 | - | 19.50 | 5.85 | 92.35 3 |
| Dinama | 4.00 | - | 1.00 | .50 | 3.50 | - | - | .50 | 1.00 | 10.50 |
| Tsanyaya | 1.80 | 2.40 | - | - | 2.50 | - | - | - | 4.00 | 10.70 |
| Shashi | 6.20 | 1.40 | - | .25 | 1.50 | - | - | - | 7.00 | 16.35 |
| Maun | 3.00 | - | 1.00 | 1.25 | 1.00 | - | - | - | 4.00 | 10.25 |
| Themashanga | 35.20 | 2.20 | 4.00 | 4.50 | 23.50 | - | - | - | 3.25 | 72.65 6 |
| Mochudi | - | 1.40 | 1.00 | - | - | .25 | - | - | 2.50 | 5.15 |
| Mathangwane | 25.80 | 1.00 | .50 | - | 24.00 | - | - | - | 5.50 | 56.80 7 |
| Nata | 3.20 | - | - | .25 | 3.00 | - | - | - | 1.00 | 7.45 |
| Nata | - | - | 1.00 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1.00 |
| TOTAL | 475.90 | 55.40 | 62.35 | 63.00 | 270.90 | 13.00 | 5.25 | 64.50 | 267.45 | 1277.75 |

Expenses Drawn from Food Funds as Above:-


| | | |
|---------------|---|---------|
| Ox | - | P140.00 |
| Drum of Water | - | 10.00 |
| Fire Wood | - | 8.50 |
| Groceries | - | 89.61 |

Spent = P248.11

/2.....

- 2 -

| | | |
|------------------------------------|---|-------------|
| Good Friday Food Fund Balance | - | P267.45 |
| Spent | - | 248.11 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Cash left Food Fund | - | 19.34 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total Fund at Good Friday as Above | - | P1277.75 |
| Food Spent | - | 248.11 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Deposit to Bank | - | P1029.64 |
| | | <hr/> <hr/> |



(T.K. LANEWE)

MONEY COLLECTED AND USED DURING 1985 GOOD FRIDAY:

| BRANCH | TENTH | B/CARDS | CERT. | JOIN | BANK | BL/CARDS | POTS | GIFTS | FOOD | BL | TOT. |
|-----------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|----------|------|-------|-------|----|------|
| TSAMAYA | 9.60 | 2.20 | 1.00 | .75 | 3.00 | .50 | - | - | 6.00 | - | 23. |
| FOREOMOTO | 17.40 | 1.00 | .25 | 1.75 | 13.00 | - | - | - | 3.00 | - | 37. |
| TATISIDING | 5.20 | - | - | .50 | 4.50 | .50 | - | - | 3.00 | - | 13. |
| JACKALAS NO. 2 | 11.20 | 2.20 | .25 | 2.75 | 8.50 | - | - | - | 10.50 | - | 35. |
| THAMAGA | 30.60 | - | 3.25 | .25 | 28.50 | .50 | - | - | 20.00 | - | 83. |
| MAUN | 30.60 | .20 | 4.25 | 2.75 | 17.50 | - | - | - | 6.50 | - | 61. |
| FMATOMBOMASHABA | 6.40 | 3.80 | 2.50 | 2.25 | 2.00 | 1.00 | - | .80 | 6.85 | - | 25. |
| TUTUME | 7.80 | 2.40 | .25 | 2.25 | .50 | - | 1.00 | - | 3.00 | - | 17. |
| KANYE | 17.40 | .20 | - | 1.75 | - | .25 | - | - | 7.00 | - | 26. |
| MATOBO | 15.00 | 2.20 | 1.50 | 1.75 | 3.50 | 2.25 | - | - | 14.00 | - | 40. |
| MAKUTA | 7.60 | 1.40 | .75 | - | - | - | - | - | 4.50 | - | 14. |
| NTONDOLA | 3.80 | 3.80 | .50 | 1.50 | - | - | - | - | 7.80 | - | 22. |
| MAITENGWE | 14.80 | 4.20 | .25 | - | - | - | - | - | 1.50 | - | 20. |
| WESTERNAREA X | 13.00 | 1.20 | 1.25 | 1.25 | 2.00 | - | - | - | 8.50 | - | 27. |
| F/TOWN | 42.60 | .80 | 9.50 | 9.25 | 34.50 | - | - | - | 25.00 | - | 121. |
| JWANENG | 20.80 | 1.00 | 4.90 | 4.00 | 24.00 | - | - | - | 12.75 | - | 67. |
| SEKOMA | - | 3.00 | 2.25 | .25 | 3.00 | .25 | - | - | - | - | 8. |
| GABORONE | 45.60 | .40 | 7.00 | 11.50 | 38.00 | .25 | - | - | 30.50 | - | 133. |
| LOBATSE | 16.80 | .40 | 4.50 | 4.25 | 14.50 | - | - | - | 15.00 | - | 55. |
| RAMAKWEBANA | 13.60 | - | - | - | 12.00 | .75 | - | - | 4.25 | - | 35. |
| TSESSEBE | 6.80 | - | - | 1.75 | - | - | - | - | 4.50 | - | 13. |
| LETSHOLATHEBE | 6.40 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5. |
| MATHANGWANE | 5.40 | - | .50 | .25 | 5.00 | - | - | - | 5.00 | - | 16. |
| SEBINA | 4.40 | 1.40 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2.50 | - | 5. |
| MMATHETHE | 9.40 | .40 | 2.95 | 3.25 | 3.00 | 1.20 | - | - | 3.00 | - | 25. |
| PALAPYE | 15.40 | 1.20 | 1.25 | - | 13.50 | 1.00 | - | 17.00 | 14.00 | - | 65. |
| MOCHUDI | 24.40 | - | - | - | 23.40 | 1.50 | - | - | 5.50 | - | 54. |
| LETLHAKANE | 10.60 | .80 | 2.25 | 2.75 | 8.50 | - | - | - | 9.50 | - | 34. |
| SAKOPS | 13.80 | 2.00 | 1.25 | 2.25 | 13.00 | - | - | - | - | - | 32. |
| BUTALE | 4.20 | .25 | .25 | .75 | 2.50 | - | - | - | - | - | 8. |

| BRANCH | TENTH | B/CARDS | CERT. | JOIN | BANK | B/CARDS | POTS | GIFTS | FOOD | BL | TOTAL |
|---------------------|--------|---------|-------|-------|--------|---------|------|-------|--------|------|---------|
| LECHENG | 4.80 | - | .25 | 1.00 | 4.00 | .75 | 2.50 | - | 2.25 | - | 15.55 |
| MASHE | 2.80 | - | 1.75 | 1.75 | 2.00 | - | - | - | 4.00 | - | 12.30 |
| BOBOJANGO | 21.40 | .60 | .75 | 1.00 | 17.50 | - | - | - | 5.00 | - | 46.25 |
| DINAME | 7.60 | .60 | .25 | .75 | 3.50 | - | - | - | 8.50 | 6.00 | 27.20 |
| THEMASHANGA | 1.60 | 3.40 | 1.50 | - | 1.00 | .25 | - | - | .50 | - | 8.25 |
| NSHAKAZHOBWE | 14.80 | .80 | 21.25 | - | 7.00 | - | - | - | 20.00 | - | 44.85 |
| BELIDIPIKWE | 39.40 | 5.20 | .75 | 8.75 | 21.00 | 5.25 | - | - | 16.50 | - | 96.85 |
| ORAPA | 21.80 | - | 1.75 | 4.75 | 19.50 | 1.00 | - | 5.24 | 11.50 | - | 65.54 |
| SEROWE | 77.40 | 3.00 | 3.00 | 6.25 | 58.50 | 4.50 | - | - | 4.50 | - | 157.15 |
| ORANGE <i>Akong</i> | 20.60 | 2.40 | - | 5.50 | - | 1.75 | - | - | - | - | 30.25 |
| MOSETSI | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 11.35 | 6.00 | 11.35 |
| TOTAL: | 647.80 | 53.20 | 64.85 | 89.50 | 411.90 | 25.70 | 4.50 | 23.04 | 328.25 | 6.00 | 1654.74 |

BALANCE AS PER 1984 BANK AND AUDIT STATEMENT: P628.17

PURCHASES FOR FOOD, WOOD AND WATER DURING GOOD FRIDAY: P352.94

TENTH, GIFTS AND JOIN PAID TO BISHOP AS PER CHEQUE Nos. FG3220 & FG3224 P650.59

AUDIT FEE AND STATIONERY PAID PER CHEQUE Nos. FG3222 & FG 3226 52.50

BISHOP'S FUNERAL EXPENSES PAID PER CHEQ. No. FG 3225 400.00

TRAVELLING EXPENSES FOR BARUTS F/TOWN TO LETLHAKANE AND LETLHAKANE TO F/TOWN P100.00

MONEY BAKED AFTER BISHOP'S FUNERAL 75.02

BALANCE FOR THE YEAR 1985 P821.90

HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN BISHOP

MONEY COLLECTED AND USED DURING 1985 GOOD FRIDAY

| Branch Name | Tenth | E/Cards | Cent. | Join | Bank | BL/Cards | Pots | Gifts | Foods | BL | Total |
|---------------|-------|---------|-------|-------|-------|----------|------|-------|-------|----|--------|
| JWANENG | 22-80 | 4-00 | 3-25 | 5-75 | 21-00 | - | - | - | 14-00 | - | 70-00 |
| NKANGE | 26-60 | 3-20 | 8-10 | 4-00 | - | 2-00 | - | - | 18-00 | - | 64-00 |
| NTONDOLA | 13-40 | 0-80 | 3-00 | 1-25 | - | 0-75 | - | - | 11-00 | - | 30-20 |
| SEKOMA | 5-60 | 1-20 | 0-75 | - | 2-00 | - | - | - | 2-50 | - | 12-05 |
| MAUN | 22-00 | 1-20 | 3-50 | 2-75 | 18-50 | - | - | - | 10-00 | - | 59-45 |
| MAROBELA | 9-80 | 1-00 | 2-00 | 2-00 | 6-50 | - | - | - | 8-00 | - | 29-80 |
| TSAMAYA | 3-80 | - | - | - | 3-00 | 1-00 | - | - | 5-75 | - | 13-55 |
| JACKLAS II | 16-20 | 0-80 | 0-50 | 3-00 | - | 0-75 | - | - | 13-00 | - | 34-25 |
| MOREOMATO | 13-80 | 2-20 | - | 1-75 | 14-50 | - | - | - | 5-00 | - | 37-25 |
| TONOTA | 34-40 | 2-80 | 0-50 | 2-25 | 31-70 | 2-80 | - | - | 14-25 | - | 88-70 |
| KANYE | 15-40 | 1-20 | 2-75 | 5-50 | - | - | - | - | 4-00 | - | 29-55 |
| APYE | 24-40 | 3-20 | 2-50 | - | 20-00 | - | - | 27-00 | 8-00 | - | 85-10 |
| KOBOJANKO | 10-20 | - | 1-00 | 1-75 | 9-00 | - | - | - | - | - | 21-35 |
| BUTALE | 7-20 | 0-80 | 0-75 | 0-75 | 3-00 | 1-20 | - | - | - | - | 13-70 |
| FRANCISTOWN | 57-20 | 6-40 | 17-50 | 12-25 | 49-00 | 0-80 | - | - | 44-50 | - | 187-65 |
| MATOBO | 20-20 | 4-00 | 3-00 | 3-00 | 6-00 | 4-00 | - | - | 14-10 | - | 54-30 |
| MAGAPATONA | 10-60 | 2-40 | 0-50 | 1-75 | 1-00 | - | 1-75 | - | 5-50 | - | 23-50 |
| GABORONE | 49-60 | 0-40 | 7-00 | 12-00 | 42-50 | 1-20 | - | - | 37-50 | - | 150-20 |
| NTHARE | - | 3-20 | 1-00 | - | - | - | - | - | 5-00 | - | 9-20 |
| SELEBI PHIKWE | 32-60 | 0-40 | 5-25 | 7-75 | 25-50 | 1-20 | - | - | 11-00 | - | 83-20 |
| MAITENGWE | 7-80 | 1-20 | 1-50 | - | 2-00 | - | - | - | 2-50 | - | 15-00 |
| THAMAGA | 12-20 | - | 1-00 | 0-25 | 12-00 | - | - | - | 8-00 | - | 33-45 |
| NGWAZIWI | 10-40 | 2-00 | 1-75 | 0-75 | 6-00 | 1-25 | - | - | 3-00 | - | 25-15 |
| KGARI | 14-80 | - | - | 0-50 | 13-00 | 0-25 | - | - | 11-50 | - | 40-05 |
| TSHLESIBE | 8-40 | - | - | 2-00 | - | - | - | - | 5-00 | - | 15-40 |
| SEROWE | 41-60 | 5-60 | 3-50 | 7-50 | 30-50 | 8-80 | - | - | 19-00 | - | 116-50 |
| LETSHOLATHEBE | 4-60 | - | - | 0-75 | - | - | - | - | 3-50 | - | 8-25 |
| RAKOPS | 16-20 | 2-60 | 2-00 | 1-75 | 10-00 | 2-25 | 4-75 | 1-70 | 8-00 | - | 49-25 |
| KOMANG | 8-60 | 1-00 | - | 1-75 | 2-00 | - | - | - | 5-00 | - | 18-35 |
| MOKGALONG | 6-80 | 0-60 | 3-25 | - | 7-00 | - | - | - | 3-00 | - | 20-65 |
| LETLHAKANE | 9-00 | - | 4-25 | 2-00 | 11-50 | - | - | - | 15-50 | - | 42-25 |
| SEBINA | 3-60 | 1-00 | 0-25 | - | 5-00 | - | - | - | 5-50 | - | 14-85 |
| | 6-40 | 0-80 | 0-50 | - | 3-00 | 0-50 | - | - | 8-50 | - | 19-70 |
| DUKWE | - | 4-80 | 0-25 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5-05 |
| LOBATSE | 22-60 | 5-20 | 4-50 | 6-25 | 23-50 | 0-80 | - | - | 14-10 | - | 76-95 |

CONTINUATION

| Branch Name | Tenth | B/Card | Cert | Join | Bank | BL Cards | Pots | Gifts | Foods | BL | Totals |
|--------------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|----------|------|-------|--------|----|---------|
| NSHAKAZHOGWE | 23-40 | 2-00 | 7-00 | - | 14-50 | 0-80 | - | - | 12-00 | - | 55-70 |
| THINI | 12-00 | 0-50 | - | - | - | - | 1-75 | - | 10-00 | - | 24-25 |
| MOSETSI | 2-20 | 5-20 | 2-75 | 0-50 | 2-80 | - | - | - | 12-65 | - | 28-30 |
| MATHANGWANE | 5-40 | - | 0-25 | 0-25 | 4-50 | - | - | - | - | - | 10-40 |
| MOCHUDI | 14-60 | - | 4-50 | - | 12-50 | - | - | - | - | - | 31-60 |
| ORAPA | 14-20 | - | 0-75 | 4-50 | 12-50 | 0-50 | - | 0-20 | 11-00 | - | 43-65 |
| TOTALS | 640-00 | 71-70 | 101-85 | 96-25 | 425-00 | 30-85 | 8-25 | 28-90 | 389-00 | - | 1792-45 |

BALANCE AS PER AUDIT AND BANK STATEMENT FOR 1985

801-90

PURCHASES FOR FOOD FOR GOOD FRIDAY MEETINGS

236-80

1.02H AND JOIN PAID MRS T S MTHEMBO PER CHARGES

482-75

PRINTING AND STATIONERY

59-00

BALANCE FOR THE YEAR 1986

1815-80

HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION
MONEY COLLECTED DURING 1987

| Branch | Tenth | BI Cards | Cert | Join | Bank | BU Cards | Pots | Gifts | Food | Building | Total |
|----------------|--------|----------|--------|--------|--------|----------|-------|-------|--------|----------|---------|
| Rakops | 28-40 | 3-20 | -75 | 1-50 | 26-50 | 1-25 | 9-50 | 3-70 | 38-00 | - | 112-80 |
| Phikwe | 32-20 | 2-20 | 4-25 | 8-50 | 16-50 | 2-20 | - | - | 63-00 | - | 128-85 |
| Jwaneng | 28-60 | 4-40 | 3-00 | 6-25 | 24-00 | 25 | - | - | 39-00 | - | 105-50 |
| Gaborone | 58-20 | 2-00 | 9-75 | 13-00 | 46-50 | 1-20 | - | - | 99-00 | - | 229-65 |
| Sebina | 3-20 | 20 | - | 25 | 3-00 | - | - | - | 5-00 | - | 11-65 |
| Nshakazhogwe | 20-20 | 40 | 3-00 | 75 | 7-00 | 2-50 | - | - | 13-00 | - | 46-85 |
| Palapye | 16-20 | 80 | 2-75 | 3-50 | 14-00 | 2-80 | - | 14-15 | 30-00 | 4-00 | 88-20 |
| Tsamaya | 6-80 | 25 | 2-75 | - | 4-50 | 25 | - | - | 6-00 | - | 20-55 |
| Orapa | 21-60 | - | 2-25 | 4-75 | 18-00 | - | - | - | 24-00 | - | 70-60 |
| Marapong | 5-80 | 20 | 75 | - | 3-40 | - | - | - | 3-50 | - | 13-65 |
| Marobela | 10-80 | 40 | 1-00 | 1-75 | 9-00 | 25 | - | - | 16-00 | - | 39-20 |
| Moreomaoto | 25-00 | 2-00 | 1-50 | 2-75 | 22-00 | - | - | - | 12-00 | - | 65-25 |
| Mosetse | - | 4-00 | 1-25 | - | - | - | - | - | 14-75 | - | 20-00 |
| Matombomashaba | 8-20 | 1-80 | 3-75 | 3-50 | 12-00 | 2-40 | - | 5-80 | 7-75 | - | 45-20 |
| Francistown | 57-60 | 2-00 | 20-75 | 14-75 | 45-00 | 1-60 | - | - | 92-00 | - | 233-70 |
| Motobo | 16-20 | 3-80 | 2-25 | 2-00 | 4-50 | 2-80 | - | - | 10-00 | - | 41-55 |
| Magapatona | 14-40 | 1-80 | - | 1-75 | 1-50 | 1-20 | 3-00 | - | 12-00 | - | 35-65 |
| Jakalas II | 18-80 | 40 | 1-50 | 50 | 10-50 | - | - | - | 28-00 | - | 59-70 |
| Nswazi | 5-20 | 80 | 2-25 | 3-50 | 1-00 | 40 | - | - | 7-00 | - | 20-15 |
| Makuta | 5-20 | - | 1-50 | 1-00 | - | - | - | - | 8-00 | - | 15-70 |
| Maitengwe | 5-20 | 3-20 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4-00 | - | 12-40 |
| Nkangwe | 29-60 | 6-40 | 25 | 6-75 | - | 4-40 | - | - | 25-50 | - | 72-90 |
| Letsholathebe | 5-20 | 80 | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4-00 | - | 10-00 |
| Mmadinare | 5-00 | - | 75 | 1-00 | 4-50 | 40 | - | - | 3-00 | - | 14-65 |
| Kobojanko | 4-40 | - | 50 | 1-75 | 3-00 | - | - | - | 6-50 | - | 16-15 |
| Diname | 5-60 | - | 25 | - | 2-50 | - | - | - | 6-80 | - | 15-15 |
| Lecheng | 6-40 | 13-20 | - | 1-75 | 6-00 | - | - | - | 7-00 | - | 34-35 |
| Kasane | 5-40 | 1-25 | - | 75 | 3-00 | - | - | - | - | - | 10-40 |
| Lobatse | 22-00 | 2-40 | 4-50 | 6-50 | 18-50 | 1-20 | - | - | 27-00 | - | 82-10 |
| Mmathethe | 2-60 | 1-60 | 3-75 | 1-50 | - | - | - | - | 4-00 | - | 13-45 |
| Makgoio | 5-60 | 80 | 2-50 | 1-00 | 1-00 | 2-40 | - | - | 1-00 | - | 18-30 |
| Shashe | 3-20 | 60 | 1-00 | 1-50 | 5-00 | 25 | - | - | 12-00 | - | 23-55 |
| Mau | 31-40 | 40 | 4-25 | 5-00 | 21-50 | - | - | - | 25-40 | - | 87-95 |
| Kgari | 13-80 | - | 1-00 | 1-75 | 10-50 | 80 | - | - | 10-50 | - | 38-35 |
| Tonato | 18-80 | 1-60 | 1-75 | 1-25 | 19-00 | - | - | - | 24-50 | - | 66-90 |
| Mabutsane | 5-60 | 2-40 | 2-00 | - | 5-00 | - | - | - | 8-00 | - | 23-00 |
| Dukwe | 1-60 | 2-00 | 1-00 | 25 | 1-00 | - | - | - | 4-00 | - | 9-85 |
| Shashemuke | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 3-00 | - | 3-00 |
| Kanye | 20-00 | 80 | 2-75 | 4-50 | - | - | - | - | 3-00 | - | 31-05 |
| Mochudi | 25-80 | 3-20 | 4-00 | 50 | 32-00 | - | - | - | 27-00 | - | 92-50 |
| Mathangwane | 3-40 | - | 50 | 25 | 6-00 | - | - | - | 6-00 | - | 16-15 |
| Komaneng | 7-40 | 4-40 | 2-00 | 1-50 | 5-00 | 4-00 | - | - | 5-50 | - | 29-80 |
| Thamaga | 9-50 | - | 50 | 75 | 11-00 | - | - | - | 5-50 | - | 27-25 |
| Butale | 3-00 | 40 | 25 | 50 | 2-50 | - | - | - | 18-00 | - | 24-65 |
| Serowe | 40-80 | 80 | 2-50 | 6-75 | 32-00 | 80 | - | - | 30-00 | - | 113-65 |
| Tshesebe | 6-80 | - | 1-50 | - | - | - | - | - | 4-50 | - | 12-80 |
| Letlhakane | 21-80 | 2-75 | 2-75 | 3-50 | 18-00 | 75 | - | - | 28-00 | - | 77-55 |
| General | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1135 | 1135-00 |
| TOTAL | 696-50 | 79-65 | 105-25 | 119-00 | 475-90 | 34-10 | 12-50 | 23-65 | 831-70 | 1135 | 3517-25 |

Balance as Per Bank and Audit Statement for 1986

| | | |
|--|--------------|---------|
| Cheque No. FG3234 used for Food Purchases | Cash on hand | 1415-80 |
| " " FG3235 " " Printing | | 6-70 |
| " " FG3236&8 " " Bishop Mokowe's Travel Expenses | | 742.52 |
| " " FG3237 Tenth Paid to Mrs Mthembo | | 483.45 |
| " " FG3239 used for Jackalas II Project | | 133-00 |
| " " FG3240 " " Bishop Mzonda's Travel Expenses | | 350-00 |
| | | 1135-00 |
| | | 250-00 |
| Balance for the year 1987(cash at Bank) | | 2228-38 |

HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION MONEY COLLECTED 1988.

| BRANCH | TENTH | BLESSING | POSITION | JOIN | BANK | BAPTIZIM | POTS GIFTS | BUILDING | FOOD | TOTAL |
|--------------------|----------------|----------|----------|--------|--------|----------|------------|----------|--------|---------|
| CARLTONVILLE | 17.00 | - | - | 3.50 | 14.00 | 4.00 | - | - | 20.00 | 58.50 |
| MATBO | 17.80 | 1.60 | 2.50 | 2.50 | 3.50 | 2.80 | 60 | - | 14.00 | 45.30 |
| JHANEENG | 24.40 | 2.00 | 3.25 | 5.75 | 22.50 | 2.40 | - | - | 30.00 | 90.30 |
| FRANCISTOWN | 54.00 | 18.25 | 13.50 | 47.50 | 5.60 | 5.60 | - | - | 78.00 | 217.80 |
| KANTE | 23.60 | 1.60 | 4.50 | 1.00 | - | .40 | - | - | 6.00 | 39.60 |
| NEANGE | 23.40 | 80 | 2.75 | 6.00 | - | .80 | - | - | 13.00 | 46.75 |
| DIUMI | 7.40 | 40 | 1.25 | 50 | 2.00 | 1.60 | 50 | - | 11.00 | 24.25 |
| THAPAGA | 12.40 | 40 | 1.25 | 1.00 | - | - | - | - | 14.00 | 29.05 |
| SEBINA | 5.00 | 80 | - | 50 | 4.00 | - | - | - | 7.00 | 18.35 |
| TONOTA | 7.80 | 40 | - | 50 | 7.00 | - | 1.05 | - | 9.00 | 24.70 |
| GABORONE | 83.00 | 2.00 | 15.00 | 17.25 | 76.00 | 4.00 | - | - | 11.00 | 308.25 |
| DINANE | 7.20 | - | 25 | 1.25 | 3.00 | - | - | - | 10.00 | 21.70 |
| LOBATSE | 30.00 | 1.20 | 6.00 | 8.00 | 23.50 | 2.00 | - | - | 26.00 | 96.70 |
| SEKOKA | - | - | 2.00 | 1.00 | 3.50 | 1.60 | - | - | 3.00 | 10.10 |
| NSHAZI | 4.80 | - | 75 | 1.00 | 2.00 | 1.20 | - | - | 4.00 | 13.75 |
| KASANE | 4.60 | - | 1.00 | 25 | 2.50 | - | - | - | 9.00 | 17.35 |
| SERWE | 20.40 | - | 1.75 | 4.50 | 12.50 | - | 7.00 | - | 10.00 | 56.15 |
| PALAPYE | 20.00 | 1.20 | 2.75 | 4.00 | 19.00 | 1.20 | 5.50 | 23.00 | 23.00 | 99.65 |
| BUTALE | 7.80 | - | 1.25 | 1.00 | 2.50 | - | - | - | 8.00 | 20.55 |
| LECHENG | 2.80 | - | - | 1.00 | - | - | - | - | 12.10 | 15.90 |
| MAGAPATONA | 17.80 | 40 | 4.50 | 5.00 | 7.00 | 1.60 | 4.00 | - | 7.50 | 47.80 |
| MAROBELA | 8.00 | 6.00 | 1.50 | 1.50 | 7.00 | 1.20 | - | - | 14.00 | 39.20 |
| RAMAKGEBANA | 17.80 | 1.60 | 4.25 | 1.75 | 15.00 | 1.60 | 4.00 | - | 25.00 | 71.50 |
| LETLIBAKANE | 17.00 | - | 4.00 | 4.00 | 13.50 | - | - | - | 19.60 | 54.10 |
| ORAPA | 23.80 | 80 | 3.00 | 5.75 | 22.00 | - | 4.38 | - | 29.90 | 89.63 |
| TSAMAYA | 9.60 | 40 | - | 75 | 4.00 | - | - | - | 6.00 | 20.75 |
| LETSHOLATHEBE | 5.80 | 80 | - | 1.50 | - | - | - | - | 9.00 | 17.10 |
| PIKWE | 45.00 | 3.60 | 4.50 | 9.00 | 30.50 | 2.40 | - | - | 39.00 | 134.00 |
| MATTENGWE | 60 | 40 | 2.75 | - | - | 2.40 | - | - | 7.00 | 13.15 |
| RAKOPS | 8.80 | 80 | 1.00 | 1.25 | 8.00 | - | - | - | 17.00 | 36.05 |
| KUMAGA | 13.00 | 2.40 | 2.00 | 1.00 | 1.00 | 11.20 | 2.00 | 1.20 | 5.00 | 35.60 |
| MATHANGWANE | 2.80 | - | 25 | 25 | 2.50 | 40 | - | - | 4.00 | 10.20 |
| TATI | 1.80 | - | - | - | 1.50 | - | - | - | - | 3.20 |
| MARGALO | 10.80 | 2.40 | 1.25 | 1.50 | 4.00 | 80 | - | - | 4.00 | 24.75 |
| MAUN | 17.00 | 40 | 1.75 | 2.25 | 12.50 | 40 | - | - | 7.00 | 40.90 |
| KOMANA | 5.60 | 40 | 1.25 | 40 | - | 40 | - | - | 1.00 | 8.65 |
| MOREDMOTO | 16.80 | - | 3.75 | 3.25 | 15.00 | 8.40 | - | - | 5.00 | 52.20 |
| JAKALAS NO.2 | 21.70 | - | 50 | 6.25 | - | - | - | - | 11.00 | 39.67 |
| MOTOPI | 8.80 | - | 25 | - | 8.00 | - | - | - | 5.00 | 22.05 |
| SHASHEKKE | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | 5.00 | 5.00 |
| SHAKANE | 19.00 | - | 5.25 | - | - | 6.40 | - | - | - | 30.65 |
| BISHOP'S TRANSPORT | TOTALS= 644.90 | 32.00 | 104.25 | 117.50 | 398.00 | 64.80 | 21.60 | 29.85 | 634.10 | 2050.00 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 2228.38 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 1.60 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 4258.38 |
| | | | | | | | | | | 75.40. |

BALANCE AS PER BANK AND AUDIT STATEMENT FOR 1987

BANK CHARGES

CASH AT BANK

CASH ON HAND

Mashoko Branch via Shakawe

Women (Basadi)

| | Tenth | Blard | Cent |
|----------------------|---------------|-------|------------------------|
| 1) Remono Paulos | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 2) Makena Paulos | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 3) Meslam Phillip | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 4) Rebecca Semon | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 5) Evelyn Finias | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 6) Elizabeth Mashkos | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 7) Refenda Timothy | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 8) Sapiya Finias | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 9) Evelyn Thomas | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 10) Longoro Dieterge | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 11) Mable Amos | P0.60 | 20 | |
| 12) Matelha Finias | P0.60 | 20 | |
| | 7.20 | 2.40 | P9.60 |
| Total | | | (113) 24/7/82 |
| Mashosho | | | 13.60 |
| Ova | | | 50.25 |
| Hamokwe | | | 49.30 |
| | | | 113.15 |
| To be sent to | Receipt No 55 | | P 113.15 |
| Mr. Andrias Tshoko | | | (Signature) 24/7/82 |
| P.O. Box 44 | | | |
| <u>Shakawe</u> | | | |

(Men) Banna

Mashosho Branch. via Shakaawe

| | Tenth | B/Card | Cept |
|-------------------------|-------|---------------|------|
| 1, Paulos Lerongu | | 20 | |
| 2, Ezele Kambango | | 20 | |
| 3, Filepo Napalo | | 20 | |
| 4, Simon Mutoroga | | 20 | |
| 5, Simon Kavanda | | 20 | |
| 6, Lukas Dekore | | 20 | |
| 7, Setshwantsho Mbanggo | | 20 | |
| 8, Kamunolosi Koremopo | | 20 | |
| 9, Firias Moshete | | 20 | |
| 10, Richard Dusho | | 20 | |
| 11, Fulliman Malungu | | 20 | |
| 12, Eyal Kupembona | | 20 | |
| 13, Timothy Senyemba | | 20 | |
| 14, Moses Kavera | | 20 | |
| 15, Amos Kavera | | 20 | |
| 16, Kepasi Sakapoka | | 20 | |
| 17, Davide Mmotama | | 20 | |
| 18, Firias Mosiri | | 20 | |
| 19, Nehemia Mosiri | | 20 | |
| 20, Janas Kaimava | | 20 | |
| | | 20 | |
| | | 20 | |
| | | 20 | |
| | | 20 | |
| | | 20 | |
| | | 2 | |

Receipt No 55

24.
24

111 E-11

Hamvokwe Branch via Shakwe

| | | | Cent. | Cent. | Total |
|----|---------|--------------------------------|-------|-------|--------------|
| 1 | And | | P1 | — | 25 |
| 2 | John | | P1 | — | 25 |
| 3 | Moth | C 9 | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 4 | Joseph | | P1 | — | 25 |
| 5 | Ishe | | P1 | — | 25 |
| 6 | Peter | to be reduced to 25% margin | P1 | — | 25 |
| 7 | Nath | | P1 | — | 25 |
| 8 | Dotib | | P1 | — | 25 |
| 9 | Eseka | Petro | P1 | — | 25 |
| 10 | Joshua | Samahad | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 11 | Moses | Wame | P1 | — | 25 |
| 12 | Meka | Xaneko | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 13 | Phillip | Nyaka | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 14 | Peter | Ngaka | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 15 | Edmond | | P1 | — | 25 |
| 16 | France | Bayongo | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 17 | Mathayo | Wame | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 18 | Mesheki | Senyemba | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 19 | Esaya | Matolotkei | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 20 | Mahoko | Mbanje | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| | | | P20 | P2 | P5.00 P27.00 |

—
7-00

24/7/15

RECEIPT NR 54

Women
Hamakwe Branch via Shakawe

| | | Tenth | Bl Card | Cert | Total |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------|------|--------|
| (1) | Annaria Andrias | P0.60 | - | 25 | |
| (2) | Asaria Zengoto | P0.60 | - | 25 | |
| (3) | Oberia Mottakola | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (4) | Mashando Shashau | P0.60 | - | 25 | |
| (5) | Mariam Diyoka | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (6) | Elizabeth Samakera | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (7) | Ana Samakera | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (8) | Ngando Ngaka | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (9) | Ana Moses | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (10) | Sembara Shashau | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (11) | Besaa Peloto | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (12) | Maxia Thabathaba | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (13) | Modi Moxeko | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (14) | Klimi Mathaniel | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (15) | Tihope Saraya | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (16) | Kashuti Kangwa | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (17) | Mashira Kangwa | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (18) | Sehako Diyoka | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (19) | Alea Goro | P0.60 | | 25 | |
| (20) | Oberya Goro | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (21) | Soselia Tatabuke | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| (22) | Otia Oteo | P0.60 | 20 | 25 | |
| | | 13.20 | 3.60 | 5.50 | P22.30 |

RECEIPT NO 54

24/7/82

Ova Branch Namibia

| | | Tenth | Block | Cost |
|----|-------------------------|--------|-------|-------------|
| 1) | Petros Shikamba | P1 | - | 25 |
| 2 | Deydi Jammie | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 3 | Jana Jammie | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 4 | Ezaya Jammie | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 5 | Ishenolo | | 20 | 25 |
| 6 | Shalenaka | | 20 | 25 |
| 7 | Andxious | | 20 | 25 |
| 8 | Amos K C10 | | 20 | 25 |
| 9 | Adam Ka | | 20 | 25 |
| 10 | Ezekeal Da to be new | | 20 | 25 |
| 11 | Mekal Kas to the margin | | 20 | 25 |
| 12 | Jakobe | | 20 | 25 |
| 13 | Matias Deruyana | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 14 | Jakobe Dakema | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 15 | Mesheck game | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 16 | Zakasia | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 17 | Aron | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 18 | Paulos | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| 19 | Jobe | P1 | 20 | 25 |
| | | P19.00 | 3.60 | 4.75 P27.35 |

Local PI no 56

24/7/82

Ova Branch Namibia Women

| | Tenth | Bland | Cent. |
|---------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 1) Rojena Johana | P0.60 | - | 25 |
| 2) Penani Davide | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 3) Asaria Teteke | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 4) Rojena Rongwane | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 5) Maria Kasheta | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 6) Sofiya Dipemba | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 7) Sofiya Kasheta | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 8) Ana Kagwata | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 9) Anasitasiya Chako | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 10) Johanna Kanwanga | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 11) Maadalina Kashanga | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 12) Tamarisa Kashanga | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 13) Rena Dakamo | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 14) Anasitasia Kaungwanga | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 15) Ana Dingard | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 16) Senotia | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 17) Theresia Chane | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 18) Sabiana Desite | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 19) Pesia Majasi | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 20) Obese Sevondo | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 21) Osia Mbanda | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| 22) Mateta Jamme | P0.60 | 20 | 25 |
| | 13.20 | 4.20 | 5.50 |

P22.90

24/7/62

REPT. N° 56

FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE MAUN BRANCH, 1978
BY SECRETARY: L.M. MANEWE

| Tsela e madi a bonywen ka yone | Palo ya madi | A a direse- tswang | A a setseng | Mmei | Kakge lo |
|---|--------------|-----------------------|--|--|---|
| 1. A dijo tsa pasika | P3.40 | P300 | 40t | Banked | |
| 2. A go her a lori ya pasika | P499.97 | P470.00 | P14.00 P7.00 P8.00 P5.75 P4.00 P4.00 | Kerelwang B. Lentswe Mantse Phetogo Moleohi M. Bakano | Ga duela " " " " " " " " " " O adime Iwe |
| *P12.76 Atla buela L. Manewe o ne a a adimile kereke go o-ketsa a a ne a tinaela. | | | | | |
| 3. A dikerese | P41.14 | P19.21 P1.30 | A summonsetse Mr Samoyarobe mme atla busiwa fa summons e dueltsw | | |
| | | | P12.13 P2.97 P4.85 75t | Banked A.K. Nyame A. Samoyarobi M. Bakano | |
| 4. Bank, Phalalo, Certificates: Kolobetso, Tshegofatso | P18.50 | | P14.30 P3.00 | Banked A.K. Nyame | |
| 5. A Meletelo ya kopo diatla | P49.53 | P48.00 | 94 59 | Banked A.M. Molaodi | |
| 6. A Lata | P2.62 | | P1.29 P1.33 | Banked A. Samoyarobi | |
| 7. Dimpho | P2.00 | | P2.00 | Banked | |
| 8. A Lebante la join | P1.75 | | P1.75 | A.K. Nyame | |
| 9. A Dikatholo | P6.00 | | P2.00 50t 50t 50t 50t 50t 50t | Banked M. Bakano A. Samoyarobi S. Segadimo B. Wedisang A. Patela B. Lentswe M. Teko | Ga duela " " " " " " " " |
| 10. A Kopo mo bathung | P205.04 | | P61.98 P132.62 44t | Banked A.K. Nyame S. Segadimo | |

| Tsela e madi a bonywen ka yone | Palo ya madi | A a direse-tswang | A a setseng | Mmei | Kakge lo |
|---|--------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|----------|
| 11. A Moremaoto a tarata ko headquarter | P10.00 | | P10.00 | M. Mahero | |
| 12. A A adimilweng mo kerekeng | P5.00 | | P5.00 | Gaobotse Sokwe | |
| 13. A A duetsweng ke Molechi a mosepile was Pasikal 1976 le a a setseng mo tuelong ya koloyi eo (1975-1976) | P10.55 | | P10.55 | S. Tshabo | |
| 14. A a ntseng ae ko Bankeng | P46.00 | P24.00 | P22.00 | A ko bankeng | |
| 15. Kokeletso mo Bankeng | P2.35 | OP2.35 | | A ko bankeng | |

"Read to 29 people present 16/1/79" Signed "L. Manewe", Secretary, 17/1/79.

GABORONE

HEADMOUNTAIN OF GOD IN ZION:
 STATEMENT OF FINANCE REPORT COLLECTED DURING THE CEREMONY HELD
 AT MMEN / 30th and 31st AUGUST, 1980.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| BANK Money by Moremaoto Branch | <u>P9.60</u> |
| Phalolo by Moremaoto Branch | <u>P10.20</u> |
| Bank by Makgalong Branch | <u>P5.20</u> |
| R/Q Funds for Building-Makgalong | <u>P4.00</u> |
| Dimpho for Mma-Bishop | <u>P8.00</u> ✓ |
| Dimpho for Morapedi | <u>P2.00</u> ✓ |
| Dimpho for Bishop | <u>P35.91</u> |
| One Umbrella for Bishop being Malebogo from Clifford Nyoni Nyaningwe | |
| Malebogo a Selalele for Basadi | <u>P2.40</u> ✓ |
| Malebogo for Selalele -Banna | <u>P4.60</u> ✓ |
| Dimpho for Vice President-Mzenda | <u>P10.00</u> |
| Bus-Fare funds for Bishop, Vice President Mzenda and Mrs Mthembo. | |
| Each person getting P10.00 from- | <u>P30.00</u> |
| Other funds contributed | _____ |
| Total Money given to Morapedi to be handed to the General Treasure | <u>P73.11</u> ✓ |
| Total Money given to Bishop | <u>P73.11</u> ✓ |
| TOTAL MONEY COLLECTED | _____ |

PREPARED BY: C. A. MALOTSO
 SECRETARY.

(Signature)

ANEXTURE 'A'

FINANCIAL YEAR STATEMENT: 1972 - 1980

| YEAR | COMMITTEE EXPENSES | GOODFRIDAY EXPENSES | GENERAL EXPENSES | TENTHS EXP. | BANK ACCUMULATIVE INCOME | BUILDING FUNDS INCOME | NET INCOME AT BANK |
|------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1972 | NR | NR | NR | NR | NR | NIL | 73.12 |
| 1973 | 13.50 | 77.40 | 24.63 | 37.25 | 154.55 | NIL | 240.57 |
| 1974 | NR | NR | NIL | 95.44 | 96.61 | NIL | 337.18 |
| 1975 | NR | 57.00 | 50.00 | 158.46 | 69.83 | NIL | 407.01 |
| 1976 | NR | 70.18 | 7.50 | 72.06 | 58.15 | NIL | 467.69 |
| 1977 | NR | 60.00 | 18.92 | 118.90 | 446.67 | NIL | 914.36 |
| 1978 | NR | 148.85 | 23.30 | 140.31 | 31.20 | 115.13 | 945.56 |
| 1979 | NR | 28.00 | 144.20 | 135.75 | 194.52 | 130.55 | 832.13 |
| 1980 | NR | NR | NR | 48.00 | 514.62 | 238.10 | 550.65 |

MAINA A MALOKO A COMMITTEE:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: L. D. Kgari - Mookami (absent) Deacon Alton P. Ncube
 Rev. L. Sola (absent) Deacon L. Masingwaneng
 Rev. J. B. Sibanda Admin. Sec. K. Manewe

EVANGELIST COMMITTEE: Ev. Philip Bise
 Ev. Sopo Moyo
 Ev. J. Ndebele (sent a representative)

SECRETARY COMMITTEE: Sec. L. Manewe
 Sec. S. D. Senyane
 Sec. K. Dema (absent)
 Assistant Gen. Sec. S. B. Morapedi

WOMEN'S COMMITTEE: Ma-Bishop - Mrs T. S. Mthembo
 Head Leader (Mogogi) Maria - Nawanano
 Mogogi Mrs S. T. Ndebele Deacon K. Lekgale (abs)

OFFICE BEARERS: Arch Bishop T. S. Mthembo Gen. Treasurer -
 Mookami (Vice) President - N. Mzonda E. B. Kolobe
 Rev. B. N. Mpuchane Gen. Sec. T. E. Manyiwa

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN AND COMMITTEE SECRETARY
 REV. J. B. SIBANDA

HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GODApostolic Church in Zion (CR.0149)Income & Expenditure Account for
the year ended 31 December 1980

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| To Audit Fee | 10 00 | By Tithes, Fees & Donation | 367 07 |
| Travelling Expenses | 49 00 | | |
| Stationery & Postage | 1 55 | | |
| Surplus for the year | 306 52 | | |
| | <u>367 07</u> | | <u>367 07</u> |

BALANCE SHEETas at31 December 1980ACCUMULATED FUND

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| Balance brought forward | 822.13 |
| Surplus for the year | <u>306.52</u> |
| | 1128.65 |

BANK

550 65

BUILDING (TO date)

598 00

CREDITOR

20.00

1148.651148.65

I, the undersigned, having had access to all the books and accounts of Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion, and having examined the accounts and vouchers relating thereto, sign the same as found correct, vouched and in accordance with the Registration of Societies Act.

FRANCISTOWN

31st March, 1981.

M. J. S. Caulton
.....
M. J. S. CAULTON

Chartered Secretary

Audit

HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD.Apostolic Church in Zion (CR. 0149)Income and Expenditure Account.
for the year ended 31st December 1982.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Audit Fee | 25.00 | Donations and subscriptions | 1333.77 |
| Bank charges | 5.50 | | |
| Purchases for meetings | 262.26 | | |
| Purchases of pot | 33.95 | | |
| Printing and stationery | 307.37 | | |
| Tithe paid to Bishop | 532.62 | | |
| Travelling Expenses | 29.70 | | |
| Surplus for the year | 137.37 | | |
| | <u>1333.77</u> | | <u>1333.77</u> |

Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1982.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| | | Cash at Bank | P. 208.18 |
| <u>Accumulated Fund:</u> | | | |
| Balance brought forward | 581.27 | | |
| Add Surplus | 137.37 | Cash in hand | 4.75 |
| | <u>718.64</u> | | |
| Creditor | 25.00 | Building | 980.71 |
| Loan | 450.00 | | |
| | <u>1193.64</u> | | <u>1193.64</u> |

The above financial statement has been prepared from records and vouchers supplied by the Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion and found to be true and correct and in accordance with the Registration of Societies Act No. 19 of 1972.

Eli Hym

BOARD OF EXECUTORS (BOTSWANA) (PTY) LTD


Business Services (pty) Limited

AUTO LOT HOUSE
691 BLUE JACKET STREET
FRANCISTOWN, BOTSWANA
P.O. BOXES 202 or 205
TELEX 2263 BD
TELEPHONES 2701, 3458, 3607

HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION (CR. 0149)

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 1983

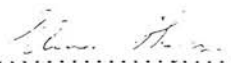
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT
FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 1983

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Audit fee | 30-00 | Donations and subscriptions | 1 214-88 |
| Purchases for meetings | 275-98 | | |
| Printing and stationery | 29-25 | | |
| Tithe paid to Bishop | 520-65 | | |
| Church badges | 20-00 | | |
| Gift for Bishop | 14-00 | | |
| Surplus for the year | 325-00 | | |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | P1 214-88 | | P1 214-88 |
| | ===== | | ===== |

BALANCE SHEET
AT 31 DECEMBER 1983

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| Accumulated fund : | | Building | 980-71 |
| Balance | 718-64 | Cash at bank | 565-43 |
| Surplus for year | 325-00 | | |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | 1 043-64 | | |
| Loan | 450-00 | | |
| Creditors | 52-50 | | |
| | <hr/> | | <hr/> |
| | P1 546-14 | | P1 546-14 |
| | ===== | | ===== |

The above financial statement has been prepared from records and vouchers supplied by the Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion and found to be true and correct and in accordance with the Registration of Societies Act No. 19 of 1972.


P.W. BUSINESS SERVICES (PTY) LTD.

30 March 1984

Directors: P.J.A. Cunningham (Zimbabwe), T.A. Taylor (South African), R.N. Matthews (British), N. Kader (South African), G.K. Cunliffe (Zimbabwe)
Associate Director: A.M. Gouling (South African)

P.W. Business Services (Pty) Ltd
 A Member Company of
 Price Waterhouse

Stand 457
 Baines Avenue
 Francistown
 Mail address, PO Box 205
 Francistown, Botswana

Telephone 2701, 3458, 3607
 Telex 2265 80

PW Business Services



HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION (OR 0149) INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 DECEMBER 1986

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| ACCOUNTING FEES | | Donations & Subscriptions | 1792-45 |
| Printing | 59-00 | | |
| Purchases for meeting | 236-80 | | |
| Tithe payments | 482-75 | | |
| Surplus for the year | 1013-90 | | |
| | <u>1792-45</u> | | <u>1792-45</u> |
| BALANCE SHEET | | | |
| AT 31 DECEMBER 1985 | | | |
| ACCUMULATED FUND | | | |
| Balance | 1302-61 | Building | 980-71 |
| Surplus for the year | 1013-90 | Cash at Bank | 1815-80 |
| | <u>2316-51</u> | | |
| Loan | 450-00 | | |
| Creditors | 30-00 | | |
| | <u>2796-51</u> | | <u>2796-51</u> |

The above financial statement has been prepared from records and vouchers supplied by the Head Mountain of God Apostolic Church in Zion and found to be true and correct and in accordance with the Registration of Societies Act number 19 of 1972.

P. W. BUSINESS

For and on behalf of

(PTY) LTD.

P. W. BUSINESS SERVICES NORTH (PTY) LTD.

1. 1988-89
 2. 1987-88
 3. 1986-87
 4. 1985-86
 5. 1984-85
 6. 1983-84
 7. 1982-83
 8. 1981-82
 9. 1980-81
 10. 1979-80
 11. 1978-79
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HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION

Two man Board of enquiries into the financial position of Mochudi Branch, as appointed on the 4-4-87 by the Joint Mochudi and Gaborone Executive Committees.

The Board comprised of :-

1. Limit Manewe : Secretary :- Gaborone Branch
2. Mr Zacharia Ntshwarisang :- Gaborone Branch

Term of Reference :-

To examine and determine the funds collected and useage of all funds aimed at the following functions:

1. Matshidiso for Ms. G. Masangwana, year of collection not known
2. Matshidiso for Mrs Orepa Moreti, year of collection not known
3. Mr Balashiki Setlhako year of collection not known
4. Matshidiso for Mrs T.S. Mtembu - year of collection 1985
5. Sale of good remained after moletelo year not known
6. Sale of clothes donated by church bodies, year unknown
7. Good Friday food year not actual known but branch must have only sent P5-00 to Good Friday
8. Rafle money, year not known
9. Women class funds
10. Moletelo wa kopu ya diatla 1983
11. Madi a P10-00 for church donated by Bigboy Nkhwanana

Books handed to board ^{and} ~~be~~ used in the enquiry :-

1. One hard cover without outcovers for monthly 20t subscriptions and assorted funds dating from 1977 MARKED P1
2. One hard cover without out covers and with loose pages dating from 1984 for paraffin and different other funds MARKED P2
3. One hard cover with one ~~side~~ ^{side} out cover dating from 1981 for monthly subscription of 20t and other different funds MARKED P3
4. One hard cover without outside pages for different funds dating from 1983 MARKED P4
5. One hard cover complete dating from 1986 for paraffin and minute -s MARKED P5
6. One small hard cover with loose pages for general funds MARKED P6
7. One small hard cover for minutes of meeting dating from 1979 MARKED P7
8. One green hard cover with loose pages for general collection dating from 1977 MARKED P8
9. One old hard cover with falling pages for general funds dating from 1979 MARKED P9
10. One small Croxley Receipt Book dating from 1986 MARKED P10
11. One control Book dating from 1977 MARKED P11

The findings of the board according to the subject reference are as follows :-

ITEM NO 1

MATSHIDISO FOR MS G. MASANGWANA

2/.....

No trace of any records related to this funds

ITEM NO 2MATSHIDISO FOR OREPA MORETI

No trace of any records related to this funds

ITEM NO 3MATSHIDISO FOR EVANGELIST BALASHIKI SETLHAKO

No trace of any records related to this funds

ITEM NO 4MATSHIDISO FOR MRS T.S. MTEMBU

According to records in Book Marked P2 there was a concert/ moletelo or activities done on 28-7-85 that shows that a total of P42-14 was raised for an unspecified matshidiso but according to dates of the activities it is concluded that the funds could have been aimed to cover the above item since it was done shortly after the burial of Bishop T.S. Mtembu which was on 1-6-86. But there is no records to say what happened to these funds after collection.

ITEM NO 5SALE OF FOOD REMAINED AFTER CONCERT OF 30-7-83

According to available records in book marked P4 at page 4, the following people bought such unspecified food

| | |
|---------------------|--------------|
| 1. Esther Maseko | P5-95 |
| 2. Gaaitsiwe Mabine | P1-26 |
| 3. Abueng Ramocha | P0-55 |
| | <u>P7-76</u> |

TOTAL: P7-76

But there are no records to say whether the above funds were paid or not.

ITEM NO 7GOOD FRIDAY FUNDS ON WHICH THE BRANCH SENT ONLY P3-00 TOGOOD FRIDAY

Check was made from available records of good friday activities from 1980 - 1986 excluding 1983 which records could not be found in our records. No information indicating that the branch ever sent only P3-00 to the good friday activities - as such we could not have a base to make or further follow up of this funds in this item.

3/.....

ITEM NO 8RAFLE FUNDS

No records could be traced related to the above funds.

ITEM NO 9WOMEN CLASS FUNDS

No records could be traced related to the said funds.

ITEM NO 10MOLETELO WA KOPO YA DIATLA

According to available records since this item didnt have a specified time on which to concetrate, records from 1977 to date revealed three of such activities conducted on the following date with the given preceeds :-

| | | | |
|----|-----------|---|----------------|
| 1. | 3 - 7 82 | = | P 77-64 |
| 2. | 28 - 9 85 | = | P104-66 |
| 3. | 27 - 9 86 | = | <u>P 78-47</u> |

TOTAL: P260-77

No records could say what happened to all these funds.

ITEM NO 11P10000 FOR CHURCH DONATED BY BIGBOY NKHWANANA

No records could be traced related to this funds/money.

ITEM NO 6SALES OF CLOTHES DONATED FOR DESTITUTES BY CHURCH COUNCIL

According to available records found in book marked P1 at pages 49 and 51 the following people at page 49.

| | | |
|----|------------------|---------------|
| 1. | Deborah Moreti | P 3-00 |
| 2. | Amos Moreti | P 2-50 |
| 3. | Esther Maotwe | P 1-75 |
| 4. | M. Ellis | P 3-75 |
| 5. | Rebeccah | P 1-50 |
| 6. | Ruth Moreti | P 2-00 |
| 7. | Mmathothe | P 2-50 |
| 8. | Segale Lephogole | P 3-80 |
| 9. | Galefele Ramocha | <u>P 2-70</u> |

TOTAL: P23-50

Amongst the above the following are indicated in that record as having paid whilst the rest do not show whether they paid or not but the inference is only that if records do not say so as for those who paid they are still owing. Those indicated as having paid are :-

| | | |
|----|-------------|---------------|
| 1. | Amos Moreti | P 2-50 |
| 2. | Ruth Moreti | <u>P 2-00</u> |
| 3. | Mmathothe | <u>P 2-50</u> |

TOTAL: P 7-00

4/.....

This leaves a balance in credit of P16-50. At page 51 of the said book there is an amount of P22-20 which appears to have been paid as cash upon sale of clothes. If this conclusion is right unless the contrary is prove then clothes in this item should have brought P23-50 + P22-20 = P45-70.

Then as already said cash on hand then should be :-

| | | |
|-------------------|--------|---------------|
| 1. At page 49 | = | P 7-00 |
| 2. At page 51 | = | P22-20 |
| Credit at page 49 | = | p16-50 |
| | | <hr/> |
| | TOTAL: | <u>P45-70</u> |

We could not find records to say what happened to the money paid in cash.

EXAMINATION OF THE BANK ACCOUNT

The church was found to be operating savings account with Co-operative Marketing Society Ltd, Mochudi A/C No 1560 started on 15-4-81 with a share deposit of P10-00. According to the accounts record of up to the 8-6-87 a balance of P50-80 plus share fixed deposit of P10-00 total P60-80 is maintained with the society. One can not tell from records of deposits in the A/C as from which source the money came.

There are/is records of some withdrawals and deposits in the account - leaving the balance as afore stated. Also one can not say on what the money so withdrawn from the account was used.

In this item there was a thought of listing names of signatories of each with drawals or deposits, and show the amount each deposited or withdrawn.

Looking into the available banking record dating far back as 15-4-81 and taking into account the fact that this was a busy and effective account, the exercise would mean writing a BIBLE.

Nevertheless this was not the main stumbling block to the issue but some signatories in the accounts record if not for three to four were not readable and the board felt it will be not logical, improper and unfair to show only the readable ones.

Examining the issue of who deposited and withdrawn what, in isolation again would not help this board. This issue should be examined with all factors to this case.

It is this board's view that taking the time factor of this account one can not be expected to remember all that transpired since then with particular reference to specific funds no withdrawn. There ~~so~~ some of the withdrawal and depositeds intries in the banking cards ~~are~~ not signed for.

The board came across two entries in book marked P4, dated 11-1-86 and 21-1-86 which indicated on what the money amounting to P19-40 and P33-40 once withdrawn was used.

But these was found ^{to be} too insignificant to justify the useage of all the withdrawn money and for the purpose of this enquiry the said entries were treated as naive.

5/.....

It is therefore the recommendation of the board that this aspect of the whole issue can only be followed to that extend otherwise a confusion can befall the whole exercise.

EXAMINATION OF THE CONTROL BOOK

There was a book which stand in a form of a control book and for the purpose of this report it ~~was~~ marked P11.

A thorough examination of this book was made but all items subject to the enquiry funds relevant could or were expected to be found in page allocated for miscellaneous funds according to the sub division of the said book, but no records of any of the items involved appeared - and no other records found = this book which could help in any way in this inquiry were found in this book.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Having gone through all available records of this church nothing was seen in regard to items no 1,2,3,7,8, 9 and 11.

Item no 4 cash of P42-14 noticed in records
 Item no 5 a total of P7-76 noticed in records
 Item no 6 a total of P45-70 noticed in records
 Item no 10ra total of P260-77 noticed in records

Since ^{QA} the board was made a result of the long pending complaint about ~~the~~ issues, its findings noticed in records of the total amount of P356-31.

The board found that records of this branch were not written to a good style and as such no good result could be reached by any board of enquiry. It is its strong recommendation that secretaries of this branch need a thorough lesson as to how books are to be maintained and as to what books are needed to keep good records of the church. The board recommends that the ~~region~~ (SOUTH) should organise a seminar of secretaries to be held in Gaborone and the chairman of this committee is asked to give this a follow up where secretaries are to be put in light.

About funds in Item 4 the board recommends that unless and until the branch could tell what happened to this funds, the writer as would be identified per hand writing if he is a member of this church should pay this money, or the person to whom this funds were handed should as well pay if he is indentified.

About funds in Item 5 the board recommends that those listed in this report should pay the money without any question for records do not help them otherwise.

About funds in Item 6 the board viewed the sale of clothes mention there ~~in~~ as a very bad act for the church to have done, for the intention of the church bodies that donated the clothes was to ^{with} benefit the poor but not church. Nevertheless as so done ~~the~~ funds those listed in our report as still owing the total amount of P16-50 should pay the money since records ~~don't~~ help them to claim having paid.

For the rest of this funds which appears in records to have been paid since it was to go or benefit the church and looking in bank book there was immidiately there after the sale of these clothes an amount of P98-59 deposited on 2-8-83 whilst the sale was a 30-7-83 the board


6/.....

is bound to believe that the rest of this funds of P29-20 was amongst the deposited money and as such this ^{tempted} the church, and these may be left to rest.

About the funds in Item 10 the board found that there were three concerts ^{helped} made which all raised a total of P260-77. Having examined the available records as compared to the ^{benefited} complains. It is very difficult to associate any of the proceeds if the three concerts to the complains. Again in all the dates of the noted concerts there after some deposits were made to the back which we could not find a direct source and as such the board is left without any choice but take that funds in this respect went to the conferees of the church and as such the board recommends that this issue be left to rest.

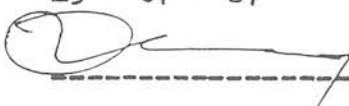
As previously stated only secretariate ^{Seminar} ~~seminar~~ if held is the only one to solve the problem of this branch and church as a whole.

SIGNED :-



 L. MANEWE (SECRETARY)
 29 - 07 - 87

SIGNED :-



 Z. NTSHWARISANG

APPENDIX D

CONSTITUTION OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION AND BRANCHES OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

Appendix D.1: Constitution.

Appendix D.2: Rules and Regulations.

CONSTITUTION OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH
IN ZION AND BRANCHES OF THE HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD

CLAUSE (1)

NAME OF CHURCH

The name of this church shall be "HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION" (hereinafter referred to as the Church).

CLAUSE (2)

AIMS AND OBJECTS

The aims and objects of this church are as follows:-

1. To teach and explain to young and old about the word of God and His ways (St Mark 16-15; 2 Timothy 4 vs 1-5).
2. To pray for the sick (St Mark 16 vs 15-18).
3. To administer the Holy Communion (John 13 vs 33-39; Matthew 19 vs 3-6).
4. To bury the dead by Christian rites.
5. To help Christians who are in difficulties and to advise those who have deviated from the Lord's way (Act. 20 vs 14).
6. To accept people coming from other churches if they are already confirmed or cleared, and to baptize those who have not been baptized. If he/she hold a position he/she will remain for some time, not less than two (2) years, without performing his/her duties of that post.
7. To conduct classes for men, women and children.
8. To adorn with the church uniform those who have been converted.
9. To ordain church officials into their respective positions in the church.
10. To bless children (Mark 10-13).

CLAUSE (3)

MEMBERSHIP

- a) The membership of this church is open to every person interested or converted to the word of God and who complies with the rules and regulations of this church.
- b) If a member of this church violates repeatedly the rules and regulations of this church and if all measures taken against him/her have failed, his membership with this church shall be terminated.

CLAUSE (4)

REVIEW COMMITTEE

Office-bearers of the Review Committee shall consist of Bishop, Deputy Ministers (not more than four), General Secretary and Treasurer and four elected other members.

Office-bearers are elected by the General Conference. The elections are made by raising of the hand. The elected members hold office for twelve (12) months.

The Review Committee shall be the head of the Congregation as a whole. It will settle appeals received from the Executive Committee and receive reports from the Executive Committee.

CLAUSE (5)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The functions of the Executive Committee are as follows:-

- a) To carry out the programmes of the church as laid down by the General Conference.
- b) To guide and supervise.
- c) To enforce the rules of the constitution and make suggestions as to what action it deems necessary to that end, and also to have judicial competence to settle inter-branch differences and disputes that may be brought before it. All such decisions made or actions taken shall be reported to the Review Committee.
- d) Members of this Committee will be composed of two officers from the following posts:-
 - Preachers
 - Secretaries
 - Evangelists
 - Deacons
 - Minister and Leaders who will be elected by the General Conference if need arises.

CLAUSE (6)

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND CONFERENCES

- a) The Review Committee meetings of this church shall be held at least twice a year.
- b) The Annual General Meeting shall be held once a year, on or around October.
- c) The purpose of the above meetings will be for the disposal of necessary business of the church including:

- 1) The election, removal or suspension of the committee.
 - 2) The consideration of Annual Balance Sheet and the disposal of accumulated funds.
- d)
- 1) The general body (Annual General Conference) has the power to suspend for any period it finds fit any member of this church who does not abide by the constitution and regulations of this church.
 - 2) It also has the power to expel from this church any member who does not comply with the constitution and regulations of this church provided that action at clause 6(d)(1) above has failed to reform such a member.
- e) In the event of the Review Committee or some of its members not wanting to convene a meeting, the general body through any senior official of the church willing to convene the meeting will call and hold the meeting whereby a chairman will be elected.

CLAUSE (7)

DUTIES FOR THE CHURCH OFFICIALS

a) **PRIESTS**

The duties of the Priest include:

- 1) To administer the Holy Communion.
- 2) To bury the dead by Christian rites.
- 3) To conduct classes for men, women and children.
- 4) To adorn with church uniform those who have been converted.
- 5) To ordain church officials to their respective positions in the church.
- 6) To bless children.

b) **PROPHETS**

Prophets are to guide the spirit of the church and see the holiness of the congregation, to find ways of healing all types of diseases and to explain the work of the Holy Ghost (Act. 8 vs 5-12) because to prophesy is not an all-of-a-sudden thing, it comes through service to God's ways (1 Corin. 2 vs 10-14).

- c) When one prophesies, others keep quiet, listening whilst standing (1 Corin. 14 vs 30-33).

d) **PREACHER**

The duties of the Preacher are to start the service and to conduct it whilst those above him have not yet come. He informs those above him of the duties to be performed and those that have been performed when they arrive. He consoles those that are sick and tries to show them the Lord's way.

He has the right to visit areas and preach the Word of God.

e) **EVANGELIST**

He is the Pillar of the church and has to be of an exemplary behaviour in order to gain the confidence of the people. He baptizes those who are converted (Matthew 28 vs 19-20). He has to teach the duties expected from members of the church and heal the sick by Faith (St Mark 16 vs 15). It is the duty of the Evangelist to visit various branches of the church to ensure that they still follow the ways of God.

f) **SECRETARY-GENERAL**

The Secretary-General of the church shall be responsible for all communications and shall record minutes of the meetings and keep minutes safely. He receives reports from Secretaries of different branches of the church outside and inside Botswana. He has to visit all branches of the church and see that branch members of the church comply with the policy of the church.

g) **ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY**

The Assistant General Secretary shall perform the duties of the Secretary-General during his absence except in the case of Assistant General Secretary in South Africa and Zimbabwe who will act as General Secretary in their respective countries.

h) **SECRETARY**

The Secretary is responsible for keeping all branch records and is responsible to the General Secretary.

i) **LEADER (WOMEN)**

The duties of elder women include:

- 1) To help Christians who are in difficulties and advise those who have deviated from the Lord's way.
- 2) To conduct classes for children and women.

j) **NOTIFICATION OF DELEGATES FROM BRANCHES FOR THE ATTENDANCE OF MEETINGS**

The Annual General Conference of this church will be attended by delegates from Botswana, South Africa, South West Africa, Zimbabwe and all places where there are branches of this church.

The Review Committee will issue written notices through the General Secretary to all branches outside and inside Botswana thirty (30) days in advance of the date on which the Annual General Conference is to be held.

Further, the Review Committee will issue written notices through the General Secretary to all its members, and through branches fourteen (14) days in advance of the date of all special General Review Committee meetings.

Branches will in turn make announcements to the branch at regular prayer meetings so that delegates should be ready.

No matter will be brought for discussion by the General Conference unless it has been submitted to the Secretary General beforehand, and also no matter will be discussed by the Review Committee unless it has been submitted to the General Secretary beforehand.

CLAUSE (8)

AUTHORITY

The administrative authority shall be vested in the Review Committee. If in the opinion of the Review Committee any of its members fail to do or to perform his/her duties diligently such member(s) shall be cautioned by the Review Committee and if he/she persists he/she shall be suspended.

The Review Committee may temporarily appoint a substitute. The decision taken by the Review Committee may be reversed by the General Meeting. The Review Committee may be suspended by the General Meeting if it is of the opinion that the Review Committee is completely failing to do its duties.

CLAUSE (9)

CHURCH'S DISSOLUTION

In case of the church's dissolution the assets which will be movable and immoveable properties will be sold, and the proceeds thereof together with other assets which will be funds or monies as aforesaid will be channelled to any charitable organisation through the Ministry of Home Affairs.

CLAUSE (10)

- a) Those who are converted to the Word of God are baptized in rivers, dams, pools or where there is adequate water.
- b) We lay hand to the sick (St Mark 16 vs 15-18), and the Holy Spirit guides us to determine what is to be administered to the sick (1 Corin. 2 vs 10-13).

CLAUSE (11)

The Constitution shall only be amended by the General Conference by two-thirds (2/3) majority vote of the members present.

HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION
THE RULES AND REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE CHURCH

CLAUSE (1)

INTRODUCTION

This Church was set up in 1939 by Government Notice No. 622/214 in Pretoria. It was set up to preach the Word of God. See Matthew 28 vs 19-20. It was also set up to baptize those who have been converted to the Word of God. See Matthew 3 vs 1-17 and John 3 vs 6-22. It was registered in Botswana in 1978 per CR O149.

CLAUSE (2)

PROCEDURE

When the Service commences, all people stand up starting with women making their confessions, from the young to the elders; then follows the men. After this the people lift their worshipping Rods and the Congregation then start singing from their Hymn Books. Then a prayer is said by an Elder of the Church or the Priest while all are kneeling down. Then the Congregation sings or says the Lord's Prayer (Luke 11 vs 2). When the Service ends, women kneel down and men remain standing, then the service is closed, with a prayer by an Elder of the Church or Priest.

CLAUSE (3)

REGIONAL BRANCHES IN BOTSWANA

There shall be a regional branch within the following regions:-

1. Northwest: From Rakops to the west and includes Ngamiland and Chobe Districts.
2. North: From Tati Siding northwards to Zimbabwe/Botswana border.
3. Central: From Tonota to Dibete to Botswana/South African border, including Kgalagadi and Central Districts.

CLAUSE (4)

BRANCHES OUTSIDE BOTSWANA

1. South West Africa
2. Zimbabwe
3. South Africa

CLAUSE (5)THE SITTING OF THE PEOPLE IN CHURCH

The manner and order in which they follow others are:-

MEN

1. The Bishop
2. The President
3. Minister
4. Secretary-General
5. Deacon
6. Asst. General Secretary
7. Head Evangelist
8. Evangelist
9. Preacher
10. Secretary

WOMEN

- Mma-Bishop
- Mma-President
- Mma-Minister
- Mma-Secretary-General
- Mma-Deacon
- Mma-Asst. General Secretary
- Mma-Head Evangelist
- Mma-Evangelist
- Mma-Preacher
- Mma-Secretary

Then down to the men and women.

CLAUSE (6)MEMBERS AND THEIR CLASSES

1. Everybody is expected to attend classes under an ordained Minister for at least one year; a Minister conducting a class should have been ordained by one who is superior in rank to him.
 - a) Classes for men shall be on Saturdays at 3:00pm.
 - b) Classes for women shall be on Thursdays at 3:00pm.

The Church shall fine anyone who does not attend classes for two (2) consecutive weeks and he/she shall be guilty of an offence.
2. Children are expected to attend the classes all the time. If they show good progress, they will be examined after a year by a Minister who will examine them by asking them questions in front of their parents or guardians. Those who know their lessons will be promoted, 1 Corinthians 12 vs 1-13.

CLAUSE (7)SUBSCRIPTION FEES

Money for this Church shall be derived from the following:-

1. A yearly subscription for the tithes by all members of the church, P1.00 by all men and 60t by women.
2. 20t contribution by everybody for catering during Church meetings.
3. Each person contributes 50t for Good Friday food.

4. P2.50 (5 years) certificate for Bishop, Minister, Deacons.
5. 40t for Baptism and Blessing certificates.
6. 20t shall be paid by each member of the church in any Branch every month which goes to the coffers of the Branch.
7. There shall be a contribution of 3t every Sunday by all members of the Church being for the purpose of buying paraffin for church lights.
8. There shall be a yearly Bank subscription of P1.00 by men and 50t by women.
9. 25t (1 year) certificate for Evangelists, Preachers, Secretaries, Door-keepers and women.

CLAUSE (8)

THE CHURCH UNIFORM AND COLOUR

- a) The Bishop, Presidents, Ministers and Deacons will wear blue and white gowns with blue belts and white trousers.
- b) Evangelists and downwards will wear white coats with blue belts, white trousers and green woollen rope.
- c) Women with positions and those who are married will wear blue skirts, blue blouses, white doeks, white and blue belts and white collar.
- d) Women without positions will wear blue skirts, white blouses, white doeks, white and blue belts and blue collars.

CLAUSE (9)

TERMINATION - MEMBERSHIP

1. When any member of the Church decides to terminate his/her membership, he/she can do so by communicating with the Branch Secretary of the Church, leaving all Church properties including money, books, join-belts, position certificates and pins because all these were obtained through "HEAD MOUNTAIN OF GOD APOSTOLIC CHURCH IN ZION."

CLAUSE (10)

HOW REGULATIONS ARE MADE

All Regulations and Rules governing this church are made by the Review Committee of the Church. The following are recognised leaders of the Church and they officiate at this conference:

- a) Bishop
- b) President
- c) Minister
- d) Secretary-General
- e) Deacon
- f) Asst. General Secretary

APPENDIX E

CONSTITUTIONS OF THEOLOGICAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

- Appendix E.1: Constitution of the Botswana Christian Council.
- Appendix E.2: Constitution of Kgolagano College of Theological Education by Extension in Botswana.
- Appendix E.3: Constitution and Rules of Botswana Bible Training Institute.
- Appendix E.4: Curriculum for the Training of Congregational Workers/Lutheran Seminary.
- Appendix E.5: Draft Curriculum for Theological Training/Lutheran Seminary.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE BOTSWANA CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

ARTICLE 1

THE NAME

- 1.1 The name of the Society shall be the Botswana Christian Council (hereinafter referred to as the Council). The headquarters of the Council shall be at TSHWARAGANO HOUSE, GABORONE, in the Republic of Botswana.
- 1.2 The Council shall be affiliated to the All Africa Conference of Churches, the World Council of Churches and any other organisation with similar aims and objectives, and/or as may be decided upon by Resolution at an annual General Assembly.

ARTICLE 2

INTERPRETATION

The following words and expressions shall have the meanings ascribed to them, unless the context indicates otherwise:

- (a) "The Council" shall mean the Botswana Christian Council.
- (b) "Correspondent" shall mean the head of a church in the Executive Committee or any delegate appointed by the members to be a correspondent on the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 3

BASIS OF THE COUNCIL

The basis of the Council shall be that of the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Conference of Churches, which is:

"A fellowship of churches and organisations which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Bible and therefore seek to fulfil together common calling to the Glory of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit."

ARTICLE 4

OBJECTS OF THE COUNCIL

The objects of the council shall be:

- 4.1 To call the member churches to the goal of visible unity in one faith and in one eucharistic fellowship, expressed in worship and common life in Christ, and to advance towards that unity in order that the world may believe.

- 4.2 To promote common witness of the member churches in the Botswana society through mission and evangelism.
- 4.3 To stimulate cooperation of the member churches through pulpit exchange, mutual invitation to church meetings, shared workshops, pastoral care and other activities.
- 4.4 To maintain relations with other national councils, the All Africa Conference of Churches, The World Council of Churches, other bodies to which the Council is affiliated as well as other ecumenical bodies.
- 4.5 In obedience to Christ's ministry of service the Council shall serve and witness to those in need in the community and involve itself in seeking justice and full human rights for all.

ARTICLE 5

LEGAL PERSONALITY

- 5.1 The Council shall be vested with the legal capacity of a corporate body, having perpetual succession and the power to own and hold property (whether movable or immovable, corporeal or incorporeal) in its own name; shall be independent of its members and shall have the capacity to sue and be sued in its own name.

As a corporate body, the Council shall possess all such legal powers as are requisite for the carrying out of its objectives.
- 5.2 The Council shall be entitled to acquire by purchase, lease, exchange or in any other manner whatsoever, property, rights and interests of whatever nature, whether movable or immovable, corporeal or incorporeal, and may sell, donate, transfer, exchange, lease or otherwise alienate any rights or interest in such property.
- 5.3 The Council shall be entitled to mortgage hypothecate or otherwise encumber any of its property, whether movable or immovable, corporeal or incorporeal; to lend money to any person or persons, companies and organisations, and to guarantee the liability of others (including those of staff and members of the Council) and to bind itself as surety *in solidum* and co-principal debtor.
- 5.4 The decision to deal with property shall be by a Resolution of the General Assembly or the Executive Assembly or the Executive Committee. The President and the General Secretary shall sign all legal documents relating thereto, including Power of Attorney.
- 5.5 In the event of the dissolution of the Council, the assets shall be sold and the proceeds thereof donated to the All Africa Conference of Churches, for use in Botswana, once the liabilities of the Council have been discharged.

ARTICLE 6

MEMBERSHIP

- 6.1 Membership of the Council shall be open to:
- 6.1.1 All churches who subscribe to the doctrinal basis of the World Council of Churches, as set out in Article 3 of this Constitution, who have four or more congregations within Botswana and at least 200 baptized church members.
 - 6.1.2 All Christian organisations or associations of churches who subscribe to the doctrinal basis of the World Council of Churches set out in Article 3 of this Constitution.
 - 6.1.3 Where desirable, local and regional branches of the member churches, organisations and associations will be encouraged to organise themselves into local and/or regional councils after due consultation with the Executive Committee.
- 6.2 Applicants must also fulfil the following:
- 6.2.1 The Applicant must be an autonomous body that does not depend on the sanction of a higher authority in order to take any action.
 - 6.2.2 The Applicant must provide proof of a sustained life and operation.
- 6.3 Applications shall be in writing, accompanied by the Applicant's constitution or similar document and shall be addressed to the General Secretary.
- The General Secretary shall make any enquiries and investigations deemed necessary and then submit same with application to the Executive Committee for recommendation to the General Assembly. The General Assembly will decide on the application by simple majority.
- 6.4 Churches, Church Associations and Christian Organisations which are not members of the Council shall be entitled to apply to the Council for observer status. Such observers shall be entitled to attend the General Assembly but shall not be entitled to vote nor hold office.
- 6.5 There shall be payable by each member, an annual affiliation fee. This fee shall be due each year not later than 28th day of February. The amount shall be determined from time to time by the General Assembly.

ARTICLE 7

TERMINATION OF MEMBERSHIP

Membership shall terminate upon any of the following instances:

- 7.1 Upon failure by a member to pay the annual affiliation fee for a continuous period of two years.

- 7.2 Upon dissolution of a member church, church organisation or association.
- 7.3 Upon resignation by a member church, church organisation or association.

ARTICLE 8

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

- 8.1 The General Assembly shall be held once a year, at a time to be determined, between the months of April and August of each year.
- 8.2 The General Assembly shall be convened at the invitation of the Executive Committee.
- 8.3 The General Assembly shall:
 - 8.3.1 Elect office-bearers and appoint auditors.
 - 8.3.2 Receive and discuss financial statements prepared by the auditors and annual reports.
 - 8.3.3 Make any recommendations and statements as it finds fit, to fulfil the objectives of the Council.
 - 8.3.4 Attend to any other business that may arise.
- 8.4 A fifty percent (50%) attendance of the members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for purposes of the General Assembly.
- 8.5 A special General Assembly may be convened at the instance of the Executive Committee on notice of at least one month.

In the event that 3/4 of the members of the Council desire a special meeting and the Executive Committee fails to convene same, such members shall be entitled to convene and chair such a meeting.
- 8.6 The official languages at the General Assembly shall be Setswana and English. Any member or attendant at the General Assembly who does not speak either of the official languages shall be entitled to a translation of the proceedings on request.
- 8.7 Member churches and associations shall be entitled to elect up to six delegates each to the General Assembly, while member organisations shall be entitled to elect a maximum of two delegates. Delegates shall serve their positions for a period of three years and can be re-elected. Each member shall be entitled to change any delegates during the term of office.
- 8.8 The General Assembly shall be entitled to invite up to ten persons, whose presence is deemed desirable thereat, to the General Assembly, and those invitees shall have the right to speak but not to vote nor hold office.

- 8.9 Churches, associations and organisations which are not members of the Council may apply for observer status. Observers shall have the right to speak at the General Assembly, but not to vote nor hold office.
- 8.10 The staff of the Council shall be entitled to attend the General Assembly. They shall be entitled to speak, but not to vote nor hold office.

ARTICLE 9

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- 9.1 There shall be an Executive Committee which shall be the governing body of the Council.
- 9.2 The Executive Committee shall be made up as follows:
- 9.2.1 One correspondent from each member of the Council appointed accordingly;
- 9.2.2 The office bearers being:
- (i) The President
 - (ii) 1st and 2nd Vice Presidents
 - (iii) The Treasurer
 - (iv) The General Secretary, who shall be a non voting member of the committee
 - (v) The moderators from each existing standing committee
- 9.3 The Executive Committee shall:
- 9.3.1 Decide on policy matters; budgets of the Council, employment of staff members, financial investments and approve the Annual Financial Statement.
- 9.3.2 Appoint sub-committees to attend to specific issues that may arise. Such sub-committees shall have at least 50% of its membership elected from the Executive Committee.
- 9.3.3 Appoint three members in addition to the Treasurer to serve as a Finance Sub-committee. The Treasurer shall chair the sub-committee and the Financial Secretary shall serve as non-voting Secretary.
- 9.3.4 Keep full and accurate minutes of all its proceedings and shall make same available to all the members of the Council, as well as any other persons and organisations that shall be deemed fit.
- 9.3.5 Convene at least quarterly between each ordinary General Assembly. For purposes of a meeting of the General Assembly a 40% attendance shall constitute a quorum.
- 9.3.6 Decide which departments should be established to carry out the work of the Council.

- 9.4 Between General Assembly meetings the Executive Committee shall be vested with full authority to administer the affairs of the Council, except for issues on amendment of the Constitution.

ARTICLE 10

ELECTION OF OFFICE BEARERS

- 10.1 The President, 1st and 2nd Vice Presidents and the moderators of the various standing committees shall be elected at the General Assembly by secret ballot. Each of the above stated office bearers shall hold office for three years and may be re-elected once.
- 10.2 The treasurer shall be appointed by the Executive Committee at its first meeting after the General Assembly. The incumbent shall be knowledgeable in matters of finance and accounting and shall hold office for one year.
- 10.3 The General Secretary shall be appointed by the General Assembly on a permanent and pensionable basis, on the recommendation of the Executive Committee.
- 10.4 The representatives of the local and regional Councils shall also be elected by the General Assembly.

ARTICLE 11

DUTIES OF THE OFFICE BEARERS

- 11.1 The President shall chair the General Assembly and the Executive Committee and the Administrative Committee.
- 11.2 The 1st and 2nd Vice Presidents shall act on behalf of the President when the latter is indisposed or when duties are delegated.
- 11.3 The Moderators shall chair the respective standing committee meetings to which they are elected.
- 11.4 The General Secretary is the Chief Executive Officer of the Council and shall be responsible for the execution of the decisions of the General Assembly, the Executive Committee and the Administrative Committee, of which he is the non-voting Secretary.

The General Secretary shall also be responsible for the staff of the Council and they shall be directly answerable to him.

The General Secretary shall also present programmes and projects to the Executive Committee for endorsement and approval.

- 11.5 The Treasurer shall attend to the financial matters of the Council and shall countersign all financial documents of the Council with the President.

ARTICLE 12

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

- 12.1 The Executive Committee shall meet at least quarterly between each General Assembly.
- 12.2 The date for each meeting shall be set and agreed upon at the previous meeting held by the Executive Committee unless circumstances dictate otherwise.
- 12.3 Each committee member shall be given notice of at least two weeks prior to the meeting.

ARTICLE 13

ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

- 13.1 There shall be an Administrative Committee which shall consist of the following:
 - 13.1.1 The President of the Council
 - 13.1.2 The 1st and 2nd Vice Presidents
 - 13.1.3 Moderators of the standing committees
 - 13.1.4 The Treasurer
 - 13.1.5 The General Secretary who shall be a non-voting member.
- 13.2 The Administrative Committee shall act on behalf of the Executive Committee where necessary and shall make recommendations regarding employment of staff, supervision and implementation of the objectives of the Council to the Executive Committee.
- 13.3 A 50% attendance shall constitute a quorum for purposes of a meeting of the Administrative Committee.
- 13.4 The Committee shall keep a full and accurate record of its meetings and shall make same available for perusal to the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 14

STANDING COMMITTEES

- 14.1 There shall be established by the General Assembly, Standing Committees, to each of which a Moderator shall be elected as chairperson by the General Assembly.
- 14.2 Each committee shall have six to ten members appointed by the Executive Committee and shall be directly answerable to the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall set the terms of reference of each Standing Committee.

Each member of the committee shall hold office for three years.

- 14.3 Proposals to establish a Standing Committee shall be submitted for consideration to the Executive Committee at least one month before the General Assembly.
- 14.4 Standing Committees shall be entitled to make public statements on behalf of the Council in line with the policies laid down by the General Assembly and in terms of the committee's terms of reference.

Public statements made shall be subject to consultation with the President and the General Secretary.
- 14.5 Each Standing Committee shall keep a full and accurate record of its proceedings and shall make same available to the Executive Committee for perusal.
- 14.6 The Standing Committees shall submit their annual reports to the General Assembly.

ARTICLE 15

DISSOLUTION AND DISPOSAL OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

In the event of the dissolution of the Council for whatever reason, the assets of the Council shall be sold, the liabilities of the Council shall then be discharged in order of preference and the remainder of the proceeds of the sale of the Council's assets shall be donated to the All Africa Conference of Churches for use in Botswana.

ARTICLE 16

AMENDMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION

- 16.1 Any proposals for constitutional amendment shall be signed by at least four members of the Council and presented for consideration to all members at least three months before the General Assembly.
- 16.2 Any constitutional amendment shall be on at least a two thirds majority at a General Assembly.
- 16.3 All constitutional amendments shall be done at a General Assembly.

ARTICLE IV STRUCTURES

The College shall consist of:

A) A Governing Board which shall be made up of two representatives nominated annually by each member church, one representative nominated annually by each ecumenical or other member Christian Council, an Honorary Treasurer appointed by the Board, one co-opted member each from the UB/TRS Department and Ministry of Education, each co-opted annually, the Principal, one representative from the Academic Committee, nominated annually by the Academic Committee.

B) An Officer Subcommittee which shall consist of all Honorary officers of The College (see Article VI below) and the Principal of The College.

C) An Academic Committee which shall consist of the Principal and all full time academic staff, with power to co-opt for specific purposes up to two further members for limited periods. Part-time academic staff may be invited to attend from time to time who shall have speaking but not voting rights.

ARTICLE V POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

A. THE GOVERNING BOARD

1. The Governing Board of The College shall meet at least three times in each year, and on such occasion as is necessary. Fifty percent of its membership shall constitute a quorum and all members with the exception of co-opted members shall have voting rights.
2. The Annual General Meeting of the Governing Board shall be its first meeting in each calendar year, which shall be held no later than 31 March, to *inter alia* review the year's work, receive the annual accounts, and elect the officers (see Clause VI below) for the ensuing year.
3. Except as provided in Articles IX and X of this Constitution all matters will be resolved by a simple majority vote.
4. The Secretary, in consultation with the Chairperson, will convene ordinary meetings of the Governing Board. Extraordinary meetings shall be called by the Secretary on request of at least two-thirds of the membership of the Governing Board. At least 14 days' notice of all meetings shall be given in writing by the Secretary.
5. In the absence of any or all of the officers at a constitutionally convened meeting, the Boards shall be entitled to appoint officers for that meeting and proceed with business, provided that the meeting is quorate.
6. The Governing Board may co-opt up to two non-voting members as may from time to time be desired, for such time and for such purpose as the Board may determine at the time of their co-option.

7. The Governing Board of The College shall be the principal policy making body and shall have power, *inter alia*, to:
- a) Provide such services, facilities and amenities as are necessary to further the objectives of The College.
 - b) Admit into membership such churches, councils, organisations and to determine and vary the conditions and obligations of membership in the interest of The College and as circumstances require.
 - c) Appoint, and if necessary, suspend or dismiss the Principal, other academic, administrative and service employees, fix remuneration (if any) and arrange the terms of contracts of such persons in pursuit of the objectives of The College.
 - d) Admit into affiliation any other theological institution which shares the aims of The College and to determine the conditions of such affiliation.
 - e) Establish an officer subcommittee and academic committee of The College, and delegate powers to such committees, establishing its functions and procedures, where necessary.
 - f) Raise monies in such manner as it may determine from constituent churches and organisations and from other sources, without limitation, for the purposes of furthering the said objectives of The College and to administer such funds.
 - g) Purchase, take on lease or exchange, hire or otherwise acquire movable or immovable property, including land and buildings.
 - h) Undertake all such other activities that are legitimately incidental or conducive to attainment of the objectives of The College or any of them.

B. THE OFFICER SUB-COMMITTEE

- a) The Governing Board may delegate Executive Power to an officer sub-committee to administer The College on a day-to-day basis in between Governing Board meetings, provided that it reports back to the Governing Board and that its decisions/actions shall be subject to Governing Board approval.
- b) The officer sub-committee shall meet at such times as are necessary in between ordinary meetings of the Governing Board.
- c) Three members of the committee shall constitute a quorum.

C. THE ACADEMIC COMMITTEE

- a) The Governing Board may delegate Executive Power to an officer sub-committee:
 - 1) determining course content and examinations,
 - 2) preparing, arranging and amending teaching materials,

- 3) administering tutorial programmes and issuing certificates to successful candidates,
 - 4) monitoring student progress and issuing certificates to successful candidates,
 - 5) administering, updating and regulating the use of the library,
 - 6) offering such in-service and/or post-ordination and other special training as may be required,
 - 7) arranging such denominational, and/or inter-denominational seminars and workshops as may be needed to update the academic programme,
 - 8) carrying out such functions as may be necessary for the effective operation of the academic programme.
- b) The Academic Committee shall ordinarily meet monthly but shall meet at least six times a year.
 - c) Two thirds of the membership of the Academic Committee shall constitute a quorum, and where necessary, all issues shall be resolved by a simple majority vote.
 - d) The Principal shall chair the Academic Committee and the Secretary shall be elected annually.
 - e) The Academic Committee shall report regularly to the Governing Board by sending copies of the minutes of its meetings to each member of the Governing Board.

ARTICLE VI OFFICERS: POWERS AND DUTIES

- 1) The College shall have the following officers:
 - a) The Chairperson, Vice Chairperson and Secretary who shall be elected to serve for a two-year period at the Annual General Meeting and be eligible for re-election for a further term.
 - b) An Honorary Treasurer, ordinarily elected annually from amongst Governing Board members. However, if circumstances require, the Board may after due consultation exercise power to appoint a treasurer who shall become a part-time member of the staff.
 - c) A Principal who shall be appointed, as necessary, by the Governing Board to serve for such a period as determined by the Board.
- 2) The duties of officers shall be as follows:
 - a) The Chairperson shall chair all meetings of the Governing Board and its Officer Sub-committee, represent the College as required to do so by the Board or as circumstances demand, and officiate at official Public Events on behalf of the College, performing such duties as may be required by

the Governing Board. The Chairperson shall have a deliberative, and in the case of a tie in voting, a casting vote.

- b) The Vice-Chairperson shall deputise in the Chairperson's absence and perform such duties as may be required of him/her by the Governing Board.
- c) The Secretary shall be responsible for the proper records of the meetings of the Governing Board, conducting such official correspondence as may be necessary for the conduct of the Board business, and act as an Executive Officer of the Board as may be required by the Board. The Board may appoint from amongst the staff a minute secretary who will work in conjunction with the Secretary.
- d) The Treasurer shall keep the financial records of The College, administer its properties and finances as determined by the Board, conduct such correspondence as is necessary relating to the financial matters of the College including affiliation and student fees.
- e) The Principal will have primary responsibility for the academic matters of The College. He/she shall have the care and supervision of staff, public relations work and such other matters as may be delegated by the Governing Board.
- f) All officers shall be accountable and report to the Governing Board as may be required by the Board.

ARTICLE VII FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT

- a) The Governing Board shall have authority to open banking accounts, whether in credit or otherwise, to draw, make, accept, endorse, execute, issue and negotiate cheques and other negotiable and transferable instruments, nominating two or three of its members to sign on its behalf.
- b) The Governing Board will annually receive from the Treasurer a financial report and budget for consideration at its annual meeting. It may require the Treasurer to report on its financial affairs at other times.

ARTICLE VIII DISPUTES AND ARBITRATION

- a) In the event of there being a dispute between members of the Board of The College in relation to the construction of this constitution or the implementation thereof, such dispute, being unresolved between the parties, shall be submitted to arbitration.
- b) Arbitration, if it shall be necessary, shall consist of the appointment of two arbiters, one by each side in the dispute. These shall then appoint an umpire and proceed to make a decision which shall be binding upon both parties. In the event of the two arbiters failing to agree, the decision of the umpire shall be final and binding the parties to such dispute.

ARTICLE IX **AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION**

- a) Amendments to the Constitution may be initiated by the Governing Board at a majority decision at its meeting, or by notice by 50 percent of its membership in writing to the Secretary.
- b) Six months' notice of the proposed amendment shall be given by the Secretary in writing to all members of the Governing Board.
- c) Each member of the Board and of the staff and any student shall have the right to submit comments on the implications of the proposed amendment to the Secretary of the Governing Board.
- d) The amendment shall be considered at a properly constituted meeting of the Board for which six months' notice shall be given in writing.
- e) The amendment shall only be passed on seventy-five percent majority vote of those present and voting at a quorate meeting of the Governing Board. Seventy-five percent of the membership of the Board shall constitute a quorum at such a meeting.

ARTICLE X **RESOLUTION**

- a) Resolution for dissolution may be initiated by the Governing Board at an ordinary or extraordinary meeting, or by fifty percent of its members by petition to the Secretary.
- b) Notice of such dissolution shall be given in writing to all members six months before the resolution is to be taken.
- c) The resolution for dissolution shall be considered at a properly constituted meeting of the Board and be effective on a seventy-five percent majority vote of those present and voting at a meeting where the required quorum shall be 66 percent.
- d) If, upon winding up or dissolution of The College, there remains, after satisfaction of all debts or liabilities, any property whatsoever, such property may be given or transferred to such other body having similar objects to the College, as may be determined by the Board before the dissolution, or in default thereof, such property shall be distributed among the then members of The College in such proportions as may be mutually agreed upon, taking into account as far as possible the proportion of contributions that each of them have made to The College, or in default thereof, as may be fixed by arbitration (see Article VIII).

**CONSTITUTION AND RULES OF BOTSWANA
BIBLE TRAINING INSTITUTE**

1. NAME AND AFFILIATION

- 1.1 The name of the Society is Botswana Bible Training Institute (hereinafter called the Society).
- 1.2 The Society is an organisation having its headquarters in Botswana.
- 1.3 The Society is a member of a group of similar Societies known as Missions and Training (hereinafter called the Trust).

2. OBJECTS

The aims and objects of the Society shall be:

- 2.1 To propagate by all legitimate means the Christian faith.
- 2.2 To provide, maintain, manage and operate theological training programmes.
- 2.3 To promote and maintain the existing training programme of the Society, i.e. Theological Correspondence Course training in co-operation with the All Africa School of Theology.
- 2.4 To use the funds of the Society as are considered necessary in payment of expenses incurred in carrying out the objects of the Society.
- 2.5 To do all such lawful acts as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the objects of the Society.
- 2.6 To act as agent for any person, body, society, or organisation having similar objectives.

3. THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

- 3.1 The management of the affairs of the Society shall be vested in the Board which shall consist of not more than six nor fewer than three members.
- 3.2 A Board member shall hold office until such time as he:
 - 3.2.1 Resigns his office by written notice to the Secretary.
 - 3.2.2 Becomes inactive as a Board member.
 - 3.2.3 Becomes unable to discharge his duties by reason of physical or mental infirmity.
 - 3.2.4 Becomes bankrupt.

- 3.2.5 Is convicted of any criminal offence.
- 3.2.6 Is requested to resign by a two-thirds majority of the Board.
- 3.3 The Director of the Trust (hereinafter called the Director) shall be an *ex officio* member of the Board.
- 3.4 The Director shall be chairman of all meetings of the Board but should he be absent or unwilling to act the Vice Chairman shall be the temporary Chairman for the duration of the meeting.
- 3.5 The Board shall appoint from among its members a Vice Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer who shall hold office for two years and who shall be eligible to succeed themselves, provided they remain members of the Board.
 - 3.5.1 The Board shall have power to nominate any other persons to be members of the Board within the limitations of clause 3.1.
 - 3.5.2 All nominees to the Board shall be required to sign and adhere to the Statement of Faith of the Society.
- 3.6 The Secretary shall give at least 14 (fourteen) days' notice in writing to each member of the Board of meetings thereof which notice shall specify the time, date, and place of such meeting.
 - 3.6.1 One more than half of the members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.
 - 3.6.2 Each member of the Board shall have one vote and the Chairman shall have a casting vote.
 - 3.6.3 Except as otherwise provided herein voting by a simple majority of the Board members present shall determine all matters before the Board.
 - 3.6.4 The Annual General Meeting of the Society shall be held in each year within two months after the expiration of the financial year of the Society.
- 3.7 All Board meetings shall be held at the Botswana Bible Training Institute offices.
- 3.8 Minutes of the proceedings of all meetings of the Board shall be recorded in a book to be kept for the purpose. The minutes shall be signed by the Chairman and the Secretary of the meeting and shall be *prima facie* evidence of the facts stated therein.
- 3.9 The Board shall have power to appoint a committee or committees to oversee specific responsibilities as requested by the Board, i.e. Living Waters Fellowship, Botswana Outreach Ministries and the Residential Theological College.

4. POWERS OF THE BOARD

- 4.1. The Board may exercise all such powers of the Society and carry out such operations as may be required for the transaction of its affairs and the pursuit of its objects.
 - 4.2.1 By a unanimous decision of all the members of the Board of Directors the Board shall have power to appoint or dismiss a Principal who shall be responsible for the oversight of the teaching, training and other programmes of the Society.
 - 4.2.2 The Principal shall be an ex officio member of the Board.
- 4.3 The Board shall appoint an auditor who shall audit the accounts of the Society at least once every year.
- 4.4 The funds and the banking accounts of the Society shall be under the control of the Board.
- 4.5 In furtherance of the objects and ancillary and incidental thereto, to do all of the following:-
 - 4.5.1 To obtain and accept contributions, donations, fees and subscriptions.
 - 4.5.2 To open a Banking Account or Accounts in the name of the Society, with such Banks and in such places as may be considered desirable and to operate upon, transfer and close the same from time to time as may be thought fit.
 - 4.5.3 The Board shall appoint three signatories to operate the account or accounts under its control and all withdrawals from such accounts shall be signed by two of the three signatories.
 - 4.5.4 To draw, make, accept, endorse, discount, execute, issue and negotiate promissory notes, bills of exchange, cheques and other negotiable or transferable instruments for the purposes of the Society.
 - 4.5.5 To invest and deal with any portion of the moneys of the Society in such manner and on such terms and conditions as may be deemed expedient.
 - 4.5.6 To acquire by purchase, donation or otherwise, hold, take or give on lease or hire, or in exchange and to improve, manage, pledge, mortgage, let, sell, donate, dispose of, develop, turn to account, or deal with in any other way, any movable or immovable property, which the Society may think necessary, desirable or convenient for the attainment of its objects.
 - 4.5.7 To institute, conduct, carry on, or defend or abandon any actions in any court of Law, by or against the Society and/or any of the

members of the Board, officers, employees, servants or voluntary workers.

- 4.6 The Board shall be responsible to maintain suitable courses of theological and related instruction.
- 4.7 The Board shall establish the terms, conditions, and fees to be charged for the proper operation of the Society.
- 4.8 Management and control of the Society by the Board shall be directed through the Principal.

5. FINANCIAL

- 5.1 The financial year of the Society shall be from 1st January to 31st December.
- 5.2 The profits and other income of the Society whencesoever derived shall be applied solely in promoting the objects of the Society and no portion thereof shall be paid, transferred or applied directly or indirectly to the members of the Board provided that nothing contained herein shall prevent the payment in good faith of remuneration to any officers, agents, servants or employees of the Society in return for any services actually rendered to the Society.
- 5.3 Funds howsoever received by the Society shall be used exclusively for the purpose or purposes designated provided only that such purpose or purposes promote the objects of the Society.
- 5.4 Monthly financial reports shall be submitted by the Treasurer to the Principal who shall forward a copy to the Director.
- 5.5 The Board shall establish annual budgets to include all aspects of the work of the Society.

6. STATUS

- 6.1 The Society shall be a body, not for gain, with perpetual succession.
- 6.2 Notwithstanding anything in this constitution which may be interpreted to the contrary all the assets of the Society shall be held in the name of the Society and the Board shall not dispose of, donate, lease, mortgage or sell any immovable assets except by a unanimous decision of all the Board of Directors.

7. LIABILITY

No Board member, officer, employee, servant, or voluntary worker shall be liable to contribute towards the debts of the Society.

8. INDEMNITY

Every member of the Board which manages and controls the Society, and every official or servant of the Society shall be indemnified by the Society against all costs, loss and expense which any such member, official or servant may incur or become liable for in any way in the execution of his offices of trust, unless the same shall be incurred or occasioned by his own wilful act or default, and none of the said members, officials or servants shall be answerable for any act or default or any other of them or for any loss, misfortune or damage which may happen in execution of office or in relation thereto, except when the same shall have happened by his own wilful act or default.

9. AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

9.1. Subject to clause 9.1.1 this Constitution may be amended, altered, added to, or rescinded by a unanimous decision of the Board of Directors at a meeting held for the purpose all of the members being present in person of such resolution notice of such meeting and of the proposed alterations to the rules having been given in writing to each member of the Board at least three calendar months prior to such meeting.

9.1.1 Prior approval must be obtained from the Registrar of Societies of the Ministry of Home Affairs in the Botswana Government.

10. DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS

No profits or gains made by the Society shall be distributed to any persons other than the persons with whom or on whose behalf the transaction from which such profits or gains were derived or took place and no benefit shall be conferred upon any person other than the benefits accruing to that person from transactions with or on behalf of that person. Without in any way derogating or detracting from the generality of the foregoing and notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained herein no loans or advances of any nature shall be made to any person or persons.

11. DISSOLUTION

The Society may be wound up or dissolved voluntarily by a resolution to wind up or dissolve at a meeting of the Board called for that purpose, notice having been given in writing to each member of the Board at least one calendar month prior to such meeting comprising all of the members of the Board of Directors present in person voting in favour of such a resolution. If upon such dissolution of the Society there remains after the satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities any property or assets whatsoever, the same shall not be paid or distributed among any individual persons but shall become the property of the Trust.

CURRICULUM FOR THE TRAINING OF CONGREGATIONAL WORKERS

1. Aims for the congregational workers course.

The training has two main aspects:

- A. Concerning the Personal Life of the Congregational Worker.
 - B. Concerning the Professional Life.
- A. The training should enrich the life of the student as a Christian by:
- guiding him/her into a personal devotional life, with daily Bible reading and praying, individually and together with the other students;
 - providing the opportunity of personal soul care.
- B. The training should give the students basic knowledge and skill which will enable them to perform their duties as congregational workers, by offering them both theoretical and practical training.

1. Theological Subjects

- a) Bible knowledge
 - The New and Old Testament.
- b) Christian Faith
 - Lutheran belief.
 - Ethics (The Commandments).
 - Ecumenics.
- c) Worship and Life
 - The task of the Church today.
 - Diaconia.
 - Liturgy.
 - Homiletics.
 - Church administration.
- d) Church and History
 - Church History.
 - Missiology.
 - The Lutheran Church in Botswana.
 - Other religions (in Botswana).

2. Children and Youth Work

- a) Psychology
 - The development of the personality.
 - The development of religious understanding.
- b) Health Education
 - The development of physical ability.
 - First aid.
 - Basic hygiene.

- c) Sociology
- The Botswana society.

3. Leading Youth and Children Work

- a) Pedagogics and didactics.
- b) Different age groups in childhood and youth.
- c) Christian education (principles, aims and methods).
- d) Counselling and soul care (principles of soul care and personal counselling).
- e) Principles of leadership.

4. Communication and Social Life

- a) Setswana (Reading and Writing).
- b) English.
- c) Handicrafts.
- d) Sports.
- e) Music.
- f) Drama.
- g) Games.

5. General Subjects

- a) Bookkeeping.
- b) Maintenance of church property.

6. Practical Subjects

- a) Work among children, youth and women.
- b) Morning and evening devotions.
- c) Preparations.
- d) Confirmation classes.
- e) Diaconal work.
- f) How to organise camps and travels.
- g) Educational programmes in the congregation.
- h) How to train other leaders in the congregation.

7. Practice in a Congregation

- Preparation and follow-ups.

L.T.S. "The Woodpecker"
16 October 1991

CURRICULUM FOR THEOLOGICAL TRAINING
Draft

Introduction Course: 10 weeks

During these weeks a basic knowledge should be taught of all the below-mentioned subjects.

Subject 1

- 1) Theology
 - 1.1 Introduction
 - 1.2 History
 - 1.3 Terms of theology
- 2) The task of theology
- 3) The method of theology
- 4) The goal of theology

Subject 2

- 1) Biblical Studies
The subject and its place
(No Hebrew or Greek involved. The understanding of the Bible as the Word of God and to mature in the Christian faith is important.)
- 2) The task of Biblical Studies
(To understand the message)
- 3) The content of Biblical studies
(Much the same as Old and New Testament Science)
- 4) The purpose of Biblical studies
(To grasp the message is to turn to Jesus Himself and be taught by Him (Isa 11:9f))

Subject 3

- 1) Old Testament Science
 - 1.1 The Bible and the Old Testament
 - 1.2 The canon
 - 1.3 The relationship between the O.T. and N.T.
 - 1.4 The language of the O.T.
- 2) Hermeneutics and exegesis
- 3) The O.T. as a source of historical knowledge
 - 3.1 Biblical history and salvation history
 - 3.2 History of Israel
 - 3.3 The religion of Israel
- 4) The Old Testament as Holy Scripture
 - 4.1 The Old Testament message (*kerygma*)

Subject 4

- 1) New Testament Science
 - 1.1 The New Testament as a book
 - 1.2 The language of the New Testament
 - 1.3 The translation of the New Testament
- 2) The understanding of the New Testament
 - 2.1 The origin of the New Testament
(Background of the N.T., contemporary history)
 - 2.2 Exegesis of the New Testament
 - 2.3 Theology of the New Testament
(Explanation of theological terms, different religious groups, relationship of the Gospels)

Subject 5

- 1) Church History
 - 1.1 Chronological division
 - 1.2 History of dogma
 - 1.3 Patristics
 - 1.4 History of mission

Subject 6

- 1) Systematic Theology
 - 1.1 Orthodox theology
 - 1.2 Catholic theology
 - 1.3 Protestant theology
 - 1.4 Pentecostal theology
- 2) Some characteristics of Systematic Theology
 - 2.1 Christocentric (Christ as the Lord)
 - 2.2 Trinitarian (God the Father, Jesus the Saviour, Holy Spirit the Helper)
 - 2.3 Theocratic (The kingdom of God)
 - 2.4 The way of Salvation
 - 2.5 Eschatological
 - 2.6 Kerygmatic (transforming the message for today)
 - 2.7 Ecumenical (Who and what is the Church according to Jn 16:16, Eph 3:18)

Subject 7

- 1) Ethics
 - 1.1 Relationship dogmatics and ethics
 - 1.2 Christian ethics and other kinds of ethics
- 2) Counselling
 - 1.1 Introduction
Pastoral psychology
(Introduction of course literature and counselling in the early church. The most important counselling traditions of the church and society. Counselling of the counsellor.)

- 1.2 Methods of dialogues
Methods of counselling dialogue
(Practice through role-play. Practice in answering counselling letters.
Telephone counselling.)
- 1.2 Counselling in a critical situation
Child and youth psychology
(Counselling for sick, suffering, and dying persons. The counsellor's own
identity in faith and counselling.)

Subject 8

1) Missiology

- 1.1 Early Church and mission
- 1.2 Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions
- 1.3 Church and mission redefined
(To deal with other religions and independent churches, the increase of
secularism in the West.)

Subject 9

1) History of Religion

- 1.1 Islam
- 1.2 African Churches
- 1.3 Sects

Subject 10

1) Practical Theology

- 1.1 Religious education
- 1.2 Work with groups
- 1.3 Building-up of the congregation
- 1.4 To be a pastor