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THE ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF
IGNATIUS (ENGENAS) LEKGANYANE,
1924 TO 1948: AN AFRICAN
EXPERIMENT WITH CHRISTIANITY

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS at the University of the North hereby submitted by me, has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or at another university, and that it is my own work in design and in execution and that all material contained herein has been acknowledged.


E.K. LUKHAIMANE

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E.K.L.

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FOREWORD

(a) Object of the Study

The object of this study is to give a historical development of the Zion Christian Church from its origin in 1924 to its split in 1948-1949. The period covered was under the leadership of Ignatius Lekganyane (popularly known as Engenas), the founder of the Church. Although the study deals with a religious movement it does not intend to give a detailed theological position of the Church, but only to illuminate the main features thereof. The study will also reveal some historical factors which have contributed to the growth of the Church.

(b) Methodology

The main source of information in this work has been oral evidence as found in the Church. The period covered lacks primary sources as well as secondary sources. It was also found that many of the respondents from both groups after the split were eyewitnesses of certain events but could not supply exact dates for these events. Publications containing short histories of the origin of the Church by writers like M.L. Martin, M.A. Kruger, J.H. van Wyk and B.G.M. Sundkler¹ are available.²

1 Reference from this work shall be from the 1961 edition unless otherwise indicated.

2 M.L. Martin: The Biblical Concept of Messianism and Messianism in South Africa; M.A. Kruger: Die Zion Christian Church - 'n Religieuse Bantoebeweging in 'n tyd van ontwrigting; B.G.M. Sundkler: Bantu Prophets in South Africa; J.H. van Wyk: Die separatisme en in heemse bewegings onder die Bantoe van die Sothogroep.

All in all, oral traditions have been the main source of information. Questionnaires, tapes, praise poems and songs were used to supply information on certain events in the Church. Records and registers of the Church have been used - especially in the attempt to assess the membership of the Church.

(c) Terminology

The terminology used in this work is that current in the Z.C.C. before and after the split, and may differ from that in general use elsewhere. Thus *Minister* denotes an ordinary "Moruti" without any qualifications except that he has been ordained by other ministers in the Church. The main qualifications for appointment were, and still are, obedience to the Church and the power to preach the wonders performed in the Church. The term Bishop (Mookamedi or overseer or superintendent) in the Z.C.C. refers to the head of the Church. After a time the position was taken to be hereditary and was later entrenched in the constitution. There was thus only one bishop in the Z.C.C. during the period under discussion, viz., Engenas. His duties were restricted to looking after the spiritual welfare of his people. The ordained, absolved, controlled the finances and settled disputes in the Church. His position was similar to that of a tribal chief.

The term *Church* is used in this text to mean a collective body of people, whose main purpose is to worship, that is a gathering of Christians. The original meaning is also found in the Greek word "ecclesia" which means a gathering of the chosen people to serve God.

Theologically *Church* means the Body of Christ and is the organ of Christ's presence uniting His members to Himself and in Him to one another. Therefore the "Church is the Temple of the Presence; it is the Body of Christ, it is the Bride of Christ"³ which must be kept unique. The Church is the instrument of the Kingdom of God.

The term *Zion* as found in the title of this work was also investigated to establish its importance. The word as used by Zionists, has nothing to do with the modern Jewish Movement for the establishment of the State of Israel.⁴ The word has its historical origin from Zion City, Illinois, in the United States. Ideologically those Zionists claim to have come from Mount Zion in Jerusalem.⁵

In the Z.C.C. the word came to denote the original Church as found in Biblical times and is interpreted to mean the seat of God. The basis of this is found in Psalms as revealed by the following extracts:

Those who trust the Lord are like Mount Zion. (Psalm 125)
 Sing us one of the Songs of Zion. (Psalm 137)
 Let the Sons of Zion rejoice in their King. (Psalm 149)
 For the Lord will build up Zion, He will appear in his glory. (Psalm 102)
 The Lord is great in Zion. (Psalm 99)
 They go from strength to strength; the God of gods will be seen in Zion. (Psalm 84)

and many others.

3 A. Richardson (ed.): A Dictionary of Christian Theology, p.65.

4 B.G.M. Sundkler: Bantu Prophets in South Africa, p.54.

5 Ibid., p.55.

The term *Zion* was thus found indispensable for Lekganyane's Church as well as the Apostolic Churches. The term was taken to mean "a chosen place", or "a chosen city of God". Numerous references to the term *Zion* are found in the books of Isaiah, Jeremia and the Psalms.

Among the illiterate followers of Engenas Lekganyane the word *Zion* obtained another connotation. Mr Simon Mashabela, one of the old members of the Church, tells that they (the members of the Zion Christian Church) regarded Zion as referring to the place of a specific person. Whenever they visited Engenas they would say that they were "going to Zion". Thus when Engenas stayed at Thabakgone, they called the place Acion, but when he moved to Thobolong (next to the present headquarters), they called that place Zion. When he later moved to Warmberg next to Lebowakgomo (Phatudi), they called the place Zion. He stresses that it was the person who gave meaning to the place and to him the term Zion has the same meaning as *Moria*.

(d) Abbreviations

The following abbreviations shall be used in this text:

- Z.C.C.: Zion Christian Church.
 Z.A.C.: Zion Apostolic Church.
 Z.A.F.M.: Zion Apostolic Faith Mission.

(e) Engenas

The correct spelling of Lekganyane's first name

is Ignatius, but the pronunciation thereof became difficult to the people who then referred to him as Engenas. In this text the spelling Engenas shall be adhered to since it has completely taken the place of Ignatius, even in official correspondence.

(f) Limitations

The main problem in investigating the period between 1924 to 1948 was the lack of written documents. One had to rely on few primary sources and a number of articles in magazines and newspapers. In this case the main source of information was oral tradition. It is hoped that this study will facilitate future investigations.

(g) Constitutions

Three constitutions have been included in the text for reference. The first constitution is that of the Zion Christian Church of Engenas which was compiled by Mr P.W. Roos and members of his firm of attorneys in Pietersburg. It is believed to have been compiled in 1942 and made available to Engenas in 1946. Copies of this constitution were destroyed during the split.

The second constitution is that of the Z.C.C. of Edward Lekganyane. This constitution was compiled in 1954 with the help of Edward's lawyers in Pretoria. The last constitution is that of the St.Engenas Z.C.C. of Joseph Lekganyane. It was compiled in 1965 and revised again in 1972 under the chairmanship of Mr P.W. Roos. These constitutions are included for purposes of comparison.

Chapter I

ENGANAS LEKGANYANE AND THE ORIGIN OF THE ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH

1 Introduction

The Zion Christian Church (herein referred to as the Z.C.C.) is one of the many independent churches in South Africa. "Independent Churches" refers to those churches which are of the Zionist type and which have no white control. This Church is found in the Republic of South Africa and its neighbouring states like Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. Today members of this Church are either found as the followers of the Zion Christian Church with the star as their emblem or the followers of the St. Engenas Zion Christian Church with a dove as their emblem. The Zion Christian Church of Engenas Lekganyane broke into two after his death in 1948. One group was led by Edward Lekganyane (Z.C.C.) while the other group was (St. Engenas Z.C.C.) was led by Joseph Lekganyane, both legitimate sons of Engenas. The Church was founded by Engenas in 1924. There is, however, no agreement among informants about the exact year for the origin of the Church. Some claim that in 1924 Engenas only formalised what was already in existence. The investigation and research into the causes for the establishment of the Zion Christian Church revealed a vast difference from those which led to the rise of independent churches north of the Zambezi River. Colonial policies were partly responsible for those churches,⁶ while the Z.C.C.

6 G.C. Oosthuizen: Post-Christianity in Africa, p.6. See also G.C. Oosthuizen: The Theology of the South African Messiah.

was a result of procedural differences in the Zion Apostolic Church (Z.A.C.). Government policy through these years (1924-1948) was one of non-intervention in the affairs of the Black man, thus giving the Z.C.C. the scope for development and growth at a crucial time of its existence.⁷

The origin of the Zion Christian Church was a result of personal differences amongst Engenas and the elders of the Z.A.C. of Elias Mahlangu and later with Edward Motaung of the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (Z.A.F.M.). Mahlangu was the head of the Z.A.C. with its headquarters in Johannesburg, while Motaung was the leader of the Z.A.F.M. with its headquarters in Lesotho (at that time still Basutoland). It was not separatism from Western Churches or White-controlled churches, but Black from Black separatism. To the members of the Z.C.C., the Church was never seen from the point of view of separatism, but they regarded the Church as purely a new thing started by a man commissioned by God as a result of his faith. The reason for this belief is not far to seek; Engenas had so revolutionised and modified the practices of the Church that very little outward traces remained of the previous churches, e.g. white long clothes were discarded; growing of long beards was done away with and no more taking off of shoes was required when entering the place of Worship.

The Church showed a rapid growth when one takes into account the figures between 1924-1948. In 1925 the Church had 926 members, the number given in the application

7 M. Banton: African Prophets (J. Middleton: Black Africa: Its Peoples and their cultures today, p.232).

for State recognition. Informants argued that the figure could be more because people from far-away congregations were not taken into account because of the poor system of keeping registers. Within twenty years (1942) the membership had risen to about 30 000, while it reached 40 000-45 000 in 1943.⁸ This tremendous growth between 1924 and 1948 is to be explained through the Church's dogma, internal administration and religious practices. The Church conformed more than the established churches to the African way of life and culture. Although modern ways of life were accommodated, there was a strong tendency to restore old values, norms and native cultural patterns. Thus the Zion Christian Church of Engenas was a typical nativistic movement. In the rural areas converts were not strangers in the new Church. They only needed adjustments in what they already knew. Engenas seems to have convinced many Africans about the solution for their spiritual salvation. This was not only to be found in the power to explain the Bible or by erudition, but by good deeds by any individual to his neighbour. The condonement of most of the African customs and laws explains the rate at which the Church grew at the time (and is still growing today). Engenas's philosophy of Christianity was to make his movement acceptable to the people. He seems to have realised the basic difficulty of the layman in accepting Christianity without meeting him half-way with his customs. The missionaries in Africa often defeated their own ends when they demanded the relinquishing of traditions and customs⁹ by their African converts as a "passport" to heaven. In the

8 J.H. van Wyk: Die separatisme en inheemse kerklike bewegings onder die Bantoe van die Sothogroep, p.885.

9 J.S. Mbiti: African Religion and Philosophy, p.238. See also G.C. Baëta: Christianity in Tropical Africa, p.251.

Z.C.C. traditional customs were seen as a means to attract people to the Church.

The Church had to offer its members protection against witchcraft and superstitious beliefs. This "protection" appears to have given the Church a firm foundation for speedy development. At the same time the Church had to serve as a "hospital" and even to "make" rain, against the traditional "rain-makers" (medicine-men).¹⁰ Most of the protection given was preventative. Thus it is very common to find the following reaction from the members of the Church: "... I never liked the Z.C.C. but I joined because of illness and ...". This remark is often received from the old group of the Church. Many members who were not born in the Church tell of the problems which forced them to join the Church. In connection with this Engenas is reported by Amos Boshego (who was his personal guard) to have made his own slogan: "A true Church will not look for the people, but the people will look for the Church". This, he said, was often followed by a quotation from Isaiah 51:1-3: "Give ear to me, you that follow that which is just, and you that seek the Lord. Look unto the rock whence you are hewn and to the hole from which you are dug out. Look unto Abraham your father and Sarah that bore you: For I called him alone, and blessed him and multiplied him. The Lord therefore will comfort Sion: and will comfort all the ruins thereof. And he will make her desert as a place of pleasure and her wilderness as the garden of the Lord. Joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanks-giving and the voice of praise". The above

¹⁰ M.L. Daneel: The God of the Matopo Hills, p.67. See also G.C. Baëta: Prophetism in Ghana, p.54.

paragraph was interpreted to mean that those who wanted the Lord should look to Engenas for guidance, for God had chosen Engenas alone and He had blessed him. It was further emphasised that Engenas was the rock whence the members came and to despise him was to forsake the way to the Lord. Thus people were to be protected and assured that they had come to the right Church.

The problem of protection and assurance by the Church against witchcraft and illness was not, however, a new thing. Missionary societies which established churches in Africa realised this factor. Some of the missionaries who were sent to Africa, especially from Scotland were doctors who could run clinics along with their mission work. This was meant to divert their converts from the influence of the medicine-men.¹¹ This was followed by the establishment of the missionary schools where education was followed by conversions to the Church or vice-versa. Engenas was also faced with the same problem of presenting something African to the people which could make them self-sufficient even in health.¹²

The task of writing the history of the Zion Christian Church before 1948 is a difficult mission since there are no documents to refer to. During this period the written word played a very insignificant role in the Church. Most of the records except registers were either destroyed or misplaced during the split of the Church from 1948 to 1949. Even these records were in most cases cash receipts and membership registers sent in by the

11 D. Fraser: The future of Africa, p.153.

12 Ibid., p.156.

different congregations. Many doctrines of the Church were by proclamations. Informants under the leadership of Mr Titus Sefara agreed that Engenas appealed to the people to write what he said and did, but few were in the position to do this. This history can therefore only be written from oral traditions given by Engenas's contemporaries, because few members could write. There are, however, men like Amos Boshego, Titus Sefara, Thomas Molopa, Eliyah Mamabolo, Simon Mashabela and Samuel Senoamadi, who managed to keep diaries out of which they could draw information. To balance the information, members and non-members of the Church were interviewed. Both these groups were hampered with the fact that some were secondhand sources who had heard from others. This weakness was important in that it provided a reason for checking those who claimed to be eyewitnesses, a method which Jan Vansina values.¹³ It is, however, very difficult for a non-member of the Church to carry out successful research because some of the practices are considered secrets of the Church. Direct instructions are given to the members not to give any information about the Church to any outsider. They are told to refer people with queries to the office. The officials working in the office also are instructed not to divulge any information about the mechanics of the Church. To this effect they may go as far as telling outright lies. As the majority fear publicity, reliable information can only be found if the research is sanctioned by the "royal" family. This is probably the reason why J.H. van Wyk, whose work was edited at the University of Pretoria, was able to collect some information about the

13 J. Vansina: Oral tradition: A study in historical methodology.

origin and daily practices of the Church.¹⁴ His occasional visits to Moria during the late 1960's and his records of sermons in the Church gives one a picture of the Church's daily proceedings. M.L. Daneel in his book gives a magnificent account of the Zion Christian Church,¹⁵ although he tends to treat the Rhodesian branch as the main Church with Mutendi as its Bishop. As to the practices of the Church, he has succeeded in giving its main features. Other contributions came from K. Schlosser, B.G.M. Sundkler and M.L. Martin. The same word of praise goes to M.A. Kruger who did research on aspects of the Z.C.C.¹⁶

The Church has influenced the mode of life of many Blacks and also serves as a unifying factor amongst the different Black communities. This is evident when one takes into account the multitudes of people who attend the seasonal conferences at the Church's headquarters at Boyne near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal.

It was found that the Church was successful in getting a hold on some of the tribal chiefs who found in it an instrument of peace and order.¹⁷ The reason for this was probably that these chiefs found in the Church explanations and solutions to their problems of administration.

14 Van Wyk: Die separatisme en inheemse kerklike bewegings onder die Bantoe van die Sothogroep.

15 See M.L. Daneel: Zionism and Faith-healing in Rhodesia: Aspects of African Independent Churches.

16 M.A. Kruger: Die Zion Christian Church - 'n Religieuse Bantoebeweging in 'n tyd van ontwrigting.

17 The presence of chiefs in the Church led to the establishment of guest houses where these chiefs could be accommodated.

It is very difficult for a research student to assess the exact membership for there was no clear system of keeping the enrolment of the Church. The membership cards lacked serial numbers. Some members were baptised and when they ceased to be members or left the Church, they did not report this and their names were still in the records. Some were "seasonal" members who remained inactive for some years. One can only estimate with an allowance of 10 000 members, thus putting the membership as being between 40 000-50 000 members, as was the case in 1943. A serious obstacle was that many informants were too old and their memories were fading. Thus exact dates for some events were difficult to ascertain. Even Mr P.W. Roos, the Church's legal adviser, who was visited in Pietersburg in June 1975, was too old to relate anything, but his wife was of much help.

In this work, emphasis will be laid on the influence the Church exerted upon the lives of many Blacks. The aim will be to trace the development of the Church from the point of an "experiment" to that of "reality". This will also reveal the extent to which Engenas limited the power wielded by the medicine-men. For the first time many Africans were convinced that through prayer alone one could live well. It will also be shown that the most important element of growth in the Church was the character and the visionary mind of Engenas himself. This aspect should also be seen as a strong defect in the Church, for many movements which are leader-centred often reveal weaknesses after the death of such a leader.

2 Engenas Lekganyane and the Origin of the
Zion Christian Church

(a) His Early Life and Family Ties

Ignatius Lekganyane, who is popularly known as "Engenas" was born at Thabakgone in the area of Chief Mamabolo, about forty kilometres east of Pietersburg. The exact date of his birth is not known, but it is believed to have been in the early 1880's. M.A. Kruger gives the birth date as 1885.¹⁸ In 1969 Bishop J.E. Lekganyane called up a number of old men to give the history of the Church. They estimated the birth date as somewhere between 1880-1885.

Engenas was the son of Barnabas Matseleng Lekganyane.¹⁹ His mother, Sefora, was the daughter of Marobathota Raphela, a famous medicine-man. Matseleng's forefathers came to the Transvaal during the Difaqane, i.e. during the first half of the 19th century.²⁰ They are also believed to be of Swazi origin. Lekganyane's kinship is shown in the genealogical table on the next page.

The table points out that Matseleng Barnabas had three brothers and one sister.²¹ They were Matlhakanye Joseph, Masenko Phineas, Sedupa Adolph and their only sister, Christina Ngwana-Moelo. Engenas had also three

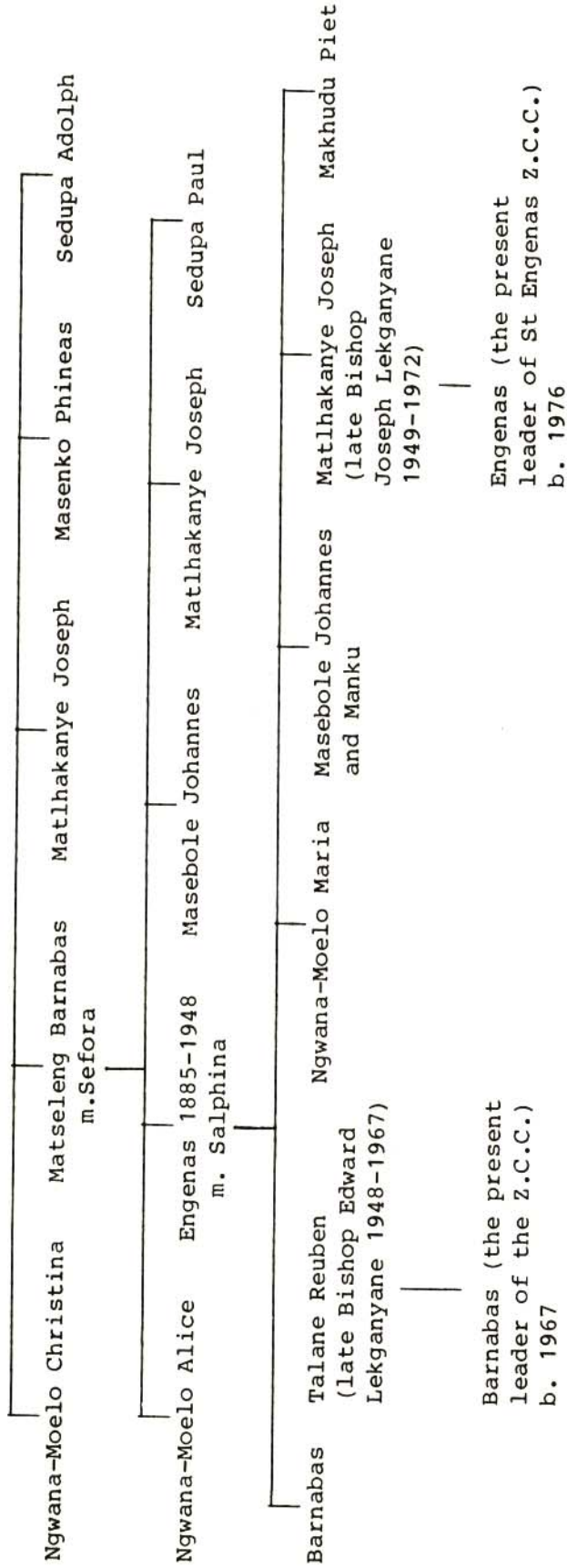
18 Kruger: Die Zion Christian Church - 'n Religieuse Bantoe-beweging in 'n tyd van ontwrigting, p.9.

19 Ibid.

20 C.F. Martha Lekganyane's praise poem of the Lekganyane family.

21 The above genealogy was collected from Mrs Martha Molopa, a cousin of Engenas. She could only give their Sotho names.

MATSELENG BARNABAS LEKGANYANE



N.B. After the death of both Edward and Joseph, their sons did not take over immediately. There were regents, namely Mr Mohale for Barnabas and Phineas Lekganyane for Engenas.

brothers and one sister, viz., Matlhakanye Joseph, Talane Reuben, Masebole Johannes, Sedupa Paul and Alice Ngwana-Moelo. In 1918 Engenas married Salphina Rabodiba.²² They were blessed with the following children: Barnabas (first born), Talane Reuben (the late Bishop Edward of the Z.C.C.), Ngwana-Moelo Maria, Masebole Johannes and Manku (Masebole and Manku were twins but unfortunately Manku died at birth), Matlhakanye Joseph (the late Bishop of the St.Engenas Z.C.C.), and Makhudu Piet who is the only living son. The above-named were Engenas's children out of the first marriage and the rightful house from which successors had to come. However, Engenas was a polygamist. He had two more wives, but their children were not recognised in the Church. They were not regarded as future leaders although they were members of the brass band. During the split the second wife was expelled but the third managed to remain because she was a member of the Lekganyane family.

The fact that Engenas's grandfather, Marobathota Raphela, was a famous "witchdoctor", confused many people in their assessment of the Church. Almost every writer (with the exception of M.L. Daneel), who attempted to write about the Church put emphasis on this point. Many people in and around Mamabolo area failed to relate Christianity to a descendant of a "witchdoctor". There was an attempt on the part of the people to discredit the Z.C.C., and to place it in the category of "NO CHURCH", but witchcraft. This attitude blinded people to see even the vital achievements of the Church. This is true of the Mamabolo and the Molepo people who refused to acknowledge Engenas as a Christian leader. They only

22 Ibid.

followed in the late 1930's after the opposition to Engenas's ancestry had died down.²³

Engenas attended school at Matlhanthe (Matlhantlhe) and only managed to get to standard III (at most he could have attended for three or four years). At school he often seemed uninterested in whatever activity took place inside and outside the classroom. However, he took active part in hymn singing and religious topics.²⁴ After leaving school he stayed at home and kept himself busy by shooting doves which he often gave to his grandfather, Raphela and to his uncle Ezekiel Magagane. He was a favourite among the old people who always praised his good behaviour.

As a young man, Engenas had his wanderings in search of work, but his early occupations are so obscure that respondents only remember that he also went to the Reef for employment. In 1918, as it has been stated above, he married Salphina Rabodiba. They had five sons and one daughter. From the table of genealogy above it should be clear that Barnabas was the first son. A fabricated story that Engenas called his first born son "Jesus" is misleading.²⁵ This information can only be accounted for as a rumour which became accepted as a fact with time because it was never disputed or rectified. On this M.L. Martin says: "Lekganyane's enemies spread

23 This information was collected from Mr R. Thema of the Methodist Church who also belongs to the Mamabolo royal family.

24 This information was collected from Mr Phillip Magagane who attended school with Engenas and later became a teacher by profession. He is also a cousin of Engenas.

25 M.L. Martin: The Biblical concept of Messianism and Messianism in South Africa, p.131.

the tale that Ignatius called his first born son Jesus in order to strengthen his followers' hope for Jesus' second coming. This son of Ignatius was destined to become his successor, they said, but he died - or was killed and they prayed in vain for his resurrection. In reality Barnabas was the first son of Ignatius".²⁶ This story probably originated with members of other churches who were frustrated and amazed at the rate at which the Church was growing. The same story is related by Katesa Schlosser. She writes that Engenas wanted to prove that he was God by killing this "Jesus" and putting him in the box and praying for his resurrection for months, but in vain.²⁷ These authors were probably hampered by the fact that they did not have access to some of the informants who were closely connected with the Lekganyane family. People who were interviewed on this matter agreed that Engenas had a high esteem for his children as future leaders in the Church. It is important to know that those followers who looked upon Engenas as God, accorded his children the same status.

(b) Engenas and Christianity

Engenas suffered from what seemed an incurable eye-disease for many years until in 1912 when he found the solution for his illness. The following is the reason usually given for Engenas's moving to Johannesburg and his subsequent conversion. Mr P. Magagane, and Mr A. Mathiba, both contemporaries of Engenas, had this to say: "One day in the evening Engenas came home and told

²⁶ Ibid., pp.131-132.

²⁷ K. Schlosser: Eingenborenkirchen in Süd- und Südwest Afrika, p.186.

them (his parents) that he had a dream when he was sleeping under a tree. This he said was a vision. He said that he had heard a voice telling him to leave Mambolo for Johannesburg. In Johannesburg he would find a multiplicity of churches, but he should join the one which baptises by three times immersion in the water. This would cure his eyes. He then asked money for transport and after a few days he left for Johannesburg." The above event was taken by Engenas's followers as the first calling of Engenas as a Christian and is still regarded as a milestone in his life. This dream was often emphasised by Bishop Joseph Lekganyane during conferences. It was probably because of such dreams that he was nicknamed "Radetoro" (dreamer).

Before analysing how Engenas joined the Zion Apostolic Church (Z.A.C.) in Johannesburg, it would be illuminating to give a historical background of the Zionist Churches in South Africa especially on the Reef. The Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion was started in 1896 in Chicago by John Alexander Dowie.²⁸ This Church taught divine healing, threefold immersion for baptism and the second coming of Jesus.²⁹ The Church later broke into a number of groups in South Africa.

In 1904 Daniel Bryant baptised 27 Africans and a White man, Mr P.L. le Roux, joined the Church.³⁰ This was the first establishment of the Zionist Churches in

28 Martin: The Biblical concept of Messianism and Messianism in Southern Africa, p.110.

29 Ibid.

30 Schlosser: Eingeborenkirchen in Süd- und Südwest Afrika, p.25.

South Africa. Soon after 1910 many Africans saw no direction in the white controlled Apostolic Church and this gave birth to a number of African Independent Churches in South Africa. According to Sundkler, the Apostolic Church together with missionaries of other churches met with resistance from the blacks from the onset.³¹ The Africans resented a religion that made them passive recipients accompanied by total rejection of their customs. In the "European Church" the Africans would often "play the second fiddle" at the expense of their talents as leaders. Their way of life as well as their conception of religion would hardly be accepted or taken into account in the administration of the Church. This was probably the reason behind Elias Mahlangu and his brother Joseph when they broke away from the Z.A.C. (1917-1920) and formed the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa.³² The Churches were the same in doctrine and everyday practices but mutual understanding between Mahlangu and his white leaders was at stake. Blacks could not be ministers except in black townships. There was suspicion among the members of the same Church. To the Africans the management of the Church's affairs was seen as one-sided, despite the fact that many lacked qualifications in the mission work.

So in 1912 Engenas went to Johannesburg to fulfil his vision. He also had to find work for purposes of residence. It was difficult for him to make the "right" choice because of the many similar Zionist Churches. On a Sunday afternoon when Engenas was doing his window shopping, he saw Elias Mahlangu and his brother Joseph

31 Sundkler: Bantu Prophets in South Africa, p.49.

32 Ibid., p.46.

walking towards one of the shanty churches.³³ He followed them. They were to perform baptism that afternoon and Engenas was anxious to see how the sacrament would be performed.³⁴ After realising that their manner of baptism corresponded with the one in his vision, viz., threefold immersion in the water, Engenas immediately asked the Mahlangu brothers to baptise him and henceforth became a staunch member of the Zion Apostolic Church in South Africa.³⁵ He was then converted to Christianity. This was the first known adult baptism of Engenas. Engenas's baptism has given rise to a great deal of difference of opinions amongst writers. There is a tendency to associate Engenas's baptism with P.L. le Roux. Kruger writes: "Met sy terugkoms uit Johannesburg, het hy (Engenas) onder die invloed gekom van 'n sekere P.L. le Roux was as sendeling van die Apostoliese Geloofsending onder die Pedivolk gewerk het. Ongeveer dieselfde tyd wat die Apostoliese Geloofsending onder die Pedivolk begin werk het, is hy (Lekganyane) deur Le Roux gedoop."³⁶ From the above quotation it would seem that Engenas was baptised somewhere but not in Johannesburg, and by Le Roux. This view then works against Engenas's own record of baptism where he stated that Elias Mahlangu baptised him. His baptismal card reveals Elias Mahlangu as the Minister. The same testimony was given by Elijah Mamabolo who witnessed the Lekganyane-Mahlangu split in 1918. The late Bishop J. Lekganyane published this

33 This information was given by Petrus Lekganyane whom Engenas found in Johannesburg.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Kruger: Die Zion Christian Church - 'n Religieuse Bantoebeweging in 'n tyd van ontwrigting, p.11.

information in 1972 about Engenas's conversion: "As he was doing his window shopping one Sunday, he saw two ministers with Bibles in their hands. He followed them ... these two ministers were Rev. E. Mahlangu and his brother J. Mahlangu ... he (Engenas) requested them to baptise him.³⁷

However, Kruger's findings re-emphasises the fact that the two men were close associates and that they shared a common ground as regards their Churches. It was also very common at that time for Africans to be baptised several times as long as it was not in the same Church. It is also stated that Engenas first joined the Free Church of Scotland at Serare.³⁸ As to the Lekganyane and Le Roux connection the only available information was that the two men knew each other closely. When the Apostolic Church broke into the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa and the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission, the Americans asked Le Roux to be their liaison officer for both churches. Engenas who then belonged to Z.A.C. of South Africa, went to Le Roux for a letter of exemption, i.e. a permit to allow Engenas to preach anywhere. This was then their meeting point as people belonging to similar churches.³⁹

Engenas continued to work under the Mahlangu in the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa. He was the pioneer of the Z.A.C. in the Mamabolo area. Even many of those who remained in the Z.A.C. after 1924 were his

37 Lebowa: St.Engenas Zion Christian Church - A brief perspective: 2nd September, 1972, p.9.

38 Schlosser: Eingeborenkirchen in Süd- und Südwest Afrika, p.185.

39 The informant for the above information was Petrus Lekganyane.

converts.⁴⁰ So powerful a preacher was Engenas that the Mahlangu brothers recognised his position in the Church. Engenas left Johannesburg to continue with the work in the Northern Transvaal, but he was not yet ordained. Thus he could not baptise his converts. Elias Mahlangu sent Rev. A. Mamabolo to help baptise the converts.⁴¹ The Church grew and Mamabolo's ill-health and old age forced him to request the Mahlangus to ordain Engenas so that he could help with the management of the Church in the North. Engenas was ordained about 1916.⁴² After the death of the Rev. Mamabolo in 1918, Engenas remained the only leader in the Northern Transvaal.⁴³ He married the same year and there were no obstacles in his way for his promotion to higher ranks in the Church. At this time Elias Mahlangu was the Superintendent of the Z.A.C. in South Africa with his headquarters in Johannesburg.

The relationship between Engenas and Elias Mahlangu deteriorated and revealed certain fundamental misunderstandings. Engenas differed with his ministers on the validity of certain practices in the Church.⁴⁴ It was the practice of the Church for members to wear long white clothes and for men to grow beards. Engenas maintained that he believed that if Jesus could come to earth he would live and wear what people would be wearing during that period.⁴⁵ He saw no value in taking off shoes before one entered the Church and putting them on after service. He understood the practice of taking

40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.

42 Lebowa: St.Engenas Z.C.C.: A brief perspective (unpublished collection).

43 Ibid.

44 Cf. the testimony given by Mr A. Mathiba who is said to be the earliest convert of Engenas.

45 Ibid.

off shoes as symbolizing simple confession before one can pray. He had strong supporters for his arguments.⁴⁶ On the other hand Elias Mahlangu, who had just founded a new Church, could not tolerate such a challenge from his junior. Enmity grew and the Mahlangu decided to demote Engenas. The respondent, Mr Simon Mashabela has this to say: "The strongest reason for Engenas's breaking away from E. Mahlangu and Edward Motaung was the fear on the part of the elders that Engenas would ultimately overshadow them as leaders. In his (Engenas) preaching he always said things that would happen the following day. He could foretell the happenings of a week, a month and even a year in people's lives. Members of the Z.A.C. started to ignore prayers and the laying on of hands by other members. It came to the climax in 1916-1917 when black and white, even members of the Z.A.C. argued that Germany would conquer England. Engenas stood up in the Church one Sunday and told the people that God came to him in the book of Daniel, Chapter 8 that England will never be defeated. He told them that those soldiers who, when going to fight would face the sun, would never be defeated. After a year or so Germany was defeated. Engenas differed with his leaders because of his prophetic mind." This event was often told by Bishop J.E. Lekganyane who emphasised that his father knew no Geography, but was able to foretell that England was on the West of Germany. To the members of the Z.A.C. the defeat of Germany in 1918 gave them a firm belief that Engenas was "a man of God". The re-telling of this event is still classic up to this day. Finally Engenas broke away from the Z.A.C. and joined the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission of Edward Motaung.

46 Ibid.

However, it remains a problem to discover the real motives for Engenas's breaking away from Z.A.C. If we take the question of practices (clothes, shoes, and beard) respondents did not point out as to whether Engenas could not have reformed the Church from within. It would seem here that the main reason was the struggle for power in the Church. This was again as M.A. Kruger, in the title of his thesis, calls it. "n Tyd van ontwrigting"⁴⁷ in which a number of new churches and movements mushroomed in South Africa. The investigations in this thesis revealed that Engenas was fully aware that the Mahlangus had also broken away from the Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion and he being assured of a following believed he could do the same without difficulty. The Reef was a reservoir from which many religious leaders could bring something new to their rural areas. Coming back home with a new type of religion, the minister often refused to have any connection with any distant minister or superintendent. So, the real cause of Engenas's breaking away must be seen from the point of view of the rise of ethnic black messiahs, e.g. Shembe for the Zulu, Mahlangu for Swazis and Ndebeles, Motaung for Southern Sotho and Tswana's and Lekganyane for the Northern Sotho.

Engenas then became a member of the Z.A.F.M. Edward Motaung was the Superintendent and his headquarters was in Lesotho (Basutoland at that time). Motaung was also famous and known for his healing powers. This was the first encounter with Motaung who was popularly known as "The Lion". Engenas was an important gain for Motaung's Church in the Northern Transvaal. The following

47 Kruger: Die Zion Christian Church - n Religieuse Bantoebeweging in n tyd van ontwrigting.

information was given by Petrus Patla Lekganyane who remained in the Z.A.F.M. when Engenas started the Z.C.C. In 1920 Engenas organised a trip to Lesotho. The group consisted of five men, viz., Engenas, Petrus Lekganyane, Jacob Sekele and two more. On their arrival Motaung surprised them by calling them by their names and telling them that God had told him (Motaung) that they were on their way to see him.⁴⁸ During their visit Engenas explained his difficulties with the Mahlangus. Motaung sympathised with the group. On their last day, the group sent Engenas and Jacob Sekele to Motaung. The latter appointed Engenas as a Bishop for the Z.A.F.M. in the Transvaal. He prayed for Engenas and blessed him. The delegation came back and henceforth Engenas was the leader. Many people were converted, and joined the Z.A.F.M. The progress of the Church was reported to Motaung.

In 1924 Engenas and a group of sixteen men again visited Lesotho.⁴⁹ This time he was summoned by Motaung's Council because of some irregularities in the Church. These included the appointment of preachers, ministers and the allocation of church stipends. Before the arrival of this delegation the Council had already decided that Engenas, as the Bishop in the Transvaal, was going too far. They complained that he was no longer paying allegiance to Motaung. Another problem was that the section in the Transvaal was financially stronger than the other section in Lesotho. This decision to

48 The main informant on this first visit to Motaung was Petrus Patla Lekganyane who then remained in Lesotho.

49 The main informant on this second visit was Mr Adolph Mathiba who was a member of the delegation.

query Engenas on the above matters was stopped by Motaung who claimed that Engenas was his protégé. Only one matter was discussed. This was the question of membership cards. The portion of Superintendent was right away printed: "Superintendent: Engenas Lekganyane". The Council argued that the name should be left out so that they also could use these cards. On the other hand Engenas complained that the members were too many and he could not manage to sign so many tickets. A compromise was reached in that those already printed should be erased by the Lesotho group while future prints should be left open for signature. This was the last journey of Engenas to Motaung and it marked the final break-away from the Z.A.F.M. The very reasons which separated Engenas from the Z.A.C. revealed themselves in the Z.A.F.M., although in the latter administrative problems seemed to be dominant. This time it was the end of the road and Engenas had to find a way. He already had a number of followers whom he could organise. M.L. Daneel sees the main cause of schism between Engenas and the Motaung group as resulting from problems of administration. The Z.A.F.M. was growing beyond Edward Motaung's control and Engenas who had become the most influential leader in the Transvaal, intended to reorganise the Church.⁵⁰ The second reason given is that the two differed because Engenas had broken the Z.A.F.M. constitution by marrying a second wife. But according to Daneel "these reasons were secondary to the driving powers of leadership ambition. If one considers the phenomenal growth of Lekganyane's Church after schism, as well as the remarks of Masuku Jr. and Makamba, that the central issue was

50 Daneel: Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, p.297.

that of Leadership (ukuru); it seems that the primary cause of fission was indeed that a sub-leader wanted to take control of what he sensed was rapidly becoming a mass movement".⁵¹ This view of Daneel partly gives the reason for the establishment of the Z.C.C. but there should be added that Engenas had the vision and ability to realise his ambitions. It was the assurance for support that he received in the Transvaal that gave him courage to start the Zion Christian Church. Finally, although Engenas broke away from Motaung, he so admired this leader that he gave his second son, Talane Reuben, the name of Edward in memory of Edward Motaung.

(c) Engenas and the origin of the Z.C.C.

In 1924 Engenas ended his relationship with the Z.A.F.M. and his alternative was to start a new Church. He already had a strong support,⁵² consisting mostly of men who had been with him in the Z.A.F.M. Engenas used the following story to strengthen his position as founder of the new Church. In that year, it was said, he "went up to the mountain to pray. There God once more revealed Himself to him. He came in the form of a whirlwind that took off his hat and placed it a distance further away from him. Engenas went for the hat and donned it. He then appealed to God to blow off his hat once more. God did: the whirlwind blew the hat off and placed it under a small tree a short distance away from him. The hat was upside down and filled with leaves of the tree. Engenas believed that these leaves symbolised the multitude that would follow him. "Amen" was all that he

51 Ibid.

52 St. Engenas Z.C.C. - A brief perspective ("Anonymous": unpublished collection).

could say after the encounter with God. God encouraged him to have faith and to proceed independently of the Mahlangu brothers. He urged Engenas to found his Church and promised him strength and success in this mission."⁵³ According to the paragraph the vision seems to have taken place immediately after the split with the Mahlangus. Thus the origin of the Z.C.C. is closely associated with Mt.Thabakgone and the whirlwind. Up to this day the followers of Engenas's Church believe that during conference at Boyne it must be windy, for this symbolises the presence of God amongst them. According to the vision the origin of the Church was God-inspired. It seems that the establishment of the Church would still have taken place irrespective of what had happened in Lesotho.

The first task after the declaration of the split was to find a suitable name for the new Church. The name was to be entirely new but the word "Zion" had to be retained because Engenas believed that the word denoted the true and original Church as found in the Old Testament.⁵⁴ The influence of the American "Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion" is, however apparent. In the search for the new name they depended on spiritual guidance from God.⁵⁵ After several prayer meetings and discussions Engenas declared that the name would be "The Zion Christian Church". He is reported to have refused to add such phrases as "of South Africa", or "Bantu" in the name of the Church.⁵⁶ His reasons were that the

53 Ibid.

54 The informants, Messrs. S. Molepo, S. Senoamadi and A. Mathiba also took part in the shaping of the new Church.

55 Ibid.

56 Ibid.

Church would ultimately be multinational and would spread beyond the South African borders. Engenas became the head of the Church and the main source of power for future development.

The organisation of the Church was simple. It resembled a tribal form of organisation. Engenas was the head of the Church in the same way as a tribal chief. His supervision which was believed to be spiritual penetrated the whole strata from the most senior members to the ordinary members in the Church. A simple constitution was drawn up but it was rarely used. Engenas was the sole interpreter of the procedures in the Church. Engenas proclaimed new rituals, saw to it that they were followed and punished those who contravened the rituals. He was assisted by "prophets" who were believed to be God's eyes in the Church.⁵⁷ It was generally known in the Z.C.C. that the ministers and members of the Church were under the command of the Holy Spirit in the form of prophets. Engenas appointed and ordained ministers and they were responsible to him. The qualification for appointment was based on experience and the power to preach since there was no training of ministers. Appointment could also be made on request by expanding congregations. Important decisions were first discussed by the informal inner council⁵⁸ made up mostly of family members. This council could be seen as resembling the inner council of *Bakgomana* in the tribal legal constitutional system.

The council could only suggest but not finalise

57 The informant on this matter was Mr Elijah Mamabolo.

58 Cf. Mr A. Mathiba's testimony, he was a member of this council.

matters. This family council was at the mercy of Engenas because it could be suspended.⁵⁹ Disobedience could even lead to expulsions.

Second to the family council there was the Church council made up of the elders in the Church. They were appointed by Engenas and were responsible to him. The council was mostly made up of local residents who lived near the headquarters of Engenas.⁶⁰ They attended to matters brought by ministers from the different congregations to the council for arbitration. Judgement by these two Councils was severe enough to discourage members from disobeying their own ministers. Fines were fixed in the same way as in tribal courts, though warnings predominated.⁶¹ If one was found guilty, one was fined and Engenas's duty was to approve. All fines, whether in the form of money or livestock, were handed to Engenas who then decided how the fines were to be used. If, say, it was a goat, this could be given to the elders at the *kgoro* to slaughter and eat as *Mangangahlaa* (something to reward the elders for their diligence in solving the case). Members were discouraged from bringing cases which did not affect the Church to the council. Most of the cases like theft, divorce and seduction were referred to the tribal courts. There was, however, a strong feeling that if there was any complaint affecting two members of the Church, the Church should first try to settle the matter on a Church level before going to the tribal courts or the police.⁶² The

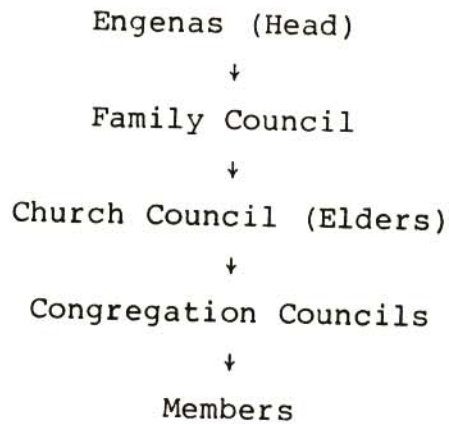
59 Ibid.

60 The informant, Mr A. Boshego was a member of this council.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

following sketch sums up the above explanation:



The constitution did clarify certain matters to the people, inter alia:

- a) Procedures at annual and/or seasonal conferences.
- b) Elections.
- c) Standing Committees.
- d) Church Funds.
- e) Quarterly Meetings.
- f) Disputes.
- g) Duties of the Bishop, ministers, evangelists, deacons and lay preachers; and
- h) The aims and objects of the Church.⁶³

The constitution was used when the first application for State recognition of the Church was made on the 17th September 1925. The membership of the Church was given as follows:

⁶³ The Zion Christian Church Constitution.

515 males
 411 females
 926 total⁶⁴

The application was not successful, partly because there was no satisfactory evidence of the existence and the membership of the Church. Motaung's Council had also lodged a counter-claim that Engenas and his group were still part of the Z.A.F.M.⁶⁵ Upon this failure Engenas comforted his people by saying that State recognition does not in anyway interfere with praying. State recognition was an earthly device. In 1935 the membership of the Church was given as ± 2 000 blacks from different tribes and ethnic groups.⁶⁶ The second application was made in 1940. The membership was given as 8 500.⁶⁷ This application was accompanied by an approved constitution. The application also failed. Difficulties also arose when government authorities wanted to know what the Bishop's annual income was.⁶⁸ It is difficult to know what Engenas received because there was hardly any system of bookkeeping, and Engenas as the controller of finance, would not divulge such information. The third application was made in 1942 and the membership stood at 27 487 from 55 congregations.⁶⁹

64 Van Wyk: Die separatisme en inheemse kerklike bewegings onder die Bantoe van die Sothogroep, vol.II, p.855. See also C. Hanekom: Krisis en kultus, p.40.

65 The informant was Petrus Lekganyane.

66 Van Wyk: Die separatisme en inheemse kerklike bewegings onder die Bantoe van die Sothogroep, vol.II, p.856.

67 Ibid.

68 The informant was Mr A. Mathiba.

69 Van Wyk: Die separatisme en inheemse kerklike bewegings onder die Bantoe van die Sothogroep, vol.II, p.855.

(d) Engenas and the Mamabolo Tribe

Engenas established his church near his home at Thabakgone. This was the place of his birth. Up to this time he had no church building of his own. The desire to have a church building caused problems for him as will be seen in the following paragraphs.

Later in the 1930's Engenas decided to use the building that he himself had built while he was still under the Z.A.C. of South Africa. The Mahlangu brothers heard of this and ordered that the Church be closed down and that Engenas be expelled from the Mamabolo Location.⁷⁰ Engenas was summoned to the chief's kraal to answer to the charges that he had taken the church building illegally.⁷¹ The Mahlangu group was represented by their local minister, Mr Motsepe.⁷² After a lengthy argument Engenas told the councillors as well as Motsepe that he was not opposed to leaving Mamabolo, but that he would do so if the same night a thunderous rain fell, while if a soft quiet rain fell, he would not leave the area. That same night a soft quiet rain fell and consequently Engenas refused to leave the Mamabolo area.⁷³ Motsepe, however, succeeded in locking the Church and keeping the keys.⁷⁴ Engenas complained to the village councillors pointing out that he had used his own funds to build the Church, but that if Mr Motsepe could refund the money he (Engenas) would have no objection to leaving

70 St. Engenas Z.C.C. - A brief perspective ("Anonymous": unpublished collection).

71 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.40.

72 Ibid.

73 The informants were Mr R. Thema of the Methodist Church and Mr Lebati Mamabolo.

74 Ibid.

it.⁷⁵ Motsepe had no funds. The councillors instructed him to hand over the keys to Engenas. Engenas demolished the building and decided to build a new Church.⁷⁶ Thus ended the attempt by the Mahlangu people to thwart Engenas in their endeavour to divert some of the influential members who had already joined Engenas. Engenas continued to worship under a big *Motšhetšhe* tree. He told his people that a church would be built but it would be of little use because of the multitudes of people who would join. Even today many of the Z.C.C. congregations have no church buildings. Early in the 1930's a new church building of stone was started. This Church was left uncompleted because of the trouble which started between Engenas and the Mamabolo tribe (for the church building see the photo).

The trouble started as a result of a struggle for power between Engenas and Chief A. Mamabolo (Mankweng).⁷⁷ Engenas's followers began to bring their cases before him and not to the tribal courts. The women also rendered certain services such as ploughing Engenas's fields, hoeing, renovating his buildings and other manual services. These practices were seen as an attempt to usurp the Chief's powers and functions.

Matters came to a head when Chief Athlon Mankweng got the information that many people were also showering presents on Engenas in the form of cattle, sheep and goats. This was enough evidence that Engenas was vying

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 The main informant on this matter was Mr Elijah Mambolo who also accompanied Engenas when summoned to the *Kgoro*. See also Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.40.

for chieftainship. It was difficult for the Chief to approach Engenas because he feared that the matter would divide his tribe. A pretext was ultimately found in 1938. This happened as follows: Engenas had chosen every Wednesday to be a prayer day for all women in the Church. Friday was for both men and women, followed by Sunday (this is still maintained in both the Z.C.C. and the St.Engenas Z.C.C. today). On a certain Wednesday the Mamabolo Women's Council arranged that all women would call at the Chief's kraal to repair and renovate the houses together with the *lapa*. The day coincided with the day of prayers by women in the Z.C.C. Many women preferred to go to Church. Their absence from the Chief's kraal was conspicuous and the matter was reported to the Chief who had no choice but to summon Engenas. At the Chief's kraal tempers ran high and councillors accused Engenas of making himself Chief or Sub-chief when he did not have a right to such a position. Engenas explained to the court that all the allegations were fabrications to spoil his name. He, however, gave them a parable saying that "Anyone who wants to block a river must do so in winter, but if he does it in summer when the river is in flood, he is attempting the impossible". This saying is often repeated in sermons by members of the Church as a witty statement.⁷⁸ During the same night Chief Mankweng and his senior councillor called at Engenas's home and explained that they were against the allegation but they were influenced by the majority of the people at the court.⁷⁹

In 1939 Engenas asked the Chief for a letter to

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

leave the Mamabolo area. This was granted and Engenas and his family left. The Church that was nearing completion was left uncompleted (see photo). He settled temporarily at Thobolong on a farm of a certain *Radimpshe*,⁸⁰ just next to Mr Reeves's residence. He finally arranged to buy a farm (Warmberg) at Mphahlele in 1939.⁸¹ Engenas found the climate to be too hot and he negotiated for a farm near Boyne. This is the present headquarters of the Church and is generally known as Moria. This ended Engenas's quarrels with the Mamabolo tribe. He was so furious with the tribe that he instructed his people not to marry from the Mamabolo area.⁸²

Engenas realised that it was important to have a farm for his Church where his "patients" and officials could stay without applying for permission from chiefs. The idea of buying land originated with Mr Reeves.⁸³ Collections for this purpose were very slow with the result that farms were only bought in the 1940's. The farms are, however, personal property.

(e) Conclusion

Finally it is clear that Engenas experimented with Christianity to build up a tribe of Zionists who looked upon him as their "Chief". Without his own land it would be difficult for him to work with the people from different tribes. This was then the origin of a

80 "Radimpshe" was a name given to the owner of the "Maclean" farm near Boyne. His son-in-law was Mr Reeves.

81 Cf. The ownership certificate; see also Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.41.

82 The informant, Mr Khunkhwane Mothapo disobeyed the instructions. The woman he married died on arrival.

83 The informant on this matter was Mr Thomas Molopa a brother-in-law of Engenas.

supra-ethnic tribe with its Christian-tribal practices and customs of its own, a new tribe in which Engenas and his future children would be leaders in the same way as in the traditional Chieftainship. Engenas assumed the position of "Kgoši ya Masiono" (King of the Zionists). The title also received the necessary respect and dignity from his followers.

Chapter II

THE THEOLOGY OF THE ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH 1924 TO 1948

1 Introduction

There are very few writers who have directly written about the theology of the Zion Christian Church in particular. This aspect appears in literature only in passing under such general headings as "spiritual Churches" or "Zionist Churches".⁸⁴ However, in 1971 this gap was filled with the appearance of M.A. Krugers's study on the Z.C.C.⁸⁵

2(a) The Zion Christian Church: A Sect or a Church

Dealing with concepts such as "Church" and "sect" poses certain difficulties because of the emotional involvement of who ever is using these terms. As T.W.S. Mthembu puts it so well when he said that "the one who calls others a sect is a sect himself".⁸⁶ A possible working definition for this thesis may be G.C. Oosthuizen's classification of "Independent Movements" in Africa.

Oosthuizen classifies the movements into three main groups, namely:

84 Bãeta: Prophetism in Ghana. This book was so extensively used by M.A. Kruger in his analysis of the Z.C.C.

85 Kruger: Die Zion Christian Church - 'n Religieuse Bantoebeweging in 'n tyd van ontwrigting.

86 Sundkler: Zulu Zion, p.332.

(a) Churches

Here the Word, the Sacraments and Church discipline have the same positions as in the churches from which they seceded.⁸⁷ Under this he gives the African Methodist and the Bantu Methodist Churches as examples.

(b) Christians Sects

Here is meant Jesus Christ plus "something else" like in the Pentecostal and the Adventist types of movements. The leaders of these groups are prophets as well as mediators. They are the lives and souls of their movements and their followers are mostly illiterates. Christian sects emphasise faith healing and public confession. When they take a nativistic form, Jesus Christ loses His rightful place.⁸⁸

(c) Nativistic Movements

The nativistic movements "wish to restore aspects (at least) of the traditional religion".⁸⁹ These movements include in their practices the secular matters and traditional religion. In this group is included the revival, reformation and vitalistic movements. The nativistic movements are further divided into magical and rational nativism. Magical nativism attaches magical value to symbols of the past while rational nativism attaches psychological value only. The nativistic

87 Oosthuizen: Post-Christianity in Africa, p.72.

88 Ibid., pp.72-73.

89 Ibid.

movements can either be prophetic or Messianic:

(i) Prophetic

In the prophetic movements - the prophet is the leader who has special healing powers, he is the Middleman, and the soul of the movement. Jesus Christ plays a role in the movement, but He is more a magical personality, a wonder-worker.⁹⁰

(ii) Messianic

"In the messianic movements the prophet has developed into a messiah, and usurps the place of Jesus Christ, to become himself the Black Christ ... is the sum and the substance of the movements, the person in whose hands its future lies."⁹¹ The messianic figure can be historically present like in the case of I. Shembe and Engenas Lekganyane or can be absent and his followers still cherish his return.

Taking into account the above classification by Oosthuizen, one could proceed to analyse the position of the Zion Christian Church; whether it was church or sect? The Z.C.C. under Engenas Lekganyane lacked standing church discipline and made little use of the word of God. The Z.C.C. developed spontaneously until there was very little left of the tracks of the "churches" from which it originated. Thus according to this definition the Z.C.C. falls short of being called a Church.

90 Ibid., p.75.

91 Ibid.

By the same definition the Zion Christian Church qualified to be a Christian sect, because, even if the followers accepted Jesus Christ, they still believed strongly in the role of the ancestors and Engenas as their mediator. Faith healing and public confession were emphasised. The Z.C.C. was nativistic because even if there was a strong tendency to do away with the central points of heathenism there was a strong tendency to restore traditional values and norms. The movement was magical nativistic because it attached magical value to symbols of the past as found in traditional religion.

In the Zion Christian Church Engenas was the Chief prophet and the personlity around which every activity of the Church revolved. It was for this reason that Oosthuizen uses the Z.C.C. as an example of a messianic movement because in practice Engenas occupied the central place and not Jesus Christ. To his underprivileged followers, Engenas was a messiah who had come to deliver them from bondage, especially from the horror of superstition and the power wielded by the medicine men.

A careful look at how F. Boerwinkel defines a sect will further support the contention that the Zion Christian Church of Engenas was a sectarian movement. He defines a sect thus: "Een secte is een groep mensen die, voornaamlijk uit begeerte naar zuiverheid en met verabsolutering van een deelwaarheid, de solidariteit met het grote geheel van die groep verbreekte, en die deze breuk niet meer als smart ervaart."⁹² The Zion Christian after the separation from the Z.A.C. and

92 F. Boerwinkel: Kerk en secte, pp.19-20.

Z.A.F.M. did not experience any grief. Engenas broke away from these movements because of personal differences. As a matter of fact the majority of Engenas's followers did not even know the history of their leader before 1924 or bothered to know it. They considered the church as a new venture in their lives. Kurt Hutton as quoted by J.A. van Wyk defines a sectarian spirit as "a flight from, or against the reformation's doctrine of *sola fide, sola gratia*, an attempt to find instead of faith alone some visible or tangible security of salvation."⁹³ The Zion Christian Church of Engenas believed in the tangible and visible security of salvation. As far as health was concerned the members found faith healing, an answer. This was represented by *khutanes* copper wires, strings and sanctified papers. Faith was strengthened by visible deeds of the Church.

Before concluding the discussion on the theological status of the Z.C.C. it may be of interest to examine the aims and objectives of the Zion Christian Church as set out in its constitution. The Church started without a constitution, but because of the Government's insistence a simple constitution was drawn up in 1925 to accompany the application for State recognition. For purposes of this study the 1942 (revised) version of the constitution will be used as the 1925 one was not accessible to the author. This constitution (of 1942) gives the official stand of the Church, but had little relevance to what was being done in practice. It was drawn up by a firm of lawyers in Pietersburg under the chairmanship of Mr P.W. Roos who was Engenas's chief

93 J.A. van Wyk: Independent African Churches: Sects or spontaneous developments (Our Approach to the Independent Church Movements in South Africa, p.2).

legal adviser. Taking into account the fact that Engenas had only managed to make standard III, it is doubtful whether he himself understood or took part in the setting out of the lofty aims as found in the constitution.⁹⁴ The constitution points out that "the church shall be organised for the spreading of the Word of God and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in the world. Whereas the above Pillars of the Church have seen and still see with deepest Christian anxiety the deplorable spiritual and mental conditions of those who inhabit the Colonies of the world which the Word of God declares, shall be lighted up with the glorious rays of the sun of righteousness. And whereas we further remember with deep emotions the last command of our ascending Lord: 'Go ye into the World and preach the Gospel to all nations'".⁹⁵

Further references are made from the books of Eph.2:20 and Hebr.12:22,23 "... and ye are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the cornerstone" and "But ye are come to Mt.Zion, and into the city of the Living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and the Church of the first born which are written in heaven, and the God the Judge of all, and to the spirit of just men made perfect."⁹⁶ These references were not much of an aim, but were meant to assure the members that they had not made a mistake by joining the Church. They had come to the original church which was despised by many.

94 Cf. Zion Christian Church Constitution.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

In the light of the above discussion of the general aims and objectives, the Zion Christian Church appeared on paper like any other established church with Jesus Christ as the centre. However, in practice the Z.C.C. was a movement in which nativistic and syncretistic elements intruded on the original Christian teaching. The Z.C.C. of Engenas was a syncretistic-nativistic-prophetic-separatist-messianic Christian sect.

Definitions

(i) Syncretistic

The Zion Christian Church was a syncretistic movement because traditional customs and values were combined with modern European aspects to form a completely different type of Christianity.

(ii) Nativistic

Nativistic is defined as "an organised attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture and to return to the old ways of traditional religion, often allied with it is an immunity cult rendering initiates immune from European assault".⁹⁷ Although the Z.C.C. of Engenas forbade its members to worship ancestors directly, these ancestors retained a prominent position in the Church while traditional customs were not barred from the Church. Thus members were allowed to make sacrifices to their ancestors.

97 B.D. Barret: Schism and Renewal in Africa, p.47.

(iii) Prophetic

Engenas was regarded by his followers as a powerful prophet and the source of prophecy. Every word he uttered was taken by his followers as a prophetic instruction or utterance. These powers were believed to be hereditary. Thus leaders in the present daughter churches are believed to be prophets because it is believed that Engenas had passed the prophetic powers to his successors. Engenas was to his followers a "spiritual" leader.

(iv) Separatist

The Zion Christian Church as a nativistic movement had deviated from Christian principles. Instead of faith alone, Engenas brought in some traditional practices and different ways of faith healing with the result that faith healing became often more important than spiritual salvation. Apart from adding new elements, the Z.C.C. also neglected or shifted away some Christian doctrines like the use of the Bible and the position of Jesus Christ in the Church. Engenas separated for his opinion's sake. This was a general tendency of leaders in the separatist or independent movements. They collectively agreed in rejecting all ecclesiastical authority over them. In the case of Engenas the deviation from Christian principles in favour of indigenisation was welcomed and was responsible for the large following in the Church between 1924 and 1948.

(v) Messianic

As G.C. Oosthuizen puts it, the Z.C.C. was a

messianic movement in which the messianic figure is historically present. Engenas was the personification of the Church. There was hardly any preaching that could be done by ministers without putting emphasis on Engenas as someone who had come to save them and to deliver them ultimately to Almighty God. However, messianism in the Z.C.C. did not mean the total rejection of Jesus Christ.

The following discussion will clarify the Church's theological position.

2 (b) The position of Jesus Christ in the Zion Christian Church

The concept and the position of Jesus Christ in the African World is the same as that of God the Father (*Modimo*). Africans believed that behind their ancestors there was a supernatural being who was given different names depending on the environmental terminology. In Sotho this is *Modimo* superior to *badimo* (forefathers). *Modimo* could only be served through the mediation of *badimo*. So in the traditional African world God or Jesus Christ are further removed from reality than *badimo*.

In the Zion Christian Church the position of Jesus Christ should be understood from the above background. Engenas's followers believed that God (Jesus Christ included) could not be seen or realised. Engenas fulfilled the same functions between God and man that the *badimo* had done in traditional religion. He was a messiah, a prophet for his followers. Thus Oosthuizen describes the situation in the following manner: "In the

messianic movements, the first and basic expectation is freedom from need, whether that need be in the material, social, political or moral sphere. 'Salvation' of a kind which has nothing to do with sanctification, is sought for the whole tribe. The second component of messianic idea is better future, and the third is that of mediatorship between God and man."⁹⁸ During research it was found that Engenas used to preach about Jesus Christ and to refer to the Bible, but he in turn received the title of Messiah (*Mophološi*) or even God from his followers. Hence he was referred to as "Mophološi, Modimo wa rena"⁹⁹ (Messiah, our God). This emulation should be seen as an emotional reaction from his followers. It was a spontaneous reaction from people whose salvation was also geared for the "here and now". Faith healing and material benefits were of paramount importance for them. Faith healing occupied the central place in the Z.C.C., with the result that almost every member would tell of some faith healing miracle performed on him. Members came to Moria to receive strength in their faith and blessings from the "Messiah". Thus some staunch believers would roll down where Engenas had passed because they believed they would be healed or blessed. To these people Engenas was the light and what he said formed the basis of preaching in the different congregations. Jesus Christ was a distant figure to such an extent that some followers placed Jesus Christ and Engenas on the same footing. Therefore, in their prayer even today, one can hear them saying "O God of Engenas, I stand", or, "I will end there in the

98 Oosthuizen: Post-Christianity in Africa, p.79.

99 See Hanekom: Krisis en kultus, p.69.

name of Engenas".¹⁰⁰

In the Zion Christian Church constitution Jesus Christ is acknowledged for it is stated that "the Church shall be organised for the spread [*sic*] of the Word of God and the Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ".¹⁰¹

Research students should however realise that in African Churches, the Z.C.C. included, there is a vast difference between what is written in constitutions and what really takes place in these movements. In the Z.C.C. the constitution was there but it was never applied. It was for use in applications to the State when needed. Many followers were not even aware of the existence of such a document.

M.A. Kruger, in his analysis of the Zion Christian Church, came to the conclusion that "Die naam van Jesus Christus word gerespekteer, maar staan nie in die middelpunt nie. Sy naam neem ongeveer die plek van 'n ou profeet van die Ou Testament soos die Moslems se siening van Christus is".¹⁰² It is, however, noteworthy to realise that there was a steady change and that the name of Jesus Christ was gradually regaining its place. This was probably so because of the educational development in this country. The Z.C.C. of Engenas was characterised by inconsistency because his position in the Church was not clearly defined. This explained the different names that were given to him.

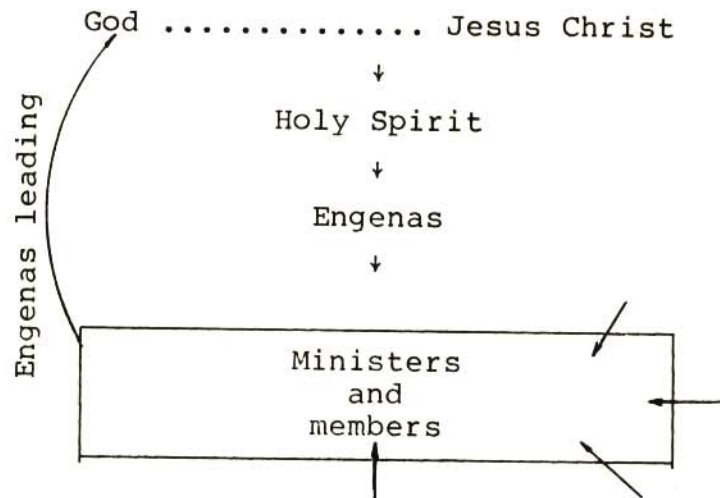
As regards the latter developments in connection

100 Cf. Present Preaching.

101 Zion Christian Church Constitution.

102 Kruger: Die Zion Christian Church - 'n Religieuse Bantoebeweging in 'n tyd van ontwrigting, p.102.

with Jesus Christ's position Kruger noted the change when he said that "hoewel daar in die laaste tyd positief probeer word om Christus te verkondig, is dit tog nog so dat die lidmate weinig van Christus weet".¹⁰³ He further states that "selfs die Doop word nie met Christus in verband gebring nie".¹⁰⁴ Engenas's followers were mostly the underprivileged rural people who understood baptism to mean admission into the Z.C.C. and not a rebirth into the kingdom of God as such. The baptismal phrase was: "Re kolobetša ka Leina La Ntate, le la Morwa, le la Moya O Mokgethwa (We baptise in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit). There was no clear distinction between Father and Son. The following diagram illustrates the position of God, Jesus Christ and Engenas.



N.B. Arrow indicates converts entering the new place in the Z.C.C.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.

(c) The Use of the Bible in the Zion Christian Church

The next theological question in the Zion Christian Church was the use of the Bible or the preaching of the Word of God in the Church. Engenas was a regular reader of the Bible.¹⁰⁵ He spent most of his time reading or discussing Biblical concepts with his elders. During Church services there was more of quoting the texts than actual reading. Many of his followers could not read or write and this shortcoming debarred them from using the Bible in their congregations. On this matter, Häselbarth has this to say: "During our field work we noticed almost from the onset that there is a real hunger for God's Word among members of Lekganyane's group, especially among his older congregations."¹⁰⁶ This is still true. The older congregations he is referring to are remainders of Engenas's time. They have learnt with time and they are anxious to read the Bible on their own. Their's was Christianity without book education. Engenas's converts, mostly old men and women, looked to him for everything.

If the Bible was rarely used in the Church, what was then preached? There must have been something else which was a life-centre in the Church which really mattered to the people. The Z.C.C. of Engenas was a faith healing and a miracle performing Church (ke kereke ya Mehlole). Every act in the Church was an act of God. Ministers preached on how a person was healed, how a

105 The informant was Mr Adolph Mathiba whom Engenas sent to buy Bibles at Moriija Mission Station.

106 Häselbarth: The Zion Christian Church of Edward Lekganyane, p.88.

barren woman conceived, how a witch was caught, and other social problems which were solved in the Church.¹⁰⁷ Preachers were told beforehand that those who wished to preach should concentrate on the wonders which the Church was doing and should forget about their personal family problems and politics. Preference was given to visitors, if any, to preach whatever subject they deemed fit for the occasion. For example, if the first preacher started with something like the healing of mental cases, then many would follow up, giving their own testimonies on such cases. Examples were drawn from different angles. The rest of the day may be used to discuss administrative and financial problems because "faith without deeds was rotten". This was the slogan used to encourage people to offer. If there were few matters to attend to, singing and dancing followed.

Preaching in the Z.C.C. was better described by the term *kgothatso* (to comfort). Preachers were called upon to comfort the people in their different problems. Members had to have hope that prayer would solve their differences through the will of God. Members regarded Engenas as a representative of God and to despise him was to despise God in person. They believed that God had given all the powers in the Church to Engenas and Jesus Christ could be served through Engenas who assumed the position of a mediator.¹⁰⁸ The term mediator should be understood as used in African tradition. This meant *Morongwa* (a messenger) just as in the Chief's kraal where there is a person who goes between the people and the Chief. This then explains the different answers one

107 Cf. Present Preaching in the Church.

108 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.69.

gets if one asks the members who Engenas was. A cross section from all layers of members in the Church shows generally the following answers to the question: Who was Engenas?

	<u>Group</u>	<u>Answers</u>
1.	Engenas's family members	Great Prophet or Christian
2.	Members around him	Mookamedi (superintendent) or man of God
3.	Ministers in distant Congregations	Prophet or Saviour
4.	The Elite	A powerful leader
5.	Ordinary members	God

In conclusion the use of the Bible in the Zion Christian Church depended on the availability of educated people in the congregation. During his research the writer was struck by instances where the old ministers in the Church made use of school children to read the verses they had in mind to the congregation. The minister would then follow with explanations. The rare use of the Bible in the Z.C.C. during Engenas's time should not be taken as a lack of true faith or anti-Christianity, but should be regarded as a deficiency which needs attention in the future. The use of the Bible in the Church could have been meaningful to the people if the idiom used was that of the people. J.H. Bavinck is correct when he maintains that "the missionary cannot confine his task to the mere preaching that Jesus Christ is the only Saviour of sins. As soon as he comes into real contact with the men and women to whom he preaches the Gospel, his way of life is bound to exercise

a very strong influence upon his environment. It is not only the word he speaks which strikes the ears of the people who hear him, but it is the manner of life which again and again touches their hearts".¹⁰⁹

Finally, what J.A. van Wyk has written on the present Z.C.C. may also be made applicable to the original Z.C.C. where he says: "They are touching some real needs of their people and are achieving real results in financial strength, moral character and missionary expansion. Whatever may be said about some methods (apparent superstition and unorthodox teaching), it is a fact that there is a surprise openness to scriptural teaching. In spite of an attitude of defensiveness towards the 'outsiders', there is very little sense of schism, indeed little or no history of schism, and little antagonism to other Christian churches as such. Very little is thought out speculatively, but there is much evidence of real opposition to some central beliefs of heathenism and of spontaneous growth as a Christian body."¹¹⁰

(d) The Holy Spirit in the Zion Christian Church

In African tradition and religion, the Holy Spirit was unknown. Instead Africans believed in the wonders performed by their ancestral spirits. To start with, in African life or tradition every person (or family) had his gods in the form of his ancestors who were believed to be living somewhere where they were

109 J.H. Bavinck: The Impact of Christianity on the non-Christian World, p.45.

110 J.A. van Wyk: Independent African Churches: Sects or Spontaneous developments (Our Approach to the Independent Church Movements in South Africa, p.4).

able to communicate with God. It was further believed that if these ancestors were not respected or honoured, they had the powers to cause misfortunes or illness to people on earth. Thus it was common for medicine men to instruct patients to slaughter beasts and make feasts for them in order to be healed. It was emphasised that medicines could only succeed if the ancestors were satisfied. It was again believed that the ancestors or *badimo* could visit people in the form of spirits or dreams. The Holy Spirit (*Moya o Mokgethwa*) is a Christian tool which as Oosthuizen puts it, "causes a lot of confusion in nearly all Black churches in Africa".¹¹¹ The problem is so acute that even in Orthodox Churches many Africans are not as yet clear as to which directions to take.

In the Zion Christian Church the same confusion was apparent. Some of the members revealed that they first honoured their ancestor spirits before they could acknowledge the Holy Spirit.

Nevertheless, the Holy Spirit in the Z.C.C. may be regarded as a driving force in the development of the Church. In principle every member received the Holy Spirit immediately upon baptism. Engenas was believed to have control over the Holy Spirit in the case of prophets. The informant, Mr S. Senoanadi said that many members who were prophets, and left the Church they also ceased to be prophets for Engenas "took out" the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit guided every Christian in the Church in his daily life, not only on Sundays.

¹¹¹ Oosthuizen: Post-Christianity in Africa, p.120.

The Holy Spirit was differentiated from "spirits" (evil spirits) as known in the traditional life.¹¹² The Church officially did not believe in polytheism.¹¹³ *Moya o Mokgethwa* (Holy Spirit) meant God's own guidance or the chosen spirit from the many evil ones. Traditionally spirits were believed to inhabit trees, rivers and animals.¹¹⁴ These spirits are ubiquitous; there is no area of the earth, no object or creature, which has no spirit of its own, or which cannot be inhabited by a spirit.¹¹⁵ In the Z.C.C. the distinction was made to refer to the Holy Spirit as *Moya o Mokgethwa*, not just *Moya*, which can simply mean air. In the Z.C.C. the Holy Spirit revealed its existence in the power to heal, to drive evil spirits from persons, and in prophecy.¹¹⁶ The Z.C.C. did not restrict its members from making sacrifices to their ancestors. This practice may also suggest that the Z.C.C. believed in the guidance of people by their forefathers who were said to have control over people on earth.¹¹⁷ This seems to be a general belief among Africans, including the elite.¹¹⁸ Old members in the Z.C.C. believe that the Holy Spirit in the form of prophecy is no longer as powerful as during Engenas's time. This is interpreted as being in line with Engenas's assertion that all things shall end and prayer alone shall remain.

Writers on Zionism often fail to clarify the

112 G.E. Parrinder: West African Religion, p.115.

113 Parrinder: What World Religions Teach, p.97.

114 B. Idowu: African Traditional Religion, p.178.

115 Ibid., p.174.

116 C. Boundillon: Traditional Religion in Shona Society (Dachs: Christianity South of the Zambezi, p.16).

117 E.S.R. Tanner: Transition in African beliefs, p.16.

118 Parrinder: What World Religions Teach, p.100.

position and the role played by *Modimo* and *badimo* in the Z.C.C.¹¹⁹ This problem must be approached from the point of view of African beliefs and customs. Africans believe that the dead are somewhere where they are in real contact with those on earth. These *badimo* are taken as messengers who are able to plead before God for certain events to take place on earth. Thus if one failed to satisfy the *badimo* then they would not send his prayers and wishes to God and this could result in a series of misfortunes on earth. Therefore in traditional life one had to respect and honour one's ancestors so that they could talk well of one before God. God is seen as someone whom a living person cannot approach, except through *badimo*. In the Z.C.C. members were discouraged to worship *badimo* with symbols of small trees or animals. They were to worship God and honour their ancestors. For this reason, Mbiti says: "Whatever else might be said in general about the independent Church movements in Africa, they are in their own ways, attempts by African peoples to 'indigenize' Christianity and to interpret and apply it in ways that, perhaps spontaneously, render Christianity both practical and meaningful to them".¹²⁰

(e) Sacraments

(i) Holy Communion

Holy Communion is one of the sacraments observed

- 119 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, pp.84-87;
See also Hanekom: *Die Huidige Stand van die Tradisionele Godsdienspatroon by die Mamabolo*, p.102. The same information is found in Hanekom: *Aspekte van die Religieuse Organisasie van die Mamabolo* (J.F. Eloff en R.D. Coertze: *Etnografiese Studies in Suidelike Afrika*, p.102).
- 120 J.S. Mbiti: *African Religions and Philosophy*, p.233;
See also R.D. Coertze: *Godsdiens in Atteridgeville* (Eloff en Coertze: *Etnografiese Studies in Suidelike Afrika*, p.347).

by the Zion Christian Church. During Engenas Holy Communion was mostly administered during conferences at the headquarters at Moria, near Boyne. But Engenas could also visit other central places where Holy Communion could be administered. In many isolated places ministers had the problem of obtaining wine for this purpose. Although it was fairly easy for congregations in townships to obtain bread and wine, these had first to be blessed by Engenas. Those who had licences for wine could buy and bring the quantities along to Engenas to be blessed. Häselbarth's statement that in the Z.C.C. Holy Communion is not administered is not based on fact.¹²¹ Kruger correctly declares: "Want daar is afdoende getuienis dat die Nagmaal wel gevier word, maar daar word geen persone wat nie lidmate is nie, toegelaat nie. Die Nagmaal word te Zion City Moria en sentrale plekke gehou".¹²²

Holy Communion was administered as follows: All members of the Church were reminded during the day about the venue and the time for this sacrament. Ministers were asked to attend in great numbers to help with the confession of sins. The starting time was usually six o'clock in the evening. People were directed to ministers to confess. This was optional, for those who had nothing to confess, were allowed to partake without confession. It was, however, emphasised that taking Holy Communion without prior confession of sins would only lead to illness or misfortunes. Thus many took the option of refraining from taking the sacrament. Holy

121 Häselbarth: The Zion Christian Church of Edward Lekganyane, p.87.

122 Kruger: Die Zion Christian Church - 'n Religieuse Bantoebeweging in 'n tyd van ontwrigting, p.57.

Communion was, therefore, voluntary in the Z.C.C. After confession members sat on benches and the ministers in charge washed their feet. Thereafter they were given the wine and bread. The bread represented Jesus Christ's flesh while wine represented His blood. However, to the people of the Z.C.C. Holy Communion, like baptism, had the function of forgiveness of sins and cleansing thereof.

(ii) Baptism

B.G. Sundkler in his analysis of Zionism under the Zulus and the Swazis, has summarised the Z.C.C.'s idea of baptism. He says: "The rite-de-passage is Baptism, and more specifically total baptism, i.e., 'not only of the forehead' - which is the custom of the Whites and therefore identified with the 'Mark of the Beast', in Revelation 13 - but 'much water', and preferably in 'living water:', of a running stream or of a river. Uncleaness and the 'mystical gloom' of the past are thereby washed away, and the new identity of the believer emerges"¹²³ In the Z.C.C. baptism was by threefold immersion in the water, preferably in a river. Dams were also used. Only adult believers could be baptised and not children.¹²⁴

Converts were baptised immediately upon conversion. If there were many converts the Church service could take place by the riverside. Before baptism prayer was held and if possible one or two ministers would preach, depending on the time available. One source, Mr A.

¹²³ Sundkler: Zulu Zion, p.313.

¹²⁴ Sundkler: Bantu Prophets in South Africa, p.211.

Mathiba, says that even passers-by who were interested could be baptised there and then.¹²⁵ Converts were required to confess before baptism and if the convert was a medicine person, he or she was asked to hand over all his or her "tools" which were then burnt in public. An oral explanation of doctrines of the Church was given. If the convert was a male he would receive from the elders further instructions to be obeyed in the Church. The same was done in the case of female converts. Hymns were sung and the convert was baptised with the words "We baptise ... (name) ... in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen". The new member received a card which had the following details:

ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH
(FOUNDED IN 1924 BY E.B. LEKGANYANE)

SUPERINTENDENT: E.B. LEKGANYANE

ZION CITY MORIA, THABAKGONE
P.O. BOYNE, PIETERSBURG

PLACE:

DISTRICT:

DATE:

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT

.....
IS BAPTISED IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, THE SON AND THE
HOLY SPIRIT, ACOORDING TO THE INSTRUCTION OF OUR LORD
JESUS CHRIST. AMEN

MATT.28:19,20.

On the reverse side of the card the following texts are given:

125 Mr A. Mathiba was one of the earliest ministers to be allowed to baptise converts.

- (a) Baptism in the river: Matt.3:6; John 3:23;
Luke 2:28,47.
- (b) Baptism by the Holy Spirit: Matt.3:11,12;
Luke 1:5,8.
- (c) Healing by prayer: Mark 16:17,18; Jak.5:14,15;
Matt.10:7,8.
- (d) Love: John 13:34,35; Luke 3:10,11.

To the members of the Z.C.C. there was one way of getting to Jesus Christ: through baptism in water. Other forms of baptism were not accepted. The other symbolic ways of baptism were seen as being a result of learning which made man too lazy to follow the practical example of Jesus Christ. Bishop J.E. Lekganyane, the leader of the St.Engenas Z.C.C. from 1949-1972, defended baptism by immersion in September 1967, by arguing that baptism was like dipping cattle to remove ticks or skin diseases. They should be submerged in water and not be sprinkled. The new converts, he continued, were like these cattle, they had to be completely submerged in the water.

(f) Conclusion

So far one can conclude the question of baptism in the Z.C.C. by taking a look at what Häselbarth says: "Before Baptism there is a purification ceremony with confession of sins, with vomiting or being pricked with a needle in the legs or nostrils. The bleeding symbolises the outgoing of uncleanness."¹²⁶ It is true that confession of sins, vomiting and pricking took

126 Häselbarth: The Zion Christian Church of Edward Lekganyane, p.89.

place in the Z.C.C., but not as prerequisites to baptism. Vomiting does not take place before baptism, but it was a means to cure certain illnesses like an excess of bile. This could be prescribed even to non-members. Pricking was an attempt to reduce impure blood which was believed to be the cause of pains in the body. This had nothing to do with baptism.

However, confession of sins and a verbal guarantee to refrain from sins were emphasised. However, it did sometimes happen that converts had nothing to confess and that they were still baptised. Baptism in the Z.C.C. was understood to be a sacrament for the forgiveness of sins and not a purification rite.¹²⁷ Holy Communion and baptism were the two sacraments observed in the Zion Christian Church of Engenas Lekganyane.

127 Ibid.

Chapter III
ENGENAS'S SOURCE OF POWER

1 Introduction

In this Chapter emphasis will be laid on the factors which seem to have contributed to Engenas's big following from 1924 to 1948. Although Engenas had already had a number of followers from the Z.A.F.M., he gained more members after the establishment of the Z.C.C. in 1924. For this reason, there must have been some source of attraction which influenced so many people from different ethnic groups to gravitate towards the Zion Christian Church. The growth of the Church can be explained by a careful analysis of the needs and hopes of the black population of the time. The needs for material and spiritual security manifested themselves greatly in the rural areas. In the Z.C.C. material security seemed to override spiritual security. Material security embraced health, wealth, and influence in community affairs and occupations.

Engenas in person was a source of attraction and he was regarded by his followers as a God-sent to work amongst the Black people.¹²⁸ He was regarded as a "scarce commodity", i.e. a person with exceptional talents, a gift to the people. Thus he had to be listened to, to be followed and to be protected just in the same way as a traditional King or Chief. He was referred to as *Mollwa* (a needed person). His influence

128 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.40.

and authority was greatly felt during conferences. To be able to trace his influence during conferences it will first be necessary to explain the meaning and the part played by the conference in the Zion Christian Church.

2(a) The Meaning of Conference in the Zion Christian Church

The idea of holding conferences in the Z.C.C. did not originate with Engenas but was a general practice in the Z.A.C. and the Z.A.F.M. of which Engenas had been a member before 1924.¹²⁹ In the Z.C.C. there were two conferences a year. The one in April was generally known as Good Friday and the other in September was meant to mark the beginning of a new year. Conference in the Z.C.C. meant coming together to pray.¹³⁰ It was a time for different congregations to meet at a common place where they would learn some of the procedures in the Church.¹³¹ It means solidarity amongst the followers. They could share ideas, reflect on problems and perform traditional dances.¹³² On such occasions members felt strengthened by meeting the multitudes and old members of the Church.

Conferences were taken as a pilgrimage for the sole purpose of prayer.¹³³ The April Conference was

129 This information was jointly given by Simon Mashabela and S. Senoamadi.

130 Cf. The Zion Christian Church Constitution.

131 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.54.

132 Ibid.

133 Ibid., p.49.

to celebrate the death of Christ while the September one was meant to pray for the better harvest in the new year and for protection and luck in the coming year.¹³⁴ People usually brought along their seed to be blessed. Conference, then meant a coming together to a holy place and before a powerful prophet to ask for blessings (*Mahlogonolo*).¹³⁵ This is the reason why conferences in the Z.C.C. were attended by everybody, i.e. members and non-members, children and adults. During these conferences people erected temporary "shelters" because they would have come as families and others might sleep in the open without any complaint for they were satisfied that the place was "holy". At these Conferences non-members were allowed even to stage their traditional dances. Such visitors were often fed. This attitude of Engenas towards the people persuaded many sceptical people to regard the Z.C.C. as a peace-loving Church. The neighbouring people of Molepo, Mamabolo, Dikgale and Mothapo rallied to Moria to enjoy the festivals and to sell articles.

The above is then the meaning of a conference in the Z.C.C. It was during the conferences that Engenas's authority and dignity were felt.¹³⁶ His appearance before the people was highly appreciated. People would render praise poems and rally around him. Some of the staunch believers even feared to look at him while fortune seekers and the sick would roll on the ground where Engenas had passed believing that they would get his blessing. As a way of greeting and praying for the people Engenas would lead his brass band and march in

134 Ibid., p.55.

135 Ibid., p.69.

136 Cf. The information was given by A. Boshego.

front with his walking stick. He used to put on a Scottish kilt when he did the marching. During such occasions people would climb on trees and on top of vehicles to be able to see Engenas. Many people who were long baptised but without knowing Engenas in person would struggle to use the opportunity to see him. Thus one may conclude that many people came with a special purpose to see Engenas and if he did not appear, his absence was taken with heavy hearts. Even the ministers in their preparations for coming to Moria, emphasised by saying: "A re yeng re yo bona Mong wa rena, re ye go kwa seo a se bolelago" (Let us go and see our leader, let us go and listen to what he will say). Thus Engenas was a central figure during conferences. He was a source of attraction. Even when he went past the crowd in his car (a Packard) people would applaud and praise him.

On Sundays during these conferences, people would make it a point to assemble for services in time. They were all eager to hear Engenas preach or sing. He often went for Church services late in the afternoon (about four o'clock). He would come accompanied by his elders in the Church together with some of the members of his family. At times the band led him to Church. On his arrival they would all pray and he could ask some of his elders to preach. These elders were often very brief. They would emphasise that members should always listen and follow what Engenas would say; that if they wanted to live in peace they should unconditionally respect and obey Engenas for then they would be respecting the Church. Engenas would then have his chance to preach. He was a natural singer and revealed a sense of humour

in his preaching. At the end of it the people were satisfied that they had come to Moria for something worthwhile, for they had seen and heard their leader preach and sing.¹³⁷

(b) Divine Healing and Faith Healing in the Z.C.C.

Another important and major source of attraction in the Z.C.C. was divine healing and faith healing. Both these forms of healing were present in the Church.¹³⁸ In divine healing "patients" were prayed for by laying bare hands on them. The emphasis was on God's mercy. In faith healing Engenas introduced sanctified papers, *khutane* (blue cloths on clothes), copper wires, strings which people had to use as protectives or healing instruments. In faith healing people therefore had faith in these "tools" and not in God directly. Divine healing was often practised by Engenas while the ministers practised faith healing. Engenas was regarded as the source of healing power. All powers and wonders in the Church including prophecy were believed to be from Engenas. All sources of information on divine and faith healing, including Mrs P. Roos agreed that without powers to heal the sick, Engenas would have failed to build up the Z.C.C. The Church members were convinced that any member could have healing powers as long as he was under Engenas. The Z.C.C. of Engenas was a miracle-performing Church. It should also be remembered that divine healing in the Z.C.C. was not a new thing, but this was a feature which is present nearly in all Zionist and Ethiopian Churches.¹³⁹

137 See also Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.87.

138 Cf. Sundkler: *Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists*.

139 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.63.

In Black Africa there seemed to have been a fertile ground for Churches which practised faith healing or divine healing to flourish. This is to be found in the philosophy of life of the people concerned. In the case of Engenas the Church had a strong following from the rural areas and under-privileged people. Superstition and the fear of medicine men compelled many people to join Engenas.¹⁴⁰ To many of them witchcraft was responsible for any misfortune or illness. This had to be counteracted and the Z.C.C. seemed to offer a solution. The absence of hospitals and clinics in the rural areas gave the Church a speedy growth. It has been calculated that about 80% of Engenas's followers joined the Church because of illness or some other difficulties, 15% by natural process, and 5% out of mere conviction. Natural process refers to those who were born to parents belonging to the Church and who automatically joined the Church. The above figures are based on the results from a questionnaire which was distributed amongst the old members of the Z.C.C. Prof. J.A. van Wyk of the Stoffberg Theological College also arrived at more or less the same figures when he used his students to collect information using a questionnaire.

In the Zion Christian Church there were a number of healing practices which were performed to heal or to protect the people from misfortunes.¹⁴¹ These practices were then the "medicines"¹⁴² of the Z.C.C. The ordinary healing method which is common in all the Zionist or

140 Ibid.

141 Ibid., pp.100-101.

142 "Medicines" is used here to refer to healing methods.

Pentecostal Churches was the *laying on of hands*, which was performed by ministers, evangelists, deacons, and preachers, was done irrespective of illnesses.¹⁴³ It is more of a protective practice than a healing one. After every Church service members queued up for ministers to lay hands on them. The laying on of hands had a scriptural origin. It was based on the work of the Apostles. This is found in Mark Chapter sixteen, verses seventeen and eighteen. These read as follows: "And these signs will follow those who believe in My name, they will expel demons; they will speak with new tongues; they will pick up snakes, and if they drink anything fatal it will not injure them in the least. They will lay hands on the sick and they will become well." The same idea is expressed in St.Matt.10:7,8. There were certain conditions which were to be observed in order to be able to lay hands on the sick. For example, a minister was prohibited from laying hands on the sick if:

(i) he had attended a funeral and had been involved in the burial procedures; he then had to abstain for seven days, before he could perform his duties again. For this reason ministers were to be careful in attending funerals for the congregation might have to remain without a minister for some days;

(ii) he was eating food prepared by, or living with a woman who had just given birth (baby under three months) he would have to stay for a certain period without performing his duties. The implication for this practice

143 Cf. Zion Christian Church Constitution.

was that most of the ministers became polygamists for this would enable them to stay with another wife while serving the Church as well.

(iii) he had come into contact with or had eaten food prepared by a menstruating woman. Such women were not allowed to greet men by shaking hands. If they attended Church services, they did not mix with the congregation, but they usually sat aside. At businesses owned by Zionists such women were not allowed to work until after seven days. These restrictions were based on the book of Lev.12:1-5. The laying of bare hands was discontinued in 1930 because it was found to be dangerous on the part of the Church.¹⁴⁴ Some of the ministers who laid hands on the sick and healed them, started to claim power in the same way as Engenas did. A device was found to ensure that this did not happen and to show that all powers were from Engenas. It was emphasised that God had given all the powers to His chosen prophet, Engenas. Henceforth ministers would no longer use their bare hands in praying for the sick, but they were provided with pieces of khakhi cloth which were blessed by Engenas. Only with these pieces of material could a minister perform those duties. It was then easier to disqualify a minister by simply confiscating these "tools". When the membership increased the use of these pieces of material was found to be expensive and ordinary green papers or newspapers were cut to sizes to perform the same duties.

143 Cf. Zion Christian Church Constitution.

144 This information was given jointly by Mr A. Mathiba and Mr Simon Mashabela who were sent to preach the new method to the members.

Another way of divine healing, or rather faith healing, was *pricking*.¹⁴⁵ A special needle was designed and blessed by Engenas to be given to ministers to use. Pricking was adapted from the Apostolic Church. It was also of traditional origin. Traditionally impure blood was regarded as a source of pain, headache, eye-disease and many other bodily pains. In order to remove impure blood medicine men used to cut an artery or cut a person on his joints or anywhere where there was pain. Some would *lomega* (a method of sucking out blood) their patients. In the Z.C.C. pricking was prescribed by a prophet. The places were usually the hands, legs and seldom in the nose. Pricking was mostly performed on elderly people. Alongside with pricking as a means to heal pains a small piece of wood (*kotana*) of about six centimetres long and one-and-a-half centimetres thick was used to slightly hit on the body especially on the places which were painful. There were no drugs to be used for pains.

In the Zion Christian Church water played a central role as a means of faith healing.¹⁴⁶ In the first place water was used to sprinkle people or objects which were suspected of impurity. This was also done to welcome visitors. The origin of sprinkling people with water as a means to purify them is also found in African tradition. In many communities, especially of the Sotho group, water is used to sprinkle on people after a funeral. Generally water was also used as *Mogabolo* (warm water which is blessed and taken at random). Many followers preferred this type of water every morning and

145 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.100.

146 *Ibid.*, p.103.

every evening. For this reason even up to this day one still hear Engenas's followers praising themselves as "Pholo tša go nwa Mogabolo" (oxen which live on warm water). Water could also be prescribed by a prophet where the type of water and the place from which it was to be drawn were very important. The source, Mr Thomas Molopa, gave an example of a person staying in Pietersburg who could be instructed to get water from the Orange River or from the sea. This means he would have to struggle to get it for if he failed to get the prescribed type, he would render the healing null and void. Often when members went to Church they carried along some bottles or containers full of water.¹⁴⁷ The minister or Engenas would bless the water which would then be known as *meetse a thapelo* (blessed water). The blessed water could be used in cooking, sprinkling and washing one's body. Again water with some sand added to it was used to sprinkle homes, businesses and even crops to ward off witchcraft or misfortunes. Water was also used for vomiting to get rid of excess bile. This was more of the Zulu traditional custom. To clean the stomach salt was added.

Engenas had a number of protectives which people could use to protect themselves from mishaps.¹⁴⁸ Men were to travel with walking sticks which were blessed by Engenas. The function of the walking sticks was not to fight, but to protect them against mishaps. Members were given blessed strings or strips of cloth to wear around their waists or shoulders to save them from

147 Ibid., p.101.

148 The information on protectives was jointly given by Elijah Kgatla and Makgai who were both responsible for the distribution of the protectives.

witchcraft. These strings were not to be washed with soap lest they lose their "protective powers". On their clothes, members were to attach in a hidden place, a blue square cloth known as *khutane*. On this Hanekom says "Interessant is die feit dat die onsigbare vlootblou lappie - vasgesteek tussen die ronde en reghoekige lappies - volgens algemene opvatting hierdie beskermende krag besit".¹⁴⁹ The name *khutane* which means hidden is also Engenas's name which meant that Engenas had hidden from the people. They could not easily realise his worth as a leader. This probably meant that people could not realise that he was a chosen "prophet". The function of the *khutane* was to protect the individuals from assaults and lightning. Members were again given strings of copper wire to tie across their gates or somewhere in the house to protect the family against witchcraft and lightning.

In all the above healing methods there was one most important prerequisite for the use of any method. This was the confession of sins. It was emphatically stated that confession of sins and faith in God would render the use of the "medicine" meaningful. Confession alone was believed to heal disease. The new converts who were haunted by the forces of witchcraft and superstition, found a new dimension of life in the Zion Christian Church. They were used to medicine men and their methods, but now they were told of prayer and the "holy water". It was a miracle to many members to realise that they could live without the supervision of the medicine men who acted as "family doctors". It was

149 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.103.

unbelievable to many that ordinary water could heal a person.

The change from divination to prayer should be seen as a break-through in the Zion Christian Church. It was a change which manifested itself to the rural people. These were people who could not accept Christianity as an abstract phenomenon but as something that had concrete signs of utility on earth. Together with this change came the introduction and the use of modern commodities. Tea and coffee replaced traditional beer. Tea and coffee were used for healing. Today there is special tea and coffee made for this purpose with the label: *Tea ya Bophelo* (the tea of life). The change represented a transitional period, a stage in the way of Christian faith. Engenas had, as it were, introduced a new pattern of life and beliefs to the detriment of the medicine men and some of the chiefs who saw in Engenas a threat to their positions. About the medicine men Hanekom confirms that "hoewel toordokters lidmaatskap tot die Z.C.C. kan verkry, hulle in die algemeen nie dieselfde omvangryke funksies vervul as voorheen nie. Die feit dat hulle nou ingeskakel is by 'n groot en amptelike erkende Kerk, dien moontlik as statusvergoeding vir die posisie wat hulle tradisioneel kon beklee het".¹⁵⁰ More respect was now directed to Engenas who was praised as a protector of the needy people.

In the Z.C.C. Engenas performed a number of things which convinced the people that he was the "man of God", whom they should obey and respect. The following are

150 Ibid., p.100.

some of the most remembered of Engenas's deeds.

(i) The Healing of a Cripple

In 1944 Engenas visited Johannesburg and stayed at 37-7th Avenue, Alexandra Township.¹⁵¹ On a certain Sunday people heard Engenas's band and rallied to the place. On that day most of the congregations around Johannesburg had come to see their leader. Among the crowd there were parents who had brought their 23 year old son to Engenas. He had been born a cripple and he could not walk. The parents reported the matter to Engenas's aides who reported the matter to him. When it was about time for Church service Engenas ordered the cripple and his parents to appear in an open place. He had his walking sticks. Engenas told Adolph Mathiba and Samuel Senoamadi to hold the cripple by his arms. Engenas then announced to the crowd that the cripple would walk home and that the parents would have the burden of carrying the walking sticks. Engenas ordered the band to play and he lifted his hand in front of the cripple. He told the two supporters to leave him alone and Engenas moved backwards while the cripple followed him crying and the legs straightening. The man went home walking for the first time in 23 years. His parents were baptised the same day. The crowd was amazed, including the old members of the Church. Engenas was praised as the "man of God". Another source, Mr Phineas Sebola, says that he personally was afraid that Engenas would fail to heal the cripple and people

151 This information was jointly given by Samuel Senoamadi and Adolph Mathiba who were both present on that day.

would look down upon them as liars. This he said was because he had had "little" faith. Deeds such as these gave Engenas a following when they were related to people with similar problems. People started their own praise songs such as:

"Mohwaduba¹⁵² o be o ile kae?
 Ge re senya dikgomo re e fa dingaka."
 (Mohwaduba where were you;
 when we lost our cattle to the medicine men.)

(ii) The Birth of Children

To realise that faith healing in the Zion Christian Church was an important attraction to followers is to understand the basic needs of the blacks, especially in the rural areas. Barrenness on the part of a woman was detrimental to her marriage and to her status in society. It was less of a calamity if the husband was sterile, for arrangements could be made for the wife to bear children. It was and still is the basic African custom that marriage is only meaningful if children are born. So to avoid divorce or being divorced the unfortunate people came to Engenas for help.¹⁵³ These people were given a prescription in the form of water, then after some time some fell pregnant.

On this point of barrenness there is a classic event which was often mentioned in sermons in the Z.C.C. The source, Mr A. Boshego recorded that in 1947 during the Easter Conference, the elderly women in the Church

152 "Mohwaduba" is Engenas's totem.

153 The main source on this matter was Mr Amos Boshego.

complained that there were many young women who were married but without children. They agreed to send their plea to Engenas. They sent Amos Boshego on their behalf. Boshego told Engenas of their complaint and Engenas told him (Boshego) to get a *thupana* (small twig). Engenas "blessed" it and told Boshego to assemble all the unfortunate women and to lift the twig so that every woman could look at it. Only those who were legally married would be considered and they would conceive. This was announced and women rallied to the place where Boshego stood with the twig. They looked at the twig and dispersed. An interesting event happened on this day. There was an old woman from Johannesburg who had a daughter who had been married for more than ten years but without children. She wanted to know what she could do to help her daughter as she was not present. The case was mentioned to Engenas who called the woman and instructed her to look at the twig and make a knot in her shawl. She should untie the knot in front of her son-in-law and her daughter, and she should tell them that the knot was their child. This she did upon arrival and after a few months the woman fell pregnant and a son was born. He was given the name of *Thupana* (Twig). Some of the children who were born after the same event were called BoMogau, BoMoria, and BoThupane. These names up to this day, still remind the people of the same event. However, we should realise that no statistics were kept for this event and as a result we are unable to determine the exact number of people who were affected by it, although the source, Mr Boshego, gave the estimated number as exceeding twenty. He was basing his calculations on those who came back to report the birth and the names given to them. These and many

others were events which attracted a big following. Some came to Engenas because they wanted sons when they had only daughters and vice versa. The preaching of these events is still the cause for conversion in the Z.C.C.

(iii) Unemployment

Africans had a big problem in finding good work or a better paying job.¹⁵⁴ The people were sometimes able to find work on their own, but the use of the reference books and job reservation were unsurmountable problems to them. Unemployed people would rally to the Z.C.C. or be referred to Engenas for blessings before they could risk looking for work. They were then prayed for or given blessed water to use while looking for employment. Such people usually reported back after employment. Mr S. Senoamadi gives an example of a man who came to him after he had tried to find work for the whole year. He then promised this man that if he believed in Engenas he stood a better chance to be employed. He gave the man blessed water to wash his face every morning before going to the labour bureau. Surprisingly the following Monday when the man was sitting with others he just saw an officer coming to him and offering him work as a cleaner and tea-boy in the same office. These were the people who spread the Gospel amongst the unemployed. Such people could not discontinue their contact with the Church lest they be discharged.

154 This information was given by Solomon Senoamadi who was appointed Senior Minister for Pretoria and Johannesburg congregations.

(iv) Livestock and Good Harvests

The Blacks during Engenas's time were livestock farmers as well as agriculturists. A man was respected for possessing a large herd of cattle and a number of fields for his family of up to ten wives. Under such conditions better harvest was necessary to feed the family. Previously people used to go to medicine men to bless their seeds and to protect their livestock. This was accompanied by heavy charges as payment for the "duties" performed. In the Z.C.C. similar problems were dealt with free of charge. The source, Mr T. Molopa, a brother-in-law of Engenas, says that people would come with complaints that they were always having poor harvests irrespective of their efforts. Engenas would then bless their seed and give them water to sprinkle on their fields secretly. In this way Engenas had satisfied the man's mind. Such people would preach the results of their harvest to the people with similar problems. So it was not the preacher or the priest who did the conversion, but people came on their own in search of solutions for their problems.

(v) The Problem of "Rain-Making"

Engenas had a big following among chiefs. These tribal chiefs had problems of administration and feared deposition. A majority of them used to pay Engenas nocturnal visits to ask for protection. They could not visit him during the day because they feared the non-Zionist section of their tribes: The source, Mr A. Boshego, says that the majority were from Sekhukhuniland and around Molepo, Mothapo, Mamabolo and Dikgale.

Amongst the chiefs Engenas was known as a rain-maker- Chiefs would come to Engenas to request rain for their own people. They had their spokesman in the person of the late Chief Frank Maserumule Matlala of Sekhukhuniland. In his plea Chief Matlala would emphasise that if there was no rain, their people would leave them to get to white areas and many would disobey their rule. This would lead to starvation and disorder among the tribes. He would end up by saying "Kgomo, Mohwaduba, re a lla re swerwe ke tlala" (Kgomo, Mohwaduba, we are crying, we are hungry).¹⁵⁵ This saying was confirmed by the ex-Chief Minister of Lebowa, Chief M.M. Matlala, during the official opening of the St.Engenas Z.C.C. in September 1972.

Chief F. Matlala was a great friend of Engenas and this was not without reason. During the early 1930's Engenas visited Sekhukhuniland to preach the Gospel among the tribes. Many chiefs were disturbed when they saw a number of their people joining Engenas. They organised themselves against him. At a village next to the present Nebo Magisterial Offices they sent a group of men to attack Engenas and his group. He was attacked and Engenas was personally hit with a stick which fractured his arm. Chief F. Matlala came to his rescue. He took the group to his kraal where they were protected. Engenas stayed for several days. On his last day Chief F. Matlala asked him for rain because the crops were dying.

Engenas requested that the Chief should call his

¹⁵⁵ The information on the relationship between Engenas and Chief Matlala was given by Chief Phasha.

most senior wife. She came and Engenas ordered that she should bring water in a calabash. He prayed for the water and instructed the Chief to wait until it was late enough for him (Engenas) to have crossed the Olifants River. Then he should spill the water in the centre of his *lapa*. That would be his rain. Immediately upon departure, Chief Matlala grew impatient and ordered that the water be spilt. Heavy rain fell and Engenas had to sleep on the way because he could not cross the Olifants River. The road was slippery. The following day he arrived home near Boyne. On the following Sunday Chief Matalala came to Moria to thank Engenas. Engenas pretended to be very angry and told the Chief that he would also sleep on the way because he did not obey his instructions. The Chief went back but he was delayed in Pietersburg doing his shopping. Just when he crossed the Olifants River heavy rain fell compelling him to sleep at the Nkoana Chief's kraal which is presently under Chief Phasha. Chief Matlala then made the second visit to Engenas where he was asked to relate his story to the people during Church service. From there Chief Matlala became a bosom friend of Engenas and attended conferences where he also brought some of the chiefs. Events such as these drew many followers to the Church and chiefs praised Engenas as a man of order and peace.

The following is a summary of healing and protective methods used in the Zion Christian Church of Engenas.

- (i) Blessed water to purify members everywhere, at home, at services and funerals.
- (ii) Sanctified papers were used to bless the food.
- (iii) Salt, to clean the stomach and excess bile, through vomiting.

- (iv) Coffee and tea with or without milk to purify the blood.
- (v) Pricking the legs, hands and nostrils to remove impure blood.
- (vi) Copper wires above the entrance of homes to protect people against lightning.
- (vii) The blue pieces of cloth known as *khutane* to protect the people from mishaps.
- (viii) The strings or strips of cloth to wear around waists or shoulders to ward off misfortunes.
- (ix) Newspapers cut into strips and blessed so that they could be burned to purify objects and to heal.

The above methods were often prescribed by a prophet for patients. There were other psychological moves for many people to follow Engenas. The Z.C.C. Church accepted people as they came. They were all people of God, and they were not seriously questioned or tested in any manner. Much of what they understood in their old African religion was still there although in a modernized form.

Certain social aspects attracted many people. Engenas had a band which was known by members as the blessed band. When the band played it was taken as prayer. Members would dance after the band and enjoy themselves. The songs, by organised groups, which did not find place in the established churches were allowed in the Z.C.C. and this gave many members the satisfaction which never existed before. Members felt proud in their uniforms dancing and singing, thereby praising the Lord. The festive mood and processions were enjoyed.

In the Z.C.C. the people understood the message of the Church. A powerful preacher was not the one who could expound the examples in the Bible, but the one who could provide solutions for problems basing his examples on past experiences in the Z.C.C. The preaching was in the people's idiom and examples were often derived from traditional life or culture. Politically the people felt satisfied to belong to an African Christian Church, which was free from European guidance and supervision. Häselbarth maintains that "this political motive must be seen as reaction against white domination and the everyday humiliation born under it".¹⁵⁶ This statement is vital if one reflects on Christianity under the missionaries who assumed a paternalistic role over their converts where it became difficult for Blacks to assume responsible positions in the Church. The difference in cultural background between White and Black in the mission churches encouraged division. This was also true in Black churches where leaders like Engenas could break-away simply because the leader was not of the same ethnic group. Cultural differences were to an extent responsible. Moreover in the White controlled churches qualifications were demanded for promotion. This demand frustrated many Black leaders. Many failed to find any direction and psychological satisfaction in those churches.

(c) Government Policy

The attitude of the South African Government toward the Z.C.C. of Engenas encouraged the growth of

156 Häsalbarth: The Zion Christian Church of Edward Lekganyane, p.4.

the Church. As early as 1925 Engenas tried through his white friends to have his Church registered and recognised. Although the Government was not prepared to recognise the Church, the reply was friendly emphasising that the Government was not against any religious movement as long as law and order prevailed.¹⁵⁷ The struggle was continued by P. Roos, the legal advisor of the Church. He first worked on a more comprehensive constitution which was completed in 1942 when the Church was officially registered. Of all the Zionist Churches in South Africa, the Z.C.C. had been favoured with Government's "positive and constructive interest and sympathy".¹⁵⁸ Magistrates from the rural courts where the Church was flourishing reported to Pretoria of the good and peaceful progress which the Church was making in the rural areas.

It was out of the above Government relationship that the Z.C.C. developed a tradition of working in co-operation with the Government. This was to begin from the local chiefs and indunas. Engenas did not allow his members to preach against their chiefs or any Government institution, which maintained law and order. However, the late registration of the Church made it difficult for Engenas's congregations in the urban areas to apply for Church sites. This problem was not serious at first because the township boards did allow the members to use school buildings. During Engenas the members in townships mostly used houses belonging to one of their members for Church purposes. However, the Church managed to get a stand in Alexandra Township.

157 Cf. Lekganyane file no.136/214. State Archives. Pretoria.

158 Sundkler: Zulu Zion and some Swazi Zionists, p.287-288.

This was after several applications had been made. Pretoria had mild replies for them, viz., that the Government was "still investigating the matter". The statement also appeared on applications for Church business sites.¹⁵⁹

It was, therefore, partly the result of the Government's policy of non-interference that made it possible for the Z.C.C. to survive and to be a powerful religious organisation.

(d) Elements of Unity in the Z.C.C.

The Z.C.C. of Engenas had certain elements which brought about unity amongst its members.

In the first place Engenas as the leader of the Church was a unifying factor. He was a source of inspiration and attraction to his followers. His appearance in Church, and his occasional walk amongst his followers was a source of happiness.

The next unifying factor was the badge. Engenas introduced the use of the badge in 1928¹⁶⁰ for the purpose of enabling members to recognise one another wherever they met. The origin of the badge was based on the book of Numbers 15:37-40 which reads as follows: "And the Lord spoke unto Moses, saying 'speak unto the Children of Israel and bid them that they make them

159 Lekganyane file no.120/4/68'. State Archives. Pretoria.

160 Lebowa: St.Engenas Z.C.C. - A brief perspective, 2nd September 1972.

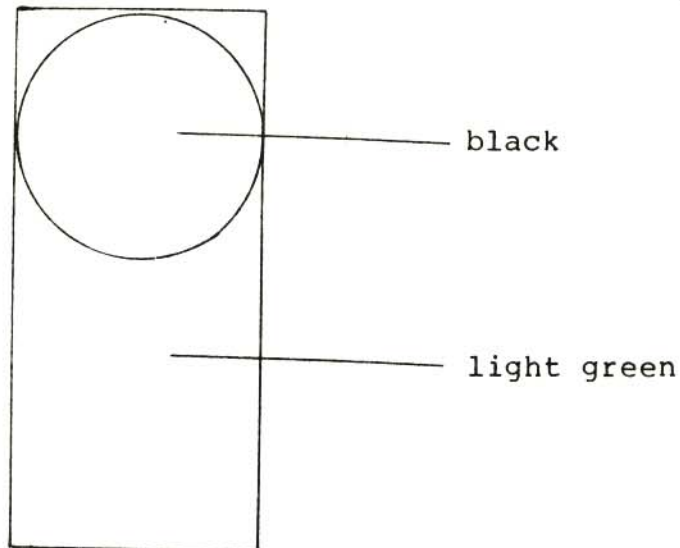
fringes in the borders of their garments throughout their generations, and that they put upon the fringe of the borders a ribbon of blue. And it shall be unto you for a fringe ..., that ye may look upon it, and remember all the Commandments of the Lord, and do them; and that ye seek not after which ye used to go a whoring: That ye may remember, and do all my Commandments, and be holy unto your Lord". To the followers of the Z.C.C. the badge had several uses. It was regarded as a token of faithfulness to the Church to wear it always.¹⁶¹ This was regarded as honesty because in those days members of the Church were victims of criticism especially from Engenas's enemies. To give courage to his members Engenas told them that in future he would not walk for a distance of six miles without seeing one of his members with a badge on. The badge was a symbol of solidarity and oneness in the Church. Members rallied to one another on recognizing the badge irrespective of the ethnic group to which they belonged. They were brothers and sisters *metswalle* in Christ and in the Z.C.C. Apart from the identification function of the badge, it was also a disciplinary measure. It was known amongst the members that no person would dare drink or smoke with a badge on because the non-members would remark on this and even reject him. The badge reminded the members of all the standing orders of the Church. In White areas where there was an acute shortage of employment members of the Z.C.C. would assist one another just because of the badge. The badge was in itself a protective measure against criminals in the urban areas. It was believed and emphasised by ministers that any member of the Z.C.C.

161 The main source on the importance of the badge was Mr Mahlo of Sekororo.

would not be easily robbed or attacked if he had a badge on. On this matter an example of Mr Piet Mphahlele of Sekhukhuniland was given. Mr Mphahlele worked in Johannesburg (Berea) and on his way to Alexandra Township he was manhandled by thugs but they left him alone upon realising that he had a badge on which meant that he belonged to Engenas.

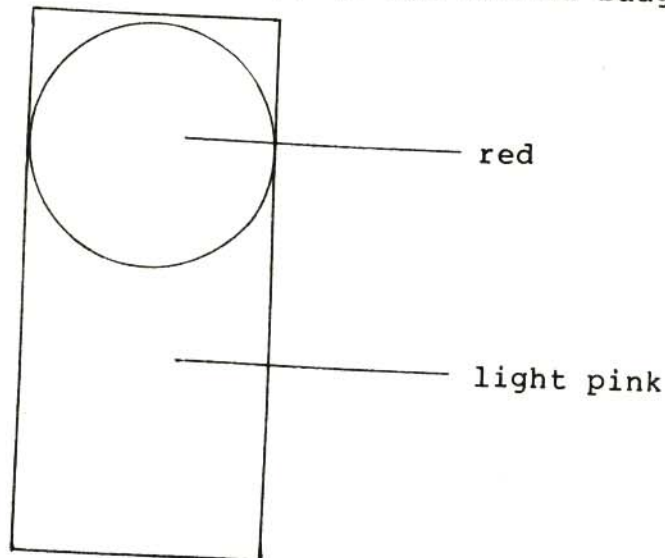
It has already been said that the use of the badge was associated with trustworthiness. Many employers preferred the Zionists in their yards and farms. Even during conferences employers would send their representatives to recruit labourers amongst the Zionists. However, by 1935 non-members (even criminals) had realised the advantage of the badge. They started to secure the badges to appear as Zionists. Engenas realised this and insisted that members should also carry their baptismal cards for purposes of identification.

The history of the different badges which were used from 1928-1948, as given by Mr Samuel Molokwane is as follows: The light green badge with a round black top was the first to be used. It had the following shape:



This type of badge was used up to 1939 when a light pink

and red was used. The reason for this change could not be established. The shape of the second badge was:



This badge was used for a few months and they again reverted to the light green and black which is still in use today. Perhaps this was done because of the ease with which the material was obtainable or for fear of similarities with other Zionist Churches. Every member upon baptism was given a badge to use.

Polygamy was another unifying factor in the Z.C.C. Firstly the Church made it possible for polygamists to be ministers of religion. Perhaps to understand the importance of polygamy in the Z.C.C. one has to realise the role it played in traditional life. Under traditional life one did not become a polygamist because he wished to be one. He was bound by customs and beliefs of his people. Traditionally any married man could be legally approached if his brother or relative had died leaving a wife behind, to "look after this woman". In such cases he was bound by the norms and values of his people and he could not refuse. Such a man found it very difficult in the western churches which regarded polygamy as a custom which was out of place in the Church. Traditionally a man was respected as an experienced man in family life because of the number of

wives he had. It was common in traditional courts to prohibit a monogamist from giving advice in a case where family matters were under discussion. He was seen as inexperienced and incapable of giving a well-decided opinion on the matter.¹⁶²

In the Z.C.C. polygamists were admitted and could rise to the position of minister without restriction. Polygamy was seen as a God-created mode of life. Almost every African society practises this form of marriage. Thus in the Z.C.C. polygamists were proud of belonging to a Church that accommodated their customs. After all it was often emphasised by preachers in defence of polygamy, that even the genealogy through which Hesus Christ was born showed the existence of polygamy. People found polygamy better than the many divorces which took place. On Sundays a family with five or more wives and children would go to Church singing as a group.

The Holy Spirit in the form of prophecy was a powerful unifying factor in the Zion Christian Church. The informant Mr Simon Mashabela said that people in far-away places would hear of Engenas before they had seen him. A "prophet" would kneel down and start saying, "Amen ... Amen ... Amen ... God of Engenas, God of Engenas, says you must pray for your difficulties ahead ... Amen ... Amen ... God of Engenas ...". Through these prophets every member knew that Engenas was their father and they were all by virtue of being members of the Church his children. For this reason members of the Z.C.C. would not dare pass one another without greetings, viz. *Kgotsong* (peace). It was through the prophets that congregations could be sent out to go and visit

162 The two sources on polygamy were Mr A. Thema of the Mamabolo tribe and Mr Khunkhwane Mothapo of Mothapo tribe.

individuals or other congregations for purposes of prayer. Through a prophet, a congregation could be sent to a family to spend a night praying for the family. An individual could also invite a congregation to come and perform *mpokgo* (traditional dance performed by men and women). These types of gatherings formed some type of "parties" in the Z.C.C.

(e) Conclusion

In conclusion it may be stated that divine healing and faith healing in the Z.C.C. provided a ladder through which underprivileged people could reach Christianity. It would have been unrealistic for the Church to expect people who were deeply connected with medicine men to see Christianity as a meaningful alternative without divine or faith healing as a tentative frame-work for change. The methods employed in healing were not permanent in the Church. For example, in the Z.C.C. pricking and the use of salt for cleaning the bowels as faith healing methods are gradually giving way in favour of the medical treatment in clinics and hospitals. One may safely say that without the aspect of faith healing the Church might have been still born or stayed an unrecognised movement. Thus faith healing was an attempt to help the people in their transition to Christianity. In the Z.C.C. *faith* in the patient determined the success of the strings, *khutanes*, water, copper wires, burning of papers and pricking. The importance lay in the faith and Engenas only did the blessing which was to convince people that faith and prayer in the God of Engenas could protect them from evils.

Chapter IV

THE ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH TOWARDS THE SPLIT 1940-1948

1 Engenas's Last Years

By 1940 the Zion Christian Church was numerically a very strong Church. The estimated figure in 1942 stood at 27 487 members in 55 congregations.¹⁶³ The Church was by that time an established movement amongst the "Spiritual" or "Zionist" churches in South Africa. In 1943 the membership was between 40 000 and 45 000.¹⁶⁴ Taking into account the above figures of the Church, Engenas seems to have gained more followers during and after the Second World War. Perhaps this was because many did not understand what the War was all about. Many people seemed to have rallied to Engenas to pray for their relatives who were away from home. But besides this there must have been more reasons for the growth which were found in faith healing. This period is also taken by his followers as the period marking the height of Engenas's power.

From 1945 Engenas's health deteriorated, and he began to spend most of his time at home.¹⁶⁵ He carried on most of his functions through his councillors. His younger brothers Adolph and Paulus were his right hand men at that time. He could only be persuaded to appear in public during conferences. Amongst his sons, Joseph

163 Hanekom: Krisis en kultus, p.41.

164 Ibid.

165 The source on this matter was Adolph Mathiba, who was the most Senior Minister of Engenas and his close guard.

(his fifth son), was his favourite. He used to drive his father to his congregations. This choice was seen by members as a pointer to the one who would succeed after the death of Engenas. Members believed that the close association between Joseph and his father was to instruct the former on the administration of the Church. His second son Edward (see photo), was away from home. He had differed with his father on the choice of a wife. So Joseph accompanied his father to meetings and at all legal representations of the Church.

The crucial point was who would be the successor after the death of Engenas? The ministers and councillors were not clear on this matter. The constitution was of little use compared to what Engenas could say concerning a successor.¹⁶⁶ However, the Constitution laid down that "the Conference (which was made up of ordained ministers and lay preachers) shall then proceed to elect a Bishop who shall hold office for life".¹⁶⁷ This then meant that the election of the Bishop was the duty of the conference and not of Engenas. Here the Constitution did not state whether the choice was to be from Engenas's family or from any other able member of the Church. This was, however, understood by the followers to mean "from the Lekganyane family". The Constitution also categorically stated that the Bishop was to be appointed for life. Here then the question of inability was overlooked for the main ability was in faith healing. The appointment was to take the traditional form where chiefs were leaders by virtue of their birth but not merit or general ability. Few people, if any, knew of

166 Ibid.

167 Cf. The Z.C.C. Constitution item (iii) Elections, p.2.

the Constitution and they did not bother about it.

To the members the appointment of a successor was Engenas's prerogative. The informant, Mr A. Boshego says that they believed and had the confidence that Engenas "knew" the direction of his Church and he would not leave them alone, but would provide them with an able leader. His instructions would be implemented without question for opposition would mean vieing for power or leadership. The Z.C.C. being a "Spiritual Church", it was believed by the members that God would reveal to Engenas which of his sons would be a successor. The choice would mean that God, through Engenas, would transfer all leadership powers including faith healing to such a nominee. On the part of the Church body any choice would be accepted as long as it was made by Engenas (as instructed by God). On this point one may conclude that whatever reasons were advanced for the appointment of a successor, the main task was to keep the succession as a family affair just as in the traditional kingship.

Engenas is reported by his old followers to have said a number of things concerning the future of his Church. These sayings were seen by his followers as prophetic words. In this dissertation only the most important will be mentioned. Some of these were published in the paper *Lebowa* of the 2nd September 1972.

2 Symbols of the Split

(a) Prophecy About the Future of the Church

On one occasion Engenas visited Johannesburg

(1934) and stayed in Alexandra Township. On a Friday he had an argument with his elders about the future of his Church.¹⁶⁸ The argument was prompted by statements from the leaders of the Z.A.C. and Z.A.F.M., that Engenas's Church would collapse and die out within a few years. Engenas called to of his ministers, Mr Mabena and Mr Senona to look for a prophet from whom they could find out about the future of the Church. They immediately suggested Mr Moses Mamabolo whom they knew as a powerful prophet in the Church. Engenas refused saying that a powerful prophet is really Satanic and a danger to the Church. It is often the case with churches which emphasise faith healing to discriminate against their followers and "prophets". Leaders fear powerful prophets and ministers for they can easily form their own churches as was the case with Engenas in 1924. Engenas then asked them to look for a certain Maria Sefuthuma who was notorious for her weak moral behaviour. She was a domestic servant somewhere in Johannesburg. The following Sunday she arrived panic-stricken for she thought Engenas wanted to question her about her behaviour. They then knelt down and prayed and the woman told them: "God says that the Church will develop and grow. The Church will be joined by all races in Africa. But before long the Church will split into two. The split will be temporary as the Church will again be one".

The elders who were present at the prophecy were surprised to find that the prophet had told them what Engenas had already told them. The elders were worried

168 The source, Mr Mabena was one of those who took part in the argument.

and they wanted to find out who would be responsible for the split. They took a vow that they would fight to their death if there was any amongst them who would attempt such a move. Mabena and Senona were delegated to approach Engenas to seek a solution or methods avoiding the split. They also wanted to know who would do it. Engenas answered them saying that the ministers and prophets would be responsible for the split. He told Mabena and Senona that he (Engenas) would ask God to protect their lives so that they could be able to witness the event. In the mean time Engenas sent out messengers to tell the congregations about the prophecy.¹⁶⁹

What then was the source and the importance of the above prophecy? Engenas, as an experienced member of his Church, was perhaps more aware of the position and the direction of his Church than anyone else. He also had the experience of what ministers and powerful prophets could do with the Church as it had happened in the Z.A.C. and the Z.A.F.M. Although he himself had broken away and formed his own church he in turn feared a breakaway by his own followers. To the members of the Z.C.C. Engenas was the first prophet in the Church and what he said was taken as an instruction from God. Thus members even today see prophecy as a God-sent message to alert them as to who Engenas was, viz., that he was a man of vision. So the split was seen as inevitable while old members of the Church still cherish the hope for a reunion.

169 Ibid.

(b) The Dove Sits on Engenas's Head

Another event concerning the future of the Z.C.C. had already occurred in 1933. A certain Mr Amos Boshego left the Sekororo area to join Engenas at Kgopa village where the event was said to have taken place.¹⁷⁰ In that year Engenas and his two elders Mr Amos Moreroa and Mr Charles Mamabolo went to the Kgopa village just to the south of Haenertsburg, where they visited Engenas's in-laws. Whilst there, they decided to have a walk. Engenas loved shooting doves. At an open place near the family where they stayed a wild dove came and sat on Engenas's head. Engenas caught the dove and pulled out the two hind feathers. The two feathers he put in the cap which he used up to his death. He then let the dove go. The dove flew and sat on the roof of the house in which they stayed. Engenas told his men to watch the dove. From the roof the dove flew to a tree and later flew in an eastern direction and disappeared. Engenas told his men that the two feathers represented the two churches which would emerge from his Church after his death. The event was spread all over and it was emphasised by the ministers that Engenas was a man of God on whose head the dove had sat.¹⁷¹ Congregations reacted by starting songs to mark this event. The most popular of them being: "Moria jube le khwele Mtini" (In Moria the dove sat on a tree). The most conspicuous token of commemorating this event is the dove badge which is used by the followers of the St.Engenas Zion Christian Church, one of the daughter churches after the split.

170 Another source, Mr A. Raphela, gave the date as 1934.

171 This information was also published in *Lebowa* of the 2nd September 1972.

If we take Engenas's view that the Church would be split by "ministers and prophets" and the question of the dove, it would seem that, although Engenas seemed to have been certain of the split, he was indecisive about the question of whom of his sons should be his sole successor. It may be said that Engenas understood the position of his sons and wanted to provide for both just like in African traditional kingship. This will be more clear when the next event of the two "Western Stars" is discussed.

(c) The Two Western Stars

The comparison of Engenas's sons with the two "Western Stars" is a well-known event amongst the followers of the Z.C.C.¹⁷² Engenas had a habit of staying with his elders at the *Kgoro* in the evenings sometimes till midnight. One evening in 1941 Engenas called his children, family members and elders. He showed them two stars in the West; it was a big and a smaller star. The smaller one was situated above a bigger one. He told his group to watch the stars for several nights. To him (Engenas) the two stars symbolized the two churches which would emerge from his Church after his death. The big star symbolized the elder son while the smaller one symbolized the younger son. The two "stars" would enter into combat with each other for the leadership. Engenas went on to explain that in the struggle for power the bigger star would at first overpower the smaller star but ultimately the smaller one would emerge victorious. The bigger star

172 Ibid.

would fight vehemently to gain the upper hand, but the mission of leadership is, however, not bestowed upon it, but upon the smaller one. This was then the reason why the smaller star would win the struggle. The men watched the stars and noticed how the smaller one ultimately got below the bigger one and swallowed it. Engenas's view of the two stars was that people should rally around the smaller one which would be characterised by a small following. He said that the majority would "deny him" during the split.¹⁷³

Regarding the above stars it was not clear at that time as to whom the stars referred. It was only later in 1948 that Engenas spoke of the "fifth son", Joseph. It was not clear who the "bigger star" was, for Barnabas, Edward and Johannes were Joseph's elder brothers. Engenas had his nominee whom he knew was going to clash with what the followers thought should be the case, namely the traditional choice of the first son. It is, therefore, indicative of the fact that Engenas suffered from indecision for he could have categorically stated who would succeed him. The dubiousness and lack of clarity in stating who his successor would be, made it possible for ministers to make their own choice also and to suspect Paulus Lekganyane's stand on the "fifth son".

To the followers of the Z.C.C. the symbolic meaning of the vision of the stars was greatly emphasised, especially after the split. This was

173 This information was jointly given by the elders who were called by the late Bishop Joseph Lekganyane. The information was later compiled by Mr C.J. Maja of the Department of Psychology at the University of the North.

especially so with Joseph's followers who found in the meaning of the two stars a strong defence against Edward's followers. Engenas was seen as a man of vision and the split was according to them a fulfilment of his prophecy.

Finally Engenas can be criticised for having failed to make the succession clear to the people. Through some of the above sayings, Engenas prepared a fertile ground for a split. Taking into account the influence and the command he had, he could have appointed his successor publicly and it would have been unlikely that he would have encountered any opposition. He had legal advisers, especially Mr P.W. Roos, with whom he could have arranged for the transfer of his leadership. At least he could have made the appointment clear to his sons as he did with the sharing of property and the partition of his two farms, viz., Maclean and Warmberg. The mere reference to the "fifth son" was more complicated to execute. However, it is believed by some that the split encouraged the speedy growth of the Church because there was competition for more followers. There was also a difficulty which existed in Engenas's family concerning the future of his Church. His first-born son, Barnabas, died in 1948, shortly after Engenas. Many followers considered Barnabas as kindhearted and a favourite. He obeyed his father unconditionally. His illness and subsequent death came as a shock to the people.¹⁷⁴ He was trusted and he often served as a link between the members and his father.

174 This information was collected from Reuben Lekganyane, Engenas's younger brother.

(d) Engenas and His Sons

Engenas's second son, namely Talane Reuben (later called Edward) was born at Thabakgone in 1926.¹⁷⁵ Shortly after his birth there were rumours of smallpox epidemics around Mamabolo. Because of the fear of this infectious disease Engenas refused to let people enter his kraal. The refusal included even some of his best friends and members of the Mamabolo Chief's kraal. Non-members of the Church hated Engenas and accused him of making himself Chief. The people around Molepo, Mamabolo and Dikgale interpreted the "No thoroughfare" instruction to be a pointer that an important person had been born, a future leader; that Engenas was giving the child more care and protection. This event was used to support Edward's case as a future leader of the Church.¹⁷⁶

During the last three years prior to the death of Engenas, his son, Edward, was not at home (Boyne). From 1946 there seemed to have developed a misunderstanding between Engenas and Edward. Mr Reuben Lekganyane emphasised that the misunderstanding came as a result of Edward's wish to divorce his first wife. This misunderstanding resulted in the latter going to look for work. He was occasionally employed as a driver in Natal.¹⁷⁷ However, everywhere he went, members took him as the future leader. On the other hand he was building his friendship with many senior members of the Church. But in the eyes of Engenas, he was an outcast, for Engenas's children were not expected to go to work. They were

175 Ibid.

176 The source of information was Mr Lebati Mamabolo.

177 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.41.

members of the brass band and should help with the administration of the Church.

At home Engenas made his choice of the fifth son at the expense of his two elder brothers. This decision was a family affair about which members of the Church knew nothing. It was this family-centred decision which later caused confusion and division amongst the followers. Some members felt that had the decision been made public, the possibility of a split could have been avoided since many followers would fear to follow any choice which was contrary to the personal instructions of Engenas.¹⁷⁸ Engenas seemed to have developed too much love for Joseph (his fifth son), for in any matters of the Church he would demand that Joseph be present.¹⁷⁹ Here it may be argued that Engenas was gradually presenting Joseph to the people; and perhaps observing their reactions. Thus, when they sometimes discussed more complicated family matters, the elders would request Engenas to excuse Joseph as he was too young. Engenas would tell them that the boy was older than he (Engenas). This was an indirect way of showing the elders their future leader.

In practice the choice was made by Engenas and his inner Council, made up of the members of his family and elders. The source of this information confirmed that he saw no other alternative because Engenas was a chosen prophet like David, so that his children were also chosen as leaders.¹⁸⁰ The choice was considered to be a

178 Mr Elijah Mamabolo was the source of information.

179 This information was also given by Mrs P. Roos, the wife of Mr P.W. Roos legal advisor of Engenas since 1928.

180 Mr Reuben Lekganyane was the source of this information.

spiritual choice. Leadership in the Z.C.C. was seen from the point of a spiritual gift from God Who had chosen the family to do His will through them on earth. Thus if God had given the direction, the nominee would succeed.

The Z.C.C., as in many African independent churches like those of Shembe, Motaung and Mahlangu, was a family-bound church. All these churches had adopted in their succession procedure the traditional norm of appointing leaders by virtue of their "royal" blood. The only point of difference between Engenas and the traditional chiefs was that the former's source of following was personal leadership qualities while the latter had permanent tribes to rule.

The constitution stipulated that the responsibility of appointing a successor was in the hands of the "conference". In practice this would have meant that the advice of the members of the Lekganyane family would still play an important role. So, even if the constitution had been applied, the family should have been unanimous in their advice as to a possible choice. As it happened, nobody even thought of consulting the constitution, which illustrated its ineffectiveness. The matter was made more delicate by the fact that the name of the successor whom Engenas had wanted was not made public immediately upon his death, and so the ordinary members suspected that the choice, when made known, was a fabricated one.

(e) The Split of the Church

In 1948 Engenas fell seriously ill. Before his death he summoned his brothers and elders including Adolph Mathiba, and Elija Kgatla on this matter. Adolph Mathiba was the superintendent of the Church for the Witwatersrand congregations. When all had arrived he told them that as it was clear that he would not live long, he had given his brother, Paulus Lekganyane the task of presenting his fifth son, Joseph Matlhakanye as their future leader.

In 1948 Engenas died¹⁸¹ and Paulus Lekganyane (the last brother in the family of Engenas) sent a telegram to Adolph Mathiba and Samuel Senoamadi, who were on the Rand on a Church mission, to come home. On their arrival they found that Engenas was already buried. Paulus then sent them back to visit the congregations and to impart the sad news to them. They comforted the people by telling them that Engenas had not left them alone. Paulus Lekganyane would show them their leader in due course. However, the appointment was subject to traditional customs. They could not show the new leader before the period of mourning expired. This meant waiting for a year before any appointment could be made.

This delay in appointing a new leader may have contributed to the split. Perhaps if the appointment had been announced immediately people might have responded to one leader. This could have been done by calling all the ministers in charge of congregations and showing

181 Hanekom: Krisis en kultus, p.41.

them their new leader. They would in turn spread the news to their people. The period of mourning gave some ministers ideas. They thought the people (Paulus and his group) were not sure about the leader and were playing for time to determine the feeling of the people. Johannes Lekganyane (Paulus's son) confirmed that people accused his father of divisive tendencies and discriminating against Engenas's sons. Some felt he was creating a position for himself in the interim and that he could ultimately usurp the leadership.

At home the people were calm and confident, but the distant congregations grew impatient and demanded the immediate appointment of the leader. This was not without grounds. People felt insecure especially in faith healing. Who would be able to bless the water, papers and other "medicines" of the Church? This was a real problem to them, for only the one appointed by Engenas would be able to perform the Church duties. Members of the Church felt the Church lacked guidance and followers would disobey orders. It may be speculated that had Paulus acceded to the demand for an immediate appointment, he could have avoided the growing tension on the Reef, which was a driving force for the appointment of a leader.

The position grew worse and the Church was drifting into two camps: those who looked to Edward as their future leader (mostly from the Pretoria-Johannesburg complex),¹⁸² and those who put their trust in Paulus to show them the new leader. By the end of 1948 there were two forms of decisions, namely the "Home"

182 Ibid.

and the "Reef" decisions. The "Home" group was the one which was loyal to Paulus and wanted the period of bereavement to elapse before any appointment could be made. Paulus went on comforting the people. He told them that his brother (Engenas) had given him a horn of oil to anoint one of his sons. This he would do after the period of mourning. Often when he (Paulus) preached in Church, he would put his hand in his pocket and say, "Ka mo ke šwere lenakana la makhura gore ke tlotše yoo a tlo go ba Moetapele" (In this pocket I have a little horn of oil to anoint the chosen leader). It was this reference to the horn which eventually made the people nickname the followers of Joseph Lekganyane as "Ba ga Lenakana" (those of the little horn).

The "Reef" group understood the procedure in appointing a new leader from the traditional point of the eldest son. Many followers believed that Paulus's task was only to present Edward as the eldest son to lead the Church.¹⁸³ Moreover, Edward was making appearances amongst them. We must also understand that making friends with a possible future leader had many advantages for them later in the Church. Edward, having heard of the death of his father, came home to Boyne where he found out that conditions were not favourable for him. He left again for Johannesburg where he stayed with Elija Mamabolo, who was Edward's strongest supporter and the man who appointed Edward as the future Leader of the Church in Johannesburg. Edward presented himself to the people through Elija Mamabolo who acted as a link.¹⁸⁴

183 The source of information was Elijah Mamabolo.

184 This information was revealed by Elijah Mamabolo during Edward's funeral in 1967.

Somewhere in Alexandra Township, Johannesburg, people gathered to discuss the presence of Edward amongst them. It was here decided to save the "future leader" by appointing him and taking him to Boyne to take his father's position. They took a vow to defend the course and if need be, force was to be applied to silence opposition. A date was fixed for this purpose and a fleet of buses was booked to accompany "konyana ya Modimo" (the lamb of God). Leading prophets in the Church including Moses Mamabolo, Elijah's younger brother, supported the move.

The home front heard of the decisions of the Witwatersrand group, but they were unable to act. Paulus kept on emphasising that the "Reef" group was trying to appoint their own leader, that he would show them the one appointed by Engenas. One week-end the "Reef" group arrived with Edward amidst great excitement and dances. The home front was surprised to see a fleet of buses entering and leading to the entrance of Engenas's house. People were singing and praising Edward as the future leader of the Church with remarks such as "Eddie ke Morena ditulong tša tatagwe" and "Eddie ke Morena ka sebele" (Eddie is the ruler in his father's place and Eddie is the true or only ruler).¹⁸⁵ A dancing pattern, popularly known as *mokhukhu* was formed to stamp out any opposition. The village was "annexed".

The group which sided with Paulus, that is the supporters of the fifth son, Joseph, had to evacuate the home and build temporary shelters elsewhere. It should

185 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.41.

also be noted that some of the followers were surprised to find that at home there was a version contrary to what they had been told in Johannesburg. Some of the people from Johannesburg remained at Boyne to guard Edward and these were the people responsible for the persecution of Paulus and his group.¹⁸⁶ The *mokhukhu* group would dance and visit Paulus's group where they destroyed some of their shelters and threatened to kill Joseph (the fifth son).

The Church was thus divided into two groups, the Edward group and the Joseph group. Edward had more followers than Joseph. Joseph remained with almost all the members of Engenas's family except Reuben Lekganyane (Engenas's brother) who had not been on good terms with Engenas. Almost all the Reef congregations supported Edward¹⁸⁷ although there were some defectors from Edward to Joseph. Initially the two groups prayed together but this was found difficult as they could not easily determine to whom the members directed their loyalty. A system was devised to ascertain the followers of the two leaders. The Edward group used force to let the people confess whether they belonged to Edward or Joseph.¹⁸⁸ This was done in public and people were intimidated in the process. This process was accompanied by violence and skirmishes were reported to the police in Haenertsburg. The Edward group confiscated the instruments of the brass band and Engenas's Packard car. These were later retrieved with the help of the police and lawyers.

186 The information was given by Mr Phineas Lekganyane who joined the Joseph group.

187 Hanekom: *Krisis en kultus*, p.41.

188 The respondent was Mr A. Boshego.

Paulus, who was speaking on Joseph's behalf asked some of Joseph's followers to leave Moria till such time that the tension was over. A day was fixed to install Joseph officially as the leader of the Z.C.C. On the appointed day there were very few people at the ceremony. They were all accommodated under a tree. In his first speech, Joseph announced that those who doubted his leadership should question his dead father who was responsible for his appointment. He asked those who were not satisfied to decide if they wanted to join his brother, Edward. He told them that as proof that his father had appointed him he would build up his Church by converting new people to the Church.¹⁸⁹ As proof of the healing powers he showed them Engenas's cane walking stick which had been handed to him as a token of the chosen leadership in the Church. The walking stick was believed to be the transmitter of the healing powers from one leader to another. Thus the year 1949 marks the official split of the Z.C.C. which was followed by the partition of the Maclean and the Warmberg farms amongst his five children.

(f) Off-shoots from the Z.C.C.

While Engenas was busy building up the Z.C.C. from 1924 to 1948 some of his most powerful ministers broke away to form their own Zionist movements. Those who broke away were mostly tempted by distance, although, during Engenas's life time his personal influence prevented such a move, at least within the borders of the Union of South Africa. A number of these break-aways took place after Engenas's death in 1948, e.g. Mogodi at

189 The informant, Mr Moses Mohlatlole, attended the ceremony.

Molepo, Petrus Dikgale at Dikgale, Mazibuko in Swaziland and Sello Tshirelotšo at Zeerust. All these leaders failed to make any headway with their movements. But, in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) the death of Engenas gave an impetus to the divisive tendencies brought about by distance, ethnic differences and the ambitions of Makamba and Engenas's old associate from the days of the Z.A.C. of Mahlangu, Mutendi. These two at first worked together, but eventually each established his own Zion City Moria.

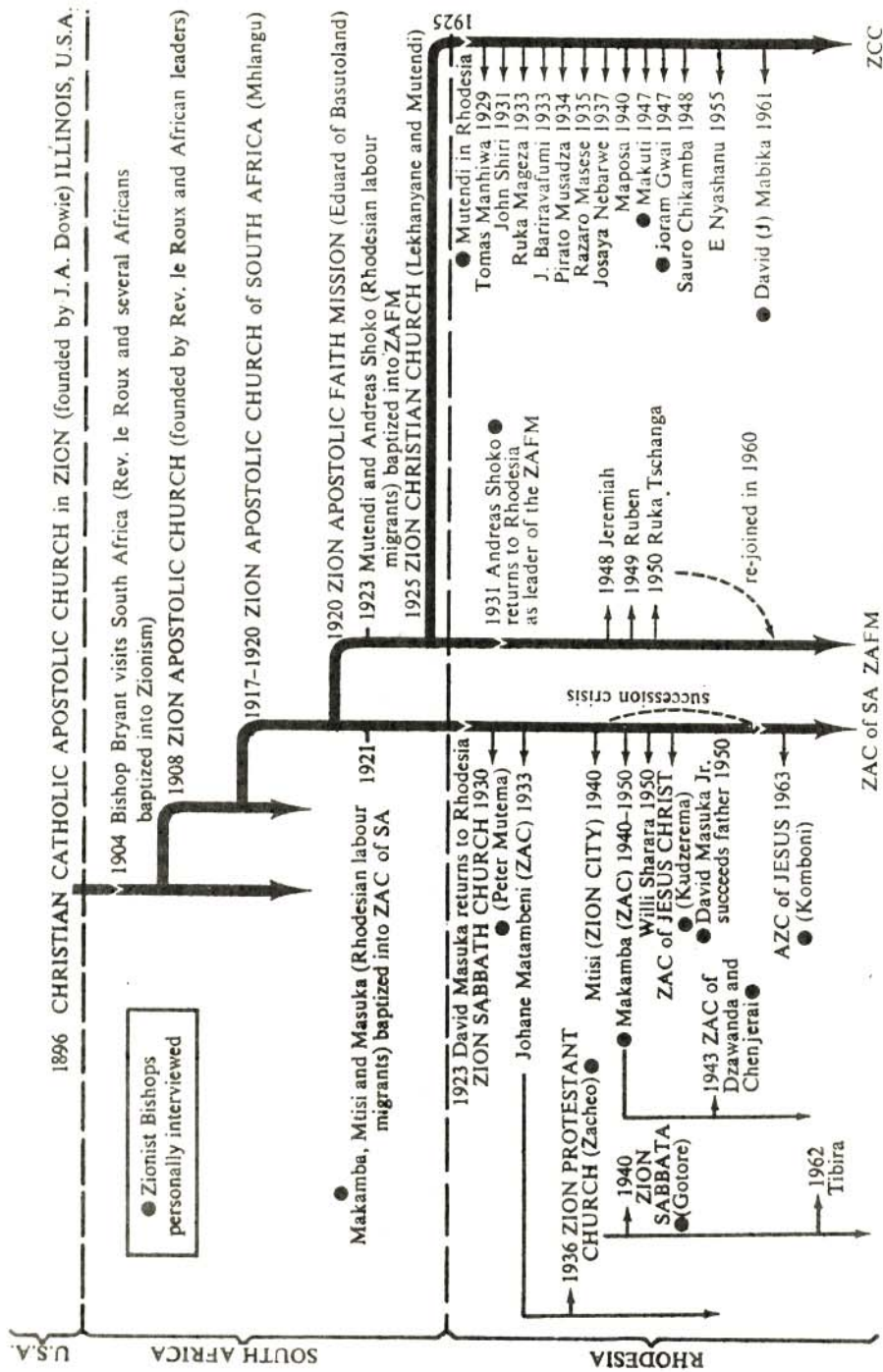
A table, giving information on the origin of Zionism in South Africa and indicating the off-shoots from the Z.C.C. up to 1948, is found at the end of this chapter (p.106).¹⁹⁰

(g) Conclusion

In conclusion it may be said that the split was partly Engenas's own action if we take into consideration the number of sayings which pointed to the split. If this is correct then it means that Engenas wanted both Edward and Joseph to have a share in the Church. If that was not the case he could have avoided the quarrel by providing enough for those who were not going to be leaders. For it may be said that the split was prompted by nothing else but the clamour for material wealth and power. On the other hand the split is ascribable to the lack of organisation in the Church where individuals could take the initiative to appoint leaders without the proper agreement by the controlling Church body. But in the Z.C.C. it would be unfair to ascribe the division to the people for they looked upon every act in the Church

190 Daneel: Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches, p.300.

as an act of God, beyond which they had no control. The Reef group which even resorted to force, did so to protect their leader. However, the Z.C.C. of Edward and the St.Engenas Z.C.C. of Joseph which are presently led by their sons, namely Barnabas and Ignatius (Engenas) respectively, have a problem to solve. The problem is whether to stop further splits in their Churches or to encourage them or to unite. To prevent further splits and to work towards union is an alternative to be preferred to a situation which may eventually lead to the dissolution of the Church as a whole.



M.L. Daneel's Zionist genealogical table.

Chapter V

CONCLUSION

The Zion Christian Church was partly a result of the schism in the religious sphere during the first decades of our century. It was the time when many African Zionist leaders established their own churches after having broken away from the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion. The main black groups from the C.C.A.C.Z. were the Zion Apostolic Church of South Africa under Mahlangu and the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission under Edward Motaung. Engenas was at first under Mahlangu and later he joined Motaung. It is from the latter that he finally broke away and started the Z.C.C.

The main cause for the establishment of the Z.C.C. was Engenas's ambition. As a leader in the Northern Transvaal his position was unchallenged. Even at the time of the break-away Mahlangu found that his influence was as nothing compared to that of Engenas, as was illustrated by the controversy over the ownership of the church building. In the temporal sphere, too, Engenas's position as leader was recognised, as was shown by the fear, experienced by the chief of the Mamabolo tribe, Athlon, that Engenas would usurp his chieftainship during the first years of the Z.C.C. It was mainly from amongst his own group, the Northern Sotho in the Transvaal that his followers were drawn. Many of these were people who did not wish to obey any foreign leaders like Mahlangu, and who felt more at home with a leader from their own group.

It cannot be contested that doctrine played a very insignificant rôle in the establishment of the Z.C.C. As M.L. Daneel wrote in connection with the founding of independent churches among the Shona in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia): "The central issue was that of leadership ..., that a sub-leader wanted to take control of what he sensed was rapidly becoming a mass movement".¹⁹¹ As the question of doctrine did not enter the picture, some other reason had to be found to account for Engenas's break-away. His followers to this day tell of visions and dreams he had while at Thabakgone (meaning the Mountain where everything is possible). In these visions and dreams the mountain was a source of strength, as was also the case with the establishment of other Zionist movements, such as that of I. Shembe, the Zulu Zionist.

Once established, the problem of organisation was met in a typical African way: no attempt was made to devise an organisation based on a White-controlled church, but a model much nearer home was found in the composition of an ethnic tribe. Thus the Z.C.C. was personally run by Engenas and his family, much in the same way as an hereditary chief and his *bakgomana* administered the affairs of his tribe. There were no standing church bodies to run the administration of the Church. Engenas dominated and directed everything. His word was final. Any opposition could be dealt with by expulsion from the Church. The threat of expulsion had the same effect as excommunication in the past centuries, and was seen as expulsion from heaven. Engenas's leadership was

191 Daneel: *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches*, p.297.

considered a spiritual one, thus every word or advice he gave was considered God-inspired. The lack of proper administration and administrative bodies made the running of Church affairs vague and difficult. This weakness could be seen as a factor that contributed to the split of the Church in 1948, because there was a vacuum which had to be filled, and any leader could take action by virtue of his influence in the Church.

A further illustration of the way the Z.C.C. was taking may be seen from the respective positions of Christ and of the Word of God. Engenas was only semi-literate and most of his followers and ministers and preachers were illiterate. Preaching therefore more and more took on the form of anecdotes and illustrations used by Engenas and repeated in the congregations. What became important was not "Thus saith the Lord", but "Engenas said this or that". In this manner was not only the Bible seldom read, but Christ Himself given an inferior place.

From this it was only a small step to bringing elements into Church usage and doctrine which were foreign to basic Christian doctrine. The Z.C.C. imperceptibly became a syncretistic¹⁹² movement embodying typical elements of African culture together with the original Christian ones. One of the first of these elements to be introduced was the custom of bigamy or polygamy. Another was the belief in *badimo*, the spirits of the dead, who were believed to control peoples' lives on earth. Members of the Z.C.C. were allowed to make sacrifices to them in the traditional manner.

192 See F.W. Grosheide: *Korte Christelijke Encyclopaedie*, where syncretism is defined as an attempt to bring into unity convictions that are conflicting without solving the conflict.

The Holy Spirit was given an exalted position as the director of every activity of the Church. And it was believed that Engenas was the first prophet of the Holy Spirit. All this did not clash with the Zionists' belief in the *badimo*.¹⁹³

Engenas played the rôle of a representative of the people or an intermediary between them and God. His task was to lead people who did not know Christianity towards Christianity. In the Z.C.C. of Engenas the name of Jesus Christ was preached, but it was relegated to a lesser position relative to that of Engenas. Ministers preached and prayed in the name of Engenas who was seen as a mediator. The popular phrase was "re rapela Modimo wa Engenas" (we worship the God of Engenas). Biblically this was analogous to the Old Testament usage of the phrase "God of Abraham, Isaac and Israel".

Jesus Christ was known as the Son of God or God. Although the Z.C.C. Constitution mentions Jesus Christ as the foundation, the members saw Engenas as the cornerstone of the Church. In his preaching, Engenas promised his members salvation only if they obeyed him. This then means that he would mediate between the people and God or Jesus Christ. It should be remembered that Engenas never directly claimed to be God or Christ, but that his emulation was a spontaneous reaction from his followers. On the other hand, Engenas's tacit allowing such practices obviously caused them to expand. He undoubtedly saw his own position as that of a Moses, a Jeremiah, an Isaiah and a Paul.

In the Z.C.C. of Engenas the Word of God (the Bible) played a very insignificant rôle, if any at all.

193 S.P. Lediga: Disciples of Jesus Christ Facing African Religions (South African Outlook, May, 1962, p.70).

References in the Bible were only made to support a view under discussion. It was defensive rather than explanatory. Even Engenas himself seldom used the Bible during sermons. Most of his sermons consisted of instructions and warnings in the affairs of the Church. Personally, Engenas was a regular reader of the Bible. His ministers, apart from being illiterate, based their sermons on Engenas's powers of faith healing or divine healing. Those who were in the position to read the Bible, did so in their congregations. Some made use of school pupils to read for them. The absence of the Word of God in the Z.C.C. was an important reason for the restoration of some aspects of traditional religion. Thus the Z.C.C. became a magical nativistic movement in which Engenas (the prophet) attained the position of "Messiah".

Baptism and Holy Communion were both observed as sacraments in the Z.C.C. Baptism was by threefold immersion in the water and was taken as a gateway into the Z.C.C. and not symbolic of a rebirth into the Kingdom of God. Holy Communion was served at Moria and other central places. The Christian implications of Holy Communion were not clarified, except that emphasis was laid on the forgiveness of sins and the remembrance of Jesus Christ.

The study revealed that the main reason for the large following in the Z.C.C. of Engenas was divine and faith healing. Some people rallied around him to seek solutions for their problems and healing of their illnesses. Africans also believed in the here and now, and Engenas was found to be of much help. To this group the de-

sire to satisfy material and physical needs dominated. Engenas himself and his brass band attracted many people to the Church. People were baptised after hearing him sing, preach or march in front of his brass band. Even traditional chiefs found in him a useful "rainmaker".

Witchcraft and the dominant position of the medicine men was weakened. People were given "holy water", "holy tea" and a number of protectives to ward off misfortunes. The protectives were also meant to strengthen the followers' faith. This was unchristian, but it served a useful purpose in a transitional period to more higher modes of Christianity.

The indigenisation of the Church attracted many rural people to join the Church. The new converts found in the Z.C.C. very little that could not be explained in terms of African religion and customs. Engenas as a polygamist was accepted as a "true" Christian in the society which was strongly rooted in this custom. This custom had made it difficult for polygamists to join or stay in the mission or established churches. Many members, including chiefs who are by tradition polygamists, were accommodated. It was probably the reason why Mbiti maintained that "whatever else might be said in general about the independent church movements in Africa, they are in their own ways, attempts by African people to indigenize Christianity and to interpret and apply it in ways that, perhaps spontaneously, render Christianity both practical and meaningful to them".¹⁹⁴ The above statement is also relevant to the Z.C.C. of Engenas.

194 Mbiti: African Religions and Philosophy, p.233.

However, one important African custom, circumcision, did not find a place in the Z.C.C.

In 1948-1949, exactly twenty-four years after its origin, the Z.C.C. ended in the same way as it had started, namely with a split. Yet, the split of the Church in 1948 differed from that of 1924 in that the former was caused by Engenas's own sons, Edward and Joseph. It was also a family crisis and a typical result to be expected in a prophet-centred or leader-centred movement. After the death of such a leader (in this case Engenas), confusion sets in and an opportunity is created for divisions.

Engenas succeeded in using Christianity to establish a supra-ethnic tribe of Zionists. This experiment resulted in the formation of a group of people who are usually referred to as the "people of Lekganyane". Engenas assumed the position of *Kgoši ya Masione* (the King of the Zionists). His sons would continue to rule and reign this "tribe" in the same way with all privileges which are due to traditional African leaders.

The Church afforded the underprivileged people a place to learn new Western modes of living with ease. They were advised to use the magistrate offices for their marriages and problems, coffee and tea replaced traditional beer, they were advised to bank their money, and were encouraged to wear Western clothes. Engenas demonstrated to what extent Christianity may be used in African societies to uplift the people and place them on the way to fulfilment.

Finally the Z.C.C. of Engenas was a peaceful movement in which people came together for spiritual reasons. The headquarters at Moria, Boyne, became a New Jerusalem for the members. Holidays, feasts, and conferences were held there. All in all the charismatic qualities which Engenas had, attracted many people into the Church and were a source of happiness.

It should be noted, however, that there has been a steady movement, in the theological sphere, towards a purification of Christian doctrine, and that the reliance on the Bible is steadily gaining ground. Whether this tendency will triumph in the end, time will tell. It could be possible that the Z.C.C. and the St.Engenas Z.C.C. may open the way for a Church with a Christian theology but with an African liturgy.

Future leaders of the Z.C.C. and the St.Engenas Z.C.C. have a problem to solve, namely to work in such a way that the Church as the body of Christ should not be divided merely for personal reasons. They will have to elevate the Church to a purely Christian movement. The Church needs a reformation from within. People should be made aware of the aims, objectives and the direction towards which the Church moves.

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Constitution of the Zion Christian Church

Be it hereby made known that:

That whereas the Zion Christian Church referred to as the Church was founded a number of years ago.

Whereas owing to the increase in membership and the growth of its activities and ministrations it has been necessary to amend and amplify the Original Constitution of the Church in various ways:

and whereas it is desirable to consolidate all laws, rules, and regulations governing and appertaining to the Church. Now therefore the Conference of the Church representing all the Ecclesiastical officers and members of the Church, does hereby resolve and agree that the following shall be the Constitution of the Church, and all other former Constitutions shall hereby be annulled and cancelled.

(1) "ANNUAL CONFERENCE."

A Conference shall be held annually upon a date fixed from time to time by the Ecclesiastical Committee of the Church.

(11) "CONSTITUTION OF ANNUAL CONFERENCE."

The Conference shall consist of:

- (a) All ordained Ministers of the Church;
- (b) All Lay Preachers of the Church;
- (c) Two delegates to be elected out of the Ministers, Lay Preachers or office bearers of the Church, by each congregation of not less than twenty-five (25) members.

(III) "ELECTIONS."

The Conference shall then proceed to elect a Bishop who shall hold office for life.

The Bishop so elected shall preside at the annual Conference; shall be recognised as head of the Church, its executive officer and the legal representative of the Conference and shall act in all matters on behalf of the Church and shall be Chairman of all Committees of the Church.

The Conference shall then proceed to elect a general secretary and treasurer who shall hold office until the Conference decides to terminate such appointment.

The Conference shall appoint twelve (12) Ministers of the Church who shall be styled the "Pillars of the Church" and whose appointment may be terminated by Resolution of the Conference at any time.

(IV) "GENERAL."

The Conference shall deal with all matters and decide disputes affecting the Church, it shall also receive reports of congregations, quarterly-meetings, and secretaries of the various committees herein referred to.

The Conference shall have power to pass regulations governing the conduct of its ministers and members of the Church, to fix stipends if any payable to the Bishop and Ministers and generally for all purposes affecting the Church-welfare. It shall also have power to provide for the expenses of the Committees hereinafter referred to.

(V) "APPOINTMENTS."

The Conference shall have power to appoint, suspend, excommunicate or remove Presiding Elders, Ministers and Lay Preachers as also any other officer of the Church.

No Minister shall assume office until he shall have been ordained by the Presiding Elder or the Bishop.

Should the Conference decide that other officials be appointed to assist in carrying on the work of the Church in any congregation of not less than twenty-five (25) members the said congregation may nominate any one or more of their members to be such officials; or officials and such appointment shall be subject to confirmation by the Conference. No official so appointed may be suspended by the Minister-in-charge of the congregation nominating such officials but the case of such official shall immediately be reported to and dealt with by such of the undermentioned Standing Committee of the Conference as shall have power to act in such matter.

(VI) "STANDING COMMITTEE."

The Conference shall appoint an Ecclesiastical Committee, a Lay Committee and a Finance-Standing Committee to deal with Church matters when Conference is not in session. Each of the said Committee shall be presided over by the Bishop who shall ex-officio be a member of each of such Committees or in his unavoidable absence by the Eldest Presiding Elder.

(VII) "ECCLESIASTICAL STANDING COMMITTEE."

The Ecclesiastical Standing Committee shall consist of not less than three (3) ordained ministers, and shall deal with and decide ecclesiastical matters and disputed matters of the Church discipline and matters relating to the spiritual and moral welfare of the members of the Church. Such Committee shall have power to suspend any Minister or Lay Preacher and to confirm the suspension of any other officer from office pending the sitting of the next Annual Conference.

(VIII) "FINANCE COMMITTEE."

The Finance Committee shall consist of not less than five (5) members to be elected annually by the Conference; and the General Secretary of the Conference shall be the Secretary of such Committee. The Finance Committee shall deal with all financial matters of the Church and no payment shall be made on behalf of the Church except with the consent and authority of this Committee.

The Committee shall further scrutinize all accounts submitted by the various Quarterly Meetings and shall report annually to the conference regarding all matters dealt with during the previous year.

All payments or claims of payments made by this Committee shall be subject to confirmation at the Annual Conference.

(IX) "LAY STANDING COMMITTEE."

The Lay Standing Committee shall consist of the General Secretary and not less than four (4) Class Leaders; it shall deal with all matters of the Church which do fall within the province of the Ecclesiastical Committee or Finance Committee.

(X) "CONDUCT OF BUSINESS OF COMMITTEES"

Each of the aforesaid Committees shall appoint a Secretary to whom all communications regarding the respective Committee shall be addressed. The Committees keep proper record of all matters submitted to them and of their findings therein and shall in due course report all such matters at the annual conference.

(XI) "CONTROL OF COMMITTEE."

Each of the said Committees shall have full control of matters submitted to them respectively and their decisions therein shall be binding upon all parties but should any person feel himself aggrieved by the finding of the Committee may appeal to the Conference for its decision in the matter.

The Conference shall have the right and power to confirm, vary, amend, reverse or veto any of the decisions of any of the above Committees, and the actions of the Conference herein shall be final and binding upon any member and adherent of the Church.

(XII) "CLASS LEADERS."

Any ordained Minister shall have the right to appoint one or more members of the Church to be Leaders of Church Classes in the congregation under his charge. It shall not be necessary for Conference to confirm the appointment of such class leaders unless the majority of members of such congregation shall object to such appointment.

(XIII) "FUNDS."

The Funds of the Church shall be raised by the members thereof and otherwise as may be determined by the Conference and all moneys received shall be paid over to the General Secretary of the Church, he shall be bound and obliged to pay same to and to account to the Bishop who may pay such moneys into any such Bank or Building Society as he may decide in the name of the Bishop of the ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee and the General Secretary are authorized to operate upon such account or accounts.

(XIV) "DISPUTES."

No members of the Church shall have the right to take any matter or dispute relating to the Church to any Court of Law until he or she shall have had the matter or dispute adjudicated upon by either one or more of the said Standing Committees and the finding of such Committees referred to the Annual Conference.

(XV) "STIPENDS."

Each congregation shall be responsible for the payment of the stipends due to its Ministers, if any, and all other liabilities incurred by it.

(XVI) "QUARTERLY MEETINGS."

A Meeting consisting of all Class Leaders and other officials of the Church appointed in any congregation shall be held once in each quarter at which Meeting the Ministers in Charge of congregation shall preside. At this Meeting all matters of finance concerning the congregation and all other matters relating exclusively to the concerns of that congregation shall be discussed, dealt with, and decisions taken thereon.

The decisions taken at such Meetings provided they are not in conflict with the rules of the Church, the powers of Standing Committee or of the Annual Conference shall be binding upon the members of that congregation. The Quarterly Meeting shall elect one of its members to be the Secretary thereof who shall be obliged to keep a proper record of the happenings at every meeting as also of its decisions.

The Secretary shall also be required to transmit to the General Secretary through the Minister in Charge of the congregation, a quarterly report, and financial statement relating to all business transacted at the Meeting during the preceding quarter and to remit such financial statement any moneys he may have in hand.

(XVII) "SOCIETY PROPERTY."

The Bishop in his capacity as such shall hold immovable properties for the said Church upon condition that only ordained Ministers or Lay Preachers appointed by the Conference shall hold services therein or thereon and the Church shall be entitled to acquire immovable property; the Bishop in his capacity as such shall deal with such properties in such manner as he may be directed by the members of the Quarterly Meetings of the Congregation within whose area the property shall be situated but only in such manner that the property shall remain in all cases the property of the Church as a whole and not that of any particular Congregation.

(XVIII) "ACTIONS."

All actions instituted either on behalf of the Church or against it shall be brought in the name of the or against the General Secretary in his capacity as such and the General Secretary shall be authorised by a joint resolution of the Lay and Finance Committee to institute or defend any such action.

(XIX) "OBJECT OF THE CHURCH."

The Church shall be organised for the spread of the Word of God and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in the world. Whereas the above Pillars of the Church

have seen and still see with deepest Christian anxiety the deplorable spiritual and mental condition of those who inhabit the colonies of the World which the Word of God declares, shall be lighted up with the glorious rays of the sun of righteousness. And whereas we further remember with deep emotion the last command of our ascending Lord, "Go ye into the World and preach the gospel to all nations."

And desiring to show our love by our obedience we therefore resolve hereby to constitute ourselves into a distinct Church with various branches, to have and enjoy the free use and benefit of all premises acquired on behalf of the said congregation, for rendering effectually the trust created by purchase of grounds, gifts, donations, devise legacies, and bequests of trusts made to or in favour of the said people who are members of the said Church or those who have come under the jurisdiction of this Church without distinction of race and colour.

(XX) "NAME OF THE CHURCH."

The name of the Church shall be designated the Zion Christian Church: "But ye are come unto Mount Zion and unto the City of the Living God, the Heavenly Jerusalem and to innumerable Company of Angels the general assembly, and the church of the first born of God the Judge of all (Hebs. 12: 22-23) and are built upon the Foundations of the Apostles and Prophets: Jesus Christ being the Chief Corner Stone (Ephesians 2: 20).

(XXI) "ORDER OF PRAYER."

We adopt the common prayers as the Apostles used when the Holy Ghost within them constraineth, or healing order, to lay hands on the sick, and pray. "Ye are the children of the Lord your God, ye shall not cut yourselves nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead." (Deut. 14:1.)

Is any sick among you? Let him call for the Elders of the Church and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord." (James 5:14).

(XXII) "DUTIES OF THE BISHOP."

The President shall preside over all conventions which summoned and have power in the Church over all Ministers, Missionaries, etc. He shall settle all questions of laws and rules of orders subject to an appeal of the Conference, sign documents and labour assiduously for the promotion of the Church. He will well guard the spirit of the Church Constitution to be observed and adhered to. He will in conjunction with presiding Ministers and full Ministers ordain candidates selected and presented to him

for ordination, whilst the Annual Conference is in session. He shall have the power to remove, suspend, or change Ministers after investigation by a committee of not less than three (3) members of Ministers and Missionaries. In the absence of the Bishop the Annual Conference may elect a chairman amongst the presiding Ministers of the district according to their order of seniority. Should a vacancy occur during the interval between the annual conferences, the executive Church Council will fill it up until the Annual Conference is held.

DUTIES OF MINISTERS.

To preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.—Matt. 28:18-19.
 To lay hands on and pray for the sick.—Mark 16:17-18; James 14:15.
 To bury the dead.—1 Cor. 15:12-58; Rev. 14:13.
 To Baptise believers.—Matt. 28:18-19.
 To Consecrate children.—Matt. 19:15-16.
 To administer the Lord's Supper.—1 Cor. 11:23-31.
 To Solemnise marriages.—John 2:2.

DUTIES OF THE EVANGELISTS.

To preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.—Matt. 28:18-19.
 To lay hands on and pray for the sick.—Mark. 16:17-18; James 5:14-15.
 To bury the dead.—1 Cor. 15:12-58; Rev. 14:13.
 To Baptise believers.—Matt. 28:18-19.
 To Consecrate children.—Matt. 19:15-16.
 To Administer the Lord's Supper.—1 Cor. 11:23-31

DUTIES OF THE DEACONS.

To preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.—Matt. 28:18-19.
 To lay hands on and pray for the sick.—Mark 16:17-18; James 5:14-15.
 To bury the dead.—1 Cor. 15:12-58; Rev. 14:13.
 To Baptise believers.—Matt 28:18-19.

DUTIES OF THE LAY PREACHERS.

To preach the gospel of Jesus Christ.—Matt. 28:18-19.
 To lay hands on and pray for the sick.—Mark. 16:17-18; James 5:14-15.
 To bury the dead.—1 Cor. 15:12-58; Rev. 14:13.

ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Founded in 1924 by Rev. E. B. Lekganyane.

Bishop of the Church

J. E. LEKGANYANE.

Headquarters:

Zion City Moria, Thabakgone, P.O. Boyne, Pietersburg.

THE ST. ENGENAS Z.C.C.
CONSTITUTION (JOSEPH'S GROUP)

ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Now

ST. ENGENAS ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Founded in 1924 by His Lordship Bishop E. B. Lekganyane

Succeeded by

BISHOP J. E. LEKGANYANE (1949)



Headquarters:

Zion City Moria, P.O. Box 6, Boyne, Pietersburg.

P R E F A C E

The ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH was founded in 1924 by the late Bishop ENGENAS BARNABAS LEKGANYANE who died in 1948, having nominated his son JOSEPH ENGENAS LEKGANYANE to succeed him as Spiritual Leader and Bishop of the Church.

After the customary year of mourning for the founder, Bishop Joseph Engenas Lekganyane was installed as Spiritual Leader of the Church at a Conference held at Zion City Moria, Pietersburg, in 1949.

On the 26th December, 1965, it was resolved at a Conference of the Church, to sanctify the founder and name the Church after him. The name of the Church was then changed to ST. ENGENAS ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

The amended constitution of the Church was adopted at a Conference of the Church held at Zion City Moria on the 3rd September 1972.

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ST. ENGENAS ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH CONSTITUTION

ST. ENGENAS ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH CONSTITUTION.

Adopted on the 3rd day of September 1972.

NAME OF CHURCH.

1. The Church shall be called ST. ENGENAS ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH and shall hereafter be referred to as the Church.

OBJECTS

The objects of the Church are:-

2. To establish and maintain the continuity of the Church for the spreading of the Word of God and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in accordance with traditional Christianity.
3. To provide Ministers and such other officials and employees as may be required in order to carry out all matters connected with the observance of the Christian Religion and Rites and to fix fees payable for any services rendered.
4. To conduct classes for religious and educational instruction.
5. To purchase, hire or acquire by way of donation or otherwise, movable or immovable property and to provide, maintain and equip buildings suitable for religious, educational, social and other purposes whatsoever, and to sell, let, mortgage, transfer, donate or otherwise dispose of movable and immovable property.
6. To invest the funds of the Church in property, debentures, Government or Municipal securities, Building Societies and/or Banks.

7. To raise or borrow money for the purpose of the Church in such manner and on such security as may be determined and in particular by passing mortgage bonds for registration with the proper authorities.
8. Generally to further the interests of Christianity and to do all such things and carry out all such undertakings as may be necessary or incidental to the aforesaid objects.

NO SHARE IN ASSETS

9. In no case shall any member or group of members be entitled to claim any share of the assets of the Church.

ACQUISITION AND ALIENATION OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY

10. No immovable property shall be purchased, sold or mortgaged unless such purchase, sale or mortgage be authorised by the Church Council.

CONFERENCE

11. A Conference or Convention of Church members shall be held at least once in each calendar year at such place or places as the Executive Committee shall from time to time decide.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONFERENCE

12. The Bishop of the Church shall preside at all Conferences, but he may delegate this duty to the Chairman of the Executive Committee or failing him the Vice-Chairman or failing him any other Council member present.
13. When a vacancy in the Leadership of the Church occurs, a new Bishop shall be elected at a Conference of the Church, as the Spiritual Leader thereof.
14. The elected Bishop shall be a descendant, in the male line, of Bishop Joseph Engenas Lekganyane, successor to his father, the Founder of the Church, and shall require the recommendation of the Church Council. Provided however that should a Bishop during his lifetime or by way of a Will or other document nominate his successor from amongst his male descendants, then the Conference shall install such nominee as the Bishop and Spiritual Leader of the Church. The Spiritual Leader so elected or installed shall hold office for life.
15. Should the Bishop not be able to fulfill his duties for any period owing to illness or for any other reason, then the Bishop shall have the power to nominate an acting Bishop

to act on his behalf during such period. Should a vacancy occur during the interval between Conferences, the Church Council shall have the power to appoint an acting Spiritual Leader who shall act as such until the next Conference.

16. The Conference shall elect an Executive Committee consisting of 9 members of the Church, including a Secretary and Treasurer, to deal with the day to day affairs of the Church. The members so elected shall hold office at the pleasure of the Conference. The existing Executive Committee shall continue in office until otherwise decided by the Conference.
17. Any vacancy in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Bishop by the appointment of any other Church member to the Executive.
18. The Conference shall deal with and decide upon all matters raised by the Bishop, the Church Council, the Executive Committee, any Congregation or member. It shall receive reports from the Bishop, Executive Committee, Ministers, and Congregations and generally deal with all matters affecting the conduct and welfare of the Church and affiliated Congregations.

MANAGEMENT

19. The management, control and general administration of all matters and affairs of the Church, including the control of the Church finances, shall be vested in the Executive Committee, all the members of which shall be paid officials of the Church. The emoluments payable to the Secretary, Treasurer and individual members of the Executive Committee shall be determined by the Bishop.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

20. The Executive Committee shall meet immediately after the date of the Conference at which it was elected. The Bishop shall appoint from the members of the Committee, a Chairman to preside over its deliberations as well as a Vice-Chairman. Such appointments shall be at the pleasure of the Bishop, who may vary such appointments in his own discretion from time to time. The Secretary of the Church shall act as Secretary of the Committee.
21. The Executive Committee shall elect at its first meeting such sub-committees as it may deem fit and necessary. The Chairman shall be ex-officio a member of each sub-committee.
22. The Executive Committee shall only with the consent of the Bishop have the right to co-opt any other Church member to fill any vacancy occurring on the Executive

Committee and with the permission of the Bishop may co-opt additional members to undertake special duties allotted to them.

23. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of a majority of its members.
24. The Executive Committee shall adjudicate upon disputes between individual members, between members and the Congregation of which they are members and on any matter submitted to it. Any person or body may appeal against any decision of the Executive Committee to the Bishop, whose decision shall be final and binding upon all the parties concerned.
25. The Executive Committee shall from time to time determine the membership fees and subscriptions payable by members and Congregations, the fees payable for any special services of the Church, the stipend payable to the Bishop and shall have the right, under special circumstances, to reduce, remit or suspend any Church or Congregation charge.
24. The Executive Committee shall adjudicate upon disputes necessary for the purpose of transacting the day to day business of the Church.
27. The Secretary shall keep concise and accurate minutes of the proceedings of the Conference, the Church Council and the Executive Committee which minutes, together with all correspondence and documents shall be preserved. No such minutes shall be destroyed without the authority of the Conference.
28. The Treasurer shall regularly submit to the Executive Committee a statement of the affairs of the Church and shall be subject to the authority of the Executive Committee or any sub-committee it may appoint to deal with Church finances.
29. The Executive Committee shall have the power to:-
 - (a) Engage and terminate the services of officials and other employees and determine their remuneration.
 - (b) Pay salaries, incur and pay such expenditure as it may authorise.
 - (c) Appoint sub-committees from amongst its members for the purpose of carrying out any special business.
 - (d) Institute, defend, carry on, abandon, compromise and settle any actions or other proceedings in any court of law and to submit any claim by or against the Church and any dispute to arbitration.
 - (e) Authorise by resolution any two members of the Exe-

cutive Committee to sign on behalf of the Church all Powers of Attorney, Contracts, Agreements or other deeds or documents requiring signatures, including any documents for the purpose of litigation, and for the sale or purchase of immovable property authorised by the Church Council.

- (f) Set aside moneys for Pension Fund for employees or subscribe to any Pension Scheme.
 - (g) Vote from the funds of the Church such amounts as they may decide as honoraria or bonuses to officials or servants or as subscriptions or donations to any charitable or other fund.
 - (h) Do all such acts and things not inconsistent with these rules which, in the interest of the Church, it may deem desirable.
 - (i) Deal with any condition or circumstance arising, for which specific provision is not provided in these rules.
 - (j) Open a Banking Account in the name of the Church and/or Savings Account, Fixed Deposit Account, Share Account with a Building Society and make, accept, endorse, execute and issue Promissory Notes, Bills of Exchange and all transferable instruments. All funds of the Church shall be deposited to the credit of such Account or Accounts as soon as conveniently possible. All such Accounts shall be operated on by the Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Executive Committee together with either the Secretary or Treasurer.
 - (k) Admit persons to membership of the Church and on the complaint of any Congregation Committee and after proper investigation, to reprimand or suspend any member from the enjoyment and exercise of all or any privileges for a specific time, or excommunicate any member.
 - (l) Generally to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out and further the objects of the Church.
30. Any member of the Executive Committee absenting himself for three consecutive meetings, without having received leave of absence, or giving reasons satisfactory to the Council, shall ipso facto cease to be a member thereof.
31. The Executive Committee shall be subject to the supervision of the Church Council and shall at all times carry out the directions and resolutions of the Church Council.

CHURCH COUNCIL

32. The Church Council consist of the members of the Executive Committee and delegates from affiliated Congregations.

33. The Council shall hold quarterly meetings to be convened by the Executive Committee; such meetings shall be presided over by the Chairman of the Executive Committee unless a chairman is elected by the Council.
34. The Council shall in general further the objects of the Church, for which purpose it shall call for and receive such reports as it may require from the Executive Committee and Congregations and resolve upon any matter under consideration.
35. The Council shall have the power to:-
 - (a) Generally to do all such things as may be necessary to carry out and further the objects of the Church.
 - (b) Authorise the building of churches and other amenities by Congregations.
 - (c) Frame by-laws and alter, amend or rescind same, provided these are not inconsistent with the Constitution.
 - (d) Adjudicate on disputes or complaints submitted to it and impose such disabilities or penalties as the Executive committee is empowered to impose and in addition thereto cancel the affiliation of any congregation.
 - (e) Do all such acts and things not inconsistent with these rules which, in the interest of the Church, it may deem desirable.
 - (f) Deal with any condition or circumstance arising, for which specific provision is not provided in these rules.
 - (g) Determine the amount of, and impose a special levy, to be paid by members of affiliated Congregations for the purpose of building churches and amenities for use by their respective Congregations.

ABSTENTION OF OFFICIALS

36. No salaried official or employee shall be permitted to absent himself from his duties without first obtaining the permission of the Chairman of the Executive Committee. Should he desire leave of absence for a period exceeding seven days, his application shall be made in writing to the Executive Committee.

MISBEHAVIOUR OF MEMBERS

37. In the event of any member conducting himself in an unbecoming or improper manner whether in or within the precincts of any Church or elsewhere, or engaging directly or indirectly in any trade, vocation, or practice, which in the opinion of the Executive Committee is calculated to bring the Church or its members into disrepute, or which

in the opinion of the Executive Committee is disgraceful, then the Executive Committee shall have the right to impose on such member all or any of the following disabilities or penalties, viz:-

- (a) orally or in writing reprimand the offending member;
- (b) suspend such member from enjoyment and exercise of all or any privileges for a specific time;
- (c) excommunicate such member from the Church and erase his name from the list of members.

Before the Executive Committee exercises its rights hereunder, an inquiry shall be held, which inquiry the member shall be invited to attend. Should the member fail to attend such inquiry, then the Executive Committee shall proceed with the inquiry in his absence and resolve on the matter. An appeal against a decision of the Executive Committee shall lie to the Bishop, whose decision shall be final and binding.

CONGREGATIONS

- 38. Congregations of the Church may, subject to approval of the Bishop, be formed by Communities comprising not less than twenty-five (25) members of the Church. Such Congregations shall be autonomous and be responsible for the conduct of their own affairs, subject always to the supervision and overriding authority of the Church Council, the Executive Committee and the Bishop. Upon any such Congregation being formed in terms hereof, it shall be deemed to have become affiliated to the Church and bound by the terms of the Constitution.
- 39. Each Congregation shall elect a Committee from amongst its own members, comprising a Chairman, two members, a Secretary and a Treasurer, to manage, control and administer the affairs of the Congregation, provided that if the members of a Congregation exceed twenty-five (25) in number, then such Congregation may elect an additional member to the Committee for every twenty-five (25) (or major fraction thereof) additional members in excess of twenty-five (25), provided however that the maximum number of members (excluding the Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer) of any such Committee shall be ten (10).
- 40. Each Congregation shall be responsible for its own finances and the Church shall not be liable for debts incurred by any Congregation, nor shall it have any financial obligation towards any Congregation. Each Congregation shall be responsible for the stipends due to its Ministers or any of her liabilities incurred by it.
- 41. All property purchased by any Congregation shall be registered in the name of the Church, in terms of this Constitution, and become an asset of the Church.

**APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS, ASSISTANT
MINISTERS, EVANGELISTS, DEACONS AND
LAY PREACHERS**

42. The Bishop shall appoint suitable members of the Church as Ministers to Congregations. The Bishop shall have the power to ordain such members as Ministers and to suspend or withdraw the right to ministry, from any member so ordained. The Bishop shall furthermore have the power to appoint Assistant Ministers, Evangelists, Deacons and Lay Preachers to perform such duties as they are authorised to carry out, and to withdraw such appointment or appointments in his discretion.

**DUTIES OF MINISTERS AND ASSISTANT
MINISTERS**

43. All Ministers shall lead their Congregations in prayer and preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They shall lay hands on and pray for the sick, conduct religious marriage services, funeral services, baptise prospective members according to the practice of the Church, Christen or Bless children of members, Administer the Lord's Supper, accept believers into the Church and generally carry out such further duties as shall be assigned to them by the Bishop.

DUTIES OF EVANGELISTS

44. The Evangelists shall lead Congregations in prayer and preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They shall lay hands on and pray for the sick, conduct funeral services, baptise prospective members according to the practice of the Church, Christen or Bless children of members and accept believers into the Church.

DUTIES OF DEACONS

45. Deacons shall lead Congregations in prayer and preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They shall lay hands on and pray for the sick, conduct funeral services, baptise members according to the practice of the Church, Christen or Bless children of Members and accept believers into the Church.

DUTIES OF LAY PREACHERS

46. Lay Preachers shall lead Congregations in prayer and preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. They shall lay hands on and pray for the sick and conduct funeral services.

THE BISHOP

47. In addition to being the Spiritual Leader of the Church and in addition to the powers vested in him under this Constitution, the Bishop shall decide on Church Law and practice and have the power to perform the duties assigned to Ministers and other appointees.

BOOKS OF ACCOUNT AND AUDIT

48. The Treasurer shall keep and maintain a record of all Church financial transactions. He shall at the first Executive Committee meeting after the close of the Financial Year present his report together with the Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet of the Church, which accounts shall be audited and countersigned by an Auditor nominated by the Executive Committee.

FINANCIAL YEAR

49. The Financial Year shall end on the thirty first day of December in every year.

CONFIRMATION OF MINUTES

50. At any Conference, Church Council Meeting, or Executive Committee Meeting the first business shall be the reading, by the Secretary, of the minutes of the previous meeting of the Conference or the Church Council or Executive Committee as the case may be, and if correct, shall be confirmed and signed by the Chairman.

VOTING

51. At all Conferences, except as herein otherwise provided, each member above the age of eighteen (18) years shall have one vote and the vote of the majority shall be binding on the minority, in accordance with the provisions hereof.
52. Any amendment to this Constitution shall require a two-thirds majority of members voting.
53. Except in those cases where a vote by ballot is desired by five members qualified to vote at a meeting, the voting shall be by show of hands.
54. A division or poll may be demanded by five members qualified to vote. In such case Scrutineers shall be appointed by the Chairman from members present.
55. No resolution passed at a Conference shall be rescinded except by majority of two-thirds present and voting at a subsequent Conference or at a meeting specially convened for such purpose.

INTERPRETATION

56. The decision of the Church Council, as to the interpretation of the rules, regulations and by-laws shall be final and binding.

AMENDMENT OF CONSTITUTION

57. The rules of this Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds majority vote of the members present and voting at a Conference of the Church. The Church Council may introduce any amendment it may deem necessary for consideration. Any member wishing to introduce an amendment shall give notice thereof to the Church Council in writing, at least 60 days prior to a Conference and if such amendment is acceptable to the Council, the latter shall make a recommendation in relation to such amendment, at the next Conference.
58. The Church may sue or be sued in its corporate name and service of any legal documents may be made upon the Chairman of the Executive Committee or the Secretary for the time being.

ORDER AND PROCEDURE

59. All questions of order or procedure in regard to any meeting or action of the Church, the Conference, the Church Council, the Executive Committee or Sub-Committee thereof, shall be determined in accordance with recognised procedure.

EMBLEM

60. The emblem of the Church is a Dove, struck from metal, superimposed on black and green material.

THE ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH
CONSTITUTION (EDWARD'S GROUP)

CONSTITUTION

BE IT HEREBY MADE KNOWN:

THAT whereas the above ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH (hereinafter referred to as the Church) was founded a number of years ago;

WHEREAS, owing to the increase in membership and the growth of activities and ministrations, it has been found necessary to amend and amplify the original constitution of the Church in various ways; and

WHEREAS it is desirable to consolidate all laws, rules and regulations governing and appertaining to the Church;

NOW THEREFORE we, the undersigned, representing all the ecclesiastical officers and members of the Church, and particularly the members of the Congregations set opposite our names, do hereby resolve and agree that the following shall be the constitution of the Church, and all other or former constitutions are and shall be hereby annulled and cancelled.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE

A Conference shall be held annually upon a fixed date.

CONSTITUTION

The Conference shall consist of:

- (a) All Ordained Ministers.
- (b) All Lay Preachers.
- (c) Two Delegates to be elected out of the Officers of the Church by each congregation of not less than 25 persons.

ELECTIONS

The Conference shall first proceed to elect a Bishop who shall hold office for one (1) year.

The Bishop so elected shall preside at the Annual Conference; shall be recognised as the head of the Church, its executive officer and the legal representative of the Conference during such time as it shall not be sitting.

The Conference shall then proceed (sic) to elect a General Secretary and Treasurer.

GENERAL

The Conference shall deal with all matters and decide all disputes affecting the Church. It shall also receive all reports of Congregations, Quarterly Meetings and Secretaries of the various Committees hereinafter referred to.

Conference shall have power to pass regulations governing the conduct of its Ministers and members of the Church, to fix the stipends payable to the Bishops and Ministers, the fees payable for marriages, baptisms, burials and membership, and generally for all purposes affecting the welfare of the Church. It shall also have power to provide for the expences of the three Committees above referred to.

APPOINTMENTS

The Conference shall have power to appoint, suspend, excommunicate or remove Presiding Elders, Ministers and Lay Preachers, as also any other officers required by the Church who shall be nominated as hereinafter set out.

No Minister shall assume office until he shall have been ordained by the Bishop or Presiding Elder.

Should Conference deem it desirable that other officials be appointed to assist in carrying on the work of the Church, any congregation of not less than Twenty-five (25) members may nominate any one or more of their members to be such official or officals, and the Conference shall, if it approves

of such person or persons appoint him or them to such position. No official so appointed may be suspended by the Minister in charge of the congregation nominating such official, but the case of such official shall immediately be reported to and dealt with by such of the undermentioned Standing Committees as shall have power to act in such matter.

STANDING COMMITTEES

The Conference shall appoint an Ecclesiastical, Lay and Finance Standing Committee to deal with Church matters when Conference is not in session. Each of such Committees shall be presided over by the Bishop, who shall ex-officio be a member of each of such Committees, or, in his unavoidable absence, by the eldest Presiding Elder.

ECCLESIASTICAL STANDING COMMITTEE

The Ecclesiastical Standing Committee shall consist of not less than three (3) ordained Ministers, and shall deal with and decide ecclesiastical matters and disputed matters of Church discipline and matters relating to the spiritual and moral welfare of the members of the Church.

Such Committee shall have power to suspend any Minister or Lay Preacher, and to confirm the suspension of any other officer from office pending the sitting of the next Annual Conference.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

The Finance Committee shall consist of not less than five (5) members of the Church to be elected annually by the Conference, and the General Secretary of the Conference shall be Secretary of such Committee. The Finance Committee shall deal with all financial matters of the Church, and no payment

shall be made on behalf of the Church except with the consent and authority of this Committee.

The Committee shall further scrutinize all accounts submitted by the various Quarterly Meetings, and shall report annually to the Conference regarding all matters dealt with during the previous year.

All payments or claims of payment made by this Committee shall be subject to confirmation at the Annual Conference.

LAY STANDING COMMITTEE

The Lay Standing Committee shall consist of the General Secretary and not less than four (4) Class Leaders. It shall deal with all matters of the Church which do not fall within the Province of the Ecclesiastical Committee or Finance Committee.

BUSINESS OF COMMITTEES

Each of the aforesaid Committees shall appoint a Secretary, to whom all communications regarding the respective Committees shall be addressed. The Committees shall keep proper record of all matters submitted to them and of their findings therein, and shall in due course report all such matters at the Annual Conference.

CONTROL OF COMMITTEES

Each of the said Committees shall have full control of matters submitted to them respectively, and their decisions therein shall be binding upon all parties; but so that any person or persons feeling themselves to have been aggrieved by the finding of any Committee may appeal to the Conference for its decision in the matter. The Conference shall have the right and power to confirm, vary, amend, reverse or veto any

of the decisions of any of the above Committees, and the action of the Conference herein shall be final and binding upon any member and adherent of the Church.

CLASS LEADERS

Any ordained Minister shall have the right to appoint one or more members of the Church to be Leaders of Church Classes in the congregation under his charge.

It shall not be necessary for Conference to confirm the appointment of such Class Leaders unless the majority of members of such congregation shall object to such appointment.

FUNDS

The funds of the Church shall be raised by the members thereof, and otherwise as may be determined by Conference, and all moneys received shall be paid over to the General Secretary of the Church. He shall be bound and obliged to pay the same into an account in the "National Bank of South Africa, Limited," at Pretoria, or such other bank as Conference may approve of in the name of the "Zion Christian Church". All payments to be made on behalf of the Church shall be made by means of cheques drawn on this account.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee and the General Secretary of the Church are authorised to operate upon this account.

DISPUTES

No member of the Church shall have the right to take any matter or dispute relating to the Church or any ordained Minister to any Court of Law, until he or she shall have had the matter or dispute adjudicated upon by either one or other of the said Standing Committees, and the findings of such

Committees referred to the Annual Conference.

STIPENDS

Each congregation shall be responsible for the payment of the stipend due to its Minister and any and all other liabilities incurred by it, or by reason of a resolution passed by the Standing Finance Committee and confirmed by the Conference.

QUARTERLY MEETINGS

A meeting, consisting of all Class Leaders and other officials of the Church appointed in any Congregation, shall be held once in each quarter, at which meeting the Minister in charge of the congregation shall preside.

At this meeting all matters of finance, concerning the congregation, and all other matters relating exclusively to the concerns of that congregation, shall be discussed, dealt with, and decisions taken thereon.

The decisions taken at such meetings, provided they are not in conflict with the rules of the Church, the powers of the Standing Committees or of the Annual Conference, shall be binding upon the members of that congregation.

The Quarterly Meeting shall elect one of its members to be the Secretary thereof, who shall be obliged to keep a proper record of the happenings at every meeting, as also of its decisions.

It shall also be required to transmit to the General Secretary, through the Minister in charge of the congregation, a quarterly report and financial statement relating to all business transacted at the meeting during the preceding quarter, and to remit with such financial statement any moneys he may have in hand.

SOCIETY PROPERTY

The Annual Conference shall elect not less than three (3) or more than five (5) of its members to be the Trustees of the Church, and all the Church property shall be held by these Trustees, and, in case of immovable property, shall be registered in the names of such Trustees.

The Trustees shall hold the said property for the said Church upon condition that only ordained Ministers of Lay Preachers appointed by Conference shall hold services therein.

They shall further deal with such property in such manner as they may be directed by the members of the Quarterly Meeting of the congregation within whose area the property shall be situated; but so, that the property shall remain in all cases the property of the Church, and not of any particular congregation.

ACTIONS

All actions instituted either on behalf of the Church or against it shall be brought in the name of or against the General Secretary in his capacity as such, and the General Secretary shall be authorised (sic) by a joint resolution of the Lay and Finance Committees to institute or defend any such action.

DENOMINATION

Such as to organise such denomination for the spread of the word of God and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in the world: Whereas the above pillars have seen, and still see with deepest Christian anxiety, the deplorable spiritual and mental condition of our people who inhabit the colonies of the world, which the word of God declares shall be lighted up with the glorious rays of the sun of righteousness, and

whereas we further remember with deep emotion the last Command of our ascending Lord: "Go ye into the world and preach the Gospel to all nations"; and desiring to show our love by our obedience, we therefore resolve hereby to constitute ourselves into a distinct denomination with various colonies to have an enjoy the free use and benefit of all premises acquired on behalf of the said congregation for rendering effectual the trusts created by purchase or trusts made to or in favour of the said people who are members of the said denomination or those who have come under the jurisdiction of this denomination without distinction of race and colour.

BASIS

The name of the Church shall be designated the Zion Christian Church. "But ye are come unto Mount Zion, City of the living God, heavenly Jerusalem, innumerable company of angels general assembly and Church of the first born of God, the Judge of all." (Heb.12,22-23.) "And are built upon foundations of the Apostles and Prophets Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner Stone." (Ephesians 2:20.)

ORDER OF PRAYER

We adopt the common prayers as the Apostles used when the Holy Ghost within them constraineth, or healing, order to lay hands on the sick and pray. "Ye are the children of the Lord your God, ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead." (Deuteronomy 14:1.)

"Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders of the Church and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. (James 5:14).

DUTIES OF THE BISHOP

President shall preside over all conventions which are summoned and have power in the Church over all ministers, missionaries, etc. He shall settle all questions of law and rules of orders, subject to an appeal to the Annual Conference, sign all documents and labour assiduously for the promotion of the Church. He will well guard the spirit of this Church constitution to be observed and to be adhered to. He will, in conjunction with presiding Ministers, and full ministers, ordain candidates selected and presented to him for ordination whilst the Annual Conference is in session. He will have power to remove, suspend or change ministers after investigation by a committee of not less than three members of ministers and missionaries. In the absence of the Bishop, the Annual Conference may elect a chairman amongst the presiding ministers of the district according to their order of seniority. Should a vacancy occur during the interval of the Conference, the Executive Church Council will fill it up until the Annual Conference is held.

DUTIES OF MINISTERS

Is ordained and has authority to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ (Matt.28:19-20); to lay hands on and pray for the sick (Mark 16:17-18; James 5:13-15); to consecrate children (Mark 10:14-16); to baptize believers (Matt.28:19); to administer the Lord's supper (1. Cor.11:23-31); to bury the dead (1 Cor.15; Revl.14:13; Ez.39:13-14); to solemnize marriages (John 2:12; Psalm 45:9-10).

DUTIES OF EVANGELISTS

They have authority to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ (Matt.28:19-20); to lay hands on, and pray for the sick (Mark 16-17-18); to consecrate children (Mark 10:14-16); to baptize believers (Matt.28:19); to administer the Lord supper (sic) (1 Cor.11:23-31); to bury the dead (1 Cor.15; Rev.14:13).

DUTIES OF DEACONS

They have authority to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ (Matt.28:19-20); to lay hands on and pray for the sick (Mark 16:17-18); James 5:14-15); to baptize believers (Matt.28:19); to bury the dead (1 Cor.15; Rev.14:13).

DUTIES OF LOCAL PREACHERS

The local preacher has authority to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ (Matt.28:19-20); to lay hands on and pray for the sick (Mark 16:17-18; James 5:13-15); to bury the dead (1 Cor.15; Rev.14:13); Jesus Christ said: "Ye shall receive poor (sic), after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; ye shall be my witnesses unto the uttermost parts of the earth." (Acts 1:8).

ZION CHRISTIAN CHURCH

Superintendent of the Church: Rev. Engenas B. Lekganyane.
Headquarters: Zion City Moria, Warmberg, Private Bag,
Pietersburg.

And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in Heaven and Earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Matt.28:18-19.

MINISTERIAL CREDENTIAL 194.....

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE BEARER HEREOF

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of
having been called by the Holy Ghost as a Christian Worker in Zion Christian Church, has been ordained by us and is recommended to the Saints as a Minister in good standing, this Credential to hold good as long as he has our confidence and keeps unity of the spirit with us.

AND HAS AUTHORITY

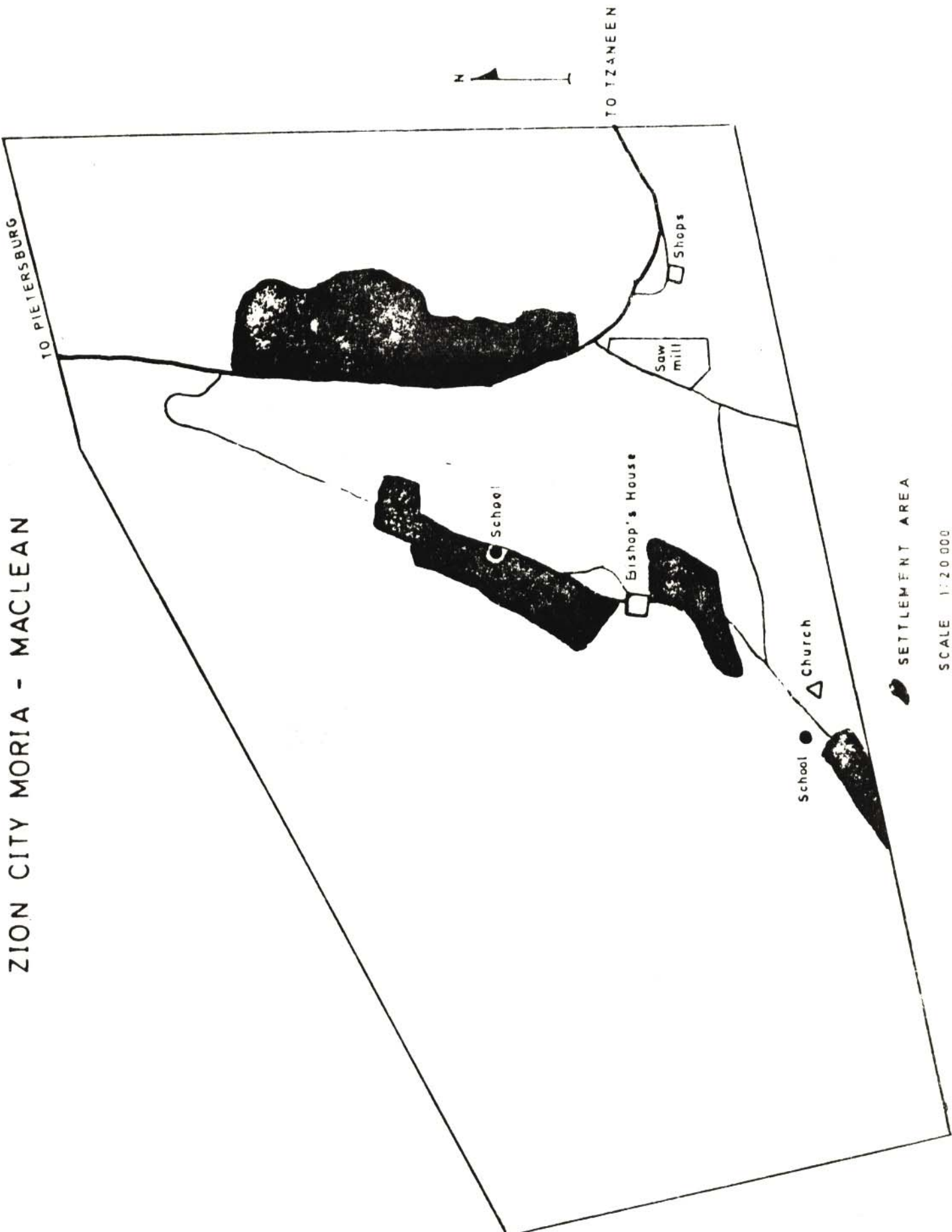
- To preach the gospel of Jesus Christ - Matt.28:18-19.
- To lay hands on and pray for the sick - Mark 16:17-18
Jam.5:14-15
- To Bury the dead - 1 Cor.15:12-58, Rev.14:13.
- To Baptize believers - Matt.28:18-19.
- To Consecrate Children - Matt.19:15-16.
- To Administer the Lord's Supper - 1 Cor.11:23-31.
- To Solemnise Marriages - John 2:12.

..... Superintendent.
..... Minister in Charge.
..... Secretary.

2. MAPS AND DIAGRAMS

- (i) Maclean Farm (Boyne)
- (ii) Warmberg (Podungwane)
- (iii) Diagram Showing the Origin of the Z.C.C.

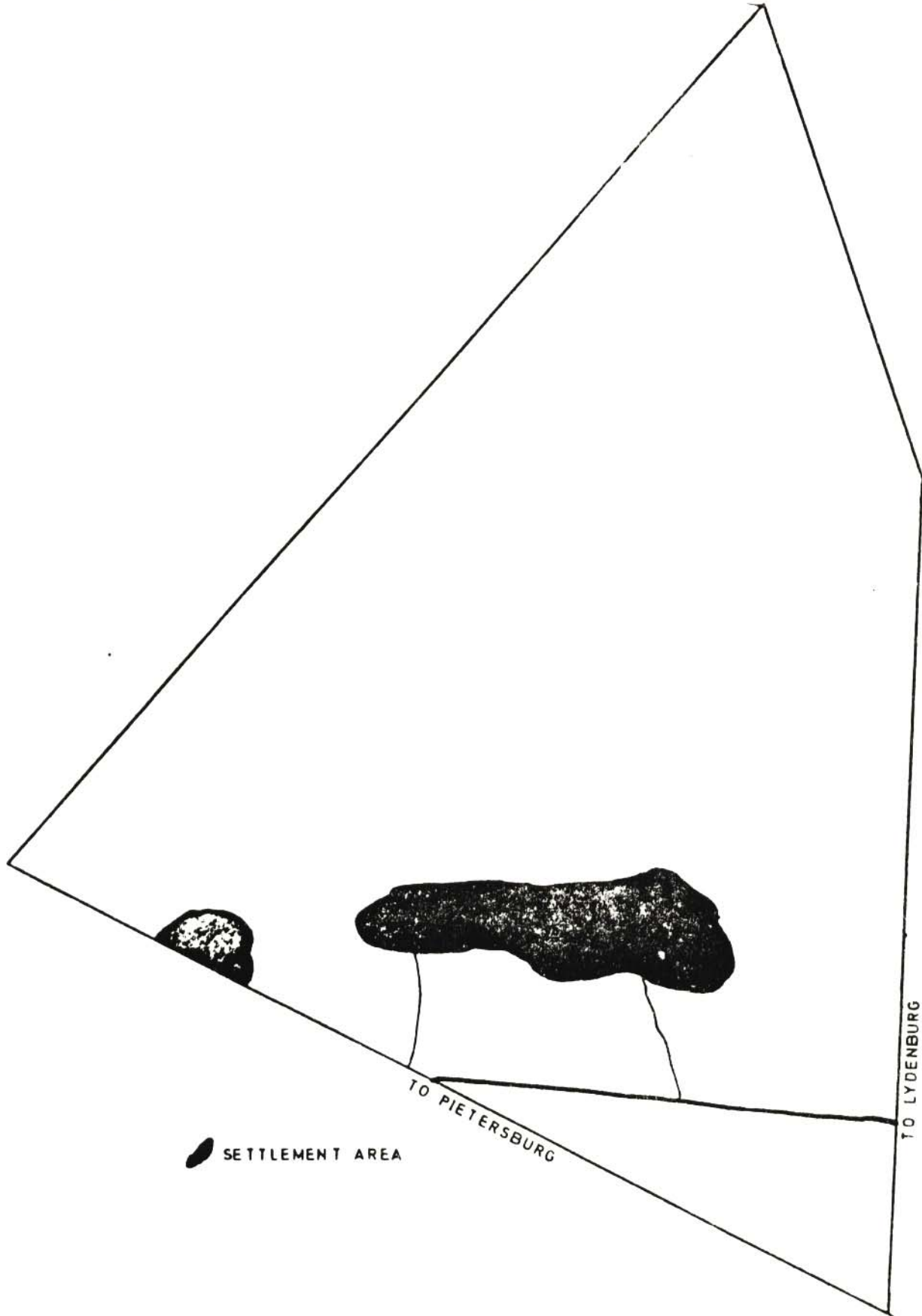
ZION CITY MORIA - MACLEAN



SETTLEMENT AREA

SCALE 1:20 000

PODUNGWANE - WARMBERG



● SETTLEMENT AREA

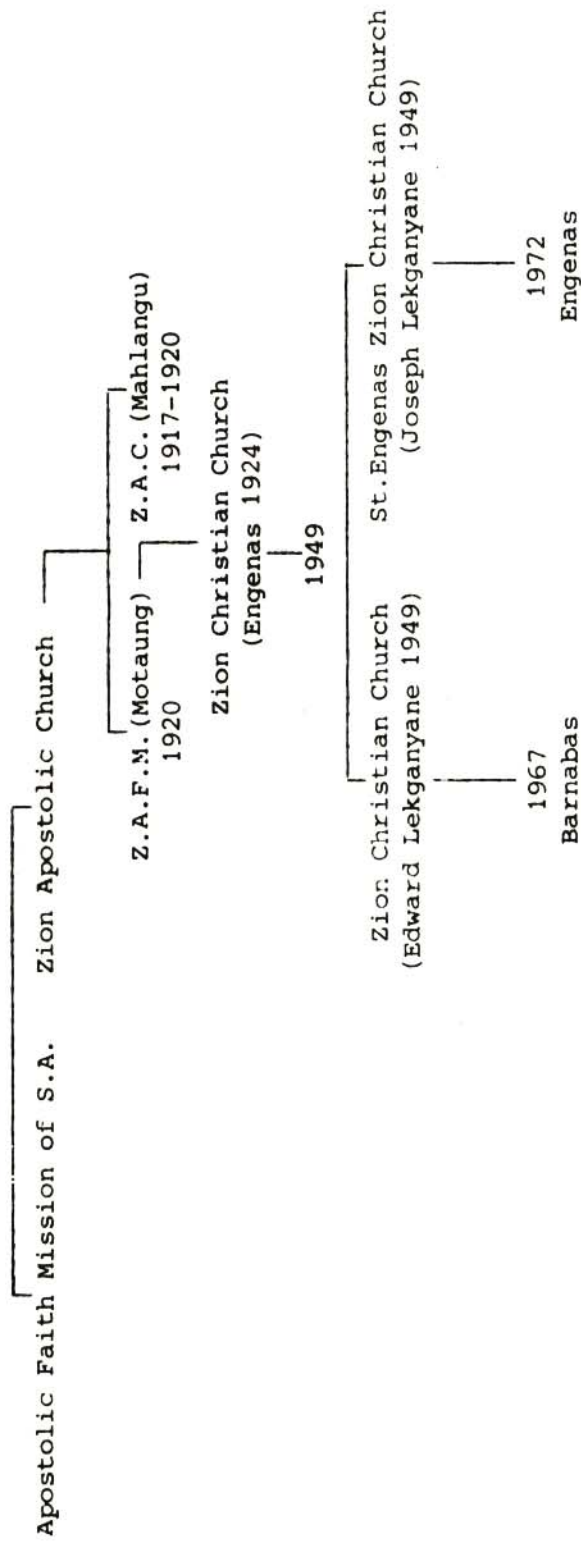
TO PIETERSBURG

TO LYDENBURG

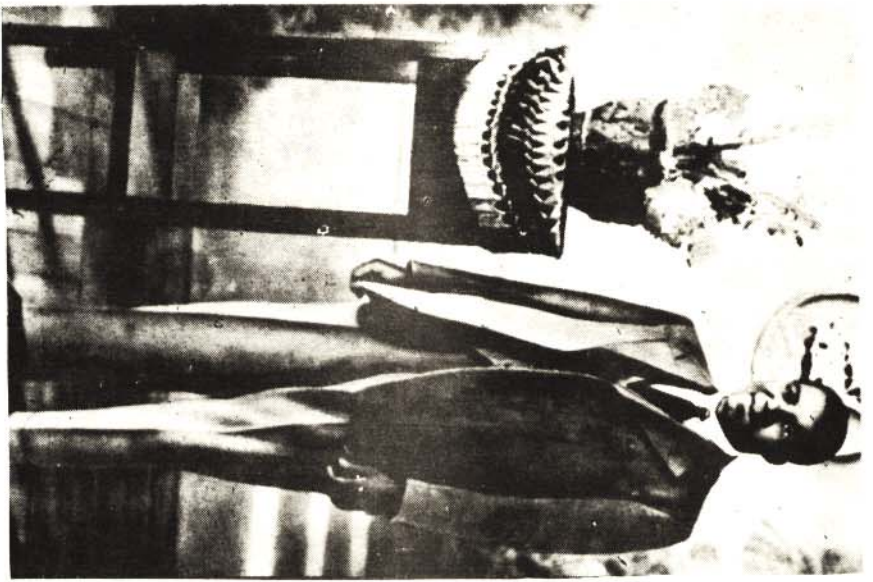
SCALE 1:20 000

THE DIAGRAM SHOWING THE ORIGIN OF THE Z.C.C.C.

1896 Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in Zion (J.A. Dowie: U.S.A.)



N.B. Note that the years 1967 and 1972 mark the death of Edward and Joseph respectively and in both cases there were regents before Barnabas and Engenas Jr. could take over officially.



*Bishop Engenas Lekganyane
[1885 - 1948]. The founder of the
Zion Christian Church in 1924.*



*Barnabas Lekganyane
[Engenas first born] died in 1948.*



*Bishop Joseph Lekganyane
died 1972. Leader of the
St. Engenas Z. C. C. 1948-1972.*



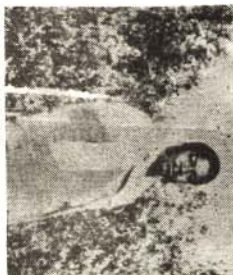
*Bishop Edward Lekganyane
[Engenas second born died 1967]
The Leader of the Z. C. C.
1948-1967.*



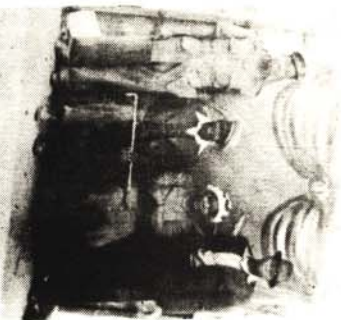
*Piet Mokheudu Lekganyane
[Last born in the family]*



Maria Lekganyane [Third born].

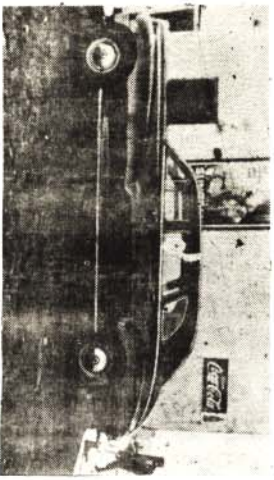


*Ezekiel Sekganyane
[was born twins with Manku
who died]*



*From l to r: Ezekiel Lekganyane,
Engenas, Mrs. Lekganyane and
Adolph Mathiba.*

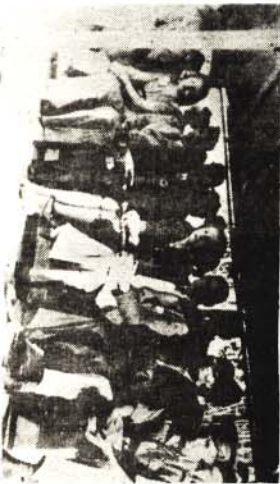
*Engenas' Legal Advisors:
P. W. Roos, M. Chailow
F. V. Z. Slabbert*



*The first car used by Engenas -
a Packard [Popularly known as
Mankhangangal].*



*The Moishetshe tree which
Engenas used as a Church at
Thabakgone.*



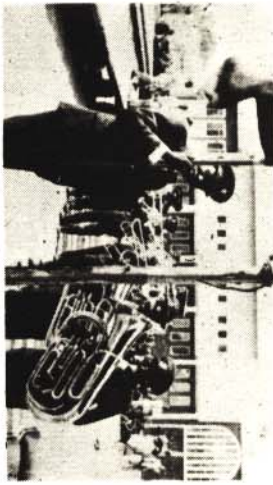
*Engenas [with cap in his hand]
with members of the
S.A. Government who visited him
in 1941.*



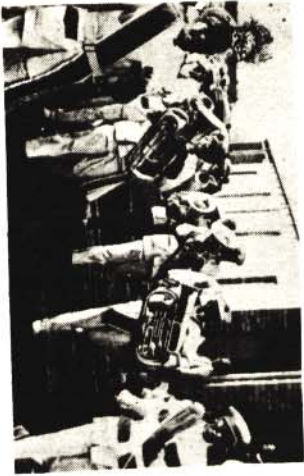
*Engenas' s uncompleted stone-built
Church at Thabakgone.*



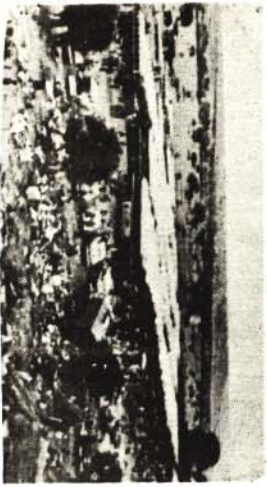
Bishop J.E. Lekganyane and his wife Flora, during one of the Conferences.



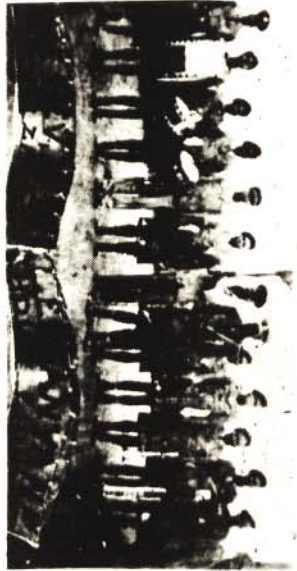
The St. Engenas' Z.C.C. brass band.



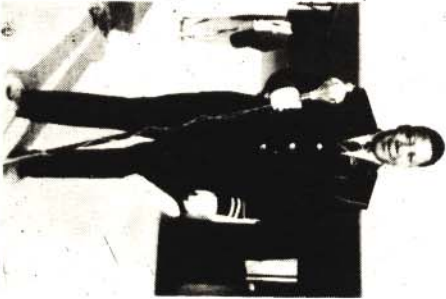
The Z.C.C. Brass Band.



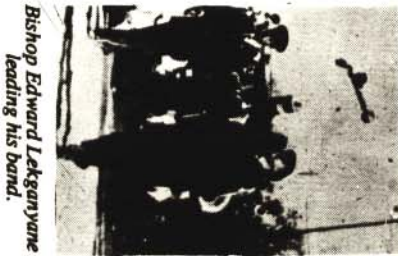
Conference at Morija.



Engenas [on the right next to the flag] with his band. They used to wear a Scottish kilt.



Bishop J.E. Lekganyane after leading his band.



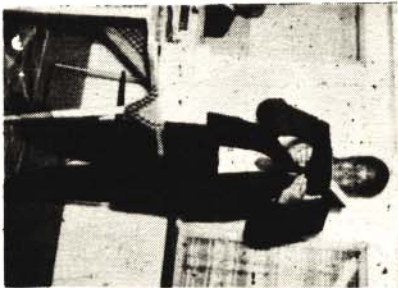
Bishop Edward Lekganyane leading his band.



From l to r: P.W. Roos, P.W. Roos jr., E.J. Roos.



Bishop Barnabus Lekganyane [The present leader of the Z.C.C.]



Bishop J.E. Lekganyane preaching to his congregation.



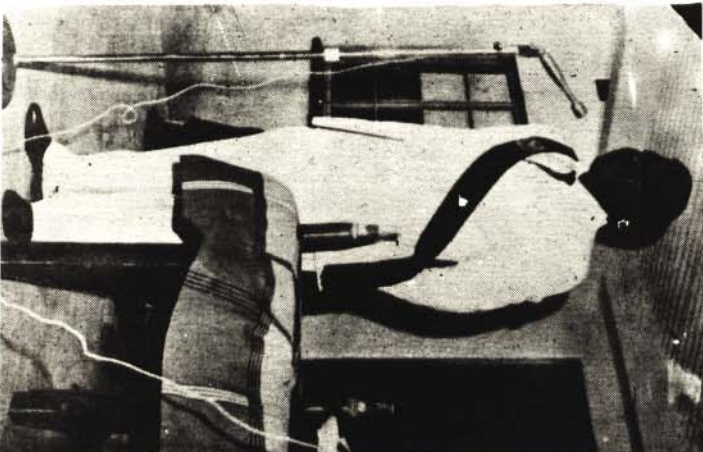
Engenas' sons [Barnabus left and Edward]



Bishop Joseph Lekganyane in his regalia during the official opening of his Church in 1972.



Bishop Joseph Lekganyane and family



Bishop J.E. Lekganyane addressing the congregation.



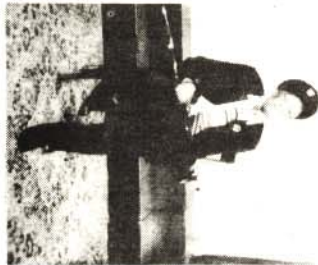
From l to r: Mrs. Martha Molopola, Mr. A. Mathiba, Mrs. Lekganyane



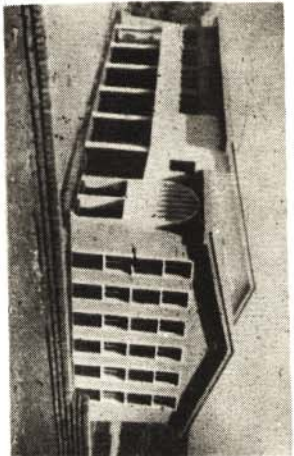
Mr. V. Nitmane



Baptism in the Z. C. C.



Mr. Lebati Mamabolo



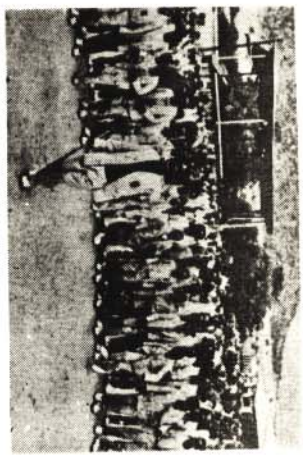
S. Engenas Z. C. C.



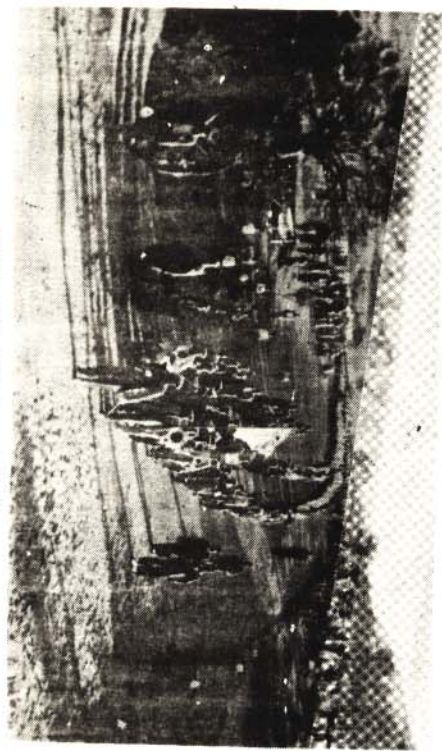
Mr. S. Mashabela and Mr. Amos Boshogo



Interpreters in four Black languages, Afrikans for Coloureds



Mokhukhu Dance



Bishop J. E. Lekganyane leading the band in the early 50's



Some of the "visitors at Zion



Mr. Simon Mashabela



Mr. Samuel Senoamadi



Mr. Khunikhwane Mothapo



Mr. Molepo



Mr. Sebati



Mr. Molepo

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SUMMARY

The study of Zion Christian Church (Z.C.C.) of Engenas (Ignatius) Lekganyane as an African experiment with Christianity, has brought the following points of interest to light:

- (i) The Zion Christian Church started at Thabakgone, in the area of Mamabolo about 40 km east of Pietersburg in 1924, as a result of the general religious schism which affected South Africa, especially amongst the Blacks, during the first half of the twentieth century. Blacks in Africa, and also in South Africa, were confronted with a totally different type of religion, Christianity, which was spread by people who cherished different philosophies of life. The Blacks had three alternatives - to accept *in toto*, to reject *in toto* or to take a middle course. The Z.C.C. belongs to the third alternative. It was a result of both Western and African philosophies. To many Africans, including Engenas and his followers, Christianity was new, and the Z.C.C. became an attempt of a culture to search for religious security in the face of a confrontation of a new, dynamic culture with its own religion, Christianity. The Church, which had broken away from the Z.A.C. of South Africa and the Z.A.F.M. was a syncretistic and nativistic movement where some of the main facts of Christianity were taken over, but where valued customs and norms of the Africans were retained.

- (ii) The Z.C.C. had its main influence amongst the Northern Sotho speaking people. It was in these areas (Mamabolo, Molepo, Mothapo and Dikgale) that the Church made the development of other orthodox churches difficult. Without faith healing and divine heading it is doubtful whether the Z.C.C. of Engenas could have made such a headway as it did in Southern Africa. Attempts to indigenize the Church, especially with regard to such customs as polygamy and traditional dances, attracted many people. However, circumcision was rejected.

- (iii) During the period under consideration the name of Jesus Christ did not occupy its rightful place. It was relegated to the background and followers prayed and preached in the name of Engenas. There was very little use of the Bible. Although some members were able to read or to refer to some verses in the Bible, these were not followed up in the actual preaching. The Church acknowledged Holy Communion and Baptism as sacraments but their theological implication was not understood. The Holy Spirit was accepted as the guiding Spirit and the source of prophecy.

- (iv) Valuable information regarding the inner workings of a Black-controlled Church was obtained. In all the African Churches which were generally known as Independent or Separatist, administrative problems needed serious attention because there was a conflict as to whether to follow the Western or African pattern of administration. The choice

was not always a happy one and often resulted in weak administration and organisation. In the Z.C.C. Engenas was the supreme head. Second to him there was an inner council which was mostly made up of members of his family. Every congregation had a Church council to attend to its own affairs and problems. Engenas had the power to veto the decisions of these councils.

- (v) The Z.C.C. of Engenas split into two groups in 1949 after his death in 1948. One group was led by his son, Edward (they used a star as their emblem), while the other group was led by another of his sons, Joseph (they used a dove as their emblem). The split of the Church was partly a family crisis and lack of standing functional bodies to run the affairs of the Church. This had often been the fate of movements which are leader-centred.

Finally, Engenas emerged as a successful Black Zionist leader in South Africa. Out of the different tribes and ethnic groups he built a new supra-ethnic tribe of people referred to as the "people of Lekganyane". This has been his main historical contribution. Today, at work, in the streets, in businesses, and in public services we are constantly reminded of Engenas when we meet people with the "star" and "dove" badges on their chests.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie ondersoek na die "Zion Christian Church" van Engenas (Ignatius) Lekganyane as 'n Afrika-eksperiment in die Christelike godsdiens het die volgende belangwekkende feite aan die lig gebring:

- (i) Die "Zion Christian Church" (Z.C.C.) het in 1924 te Thabakgone in die Mamabolo-gebied omtrent 40 km oos van Pietersburg ontstaan. Dit het ontstaan as gevolg van algemene godsdienstige skeuring in Suid-Afrika, meer spesifiek onder die Swartes, gedurende die vroeë dekades van die twintigste eeu. Swartes in Afrika, ook in Suid-Afrika, is gekonfronteer met 'n totaal vreemde godsdiens, t.w. die Christelike godsdiens, versprei deur mense met 'n geheel-en-al anderse lewensbeskouing. Daar was drie alternatiewe vir die Swartes: algehele aanvaarding, algehele verwerping, of 'n middeweg. Die Z.C.C. van Engenas Lekganyane het die derde alternatief gekies. Dit het sy oorsprong gehad in sowel Westerse as Afrika-filosofieë. Vir baie Swart Afrikane, ook vir Engenas en sy volgelinge, was die Christelike godsdiens iets nuuts, en die Z.C.C. was 'n poging van 'n kultuur om te soek na religieuse sekuriteit te midde van die konfrontasie met 'n nuwe, dinamiese kultuur met sy eie godsdiens, die Christelike godsdiens. Dié kerk wat van die Z.A.C. van Suid-Afrika en die Z.A.F.M. weggebreek het, was 'n sinkretistiese en nativistiese beweging, waarin die hoofmomente van die Christelike godsdiens

oorgeneem is, maar die waardes, gebruike en norme van die Afrika-bekeerlinge behoue gebly het.

- (ii) Die Z.C.C. het hoofsaaklik invloed gehad onder die Noord-Sotho-sprekendes. In hierdie gebiede (Mamabolo, Molepo, Mothapo en Dikgale) het die Kerk die uitbreiding van die ortodokse kerke bemoeilik. Geloofsgenesing en goddelike genesing het in hierdie verband 'n belangrike rol gespeel. Dit is te betwyfel of die Z.C.C. van Engenas daarsonder só 'n vordering sou gemaak het as wat wel in Suid-Afrika die geval was. Pogings om die Kerk 'n eie Afrika-karakter te gee, veral ten opsigte van gebruike soos poligamie en die tradisionele dans, het baie lidmate gelok. Besnyding is egter uit die staanspoor verwerp.
- (iii) Gedurende die tydperk onder bespreking het die naam van Jesus Christus nie sy regmatige plek gekry nie. Dit is na die agtergrond verdring en die volgelinge het in Engenas se naam gepreek en gebid. Die Bybel is nouliks gebruik. Hoewel sommige lede in staat was om die Bybel te lees of daaruit aan te haal, is dit nie in die prediking self opgevolg nie. Die Kerk het die Heilige Nagmaal en die Doop as sakramente erken, maar die teologiese implikasies daarvan is nie begryp nie. Die Heilige Gees is aanvaar as die leidende gees en die oorsprong van profesie.
- (iv) Waardevolle inligting in verband met die interne funksionering van 'n Swart kerk is ingewin. In al die Afrika-kerke wat as Independentisties of

Separatisties bekend staan, was daar ernstige administratiewe vraagstukke, omdat daar 'n konflik was ten opsigte van die vraag of die Westerse of die Afrika-model van administrasie gevolg moes word. 'n Bevredigende oplossing is nie altyd gevind nie, en die uiteinde was dikwels swak administrasie en organisasie. In die Z.C.C. was Engenas die absolute hoof. Onder hom was 'n interne raad, wat hoofsaaklik uit lede van sy familie bestaan het. Elke gemeente het 'n kerkraad gehad om na sy eie sake en probleme om te sien. Engenas het egter die gesag gehad om die besluite van die kerkrade te veto.

- (v) Die Z.C.C. van Engenas het in twee groepe in 1949 na sy dood in 1948 geskeur. Die een groep is deur sy seun Edward gelei (hulle het 'n ster as embleem gebruik), terwyl die ander groep deur 'n ander seun, Joseph, gelei is (met 'n duif as embleem). Die skeuring was deels die gevolg van 'n familiekrisis en die gebrek aan vaste administratiewe liggame om die kerk te bestuur. Dit is dikwels die geval met leiersentriese bewegings.

Ten slotte het Engenas as 'n suksesvolle Swart Sionistiese leier in Suid-Afrika tevoorskyn gekom. Uit verskillende stamme en etniese groepe het hy 'n nuwe supra-etniese stam van mense wat as "Lekganyane se mense" bekend staan, opgebou. Dít was sy belangrikste historiese bydrae. Vandag by die werk, in strate, in besighede en publieke dienste, word ons gereeld herinner aan Engenas as ons die mense met die "ster" of die "duif" aan hul klere sien.