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UMGALELO AND THE FAILURE OF THE CHURCH?

A Study in Voluntary Associations in Mbekweni Paarl

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A dissertation submitted by CT Kokoali in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
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This work is dedicated to
Archdeacon RV Llewelyn
who quietly supported and
helped me in every
aspect of my work.

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PREFACE

This study is an introduction to the complex nature of Umgalelo. Umgalelo are the mutual aid societies whose members meet regularly to enable each member to receive a pool: the combined contributions of all the other members, at regular intervals. This association is based on the principle of reciprocity. The frequency of the societies' meetings depends largely on the nature of Umgalelo, and the number of its members. So, for example, a burial society may meet only when a death has occurred within their membership. The purpose of meeting will be to prepare for the funeral by collecting money and they will meet again to give a report of the funeral. The other types of Umgalelo clubs meet regular either fortnightly or monthly.

My interest in Umgalelo arose as a result of a comment made by a member at an Umgalelo meeting. The individual remarked "ndijoina kuzo zombini" ('I join them both'), when he gave his contribution "bag". The point of interest was - how can the individual join 'both', that is, two groups, when it is but one Umgalelo! The versicle

"ndiyajoina" is used in the manyanos, the weekly gathering of women's organisations in the Church, when a person stands to preach or give witness to a scripture reading. After discussion, it appeared that Umgalelo performed two functions, both of which the member is involved in. Firstly, there is the religious function, and secondly, the socio-economic function. This second function is referred to by members as 'sport'. It is a term which covers a wide field of activities including entertainment, fellowship, as well as social and economic purposes. In fact any activity outside work is called 'sport'. As a priest, it was necessary for me to respond to the activities of Umgalelo, particularly concerning its religious function. Practically, the time of Umgalelo clashed with morning church services. Moreover, there were also doubts concerning the suitability of the persons leading devotions at Umgalelo.

One of the difficulties experienced in the field of work for this research was that it was not easy for people to discuss Umgalelo freely with a priest since they were aware of the church's previous censorious attitude towards involvement in Umgalelo. This was particularly

noticeable in the case of Anglicans, perhaps because of their concern about the possible disciplinary action of the church.

An Umgalelo club cuts right across religious groupings. Many people of different denominations may be represented, as well as people with no church affiliations at all. The evidence shows that in fact Umgalelo can also provide an alternative form of church for people who have no church affiliations.

I have come to realise that Umgalelo are as much a religious as social response and therefore worthy of study in their own right. Further, South of the Orange River, to belong to Umgalelo is a matter of pride. This is in contrast with the northern part of the country where they are often looked down upon by educated people.

This study of Umgalelo is a piece of historic research, the primary aim being to identify new religious groupings and to document their functioning within the African community. The problem really needs a fuller systematic

and scientific examination not only for the sake of the church, but also for what it can contribute to the wider socio-economic life and to see how Umgalelo will help us to see the limitations of the Christian Church and how traditional customs have been adopted in a new money-economy social life.

INTRODUCTION

1. Umgalelo

Umgalelo are defined as "small-scale informal mutual benefit societies". (1) The name is derived from the Xhosa verb ukugalela, "to pour forth, out, or in". (2) In the old Xhosa tradition it could be used as ukugalela iinkomo, to pour in cattle in competing for a wife. Two or more contestants for a wife would bid against each other with cattle, one beating the other by a higher price. (3) Nowadays umgalelo refers to the voluntary associations which involve the "pouring in" of money for mutual benefit and good fellowship. In Zulu these associations are called maholisana from ukukhola, to pay. In Southern Sotho the name is 'ho amohedisana', literally meaning to make each other receive from the verb amhoela, to receive. This system of umgalelo began with the establishment of money economy among Africans in the gold and diamond mines at the end of the nineteenth century.

Various other terms have been used to express this mutual aid benefit phenomenon: Hellman uses the word 'stockfair'; Kuper and Kaplan call it 'stokfel' and Jane Barrett 'stokvel'. The word stokfel refers to but one aspect of mutual aid societies, namely illicit beer

parties and stokfel is an unpleasant word in the townships especially in the Witwatersrand. In the Cape Province however, a Xhosa word is used, Umgalelo by Wilson and Mafeje, and this is the term in common usage in Mbekweni, the area of our study. The word embraces all the principles of mutual benefit societies and is the term we shall be using, *to refer to all the principles.*

There are about fifty umgalelo in Mbekweni, an African township in Paarl in the Western Cape. Four distinct types of these "pouring" clubs are identified: mutual benefit clubs, burial societies, savings clubs and co-operative lending societies.

2. British Working Class Friendly Societies

Parallels can be drawn with the "box clubs" and friendly societies of the British working class which were concerned with "the problem of thrift and self-help". These voluntary associations had their origin in the 17th and 18th centuries but flowered in the early 19th century during a time of transition in the Industrial Revolution in Britain. They are described by Gosden as "an attempt by working men to meet their social and convivial needs as well as to insure against the hazards of sickness and death". (4) Their African counterparts differ in having

developed a religious component to meet the religious as well as social needs of a people who suffer cultural, social, economic and political deprivation in the South African situation. It is the religious aspect of the umgalelo that is of particular interest as they may be seen to be a new category of African Independent Church, or at least competitors with the churches for the religious loyalty of their members.

3. Background

Umgalelo seem to have begun as saving clubs among contract labourers, especially on the mines as indicated above. A number of men would club together and subscribe a specific amount of money at regular intervals. At the end of each month they would take turns in receiving the pool and this money would either be sent home in a lump sum or used to buy expensive items such as furniture or cattle. With the growth of urbanisation different types of societies developed to meet different types of needs, and this movement may then have spread to the rural areas as in Britain. (5)

The umgalelo is popular in all the African townships in the Western Cape and Boland. The research in Mbekweni aimed at getting an overall view of their functioning in

one area, and was carried out through interviewing people involved in their homes, hostels and places of work, and in attending meetings. The meetings are often referred to as umdlalo ka bane, "the playing of so and so", or ukukutshwa, "to be taken out". In addition, general discussion took place at large gatherings of people e.g. at Anglican church meetings and funerals.

The umgalelo principle has roots in traditional African practices of mutual help and reciprocity in social relationships which could take specific forms. Among the Sotho-Tswana, for example, there is the mafisa custom whereby a poor man borrows a cow from his more prosperous neighbour and keeps every second calf in return for caring for the animal. It has always been customary for a chief to dispense cows and land in this way without question of transferring ownership. (6) In the case of children, a boy is given to a family that has no male child. The boy keeps his clan name but the adopting family pay lobola (bridewealth) for his marriage and the children take on the adopted clan name.

Another traditional custom relating to reciprocity is the work-party (amalima in Xhosa and letsema in Sotho), where men and women in a small community will take turns in assisting each other with major tasks such as clearing

land, cultivating, planting, weeding and harvesting. Beer and meat are provided for all the participants. Small presents of grain may be given at harvest but otherwise there is no remuneration. Although hard work is involved, the amalima have a party atmosphere with conversation, singing and refreshments attesting to their convivial nature. (7)

With the coming of Christianity, mission and church activities initially intended to provide for all the convert's social and religious needs, the Christian community taking over from the traditional village as the small-scale social unit. Industrialisation and urbanisation, however, contributed to the breakdown of social relations and the consequent anomie of the individual in his isolation from any sort of communal structure in the urban environment. The large main-line churches in the townships have generally failed to meet the needs of the African people for close community involvement and mutual aid. The Zionist-type churches, on the other hand, provide small caring communities which satisfy a variety of needs in the urban milieu.

4. Identifying Needs

A study of an Anglican parish in an African township in the Boland has suggested that the people fill the vacuum in their lives by establishing new groupings and so focus on the ritual aspects of church life so that they come to function like an Independent Church within the shell of a main-line church. (8)

The people in this township originate mainly from the Transkei and Ciskei with a small group coming from the Southern Free State. There are divisions between migrants and permanent residents, "inwooners" (i.e. those born in the Western Cape) and foreigners, Xhosa from Transkei and Ciskei and Xhosa and Mfengu from the Ciskei.

The evidence in this case study supports Cumpsty's view that there is a need for a group to form aggregations at significant levels as a means of establishing their identity and of producing a corporate value system which will give rise to a cosmic sense of belonging. (9) In this instance the significant symbols relate to ritual rather than ethics.

Night services are favoured with a strong revivalistic flavour. Little attention is given to Lenten observances,

the imposition of ashes on Ash Wednesday being seen as an assurance of receiving Easter Communion. The washing of feet on Maundy Thursday is popular, but confession is absent. At Easter, the Good Friday services, i.e. the three hour service and the vigil are more important than the Easter Sunday Service. An all night service at the All Saints festival on 2nd November has also come into vogue as a commemoration of the faithful departed with large sums of money being offered in memory of people's ancestors. The priest takes the place of the chief in being both the religious and the secular leader and he is believed to control the power which comes from God.

The monistic world view of the traditional African, in which no distinction is made between the sacred and the secular, natural and supernatural, thus continues to permeate the world view of the African Christian and misfortune is still interpreted within a closed system of cause and effect, there being no idea of chance. Consequently, witchcraft beliefs are rife. "Blessings" in the form of healing, child-bearing, passing exams, obtaining work, material prosperity and so forth are all seen as signs of God's favour and the ritual observances have a magical element in obtaining these favours. As Cumpsty notes, "for the deprived and the powerless the 'blessings' tend to relate to the immediate situation,

even to the religious gathering itself, there being little to rejoice in outside". (10)

It is in this context that umgalelo have taken their distinctive form as African voluntary associations with a religious component. Like the Independent Churches they provide for needs which are not satisfied by the main-line churches and Anglicans, for one, flock to join them. The Anglican parish church is thus relegated to becoming a service agency for baptisms, weddings and funerals, and as the venue for the celebration of the major church feast days. In the study of Mbekweni particular attention will be given to the way in which umgalelo complement as well as challenge the functioning of the church.

5. Plan of Presentation

In Chapter One a survey of the significant literature on mutual aid societies in South Africa is presented so that they can be studied in their historical context.

In Chapter Two an historical overview of Mbekweni will be made giving a brief description of the place, the people and their daily activities, their churches and their social life. In Chapter Three a description of umgalelo

and its function will be given and the four types of umgalelo we have identified will be discussed.

In Chapter Four we will be looking at the religious dimension of umgalelo. A comparison will be made between umgalelo on the one hand and African Independent Churches and guilds within the main-line churches on the other.

Chapter Five will deal with Umgalelo in the crisis situation of the people when normal life has been disrupted as in the present state of emergency.

In Chapter Six an attempt will be made to point out three levels of failure by the church: the failure to deal with actual life needs; the failure to express community at worship; and the failure of a sacramental relationship with the physical order.

CHAPTER ONE

1. A Survey of the Literature on Mutual Aid Societies

There is comparatively little information on mutual aid societies among African people in South Africa, and most of the material that does exist is based on studies in the Witerwatersrand. This material is mostly outdated, having been done in the 1930's and 1940's and 1950's. There is a brief reference to Umgalelo in the study of Langa in the Western Cape, by Wilson and Mafeje. But this research was done twenty-five years ago and makes no mention of the religious aspect of its functioning and ethos. There are however, two different works by Brandel-Syrier and Coplan which introduce us to some relationship between manyano and stokfel. The deficiencies in the existing studies are dealt with in the survey of literature as given below:

1.1 Rooiyard : Stockfair and Beer Brewing (1933)

Dr Hellmann appears to have done one of the earliest studies on mutual benefit societies. Her research in 1933 to 1934 was carried out in the African township at Rooiyard in New Doornfontein in the East Rand (Witwatersrand).

Rooiyard consisted of five stands, on which the owner had built 107 rooms for which he charged rent. Each household occupied one room only. The conditions under which the people lived were primitive and congested. The 'yard' had one central water point and a central toilet block. The permanent residents (officially known) of the yard numbered 376 made up of 235 adults and 141 children. Of the 107 rooms two were not used for residence. One was used as a church by the Apostolic Faith Mission and another as a small business for repairing clothes. The people were a mixture of the many different African groups found in Southern Africa. The dominant languages were Southern Sotho and Zulu. (1)

Hellmann calls the mutual benefit society which she studied in Rooiyard "stockfair". She defines stockfair as "a mutual benefit society which is primarily a women's society although men have infrequently tried to adopt it". (2) Her finding is that stockfair resulted from "brewing and selling of beer", and the stockfair was to provide "a means of disposing of surplus beer cheaply". (3) According to her, stockfair has two functions:

"To assist in the disposing of any surplus beer which has remained unsold

during the weekend, and to act as a kind of saving society. To this end a number of women form a stockfair, which meets every Monday from 12 noon to 1.30pm each week in the room of a different member, who becomes the 'owner' of the stockfair for that morning. Each woman brings a stipulated amount to the owner of the stockfair... Visitors, who pay an entrance fee of sixpence are eagerly welcomed by the stockfair... Members can drink as much as they desire, and visitors receive twice as much as they would receive for sixpence at any other time." (4)

The tribal bond plays no part in the formation of a stockfair. It is open to all. The number of members can be from 3 to 8 and they have a book-keeper to handle the finances. While Hellmann was working at Rooiyard an attempt was made to form a stockfair for men, but this did not get off the ground. Hellmann makes the significant point that economic interest supersedes the traditional ritual life, as well as the Christian religious occasions - "A child is often baptised not so much for religious reasons as to provide a pretext for

organising a party, from which may be expected gain as well as merriment and pleasure". (5) She concludes by saying that:

"The giving of money has almost entirely ousted the giving of other presents on such occasions as birth or puberty with a consequent loss of individuality... The whole context and meaning of beer brewing has changed in an urban centre.... The economic function of beer brewing has, under urban conditions, far outstripped its social, sacrificial and recreative functions, although the last in particular, is still of importance."

(6)

The principle of reciprocity in stockfair is not emphasised in relation to beer brewing. Baptism is the only religious phenomenon mentioned. Thus the religious content of present day meetings seems to be a comparatively new phenomenon. Even though Hellmann's interest was primarily economic she could not have failed to notice prayers, Bible readings and hymn singing if they had been taking place.

1.2 Mutual Aid Societies in the Western Native Township
(1944)

In their study of mutual aid societies in the Western Native Township in the Witwatersrand in the early 1940's, Kuper and Kaplan were able to identify a greater variety of such societies. Their work shows a development in understanding in different forms of stockfair, namely the stockfair (stokfel), Mahodisana and burial society.

According to Kuper and Kaplan, voluntary associations "centre largely in the money values of the Western world, but involve more than mere monetary transactions". (7) Further, they see an overlapping in the functions and activities of these societies. They are said to arise because of the African's need for an alternative to European forms of savings, which "lack the personal element that is so important to the African and so characteristic of all his dealings... and secondly because Africans are also mistrustful of European forms of savings...". (8)

Kuper and Kaplan also observe that not all stokfels operate on the basis of beer and that stokfels are not only for women. There are also non-liquor stokfels, as for example, the tea party. In this instance a number of

friends group together, taking it in turn to hold a party on Sunday afternoons. An admission fee is levied at the entrance. Anyone can come and the proceeds go to the host. At the party music is played and people pay to have items played for them.

The associations identified by Kuper and Kaplan are as follows:

1.2.1 Stokfel

Membership is open to anybody. A new member joins the club through the recommendation of another member, perhaps a friend. Both men and women belong to the stokfel but membership may be restricted on the grounds of sex, 'tribe' or locality. The number of members is usually small.

Each member pledges to pay a fixed sum of money either weekly or monthly. A member is free to 'double up', that is instead of paying a fixed amount of R10.00 he can give R20.00. When his turn comes around he would expect 'balancing up', that is the person to whom he gave R10.00 will be bound to give R20.00 in return, to 'balance up'. In addition to the fixed contribution a member is expected to pay an entrance fee whether he attends the

party or not.

Stokfel clubs may form a union with other stokfel clubs. The money given to other clubs is usually less than the fixed amount given to the club to which a person belongs. The clubs have names like 'Black Lilies', and 'Victory Ladies'. Uniform is also worn, the women wear brightly coloured blouses and skirts. (9)

The only office bearer mentioned is a secretary who keeps the records of the proceedings. The stokfels that sell liquor start their selling from Saturday afternoon, while the actual party only starts on Sunday afternoon. The entrance fee entitles a member to one drink only. Extra drinks must be paid for. The club may compose its own song. For example, the 'Victory Ladies' song is "Imali iyangena" (the money comes in). (10) The meeting is not formally opened with prayer as in most other African gatherings.

1.2.2 Mahodisana

According to Kuper and Kaplan, mahodisana is "primarily a women's association", and is less formally organised. The contribution is also much lower than in the stokfel. But there are similarities between them. Uniforms are

worn in the form of black skirts, a blouse and crocheted 'kappie'. The members of mahodisana are either friends or living in close proximity; there is a fixed amount set for contributions; doubling up is practised and parties are held in larger mahodisana groups.

Kuper and Kaplan also mention another form of society, which is a mixture of mahodisana and stokfel - 'saving' club. In a saving club some part of the pool is saved until the end of the year. This 'saving' society then meets and after "the party has been dispensed with" the money is banked. At the end of the year each member receives exactly the amount contributed plus the interest. Again a secretary is the only office bearer mentioned.

1.2.3 Burial Societies

In addition to mahodisana and stokfel, Kuper and Kaplan mention 'Burial Societies' which they wrongly call "impersonal societies".

Kuper and Kaplan note that a great number of Africans in the Western Native Township belong to the local burial societies (65%). Membership is open to anyone and the sum contributed will ensure a decent burial for all members

of the family or people listed in the household policy.

They also mention that "it has become customary in the township to make a collection on the death of a family member from friends, relatives and neighbours" and "it is possible that strict reciprocity is intended". (11) They stress that "to many African men and women the party lends colour and interest to an otherwise drab existence... They feel themselves important as individuals in a congenial social milieu." (12)

Traditional customary practices however have not been brought out clearly in the functioning of the burial societies, for example, the idea of sharing in one's bereavement. Donations are given whether one belongs to a burial society or not. The whole township donates. They make no mention of religious and customary funeral rites but emphasise only that money is collected.

1.3 Manyano and the Stokfel (1950)

Mia Brandel-Syrier was invited by the Institute of Race Relations to study the African Women's Organisations and to evaluate to what extent they satisfy the needs of African women. The research was done from September 1953 to February 1955 in the Witwatersrand. Her findings on

Women's Manyano are found in her book 'Black Woman in Search of God'.

The word Manyano comes from a Xhosa verb 'Ukumanya' which means to join or unite. (13) Manyano is a churchwomen's voluntary association which generally meets on Thursday afternoons. It is with regard to the fund-raising aspect that she mentions stokfel. She writes:

"The stokfel is a form of organised mutual assistance based on the rule of reciprocity. The origin of the word "stokfel" is unknown, but this form of organisation occurs in many variations, and under a great many different names; and also amongst men, but the women form the main membership. An important development from this type are the women's Funeral Societies which give assistance in the form of money and services, in case of death and other emergencies... These two, the Manyano and the Stokfel; are the most popular type of organisations, drawing to them the largest number of members. Both are entirely in the hands of African women

and function without any European guidance." (14)

According to her, "Some Manyanos engage in regular stokfels for the purpose of raising money". (15) However the Manyano women do not call this aspect of raising money stockfel because the name stokfel "has become associated with things 'primitive' and 'backward' and drinks and all that". (16) They proudly speak of their 'society'. The Manyano Society has a written constitution and secretary, but above all the society's meetings were "throughout Christian because they were always opened with a prayer, and the women sang hymns". (17) This is the first time that a prayer and hymns are mentioned in a stokfel operating under the auspices of a religious grouping.

The stokfel, according to Brandel-Syrier, had many functions in African communities. First, it has a recreation function - "Football Clubs, Stokfels and Manyanos appeared to be the three most popular forms of recreation". (18) Secondly, as many women belong to both Manyanos and stokfel there is a borrowing from one another, so that they complement each other: both "provide members with inexhaustible opportunities for fellowship and fun". (19) Lastly, the stokfel helps in

raising money for the church as well as for the individual. The patterns of both Manyano and stokfel are said to form the basis of most "African organisational behaviour". (20)

Stokfels have, however, been looked down on by Europeans and African "High Society" as "primitive" and "backward", and as a "waste of time and money". (21)

Brandel-Syrier further mentions "Funeral Societies as a development of stokfels". She says these organisations "should rather be seen as filling a gap and satisfying a need not provided for by the Manyanos". (22)

Although Bandel-Syrier has studied stokfel as an organisation she has written about it from the Manyano perspective; i.e. how useful stokfel was to manyano rather than to the individual. She has nevertheless brought in the relationship between a religious body (manyano) and a secular organisation (stokfel); and showed how stokfel can take on certain religious characteristics when it is under the wing of manyano. For example, it is opened by prayer and the women sing hymns. Brandel-Syrier further emphasises that stokfel is a women's affair.

1914

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1.4 Langa and Umgalelo (1960)

Wilson and Mafeje's study is of social groups in Langa in the Western Cape during the early 1960's. Langa was the first African township to be built in the 1920's. It began with barracks or single hostels for migrant workers from Transkei and Ciskei. The influenza epidemic of 1918 forced the City Council to take people from the slum area of Ndabeni to this new township. (23)

The problem which Wilson and Mafeje address is what the basis is for the coherence of different social groups such as football clubs, music choirs, dance clubs and umgalelo clubs. In their discussion umgalelo is mentioned only as a form of fund raising as it is said to be primarily concerned with mutual aid in accumulating money.

According to Wilson and Mafeje no umgalelo club has more than eight people and membership is not confined to homeboys, kinship or clan. Ten clubs are noted and they have names as for example, the Happy Lilies, Night Walkers and Heavy Bombers.

Umgalelo clubs are also said to have associate members who cannot afford the full set fee. The club has a

chairman and a secretary who keeps the records of each party. They say umgalelo is run in two ways. First, in the old school concert form. Here someone might be asked to sing and the person who makes the request than has to pay a sum of money such as 50 cents for having the request fulfilled. Secondly, umgalelo can be run in the form of an "Afternoon Spend", where each member of a club as well as other clubs, brings in an agreed amount. The parties start at 2pm and continue until 10pm. There is no indication as to whether the parties meet on Sunday or Saturday.

Wilson and Mafeje further observe that "savings clubs in the Cape occur among the poorest people... and none were found in the middle class, but they are said to exist among African nurses in Johannesburg... The basis of association is personal and friendship; friends who are trustworthy were invited to join". (24)

The study appears to be the only one that has been done in the Cape which would be directly comparable with our study at Mbekweni, but again, there is no mention of a religious component.

1.5 Umgalelo and Hire Purchase (1985)

There is an article about stokfel (umgalelo) in 'Vukani Makhosikazi' edited by Jane Barrett and others, and published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, July 1985. (25)

In this article two types of umgalelo are mentioned, namely 'stokfel' and 'burial society'. The theme of the first type - stokfel, is how umgalelo helps to make the Hire Purchase "a bit less". The other form makes it possible for a person to have a decent funeral.

Although this article is very recent the information is slight. It makes no mention of any religious content in either the stokfel or the burial societies, not even prayer.

1.6 Music and Stokfel (1986)

David Coplan's work on voluntary associations is the latest in the literature to mention stokfel. In his book 'In Township Tonight' he is looking at music and entertainment in the African townships. Three points are made concerning stokfels: the derivation and meaning of stokfel; the stokfel as entertainment and the

relationship of stokfel to manyano.

The word stokfel seems to be an Afrikaans version of an English word stockfair. According to Coplan:

"Stokfel appears to derive from the rotating cattle auction of stockfair of English settlers in the Eastern Cape during the nineteenth century... Cape Africans brought the stokfel to Johannesburg where the word came to refer to small rotating credit associations based on African principles of social and economic co-operation... Stokfels were and are credit rings in which each member contributes a set amount each week in anticipation of receiving the combined contributions of all other members at regular intervals."

(26)

Stokfel as a recreational function provided entertainment for the urbanites. It thus came to be associated with 'marabi'. Marabi is an urban form of 'titimiti', the difference being that while dance in timiti is traditional, in marabi it is a mixture of jive and 'ticky

draai' (dance). Initially the organ was the main musical instrument, later on the band took over. Nowadays, the marabi has been overtaken by the disco.

It was because of the musical nature of the stokfel that it provided entertainment:

"On Sunday afternoons, stokfel members marched to the party in uniform, singing Tswana regimental and initiation songs, popular urban songs, and Christian hymns. ...Stokfel parade was an advertisement, drawing casual passers by along to the party in a dusty cloud of colour, music, and marching, dancing feet." (27)

A further feature of stokfel is its usage by the manyano women. But first a word about the 'tea meeting'. According to Coplan, 'tea meeting' originated with church-orientated social affairs of British settlers in the Eastern Cape. (28) Tea meeting was a common practice in both rural and urban church communities, especially in the manyano group. In this tea meeting liquor was not served. "The all-night tea meetings", says Coplan, "replaced the musical beer drinks of traditional society

(timiti). The tea meetings were characteristic of early urban society, fusing economic and social activities just as traditional work for beer parties had done." (29) The tea meeting was introduced in the Transvaal by school graduates from the Cape, who worked as clerks in the mines, "and their enjoyment of tea meetings soon spread to migrants and urban proletariats as well." (30) It is from this point that the tea meeting took on liquor as an ingredient in the entertainment and so becomes stokfel. The tea meeting alone was not very effective in raising enough money, and so the women adopted stokfel along with the tea meeting pattern to raise funds.

The manyano influence on stokfel is shown in the wearing of their own particular uniforms, especially the black skirts by stokfel members. These uniforms were not the church's uniforms but belong to the various societies. The societies or clubs have names such as "Tranvallians" or "Black Lions". (31)

According to Coplan, stokfel "advanced cultural urbanisation and the transition from rural to an urban identity,... provided aspiring urbanites with a means of self-expression and a new working-class culture." (32)

In his work on music and theatre in the Black townships,

Coplan shows interdependence between a religious group manyano and a secular movement stokfel. The manyano is dependent on stokfel to raise funds for the church. The stokfel on the other hand uses Christian hymns at its meeting. He further shows that stokfel is a product of the church's tea meeting party and of the musical beer drinking party of the traditional society. He also shows that stokfel developed to form burial societies.

The interdependence between manyano and stokfel is so close that Coplan says, "the line between stokfel and manyano must have been rather thin in some cases". (33)

In conclusion, the secondary sources we have reviewed give some idea of the historical development of mutual aid societies among African people in South Africa. Kuper and Kaplan are the only scholars to study stokfel on its own. Hellmann sees stokfel as a product of illicit beer brewing in order to supplement a husband's earnings. We also see how stokfel and manyano work hand in hand in raising funds for the church. Lastly, it is evident that when one is studying music one cannot but see the entertaining aspect of stokfel. The fact is the other studies refer to stokfel only as it relates to the church body manyano or as being involved with musical entertainment.

This review of literature shows that there is a dearth of information on mutual aid societies among African people, particularly in relation to the religious aspect of their functioning. But before taking a closer look at the Umqalelo at Mbekweni it is first necessary to give a brief survey of the township itself.

CHAPTER TWO

2. MBEKWENI

2.1 Description of Mbekweni

An Historical Survey

Mbekweni is an African township in Paarl. It supplies labour to Wellington, Paarl, Brackenfell and Kraaifontein. The name means 'respect' in Xhosa, that is, a place of respect. It was built in 1952 and initially had 30 family dwellings and 200 hostel dwellings built of brick. A hostel dwelling housed between 10 and 12 single men i.e. five and six in a room. The residents came from Paarl, Wellington, Franschhoek, Groot Drakenstein and Klein Drakenstein. Subsequently houses for residents were built at different times. In 1964 300 houses for residents were built, 150 in 1969, 140 in 1976. There are at present 738 municipal family houses, 12 privately owned houses and 21 blocks of hostels catering for building contractors. There are also hostels built by private firms. These are occupied by migrant workers from Transkei and Ciskei.

Shacks

Squatting was not allowed until 1983. There are now two squatter camps, the first camp having 120 shacks and the second 213 shacks. There are also shacks built in the backyards of houses. Each dwelling house has two to three shacks in the backyard. The administration says there are 19,000 people in Mbekweni but the de facto population is between 27,000 and 30,000 people. Migrant workers form one third of the total population, that is, about ten thousand. There are however blacks who have taken "coloured" names to secure housing and work, and these people now live in the coloured townships. These "coloured by night" still have ties with people at Mbekweni either by clan or cultural ties for example, Umgalelo.

Schools

There is one primary school of 1146 pupils with a staff of 24 teachers; one higher primary of 356 pupils with 13 teachers; and a high school of 728 with a staff of 16 teachers. There are only two graduate teachers at the high school.

Sports

There are four rugby clubs and two soccer clubs; rugby being the most popular game. There is only one rugby field, with a stadium of a comparatively high standard but poorly developed. There is one soccer field, and two tennis courts (two additional tennis courts have just been completed at the high school). There is no cricket or netball club.

Roads

The roads are in a very bad condition. The storm water drainage blocks frequently. There is a tender for the construction of the roads. Public transport is excellent with both buses and trains operating regularly.

Health

There is one clinic staffed by two sisters and one doctor who comes once a week. The clinic is open only during the day. Serious cases are referred to Paarl East Hospital. There have been several appeals to open a day hospital. There is no midwife for the expectant mothers.

Residents

Africans are employed in unskilled jobs in textile industries, wineries, canning factories, road construction, in plastic and metal factories and as petrol attendants. Semi-skilled jobs are reserved for coloured people. Some people work in industries as far away as Bellville. There is also seasonal employment in canning in the vineyards. The main industries are: Textiles - Berg River and Wellington Industries being the biggest firms; Canning factories - Langeberg and Jones (Pty) Ltd.

Mbekweni mainly consists of working class people. Seventy percent of the teachers at three local schools travel from Cape Town to Mbekweni every day because of the lack of accommodation. There is a high degree of illiteracy at Mbekweni. The teachers in the township, despite their level of education and wages, have not risen above the status of a factory worker. There are no clubs for teachers except the national bodies such as ATASA (African Teachers Association of South Africa).

The social differentiation is between the migrant 'Amagoduka' and the townees, but one cannot say that there is any class difference. The townees are no better

than the migrants in any respect - 60% of townees at Mbekweni are illiterate or have had not more than four years of schooling, whereas the same proportion of migrants have had five to eight years of schooling. The evidence indicates that in the work situation migrants tend to climb much faster to the supervisory role.

The houses in Mbekweni are arranged in blocks. Each block has eight to ten family houses of three rooms each. A ward has 50 family houses, and also in a ward there are four to six illegal subsistence provision 'stores'. These illegal shops are called 'isikrodlo' - a cave or shelter. These subsistence stores sell very necessary daily consumable articles such as tea, coffee, candles, matches, cigarettes, mealie meal, sweets and paraffin. Every sixth house is a shebeen and every eighth to tenth house a drug dealer.

Many residents at Mbekweni claim to belong to a church but very few attend church services regularly. They are seasonal church goers, that is, they would go to a church if there is some special thing taking place, or on a Sunday with special meaning. For example, in the Anglican Church in Mbekweni, apart from Ash Wednesday, Easter (Good Friday in particular) the Bernard Mizeki patronal festival and All Souls Day, the biggest attendance is on

the first Sunday of February. The origin of this custom is not known but what might have encouraged attendance for this day is the Vestry meeting which used to be held on this day and the rest of the parish comes together, or it may have been the first Sunday after people had received their first pay of the year. There is a similar custom in the traditional African community about the first wage. Among Sotho-Tswana the first salary is given to the maternal uncle. This action will incur blessing. This tradition is now falling away. The uncle is replaced by one's own parents, and the parents are now being replaced by the church. So for people to come on this day is to seek a blessing for the year.

On the other hand the Methodist Church has a service once a year called 'Covenant Service'. It is held very early in the year. Members of the church rededicate themselves on this day. The Methodist liturgy has a strong influence among the Xhosa people. For example some of the best known hymns and choruses are from Methodist tunes and translations, so this could be the influence of the Methodist church at Mbekweni.

The first Sunday in February marks the beginning of the working year. The working year ends with another festival, the weekend immediately before the business

firms close for the Christmas holidays.

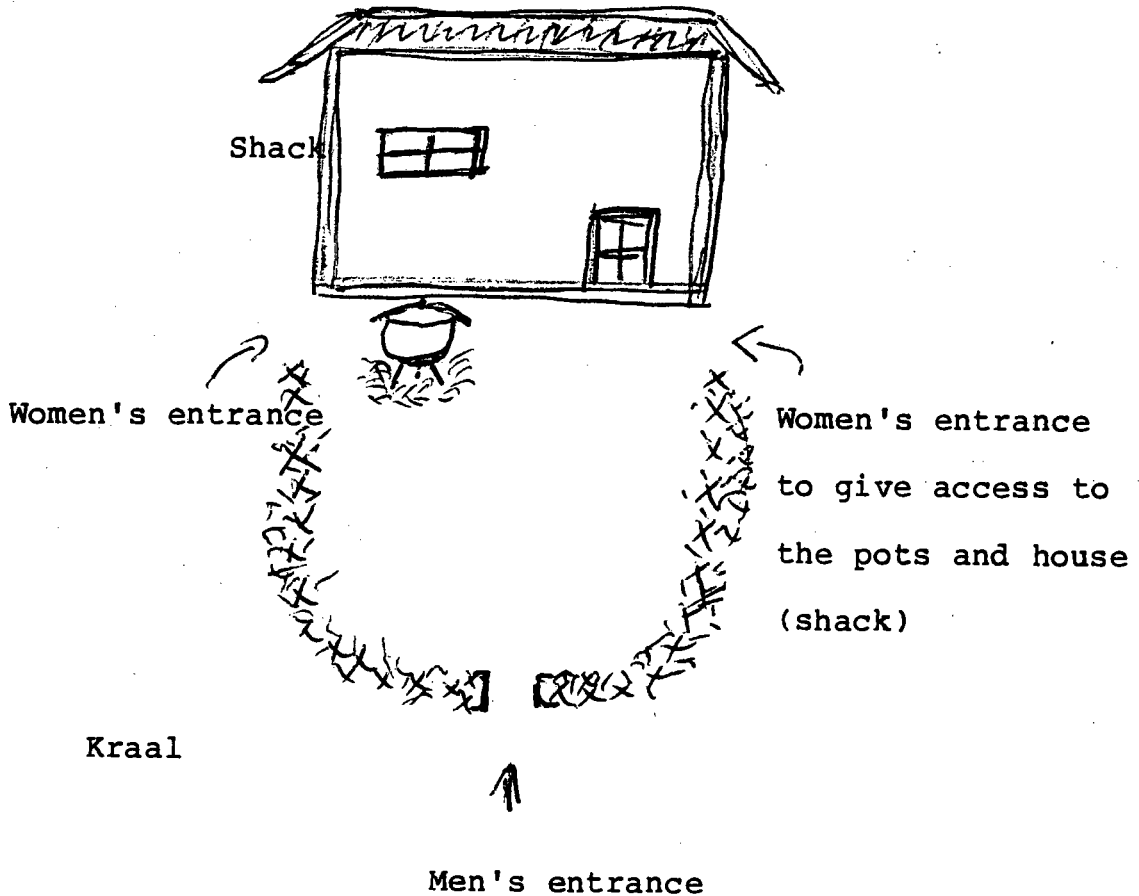
2.2 The Traditional Element

The people at Mbekweni, as indeed all Africans in the Western Cape, still practise the traditional way of life, both church-goers and non-church-goers. Migrants perform their ritual at home (in the kraals). Among the rituals that are practised at Mbekweni are circumcision, ho thwasa (be possessed by spirits), and pha badimo (offering to ancestors) to mention but three.

The circumcision custom is merely tolerated by the church. People do not go to the circumcision party as church members but as individuals. Some priests do go to the party too. The second traditional rite which has never won the sympathy of the church is 'ho thwasa' (to be possessed). The word also means, to bloom, to come to life. For example, when the new moon comes out it is said "khwedi e thwasitse", literally translated, "the new moon has come to life". The rite associated with this ceremony is shunned by church people because a person who is possessed by the spirits will eventually become a diviner. In the Zionist church this phenomenon is encouraged because it is through it that a person becomes either a prophet or a healer within the church.

The offering to the ancestors ('pha badimo') was strongly attacked by the missionaries and the first generation of black ministers. But very soon people found a way round it. It is practised under several names. For example, a person would make a dinner for his deceased parents and call it 'tafole', (table); or they would call it the unveiling of the tombstone. Only the family or clan and a few friends would know the purpose of the gathering. They will be offering to the ancestors. The 'pha badimo' rite is performed for thanksgiving or for appeasement in time of trouble. These rites are still performed although not correctly as in a country situation. Secondly, the party or feast cannot be publicised because of fear of discipline by the church. But many do gather for the ritual, and the slaughtering is still done.

One of the striking phenomena when the traditional rituals are performed is the creation of the imaginary kraal. The kraal is often laid out in the squatter camps where there are no yards. This kraal is made up of tree branches laid in a semi-circle in front of the shack. The kraal has a main entrance for men and two other entrances on either side of the semi-circle for women. The diagram below shows how the structure is prepared.



The branches are not more than a foot above the ground but no-one may walk or jump over them until the ceremony is over.

The kraal represents the place of the ancestors and is treated with reverence. The elderly women use the men's entrance if they are 'ritually clean'. For example, if they have reached menopause. The food is cooked next to the shack but the meal is eaten by the men inside the

kraal. When they have finished eating, they leave the kraal so that others may come in.

The meal is normally the last item after the ritual has been done and the purpose of the feast has been explained. About two pints of beer will be spilled on the ground inside the kraal before any food is eaten. In some families a hymn is sung and a prayer said. This kind of ritual practice is done by people who have already settled or intend settling down in the townships, otherwise the customary rite will be performed at the homeland.

The rituals performed in the manner stated above are celebrated after a death has occurred, or at a circumcision party, or, as a way of informing the ancestors, when the family has decided to remain in town. In the properly built houses in the townships the ceremony might be called the 'house warming party' but to the household it is one way of informing and thanking the ancestors for the new abode.

We went to the outstations with Mr Msesi on the Sunday afternoon and observed a family that was having a traditional ritual which had been adopted by the township life. Mr Msesi was not pleased by the 'cooked' ritual and

he remarked 'aba abasoze bagoduke' meaning "these people will never go back home". (2) One must note that if a person does not return home regularly it is regarded as scandalous behaviour. One must always go back to the roots to gain strength (force).

There are no 'national' celebrations nor village rituals. Rituals as, for example, for the first fruits or harvest or requests for rain, are not done. In a traditional setting on these occasions people would wear traditional dresses. People now wear traditional clothes, especially women, at 'political' funerals. People do share in the traditional rites generally at funerals by eating and drinking the food provided. One is expected to take part fully at the funeral.

2.3 Churches

There are mainline, Ethiopian and Spirit churches at Mbekweni. There is no Zion Christian Church (ZCC), Shembe Movement nor Nazareth Church. (3)

The Mainline Churches

Mainline churches are the churches that originated mainly from Europe, and have white members. The leadership in

these churches is largely white.

At Mbekweni there are nine mainline churches represented. They are the Anglican (Church of the Province of Southern Africa), the Roman Catholic, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Baptist and Boland Baptist, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Presbyterian Church, Moravian Church and the Congregational Church. The last three churches mentioned have no church buildings and make use of school buildings. But during the present state of emergency schools have been declared a forbidden ground and the school yards are guarded by soldiers. Now people have resorted to a shift system in the buildings of other churches, i.e. the churches that used to make use of school class rooms now have their services in hostel kitchens. Three such hostel kitchens have been turned into church buildings by Congregationalists, United Methodists and Ethiopian Baptists.

Ethiopian Churches

The group of churches under this heading are those churches that broke away from the mainline churches but have retained their former church's structure. The liturgy is the same as in the mother church, that is, they use the same prayer book and also retain the

uniform. Within this group four can be mentioned at Mbekweni: the Ethiopian Baptist, the United Methodist Church of Southern Africa (Transkei Church), the United Methodist of Southern Africa which broke away from the Transkeian Methodist Church and the Ethiopian Pogo Church.

The earlier view of Sundkler was that these Independent Churches arose as a reaction to discrimination in South Africa and the need for black leadership. Although Sundkler no longer adheres to this view, (4) it can still be said to be one of the main reasons for the breakaway of the Ethiopian type of churches. As late as 1978 we experienced the major breakaway of the Methodist group in the Transkei forming what is called a black Methodist Church. The reasons put forward was that Southern African Methodists are controlled by whites, and black money has helped to boost this white establishment.

The Order of Ethiopia which falls in this grouping falls under the Anglican Church but they still regard themselves as a group apart. At Mbekweni they do not have their own church building and meet in school buildings or hostel kitchens. The leadership in these Ethiopian churches is always black.

Spirit Churches

The third group of churches is the "Spirit Churches". The emphasis in these churches is on the power of the Spirit (Holy Spirit) to heal both by water and by prayer. Within this group we can identify the Apostolics and Zionists. The characteristics of these Spirit churches overlap. For example, an Apostolic Church may use the drums which are characteristic of the Zionists, and there are Zionists who do not have drums, but clap hands. The clapping of hands is the characteristic of Apostolics.

The local people distinguish between Apostolics and Zionists by their uniforms and music. The Apostolics use blue skirts (normal length), white blouses and white hats for women. The men wear white dust coats. The Zionists however use multi-coloured clothing and the dresses are much longer than the normal dresses. Their colours are green, white, yellow and red. Men and women wear almost the same pattern - cassock or 'cape'-like pattern. Secondly, with regard to music, the Zionist drum beat is much faster than the Apostolic drum beat.

Both these groups do not wear anything that is black, because they believe it defiles a person. Neither do they eat pork. They both practise healing and baptise in the

Berg River early on Sunday mornings. The common features of these groups are, as West describes them, "Healing, river baptism, dancing, prophets, night communion and drums". (5)

One important thing among others is that the spirit churches form closely knit communities, each member knowing others well, and therefore ready to help and console in times of sorrow.

There is also a secret movement which meets at night. It is called 'Iggaza' in Xhosa. The word iggaza has several meanings; it is the name of a bird, and secondly, it refers to a bunch of green vegetation growing together, and thirdly, it refers to a group of young uncircumcised boys (amakwenkwe) moving in a group accompanying another boy who enters circumcision school. The secret prayer meeting is generally called by this word. The relationship of this word and the prayer meeting is not clear.

The 'iggaza' is an interdenominational gathering. People are not prepared to tell you what goes on at this secret meeting. It is said that people pray for anything, not necessarily for the sick. The reason for secrecy is to have power, the more a thing is secret the more power it

will have.

There are other church groupings, such as Limba's Church from Port Elizabeth and Sixabayi, which are not very strong. Many of the members go to Cape Town for services.

2.4 Social Conditions

Overcrowding has made Mbekweni a health hazard. Tuberculosis cannot be controlled. In the early 1960's Paarl experienced fierce rioting culminating in November 1963 when a plan of attack on the police station failed. The events were so serious that a Commission of Enquiry was set up under Mr Justice Snyman. The Snyman Report revealed that a number of residents' grievances were legitimate and also discovered several instances of abuse of the Bantu Affairs system. Twenty years later the community of Mbekweni is still beset by a chronic housing shortage and many amenities which the man-in-the-street takes for granted elsewhere are in a rudimentary stage, if indeed they exist at all. Unless action is taken to redress existing ills the residents of this township will be subjected to an intolerable level of frustration. (6) The conditions have not changed since 1982. Squatting has erupted and the authorities cannot cope with it.

One factor about Mbekweni that needs to be mentioned is that unlike Cape Town townships, Mbekweni was a Pan African Congress strong hold, and it remained so after the movement was banned. (7) The Pan Africanist influence, the poverty and lack of housing, and the high rate of illiteracy made people incline to Africanism. Africanism is much more community orientated - people help each other in a more personal way.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter Umgalelo will be discussed. It is important to note that many Umgalelo overlap. For example, a mutual aid society can start with a thousand Rand collected and put away in the bank, and then proceed with the monthly or fortnightly pool to the individual. The lump sum of money deposited in the bank has two purposes. First, the float stands as a security for any defaulters. Secondly, in case of death, the money helps with the funeral expenses of a family member. In practice therefore umgalelo fulfils the role of both a saving society and of a burial society. These categories will be discussed later.

Further, within a burial society there are clubs that form a 'union'. The clubs take different forms of Umgalelo. For example, within one union one club may adopt a saving type of Umgalelo and another a co-operative lending type.

There are also short term and long term Umgalelo. The short term type of Umgalelo is the one that gives each member a pool within one calendar year. The long term

Umgalelo runs from a three to a five year cycle. The long term Umgalelo have now moved to Cape town for more market. There are people in Mbekweni who belong to such a long term type in Cape Town.

The short term Umgalelo is mostly for the working class people, whereas the long term is for the tycoons and middle class group who can pool as much as R60,000.00. These are people who can afford to wait for longer periods.

One must note that Umgalelo, especially of well-to-do people, may not always start with a prayer, a hymn and Bible reading. For example the Black lecturers of the University of Cape Town have a burial society and they do not start with prayer. Mr Solomon Chapole, the founder of the burial society, says that the society is very supportive of its members and that it builds solidarity in the group. (1) The burial society of Black lecturers at the University of Cape Town covers the extended families. For example, it helps in covering the burial expenses for a member's parents and parents-in-law i.e. the wife's parents as well.

3.2 Types of Umgalelo

The umgalelo will be discussed in the four main categories which we have identified: mutual benefit clubs, burial societies, savings clubs and co-operative lending societies. (2) But first it is necessary to outline some of their methods of fund raising.

The timiti (a Sotho and Xhosa word) is an evening concert in which music is provided for singing and dancing, and food and drink served for refreshment. In the past the host would hire a concertina, slaughter a goat or beast and brew beer. The guests would also bring beer and food as gifts as the party was not intended for gain. The emphasis was rather on social enjoyment and entertainment. Nowadays, money is raised by charging an admission fee at the door. People also pay for the privilege of asking certain individuals or groups to sing particular items, or not to sing, as the case may be. They are expected to bid against one another and this competitive element is a money-spinner as well as adding to the enjoyment. It is like the disco of today.

The timiti is patterned on the "tea-meeting" or concert of the "school" people in the country, where alcohol was banned; and the iitimiti of the "red people", where beer

was sold and there was traditional dancing. (3) Wilson and Mafeje note that this type of concert "apparently dates from the beginning of mission education", and that "it appears in its most elaborate form in the 'afternoon spend'". (4) They give a detailed description of the way in which this sort of fund raising concert functions, starting in the early afternoon on a Saturday or Sunday, and going on into the evening with refreshments being served at regular intervals.

Young and old might attend. Now it is a popular way of raising money for social benefits such as creches, old age homes, football clubs and church groups, (4) as well as for mutual aid societies, and this timiti is for adults, not young people. (5)

3.2.1 Mutual Benefit Clubs

This type of club is known as stokfel (stockfair, stoekfel or stokvel) in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, but more commonly as umgalelo in the Western Cape. As we have noted, according to Hellmann this mutual benefit society used to be primarily a woman's society which functioned as a way of "disposing of any surplus beer... and to act as a kind of savings society. (7)

In the old days the women would come together after a feast or funeral to help clean the pots. If they had not donated food or ingredients for beer for the feast they would now either make a donation or offer their labour as their contribution. Men would also come to eat the "head of the animals" slaughtered and to drink beer and this would similarly apply to other feasts such as circumcision and weddings. With the coming of a money economy among urbanised people clubs were formed to continue this system of reciprocity, but the emphasis changed from being a purely social affair to that of raising funds for mutual aid.

Their genesis is described by Kuper and Kaplan as follows:

"Africans born and bred in the country have participated in communal organisations such as work parties and tribal ceremonies, but for the African urban-dwellers there are few associations in which they can express themselves as social beings. Yet the African is strongly interested in acting as a member of a group. The stress on the individual is largely the result of

impact with Western European economic, political, and religious activities. The main association open to the African is the church....

Possibly living in an environment to which they cannot fully belong has led to the development of Stokfel and Mahodisana societies described below. These societies centre largely in the money values of the Western world, but involve more than mere monetary transactions. Money is also invested in relatively impersonal organisations such as banks, building societies, insurance companies, burial societies, and similar units." (8)

The reasons for disposing of surplus beer is explained by Hellmann as follows: In the early days of the mines Africans were not allowed to brew beer in the compounds or mine villages. Nevertheless people brewed their own beer over the weekends when police were not active. Thus any beer left over from the weekend had to be finished otherwise the owner would be arrested. The women would therefore gather together on Monday to finish the beer,

so that it would not go bad and to defray the cost, and in this way stokfel clubs were formed. Men would not be around because they would be on duty at work, whereas many women would only collect the washing from white women and were therefore available at home.

The mutual benefit clubs appear to function in two ways. First, the stokfel type incorporates an "afternoon spend". A club member pays a set fee for each party and takes turns in being the host so that each one benefits. Both men and women belong to these clubs and their subscription entitles them to food and drink at the party. Soft drinks are provided for those who do not drink beer. Visitors are welcomed but they must pay for their refreshments and this is a way of raising extra money. Music is generally provided but there is no set rule. A roast chicken is usually auctioned and it can fetch as much as R20.00. The origin of this custom is not known but in the old days chicken was a treat reserved for special occasions. The chicken is usually white, white being the symbol of purity, blessing and peace.

Clan ties are of no significance in determining the membership of a club and it is open to all who can pay. The membership is limited, however, to between five and ten so that each member is assured of a turn in securing

the benefit at least once a year. The whole purpose of the umgalelo is to amass a lump sum of money at regular intervals which it would be difficult to accumulate in any other way. A chairman and secretary are responsible for dealing with the business side of the party, recording all the sums of money "played" so that this can be reciprocated at the next party; but the social side is also important.

The term 'stockfair' is seldom used in Mbekweni. There, they are generally known as Umgalelo. Clubs have mushroomed with names like "Zake", "Blue Line", and "masakane" and their members wear distinctive uniforms. For example, Zake women wear maroon skirts and berets, blue blouses and navy shoes. Blue Line have blue skirts, white blouses and berets, and navy shoes. (9)

Secondly, in the Cape there are also mafela clubs, which function in a slightly different way. The "pour in", i.e. paying of subscriptions, occurs monthly or fortnightly if more members have to be accommodated, but a member can exceed the stipulated amount. Like the other benefit clubs the numbers are limited to give everyone a chance of receiving the pool before the end of the year, when they close for a month. Again anyone may belong who can afford the subscription.

The umgalelo is today more complex in organisation than at its inception. Kuper and Kaplan, in their discussion of mahodisana, have confused a number of issues about umgalelo. They do not distinguish between stokfel where the emphasis is on singing and entertainment; mahodisana, where men arriving at their place of sleep (hostel or compound) would give each other the agreed amount of money each month; and the savings club, where money is put in the bank and shared at the end of the year. At the start Mahodisana would be made up of men since they received the wages. The name is derived from 'hola', to pay, from your pay. The men were the ones who could afford to pay. It seems that at the time of Kuper and Kaplan's study (1944), it was women who had taken over the men's practice in the township situation. According to these authors:

"Mahodisana and Stokfel cannot be regarded as totally distinct from each other. Mahodisana, however, differs from stokfel, firstly, in that it is less formally organised. Total membership in a Mahodisana varies from three to as many as 80 and possibly more. The Mahodisana is not divided into loosely

linked autonomous units of six members. Each Mahodisana is a distinct functioning unit on its own. Co-operation is within the society with its varying number of members. Each society has its own elected secretary who is responsible for organisation and he (the secretary) communicates with his members verbally.

Secondly, the Mahodisana would appear to be primarily a woman's society, with possible distinction on the basis of tribal organisation. We heard of now cases where men belonged to Mahodisana. Thirdly, the fixed contributions are on the whole lower, and the amount of money in circulation smaller, than in the Stokfel. Fourthly, distinguishing uniforms are worn in most of the larger Mahodisana societies. This uniform usually consists of black skirt, and a blouse and a crocheted kappie of a contrasting colour. In Stokfel societies, to which both men and women belong uniforms are not as a rule worn.

Uniforms are, perhaps, the result of the influence of church societies. Many of the churches encourage their members to wear a distinctive dress." (10)

What is being described above is umgalelo as it actually happens in the Western Cape whereas in the Free State it will be stokfel or societies, as they are often called there. Mahodisana, for example, still goes on - men working for the Berg River Textile Company in Paarl would give a member an agreed amount each week. (The coloureds in the same firm have their own mahodisana called "gooi-gooi".) This is less formal and no celebration or parties are held. The confusion most probably starts from the use of the word mahodisana. One word therefore would not be sufficient to describe this phenomenon of 'pouring in' whether it be stokfel or mahodisana, or umgalelo because no two clubs are doing exactly the same thing. Kuper and Kaplan however show a development and change from what was described by Hellmann.

The mafela is a union of clubs, and has an executive who organise the subscriptions, follow up the defaulters and make the pay-outs. The clubs are not protected by law in any way and cheating is rife with defaulters failing to meet their obligations or dropping out after receiving

their benefit before the end of the year. Dishonest executive members are also known to "cook the books" or abscond with the kitty.

Beer and meat accompany the "playing" (Ukukudlala) of the "game" at meetings. These refreshments are never sold. Elaborate dinners are sometimes served with the food being prepared by chefs from restaurants in Cape Town. Entertainment may be provided, with the singing of church and traditional songs. Other clubs are invited on condition that there is reciprocity in playing the game and the guests pay the "score" on their return visit. Affiliation to other wealthy clubs may enable a member to benefit by thousands of rand. (11)

The mafela clubs are amalgamated in a local union which is part of the Mafela National Organisation of South Africa. Each union has a constitution and its own president, secretary, treasurer, chaplain (Umthandazeli) auditor, Nolusapho (a woman in charge of women's affairs) and two or three executive members from different clubs. (12) The clubs divide when they become too big, or when people move to a new area, but they all remain members of their local union. There are sixteen clubs in the mafela organisation at Mbekweni, (13) and this union is affiliated to the mother body in Cape Town. This movement

is apolitical and it draws its members from all the different church bodies as well as from outside the church.

The mafela clubs are free to organise their own activities and these can take the form of a timiti or an "afternoon spend" to supplement their funds and provide entertainment. When a member receives a benefit it is often alluded to as his "birthday". There are in fact clubs which also function on the birthday principle and give money and presents on the member's actual birthday. The presents can include things like bedspreads, dinner sets, shaving sticks and cuff links. The recipient makes a note of who gives what as he in turn is obliged to return the "score". (14)

The mafela union has its own uniform: distinctive blazers and trousers for men, blouses and berets for women, as well as a badge. The various clubs within the Mafela union also have their own uniforms in different colours but they share the badge of the uniform. The closing of the year is marked by a great feast with all the clubs meeting together under the leadership of the president.

Fund raising takes place on a Saturday afternoon but the different umgalelo clubs invariably hold their meetings

on a Sunday, from the latter part of the morning on, and this comes into conflict with church worship. Moreover, although it is customary for African people to open all their meetings with prayer, whether they be political, social or religious, the umgalelo take on a further religious orientation by starting with a "church" service, and they function in many ways like a church. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

3.2.2 Burial Societies

The aim of the burial societies is to cover all the funeral expenses of the deceased and to provide moral support and sympathy to the bereaved. These societies are classified as umgalelo because they follow the same pattern in providing mutual aid. They function in two ways: (a) Money is either collected as a regular contribution to make a float of say R3,000.00 to put in the bank; a system followed by University of Cape Town Black lecturers' burial society or, more usually, (b) a fixed sum is collected from each member when one of their members, or a member of his family, dies. For example, R2.00 is given for an adult, R1.00 for a child, 50 cents for a miscarriage. In addition, the club can give their inxowa bag, which is a reserve fund of savings, as a

token of sympathy to the member's family.

The mafela union has its own burial society but only those who belong to one of its clubs may participate. This union has the largest membership but there are also other masicwabane ("let us bury each other") burial societies which have not formed unions. Some of them are made up of "home-boys" - migrant workers who come from the same place like Idutywa or Herschel, or from the same district like Cape Eastern Midlands (Queenstown and surrounding towns). Others belong to the same clan like the Dhlomos or Ndlovus. There is considerable social pressure to join a burial society: "if you are excluded you feel very lonely, cut off as if you do not belong in the village"; (15) and it is quite common to belong to more than one because of the different ways of grouping and the different ways of functioning. So for example:

"Jessy Cindi; I belong to the burial society. There is one which usually meets on Sunday and one on Saturday. The Saturday one we donate R3.00 and the Sunday one R5.00 even if there isn't a funeral." (15)

Those societies which have regular subscriptions meet

monthly to conduct business. The others only meet before a funeral, to make the necessary arrangements, and afterwards, to receive a report. These meetings take place on Sunday mornings because their members belong to other umgalelo clubs which meet later in the day. The people do not see any conflict with their church attendant because they quote the prayer of Saint Chrysostom which says: "when two or three are gathered in Thy Name Thou, Lord, will grant them their requests". (16) They believe that they are still worshipping because they have gathered for an important issue, i.e. funeral arrangements. Further, their business meeting includes a service and they have their preacher, who says the prayers and reads the Bible. It is important to note that this is not a memorial service but an ordinary business meeting to arrange for the funeral or to receive a report.

The people say they do not belong to a westernised burial societies, like "Homes Trust", because these do not meet the emotional needs of an African. If an African man dies then the members of his burial society are morally bound to act like his kin and so fulfil the traditional obligations. If the deceased comes from the homelands they will immediately inform his family and see to it that all the formalities are correctly observed. Prayers

will be said the same evening and every following evening at the place where he died, and the body will be sent home for a "proper" burial in due course. The mafela or masicwabane will handle the many problems expeditiously and this is done on a personal level. The westernised burial societies are said to take too long in sorting out the "red tape" and a widow from the homelands can spend a lot of money in trying to work through their offices. Some burial societies do not have offices in the homelands either and so there is often default on payment and people do not have a decent burial. African people say they have no pride in belonging to this sort of burial society as they do with one of their own, and the lack of any sort of personal element does not give them a sense of belonging. (17)

Belonging to a masicwabane or mafela union is seen as a way of "putting your hand" (expressing your sympathy and sharing in the bereavement). In traditional life when death occurred all work would stop in the village. Women would stop smearing their houses with cow dung even though it would dry if not used immediately. They would take bowls of mealie meal or other food to the bereaved house and would draw water for the people of the place. The chief mourners would not do any work. They would sit with the corpse until it was buried. Men would also help

at the place of bereavement. Only the uncircumcised boys would continue with the daily routine of herding animals and milking. There would be a total community involvement. Not only would there be mutual aid but there would also be sharing in the expression of grief. The African burial societies fulfil these same needs, their members taking over the role of kin in the dislocation of the urban situation. By giving money towards the funeral expenses they are "putting their hands into" the burial work and so following the old form, or custom. This is done because one day the member's own turn will come. Apart from money from burial societies (mafela or masicwabane), there is also money donated by individuals, by people of a residential block or street or hostel where the person who died lived.

3.2.3 Savings Clubs

The savings clubs are made up of men and women who subscribe a fixed amount of money every month for a year. The accumulated fund is divided out equally once a year just before Christmas before the migrants return home for the holidays. This form of umgalelo is also mentioned by Kuper and Kaplan. "In a variant form of mahodisana in which the party has been dispensed with, an elected secretary is responsible for banking the contributions of

all members over a year. At the end of the year, this sum is withdrawn and each person receives back the exact amount contributed by her over the year" (18) (plus interest; my own comment).

The money in a savings club is invested in the bank. The subscriptions act as a forced saving as the money cannot be withdrawn before the end of the year except in an emergency. The money is used for buying of clothes and household goods at Christmas, and for books and school fees in the new year. Some clubs "pop out money" weekly. People can join as many as they wish. They do not make individual deposits in their own bank accounts because they can earn a higher interest by pooling their savings. Furthermore, they miss the personal involvement in the bank: "When somebody withdraws money he goes to a different person each time, whom he does not know. The teller does not wish you well, you do not know his name and you cannot discuss matters with him or her". (31)

The savings clubs have names like Christmas Fair, Christmas Bonus and Christmas Shopping. They have a chairman, secretary and treasurer, but no written constitution. They do not have uniforms but some, like the "Isilimela Club", have badges. A day is set aside towards the end of the year for the pay-out. The money

comes already divided from the bank and the members just check that it is correct. A day of celebration can be marked on Christmas day itself, or Boxing day. The migrants have their feast on the second Sunday in December as this is their last day off together, before going home when firms close. (30)

The religious aspect of these clubs is surprising because, of all the umgalelo they are the most westernised. Their feast day is celebrated with beer and meat, in the form of a braai (barbecue), and their families are served cakes and soft drinks. But the feast is preceded by a service which takes place at the same time as the church services. The churches are only half full on Christmas day, and in contrast to the other major festivals, it (Christmas) has become a children's festival. The call to worship by the savings club is said to be a thanksgiving to God for the success of the year's activities.

3.2.4 Co-operative Lending Societies

The co-operative is a form of umgalelo in which men and women raise a large sum of money by means of an "afternoon spend", timiti, donation or any other form of raising money. This money is then lent to non-members at

a fixed rate of interest and so functions as a lending society. The rate of interest is high for small amounts: a man borrowing R1.00 for a week will have to pay back R1.25. For bigger amounts the rate is less. Only the profits are shared by the members at the end of the year. Both the opening meeting at the beginning of the year and the closing celebration at the end are held on Sunday mornings, with the usual religious practices being observed, namely hymns, prayer and Bible reading.

3.2.5 The Office Bearers

In Umgalelo the structures of the social organisation and the religious order are brought together. In one club or union we can identify secular office and religious office. For example, in the Mafela Union the executive consists of president, vice president, secretary, treasurer and representatives of clubs who are usually chairpersons. In addition to the secular structure there is an auditor. The religious office, within Mafela union, is the chaplain and Nolusapho. But these two distinctive orders are seen as one executive.

The functions of president, vice president, secretary, treasurer and representatives are similar to any social organisation - the president chairs the meeting. The

auditor, who in the social and business world does not form part of the organisation, but an outside body, in Umgalelo is part of the executive.

The duties of an auditor within Umgalelo are; first to advise the president on the organisation. Secondly, he checks that the treasurer enters/writes all monies played. He is not a qualified accountant nor trained in any financial transactions. From the church's (Anglican) point of view the auditor works like a church warden.

The other executive office is that of a chaplain. His duties are, to advise the president on religious matters. For example, who is to open a meeting with prayer or who will lead the divine service at meetings. There are two types of meetings. The first meeting is a business meeting when they come together for their usual business. The second gathering is held at the deceased's place when death has occurred. In the Western Cape an hour's divine service is held at the deceased's place every evening until the day of the burial. One evening is therefore solely reserved for the Umgalelo club of the deceased. Lastly he visits the sick and bereaved. He may not personally take the divine service but has the right to ask any person he deems fit. Again in the church language he is like a lay minister.

The other office of interest to us is Nolusapho, mother of the family. She is a senior woman (not necessarily by age) in the umgalelo. Her duties are to chair the women's meeting in a multi-sex club. She consults with problem women. It is her priority at the meeting to open and hand over gifts to a person who is being pooled. In the church structure we can liken her with the role of enrolling members of the Mother's Union.

3.3 Comparison with the British Working Men's Movements

Parallels have frequently been drawn between the dissenting sects in Britain and the African Independent Churches, but there are also striking parallels between the voluntary associations of the two groups of working people. In their typical form the British friendly societies provided good fellowship and mutual insurance against sickness, unemployment or funeral expenses. (21) There are also dividing societies, with an annual division of accumulated savings, and specific burial clubs. They had three forms of social activity: the monthly club night, a feast day every year or half year, and attendance at their members' funerals. The meetings were held in the local inn and were noted as much for their sociability as their business of collecting

premiums. This was an important point in uniting people from a wide variety of cultural backgrounds. From these mutual aid organisations developed the burial societies, building societies, co-operatives and trade unions.

We have seen that the umgalelo have also risen in a situation of socio-cultural disturbance. But although they have followed similar forms to their British counterparts, there are also significant differences. They are not yet protected by the equivalent of the Friendly Societies Act, but more importantly they incorporate a characteristic religious dimension which often takes the form of Sunday worship. Religious people were involved in the British societies but their meetings were always held on weekdays; and although they had secret oaths and rituals, no record has been found of their making a practice of worshipping together in their self-help groups. Even so the British clergy were often hostile to the societies, charging that the drinking at the monthly meetings had evil moral effects. (22) But the challenge to the mainline churches in the African townships goes much deeper in that the "pouring" clubs are seen to threaten the very life of the church.

We now turn to the religious dimension of umgalelo, showing how they may function in much the same way as the

indigenous (independent) churches in South Africa, although their members may well belong to mainline churches. It is also necessary to show how they differ from the mainline church guilds.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will look into the religious dimension of Umgalelo. This will be compared with the functioning of the guilds in the main-line churches and the small group aspects of the African Independent Churches.

Most main-line churches in the Western Cape have men's and women's guilds. The guilds are often referred to as manyano. The word manyano is a Xhosa noun of the reciprocal form of the verb ukumanya "to bring together, to unite". It is the name used for guilds in Western Cape. The membership consists of full members of the church, that is, a person must at least have been baptised and confirmed in order to join the guild. The period of trial is a minimum of three months. The person who intends joining the guild will have to attend the guild's meeting for a stipulated period and then be presented to the minister of that particular church, who will admit him or her to the guild.

The men's guild, often called umanyano lwamadodana - literally means guild of young men - but is in fact mainly for older men and not for the youth. It is

independent of the women's organisation in the church, but they do work together for some projects, as for example in fund raising and evangelism.

The purpose of the men's guild is fellowship and evangelism. The migrant workers find themselves lost in the urban situation. The warmth of kinship and community support is lacking in urban areas. They want to evangelise fellow hostel mates. The evangelical practice is often done at funeral vigils and traditional parties at home. In town this practice is lacking, because the migrants cannot easily go to the vigil in the townships. It is not safe for them.

The guilds of the different churches have their own uniforms with distinctive colours. For example, in the Methodist church women put on red blouses and men red waistcoats. The Anglicans are the only denomination with different colours in different dioceses. For example, the four dioceses in the Cape Province use purple blouses for women's manyano. Bloemfontein, Kimberley and Lesotho have blue blouses for the mothers, and the Johannesburg diocese uses white for their women's manyano. The Anglican men however, have no official colour for their waistcoat. This is because different dioceses favour different colours; and the purple colour used at present

is not favoured by some bishops because it is the colour of their cassocks.

The women's manyanos meet on Thursdays in all the churches in the Republic of South Africa. Thursday is often called 'Sheila's Day'; on the Reef women, especially domestic workers, are called 'sheila'. Women are often off duty on this day from their domestic work. Men do not meet on a fixed day of the week.

One men's guild (Anglican) and a women's manyano will be examined and discussed.

4.2 BERNARD MIZEKI MEN'S GUILD

The Guild of Bernard Mizeki is a men's movement within the Anglican Church. It was accepted by the rector of the Parish of Kaya Mandi in Paarl in 1972. The movement has not yet been officially recognised by the Diocese of Cape Town or by the whole Church of the Province of Southern Africa.

The Guild took as its patron Bernard Mizeki, often called the "Mashonaland Martyr". Bernard came from Mozambique and worked in Cape Town as a migrant worker in 1871. While in Cape Town he attended the night school started

by the Cowley Fathers (Society of St John the Evangelist) at St Philip's, and then went on to attend Zonnebloem College at Woodstock. At Zonnebloem he excelled in Latin and Greek. He was converted to the Christian faith and was baptised at St Philip's, Woodstock in 1886. After his baptism he was trained as a catechist. When the first Bishop of Mashonaland, Knight Bruce, went up to Zimbabwe to form a new diocese in 1890, Bernard was asked to go along with him. He settled among Mangwende's people at Marondera, (where he worked as an interpreter and catechist). At Marondera he became a threat to the nganga witchdoctors because he was opposed to the killing of twins, objected to the offering of sacrifices and also objected to the cruel treatment of sorcerers detected by the nganga. Many people would not listen to the nganga but were following Bernard.¹

Further, when Bernard chose his new mission site, he chose "Mangwende's Sacred Grove". This was a challenge to the "spirit lion" the totem ancestors of the Mangwende people. He cut the sign of the cross on tree trunks to drive away spirits. He did not gain the favour of the people for cutting some trees around the grove for gardening.²

During the rebellion of 1895-1896 in Zimbabwe, the nganga

accused Bernard of various charges.

"Our ancestral spirits are angry with us for consorting with the Europeans, and with some of the people for accepting their teaching. Nyamita, particularly, is angry and withholds the rain. All these troubles, afflictions, and calamities are sent to us in punishment. As long as the white men remain in the country, there will be this Christian teaching. As long as they remain, there will remain, too, this teacher, Bernard, who has brought sorrow to Nhowe. Has he not cut down the sacred trees of the holy ancestral lions? No wonder they are angry and the people are starving! Did he not cut our flesh with a sharp instrument and rub in poison? Did he not say this was to save us from sickness, and yet some people had ugly sores and could not move their painful arms? No longer do the common people follow all our ancient customs, and now, those who go to the mission do not obey me. Look at the result!" 3

Apart from these accusations there was great ill feeling against hut tax, vaccination against smallpox and branding of cattle. The vaccination and branding of cattle were perceived by the nganga as white man's witchcraft. For Bernard to support and to explain that this was in the people's interest was another point against him.

On the night of June 18th 1896 two sons of Mangwende led by Mchemwa came to the mission station. They pulled Bernard out of the hut and stabbed him with a spear. Bernard escaped to the hill behind. He was wounded and getting weaker. When his wife and a friend arrived, they helped him to the cave up the hill. The two women went back to the hut to make some food, but when they returned Bernard had disappeared and his body was never found.

Bernard's death was extra-ordinary. Farrant says the two women "halted in terrified amazement. They were almost blinded by a great and brilliant white light. The whole hillside was lit up, and there was a noise 'like many wings of great birds'."⁴

The wonder of his death is what appeals to the guild. Bernard was aware of what was going on prior to his

death. But he refused to leave Mangwende because he did not want to leave an old man and his other followers behind. Secondly, the Bishop was away overseas at the time and Bernard could not go away without the Bishop's word. And so he died a martyr's death.

The Parish of Kaya Mandi built a church at Mbekweni, Paarl, in 1972, and named it after Bernard Mizeki. The name was chosen for the following reasons. Paarl is the most industrialised town in the Boland and has the most migrant workers. Bernard was a migrant worker from Mozambique working in Cape Town, he was a Black man, and he was the first Black martyr of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa. The new Anglican men's guild chose Bernard's name as patron of their movement for the same reasons. This marked a victory for the guild because their priest had only just been won over to allow them to meet, work and pray as a distinctive group belonging to the Anglican parish of Kaya Mandi.

The rector of the parish at the time had initially been opposed to the movement because it had appeared to be evangelical and protestant in nature. Another reason was that there was, and still is, an Anglican guild of men called the "Church Men's Society" (CMS). The Church Men's society was imported from Britain. The Black man found

the Church Men's Society too "cold" and no priest or any church leader had been effective in making it attractive or relevant to their needs. In all the provincial activities nothing is ever said about it. In contrast, the guild of Bernard Mizeki is African in origin and in nature, and has therefore far greater appeal to African men.

The guild of Bernard Mizeki started in the mid-60's in Paarl as a migrant worker's prayer movement within the Anglican parish of Kaya Mandi.

The migrant workers felt that they did not belong to the local church. For example, a newly arrived man would go to a church for three consecutive Sundays and no word of welcome would be made. Other migrants came from places that were very far from mission stations and they had uninspiring lay preachers at home. In a new situation, away from the clan, they needed a support group. Above all they needed prayer and music to cope with the last rites of deceased brothers, and to arrange for the bodies to be sent home. It was quite embarrassing for them to be led by other denominations on such occasions, and there was very little support coming from the township side. They therefore took the Methodist model of the Young Men's Guild, and met regularly in the hostels for prayer

and to share their problems relating to work and to the home situation.

The guild emphasised abstinence from smoking and drinking, and committed its members to daily prayer at the hostels. As indicated earlier, the rector did not give it his blessing at the start because it looked too un-Anglican. He was a high church person and was also afraid of the bishop and his fellow clergy because he believed it to be a Protestant movement which was not sufficiently high church. Eventually he was overcome by the force and the power. By the early 1970's it had spread to the whole Boland, from Paarl to Waterkloof (now Lwandle at Somerset West), Eerste River, Ceres and as far as Montagu. Consequently, he had little choice but to incorporate the guild into the parish. However, there were certain conditions: that it meet in the church, and that it did not associate itself either with the Pogo movement or with the rift between Ciskei and Transkei. The rift was caused by the question of self-government for Transkei, which Ciskei was then opposing. Pogo was the military wing of the Pan African Congress, which was opposed to the white controlled churches at the time, - "Christians will be allowed only this Sunday June 24th after which and until December 1963, never will any existing church which is calculated to oppress be

allowed. There will be one national church...."⁵

The Bernard Mizeki movement spread to the rest of the Anglican church in South Africa within a very short time. The first annual conference was held in Paarl in 1972; the second at St Stephen's, Port Elizabeth, in 1973; the third at St Michael's, Herschel, in 1974; the fourth in 1975 at Humansdorp; the fifth in 1976 at St Cuthbert's, Tsolo; the sixth in 1977 at Natalspruit in Germinston and the last major conference in Bloemfontein in 1978. After Bloemfontein the Annual Conference was arranged for every three years. As soon as the movement was recognised, and was given the go ahead by priests, it spread and women wanted to join as well. Even "townees" as far as St Paul's, Jabavu, in Soweto, became involved. At present the membership is about four thousand. This figure may not be quite correct because some members register at their home parish (e.g. Transkei) as well as the parish of their work (Western Cape or the Witwatersrand). In the Witwatersrand the women wanted to join because they found the Mother's Union very "cold". There the MU leader tends to take over the conducting of the devotions and business all herself, whereas in the Bernard Mizeki guild anybody is free to witness to the word and to share fully in the meeting.

4.2.1 The function of the guild

The Bernard Mizeki men in the Western Cape are distinguished by their uniforms: a purple waistcoat, a black tie with a special motif and an engraved lapel badge. As mentioned earlier, the movement started among migrants in the hostels at Mbekweni. Their initial duty was to look after men who had come from the homelands to work in Paarl. They would organise work and sleeping accommodation for them, and provide them with food until they found work. Another duty was to visit sick brethren in the hostels. As the guild grew, and became more acceptable in the parish, the men began to visit the sick and the bereaved in general. They were no longer confined to the hostels but moved into the townships and hospitals with their church work. The movement grew out of a critical time in Paarl. The white controlled churches were then very much under criticism. Many main-line churches were boycotted and the Anglican church of Worcester was burned down in 1963.

Now the Bernard Mizeki guild members have become the workers of the church. They repair the buildings and fences, and also raise money for the church through imaliyihambe. Imaliyihambe follows the principle of umgalelo in raising funds.

At the Imaliyihambe men are divided into groups. Each group is asked to bring a 'bag' or donation of money. The men raise the money for the 'bag' either by way of a raffle, or a street collection, or by taxing each other in their particular group. Imaliyihambe is not a club but a group of church people "playing" money. It is the function for playing and making money. There is no raffle during the game. This form of fund raising builds group solidarity, fellowship and a sense of belonging, together with a spirit of competition. For example, if a man is at work, he will be anxious to know how his group has fared and sometimes he will send more money so that his group should not be beaten by the others. The money raised either goes to the guild itself, or to the church, but never to the individual. Imaliyihambe is solely for church purposes.

The guild has a spiritual as well as a practical function as a practising school for prospective lay preachers. At their meetings lay ministers are able to practise saying the office of Evensong and learn how to preach. It is now customary practice in the African parishes in the Western Cape that all lay ministers first become members of the guild before going on to become lay ministers. This idea is influenced by the Methodist system where even the

minister is compelled to belong to the guild in African circuits.

The men support each other by coming together, and praying and preaching to each other. They also share their problems, whether these relate to the situation here or to the situation at home. The men's manyano is an important outlet for the tension caused by the urban situation.

4.2.2 The worship service

The worship service of the Bernard Mikezi guild is a mixture of Evensong and a community service. The service starts with a song - either hymns or amagwijo. It then follows the pattern of prayer, a scripture reading, a psalm, a second lesson and a homily. After the leader's homily, each person will take a turn preaching and this will be prefaced by the singing of his iqwijo. When the service is ended they will continue with a business meeting.

Time of Meetings

There is no special day for the meeting. The most popular time for men at Mbekweni is on Saturday afternoon from

5pm to 8pm. There are other chapelries that meet on Sundays. Some meet immediately after the morning service and others late on Sunday afternoon.

The Saturday is preferred because very often the meeting will continue with an all-night vigil - 'Umlaliso'. The guild invites other church guilds to the Umlaliso. This vigil is open to all, male and female. The night is spent partly in fund-raising and partly in preaching and praying. The Umlaliso does not necessarily involve fund-raising, while Imaliyihambe is specifically meant for fund raising.

The whole night service is in keeping with the African form of worship. It is only the Roman Catholic churches that do not practice Umlaliso for their African members.

Prayer

At the meeting of the Bernard Mizeki guild any member can be asked to lead the devotions. The service leader can also ask another member to say the opening prayers. The prayers are generally extemporaneous, although there are prayers set out in their little service book. The content of the opening prayer is, first, a repentance, and then a request for a blessing on the person who is going to lead

the devotion and a blessing of the service as well. The next time of prayer comes either as a response to the preaching, or after the members have all given testimony to the text. Two or three can take turns in praying at that time. Almost all those present take part in the testimonies and generally follow the theme of the text.

Bible Readings

There is a church lectionary for the year to be used in the Anglican services but the men's guild do not often follow this rule. Each leader chooses his own Bible readings for the meeting. It is from this reading that he chooses his text.

At the revival service, which usually lasts the whole night, there is a text for use inside the church and another text for use in the streets (isixeko). The men are expected to preach on both texts.

4.2.3 Amagwijo

The songs, amagwijo, used in the guild service are either part of a verse of a hymn or choruses which the person has composed himself. There are two root words from which the word amagwijo comes, - igwityo/igwijo and the plural

amaqwityo/amaqwijo (We shall use the word 'amagwijo' for this study.)

According to Kropf, Iqwatyu is a national song.⁶ It is said to have come from the East sometime before the mid-1840's, being brought by the Mfengu (Zulu refugees) to Xhosaland. It was first used by Xhosa boys in reference to war, being adopted in the Xhosa-Cape war of 1846 for fighting purposes. Iqijo is a very thin long stick carried by circumcised boys when they do traditional dances. The word 'iqwijo' is not found in the Xhosa-English dictionaries. However, both iqwantyu and iqijo contribute to the present understanding of what iqwijo (amagwijo) means.

Iqwijo is therefore a type of war song. The song is supposed to inspire men to face the enemies. It builds solidarity among the warriors, and it identifies men (soldiers) with their chief. In some instances the chief's personal song is included in the war song (iqwijo).

Iqwijo is also a personal song. This is the song that a person is known by, a sort of signature tune. For example, when a man stands up in a guild meeting to preach, he may first start to sing his Iqwijo, or

otherwise somebody else who knows his song may start it for him. This practice seems to have come from the circumcision school. Each man coming out of circumcision school composes his own igwijo. It is a personal song which explains who the man is, relating a story (history) about his family, clan and ancestors. At critical moments in his life, even at the point of death when his breath is failing him, this is the song he will try to sing. A person is therefore known by his song to the people around him and to his ancestors.

Igwijo has become a personal song which is used in church meetings. The words may be composed either from a traditional song or a hymn. The Christians use a verse of a hymn but the symbolic understanding is the same. The idea relates to putting on the armour of God, and to power being in the word. It is sung in church by a person when he comes forward at manyano to present his 'bag', his donation at fund-raising, or when he stands up to bear testimony to the text set in the manyano meeting. An interesting point is made on All Soul's Day when people offer money on behalf of the departed. A woman is told that she cannot 'remember' (i.e. represent) her husband's family, only her own. A widow would therefore come forward with her own igwijo (not representing her husband's side) for her family and she would ask someone

from her husband's side to sing and give an offering on behalf of her husband's family.

Amagwiyo are the songs which are also used at Umgalelo, so being used in a new context.

4.3 WOMEN'S MANYANO

4.3.1 The functioning of the Manyano

The women in African society are usually the first people to form an organisation. It is therefore not strange to find that in some churches there is only a women's manyano, especially in the main-line churches. There are certain reasons for establishing a manyano group.

The church is always dominated by men. The minister is usually a man, and the parish council is mainly composed of men. In a more traditional community the odds are very much against women too. The women will therefore form their own organisation in order to take part in the running of the church. Although their participation is indirect, their support is significant and forceful.

The second reason that women form a manyano is that they

are often accused of doing wrong things, but the accusation is not always true. For instance a man is not usually blamed for having another woman. It is the woman who is accused of taking another woman's husband. The prevailing belief in the African community is that a man goes to a woman who has already prepared the way for him. Thus the blame is on the woman not the man. It is the effect of the male-dominated society that makes the accusation believable. As a result women want to establish a correct view of their social and religious life in an African community. They want to do good for the church and the church represents the community.

The third reason women join the manyano is a need for support. The manyano is therefore a supportive movement. Many women join the manyano because of their family problems. The husband might be going out with another woman, or the mother-in-law may be very possessive of the son (her husband), or there may be antagonism against the daughter-in-law because she was not a favourite choice (because there was somebody else she preferred for her son). The children are another cause of tension. If there are children from the first marriage (whose mother has died, or following a divorce), the step-mother is going to have many problems in her marriage.

The women are often accused of witchcraft, but men are very seldom accused. The African community oppresses women, and this is the reason why women form a greater number in church services and why some women eventually join the manyano for more support and comfort.

The manyano also gives women status. The women are not just regarded as ordinary worshippers. They would like to see progress in their spiritual life and the manyano therefore provides the opportunity for them to do this as well as advancing their social status.⁷

The women's manyano used to be mainly for older women; but, nowadays, the younger women are joining at a very rapid pace, especially in urban areas. This is an effect of urbanisation, which increases the tension in their lives.

A woman has to undergo a trial period of three months before becoming a member of the manyano. After this time she will be brought to the minister for formal admission to the guild. The admissions are done on Easter Eve or at the annual conference which is in the second half of the year. The admission ritual differs from church to church but there are three basic promises made. The first promise is that a woman will endeavour to renounce the

devil. The second is that she will support the church and be obedient; and, thirdly, that she will attend the prayer meetings regularly and order her life accordingly. The blouse and hat will then be blessed and given to her. This is called the clothing.

At the manyano meeting the weekly service takes the form of song - either a hymn or igwijo - prayers, another song, Bible reading, preaching by all present, prayers on the text of the day, and one last song. After the service, the business of the day is conducted. This is also accompanied by songs.

4.3.2 The songs - hymns and amagwijo

The songs sung are either a verse of a hymn or amagwijo. The amagwijo are popular in the Spirit churches because the members are mostly illiterate and have no prayer books, and also because the African tunes of the amagwijo appeal to Spirit church members. Amagwijo as earlier indicated are composed from verses in the Bible and were originally personal songs. But even where the owner has either left the area, or has died, the songs remain to be sung in the all night vigils. In this way what was a particular song for a person may become a popular community or church chorus. But people still compose

their own songs as well. For example, "'Senzeli' inceba nyana KaThixo, have mercy on us Son of God" (Mt. 9:27). It is quite remarkable to note that amagwijo from the Spirit churches have been freely adapted and sung in main-line churches, and are the main songs sung in the guilds and in Umgalelo. An example of amagwijo which have become popular choruses is Maradebe's song, 'Mamsamariya indephemanzi', which is sung all over the Western Cape.

It is also important to realise that each member of the manyano has her own song, igwijo, whether it is a verse from a hymn or a verse from the Bible tuned into African 'sound'. A 'sound' is a piece of music sung before the main song in a school concert with little or no theological implications. A 'sound' is accompanied by movements and action. It is beautifully acted at wedding parties.

The meaning of songs

It has already been pointed out that choruses are taken either from verses of hymns or from verses in the Bible. There are several common messages derived from amagwijo. There is a message of liberation; a message of acceptance by Jesus which includes forgiveness, a message of healing; revivalism, an expression of joy, and a message

of the feeling of support and protection.

The message of liberation is expressed by people who have either been in gaol or who have been drinking heavily - "Zendukululwe nguwe etolongweni - I am released by you in gaol. A further feeling of liberation is when a woman who has been trying to have a baby for some time has one. A chorus to this effect goes like this "Kusoba nje xa sithandaza - it will be like this when we pray." She is now being liberated from the mockery of the husband and mother-in-law and the community as well.

The other expression is of acceptance of being forgiven. The song is sung by a person who has not been living a good life. "Umoya (wam) ulandelilizwi - the Spirit follows the word." The word came from Jesus that sinners must come to him. The Spirit is of the sinner himself. The word "follow" also means to believe, so man believes the word - Jesus.

The message of healing is quite common. The song comes from people who have been ill for a long time - "Bona Mthando Iwake Linyamangalisa - See how wonderful is his love (Jesus)." Healing is not only for physical illness but healing from a besetting sin, "Amasebe angayenzi into ayatyiswa gomlilo - branches that do not do anything are

burned (by fire)." The fact is that since a person did not die while he was living in sin is a sign that Jesus has forgiven him and he is now a living branch.

The revivalism and expression of joy songs tend to be sung by anybody. Here the great Methodist "Noyana" is the favourite. It is a chorus from hymn number 262 in the Methodist hymn book. "Noyana phezulu? - are you going up high? (heaven)." In fact the Methodist guilds are often referred to as "Noyana" because of their song. The other favourite is "Thuma mina" send me (Lord)" from the book of Isaiah. The song of joy is "lihle izulu kaya labancewele - literally it is beautiful, heaven, the home of the saints."

Finally, the message of songs is the expression of support and protection received from the group and the group represent Jesus - "UJesu ukhona nanini - Jesus is there at any time", or "UJesu zange alale - Jesus never sleeps." The person is expressing the feeling of support and protection that he has received from his group. The group as far as he is concerned stands for Jesus.

There are messages which overlap with the ones above, for example, the message of victory is similar to that of liberation and forgiveness.

4.3.3 The Prayers by mothers

The prayers said by mothers reveal the social life and the family problems they experience. First of all a mother starts by confessing her faults, blaming herself for all the problems she has encountered, that she does not have a strong enough faith, and that she is doubtful about her faith. She takes the blame for her children's failures and their problems too. She virtually destroys herself in the first half of the prayer and then recuperates by asking for power. She will then go on praying for her husband and other people.

The other form of prayer is to ask for protection, strength and guidance against temptation if she suspects that things are not going well, perhaps with her husband, her children, her neighbourhood, or herself.

The third form of prayer is based on the Biblical text of the meeting, the exhortation, that everybody must be strengthened to live according to the message, to go and be positive about what they have heard. A prayer then in manyano is self-emptying, a kind of public confession followed by intercession.

4.3.4 The Bible readings

Bible readings for the manyano meeting depend entirely on the person leading the devotional service. There are basically three themes that Bible readings revolve around. The theme of a Son, the theme of good women or good followers in the church; and lastly the theme of forgiveness.

The idea of the Son does not necessarily mean a baby, but rather a leader and a saviour. The son is a symbol of protection, somebody who will look after the aged and offer sacrifices to ancestors. The mothers are therefore called upon to nourish the newborn baby or son. "Take this child away, and nurse him for me,..." (Exodus 2:9) is the story about Moses. Another text is Samuel 1:27 - "For this child I prayed", (i.e. the birth of Samuel). The birth of Jesus is a favourite text too. "Go and search diligently for the child,... that I too may come and worship him". (Mat. 2:8) This is a rebuke against those women who might pretend to love the church and yet defile it by their deeds because their motives are wrong. Archbishop Tutu has been referred to as "the baby (lusana)" because he embodies the symbol of the son.

The second common theme in women's manyano preaching is

that a woman must be a good follower: a good woman in her home, in the village and in the Church. The stories of Ruth, Mary Magdalene, Mary, Mother of Jesus and Hannah are favourite texts for the meeting. The aim of the text is to build up confidence and to show that in Jesus they, as women, are important.

The third theme of forgiveness forms the major part in the women's preaching. The forgiveness is to the individual, as in the story of forgiveness about a woman caught in adultery. "Go, but do not sin again". (John 8:11) The text, "I was blind and now I see" (John 9:25), is often interpreted as forgiveness. To be blind is to live in sin, but to see is forgiveness and liberation from darkness.

The members are also urged to love and forgive one another. Women are urged to love and forgive their husbands, mothers-in-law and neighbours: "If your brother sins, rebuke him, and if he repents forgive him. If he sins against you seven times in one day, and each time he comes to you saying, 'I repent', you must forgive him". (Luke 17:3-4) The prodigal son was forgiven and so mothers should be ready to forgive, especially their husbands. (Luke 15)

The messages of love, obedience and patience can only take place if one is forgiven, and in turn forgives. The belief is that one cannot love if one does not forgive. Peace at home can only come through forgiveness as when a wife has forgiven her husband for some misdeed or misunderstanding. There is a great demand on the women to forgive. Men in general are not subjected to this demand to forgive. This comes from African tradition that a woman must accept the blame on behalf of the husband at all times. The churching of women in the Anglican church also reinforces this belief. The manyano therefore provides the training on how to forgive, how to humble oneself and how to pray regularly.

The meeting of the manyano is quiet and solemn at first; but immediately after the Bible ^e readings excitement begins to build up to an emotional pitch and crying is not unusual. The singing, accompanied by dancing, praying and preaching by each member, makes them feel emptied, satisfied and uplifted.

Both men's and women's guilds use the principle of Umgalelo in raising funds either for their manyano or for the church at large. They are divided into groups and each group will have a chance of a pool. After all the groups have pooled, a day will be set aside when they

will bring their 'bags' of money, which had been collected earlier on. On that day the spirit of competition is very high to see which group can "play the highest bag". Some churches provide trophies or a shield for the highest group. To belong to a group and to take part is much more meaningful than to be an ordinary member. The manyanos provides status for their members. So to belong to a manyano group, is believed to be one step higher than the ordinary member of the church.⁸

4.4 Spirit Churches

We have seen above that men's and women's guilds operate within the main-line churches and that they have taken on indigenous forms of worship. In the independent churches we do find the guilds too but their operation is not very conspicuous. They are overshadowed by the functioning of the movements themselves, which are already Africanised. Secondly, the full membership of the church is given the churches' uniform whereas in main-line churches it is only members of the guilds that wear uniforms.

The independent churches discussed here are those that emphasise the presence, the working and the power of the Holy Spirit. This group of churches is often called

Zionist and this includes the Apostolics. It is not within the scope of this study to look into the whole movement. We shall only compare those issues which are relevant to our main study of Umgalelo.

4.4.1 Membership and Functioning

The membership of the Spirit Churches is very small indeed in Mbekweni. The biggest, St Paul Faith Mission has just under a hundred baptised members; and the smallest, the Jerusalem Church in Zion of Mrs I Moko, has about twenty full members.

The effectiveness of the small group is one of the main characteristics of the independent or Spirit churches. Although the educated and the main-line church people look down upon the smallness of their numbers, the Spirit church members have the advantage of knowing each other well. When a member joins the independent church she is welcomed and a lot of "prying" questions are asked. This is not in any way being rude but is part of the African way of life. The new member will therefore not be ashamed to reveal her problems openly in the church. The group is not going to be astonished or shocked when she divulges things about herself. The point is to help her. The prophet will therefore either help her publicly within a

group, or else privately (something like a confession). The group is enabled to pray for her and the prophet healer has the support of the group to pray and heal.

4.4.2 Rank and Offices

Rank is an important issue in an African community. Many independent churches were formed as a reaction to the white dominated main-line churches. Also Spirit churches are favoured by many over Ethiopian churches because of the greater involvement of larger numbers of people. So lack of participation is an important reason for their leaving both main-line and Ethiopian churches. The leadership of Ethiopian churches is a carbon copy of the mainline churches. (9) In contrast, in the Spirit churches a group of twenty people will have many titles or ranks within the group. For example, one will find in a Spirit church, a Bishop (sometimes vice-Bishop) Archdeacon, President, Deacon, Prophet, evangelist, lay preacher, chaplain, Nkosikazi (this can either be the wife of a leader of the group, Lady Bishop, or wife of a president), Nolusapho (chair lady) and church warden (iqosa). One must note that there is nobody called 'priest' in these orders. The equivalent office for a priest is superintendent minister or simply imfundisi - minister. The word priest implies an unmarried state and

this is not liked as it is against the African tradition not to get married. West does not mention prophets in his "some selected hierarchies" (10) and yet the prophet plays a great role, in the Spirit churches. The amagosa, church wardens, are so many that there is igosa of the bishop, igosa of the president, igosa of the "kramente" - (congregation), and igosa within women's manyano.

In the Umgalelo there are quite a number of offices within a small group of less than twenty persons. For example one will find president and chairman. Further, each office has a vice, 'isekela', which is literally a seconder.

4.4.3 Fund-Raising and Giving

Many of the leaders of the Spirit Churches at Mbekweni are in full-time employment or are self-employed. The self-employed are running the backyard stores, "isikrodlo", or sell vegetables on the streets. They are therefore not usually dependent on the church's dues for daily living.

People in most of the Spirit churches pay their church dues per quarter. The dues vary from R6.00 to R10.00 per member per quarter. The other money raised is on

festivals like Easter, Pentecost and at annual conferences. This money is raised in the form of Imaliyihambe even at Easter.

The Spirit churches do however make a special effort to raise extra money. They do this by inviting their fellow co-operating denominations to their imaliyihambe. The co-operating churches include main-line churches as well as other independent churches. The money raised is often for local projects or for their local Bishop or president.

When a member has passed away the Spirit church as a group will give a donation towards the burial. Also when a person has a traditional feast (umsebenzi) the Zionists come as a church body and give a donation. (11) ^{Baker} "Members of churches who are in need are usually helped by fellow congregation members, and the churches always respond in times of crisis." (12)

4.4.4 Community Support

The Spirit churches offer one another support in urban life. They have indeed taken over the role of the family and the kin. As West says, members are urged to regard one another as brother and sister. At Mbekweni the

popular term is Umzalwana from Umzala - cousin ¹³ The group acts like a family in all a person's needs. For example, at the leader's house there are always people living there who are not necessarily ill and in need of healing. Some may even have their own place of residence but prefer to be at the leader's place.

The kinship and community concerns are taken over by the Spirit churches. When a person marries it is the concern of the whole church. When someone is sick this will soon be known by the endless procession of members going in and out at the sick person's place. The support a Spirit church member receives is both material and spiritual.

4.4.5 Worship and Ritual

One of the services described by Sundkler took place in the Christian Zion Sabbath Apostolic Church in Zululand. The service started with a hymn which was marked by its rhythm. During this hymn three women "got the spirit". Immediately after the hymn confessions began. First was the prophet, followed by some women. After the confessions came prayers. Everybody prayed at the same time in loud voices and the prayers were concluded by the "Our Father". Then followed a procession with people carrying crosses. This led to the sermon and the service

ended with healing. ¹⁴ The structure of this service was typical of all the churches which Sundkler studied.

According to Sundkler, the sermon "is being superseded and replaced by testimonies". ¹⁵ The testimonies in Mbekweni take the form of preaching and confession which take place at the same time. The United Zion Christian Church of Jerusalem, of Bishop T Jacobs, has a peculiar type of service. Each member who stands up to testify has his own text. At a funeral service there is a text and a sermon in the church building (they have no church building of their own, but do request the use of other church's buildings). Again a visiting bishop, or a president of the same church, will read a text at the graveyard and preach, and this will include testimonies.

Singing in the Spirit churches is mostly "amagwijo". The singing in the church takes seventy to eighty percent of the time in the service. Music keeps the group awake as it is their practice to meet right through the night. One can say that music is a drug or, rather, that it works like a drug. A woman will go to the meeting with problems on her mind: feeling deprived, cut off, or simply lonely. But she comes out of the meeting smiling, tired, yes, but with excitement and satisfaction. In Umqalelo when people are "playing", they will find themselves playing more

money after being carried away by the music. Although there are no drums in Umgalelo they make a similar sound to the drum by hitting their hands against a small 'hand made cushion'.

The prophet in the independent African church does not operate alone, but from within a group. The group gives support by singing and the prophet regains his power/vision each time while the singing goes on. The educated people will say 'that's what the sangoma (diviner) does anyway'. In the same way the group is important in giving support in Umgalelo. For example, when one joins umgalelo it is not the executive but the whole group that will want to know and question a person. Then after some information has been gained the chairman or president will admit the person on behalf of the group.

The prayers are mainly extemporaneous. During the service there is an opening prayer and a closing prayer with a blessing. The prayers like testimonies are marked by certain formulae. After two or three sentences the leader will either say 'Alleluyah' and the congregation will respond likewise, or the word 'Amen' will be said frequently during the prayers. ¹⁶ The second type of prayer is when everybody prays for himself, that is, they

all pray with loud voices at the same time. It is at this time that some become possessed of the spirit. A belching bellow is preferred because this is believed to be a sign that demons are being expelled. Sundkler says it is "another important point where Zionist influence is gradually seeping through into Ethiopian churches".¹⁷

The ritual character of the Zionist worship is an important factor in drawing African people to it. So for example they are very particular about their uniform. If any mistake is made in the way the uniform is worn, then this will spoil the day's worship and the healing service of the day will not be successful. Similarly there are taboos about an "unclean" member touching and doing certain things in the church or holy places.

Dancing, whether at the healing service or at any other service, is an important part of the meeting. It is quite remarkable to see people suffering from back or knee problems dancing from evening until dawn! They really go all out to dance, pain is no more. Dancing is not peculiar to Zionist churches but they do it freely and abandon themselves to the enjoyment of it whereas in the main-line churches certain modesty and restraint are exercised.

Cleansing is also part of the worship. This is both scriptural (Old Testament) and traditionally African. The belief is that there are certain things that defile a person, especially women. Thus there is a need for cleansing. The most feared defilement is in attending funerals, or being in the house of somebody who drinks or who sells pork. There are a number of situations and states of being that cause uncleanness. One cannot be ritually clean unless one goes through a ritual service, which in most cases is done in the church (Zion).

Many people say that Catholic Church members are not easily attracted by the Spirit churches because of the rich ritual in their church. The incense, multi-coloured vestments, altar cloths and candles appeal to them greatly. This does not apply so much to Anglicans because there are evangelical as well as high church traditions. Also some priests in the high church tradition are not so particular about vestments.

4.4.6 The Importance of Names

In African belief a name is thought to have some mystical powers. When a Spirit church is named some blessings or powers and status are expected to be symbolically associated with the name. For example, the name of the

'Zion Apostolic New Jerusalem Church' in South Africa, is thought to acquire power from the first two words, Zion and Apostolic. By using the term Jerusalem the founder is giving status to the church as new heaven. Also the name is generally given through a dream. Whereas the Ethiopian churches will modify the name of the mission or main-line church's name from which they have seceded. For example, "The New Pentecostal Baptist Church of South Africa" extends the meaning of either the Baptist Union Church or Baptist Church. At any rate whatever the name Africans believe it has mystical powers.

In the Umgalelo the name given to the club is believed to make the club rise to that state or status. It will fulfill its objects without any problems.

We shall now look at the religious nature of Umgalelo. We shall concentrate on one club which is the oldest club in the Western Cape.

4.5 MASAKHANE

4.5.1 Historical Background of Masakhane

We have said above that there are various types of

Umgalelo and so the religious nature of the meetings take different forms in different clubs. We shall now look at "Masakhane - let us build each other", which as the mother of the Umgalelo in the Western Cape is regarded as having a typical mode of functioning and as having provided a model for the others.

Masakhane was initially a typical migrant workers' movement, and the four types of Umgalelo mentioned above were all found within this one movement. Mr G Mhobo said that he started with it in 1958 but dropped out after three years because he changed jobs and could not afford the ten pounds joining fee and five pounds every month. The five pound fee was divided up as follows: one pound for burial; one pound for saving, from which a migrant would collect the total sum at the end of the year when he went home; one pound for the loan account, from which anybody from outside the club could come and borrow money; one pound for the monthly playing; and the last pound for general purposes and to augment where a shortage occurred.

Furthermore Masakhane is of particular interest as it has a strict and distinct religious service before the actual Umgalelo starts and this includes a team of lay preachers and "choir". Masakhane used to meet in the mornings until

classrooms and school halls were closed to the public because of the general unrest in the townships. Now it generally meets on Sunday afternoons in church halls and churches, and the smaller groups in backyards in summer.

The Masakhane grew out of several organisations in the Boland: the savings club, co-operative lending society, burial society and the stokfel type of Umgalelo. These clubs came together in 1954 and formed one group or club. The idea was to incorporate all the forms of Umgalelo, but by the end of the first year there was some confusion among the members. They decided on two aspects of Umgalelo, that is, the burial society and the monthly pool. The burial society system was very vital, and still is, because "people died a lot in the '50's and '60's" as George Mhobo said.¹⁸ These people had to be buried at home in the homelands.

Masakhane was initially a men's movement but there are also women in it now, who belong without their husbands. However, men dominate everything in this group. The wives of members of the club are requested to be present at meetings but do not sit together with their husbands and take no active part. The crucial moment for the couple is when the husband is being played for. He will sit alone on the honoured seat, even if it has been the wife who

has been producing money for the club. The club has about one hundred and eight members.

Masakhane is a long term Umgalelo. The cycle takes four years, playing fortnightly. On the first Sunday of the month the group plays for Amakwenkwe amakulu, which literally means big boys. The big boys are those who play above one thousand Rand at a meeting. The other group within this club are those who play below the thousand Rand. They play on the third Sunday of the month. The big boys are mostly business men such as shop and taxi owners.

The executive is composed of a chairman and executive members. There is no secretary or treasurer. The executive take turns in helping with the writing down and counting of money played. Three registers are kept. There is a register at the door for the late comers, and they must give reasons for their lateness. The excuses are written down. The people who leave early before the meeting is over must also give reasons for leaving early. The reasons given are mostly the need to go to work or to see somebody who is ill at the hospital. There is a second register in which all the presents given are recorded. The third register records all the money played by individuals and a copy is issued to the person who has

just pooled.

Apart from the executive there is a choir and a team of lay preachers. They are listed on a time-table form to take services. The choir is composed of both men and women. It sings for the service at the start and during the play. The lay preachers take the devotional part of the meetings in turn according to the plan. The lay preachers belong to different denominations.

The meeting is held at the Moravian Hall in Gugulethu for the "big boys", and a smaller place in migrant hostels for the "small boys". The "baby" who is being bathed invites his friends and relatives who are expected to give presents as well. The presents vary according to the groups level one is in. The "big boys" club itself gives either a dining room suite, a sitting room suite or a bedroom suite. The presents are bought out of the levies charged every month. Ten Rand per member is collected from each member. The small boys are likewise given presents but on a more modest scale. The meeting is held at 2.30pm on Sunday and finishes at about 10pm. The invited guests will join the executive for dinner after the meeting.

The club has no uniform except for the blue badge

inscribed "Masakhane" worn by both men and women. I attended a meeting on Sunday 9th November at which my friend pooled R27,000.00. A certain percentage is deducted from this sum and then kept in the bank until the person pooled owes nobody. The remaining money (the deducted percentage) together with interest is then given back to the owner after a year. This is the way the club protects its members against defaulters.

The meeting was initially held at night, that is from 5pm on Saturday to sunrise on Sunday. The burial society section insisted on revivalism and evangelism during their meetings. With the number growing it became impracticable to meet at night. First, people would not arrive in time from work, while others would be drunk, rogues would pop in, and yet others would not come because they would be preparing washing and ironing. The Masakhane then agreed on Sunday morning as the ideal time and promised that they would continue with a divine service to cater for those who would miss their church services. One other reason to meet earlier on Sunday morning is that funeral services were held on Sunday afternoons and the community is expected to attend funerals. Later on, when the classrooms were closed over the weekends, they sought refuge in churches. The churches could obviously only allow them to use their

facilities in the afternoons and so now they meet on Sunday afternoon through to the evening.

4.5.2 The devotional service of Masakhane

The meeting, which I attended on 9 November 1986, started at 2.45pm in the Moravian Hall. There were about two hundred people present. The first part of the meeting was the service conducted by Mr I Mapunga. The second part was the money (envelopes) handed in at the table, and the third was the giving of presents.

The devotional part of the meeting started with hymn 195 from the Xhosa Methodist prayer book: "Yesu wena ungumhlobo - You Jesus are a friend". The hymn was sung verse by verse to the end. A man from the choir was asked to say the opening prayer. After the prayer another hymn was sung also to the end. The hymn was number 214: "Yanga nthliziyo yam - I wish my heart (to be with you)". The lesson of the day was read. Psalm 23 was sung and then the chairman gave out notices.

The notices were mainly about the sick and the dying among their members (and their families). The chairman informed the club that three people from the club had

been buried, two in the homelands. The club was then divided into three groups that would visit (ukukuza) the three bereaved families the following Sunday. The chairman also informed the club about members who were ill in hospital and one who had just had all her teeth extracted. A further report on 'ukukuza' and 'soap' made for various members was given.

The 'ukukuza' and 'soap' will be explained and discussed under burial customs. The visitors were then welcomed to the service. A hymn was then sung which prepared the preacher.

The preacher said Psalm 23 came to mind as he was nearing the hall, while he was thinking about the person to be pooled today. The host was a lay minister in the Anglican church who is in his late seventies. The preacher emphasised the difficulties and the hardships the host had gone through in order to raise the 'bag', money, for other members of the club. But God was with him. He had helped him to find the money and today God was still with him. "You must be thankful and praise God for this day", the preacher emphasised because many people of his age die before their pooling date. The preacher's message was directed to him, although the implication was that all present should learn from the old man. It was only during

the sermon that Amagwijo were sung at regular intervals. After the sermon one woman was asked to say exhortation prayers. This was followed by the singing of "Our father" and the grace.

In this club the service is quite distinct from the game (umdlalo). The members were carrying Methodist hymn books. The Anglicans who were present had their own Methodist hymn books as well. Secondly, there were very few amagwijo sung during the service, church hymns being preferred. The lay preachers are not all Methodist but all use the Methodist liturgy.

The prayers said during the service were in two categories. In the opening prayer, the man prayed for the blessing of God upon the leaders of the guild; and upon the chairman that he might be enabled to lead the day's deliberations. He also prayed for the members that they might play their money sincerely and fully without withholding anything. Lastly, he prayed for the 'baby' to be bathed, that he be blessed on that day and that he use his pool money fruitfully, that he might prosper. There was a constant calling of his clan name, Majola. The second prayer was a support to what was said in the sermon. In fact there were two to three men who bore witness to the text, that is, they also preached before

the last prayer of the service. The prayers were extemporary. Africans prefer the extemporary prayers to the prayers set out in the prayer book. They believe that a written prayer or collect does not come from the heart, nor is a written prayer 'fresh'. The prayers from the book would not be appropriate and would not inspire the people present.

The prayers are not just for those who have missed their church services, but are an important way of bringing the power of Christianity to bear upon the Umgalelo, which is based on the African principle of reciprocity. They use Christian tools to strengthen an old African way of life, i.e. the power of the word as in the monistic world view.

The frequent reference to the clan name is not only for respect but also a way of securing accord with the ancestors. The prayer leader was therefore, on behalf of the host, calling attention of the ancestors to dignify (ukuzimaza) the party, to make the party respectful, to honour it.

The sermon or homily was typical of the preaching of the men's guild, with people commenting and responding from the floor. It is a mixture of evangelism and an African way of admonishing. The message was addressed to the

individual in the same way that people address the newly circumcised man or a newly married couple.

The second part of the meeting was to play money. The chairman asked the host to introduce the invited guests. Again the chairman welcomed the visitors as some visitors had just arrived. The chairman then announced the 'bags' of people absent. Members of the executive also announced the 'bags' they had been asked to bring along. As they bring these 'bags' each one will say a word of congratulation and good wishes to the host. Amagwijo (choruses) are sung in the interim. In the three hours of this second session they sang twenty-one different amagwijo and some were repeated. After the members had given their 'bags' it was time for the gifts.

This was the last session of the day. It was at this time that visitors were allowed to give their presents. The gifts varied from money to tea sets, bed spreads, dining room suite etc. Gifts, apart from money, were not opened to save time. But they were all recorded in a special register. In the interim photos were taken.

The other feature about this club is the burial society. When someone joins the club he automatically belongs to the burial society. All the names of dependants of

members are written down. The burial practices will be discussed with the other clubs. We shall now look briefly at the common religious practices of other Umgalelos.

4.5.3 Short term Umgalelo

The other Umgalelo clubs follow a similar pattern as far as the songs, prayers, Bible reading and sermon are concerned. But there are a few differences.

The songs sung in most clubs are amaqwijo choruses, especially in the low income, or short term, clubs. The service is lively right from the beginning, whereas at Masakhane the first session is more solemn. There is also no distinct division between the religious service and the playing session in the short term clubs. From the beginning of the meeting, i.e. service and play, people are relaxed.

In the short term Umgalelo there is a chaplain whose duty it is to advise the president about the service. He is the one to ask people to pray. Also there is a secretary/treasurer/auditor and a Nolusapho. The Nolusapho deals with women's affairs. Women participate fully in the deliberations, and women stand up to witness to the word (text) when they bring their 'bags'. The visitors are

free to join in at any time during the play.

Another distinct feature in the short term Umgalelo is the theme of to 'bath' a person. The origin of the word to 'bath' is not clear. Some people interviewed said it is a Xhosa interpretation of birthday. There are in fact clubs who have their parties on the actual birthdays of their members. The other meaning of to 'bath' is to be cleansed. This view is mostly held by the women folk. They believe that a person is being cleansed from the worries of the financial problems, that a person is being made beautiful. One is likened to a bride or bridegroom. There is another implied meaning. They believe that a person is being cleansed in the same way as after circumcision or after a funeral service. A person actually becomes renewed, he has the force or power in himself, or the cleansing restores the force. Thus the ritual aspect of the service is of critical importance.

Bible readings differ from club to club, and from person to person, depending on who leads the devotions. The favourite themes are liberation from financial bondage - the Exodus story, the miracles of healing by Jesus : the theme of security - the Psalms 23, 121 : the theme of promise, hope and restoration - especially the prophecies of Ezekiel, chapters 36, 37.

The homilies made by members when they give their 'bags' are messages of courage, support and fellowship. The message of courage urges the 'baby' to go forward in strength and jubilation. The idea being emphasised is that a person is freed from slavery. The slavery is spiritual as well as social and political. The belief is that the more money one has the less problems one has. Again the belief is that once one has money one does not have evil thoughts, and one is therefore spiritually upright. The leaders in the churches are said to have let the people down. It is claimed that the church leaders only want higher positions and status, and do not look after their people. Money is always demanded from them, and that money is then sent away to unknown officers of the church. In Umqalelo the message goes direct to the individual and so does the money that is pooled. This encourages one to go on in life and face the world. The message is on meeting this-worldly need throughout.

The homilies are for extending support, the money is only a secondary thing here. People are aware that some of the money will be spent again as 'bags'. The group support is what matters. Mr S Maxam once said "The club is your family, if they let you down we are there to pick you

up".²⁰ This means that if a person's natural family forsakes him, the club will give him both moral and spiritual support. This comes out clearly and forcefully because the preacher and others know the person intimately and his problems are also known.

The homilies are also the extension of fellowship. The fellowship formed encourages people to come to the aid of each other in a very spontaneous way. A person is not shy to openly share his problems, especially financial problems.

As we have seen, Umgalelo do not only concern themselves with pooling money, but with other social issues such as funerals as well. Masakhane seems to follow the same pattern as other burial societies. We shall therefore look into their religious functioning.

4.5.4 Burial Practices

The Umgalelo clubs take an intense interest in their member's social life. As Coplan says, "Women made sure to hold their 'marabi' parties on different days, brewed beer and cared for the children of friends who were ill or in jail and helped each other out by selling food or taking admission".²¹ The Umgalelo members look after the

family of their fellow member as well as himself. When a member has a circumcision or wedding party for his or her children, it is the club members who will take an active part in arranging and serving the people. In a traditional situation they act like kinsmen or family. The picture of their concern is much clearer in funerals. We shall look at what happens when a member dies.

We are not only looking at burial societies, but also at the Umgalelo clubs that have no specific burial society within their constitution. These clubs and the burial societies have the same practices. We shall discuss what happens before the burial, at the burial and after the burial.

4.5.4.1 Before the burial

When death occurs in a traditional village the daily business stops. For example, if a woman was going to smear her hut with soil mixed with cow dung, she will not do so now. She will rather take a basin of mealie meal or "Kaffir corn" to the deceased's place. She will help to prepare a meal or beer for people coming to the funeral from afar. Other women of the village will draw water and do all the household chores for the bereaved family. Men, on the other hand, will stop going to the fields and will

gather at the deceased's place and do some necessary work for the funeral such as slaughtering and the digging of the grave. The family of the deceased is not supposed to do any work. If it is the woman who mourns she is strictly confined to her hut or the main room of the household. The community take over all responsibility for the funeral rites. People will remain at the house till the day of burial only to go to their homes to sleep a little.

The church represented by the minister or lay preacher will go and say prayers on the first night. If death happens around Thursday, and if a deceased was a member of the women's manyano, then the mothers will visit the place in a group and say prayers. A donation of money from the group will be sent on the day of the burial.

In a town situation, especially in the Western Cape, the clubs or burial societies will act in a similar way as in the traditional life. They will be the first to come. They will act like the caretakers of the family, Nolusapho being the chief person in charge. Some members of the club will bring tea, sugar and scones so that people may have something to eat and drink. The club will arrange everything that is within their power. They will look after the prayer side of the mourning practices

until the person is buried. It is the custom in the Western Cape that prayers are said every evening until the burial day. One evening in the week will belong to the club or burial society when they say the prayers. They will make arrangements with the funeral undertakers and draw up the programme for the burial. In the programme there will be speakers representing both the club and the burial society if he belonged to two organisations. (It is common practice to belong to more than one organisation.) The Umgalelo have therefore taken over what was formerly the duty of kinsmen and the church. For example, the arrangements with undertakers is normally the family's duty, and the drawing up of the programme, the church's duty.

4.5.4.2 The burial day

On the day of the burial the work again stops in the village. Everybody is expected to attend the funeral and again the people make contributions in some or other way. The idea is "to put your hand in the feast", i.e. one is sharing in the bereavement. The burial is however a community concern, not just involving the family of the deceased.

Ncwadays, the church is supposed to have replaced the community and to run matters in a village. It is supposed

to have become the larger family; but very often it falls short of expectations. It is often the minister or his helpers such as Catechists who represent the church. The African circuits or parishes of the main-line churches are very large and the minister is often overworked. Apart from the pastoral duties the African clergy has to be "jack of all trades" in the village - he is the social worker, lawyer and administrator of his own church as well as the community affairs. In many cases the ministers do not have parish secretaries. Therefore he cannot always be on the spot when the death occurs. The practice is that a minister will visit the place just before the burial day to arrange the day and the time of the burial.

The church members very often do not go there as a group but as independent villagers, unless the deceased belonged to a manyano. The Zionists are an exception to this practice, as they are reported always to be on the spot when one of their members dies. They go as a group to say prayers and afterwards help with the funeral affairs. It is probably because of the small number of their members and that special nature as a caring community that enables them to give immediate and adequate attention to any of the member's needs.

The Umqalelo societies now fulfil the same function as the guilds in the main-line churches and as the Zionist churches. They are the first to arrive at the home of the deceased and they remain throughout the burial proceedings. The burial societies will also conduct the funeral service if the minister is not available. They run all the burial activities including all that follows on from the graveyard.

4.5.4.3 After the burial

(According to the traditional custom) when death has occurred the family of the deceased are in a vulnerable state, especially women. They are not supposed to mix with the rest of the community. If it is a woman who mourns she is not supposed to go to public places like church, nor will she attend another funeral until she is cleansed. She may not go through a herd of cattle either.

In the more traditional villages the family of the deceased retire to the forest for a period. That is, they will leave the village very early in the morning and come back home at night. They are not supposed to be seen during this time. The community will set a date to "take them out - ukuku-tshawa", of the forest, and to cleanse them and comfort them. After this ritual they will be accepted back into the community. The word often used is

ukukuzwa - to be comforted.

It is the community that arranges and prepares for the ukukuzwa ritual, under the leadership of a chief. Women will again bring mealie meal and "Kaffir corn" for brewing beer, and will prepare the food. The family of the deceased will be asked to produce an animal for slaughter. This rite is to cleanse the family of all ills brought about by death and to restore them to normal life in the community. Their hair will also be shaved according to custom. But if it is the woman who mourns, she will continue in this state for a year before she takes off the black clothes and resumes a normal life.

These customs have been drastically reduced and changed in the townships. For example, people use the same animal that has been slaughtered to accompany the deceased person for cleansing; the hair will be shaved the following day; and a woman who mourns only wears mourning dress for one to three months. The people really believe that they are unclean.

With the coming of the church, slaughtering of beasts decreased. The church adopted the rite of ukukuzwa unofficially and takes prayers to the house together with the congregation. There is a new word that goes with the

rite of ukukuzwe - the soap. Mr W Ngzata says it is not quite clear who brought the soap in. The soap is the money collected at the ukukuzwa prayer meeting at the house of the deceased. The money is in fact to buy the soap to clean the deceased's clothes. The soap is a symbol of the second animal that ought to have been slaughtered to bring back the people from the forest. It is believed that soap ritual came about because the church was opposed to the slaughtering. No African custom is valid without the spilling of the blood. Therefore the family is informed a Sunday before and food is always prepared. White chickens are killed for the occasion.

It is only after this rite that the bereaved people would clean the hut and wash the dead person's clothes. It is believed that something of the deceased person remains in his clothes. If his death was caused by something dangerous, then it is cleansed. The day's collection is usually enough to buy the required washing ingredients. Eventually this practice became a formality. People would not go to church until they were "taken out". So the church was obliged to do this rite, although some slaughtering is done privately.

The Umgalelo societies have taken over this rite from the church and have enriched it. The amount collected by them

is quite substantial, far more than the cost of the washing ingredients as before. Therefore the soap from Umgalelo clubs is very encouraging to the family. For example, the donation from the church people at the ukukuzwa could be between R10.00 and R15.00, whereas the donation that comes from the clubs is usually ten times as much. The service at the house is quite an affair, a very solemn one too. The only change that happens with the Umgalelo is that the host prepares tea and cakes, sometimes even a full meal, and not the community. Mr J Myataza says the clubs are certainly not competing with the churches but it is the spirit of the occasion that makes people give freely. When the church performs the service it is just a matter of thirty minutes or so. But when the clubs or burial societies do it then it can take two to three hours.

Ukukuzwe is a very important occasion in the life of an African in the Cape Province. The church has not formalised a service to fit this occasion. A minister only does what seems best for the people.

The four groups in Mbekweni we have discussed have several factors in common. The first point is the nature of worship. In all of them the worship will generally start with a hymn (igwijo), followed by prayer, a Bible

reading, a homily or testimony, and another hymn before turning to the business of the day. Business as far as Independent churches are concerned will be a healing or cleansing ceremony, or some sort of ritual service.

Secondly, the smallness of all these groups makes their meetings enjoyable and effective in what they plan to do, as well as giving the members a sense of belonging, a feeling of protection and offering mutual support. Further, the hierarchical structure of the groups allows for shared leadership and gives status to people who normally receive little recognition in their family life, community life or workplace. All the groups are made up of like-minded people: people who belong to the same class, be they less privileged as in the Spirit churches, or moving towards middle class as in the guilds and Umgalelo. People who suffer alienation in the township, both materially and spiritually, at all these levels are tied together in expressing their frustrations and in trying to come to terms with their situation.

There are however some differences in these groups. The men's and women's guilds are not autonomous: they operate under the umbrella of the mainline church, although the character of their worship may well be different from the parent body. The money raised is first and foremost for

the church. In contrast the Spirit church raises money for individuals in times of crisis.

The Spirit churches are churches in their own right even though their membership may be very small. The manyanos on the other hand are church organisations, while the Umgalelo are voluntary associations attended by church members, usually of the mainline churches.

The Independent churches and Umgalelo are both concerned with helping the needy people. The manyanos are supposed to help the individual but they have been primarily used to generate funds for the church and to be another arm of the church.

Umgalelo though not formally instituted as a church like the Independent churches, or as part of the church like the manyanos, fulfil the spiritual needs of their members with a service. They generate funds, presents and support for their members at a fixed time: that is on pooling day or on a birthday. But above all when a crisis occurs the Umgalelo people do not only give money but also help with necessary arrangements and kinship services. Umgalelo act like a family, a brotherhood (kin), and like a community in the traditional sense of the community.

It has been established that people who belong to the Spirit churches are the low-paid and unskilled workers. West says "Independent church followers (in Soweto) emerge from this as middle-aged people of little education and largely rural background with, in the main unskilled jobs providing low salaries. A particularly interesting finding was the fact that the congregations of nearly all the churches visited cut across ethnic and linguistic ties, with members coming from the different tribal groups and speaking different languages in the same church." 22

Many of the people remain in the Spirit churches because they have been healed in the church. Secondly, the Spirit churches are more appealing in their more familiar ritual activities. The need for belonging is experienced to a greater degree in the Spirit churches than in the mainline churches. "They are a caring community, where concern is shown for all, but particularly for the sick, the aged and those in adversity". 23

A position of leadership is another factor that is quickly acquired in the Spirit churches. This fosters social mobility and responsibility. Within a very short time a member is given a leadership role and promotion through various ranks is quickly made. Whereas in the

mainline and Ethiopian churches an individual can remain in the same position such as church warden for the rest of his life.

Men who belong to guilds in the mainline churches at Mbekweni also tend to be from the working class with unskilled and low-paid jobs. Their education on average is not more than the four years of schooling (Std 2). A man joins the church guild after being evangelised by others and will remain in the group for fellowship and security.

In the women's manyano the type of person who belongs tends to be of a higher standing with an education averaging eight years schooling, but one finds both working class and middle class in the manyano. The bourgeoisie are therefore also found in the women's manyano. They join the manyano because life in the township is particularly tough for women. Many of them are the bread winners in their families, and they are faced with the many problems relating to their children. "For example, they have to try to make ends meet on an inadequate budget and to handle delinquency problems caused by insufficient schools.... They are much more tied to the problems of the township than are the men, and have fewer outlets; this is why church manyano are so

important".²⁴ The state of unrest and school boycotts in the townships over the past few years have added to the women's problems a hundred fold.

In the Umgalelo the membership is composed mainly of the middle class: people who own shops and run taxis, teachers, University lecturers, salesmen and nurses. Further, many members come from the mainline churches, particularly the Protestant churches, while some of course do not have any church affiliation at all.

One may well ask why should middle class people be attracted to the Umgalelo while belonging to the mainline churches at the same time? To belong to a mainline church gives one a certain status in the African community. The association with the church buildings, and the educated and paid minister, adds dignity and respectability to one's life.

Membership of Umgalelo also serves to add status. Thus by joining Umgalelo a member of the mainline church may further increase his other status. Secondly, the Umgalelo offers a sense of belonging and security in a society where life is endlessly uncertain. In the mainline churches, where there is a large membership, one may well

feel lost and cut off from personal involvement. Umgalelo provide a relaxed and encouraging spirit of worship and fellowship, as well as the fun and excitement of the game.

Umgalelo also give financial and material security in a situation of unpredictable hazards, crimes and violence in the township life; and this is ever on the increase. Furthermore, people remain in Umgalelo because it is their "own baby": something they themselves have founded and established, and they can shape it the way they like. This offers one way in which they can take control of their lives and improve them. It is doubtful whether people in such a situation can adequately fulfil the altruistic demands of stewardship in the church, where the concern is with the wider and impersonal needs of a diocese or province.

We now turn to take a brief look to see what happened to the Umgalelo during the emergency situation in 1985-6 so as to assess their vulnerability to socio-political crisis situations and the consequent disruption in their normal functioning. This helps us to document the response of Umgalelo to socio-cultural and political disturbance so demonstrating the sort of changes that may take place in new religious movements as part of an ongoing historical process of religious change.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. The State of Emergency

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we shall discuss the situation in Mbekweni during the State of Emergency as it affected religious and social life. This will show something of the dynamics in the functioning of Umgalelo. But first a brief survey of the social situation in general before the State of Emergency.

5.2 Religious and social life before the State of Emergency

In the normal round of things the sport clubs at Mbekweni play rugby and soccer against the neighbouring towns such as Ceres, Worcester, Stellenbosch and Somerset West-Strand (the latter comprises Lwandle and de Beers). During the fixture period the games are played on Sunday but many of the clubs come on Saturdays and spend the night in Mbekweni. The purpose of spending a night is to have fellowship with other sportsmen and to see friends and families. Many will therefore join in the social entertainments of the township.

The yearly round of social life in Mbekweni starts with a low profile in February and then builds up to a busy exciting time in the months of October and November. These are the most lively months of the year. This is the time of annual conferences for the churches, both mainline and independent. This is also time for rugby clubs and Umgalelo to wind up their activities, and for members to say good-bye to friends and migrant workers. We shall indicate the excitement of this time with examples from a number of different groups.

In the Independent churches it is a time to give reports, to hand out presents and to raise money at the annual conferences. These conferences start on a Saturday and go on through the night ending at Sunday midday.

In the Methodist church this is the time of the 'Rhona' - fundraising for missionary work. Each society will bring its own 'bag' and money will be played. The occasion is also marked by a night of evangelism (Umlaliso) on the Saturday and finishes at one o'clock on Sunday afternoon.

The church guilds are very busy at this time too. It is necessary to give a detailed account of what goes on in their annual conferences.

At the guild conferences, especially the women's manyano of a circuit or parish, it is a time of thanksgiving to the leadership and this is marked by the giving of presents to the leaders. It is also a time of policy making, and a time of fellowship, and evangelism. Such a conference usually starts on a Saturday and goes through the night to finish at daybreak on the Sunday morning. The conference is accompanied by feasting, and slaughtering (usually a sheep) is an integral part of the business. The belief is that if there is no slaughtering at the 'ngqongqothela' (conference) the occasion will not be blessed. The gifts given are household items like bedspreads, pots, tea sets, brief cases, floor rugs, and a variety of kitchen utensils. The presents are given to the enrolling member, the chairman or president of the manyano. In the mainline churches this is usually the minister's wife. It is the occasion when men members are formally accepted and are robed in the uniform of the guilds. The circuit or parish comes together as one body. Most mainline circuits or parishes have branches or societies outside the Paarl area. It is therefore a family reunion of all the branches because the men come as well as the women. Men have similar conferences but they are not as elaborate as those of the women.

The Umgalelo have an annual conference too. This is a farewell party for the members and a policy making occasion for the following year's poolings. The Umgalelo follow a similar programme to that of the guilds, that is, they start on Saturday afternoon and go through the night to Sunday midday.

With regard to the socio-political life the Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO) was the dominant organisation in Mbekweni until the first State of Emergency in 1985. It was well supported because it took over Pan African Congress (PAC) policies, and historically Mbekweni was a PAC stronghold.

Previously AZAPO had organised successful boycotts against the Administration Board and Community Council. It also organised labour stay-aways from work. It operated through the Mbekweni Resident's Association (MRA).

The Mbekweni Resident's Association, which was mostly staffed by the AZAPO executives, took the administration to the Supreme Court concerning the First Community Council election. The administration lost the case in 1979. The association also opposed the rent increases of 1983. Again the administration lost the case. At this

time those who later became United Democratic Front (UDF) members were supporting AZAPO.

The Mbekweni Resident's Association were also effective in forcing the Administration Board to open more areas for people to build shacks. The Western Province Council of Churches donated some money towards the erection of the new squatter camp. The money was maladministered so that a dispute occurred which ultimately led to a split within the AZAPO. The Azanian Youth Organisation (AZANYO) was formed as a result. In other areas this is the youth wing of the AZAPO. Baba, the leader of AZANYO, is said to have betrayed the other AZAPO leaders. Her house was burned and a child died in the process.

UDF, introduced by students, was never formally launched. AZAPO felt threatened and sought to dominate each and every event in Paarl. When Baba's house was burned UDF was blamed. Therefore the police used AZAPO/AZANYO members to track down UDF. The community of Mbekweni was furious about AZAPO being used by the police. Within a month the whole township (not only the UDF members) turned against AZAPO. This resulted in turmoil: children did not go to school, people did not go to work; white-owned shops were boycotted; the property of the Administration Board - Post Office, police houses and

community hall was gutted by fire.

5.3 The First State of Emergency

The first State of Emergency was declared in September 1985 in Paarl. This meant that schools were out of bounds for both school children and the community. The pupils who wanted to go to school were driven away by police and an unofficial night curfew was enforced. At road blocks non-Mbekweni residents were not allowed into the township, even those Black people living in coloured townships.

The youth retaliated by raiding the shebeens and destroying the liquor bought by local people. There was no sports contact with the neighbouring towns because outsiders were not allowed in by police. A night curfew meant that churches were not allowed to hold night services.

The arrests began. It was mainly the UDF, ministers of religion and trade union members who were taken in by the police. No AZAPO member was detained from Mbekweni.

It was at this time of turmoil, uncertainty and frustration that the Umgalelo clubs ceased to function

temporarily. They could no longer use the classrooms nor could they meet at night. If they met as a group in somebody's house or yard, teargas was invariably thrown at them by the police. Those clubs which made use of church buildings on a Saturday afternoon found that the churches were surrounded by police who intimidated the members and disrupted the proceedings. Many club members could not attend because they were not certain who was the next person to be a pick by the police. The others had gone into hiding. The joyful singing and powerful homilies could not happen as before. The Umqalelo were thus brought to a standstill during the first State of Emergency.

The churches could also not continue with their usual night services and conferences. The authorities said that all church services and meetings must be held during the day. People from outside were not allowed in the township at all.

In the Anglican church there were two incidents in November 1985. First, the confirmation service, which was to be held on a Saturday at 7p.m., had to be transferred to Stellenbosch. But on the Friday beforehand, when the confirmants were making their last preparation in the church, teargas was thrown three times into the church

yard. The police made no effort to enquire first as to what was going on.

The annual conference of the Mothers Union, which was due to take place in November, was also prevented from taking place. Permission was sought from the police, but to no avail. The rector's wife was told that no meetings of the "Unions" would be allowed. When told that it was to be a church gathering, not a Trade Union meeting, permission was then refused for the admission of people outside Mbekweni, which defeated the purpose of the conference. Other denominations either had to cancel or to transfer their gatherings to Stellenbosch.

5.4 The church as a haven

As a result of all this harrassment the attendance at church services greatly increased. Furthermore, the different men's guilds came together and started active evangelism by going from street to street every Sunday morning before the start of church services. The favourite text was the Crossing of River Jordan - "Get some food ready, because in three days you are going to cross the River Jordan" - (Joshua 1:11); and the favourite chorus (igwijo) was "Moses do you see Canaan?" (the land of Canaan). The "crossing river theme" and the

song were repeated at three successive meetings in November before the police put a stop to these activities.

Before the State of Emergency the women's manyano would hold prayers at the home of a deceased member on a Thursday. They would also go if one of the member's family died. Only the women from that particular denomination to which the member belonged would attend. But during the emergency manyano women from different denominations now began to hold joint services on Thursday afternoons at the home of any deceased person: members, their families and anyone else. They were never short of places of bereavement. This practice has continued after the end of the first State of Emergency in February 1986. The various church manyanos still hold their usual meetings on Thursdays at their various churches but only when there are no funerals that week.

Despite the harrassment, intimidations and arrests, Umqalelo continued to function during this time, but in a very different way. One way of functioning was that all the members went to a particular church on a Sunday to attend the service with the congregation. Then after the service they would hold a shortened version of their usual game in the church. Friends would also come along.

Another form of survival was that the church was used as a "post office". The members of the club who did not go to church that particular day would send their 'bags' (envelopes containing money) to the "igosa" - church warden - of that church. After the church service he would read out the names of the people who had sent in their money and then hand over the bag to the few members of the club who were present. They would then have a very short game: just a speech from the chairman or senior member. Yet another way involved handing in 'bags' with the collection. Because of the lack of accommodation, the large number of clubs involved, and the need for people's 'score' to be returned before the end of the year, these 'bags' would be handed in on a collection plate, to be blessed together with the collection, and then handed back after the church service to the clubs concerned. The respective chairman would total up the amounts and congratulate the people being pooled.

The clubs that managed to get permission for a two-hour meeting in the churches would cut out the devotional part of the gathering altogether except for the opening prayer; and there was no elaborate feasting, in order to save time. Other clubs would be waiting to come in to take their turn at scheduled times. In this way Umgalelo

managed to keep going.

The churches, on the other hand, experienced the fullest time ever. All the churches had a very high attendance. The collection rocketed. This was not only because of the extra Umgalelo people coming who were non-members. Some of the newcomers were also friends of the people to be pooled.

Although there were a few clubs that met outside the church buildings, they were doing it at high risk of teargas and of being charged for holding an illegal gathering. The church was the only place where people were permitted by the police to meet. This obviously affected church attendance. For example, the Methodist church was going through internal problems at the time, (in October and November 1985) but they had a full church of about two hundred to two hundred and fifty people every Sunday.

The congregation also included non-church members who, frightened by the turmoil and violence in the township, were looking for spiritual solace and comfort. Some had had family members taken into detention. Others were experiencing frustration with the situation in Mbekweni.

This was a time of deep darkness at night too as the electricity was short circuited every night. This led to an increase in violence and an intensification of intimidation by police at road blocks. Normal life was at a standstill and confusion reigned. The church emerged as the place of refuge, a place of support. This support came not only from sermons and prayers, but also from caring fellowship. The church seemed to be the only place where one could off-load personal burdens and frustrations. The church became the church again: a caring community giving support in time of trouble.

The first State of Emergency came to an end in February 1986 but the Umgalelo continued to meet as it had done during the emergency. They had no accommodation because the schools were still out of bounds. Furthermore, the tension in the township had actually increased because of political rivalries. During the first State of Emergency the casualties (people who were injured and killed) were mainly from UDF. But from May Day 1986 the tide turned against AZAPO. Their houses were burned, their properties (cars) destroyed. Thus it continued to be very dangerous to walk around in the township. The township was virtually divided into two groups, and people did not come to church for fear of being stoned by the opposing group. The AZAPO group has not been to church since May

Day.

Many Umgalelo clubs had to split because some clubs had members or sons who belonged to the opposite camp, so they had to support family loyalties. Rugby clubs suffered in the same way in being split by political affiliations.

5.5 The second State of Emergency : Since June 12, 1986

More people have been taken in by the police since the second State of Emergency than in the first one. Tension and uncertainty has increased in the township, and social life is almost non-existent. The churches and Umgalelo continue to function as in the 1985 emergency and Umgalelo clubs still meet in churches.

Many Umgalelo clubs have regrouped. For example, the Mafela Union has divided its clubs into groups of four. Each group has formed a working unit and members of other particular clubs do not attend but only send their 'bags' to the meetings. This is probably because of the lack of accommodation for large numbers and because a big crowd was once teargassed.

Despite the strictest regulations by the State, Mr WM

Gobinca, of Mafela Union, believes that the prayer side of the movement is growing stronger than before. He says that they not only pray for the person to be pooled but also for the members who are in detention. On the financial side he says that the pooling is very low - "people are not playing their money. This is because many members are helping support detainees."

The church is now experiencing its lowest attendance and a poor collection. The reason is that half the township cannot go freely to their various churches. The night services and activities are also poorly supported.

What we have seen here is the way in which social and religious activities in the township have had to adapt to a crisis situation caused by the two States of Emergency in 1985 and 1986. With regard to the mainline churches this initially resulted in increased attendance and increased giving. But as the crisis situation not only continued, but worsened, both attendance and giving plummeted. The main reason for this is the political cleavage in the township which has polarised the AZAPO/AZANYO and UDF factions into two bitterly opposed groups. As we noted, Umgalelo followed a number of different strategies as a means of survival tactics. This resulted in their religious and social sides becoming

absorbed into the normal functioning of the mainline churches, while their financial side was continued in a limited form in one or other way. However, when they do manage to meet as a group it would seem that the spiritual dimension may well be becoming stronger than ever. This is because the African world view is holistic and the Umgalelo cater for this - worldly needs. Thus the need is greater than ever for God to be present, and to be called on for help, in the immediate situation.

Umgalelo are therefore shown to be part of a dynamic process of religious change. By looking at their responses to the socio-political disturbance we are able to see how voluntary associations are open to change and how they adapt to changing need and circumstances.

CHAPTER 6

6. Conclusion : Umgalelo and the Failure of the Church?

In the review of the literature I have shown the historical development of Umgalelo. These voluntary associations began on the mines as a way of helping men to send a large sum of money home. They spread to the surrounding African settlements where they were taken over by women to augment their family incomes. They also spread to the townships where they developed new forms, adapting to capitalist society by diversifying and becoming more sophisticated to include saving schemes and burial societies. But at this stage they were not seen to have any religious dimension.

The different types of Umgalelo and their functioning have been identified in Chapter Three. As they came to be widely accepted in the townships over the years, this form of voluntary association was adopted by members of the mainline churches, particularly the women's manyano of the Protestant churches, and used as a means of fund-raising for the church.

In the Western Cape, however, Umgalelo took on a definite religious form and content as early as 1954 when

Masakhane amalgamated to form one body. This region is a Coloured preference area and so work opportunities for Africans are limited and housing and other facilities in short supply. This led to a high level of insecurity among Africans in the area. Further research is needed to see whether Umgalelo have taken on a religious dimension in other parts of the country and if so, where, and for what reasons. One would also need to investigate the form and content of any comparable religious functioning of Umgalelo and identify similarities and differences.

The religious dimension of the Umgalelo can be compared with the Spirit-type of Independent church. This type of Umgalelo may therefore be understood in some way as a new form of independency in the church or at least as a new religious movement.

Masakhane became very popular and we have seen how different types of Umgalelo developed within one umbrella body. It became necessary for the clubs to meet on Sunday mornings because of the clash with Saturday activities, and to cater for those members who came from afar. It thus became necessary to develop the religious dimension to accommodate those who would otherwise miss their Sunday service. Therefore the Umgalelo service developed from what was initially a hymn and a prayer to a full

service with Bible reading and preaching. In addition, Umgalelo activities were not only confined to prayer and fund-raising for individuals, but took over what were formerly kinship and community responsibilities as well.

We have shown how when the social and political life of the township was disturbed by the State of Emergency in 1985 and 1986, Umgalelo were able to change and adjust to the demands of the day illustrating the dynamics of religious change.

We have also seen how members of mainline churches gain additional status and social respectability by belonging to both their church and an Umgalelo. Umgalelo in the Western Cape have in the process attracted middle class people, who are often called 'big boys', whereas in the Transvaal such voluntary associations are generally linked with the lower classes.

When one looks back to evaluate the significance of Umgalelo one gets answers from economic, social and religious spheres.

On the economic level non-members say there is no financial gain because one gives back what one receives from other people. This is not quite true. When a person

pools he will expect his friends to contribute as well as the members of his club. The person pooling may also run a raffle or hold a competition which will raise further funds. So financial gain is part of the expectations of an Umgalelo member in addition to the saving of a lump sum of money to which he has contributed at regular intervals over the year.

Further, Umgalelo teaches a person how to budget and to discipline his expenditure. For example, if someone has been playing money within his budget he will be able to return the other members 'score' without digging too deeply into money received at his pooling.

Savings through Umgalelo have enabled people to buy furniture and to pay deposits for cars. They have also enabled members to have a decent funeral. Thus Umgalelo offers financial security and mutual support in times of crisis.

On the social level Umgalelo have tried to care for their members in times of need. This caring aspect has been shown in the way members help with funeral arrangements. They liaise with the funeral undertakers, they inform the next of kin and help with the feeding of people after the funeral service. Umgalelo also offer independence for

black people, leadership opportunities, status and respectability, fellowship and community involvement, caring and sharing, and a pleasurable social life among like-minded people. In a dreary township life Umgalelo provide parties where fun and excitement is enjoyed.

On the religious level Umgalelo fulfil the needs of those who have no church affiliation whatsoever but still want to have some sort of religious life. For the mainline church members voluntary associations offer a wider range of leadership opportunities than found in the church, total freedom in worship, and independence from church discipline and other rigid structures, while still retaining the benefits of church affiliation in the form of guild involvement and use of services of the church such as baptism, weddings and funerals. Further, the religious dimension not only provides relaxed and enjoyable worship, but the members can also feel that they are directly linked with God without having to go through an intermediary like a priest. They are therefore assured that God is aware of their needs and looking after their material well-being as well as caring for their spiritual life. This encompasses the wholeness of the African world view where religion is not compartmentalised into the sacred and the secular.

The notion of the 'absent God' is put right in Umgalelo. Many Western people have maintained that Africans do not worship God. We now see God worshipped in the African setting of Umgalelo in an African way. Umgalelo have thus taken an important step in Africanising Christianity. Instead of being confined by the Western dogma, doctrines and traditions of the church, the Umgalelo members feel free to interpret the Christian message in their African context. The singing of amagwijo songs instead of church hymns is an example of this religious liberation.

Umgalelo attempt to restore what Africans have lost: the kinship relationships and the communal structure of African society which gives fellowship, support and security.

In this thesis I have concentrated on identifying different types of Umgalelo and describing their functioning with special reference to the religious dimension. Class seems to be an important aspect in the analysis and further study needs to focus on the class background of the members of the church guilds, Spirit churches and Umgalelo to provide firmer evidence of significant differences. This will allow for a more far-reaching analysis.

The early church, the church in the New Testament and the Church of the Fathers, provided all the community needs. When the missionaries came to Southern Africa their mission work followed the same pattern. They built schools, hospitals and ran community centres. Most of the converts lived at the mission stations and were alienated from their traditional way of life. The church community was therefore expected to provide for all the needs of its African converts. Education, modern healing methods, sports and choirs ensured an all-embracing community at the mission station so enabling the converts to come to terms with the new way of life.

However, the church has not been able to keep pace with the changing material needs that resulted from industrialisation and rapid urban expansion. The taking over of church institutions, such as schools and hospitals, by the government has made the church lose its all-embracing hold on its members.

Further, the unwillingness of early missionaries to accommodate the culture of Africans resulted in the converts secretly reverting to their former traditional customs and practices. Thus many converts became nominal Christians from the church's point of view. The sense of total belonging diminished. The church community no

longer provided an alternative network of social relationships based on obligations and reciprocity, which it had originally taken over from the tradition.

Our case study of Mbekweni has shown that nowadays the church fails to meet the African person in his whole being, where soul and body are not dichotomised as in Western religious thought. The guilds in the mainline churches tried to overcome this failure but they have no independent authority and are limited by remaining part of the established body. Spirit churches in Mbekweni are too small and too fragmented to be effective in offering an African Christianity which meets the needs of many people.

Throughout this study I have made constant reference to the way in which Umgalelo have satisfied needs not met by the church. In order to sum this up we can identify three main ways in which the church has failed to meet African needs.

First, the church has generally failed to deal with actual life needs. When it does try and meet them it is usually slow in offering assistance and this help is too often impersonal. Such material help as does come in the form of food or money is usually anonymous and there is

no sense of community involvement or personal caring. Some African dioceses, particularly in rural and resettlement areas, have evolved mutual aid schemes for sharing plants but this has not happened in urban areas.

Second, the church has failed to express community at worship. Hundreds of people may be singing together in a service but there is no sense of oneness in their worship. They remain cut off as individuals from one another: some will be expressing joy and excitement, others will look miserable, and still others will not be singing at all. The feeling of like-mindedness and a sense of corporate belonging is not expressed. The congregation has become a group of individuals not a community at worship.

Third, the church has failed to maintain sacramental relationships with the physical order. Africans believe that all there is out there is ultimately real and life revolves around belonging to it and maintaining a harmonious relationship with it. A man has to maintain a good relationship with God, with his family, with his neighbours and with the rest of the created order. The point is, as far as an African believes, all are created together and they must therefore be kept in balance. One cannot afford to behave irreligiously towards creation.

But the church tends to divide the sacred from the secular and so divorces religion from daily life.

No religion is free from the cultural influence of the people. Christianity itself is a mixture of Jewish and Greek cultures. Over the centuries Christianity has been adapting to the cultural conditions of various nations. Why has this not happened in Africa?

Africans have lived in two worlds, the old and the new, ever since they embraced Christianity. All in all the question remains how radically transcendent does Christianity have to be in order to be loyal to its roots and remain Christian? Can one actually do what African theology suggests, that is, take Christian practices into the African world view? The Umgalelo we have studied are one way in which African people have taken the initiative in creating an indigenous form of voluntary association which satisfies their religious needs as well as their social, economic and cultural needs. In Mbekweni this is expressed as a new form of African Christianity.

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29. Ibid 1986 p.76
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32. Ibid 1986 p.104.

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2. See Appendix II.
3. Hunter (1961) pp.361-4. See also M. Wilson et al., Keiskama-Hoek Rural Survey v.III Social Structure (Pietermaritzburg, 1952) p.140.
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8. Hilda Kuper and Selma Kaplan: "Voluntary Association in an Urban Township", in African Studies vol 3, 1944, pp.178-186.
9. Wilson and Mafeje recorded ten such clubs among the townsmen they studied with names like Happy Lilies, Harmonisers, Heavy Bombers and Night Walkers (1963) p.133.
10. H. Kuper and S. Kaplan: "Voluntary Association", p.183.
11. Interview with Mr TDM Mosomothane, Stellenbosch, 27 December 1984.
12. Mr WM Gobinca is the president of the Mafela Union at

Mbekweni. Some unions have a president and chairman, others only a chairman.

13. The Mbekweni clubs are: 1. Mbekweni Mafela Club; 2. Masakane Mbekweni; 3. Kuyasa; 4. Nkonzo; 5. Thulane; 6. Lignelethelo; 7. Mzamo Wumhle; 8. Mompomelelo; 9. Mafela No. 1; 10. Mafela No. 2; 11. Thulane No. 2; 12. Nyameko; 13. Nomzamo; 14. Lingiletho; 15. Nondzame.

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19. Kuper and Kaplan (1944) p.183.
20. Interview with Mr WM Gobinca, Mbekweni, 7 October 1984.
21. Interviews with Mr TDM Mosomothane, executive member of the Isilimela Club, Stellenbosch, 5 October and 28 December 1984. The Isilimelo Club derives its name from the Pleiades which appear in the summer, the time of the payout. They have 43 members who pay R10 registration fee and R50 each month. In 1984 they

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22. See Gosden (1973); Thompson (1968) pp.456-69.

23. Gosden (1973) pp.23-4.

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5. Lodge 1983 p. *252*
6. Kropf 1915 p.136

7. For a comprehensive view of women's church groups see
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8. See Brandel Syrier 1962. p.46.
9. For further information see Sundkler (1948) pp.53-4.
10. West (1975) p.70.
11. West (1975) p.32.
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APPENDIX I

Amagwigo

1. Senzele inceba nyana ka THIZO.
2. Ntombi Yomsamaria Mdiphe amanzi.
3. Vuka yoma sithandaze.
5. UYesu zange alale wayethandaza.
6. Linamandla igazi lemvana, lususa zonke izono.
7. Bawo silungise thina bantu bakho.
8. Bomama nentombi zomthandazo thandazelani.
9. Lihle izulu kaya labangcwele.
10. Amadolo kwelilizwe.
11. Intando kabawo mayenziew emhlabeni.
12. Ezintwei zonke UYesu siyambonga.

13. Angekhe ndululahle ukholo lwami.
14. Andinanto esandleni.
15. Mandithwale iziqhamo ezomoya oyingwele.
16. Nob'indlela inameva ubothandaza.
17. Wamemeza Uhezekiël wathi mathambo hlangonani.
18. UJes'ukhona naninina.
19. Moses uyayibona na ikanana.
20. Wenjenje uthixo ukulithanda kwakne ihlabathi.
21. Sabela uyabizwa.
22. Indi Ndlele'Esihambayo.
23. UJes'ukhona naninina.
24. Kazi nodthini na kuBawo kub'italente andinayo.
25. Amaseb'abangenzinto ayatshiswa ngomlilo.

26. Thuba lam loku thandaza.
27. Ndivuma ngezwi lam.
28. Okholwayo yindodana makaphile phakade.
29. Yehova wamadinga ndisekhona nanamhla.
30. Yisaa namhla nkosi, bayavuya abantu barho.
31. Uyingcwele Somandla-Uyingcwele Somandla.
32. Little izulu ikhaya labagcwele opho obangewale bayo-
phumla khona.
33. Bawelile bawelile bawelile sebengaphesheya Siwenyuke
amaqhina nentsunguzi ezimnyama.
34. Ithemba lam nguyehova ithemba lam.
35. 'Zumkhumbul' Umdali wakho ngemilla yobutsha bakho.
36. Bonan'Uthando lwakhe luyamangalisa.
37. Thuma mina nkosi yam. Sendi yavuma Nkosi yam.

38. Nzulu yemfihzakalo nzulu yesimanga.
39. Intonga yakho nomsimelelo wakho uyandithuthuzela.
40. UJesu ndimbonile.
41. Ndothinina kuBawo Kuba italente andinayo.
42. Akufunina wen'ukuhamba nathi
Siyaya siyaya siyaya emzaulwini.
43. Hlala nami litshonil'ilanga
Ubusuku bufikile nkosi.
44. Athe Jesu o na mpona
Ha ke lela joalo.
45. Morena re hauhele
Morena re hauhele.
46. Angekhe ndilulahl'ukholo lulami
Izilingo intshutshiso
Azingekhe zindenzenzo
47. Noyana phezulu.

APPENDIX II

Umgalelo Unions and Clubs

1. Mafela-ndawoenye Union (Burial Society with the following clubs)
2. Kuyasa club.
3. Knonzo club.
4. Thulane club.
5. Lingelethelo club.
6. Mzamo Womhle club.
7. Nompomelelo club.
8. Mafela No 1 club.
9. Mafela No 2 club.
10. Masicedane club.
11. Thulane No 2 club.

12. Nyameko club.
13. Nomzano club.
14. Lingeletho club.
15. Nondzame club.
16. Masakane.
17. ILINGE Cultural Union.
18. Ten Virgins.
19. The Ten Lilies.
20. The Blou Boys.
21. Sibahle (We are Beautiful).
22. Nomhle.
23. Maziphathazam.
24. Bongani.

25. MASAKHANE Union: ± 100 members.

26. Blue Lines.

27. Maziziakhe No 1.

28. Nocwedo Letho.

29. Mazizakhe No 2.

30. Bophelo.

31. Herschel Masicwabane.

32. Herschel Polokano (Sotho group).

33. Likwankwetha club.

34. Likwankwetha society (women).

35. Komane masicwabane.

36. Lady Frere Burial club.

37. A Rebolokaneng.

38. Christmas Bonas.
39. Christmas Fair.
40. Isilemela Co-operation.
41. Christmas Boys.
42. Amadlomo Burial Society.
43. Amadlomo Happy club.
44. Ten Girls (both sexes).
45. Masigonusani Masicwabane.
46. Orange River Masicwabane.
47. Masakane (Graff Reinett Middleburg and Nouwpoort).
48. Masicwabane (Outshoorn Jansonville).
49. Amahlubi Burial club.

APPENDIX III

Spirit Churches

1. National Catholic Church in Zion.
2. Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion.
3. Apostolic Faith Assembly Church of Africa.
4. St Johns Apostolic Faith Mission.
5. Full Mission Church in Zion.
6. Jerusalem Church No 1 in Zion.
7. Actions of Apostolic Church in Jerusalem.
8. Assemblies of God in Zion.
9. Church of Christ in Zion.
10. The Holy Christian Apostolic Church in Zion.
11. The Faith Assemblies Apostolic Church in Zion.

12. The Church of the Holy City in South Africa.
13. Old Apostolic Church of South Africa.
14. 7th Day Adventist.
15. St Paul Faith Mission Apostolic Church of South Africa.
16. St Paul Faith Mission.
17. Apostolic Faith Mission (it has divided into three viz. St Johns Apostolic Faith Mission, St Pauls Faith Mission, St Pauls Faith Mission Apostolic Church of South Africa, all wear the same uniform, but they are not in fellowship.
18. The Zion Christian Church of Jerusalem - Sizane.